

**AMIDAJI: MORTUARY ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND RITES OF  
EMPEROR ANTOKU'S TEMPLE**

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# **AMIDAJI: MORTUARY ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND RITES OF EMPEROR ANTOKU'S TEMPLE**

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University of Pittsburgh, 2007

My dissertation analyzes the art, architecture, and rites related to mortuary ceremonies for Emperor Antoku and the Taira at the Buddhist temple Amidaji in Shimonoseki City in Yamaguchi Prefecture. Amidaji served as a mortuary temple for the eight-year-old emperor Antoku and the Taira clansmen, who, defeated in the final battle of the Genpei War, jumped to their deaths in the cold seas off the coast of Akama in 1185. Because the child emperor and the Taira drowned themselves, their spirits, unable to access the next world, were believed to become malicious ghosts who threatened the living and the nation. Amidaji, constructed in front of the battle site and where Antoku's body was believed to be interred, assumed major responsibility for the rituals to appease these ghosts and to assist them in attaining rebirth in the Western Paradise of Amida Buddha.

Despite its importance, Amidaji was abolished and was then replaced by a Shintō shrine during the persecution of Buddhism in the late nineteenth century. The buildings of the temple were demolished and the majority of Buddhist icons and implements were destroyed. Several key artworks, including the portraits of Antoku and the Taira as well as the sliding-door paintings depicting the life of the emperor, survived; however, the removal of artworks from the architectural settings where rituals took place stripped their primary functions. In order to recover the lost meanings of the art and architecture of Amidaji, this dissertation positions the art

and architecture as integral ritual components and attempts to reconnect them with the various contexts in which they actually functioned.

My study is based on a visual analysis of surviving works of art and architecture at Amidaji, a close study of textual and pictorial evidence, and a survey of the actual site. I explore the roles of the art and architecture where a variety of elements—artifacts, rites, patrons, and specific circumstances of politics, society, history, culture, economy, and religion— intersected. This study enhances our understanding of the art and architecture of Amidaji and illuminates the broader context where their specific meanings and actual functions were created.

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

My dissertation examines the mortuary art, architecture, and rites of the imperial temple Amidaji 阿弥陀寺 in Shimonoseki City in Yamaguchi Prefecture. Amidaji was established as a mortuary temple for the eight-year-old emperor Antoku 安徳 (1178-1185) and thousands of the Taira clansmen, who, defeated in the final battle of the Genpei War, jumped to their deaths into the cold seas off the coast of Akama in 1185.<sup>1</sup> According to popular Buddhist beliefs, because the child emperor and the Taira drowned themselves, their spirits were denied access even to hell and possessed the potential to become malicious ghosts who threatened the living and the nation. Layers of pacification rituals were thus conducted not only to appease these ghosts but also to assist them in attaining salvation in the Western Paradise of Amida Buddha. Such rituals were carried out all over Japan; yet Amidaji, named after the salvific Buddha of the Western Paradise and constructed in front of the very site of the battle and where Antoku's body was believed to be interred, assumed major responsibility for these placatory rituals.

Amidaji continued in the role of chief imperial mortuary temple for Emperor Antoku and the Taira throughout its history. Despite its importance, however, the history of Amidaji came to a sudden end in 1868, when the Meiji government issued the decree to separate Shintō and

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<sup>1</sup> In Japan, dates and ages are indicated according to traditional lunar reckoning. The year when a person was born is counted as one year old, and later the age is added every after New Year's Day. Since Emperor Antoku was born on the twenty-second day of the eleventh month of 1178 and died on the twenty-fourth day of the third month of 1185, he died at the age of eight in the traditional Japanese system. Applying western way of indicating ages, he lived for only six and a half years.

Buddhist divinities.<sup>2</sup> The decree was aimed at ensuring the worship of nativist deities, *kami* 神, through the performance of rituals purged of all foreign contamination,<sup>3</sup> notably Buddhism, and restoring the emperor's political and spiritual authority through the legitimizing deification of the imperial line. The impact of this decree was immense and threw Buddhist temples into turmoil all over Japan. On the local level, this directive was implemented by suppressing Buddhist temples, *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈, which literally means abolishing Buddhism and destroying (the teaching of) Śākyamuni. The government made a public statement declaring that the removal of Buddhist images and implements take place non-violently, suggesting that *haibutsu kishaku* was accompanied by frightening outbursts of violence against Buddhist institutions.

During this confusion, Amidaji was abolished and its buildings were completely destroyed. The Yamaguchi prefectural government further ordered that Amidaji be now called by the name, Antoku tennō sha (shrine of Emperor Antoku). The removal of the temple's treasures also commenced. It is not entirely certain how many of the treasures were destroyed. Yet, the majority of Buddhist icons and implements were vandalized or ransacked, and replaced with Shintō ceremonial ones. Fortunately, several key artworks, which had been enshrined in the architectural space and used in the ritual setting at Amidaji, escaped from the persecution and survive to this day. Among the surviving pieces of artwork of this temple are the sliding door paintings illustrating the life of Emperor Antoku and the portraits of Antoku and the Taira members. The wooden portrait statue of Antoku was maintained as the main icon of worship; however, it became a hidden icon as part of promoting the legacy of the imperial family. Other

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<sup>2</sup> The implementation of the decree of separating Shintō and Buddhist divinities varied in each case. For example, see Allan Grapard, "Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution: The Separation of Shintō and Buddhist Divinities in Meiji (*shimbutsu bunri*) and a Case Study: Tōnomine." *History of Religions* 23:3 (February 1984), 240-265; Sarah Thal, "Redefining the Gods: Politics and Survival in the Creation of Modern Kami." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29:3-4 (2002), 379-404.

<sup>3</sup> Thal, 389.

surviving artworks, which had no place to be enshrined, were thrown into storage. The removal of artworks from the architectural setting where rituals took place stripped them of their primary function. Because Amidaji no longer exists, the prime function of the art and architecture, namely as ritual artifacts in placatory rites, are almost forgotten today. The persecution of Buddhism obscured the pre-Meiji character of the temple.

The Japanese public's interest in imperial mortuary sites has never waned. The examination of these sites--which preserve many treasures (art, architecture, documents, and ritual paraphernalia)--is vital to understanding Japanese history. Nonetheless, a deep respect for the imperial family has prevented thorough study of their memorial temples. Today, the access to Emperor Antoku's mausoleum, where the Spirit Hall and the Goma Hall of Amidaji formerly stood prior to the Meiji period, is limited by the care of the Imperial Household Agency, which claims that the grave is the setting for important religious rites maintained for an ancestral spirit of the imperial family. The wooden statue of Emperor Antoku, the single artwork that is most important to the identity of this mortuary temple, is kept hidden in its miniature shrine and is never shown to the public despite the fact that many temple visitors saw it before the Meiji persecution of Buddhism. As academic requests to broaden access to the imperial tombs and archival materials are normally rejected by the Imperial Household Agency, my request to investigate the mausoleum and the hidden image was politely declined by the current shrine priest. Nevertheless, based upon the current shrine head priest's description of the inaccessible sites and materials, various sources that mention them, and parallel examples in other mortuary sites, it was possible to complete my study, which is primarily concerned with the functions of the art and architecture of Antoku's temple.

Several studies about Amidaji's art and architecture have been published over the past few decades, but most of the scholarly work has touched upon them as isolated pieces. Art historians have examined only the sliding-door paintings, the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, and introduced them briefly in exhibition catalogue entries. Art historical scholarship has focused almost exclusively on questions of style, authorship, and description and has rarely considered the paintings as religious works in relation to the temple's larger heritage of art, architecture, and ritual. Most research refers to their placatory function only in passing and with little argumentation.

The first exhibition to display the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* was held in the Kyoto National Museum in 1971.<sup>4</sup> In the catalogue entry, the art historian Takeda Tsuneo introduced the paintings and identified the scenes with no discussion of their ritual use.<sup>5</sup> Because the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* were loosely based on the famous war epic *Tale of the Heike*, another art historian, Kawamoto Keiko, on iconographic and stylistic grounds, has placed Amidaji's works in the tradition of Heike art and dated them to the late sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Her research characterizes Amidaji's paintings merely as one type of pictorial representation of the *Tale of the Heike*. The tendency is also seen in a number of exhibitions, which also placed the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* within the genre of Heike art.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Chūsei shōbyōga* (Kyoto: Benridō, 1971), 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, There are also some mistakes in his identification of the scenes.

<sup>6</sup> Kawamoto Keiko, "Heike monogatari ni shuzai shita kassen byōbu no shosō to sono seiritsu ni tsuite," in *Jinbutsuga: Yamato-e kei jinbutsu*; Vol. 5 of *Nihon byōbue shūsei* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1979), 138-145.

<sup>7</sup> Shimonoseki Shiritsu Bijutsukan, *Genpei no bijutsuten* (Shimonoseki: Shimoseki Shiritsu Bijutsukan, 1983), 68-71; Kagawa Rekishi Hakubutsukan, *Genpei kassen to sono jidai* (Takamatsu: Kagawaken Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2003), 76.

The most detailed analysis of the authorship and date of the sliding-door paintings was conducted in 1993 by Ido Makoto, curator of the Shimonoseki City Museum.<sup>8</sup> Based on comparative stylistic analysis, Ido has also dated the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* to the late sixteenth century. He further attempted to recognize the stylistic affinities that the paintings had with other works by *yamato-e* artists; however, he has acknowledged the difficulty of attributing them to a particular painter. These art historians' prime interests are the description, authorship, and date of the works, and their approaches are similar--situating the paintings within chronological and stylistic taxonomies according to their formal and aesthetic features.

Experts in literature, such as Tomikura Tokujirō, Hayashi Masahiko, and Tokuda Kazuo, have discussed the *etoki* (picture-explaining) ritual of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.<sup>9</sup> They have also introduced several visitors' experiences of the *etoki* ritual at Amidaji. Their emphasis, however, remains primarily upon deciphering the scenes. Using the *etoki* texts made in the Edo period together with the inscriptions on the rectangular sheets painted on the upper part of each panel, these literature specialists have analyzed how the scenes in the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* are related to the text. Similar to the views of the literature specialists above, Akai Tatsurō, who is also a scholar of literature, introduces the scenes of the paintings and the travel diaries of visitors who recorded their experiences of the *etoki* at Amidaji.<sup>10</sup> He examines the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* with other *etoki* examples of warriors who were defeated in battle. He states that, like the production of war tales, their visual representations and accompanying oral explanations were made in order to appease the souls of

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<sup>8</sup> Ido Makoto, "Antoku tennō engi ezu ni tsuite." *Shimonoseki shiritsu bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 4 (1993), 1-18.

<sup>9</sup> Tomikura Tokujirō, *Heike monogatari kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1958), 495-508; Hayashi Masahiko and Tokuda Kazuo, *Etoki daihonshū* (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1983), 230-255.

<sup>10</sup> Akai Tatsurō, *Etoki no keifu* (Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1989), 362-381.

the war dead. However, Akai does not describe the particular way in which the *etoki* served its placatory function.

In recent years, an interest in the broader aspects of these paintings has developed. In 1993, a collaborative research trip was made by a group of art and architectural historians. The prime question they addressed was how the eight panels of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* had been originally placed in the architectural setting. From an architectural point of view, Abiru Hiroshi, a college student of Kanagawa University at that time, examined the sizes of the paintings as well as the ground plans of the temple, posited the original placement of the paintings in the Spirit Hall, and identified the major buildings of Amidaji.<sup>11</sup> Architectural historian Nishi Kazuo and art historian Chino Kaori, who had participated in the same research trip, introduced Abiru's work in a few pages in their broader publications.<sup>12</sup> As will be discussed later, my analysis, however, concludes that their identifications of some buildings are questionable and the dates of the plans they used need re-examination.

More recently, in 2001, art historian Mizuno Ryōko published an article on the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* in connection to the sacred motifs in medieval paintings.<sup>13</sup> Mizuno has interpreted some of the motifs, including the land surrounding water, the golden seashore, and the bridge as religious representations that enhanced the sacredness of Amidaji where Emperor

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<sup>11</sup> Abiru Hiroshi, *Nagato no kuni Amidaji no mieidō to shōhekiga ni tsuite* (Undergraduate thesis, Kanagawa University, 1994).

<sup>12</sup> Nishi Kazuo, *Kenchikushi kenkyū no shinshiten 1: Kenchiku to shōhekiga* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1999), 288-290; Chino Kaori, "Shōheiga no imi to kinō: Nanbokuchō, Muromachi jidai no Yamatoe o chūshinni," in *Sesshū to yamato-e byōbu: Nanbokuchō, Muromachi no kaiga 2*; Vol. 13 of *Nihon bijutsu zenshū*, eds. Tsūji Nobuo, et al. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993): 172-179. Although Chino raises the necessity to address the patronage of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* (i.e., why the paintings were produced and restored), she does not further investigate the issue of the patronage of the paintings.

<sup>13</sup> Mizuno Ryōko, "Nihon chūsei kaiga ni okeru seichi zuzō no kenkyū." *Kashima bijutsu kenkyū* 18 (November 2001), 426-441. Mizuno presented her paper on the same topic at the conference on Bijutsushi (art history) in 2003 and published the summary of her paper. See Mizuno Ryōko, "Antoku tennō engi-e ni okeru seichi zuzō no imi to kinō." *Bijutsushi* 154 (March 2003), 341-342.

Antoku was venerated and the ghosts of the Taira were appeased, but she left other motifs in the paintings unexplained. Emphasizing the genre of *engi-e* (pictures of temple's origin tales) in which the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* can be categorized due to the title of the works, Mizuno has further asserted that the function of Amidaji's paintings was to tell the origin tales and the importance of the temple related to the birth and death of Antoku and the rise and fall of the Taira family. Although she has connected the meanings of the paintings to the function of Amidaji, she does not go beyond conventional methods of art history such as iconography and genre categorization.

These previous studies make important contributions to the field; yet, they tend to analyze the works independently and neglect their essential contexts, such as the location of the objects, the functions of the buildings, use with other artworks, patronage, and the actual process of the rituals. Such disjointed analyses do not reveal the multiple meanings of the works. This narrow appraisal has skewed our understanding of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* and obscured the significance of other works of art that were employed together within the ritual context. Although I am indebted to these previous studies on the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, my primary interest is different. My goal is to situate the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* in the larger context that shaped their meanings and to explore how they actually functioned through the ritual activities at Amidaji.

Surprisingly, the portraits of Antoku and the Taira have been ignored by scholars, despite their significance to the identity of the temple. At least two reasons are behind this lack of interest. One is that the wooden statue of Emperor Antoku became a hidden image after the temple was converted into a Shintō shrine; the other reason is that the painted portraits of Antoku and the Taira members are assessed as being relatively recent and considered inferior in



aesthetics and technique on the basis of physical inspection by art historians. To this day, the wooden portrait of Antoku has been kept strictly secret, and the painted portraits of Antoku and the Taira appear only in the catalogues published by the current shrine, Akama Jingū, or in other publications which insert them to introduce the historical figures, with little discussion given to how the portraits functioned. Prior to the Meiji period, many temple visitors recorded seeing the portraits of Antoku and the Taira, suggesting that they were central images at Amidaji. As I will show in the reconstruction of the temple, the room where the portraits were enshrined was the most sacred space, serving as the main sanctuary of the Spirit Hall and the most important place in the entire temple complex. The importance of the portraits can also be seen in temple inventories that register the names of the main buildings. These inventories indicate a hierarchy of importance of places and artworks within the complex. The inventory of 1739, for example, lists first the Spirit Hall with its portrait of Antoku. Understanding the nature of Amidaji's portraits is thus crucial, not only to reveal their functions but also to explore how Amidaji's significance shaped the functions of the portraits and was also shaped by them.

There are, of course, many more artworks that were housed in Amidaji than will be examined in this study; however, the majority were lost during the persecution of Buddhism. Due to the lack of physical and documentary evidence, it is impossible to make an in-depth analysis of them. Chapters Three and Four therefore focus on the portraits of Antoku and the Taira as well as the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, all of which survive today. Other ritual objects in the Spirit Hall, where these major works were enshrined, for example, a pair of sculptures of Korean dogs, will also be examined in my discussion.

In this dissertation, I position the art and architecture as integral ritual components and endeavor to examine them within the original contexts in which they functioned, for I consider

ritual to be one of the most important dimensions in understanding the art and architecture of Amidaji. In order to examine how Amidaji's artworks functioned ritually, I utilize the interdisciplinary approach of recent scholars who have worked to recover the meanings of art and architecture through the reconstruction of the contexts in which they were actually used. This approach enhances our understanding of art forms as well as casts light on the broader context where their specific meanings and actual functions were created. With this approach, art historians recently began to study Japan's major sacred sites: Zenkōji by Donald McCallum, Chūsonji by Mimi Yiengpruksawan, Tsukubusuma by Andrew Watsky, Murōji by Sherry Fowler, and Daitokuji by Gregory Levine.<sup>14</sup> My dissertation of Amidaji hopefully adds to this contextual scholarship by seeking to recover the lost meanings of the art and architecture, designed for the ritual in which the soul of Emperor Antoku, the most important entity enshrined and worshiped at the temple, was appeased, placated, and assisted to attain rebirth in paradise. In this study, I analyze the surviving works of art and architecture at Amidaji as well as other contemporary imperial mortuary sites through a close study of textual materials (diaries and records, as well as Buddhist doctrine), archaeological and architectural evidence (pictorial maps, surveys of an actual site of Amidaji, and other imperial tombs), and the performing arts (oral, musical, and dance practices).

This dissertation analyzes the art, architecture, and rites related to mortuary ceremonies for Emperor Antoku and the Taira at the imperial temple Amidaji. In Chapter One, I situate the establishment of Amidaji within its historical context. I argue the early patronage and affiliation

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<sup>14</sup> Donald McCallum, *Zenkōji and its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Mimi Yiengpruksawan, *Hiraizumi: Buddhist Art and Regional Politics in Twelfth-Century Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); Andrew Watsky, *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004); Sherry Fowler, *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at the Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005); Gregory Levine, *Daitokuji: the Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

of the temple in order to identify the factors behind the establishment of Amidaji and to understand the temple's mission. While Amidaji began as a site to enshrine a spirit of the Hachiman deity in the ninth century, it later served as an important mortuary temple for Emperor Antoku after the tragic deaths of Antoku and the Taira members in 1185. When situated within the larger framework of its history, the transformation of Amidaji into a mortuary site seems a reflection of a series of placatory projects created to appease the vengeful souls of Antoku and the Taira. Because the calamities caused by the tragic deaths of the dead emperor and warriors were so extensive, multiple rituals were conducted in various places to help these wandering souls attain Buddhahood and then turn into protectors of the nation. By analyzing various primary sources, I suggest that the rituals in places such as Nagato, Kyoto, Kamakura, and Mt. Kōya, as well as the production of the *Tale of the Heike*, were initiated by the same circle of influential figures during the same time period and with the same placatory end. I thus propose that the performance of the rituals at Amidaji was by no means an isolated occurrence, but was part of a larger project that included other rituals conducted in different places and the production of the *Tale of the Heike*.

Chapter Two aims to reconstruct the architectural setting and the enshrinement of artifacts at the temple. This discussion enables us to examine the artifacts that have lost their context, as well as provides a basis for our consideration of the rituals in Chapter Four. However, due to the loss of the original buildings of Amidaji, the task of reconstructing the temple complex is challenging. Based on the analysis of other contemporary mortuary temples, as well as textual and pictorial sources and the actual site of Amidaji itself, I reconstruct the temple complex and identify its principal buildings. My survey of the former Buddhist temple site and discovery of new sources in the local museum and archives enable me to see how the former

temple complex stood in the current site. In addition, I reposition the artworks within the original architectural setting through ground plans and schematic drawings of the temple complex, as well as by utilizing temple inventories and travel diaries. This is important because the artworks were integral components of the context that included architectural space.

In Chapter Three, I introduce the major artworks enshrined in Amidaji's Spirit Hall. This chapter serves as a preliminary investigation and basic analysis of the works, including their description, date, authorship, and placement. I focus on the portraits of Antoku and the Taira, which have not been researched in the past. I also investigate the sliding-door paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, incorporating my analysis with the previous studies. My study of the objects and the historical documents reveals that the sliding-door paintings illustrating Antoku's biography were renewed and installed in the Spirit Hall in the late sixteenth century; while the original works, which are older, were kept in storage. As such, I propose a new hypothesis regarding the circumstance of the production of the "original" *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.

Chapter Four places the temple's art and architecture in their ritual context. I focus on the *etoki* (picture-explaining) ritual that was performed in the Spirit Hall. The *etoki* performance of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* at Amidaji has generally been considered to be merely an act explicating the biography of Antoku and the battle scenes from the Genpei War; however, I suggest that the functions of *etoki* were closely related to the prime mission of the temple, that is, to commemorate the deaths of Antoku and the Taira, to placate their souls, and to assist their rebirth in the Western Paradise of Amida Buddha. I argue that Amidaji, in addition to the typical memorial services, needed to incorporate other rituals, particularly those of a placatory nature, because the temple was not only allegedly the burial site of Antoku, but also

stood in front of the sea where Antoku and the Taira died. In other words, the temple was located in liminal space between the earthly realm and the underground realm, enabling it to make peace with the vengeful spirits of Antoku and the Taira who wandered there, unable to access the next world. After defining the practice of *etoki*, I introduce several parallel examples of *etoki* for royalty, eminent monks, and warlords, in order to support my theory for the use of *etoki* with the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. I then examine the issue of *etoki* performance in combination with the rituals performed before the portraits of Antoku and the Taira. Instead of treating the artworks in isolation and neglecting the actual process of associated rituals, I propose that they were essential to a series of rituals held at the placatory and commemorative center for the souls of the child emperor Antoku and the Taira warriors.

In the epilogue, I outline Amidaji's history from medieval times to the present with emphasis on the different manifestations of Antoku's soul. I suggest that one of the key elements that affected the temple's prime function was the character of Antoku's soul, which was reinterpreted by religious and political leaders as well as by the general public to correspond to the changing contexts of Japanese society. Sometimes, his soul was portrayed as benevolent, but at other times, it was considered harmful to the living and the state. Although Amidaji has sustained a memorial function for the dead emperor Antoku even after it was replaced by a Shintō shrine, it has acquired additional roles as a result of various factors—historical, political, religious, cultural, economic, and social, and in its connections with the religious and political leaders who sometimes manipulated the character of Antoku's spirit for their own ends. Through detailed analysis of historical texts, I examine many layers of meanings of Amidaji as shown in the various manifestations of Antoku's soul.

One may wonder how one could choose a dissertation topic on a temple that is no longer extant. The buildings of the temple were completely demolished during the anti-Buddhist movement in the early modern era, and instead Shintō structures were built on the site. Even the Shintō buildings were reduced to ashes during World War II. The current shrine presents a completely different structure from the original Buddhist temple. Most Buddhist icons and implements were lost during these difficult times; surviving pieces lost their original settings and meanings. Because of this situation, I think it is very urgent to recover the lost meanings of the art and architecture, now devoid of their original contexts. I hope the results of my research will further encourage others to work to recover the meanings of art and architecture whose context has been similarly lost or distorted by political and religious persecution and by changes in society in both Japan and other areas of the world.

## **2.0 CHAPTER ONE: AMIDAJI'S MISSION AND ITS EARLY PATRONAGE**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTON**

Chapter One begins by situating the establishment of Amidaji within its historical context. I will discuss the issue of the nature of Antoku's soul, as well as the early patronage and affiliation of the temple in order to identify the factors behind the establishment of Amidaji and to understand the temple's original mission. Amidaji began as a site to enshrine a spirit of the Hachiman deity. Later, it served as an important mortuary temple for Emperor Antoku. Because the child emperor and the Taira drowned themselves in a sea battle, according to popular Buddhist beliefs, their spirits did not reach the proper afterworld and possessed the potential to become malicious ghosts who haunted the living and the state. Following their tragic deaths, various misfortunes and disasters occurred, which were thought to be caused by the ghosts of Antoku and the Taira. Pacification rituals were thus performed not only to appease these ghosts but also to assist them in attaining salvation in the Western Paradise. Such rituals were carried out all over Japan; however, it was Amidaji, constructed in front of the very site of the battle and where Antoku's body was believed to be interred, that came to play a pivotal role in the placatory rituals.

Since most vengeful ghosts emerged as a result of political intrigues and were believed to harm the living and the nation, spirit pacification was closely linked to political authority. The pacification ritual that necessitated the establishment of Amidaji cannot be overlooked. The

recognition of Antoku's soul as a vengeful ghost and the way the living treated it both shaped the functions of Amidaji, as well as those of the art, architecture, and ritual associated with the temple. Moreover, the temple's transformation into a mortuary site was not an isolated event; for memorial and pacification ceremonies for the souls of Antoku and the Taira were also conducted in their temporal proximity in various places, such as Kyoto, Nara, Kamakura, and Mt. Kōya, by the same circle of political and religious leaders. Along with these rituals, the *Tale of the Heike*, which was composed primarily to appease the souls of Antoku and the Taira, was produced and began to be narrated. The pacification rites for Antoku and the Taira can be further integrated into a larger religious and political project that was designed to placate the angry spirits of other individuals who had also met with unnatural or violent deaths around this same period.

I will examine the motivations behind the establishment of Amidaji and the prime mission of the temple by analyzing the massive archives of Amidaji published in *Akama Jingū monjo* (Akama shrine documents), which includes more than seventy sources that refer to the temple, other primary sources (e.g., *Gyokuyō*, *Azuma kagami*, and *Gukanshō*), and different mortuary practices and texts. After discussing the history of Amidaji before its transformation into a mortuary site for Emperor Antoku, I will investigate the Taira women's contribution to the early phase of the mortuary temple's development. I will then examine the pacification rituals designed to appease vengeful spirits, and will explore why and how Amidaji began to perform placatory rites for Antoku and the Taira. Through a thorough investigation of the early patronage and affiliation of Amidaji, this chapter will further propose that the performance of the rituals at Amidaji might have been integral to a larger placatory project including other rituals conducted in different places, as well as the production of the *Tale of the Heike*.



## 2.2 LOCATION OF AMIDAJI

Amidaji was located in present-day Shimonoseki City in Yamaguchi Prefecture. Yamaguchi Prefecture is in the westernmost part of Honshū, the main island of Japan. Although the ocean separates Honshū from Kyūshū, these two islands are very close, as we can actually see Kyūshū from the complex where Amidaji once stood. The narrow strait between Honshū and Kyūshū is called Kanmon. Throughout Japan's history, military specialists considered this strait to be the ideal place to attack enemies, both from the sea and from the coasts. Thus, it was frequently a stage for sea battles.

The most important one in this study was the Battle of Dannoura, the final battle of the Genpei War in 1185. The Battle of Dannoura was a fatal event that annihilated the Taira clan and led the Minamoto clan to overthrow the imperial court and establish the Kamakura military government. As will be discussed, the outcome of the Battle of Dannoura, namely the tragic deaths of Emperor Antoku and numerous Taira clansmen off the coast of Amidaji, led to the temple's new function as an important mortuary site.

## 2.3 AMIDAJI'S ORIGIN

Amidaji did not begin as an imperial mortuary temple in the medieval period; however, we know little about the first three hundred and thirty years of the temple's history. Temple documents, such as *Amidaji bettō shidai* 阿彌陀寺別当次第 (Lineage of head priests at Amidaji) and *Chinju Hachimangū engi* 鎮守八幡宮縁起 (Origin tales of Hachiman Shrine), tell us that Amidaji was

originally founded in 859 by the monk Gyōkyō 行教 (act. c. 800-860).<sup>15</sup> Gyōkyō, a monk of the Shingon-affiliated temple Daianji 大安寺 in Nara, stopped by the site of Akama on his way back from Usa Hachiman Shrine 宇佐八幡宮 in Kyūshū to Kyoto in order to establish Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine 岩清水八幡宮 there. It is said that Gyōkyō deposited a portion of the Hachiman spirit at the site of Amidaji. The references about Gyōkyō's relation to Amidaji, dating from the fourteenth century on, are laden with fantastic legends, and thus historically suspect. Despite the lack of reliable sources, it is possible that a small shrine to house the Hachiman spirit was built at the time of Gyōkyō. Kameyama Hachiman Shrine, located adjacent to Amidaji, claims the same origin as Amidaji.<sup>16</sup> Even before Gyōkyō's time, countless travelers passed through Nagato Province around the site where Amidaji was to be built in order to cross between Honshū and Kyūshū. Gyōkyō's travel from Kyūshū to Kyoto has been historically verified.<sup>17</sup> Given these established facts, the monk might have contributed to the origin of Amidaji. No other records give any additional information about the founding of the temple.

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<sup>15</sup> *Amidaji bettō shidai* is written in two hands. The text states that Amidaji's lineage of head priests was recorded by Shūeki (twentieth head priest) in 1516 and the lineage after Shūeki was added by Ihō (thirty-eighth priest) in 1765. *Amidaji bettō shidai* (1516, 1765) in AJM, 136-139. See also other temple documents, for example, *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* dated to 1519 in AJM, 133-135. Although *Chinju Hachimangū engi* is dated to 1282, it is likely that the date was inserted later. Based on its contents, it is thought that the document was written in the fourteenth century. See AJM, 182-184.

<sup>16</sup> *Kameyamagū kigen ryakki* in vol. 39 of ST, 302; *Kameyama no ki* in vol. 39 of ST, 303.

<sup>17</sup> Nakamae Masashi, "Gyōkyō," in *Hachiman jinja: Rekishi to densetsu*, ed. Jinja to Shintō Kenkyū kai (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2003), 49-56; Nishida Nagao, "Iwashimizu Hachimangū no sōritsu," in vol. 8 of *Nihon Shintō shi kenkyū*, ed. Nishida Nagao (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978), 460-503.

## 2.4 AMIDAJI'S TRANSFORMATION INTO A MORTUARY SITE

Only after the Genpei War 源平合戦 (1180-1185), however, the name of Amidaji became well-known. The Genpei War was a pivotal civil conflict between two rival clans, the Minamoto 源 (also called Genji 源氏) and the Taira 平 (also called Heishi 平氏 or Heike 平家). In the middle of the twelfth century, a series of succession disputes within the imperial court resulted in two disturbances, the Hōgen (1156) and the Heiji (1159), in which the opposing factions sought the military aid of the Minamoto and the Taira. Both clans were descended from minor imperial princes in the early Heian period, and they had gained considerable power as managers of private estates in the provinces by this time. The Minamoto's landholdings were concentrated in eastern Japan, whereas the Taira's were in western Japan. These clans garnered not only wealth but also military power. When the aristocracy and imperial court were in need of aid, these clans were utilized as guards and policemen in the capital. The Taira clan, in particular, became so prominent after its victory over the Minamoto clan in the Heiji Disturbance that the family occupied most of the high-ranking positions at the imperial court. Its chieftain, Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181), furthered his political power by arranging the marriage of his daughter Kenreimon'in Tokushi (Tokuko) 建礼門院徳子 (1155-1213) to the reigning emperor Takakura 高倉 (r.1168-1180). After their son (later named Antoku) was born in 1178, Kiyomori's power even surpassed that of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河 (1127-1192; r.1155-1158), who exercised control over the affairs of state at the top of the *insei* 院政 (cloister government) system. Seeing the zenith of the Taira's political hegemony as a threat, Go-Shirakawa allied with the Minamoto to fight the Genpei War, which brought about the end of the Taira clan's prosperity.

On the twenty-fourth day of the third month of 1185, the Taira and the Minamoto fought the final battle of the Genpei War at Dannoura in front of Amidaji. Defeated in the naval battle, the child emperor Antoku, who had been taken from the capital by the Taira, and thousands of the Taira warriors drowned themselves instead of allowing themselves to be killed by the Minamoto. According to legend, Antoku's body was buried in the temple complex after it was recovered from the ocean. Since the remains of the young emperor were deposited and religious rites were performed for his spirit there, Amidaji acquired a new identity as Antoku's mortuary temple at which rituals were maintained for his salvation.

During the early stage of its mortuary temple's development, nuns acted as the caretakers of Amidaji.<sup>18</sup> Temple documents list Nun Meia 比丘尼命阿 (*bikuni* Meia or also can be read Myōa) as the re-founder of Amidaji.<sup>19</sup> Nun Meia, also known as a daughter of the wet nurse of Kenreimon'in (建礼門院乳母息女少将局 *Kenreimon'in no menoto no sokujo shōshō no tsubone*, b.d. unknown), arrived at Amidaji from Kyoto in 1186.<sup>20</sup> Nun Meia, who was probably from the Taira family and served as a lady-in-waiting at the imperial court, was close to Antoku enough to perform rituals on his behalf; for it was common that ladies-in-waiting, who looked after the emperor's daily needs, would continue their nurturing role by participating in his

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<sup>18</sup> See *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* (1294), *Amidaji bettō shidai* (1516, 1765), *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* (1519) in AJM, 132-141; also see *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 382-387.

<sup>19</sup> The term *chūkō* 中興 (revival) was added to the documents cited above. Amidaji considered Gyōkyō as its founder (開山 *kaizan*) although the temple acknowledged the lack of conclusive evidence to prove Gyōkyō's association with Amidaji in the ninth century.

<sup>20</sup> According to *Sonpi bunmyaku*, which records genealogies of major aristocratic families (e.g., Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, and Tachibana), the wet nurse of Kenreimon'in is Fujiwara no Tsunako 藤原綱子 (b.d. unknown); but there is no evidence that Tsunako had a daughter. *Sonpi bunmyaku* in vol. 59 of KT, 54; also see Sunagawa Hiroshi, "Amidaji inju 4 dai, Jishū, Heike monogatari," in *Kaiōgyū*, ed. Matsuo Ashie (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 2005), 177-201. The diary of Imagawa Ryōshun 今川了俊 (1326-1414?), who visited Amidaji in 1371, however, states that a daughter of Taira no Tomomori remained at the site of Amidaji after the Genpei War and started rituals for the salvation of Antoku and the Taira members there. Imagawa Ryōshun, *Michiyukiburi* in vol. 15 of SGR (Ōan 4:1371.11.29), 109. *Sonpi bunmyaku* records a daughter of Tomomori, but it does not state any information about her relationship with Antoku nor with the temple. Due to the lack of firm evidence, it is difficult to recover who Nun Meia was, but I point out that she probably served a lady-in-waiting at the court and was close to the Taira clan.

memorial services.<sup>21</sup> It was also customary at this time for the bereaved family members to take responsibility for the mortuary rites of the deceased. During the wartime, women's duty of the mortuary rituals was further emphasized. Nii-no-Ama 二位尼 (Antoku's grandmother; Taira no Tokiko 平時子; 1126-1185) instructed Antoku's mother Kenreimon'in Tokushi that it was specifically the women's responsibility for the memorial services for the men who died in battle:

There is no chance in a thousand myriads that any male member of our house will survive. Even if some distant relative were to survive, we can not expect him to perform memorial services for us. Since it has always been the custom to spare women, you must do your best to come safely through the battle so that you may pray for His Majesty's [Antoku's] salvation. I hope you will also say a prayer for the rest of us.<sup>22</sup>

Because of the loss of males and the request of Nii-no-Ama, the Taira women initiated the memorial rites for Antoku and the Taira warriors. Women's duty of mortuary ceremonies for the deceased men may also reflect three more general cultural obligations imposed on women (to father in childhood, to husband after marriage, and to son in widowhood) under the influence of Confucian ethics. Although little is known about the scale of the temple when Nun Meia initiated the first rite, the Main Hall (Hondō 本堂), which was perhaps a simple hut, was likely built as a devotional space to pray to the Amida triad which she had brought with her. The Amida triad is said to have been used by Taira no Kiyomori as his devotional icon in his

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<sup>21</sup> After Meia, three nuns, Shōa 照阿, Seia 生阿, and Jia 慈阿, are listed in *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* (1519) and *Amidaji bettō shidai* (1516, 1765). These nuns' duties at Amidaji are not described in the documents; however, it seems their duties were both ritual and administrative. For instance, Nun Shōa appears as the addressee in documents, including *Nagato kokusen* (1238), *Kantō gechijō* (1238), and *Nagato no kuni Akamagaseki Amidaji menden no koto* (1280). Hence, Amidaji was administered by nuns in the early phase of development. See *Nagato kokusen* and *Kantō gechijō* in AJM, 16-17, 20-21; *Nagato no kuni Akamagaseki Amidaji menden no koto* in vol. 18 of KI, 382-383.

<sup>22</sup> *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. Helen Craig McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 435. I slightly changed the translation.

Fukuhara residential complex in Settsu Province (present-day Hyōgo).<sup>23</sup> In the hall, Meia probably performed the *nenbutsu zanmai* 念仏三昧 (constant recitation of Amida Buddha's name), a typical memorial rite conducted in front of the Amida triad designed to transmit spiritual merit to the soul of the deceased emperor Antoku.

Legends passed on in the area near Amidaji tell us that the Taira women, who had escaped capture as war prisoners, remained at the battle site and brought flowers and food as mortuary offerings to the dead emperor and Taira warriors.<sup>24</sup> According to traditional accounts, these Taira court ladies could only survive by becoming prostitutes.<sup>25</sup> On the death anniversary of Antoku and the Taira, they purified themselves and dressed in court robes in order to visit the sacred place of Amidaji. This is considered the origin of the ritual procession of prostitutes during *senteisai* 先帝祭 (the festival of the death anniversary of the former emperor [Antoku]), which is still carried out today. Other references to the origin of the ritual procession report that the Taira ladies did not actually become prostitutes, but the local prostitutes took over the procession after the line descending from the Taira ladies became extinct in the Edo period (1603-1868).<sup>26</sup> In any case, women were the primary participants in mortuary rites since ancient times.

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<sup>23</sup> See for example, *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* in AJM, 132-135; *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 382-387.

<sup>24</sup> For example, see Furukawa Koshōken, *Seiyū zakki* in vol. 2 of NSS (Tenmei 3:1783.4.27), 335; Hishiya Heishichi, *Tsukushi kikō* in vol. 51 of SNK (Kyōwa 2:1802.4.18), 628.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* The relationship between prostitutes and mortuary practices may be traced back to ancient times. Following the death of a sovereign, a palace of temporary enshrinement (殯 *mogari*) of the corpse was constructed normally in the courtyard of the imperial palace. Within the temporary enshrinement palace (殯宮 *mogari no miya*), the women who had been sexually intimated with the deceased were secluded. A group of specialists called *asobime* 遊女--female entertainers and prostitutes--were charged with the rituals including a dance performance inside the temporary enshrinement palace. These women played an important role in the early stage of mortuary practices. Thus, duties of women who became nuns and of court ladies who became prostitutes in the mortuary rites for Emperor Antoku might have been related to this ancient custom.

<sup>26</sup> *Akama Jingū shi*. This document is kept in the Yamaguchiken Monjokan (Doc. *kenshi hensanjo shiryō* 1609).

Along with the mortuary rituals at Amidaji, the *nenbutsu zanmai* was practiced in the capital by Antoku's mother, Kenreimon'in Tokushi. After Tokushi was captured during the battle and transferred to Kyoto, she became a nun at Chōrakuji 長楽寺 on the eastern outskirts of Kyoto. Later, she decided to move from the capital to Jakkōin 寂光院 in Ōhara, a nunnery in the innermost recesses of the deep mountains in northern Kyoto, where she and a few female attendants devoted themselves to memorial rites for Antoku and the Taira. According to the *Tale of the Heike*, it was in the hermitage of Jakkōin that she placed the welcoming Amida triad (来迎阿弥陀三尊 *raigō Amida sanzō*) with a five-colored cord attached to the central deity's hand.<sup>27</sup> To the left of the Amida triad she hung a portrait of Antoku and a painting of Fugen bodhisattva; to the right of the triad was a portrait of Shandao 善導 (613-681), who was then believed to be the patriarch of Pure Land Buddhism in China. In front of these images, Tokushi recited sūtras and invoked the *nenbutsu* so that Antoku and the Taira members could attain enlightenment.<sup>28</sup>

One of Tokushi's attendants was Lady Dainagon-no-suke 大納言典侍.<sup>29</sup> She was the widow of Middle Captain Taira no Shigehira 平重衡 (1156-1185), as well as a wet-nurse of Antoku. Her husband Shigehira was captured at the Battle of Ichinotani. After the Battle of Dannoura, he was beheaded and his head was nailed up in front of the Hannyaji 般若寺 great

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<sup>27</sup> The following setting in Jakkōin is found in the *Tale of the Heike*, 432. The Tendai monk Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* (Teaching essentials for rebirth), composed in 985, describes how one seeks rebirth in the Pure Land of Amida Buddha. Genshin's writing was widely read in medieval times. In *Ōjōyōshū*, Genshin describes the dying should be placed behind a standing image of Amida Buddha with the five-colored cord in his left hand. The image of Amida Buddha, which was used at Jakkōin, was a central object in mortuary rites. See Genshin, *Ōjōyōshū*, ed. Hanayama Shōyū (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1972), 505; also see Allan Andrews, *The Teaching Essentials for Rebirth: A Study of Genshin's Ōjōyōshū* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973), 82.

<sup>28</sup> Hosokawa Ryōichi discusses the mortuary rituals conducted by Tokushi and her female attendants. Hosokawa Ryōichi, "Chūsei no ama to amadera: Kenreimon'in to sono nyōbō o chūshinni." *Nihon rekishi* 544 (September 1993), 60-65.

<sup>29</sup> Lady Dainagon-no-suke, also known as Fujiwara no Sukeko 藤原輔子 (b.d. unknown), is depicted on a portrait preserved at Amidaji, which I will discuss in Chapter Three.

*torii* gate.<sup>30</sup> After recovering Shigehira's corpse, Lady Dainagon-no-suke cremated both his body and head at Hino and deposited the ashes on Mt. Kōya, the sacred center of Shingon Buddhism.<sup>31</sup> She also made a grave and held a memorial ceremony to transmit merit to her husband at Hōkaiji 法界寺 in Hino. There, she cut her hair and donned coarse black robes to pray for Shigehira's salvation. Later she entered Jakkōin, where she performed memorial rituals with Tokushi and other Taira ladies.<sup>32</sup> For a short while after the deaths of Antoku and the Taira clansmen, most rituals were conducted by women on a private and personal level.<sup>33</sup>

It was customary to hold memorial services on every seventh day after a person's death for a period of seven weeks. During the forty-nine days, called *chūin* 中陰 (an intermediary period between death and rebirth), the soul is believed to depart the body and wander in liminal space (冥土 *meido*) between this world and the next world.<sup>34</sup> Every seven days after death, the soul of the deceased is judged, and on the seventh, and final, seventh-day service, the destination of the deceased soul is determined by the kings of hell. Based upon karmic virtue generated by the deceased in life, as well as by the bereaved on behalf of the dead, the recently dead go either to paradise or are reborn in one of the Six Realms of pain and ceaseless transmigration.<sup>35</sup> The

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<sup>30</sup> Hosokawa, 64.

<sup>31</sup> Because the recent dead were thought to be purified by their proximity to the sacred dead of Kūkai 空海 (774-835), the founder of Shingon Buddhism in Japan, who was buried on Mt. Kōya, through improving their karmic status for attaining rebirth in paradise, Lady Dainagon-no-suke deposited her husband's ashes there.

<sup>32</sup> The *Tale of the Heike*, 331.

<sup>33</sup> The women's private participation in Buddhist ritual is also seen in the case of Kenreimon'in in Ukyō-no-daibu 建礼門院右京大夫, who had fallen in love with Taira no Sukemori 平資盛 (1158?-1185). Sukemori drowned himself at the Battle of Dannoura. Ukyō-no-daibu dedicated her poem at Chōrakuji, the same temple where Antoku's mother had been tonsured, in the hope that Sukemori would be released from the endless transmigration of the Six Realms and be reborn in the Pure Land of Amida Buddha. Hosokawa, 62-63.

<sup>34</sup> The forty-nine-day-services were followed by a service held on the hundredth day and one on the first annual anniversary. In the case of high-ranking people, services often continued to be held at yearly intervals (the third, seventh, thirteenth, and thirty-third years).

<sup>35</sup> In any of the Six Realms (realms of celestials, human beings, raging spirits, animals, hungry ghosts, and various hells), people suffer incessantly. For example, in the human world, people face the sufferings of illness and the loss of family members. Even in the celestial realm, the heavenly deities are not completely free from the pains of



performance of mortuary rituals is designed to assist the deceased spirit in the dangerous passage through the regions of purgatory during the liminal period. Prayers and offerings by the bereaved family members help accrue spiritual merit and are considered crucial for the entry of the soul of the deceased into paradise. During this liminal state of the soul, a ritual is required to counteract the pollution from death because the corpse and the dead person's spirit are thought to be extremely polluting and dangerous. The memorial services are important not only for the dead but also for the living to ensure that the dead person reached the next world, ideally, paradise, and would not return at will to haunt the living in this world. Despite the significance of the period of the forty-nine days, the confusion following the Genpei War might not have allowed the Taira women to perform the proper rituals for the deceased. No memorial rites for Antoku conducted by the imperial court were reported at this time. Negligence of the proper rituals, as well as the tragic circumstance of their deaths, could cause the emergence of vengeful ghosts.

## 2.5 THE VENGEFUL GHOST

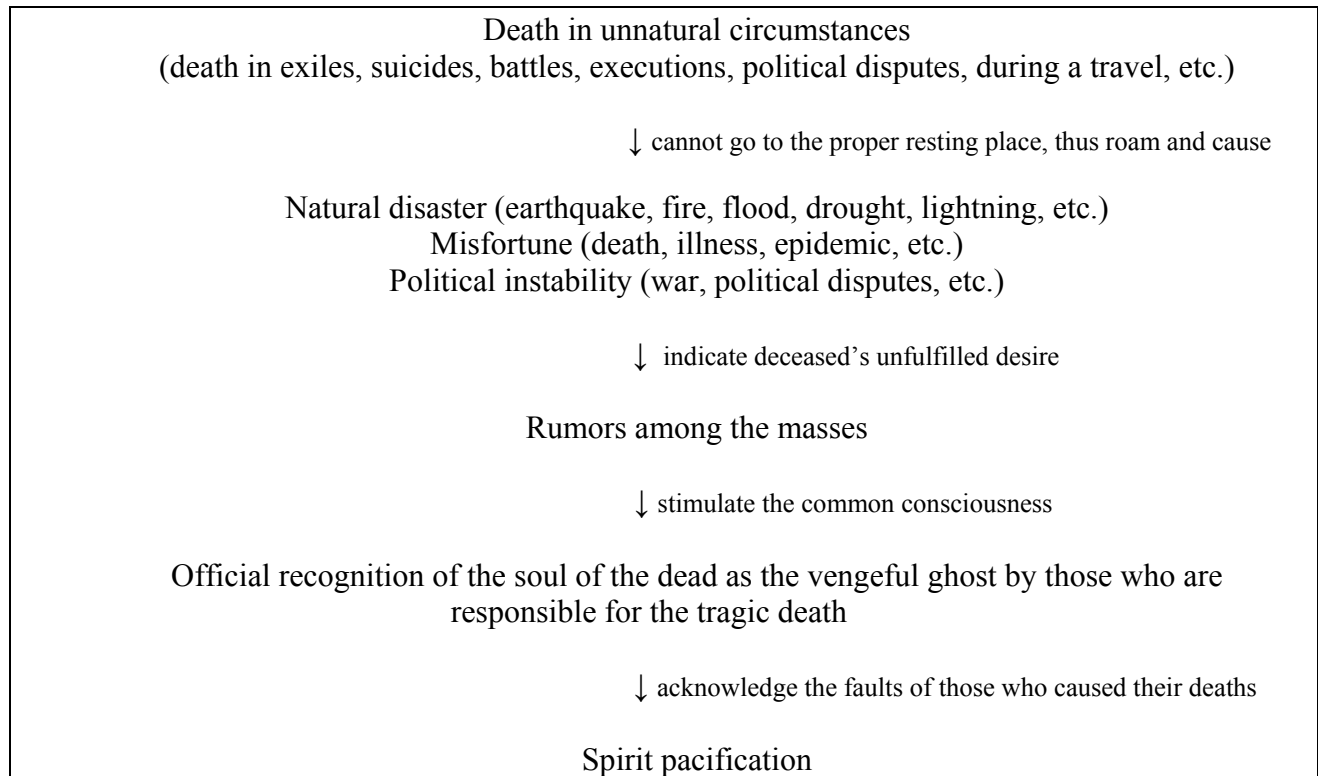
Following the family rituals privately practiced by women, the imperial court started to consider mortuary rites for Antoku as having a public and national significance three months after his death. The motivations for these rituals were closely related to spirit pacification (鎮魂)

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rebirth. The continuous tortures by the demons in various hells, the most unpleasant of the Six Realms, are terrifying. Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* describes these Six Realms. See Genshin, 36-136.

*chinkon*).<sup>36</sup> Before discussing the pacification rituals to appease the vengeful ghost (*onryō* 怨霊) of Emperor Antoku, it is important to understand the concept of the vengeful ghost in medieval Japan. How was an angry spirit recognized? How was spirit pacification initiated? Below is a diagram showing one pattern for the recognition of a vengeful ghost.

Diagram 1: Emergence of a vengeful ghost



As Diagram 1 indicates, people believed that any spirit of someone who died, due to death under unnatural circumstances, was unable to go to the proper resting place and would continue to

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<sup>36</sup> My understanding of spirit pacification is based on Shibata Minoru, ed., *Goryō shinkō* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1984); Yamada Yūji, *Sutokuin onryō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2001), 3-63; Kuroda Toshio, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), 136-145; also see Allan Grapard's translation of a chapter from Kuroda's book, Kuroda Toshio, "The World of Spirit Pacification." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23:3-4 (Fall 1996b), 321-351; Herbert E. Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1990), 203-216. Following Kuroda, I make a distinction between today's ritual called *chinkonsai* 鎮魂祭 (spirit pacification ritual which is held before the First Fruits Festival) at the imperial court and the *chinkon* ritual that is designed for the vengeful spirit here.

roam in a liminal state between this world and the next world. Such a spirit had the *potential* to transform into a vengeful one, causing all sorts of evil including natural disasters, misfortunes, and political instability.

Originally, natural calamities, misfortunes, and political disorders were not necessarily attributed to the restless spirits of the deceased, but were rather associated with natural phenomena that exercised numinous powers. However, when natural calamities and misfortunes occurred, political and religious leaders did not leave their causes unexplained and incomprehensible, but considered them as signs of natural phenomena (物恠 *mono-no-satoshi*) to warn people that deities or unidentified supernatural entities were displeased with human conducts and became unspecified evil spirits (物怪 *mono-no-ke*). Since the introduction of Confucianism from China during the seventh century, natural disasters were attributed to the non-virtuous sovereign. According to this concept, “Heaven” was dissatisfied with the misconduct of the reigning sovereign as Son of Heaven and caused such calamities. To prevent disasters, the sovereign needed to demonstrate his benevolence through charitable acts such as granting amnesty for criminals in prison. In the ninth century, with the collapse of the *ritsuryō* 律令 (legal codes) system that enforced an elaborate hierarchy of offices headed by the emperor, the northern branch of the Fujiwara clan began to monopolize the offices of regent and chancellor at the imperial court and established the regency system of government by ousting its rival noble families from the center of bureaucratic power through numerous political intrigues. As a result, many victims of political machinations emerged during this period, and these restless spirits of the innocent dead were believed to exact their revenge upon those who were

responsible for their deaths (in this case, those who seized political power) and ultimately upon the nation by causing natural calamities, misfortunes, and political disorders.<sup>37</sup>

During these troubled times, there were many people who had met with unnatural or violent deaths and thus had the potential of possessing a grudge and wanted revenge for their wrongful deaths. Not every person, however, was recognized as a vengeful ghost even after dying under unnatural circumstance. Official recognition of a vengeful ghost had to be triggered by the people's consciousness. Those who were influential during their lifetime and died in political struggles were often believed to become angry spirits after they were the subjects of sympathy and rumor among the general populace. In this regard, such sympathies and rumors were a reflection of people's criticism toward the current ruler who was often responsible for the unnatural deaths of the victims, and could parallel public opinion of the ruler's abilities. The public consciousness exerted pressure on the victors of political intrigues to admit their faults through official recognition of the vengeful ghost. This recognition was highly motivated by the political criticism that emerged among the public, but in the end, the recognition of responsibility for the victim's death determined the existence of the ghost. Thus, knowing who recognized the ghost is a key to understanding the ghost's emergence and nature.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> One of the most important events representing such a phenomenon was the August Spirit Ceremony 御霊会 (*goryōe*) held at the royal pleasure garden called Shinsen'en 神泉苑 in 863. According to the document *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, six sanctuaries were erected for six individuals (Emperor Sudō, Prince Iyo, Fujiwara no Yoshiko, Fujiwara no Nakanari, Tachibana no Hayanari, and Fun'ya no Miyatamaro), who were the victims of political intrigues and died in exile. Offerings of flowers and fruits, recitations of Buddhist sūtras, and performances of music and dance were dedicated to the six victims. Prior to the August Spirit Ceremony in the same year, many people died at the outbreak of an epidemic. In order to curtail the epidemic and disasters, various efforts, including the performance of the Great Rituals of Purification 大祓 (*ōharae*), were made; none of them was effective. Around the same time, the public rumored that the spirits of the innocent victims of political intrigues were transformed into troublesome spirits that caused disasters. The record in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* demonstrates that the departed spirits of people who died in political struggles were considered to be disaster-causing agents. See *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* in vol. 4 of KT (Jōgan 5:863.5.20-22), 112-113; Kuroda (1990), 129-131; Kuroda (1996b), 323-325.

<sup>38</sup> This is evident, for example, in Jien's *Gukanshō*, which reports an oracle the wife of Tachibana no Kanenaka 橘兼中 (b.d. unknown) received in 1196. The oracle revealed that she was possessed by the spirit of the dead Retired

The more powerful a victim had been during his lifetime, the more he was feared; and the more grudges he had held, the more calamities he was thought to cause.<sup>39</sup> The following statement by Jien 慈円 (1155-1225), a prominent Tendai abbot and the younger brother of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207), reveals the horror of the angry spirit that would destroy the man and ruin the state. Jien defines the vengeful ghost in his *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, the text which was written slightly after the official recognition of Antoku's soul as an angry spirit, as follows:

The main point about a vengeful soul is that it bears a deep grudge and makes those who caused the grudge objects of its revenge even while the resentful person is still alive. When the vengeful soul is seeking to destroy the objects of its resentment – all the way from small houses to the state as a whole – the state is thrown into disorder by the slanders and lies it generates. The destruction of people is brought about in exactly the same way. And if the vengeful soul is unable to obtain its revenge while in this visible world, it will do so from the realm of the invisible.<sup>40</sup>

In order to prevent the vengeful ghost from causing misfortunes and disasters, tremendous efforts needed to be made by the living, especially those who caused the unnatural death, often the rulers who seized power. Those who were responsible for the deaths of innocent victims needed to officially recognize the vengeful spirit, acknowledge why it became a ghost, and then activate spirit pacification.

Through spirit pacification, the vengeful spirit was redefined as an “august spirit 御靈 (*goryō*).” Theoretically, the august spirit was included in the entity of the vengeful ghost, and

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Emperor Go-Shirakawa and she was instructed to erect a shrine to honor Go-Shirakawa. But Jien, an influential monk, considered this oracle false and punished Kanenaka and his wife. This event represents whether the existence of a vengeful ghost was taken as a “fact” depended upon who interpreted and recognized it. In this case, Jien and his colleagues interpreted the dream. Because Jien and his colleagues controlled people's consciousness that stimulated the emergence of vengeful ghosts, the oracle of Kenenaka's wife was dismissed. On the oracle, see Jien, *Gukanshō*, in Jien, *Kitabatake Chikafusa*, ed. Nagahara Keiji (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1971), 276-277.

<sup>39</sup> Plutschow, 204.

<sup>40</sup> Jien, 318. I quoted a translation from Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukanshō, an Interpretative History of Japan Written in 1219* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1979), 220-221.

the addition of the honorable title “august (*go*)” facilitates its transformation from a violent spirit (荒魂 *aratama*) to a peaceful spirit (和魂 *nigitama*). As Kuroda Toshio points out, an august spirit represented a further evolution of an angry spirit.<sup>41</sup> The goal of the ritual was not merely to appease the vengeful spirit but to help it attain Buddhahood. This benign spirit through its transformation from the malicious ghost would then bring peace to the living and the nation. Therefore, these rituals played an active role in the protection of the imperial state. In this sense, spirit pacification was strongly tied to political authority, and this national fear of vengeful ghosts had a direct impact on Amidaji’s alteration into a mortuary site designed to transform angry spirits into benevolent ones and protect the nation.

## 2.6 EMPEROR SUTOKU AS THE VENGEFUL GHOST

The vengeful ghost of Emperor Sutoku 崇徳 (1117-1164; r.1123-1141) had tremendous influence upon the establishment of Amidaji, because the imperial court ordered a hall to be built at the same time for both Antoku in Nagato Province and for Sutoku at his death place in Sanuki Province (present-day Kagawa).<sup>42</sup> Many of the rituals at Amidaji followed those held for Sutoku. Thus, the pacification rituals for Antoku cannot be separated from the historical context within which the soul of Emperor Sutoku was contemporaneously feared as a vengeful ghost.

Sutoku, the first son of Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103-1156; r.1107-1123), was enthroned in 1123. But Sutoku was forced to abdicate in favor of his brother Konoe 近衛 (r.1141-1155). When Konoe died, Toba raised another of his sons, Go-Shirakawa, to the throne, against

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<sup>41</sup> Kuroda (1990), 134-135; Kuroda (1996b), 329.

<sup>42</sup> The following discussion on Sutoku’s vengeful ghost is based on Yamada, 64-173.

Sutoku's wishes. Sutoku's biological father was rumored to be Shirakawa 白河 (1053-1129; r.1072-1086), Toba's grandfather. Due to this complicated situation, Sutoku and Toba did not get along. Soon after Toba died, Sutoku voiced his suspicions about the legitimacy of his brother Go-Shirakawa. Dissatisfied with the imperial succession, Sutoku tried to restore his political power and called upon the Minamoto military clan to fight for him against Go-Shirakawa who was supported by the Taira clan at that time. The subsequent conflict between the Sutoku side and the Go-Shirakawa side aided by the Minamoto and the Taira respectively resulted in the Hōgen War (保元の乱 *Hōgen no ran*) in 1156.

The Sutoku side was defeated by the Go-Shirakawa side, and Sutoku was exiled to Sanuki Province on Shikoku Island. The Minister of the Left, Fujiwara no Yoronaga 藤原頼長 (1120-1156), who had fought for Sutoku, died tragically in the battle. He was hit by a stray arrow in his escape from the enemies. After the war, Go-Shirakawa reported his victory over Sutoku to the deities of Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. In the report, Go-Shirakawa, accusing Yoronaga of cruelty, asserted that his death was due to the wrath of god. Go-Shirakawa further claimed that the exile of Sutoku was an appropriate punishment. There is no sympathy expressed in the report.<sup>43</sup> Such an attitude of Go-Shirakawa toward the death of Yoronaga and the exile of Sutoku could stir the anger of the ghosts and cause future misfortunes and calamities.

After a long confinement, Sutoku died unpardoned in 1164 in Sanuki, the place of his exile. Despite the former emperor's death, the imperial court did not hold any special observances. Normally, during the medieval time, the imperial court went into national mourning; affairs of the state were halted, and the emperor wore a gray hemp funerary robe.

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<sup>43</sup> This report was later withdrawn in 1177 after the fire which was believed to be caused by the vengeful ghosts of Sutoku and Yoronaga. See Yamada, 108.

Even Kujō Kanazane, who conducted the affairs for the Retired Emperor's office, criticized Go-Shirakawa's negligence toward the death of Sutoku. Go-Shirakawa did not go into mourning; neither did he perform any mortuary rites for Sutoku.<sup>44</sup> The funerary service for Sutoku was held only by the provincial official at Sanuki.

A series of calamities following the death of Emperor Sutoku started to threaten Go-Shirakawa, who was responsible for Sutoku's tragic death. In 1176, four people close to Go-Shirakawa passed away. An imperial prince died an untimely death at the age of 30; Go-Shirakawa's most favorite wife died at the age of 35; one of his grandsons, Emperor Rokujō 六条 (r. 1165-68) died at the age of 13; and a consort of Emperor Konoe died at the age of 46. Moreover, in 1177 there was a military conflict between a group of monks and the imperial guards.<sup>45</sup> In this battle, a sacred palanquin was shot with arrows, some temple workers were killed, and large numbers of soldier-monks sustained wounds. This incident was interpreted as an inauspicious sign to be followed by other disasters.

Soon after the incident, in the same year, a fire broke out in the capital. Many people died in the flames and their corpses were scattered throughout the capital. The fire burned the greater part of the capital, including the official buildings of the imperial palace. Among them were the Great Hall of State (大極殿 Daigokuden), where the accession ceremony was held, the Suzaku, Ōte, and Kaishō gates, and the eight ministry offices. Because important buildings of the imperial palace were destroyed, people were afraid that the fire was caused by the victims of the Hōgen War, namely Emperor Sutoku and Fujiwara no Yorinaga. The courtier Sanjō

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<sup>44</sup> Vol. 1 of GY (Angen 2:1176.9.17), 607-608.

<sup>45</sup> The Minamoto and Taira were in charge of the imperial guards at that time. The incident followed the invasion by the Deputy Governor of Kaga Province, Kondō Morotsune 近藤師経 (d. 1177), in a mountain temple near his provincial seat. See the *Tale of the Heike*, 47-56.



Sanefusa 三条実房 (1147-1225) explicitly stated in his diary that the vengeful ghosts of Sutoku and Yorinaga caused the fire.<sup>46</sup> Kujō Kanezane attributed the fires to Go-Shirakawa's inaction for revising the legal code.<sup>47</sup> It was in this context that Go-Shirakawa, faced with these misfortunes, was forced to officially recognize the souls of Sutoku and Yorinaga as vengeful ghosts, and he began tremendous efforts to placate their spirits on the national level.

About three months after the fire, the imperial court awarded the deceased emperor the posthumous name of Sutoku, meaning “venerable virtue.”<sup>48</sup> After the emperor had been exiled, he was called Sanuki-no-in 讃岐院 (retired emperor of Sanuki Province), simply referring to his place of exile. By granting the posthumous name, the court intended to express its respect to the deceased emperor and to appease his angry spirit. The name “venerable virtue” was chosen based on the belief in the magical power residing in words, which will be explained later. Fujiwara no Yorinaga, who had sided with Sutoku and was also believed to have become a fearful ghost, was posthumously promoted to Chancellor of the First Rank.<sup>49</sup> This posthumous conferral of rank was also intended to appease the soul of the deceased.

In the same year that the court awarded Sutoku's honorific name, it started to perform rituals to pacify Sutoku's spirit at Jōshōji 成勝寺, the temple originally established by Sutoku.<sup>50</sup> At this temple, monks performed a series of eight lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* (法華八講 *hokke hakkō*), which was effective in transmitting merit to the deceased as well as in accumulating

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<sup>46</sup> Sanefusa also suggests the necessity of pacifying the vengeful ghosts to Kanezane. *Gumaiki* in vol. 6 of *Yōmei sōsho kiroku monjo hen* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1988), 516. See the entry of Angen 3:1177.5.9.

<sup>47</sup> Vol. 2 of GY (Angen 3:1177.4.28), 36-37. In the following year, again, another fire occurred in the capital and destroyed many buildings. This fire was also believed to be caused by the curses of the victims of the Hōgen War.

<sup>48</sup> Vol. 2 of GY (Angen 3:1177.7.29), 90.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Gumaiki* (Angen 3:1177.5.13), 517.

merit to the living participants.<sup>51</sup> The lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* were also performed to repent and eradicate sins of the deceased with the aim of their attaining enlightenment in the afterlife. Moreover, in 1184, small shrines for the souls of Sutoku and Yorinaga were built on the riverbank called Kasugawara, where Sutoku's residence had been formerly situated and the Hōgen War had broken out.<sup>52</sup> The shrines built at the battle site were meant specifically to commemorate and console the souls of the war dead. The purpose of all these rituals was to transmit spiritual merit to Sutoku and Yorinaga so that they could be reborn in paradise and stop misfortunes on earth. Nonetheless, the rituals did not prevent further disasters, which were to be attributed to not only the victims of the Hōgen War but also those of the Genpei War.

## 2.7 INITIATION OF THE PACIFICATION RITES FOR ANTOKU

How were the pacification rituals for Emperor Antoku initiated? A process similar to that of Sutoku took place in the eventual public recognition of Antoku's soul as a vengeful ghost. About three months after the death of Antoku, Kujō Kanezane, the Minister of the Right at that time, replied to Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's concern regarding the tragic death of Emperor Antoku in the official document. In the entry of the third day of the seventh month of 1185 in his diary *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 Kanezane records:

Concerning the former emperor, I answer in reference to an opinion of the official who investigated precedents.<sup>53</sup> There is a rite to grant posthumous names to deceased emperors in both Chinese and Japanese precedents. It was only the ex-emperor of

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<sup>51</sup> Vol. 2 of GY (Angen 3:1177.8.23-26), 95-98.

<sup>52</sup> *Kitsuki* in vol. 30 of ZST (Juei 3:1184.4.15), 98.

<sup>53</sup> At this point, Antoku was not yet granted his posthumous name and he was called the former emperor (先帝 *sentei*, 旧主 *kyūshu*) or the child emperor (幼主 *yōshu*).

Awaji Island who was not granted his posthumous name, but his body was reburied and certain rituals were held for him.<sup>54</sup> Even if the former emperor followed the rebellious Taira and escaped from court in Kyoto, he could not understand what was appropriate, considering his young age. I have no objection to having sympathy for him and to forgiving him. Even for the adult emperor who plotted, a ceremony of veneration was held to apologize to [the emperor who became] the vengeful ghost.<sup>55</sup> Given these cases, it is necessary to hold a rite of mercy for the child emperor in order to show our regret for his tragic death and to grant his posthumous name. As Morohisa suggests, it is necessary to build a Buddhist hall in Nagato Province, where the rituals should be carried out in perpetuity for the deceased emperor and those who died in the battle.<sup>56</sup> By doing so, we can perform the rite to grant a posthumous name to the emperor as well as the rite to eradicate sins. However, if the nation is devastated [due to the war], we do not have to undertake the construction of the hall immediately.

Postscript: In the case of Emperor Sudō, he was a crown prince.<sup>57</sup> Thus, he was granted a posthumous name of sovereign. It was appropriate. But this case is different from that of Emperor Sudō. It cannot meet the condition of granting the title *in*.<sup>58</sup> Should we choose a mere posthumous name? In the meantime, should we wait for a discussion or instruction concerning this? We have to go into mourning; no affairs of state take place at the imperial court, and the emperor wears a gray hemp funerary robe.<sup>59</sup>

In the account, Kanezane is concerned about the appropriate rites for the deceased child emperor in reference to precedents. He suggests the possibility that his soul might become a vengeful ghost, due to the circumstance of his tragic death.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, it is clear that the imperial

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<sup>54</sup> The ex-emperor of Awaji (r. 758-764) was exiled to the Awaji Island in 764 after the Disturbance of Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂 (706-764; also known as Emi no Oshikatsu 惠美押勝). He had been called the ex-emperor of Awaji, but was given his posthumous name Emperor Junnin 淳仁 in 1870 during the Meiji period (1868-1912).

<sup>55</sup> The adult emperor refers to Emperor Sutoku.

<sup>56</sup> Nakahara no Morohisa 中原師尚 (1131-1197) is an official who was in charge of rituals (外記 *geki*).

<sup>57</sup> Emperor Sudō 崇道, also known as Prince Sawara, died on his way to exile to Awaji Island in 785 after being falsely accused of his political plot. Subsequent to his tragic death, many misfortunes and disasters, which were attributed to his vengeful spirit, occurred. Although Sawara was a crown prince while he was alive, he was given the title emperor by the imperial court as a means of placation.

<sup>58</sup> Because Antoku died while on the throne (before his official abdication), the title *in*, which is usually used as a retirement name, was not appropriate.

<sup>59</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Genryaku 2:1185.7.2), 88-89. All translations are mine, unless indicated.

<sup>60</sup> Kanezane was familiar with the precedent cases when the vengeful ghosts threatened the living and the nation, but he was not the one who “officially” recognized the vengeful ghost of Antoku, as I will discuss.

court did not conduct the appropriate funerary rites for him. Kanezane did not think it was urgent enough to hold such rituals at this point.

Only six days after Kanezane's account, the Great Earthquake hit the capital. The Earthquake destroyed a number of buildings and killed many people in Kyoto.<sup>61</sup> The diary of Kanezane records the Shingon monk Butsugon's 仏巖 (b.d. unknown) dream in which he attributed the Great Earthquake to countless sins committed by people.<sup>62</sup> According to his oracular dream, many souls of those who died in the Genpei War roam this world because they bear a deep grudge against those who caused their deaths.<sup>63</sup> The monk Butsugon further reported that the Great Earthquake was caused by the non-virtuous sovereign, Go-Shirakawa.<sup>64</sup> Although Go-Shirakawa was the retired emperor by this time, he virtually exercised his political authority as the supreme ruler (治天の君 *chiten no kimi*), which literally means a "lord who governs all under heaven." The monk Butsugon's dream referred to Confucian ideology that if the sovereign is merciful, the world will be at peace.<sup>65</sup> Butsugon asserted that since the sovereign was not righteous, none of the prayers conducted by Kanezane and monks were efficacious to prevent the disaster. In another dream that Butsugon saw a few days later, a

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<sup>61</sup> On the ninth day of the seventh month of 1185, the Great Earthquake hit Kyoto. Reports of its ruin fill all the diaries recorded at that time. For instance, *Gyokuyō* and *Azuma kagami* report that many people died and temples throughout Kyoto collapsed. Three days after the Great Earthquake, people started rumors that the earthquake was caused by the curses of Antoku and the Taira. See *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Genryaku 2:1185.7.9), 163; Vol. 3 of GY (Genryaku 2:1185.7.9), 93.

<sup>62</sup> Butsugon is an itinerant preacher (聖 *hijiri*), active on Mt. Kōya. He was known as a *nenbutsu* practitioner through his treatise, the *Passages of Rebirth into Paradise through Ten Nenbutsu (jūnen gokuraku ekiō shū)*, compiled by the order of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa. Butsugon also served as the precept master (戒師 *kaishi*) for Kanezane's son at his death. Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Bukkyō jinmei jiten* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1992), 2230.

<sup>63</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Genryaku 2:1185.8.1), 93.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> The monk also suggested that Kanezane should correct the chaos by releasing criminals from the jails, cleaning the streets, and correcting illegalities. Kanezane's report of Butsugon's dream to Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa did not include the points that calamities would be prevented if Go-Shirakawa corrected his misconduct and that Kanezane should take action against violence and illegality. In other words, Kanezane, who had an important position in the government, controlled the criticism, inherent in Butsugon's dream.

messenger of the Buddhist deity Taishakuten 帝釈天 appeared and told him that Go-Shirakawa's life was extended as a result of the rituals performed by Kanezane and the monks, although calamities would still not cease.<sup>66</sup> It is significant to keep in mind that Go-Shirakawa's life was influenced by his own conduct (good or bad) and by the efficacy of the prayers that were designed to appease the war dead.

Due to the unusual occurrence of an earthquake in the Kyoto area and the extensive damage to the capital, a rumor circulated that the angry spirits of Antoku and the Taira were responsible for these fearsome things. The public believed that not only Antoku but all of the Taira warriors had turned into vengeful ghosts. Nonetheless, the court did not heed Kanezane's warning concerning Antoku's death. The rituals for Antoku were not given priority while the country was struggling with an economic crisis due to the aftermath of the war and the devastating earthquake.<sup>67</sup>

Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, due to his role in Antoku's death, was a key figure in recognizing the vengeful ghost of Antoku and initiating the official spirit pacification for him. Prior to the tragic deaths of Antoku and the Taira, in order to maintain his own political authority, Go-Shirakawa neglected his grandson Antoku who was taken from the capital to the western provinces by the Taira clan. Even before Antoku's death, Go-Shirakawa's betrayal of Antoku was evident in the enthronement of his other young grandson Go-Toba 後鳥羽 (r.1183-1198) without Antoku's abdication. This was an unusual case in which two emperors—one in Kyoto and the other in the west—reigned at the same time. This unusual situation was considered one

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<sup>66</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Genryaku 2:1185. 8.1), 93.

<sup>67</sup> The line between public and private or between official and personal became increasingly ambiguous, but no rituals were publicly held for Emperor Antoku at this point. Privately, Kanezane, however, dedicated two copies of the *Shōjō Sūtra* 清浄経 to be deposited in the hollow space inside the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji 東大寺 in its consecration ritual in 1185. One of the copies was for his deceased mother and the other was for the war dead, including Emperor Antoku, so that they could attain enlightenment. Vol. 3 of GY (Genryaku 2:1185.8.23), 95-96.

of the causes that brought cosmological and social disorder.<sup>68</sup> In addition to these questionable political acts, Go-Shirakawa's contemporaries did not see him as a virtuous leader. Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199), the first shogun of the Kamakura government, called him "Japan's greatest goblin (日本国第一の大天狗 *nihonkoku daiichi no ôtengu*)."<sup>69</sup> Jien, the Tendai archbishop, regarded Go-Shirakawa "as a man lacking in the qualities to reign and indulging in frivolous merrymaking."<sup>70</sup> The author of the *Tale of the Heike* "depicted him as sly and wily, playing one warrior and noble against another"<sup>71</sup> to further his personal gain. Even his father Emperor Toba confessed that Go-Shirakawa had lack of ability to take the throne because of his excessive devotion to entertainment -- inviting prostitutes and street minstrels to his palace.<sup>72</sup> These negative opinions of Go-Shirakawa and the strange occurrences give credence to Butsugon's dream which attributed the cause of the Great Earthquake, in part, to a lack of royal virtue in a Confucian Son of Heaven.

One month after the Great Earthquake, Go-Shirakawa had a change of heart and decided to appease the vengeful ghosts, dedicating 10,000 miniature stūpas to the war dead.<sup>73</sup> Small rolled scrolls with woodblock-printed text of magical formulas (*dhāraṇī*) were inserted into each stūpa. These 10,000 stūpas were a part of 84,000 stūpas that he commissioned in 1181 as means

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<sup>68</sup> Uwayokote Masataka has argued this unusual situation. Uwayokote Masataka, "Antoku tennō to Go-Toba tennō," in *Kaiōgyū*, 137-157.

<sup>69</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Bunji 1: 1185.11.26), 118. For a contemporary evaluation of Go-Shirakawa, see Takeuchi Rizō, "Inseiki no bunka to jinbutsu," in vol. 6 of *Takeuchi Rizō chosakushū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1999), 378-384; Yung-Hee Kim Kwon, "The Emperor's Songs: Go-Shirakawa and *Ryōjin Hishō Kudenshū*) *Monumenta Nipponica* 41:3 (Autumn 1986), 261-262; Janet Goodwin, "The Buddhist Monarch: Go-Shirakawa and the Rebuilding of Tōdai-ji." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 17:2-3 (1990), 223-224.

<sup>70</sup> Kwon, 261.

<sup>71</sup> Goodwin, 224.

<sup>72</sup> *Gukanshō*, 212.

<sup>73</sup> *Sankaiki* in vol. 28 of ZST (Bunji 1:1185.8.23), 233.

to appease the souls of those who died in battles.<sup>74</sup> Go-Shirakawa mentions that these stūpas were dedicated to the war dead after the Hōgen War; the context implies that he specifically intended them for the souls of Emperor Sutoku, Fujiwara no Yorinaga, Emperor Antoku, and the Taira members – all identified with malicious ghosts. In 1186, the retired emperor further commissioned a memorial rite for the vengeful ghosts of the Taira at the Great Stūpa on Mt. Kōya, the center of Shingon Buddhism.<sup>75</sup> It is uncertain why Go-Shirakawa chose the Great Stūpa of Mt. Kōya for the memorial ceremony. The stūpa had been rebuilt in 1156 through the patronage of Taira no Kiyomori, the head of the clan. It is possible that the association of this stūpa with the Taira perhaps made it the location most appropriate for memorial rites in honor of the Taira members. Despite these efforts, the spirits of Antoku and the Taira remained restless.

In the following year, Go-Shirakawa fell gravely ill.<sup>76</sup> His illness was reported to Minamoto no Yoritomo in Kamakura. Yoritomo, like Go-Shirakawa, was frightened of the ghosts of Antoku and the Taira because his Minamoto army had fought against the Taira army in the Genpei War.<sup>77</sup> Yoritomo commissioned recitations of the *Great Sūtra on the Perfection of Wisdom* (大般若經 *Daihannyakyō*) at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine 鶴岡八幡宮 (the tutelary shrine of the Minamoto clan) and Shōchōjuin 勝長寿院 (the mortuary temple of the

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* Go-Shirakawa's dedication of 84,000 stūpas followed the precedent example of Empress Shōtoku 称徳 (r.764-770) who dedicated 84,000 stūpas for the victims of the Disturbance of Fujiwara no Nakamaro in 764 and distributed them to ten major temples in Nara in 770. This practice originated in the Indian King Aśoka (3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE) who is said to have erected 84,000 stūpas throughout the nation to bring peace to the nation under the Buddhist dharma as a means to repose the souls of the war dead.

<sup>75</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Bunji 2:1186.7.24), 235.

<sup>76</sup> According to Kanezane's diary *Gyokuyō*, Go-Shirakawa had been sick since the twenty-second day of the second month of 1187. See vol. 3 of GY (Bunji 3:1187.2.27), 346.

<sup>77</sup> *Hōryaku kanki*, dated to the early fourteenth century, reports Yoritomo died after he encountered the ghost of Antoku. It is further said that Yoritomo's death was not due to his old age but to the curse of the vengeful ghosts of the Taira. *Hōryaku kanki* in vol. 2 of *Jūyō kotenseki sōkan* (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1999), 72.

Minamoto clan) in order to cure Go-Shirakawa's illness.<sup>78</sup> The rituals performed in these two religious institutions were intended to calm the vengeful ghosts of Antoku and the Taira, for it was suspected that his illness was caused by these evil spirits.

Parallel to events in Kamakura, the imperial court in Kyoto increased its suspicion that Go-Shirakawa's illness was attributed to the curses of vengeful ghosts. The court granted the posthumous name Antoku 安德 or "peaceful virtue" to the deceased child emperor in 1187.<sup>79</sup> Several primary sources suggest that the Chinese character *toku* 徳 (virtue) was used particularly for emperors who died far away from Kyoto. Indeed, Emperors Sutoku 崇徳, Kentoku 顕徳, and Juntoku 順徳 (1197-1242; r.1210-1221) died in exile, and Antoku died in the westernmost part of Honshū island, far away from the capital.<sup>80</sup> It has been suggested that the character *toku* was chosen to be effective as a *kotodama* 言霊 (magic power of special words) to appease the souls of emperors who died unjustly in exile.<sup>81</sup> As poems compiled in the Japanese anthology *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 eulogize Japan as a "land blessed by the spirit of words (言霊の幸ふ国 *kotodama no sakihau kuni*)" and a "land where word-spirits lend their aid (言霊の助くる国 *kotodama no tasukuru kuni*)," people believed that a word, when it was used in an appropriate setting, exercised magical power to move things.<sup>82</sup> In the case of granting a posthumous name to Antoku, it was expected to change his restless spirit into a spirit of peace and virtue. A

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<sup>78</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Bunji 3:1187.4.2), 255-256; also see Gomi Fumihiko, *Heike monogatari shi to setsuwa* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987), 22-23.

<sup>79</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Bunji 3:1187.4.23), 357.

<sup>80</sup> Ichijō Kanera, *Gyokuei kishō* in vol. 18 of ZZST, 79. Similar to Emperor Sutoku, when Emperor Go-Toba was exiled to Oki Island, he was called as Oki-no-in 隠岐院 (retired emperor of Oki Island), simply referring to the place of exile. Emperor Go-Toba's posthumous name was Kentoku, though it was later changed into Go-Toba.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> I slightly changed Norman Havens's translation of the two phrases "*kotodama no sakihau kuni*" and "*kotodama no tasukuru kuni*." Norman Haven, "Review of: Donald L. Philippi, *Norito: A Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers*." *Journal of Japanese Religious Studies* 19:4 (December 1992), 398. Also see *Man'yōshū* in vol. 7 of SNKB, 72; *Man'yōshū* in vol. 8 of SNKB, 405. For a definition of *kotodama*, see Gary Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 19-22.



posthumous name was normally granted by an imperial messenger dispatched by the court to the mortuary site; so this ritual was presumably held at the burial place in Nagato Province. After the prayers to cure Go-Shirakawa's illness in Kamakura and the conferral of a posthumous name to Antoku in Kyoto, the retired emperor's health was restored.<sup>83</sup>

Despite Go-Shirakawa's recovery from illness, further efforts were made to placate the souls of Antoku and the Taira, suggesting their spirits remained restless. The Kamakura chronicle *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 records that a ceremony called Ten Thousand Light Offering Ceremony (万灯会 *mandōe*) was held at the Bon festival in Shōchōjuin on the fifteenth day of the seventh month in 1190.<sup>84</sup> This rite was performed to illuminate the gloomy and dark netherworld (黄泉の国 *yomi no kuni*) where the souls of the deceased Taira were wandering, so that the spirits of the dead could travel through the dark passage from the underworld to this world in order to receive offerings. This account indicates people's belief that the souls of Antoku and the Taira wandered in a kind of liminal state and had not yet reached the Western Paradise. The Bon festival is an occasion for offerings to ancestral spirits and dispossessed spirits who have no source of ritual sustenance. As will be discussed, Yoritomo later invited the Taira monks to perform rituals at Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine and Shōchōjuin. The Taira monks, descendents of the wandering spirits of the Taira, probably played an important role in the Bon festival at Kamakura.

In 1191, Go-Shirakawa fell ill again, this time more seriously. This series of misfortunes increased Go-Shirakawa's concern for the souls of Antoku and the Taira. Concurrently, public

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<sup>83</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Bunji 3:1187.10.1), 274.

<sup>84</sup> *Azuma kagami* documents that the Minamoto clan held a Ten Thousand Light Offering Ceremony on the fifteenth day of the seventh month almost every year as part of a ritual directed to the spirits of its ancestors. For an account of this ceremony, for example, see *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Kenkyū 1:1190.7.15), 388.

sympathy for the child emperor's tragic death had increased, necessitating the imperial court take appropriate action for Antoku's death at the place of his death. As a result, Go-Shirakawa ordered Buddhist monks to perform rites at Amidaji, the burial site of Antoku on the hill that overlooked the battle site. The selection of this location was intended to bring ritual efficacy, for this was not only the place where his body was believed to be interred, but also the site where the child emperor and the Taira clansmen perished.

When Kanezane resubmitted his petition regarding the necessity of an appropriate hall for Antoku's soul in 1191, Go-Shirakawa conducted two major events despite his serious illness. First, he performed a pre-emptive memorial service (逆修 *gyakushu*) for forty-nine days on his own behalf.<sup>85</sup> This series of rites was meant to generate spiritual merit for himself before death in order to assure felicity in the next world. The pre-emptive memorial service, a replication of a memorial service, was considered to be seven times as effective to accumulate merit as the regular memorial service (追善 *tsuizen*), which was conducted by the bereaved after their family member's death.<sup>86</sup> Second, Go-Shirakawa declared a grand amnesty (大赦 *taisha*) for criminals in prison.<sup>87</sup> The grand amnesty originated in the *ritsuryō* code system in the Nara period (710-784) and was frequently used as a way of demonstrating the ruler's benevolence as the Son of Heaven in Confucian ideology. This was also in part as a means of preventing misfortunes and disasters due to Heaven's dissatisfaction with the misconduct of the sovereign. Go-Shirakawa's acknowledgement of the vengeful ghosts meant that he had brought failure to his administration and guilt from the Genpei War, thus causing the vengeful ghosts to terrorize the nation. His

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<sup>85</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Kenkyū 2: 1191. intercalary 12.2), 766.

<sup>86</sup> Sōgō Bukkyō Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, ed. *Sōgō Bukkyō daijiten* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2005), 252; Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures: *Hokke Hakkō* in the Heian Period." *Monumenta Nipponica* 39:4 (Winter 1984), 404.

<sup>87</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Kenkyū 2:1191.intercalary 12.18), 770.

responsibility for the disasters that befell the nation negatively affected his legitimacy as a leader of Japan. To offset this negative aspect of his rule, he had to conduct other positive actions such as the pre-emptive memorial service and the grand amnesty. Go-Shirakawa's feeble attempts remind us of the monk Butsugon's dream that warned no rituals would be effective unless the sovereign was virtuous.

Only after the retired emperor's official acknowledgment of his responsibility for the vengeful ghosts, the urgent need for a proper ritual setting was taken seriously by the court. This time the court made construction of a hall its first priority. The imperial committee was unanimous in its approval of the agenda concerning the deaths of Emperor Sutoku and Emperor Antoku. According to *Gyokuyō*, four items related to Antoku's death were approved.

- 1: To build a hall in Nagato Province is necessary, following the case of Emperor Sutoku. Because it is not a shrine, offerings [from the Imperial Bureau of Rites (神祇官 *jingikan*)] should not be made.
- 2: We do not have Antoku's last testament (遺詔 *ishō*); we will not designate the anniversary of his death as an official holiday (国忌 *kokki*) and will not make a grand tomb (山陵 *sanryō*) in the case of Antoku, following that of Sutoku.
- 3: Since Antoku's temple is not included in the twenty-two temple-shrine complexes, it does not hold four festivals nor receive other treatments that the twenty-two temple-shrine complexes regularly receive from the imperial court. The Imperial Bureau of Rites should make official offerings (官幣 *kanpei*), different from those for the twenty-two temple-shrine complexes.
- 4: Offerings (幣帛 *heihaku*) or emperor's official prayer (宣命 *senmyō*) should be presented at the tomb.<sup>88</sup>

Kanezane's diary, *Gyokuyō*, repeatedly states that "a hall" (一堂 *ichidō*) should be built in Nagato Province where Antoku died.<sup>89</sup> This hall commissioned in 1191 was probably a specific hall, a Spirit Hall (靈廟 *reibyō*), which functioned as a Portrait Hall (御影堂 *meidō*) where a

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<sup>88</sup> Vol. 2 of GY (Kenkyū 2:1191.intercalary 12.26), 774.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, (Kenkyū 2:1191.intercalary 12.22), 769-774.

portrait of deceased was enshrined. The continuous recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra* was commonly performed inside the Portrait Hall; thus, the hall was also called the Lotus Hall (法華堂 *hokkedō*). The rites at Amidaji after 1191 were thought to appease the vengeful ghosts and assist the souls of those who had died prematurely in attaining salvation. Such rituals were different from the ones first initiated by Nun Meia in 1186. The rites that predated the imperial order to perform placatory rituals for Antoku's soul, namely Meia's rites, were designed not for the vengeful soul of Antoku but for his "regular" soul. Her rites were performed on a private and personal level, which lacked imperial sponsorship and guidance; thus, they did not incorporate proper rituals for the deceased emperor or for his vengeful spirit. With Go-Shirakawa's recognition and the imperial order, it became necessary that the rites be changed and, instead, memorial rites for the emperor and pacification rites for his evil spirit were performed. These needed to take place in the appropriate ritual setting, which included the mortuary art and architecture on the site of Amidaji itself.

## 2.8 AMIDAJI'S AFFILIATION AND EARLY PATRONAGE

Following imperial approval in 1191, the construction of Amidaji as a mortuary site for Antoku was initiated. In examining the temple's affiliation and early patronage, it becomes apparent that Amidaji's transformation into a mortuary site was an important component of the placatory projects undertaken by a religious and political circle that included several figures discussed below in addition to Go-Shirakawa, Kujō Kanezane, and Minamoto no Yoritomo. Even the Taira Buddhist monks, due to their blood-relation to the deceased, played an important role in the placatory rites in Kyoto and Kamakura. The discussion in this section will also suggest that

the placatory rites for Antoku and the Taira were not isolated from other government-sponsored placatory rites designed for different vengeful ghosts who contemporaneously threatened the nation. It will also reveal that the individuals, who were active in Amidaji's early development, seem to have been involved in the production of the *Tale of the Heike*, which was likely compiled and narrated to appease Emperor Antoku and the Taira members.

The sectarian affiliation of Amidaji was not clearly established when the temple was founded allegedly in the ninth century. It was after its transformation into a mortuary site in the late twelfth century that Amidaji became affiliated with the Seizan sect of Pure Land Buddhism (浄土宗西山派 *Jōdoshū Seizanha*).<sup>90</sup> Several sources indicate Amidaji's affiliation with this sect. Among them, *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (History of Amidaji in Akamagaseki), dated to 1739, reports that Amidaji was affiliated with the Seizan sect during the period from the sixth to the twenty-sixth abbot (from the late thirteenth century through the late sixteenth century).<sup>91</sup> The edicts of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado 後土御門 (r.1464-1500) issued in 1479 and 1488 tell us that Amidaji belonged to the Seizan sect "for a long time."<sup>92</sup> A nearly identical sentence is repeated in the edict of Emperor Ōgimachi 正親町 (r.1557-1586) in 1562.<sup>93</sup> Thus, Amidaji's affiliation with the Seizan sect began much earlier than the fifteenth century, for which we have conclusive evidence as mentioned above.

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<sup>90</sup> The temple's affiliation was changed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The temple withdrew from the Seizan sect of Pure Land Buddhism, which incorporated four teachings (Tendai, Shingon, Ritsu, and Jōdo), and turned toward a single discipline, Tendai, and then Shingon. In the 1570s, under the twenty-third head priest Sonshū 尊秀 (b.d. unknown), Amidaji became a Tendai temple. This was the only time that Amidaji was a Tendai temple. From the era of the twenty-fourth head priest Yūkai 宥海 (b.d. unknown) in the early 1600s until 1868 Amidaji was affiliated with the Shingon sect. Amidaji was positioned under the umbrella of the Shingon Omuro School (真言御室派 *Shingon omuroha*) headed by Ninnaji 仁和寺 in Kyoto. See *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* in AJM, 132-135; *Jiin honmatsuchō* in *Edo bakufu jiin honmatsuchō shūsei, jō* (Tokyo: Yūsankaku Shuppan, 1981), 1231-1240. *Jiin honmatsuchō* (document of main/branch system of temples) was compiled in 1801.

<sup>91</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 383.

<sup>92</sup> *Go-Tsuchimikado tennō rinji* and *Amidaji bettō shidai* in AJM, 122-125, 136-139.

<sup>93</sup> *Ōgimachi tennō rinji* in AJM, 128-129.

The Seizan sect was established by Shōkū 証空 (1177-1247), a prominent pupil of Hōnen 法然 (1133-1212), the founder of Pure Land school in Japan.<sup>94</sup> The headquarters of the Seizan sect was Sangoji 三鈷寺 in the western outskirts of Kyoto.<sup>95</sup> The temple was originally established by Genzan 源算 (983-1099) during the Chōgen era (1028-1037) although it was not yet called Sangoji but Ōjōin 往生院 or Kitanoo Ōjōin 北尾往生院 at that time. Shōkū revived the temple and named it Sangoji after the shape of a mountain peak near the temple.<sup>96</sup> Despite the fact that the temple's name was changed during Shōkū's tenure as the head priest there, I will call it Sangoji in order to avoid confusion even when I discuss the context prior to Shōkū. In the Sangoji lineage chart, Genzan appears as the first abbot, Kanshō as the second abbot, Jien as the third, and Shōkū as the fourth.<sup>97</sup> These monks, especially, Kanshō and Jien, were involved with a project of spirit pacification that was intended not only to appease the souls of those who died prematurely (including Antoku and the Taira) but also to protect the nation.

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<sup>94</sup> Shōkū put emphasis on the so-called “unvarnished wood's *nenbutsu* (白木の念仏 *shiraki no nenbutsu*),” meaning that all sentient beings can attain enlightenment not through their own efforts but through faith in Amida's salvific power by vocally intoning Amida's name. On the Seizan sect, see Kikuchi Yūjirō, *Genkū to sono monka* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1985), 129-172; Taira Masayuki, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to bukyō* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 2001), 155-265. For Shōkū's biography and doctrine, see Ueda Ryōjun and Ōhashi Shunnō, *Shōkū, Ippen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), 3-140. Although no direct connection between Go-Shirakawa and the Seizan sect is found, Go-Shirakawa's close relation to Hōnen, the teacher of Shōkū, is well-known. Go-Shirakawa is linked with the influential figures who associated with the sect. Kujō Kanezane's connection with Shōkū is evident because he was a faithful follower. Shōkū also served as a lecturer of Hōnen's *Assembled Passages on the Selected Nenbutsu of the Original Vow* (*Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū*) for Kanezane in 1198.

<sup>95</sup> The main subtemple Nison'in was revived by Hōnen under the sponsorship of Kujō Kanezane.

<sup>96</sup> The mountain looks like an esoteric implement, the three-pronged *vajra* (三鈷 *sanko*), which symbolizes the adamantine wisdom that destroys all delusions. Sangoji's prestige and its linkage with the imperial family are apparent in historical sources. For example, Emperor Go-Saga 後嵯峨 (r.1242-1246), who made Sangoji an imperial-sponsored temple, received a precept from Shōkū. In addition, Go-Saga granted Shōkū an honorary title, the national master of Maitreya “弥天国師 *miten kokushi*,” equivalent to the Chinese monk Daoan 道安 (314-385) who was believed to have achieved rebirth in the paradise of Maitreya. Shōkū also founded Kankishin'in 歡喜心院 in the imperial palace complex where he performed Buddhist rituals for Emperor Go-Saga. SM1, 18.

<sup>97</sup> SM1, 1.

Kanshō 観性 (also read Kansei; b.d. unknown), a monk with strong affiliations to Tendai, played an active role as a ritual practitioner at Sangoji.<sup>98</sup> Kanshō's major achievement in ritual at Sangoji was his use of the *Butsugen mandara* 仏眼曼荼羅 (maṇḍala of the Buddha-Eye), which centers on esoteric deities personifying the Buddha's discerning vision.<sup>99</sup> This maṇḍala often served as a main icon for calamity prevention (息災 *sokusai*) and exorcisms (降伏 *kōbuku*) in esoteric rituals. Kanshō's name often appears in Kanezane's diary; many entries mention Kanshō around the time Kanezane replied to Go-Shirakawa's concerns about Antoku's death in the official document of 1186. In fact, Kanshō frequently performed esoteric rites to prevent calamities and to exorcize evil spirits for Kanezane through the medium of the *Butsugen mandara*.<sup>100</sup> This suggests Kanshō's involvement in the placatory project for Antoku.

Through Kanshō's expertise in esoteric rituals, he also gained the patronage of the Kamakura military government. He was invited by Minamoto no Yoritomo to serve as the chief practitioner in the ritual at the pagoda of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine in 1189. Only four days after the ritual was performed, the head of Yoritomo's younger brother, Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159-1189), who had been beheaded in the Ōshū War, was brought to Kamakura. Previous to the Ōshū War, Yoshitsune, an excellent battle commander, had fought for Yoritomo against the Taira in the Genpei War.<sup>101</sup> Despite Yoshitsune's military contribution that led to the victory of the Minamoto, his acceptance of the title given by Go-Shirakawa displeased Yoritomo who increased hostility against Yoshitsune. Then, Yoritomo requested Go-Shirakawa to issue commands to defeat Yoshitsune. As a result, Yoshitsune fled to north where

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<sup>98</sup> For Kanshō's activities at Sangoji, for example, see the diary of Nakayama Tadachika 中山忠親 (1131-1195) who visited the temple to see the monk in 1179. *Sankaiki* in vol. 27 of ZST (Jishō 3:1179.4.27), 276.

<sup>99</sup> Sawa Ryōken, "Butsugen mandara ni tsuite." *Kokka* 681 (December 1948), 313-318.

<sup>100</sup> For example, see vol. 3 of GY (Bunji 1:1185.11.15), 1104.

<sup>101</sup> Yoshitsune's attacks brought many Taira warriors to their suicides in the Battle of Dannoura.

he was harbored by Fujiwara no Hidehira 藤原秀衡 (d.1187). Nonetheless, after Hidehira's death, his son Yasuhira 藤原泰衡 (d.1189) was forced to defeat Yoshitsune under orders from both Yoritomo and the court, and Yoshitsune killed himself during the sudden attack by Yasuhira.<sup>102</sup>

The monk Kanshō was perhaps involved in the establishment of Yōfukuji 永福寺, the temple Yoritomo built in Kamakura for the repose of the souls of the victims of the Ōshū War, including not only Yoshitsune and his retainers but also Fujiwara no Yasuhira who was later killed by Yoritomo soon after Yoshitsune's death.<sup>103</sup> Before the Ōshū War, Kanshō was called upon by Kujō Kanezane to pray for the surrender and capture of Yoshitsune.<sup>104</sup> Although Kanshō is not listed among the monks participating in the ceremony to celebrate the founding of Yōfukuji, the context suggests that it was Kanshō who proposed building the mortuary temple for Yoshitsune and his warriors in order to prevent the war dead from becoming angry spirits. Significantly, the same figures--Kanshō, Kanezane, and Yoritomo--all active in the pacification rites for Antoku, were involved with the pacification rites for Yoshitsune. For this reason, Gomi Fumihiko has pointed out that there was a connection between the establishment of Yōfukuji and that of Amidaji.<sup>105</sup> What is important here is that Kanezane, Kanshō, and Yoritomo contributed to the placation of vengeful ghosts, beyond those of Antoku and the Taira. In other words, the placatory rite for Antoku and the Taira seems to be merely one dimension of a broader project of spirit pacification that was intended to pacify many vengeful ghosts resulting from political

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<sup>102</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Bunji 5:1189.intercalary 4.30), 326.

<sup>103</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Bunji 5:1189.12.9), 364.

<sup>104</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Bunji 3:1187.5.4), 362; SM1, 23.

<sup>105</sup> Gomi Fumihiko, "Nagato Amidaji, Seizan Ōjōin, Kamakura Yōfukuji," in *Kaiōgyū*, 173-174.



intrigues occurring all over Japan. The case of the ghost of Emperor Sutoku, as discussed previously, also supports this supposition.

Kanshō was not the only monk that Yoritomo invited from Kyoto to Kamakura in order to pacify the restless souls. He also invited the Taira monks to perform rituals, in particular pacification rites for the vengeful ghosts of Antoku and the Taira. The monk Chūkai 忠快 (1162-1227), a son of Taira no Norimori and a disciple of Jien, went to Kamakura with Yoritomo after Yoritomo's trip to the temples in Nara and Kyoto in 1195.<sup>106</sup> To accompany Chūkai, the monk Zōsei 増盛 (b.d. unknown), a son of Taira no Tomomori, was also dispatched from Kyoto to Kamakura and entered Shōchōjuin.

Why were these Taira monks transferred from Kyoto to Kamakura? Yoritomo needed the Taira monks to perform rites in Kamakura because it was believed that rituals held by the descendents of those who became vengeful ghosts were more efficacious in placating them.<sup>107</sup> Yoritomo assigned the Taira monks to important religious institutions even though he risked the descendents of the Taira possibly seeking revenge.

As previously argued, Yoritomo was horrified by the ghosts of Antoku and the Taira because his Minamoto warriors defeated the Taira warriors in the Genpei War. In other words, the deaths of Antoku and the Taira were directly caused by Yoritomo. As a result, the vengeful spirits of Antoku and the Taira might have exacted their revenge upon him. Like Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, Yoritomo was thus responsible for the spirit pacification, through which he intended to prevent the malicious spirits from harming to the living and the nation. For this

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<sup>106</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Kenkyū 6:1195.6.25), 544. Chūkai had fled from the capital with the other Taira members in 1183, but was captured in the Battle of Dannoura and transferred back to Kyoto.

<sup>107</sup> As chronicled in *Nihon shoki*, when Deity Ōmono-nushi-no-kami 大物主神 became an evil spirit, the pacification rituals were held by his son. Then, the spirit of Ōmono-nushi was appeased. *Nihon shoki* in vol. 2 of SNKBZ, 267-276. This account in *Nihon shoki* suggests one of the causes for the emergence of a vengeful spirit; when no descendants performed memorial rites, a spirit of the dead might become an angry ghost.

reason, Yoritomo, as noted earlier, commissioned the rites to calm the vengeful ghosts of Antoku and the Taira that were believed to cause Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's illness in 1187.<sup>108</sup> In addition, Yoritomo probably assigned the Taira monks to participate in the Ten Thousand Light Offering Ceremony during the Bon festival in Kamakura.<sup>109</sup> Like Retired-Emperor Go-Shirakawa, in 1197, Yoritomo further dedicated 84,000 stone stūpas to the war dead after the Hōgen War. Again those who died after the Hōgen War included those in the Genpei War; namely, the stūpas were intended for the spirits including Antoku and the Taira warriors.<sup>110</sup> All of these examples indicate Yoritomo's involvement in a project of spirit pacification to appease the souls of those who died tragically but also to protect the nation.

Perhaps, the most important impact on Amidaji's early development was through Jien, a younger brother of Kujō Kanazane and Kanshō's successor at Sangoji. Jien conferred the land of Sangoji in the mountain area to the west of the capital of Kyoto to the monk Kanshō in 1169.<sup>111</sup> In 1204, Jien built Daisenbōin 大懺法院 in Kyoto under imperial patronage.<sup>112</sup> Daisenbōin was designed as one of the national centers to pray for the peace of the imperial state. The temple was also intended as the center to placate vengeful ghosts with emphasis on the rituals to eradicate sins, as the temple name indicates.<sup>113</sup> As such, it also served to aid in the protection of the imperial state. The land where Daisenbōin stood was donated by Emperor Go-Toba who was enthroned immediately after Antoku. Jien and Go-Toba frequently offered prayers at the

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<sup>108</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Bunji 3:1187.4.2), 255-256.

<sup>109</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Kenkyū 1:1190.7.15), 388.

<sup>110</sup> See *Hōjō kudaiki* in vol. 51 of ZZST (Kenkyū 8:1197.10.4), 37.

<sup>111</sup> In the document of land bequest, Jien requests that Kanshō and the monks of Sangoji should perform rites for Jien's rebirth into paradise.

<sup>112</sup> Daisenbōin was relocated from Sanjō Shirakawa 三条白川 to Higashiyama Yoshimizu 東山吉水 in 1205. Daisenbōin experienced repeated destruction by fire in 1217 and 1220. The temple was then reconstructed in 1221. Akamatsu Toshihide, *Kamakura bukkyō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1957), 267-300.

<sup>113</sup> *Daisenbōin jōjō kishō no koto* in vol. 6 of DNS (Ken'ei 1:1206.7.15), 235.

temple.<sup>114</sup> Jien served as *gojisō* 護持僧, a monk who prayed at the imperial palace for the well-being of the emperor and performed various rituals for the imperial family. He was also the chief abbot (座主 *zasu*) of the Tendai order at Enryakuji 延暦寺 on Mt. Hiei, the great Tendai monastic center, where many rituals were conducted for the protection of the imperial state. Despite Jien's perpetual relinquishment of the head of the Tendai order, Go-Toba reappointed Jien to that position several times. Go-Toba relied heavily on the efficacy of Jien's esoteric rituals because they were crucial to exercising the emperor's control over both this visible world and the invisible spirit world. From the early periods of Japan's history, religion and politics were intimately intertwined and religious rituals played a vital role in state ideologies. Rituals conducted by Jien, the powerful monk at the most important monastery, functioned as the central component of the ideology of the protection of the imperial state.

One finds evidence to support Daisenbōin's prominence as national center for the placation of vengeful spirits in a prayer dedicated to Daisenbōin in 1206, where Jien explicitly states that the temple was intended to appease the vengeful ghosts, especially those who died in the Hōgen War and Genpei War.<sup>115</sup> This prayer further states that the placation of the angry spirits and the protection of the imperial state will be realized only through the performance of Buddhist rituals at Daisenbōin, where the mutual dependence of the Law of the Sovereign and the Law of the Buddha (王法佛法相依論 *ōbō buppō sōiron*) will be enforced.<sup>116</sup>

This national temple Daisenbōin mainly consisted of a hall dedicated to Amida and a hall dedicated to Śākyamuni's manifestation as Fudō Myōō 不動明王, the immobile heavenly

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<sup>114</sup> For instance, see *Hyakurenshō* in vol. 11 of KT (Jōgen 2:1208.12.24), 137-138.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> In fact, Jien describes the mutual dependence of the Law of the Sovereign and the Law of the Buddha as being like the two horns of an ox. For the doctrine of the mutual dependence of the Law of the Sovereign and the Law of the Buddha, see Kuroda Toshio, "The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23: 3-4 (Fall 1996a), 271-285.

king.<sup>117</sup> At the Amida Hall, monks daily carried out continuous recitations of the *Lotus Sūtra* (法華三昧 *hokke zanmai*) in the morning and continuous invocations of Amida's name (念仏三昧 *nenbutsu zanmai*) in the evening. At the Shijōkōdō 熾盛光堂, where Fudō Myōō in its manifestation of Śākyamuni was installed, the fire ritual was conducted on the altar. The prime goals were to eradicate sins and to transmit merit accumulated through these ritual performances to the deceased, in particular those who died prematurely, in order that they attain rebirth in the paradise of Amida. At the same time, as Jien claims, the ritual was meant to transform vengeful ghosts into good ones who would bring peace to the nation. In this sense, the pacification ritual was primarily aimed to protect the nation.

At Daisenbōin, Jien appointed three Buddhist esoteric masters (阿闍梨 *ajari*) to initiate rituals. Among them, two masters were from Kōmyōshin'in 光明心院,<sup>118</sup> the Taira temple sponsored by Nii-no-ama, the grandmother of Emperor Antoku who had held Antoku when the child emperor jumped into the sea.<sup>119</sup> Jien's appointment of these Taira monks as the main ritual practitioners at Daisenbōin was thus significant. Indeed, in his prayer dedicated to the temple, Jien states that these two Buddhist esoteric masters of Daisenbōin were the “assets (遺財 *izai*) left by the vengeful ghosts”; hence they were appropriate to perform rituals for them.<sup>120</sup> In addition to the Buddhist masters from the Taira temple, Chūkai, who had performed rituals at the Minamoto's mortuary temple Shōchōjuin, was included as one of thirty monks who were in charge of offerings.<sup>121</sup> As mentioned earlier, Chūkai was a disciple of Jien. These Taira Buddhist monks, due to their blood-relation to the deceased, were necessary to bring ritual

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<sup>117</sup> Śākyamuni, in order to save sentient beings, manifested himself as Fudō Myōō.

<sup>118</sup> Kōmyōshin'in was destroyed in the fire the Taira set up when they fled westward in 1183.

<sup>119</sup> *Jien kishōmon* in vol. 3 of KI (Jōkyū 2:1208, undated), 296-305.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Chūkai returned to Kyoto in 1211. See *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Kenryaku 1:1211.11.2), 659.

efficacy to the dangerous wandering spirits. In this way, even the Taira members were interwoven in a series of placatory rites performed on a national level.

## 2.9 PRODUCTION OF THE TALE OF THE HEIKE

Coincidental with the construction of Daisenbōin was the production of the *Tale of the Heike*, which was probably initiated by Jien. Here, I must broaden my discussion to address the motivations behind the production of the *Tale of the Heike*, because this is crucial not only to understand the transformation of Amidaji into a mortuary temple in its historical context, but also to help us confirm that all of these projects were undertaken by a religious and political circle that included the aforementioned influential figures. The *Tale of the Heike* was also one of the most important sources for the sliding-door paintings of Antoku's life, the central artwork at Amidaji.

The *Tale of the Heike* is a historical record which recounts the momentary rise to glory and then the fall and eventual annihilation of the Taira clan (also called Heike). Labeled often as a war tale, it embodies various themes including Buddhist teachings which have metaphorical meanings for all Japanese. Scholars generally agree that the prototype of the *Tale of the Heike* was developed orally and that episodes had been probably narrated separately prior to the first complete version of the *Tale of the Heike*. Reference to the tale's origin appears in *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, a collection of writing set down around 1330 by Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好 (b.1283?).<sup>122</sup> According to this well-known source, Jien patronized the Former Shinano

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<sup>122</sup> Yoshida Kenkō, *Tsurezuregusa* in vol. 4 of SNKB, 257.

Official, Yukinaga, in the time of Retired Emperor Go-Toba.<sup>123</sup> The author of the *Tale of the Heike*, the minor court noble Nakayama no Yukinaga 中山行長 (b.d. unknown) won praise for

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<sup>123</sup> It is suggested that several historical figures contributed to the production of the *Tale of the Heike*. A number of scholars have discussed the reliability of the contents of Kenkō's record in *Tsurezuregusa*. Although not all detailed information is accurate, it is generally thought that the account related to the origin of the *Tale of the Heike* is based on historical facts. Historians and literature specialists have identified the author, Yukinaga, as a son of Fujiwara no Yukitaka 藤原行隆 (1130-1187), an official of Go-Shirakawa's office and the imperial secretariat, who closely worked with Kanezane. Yukitaka also served Kanezane's family. See Gomi (1987), 10-57; Yamashita Hiroaki, *Katari to shite no Heike monogatari* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 87. On the occasion of his visit to Kanezane's residence, Yukitaka mentioned that his son, perhaps Yukinaga, frequently received psychic messages from ghosts after the war. Because of Yukinaga's special ability, he might have been chosen to be the composer of the *Tale of the Heike*, which was in part narrated to the war dead of the Taira. Yukitaka had another son, Tokinaga 時長 (b.d. unknown), who is also considered one of authors of the *Tale of the Heike*. In addition, Sugawara no Tamenaga 菅原為長 (1158-1246) is known as one of the collaborators who contributed to the production of the *Tale of the Heike*. Tamenaga's association with Amidaji is worth discussing here. In the document, *Nagato kokushi chōsen*, issued in 1237, Tamenaga, a provincial proprietor (知行国主 *chigyō kokushu*) of Nagato Province, commends an additional number of parcels of tax-exempted lands to Amidaji. Tamenaga may have been selected to oversee Amidaji's construction due to his experience with placatory rites and shrines in Kyoto. Tamenaga, a descendant of the Heian statesman Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), was credited with the reconstruction of Kitano Shrine that had been destroyed in the fire of 1234. This shrine was designed to pacify the vengeful ghost of Michizane. Moreover, Tamenaga served the Kujō family and worked closely with Kanezane's grandson, Michiie 道家 (1193-1252). It is suggested that Michiie dedicated the *Illustrated Handscroll of Kitano Heavenly Deity* (*Kitano tenjin engi emaki*) in 1219 to soothe the angry spirit of Michizane, who was thought to be causing a series of misfortunes in both Kyoto and Kamakura. The *Illustrated Handscroll of Kitano Heavenly Deity* was depicted based upon the textual version, the *Story of Kitano Heavenly Deity* (*Kitano tenjin engi*), which had been compiled by Jien and Kanezane. The motivation behind the production of the text also corresponded to the pictorial version. Here again, Jien and Kanezane was involved with the placatory project. Another important possible author of the *Tale of the Heike* is Tokudaiji Sanesada 徳大寺実定 (1139-1191), who served Kujō Kanezane, because its author wrote about him in great detail. There is evidence that shows Sanesada's son Tokudaiji Kintsugu's 徳大寺公継 (1175-1227) direct connection with Amidaji. According to *Nagato kokushi chōsen*, Amidaji had regularly received tax-exempt rice fields since the time of Kintsugu, the Minister of the Left, who had governed the area of Nagato Province before Sugawara no Tamenaga. Furthermore, several sources attest to the Tokudaiji family's patronage of Sangoji. Kintsugu was one of the lay followers of Shōkū and was also associated with Jien. Kintsugu's son, Sanemoto 実基 (1201-1273), who was also a major patron of Shōkū, granted land as an offering for the performance of continuous *nenbutsu* (不断念仏 *fudan nenbutsu*), a ritual of contemplating Amida and intoning the *Amida Sūtra* in order to eradicate sin and attain rebirth in the Pure Land. Moreover, the monk Kanshō frequently performed a prayer (祈祷 *kitō*) and a fire ritual (護摩 *goma*) on the monthly anniversary of the death of Sanesada's mother. All of the above documentation help us to connect the individuals who were involved with the early development of Amidaji and the production of the *Tale of the Heike*. *Nagato kokushi chōsen* in AJM, 9-10; also see Gomi (2005), 162-169; The evidence that Tamenaga was the provincial proprietor of Nagato Province is also found in *Shōen hōgen ki* in vol. 6 of DNS, 413; *Nagato no kuni rusudokoro kudashibumi* in AJM, 18. For the *Illustrated Handscroll of Kitano Heavenly Deity*, see Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Kitano tenjin engi* in vol. 21 of NET, 86-103. The document that states Tokudaiji Sanesada was the author of the *Tale of the Heike* is found in *Gaun nikken roku batsuyū* in vol. 13 of DNK (Bun'an 5:1448.8.19), 29-30. For the association between Shōkū and the Tokudaiji family, see Jitsudō Ninkū, *Seizan shōnin engi* in vol. 5 of *Kokubun tōhō bukkyō sōsho* (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoin, 1927), 344; *Sangoji monjo* in vol. 6 of KI (Antei 2:1228.2.4.), 67-68; For the section of the *Tale of the Heike* mentioning the Tokudaiji family, see the *Tale of the Heike*, 84-86. Kanshō's rituals for the Tokudaiji family, see Kikuchi, 140. For Kintsugu's connection with Kanezane, see for example, vol. 3 of GY (Genryaku 2:1185.5.2), 80-81. For the biography of Kanshō, see Kikuchi, 132-143.

his erudition but, instead of choosing a life at court, took the tonsure, and taught the *Tale of the Heike* to a blind man, Shōbutsu 生仏 (b.d. unknown), a native of the Eastern Provinces, so that the man could recite it. As *Tsurezuregusa* describes, the *Tale of the Heike* contains a great deal of information about Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei where Jien served as archbishop. If we believe the account in *Tsurezuregusa*, the *Tale of the Heike* was strongly influenced by Jien's concerns at that time. It is unknown whether "Emperor Go-Toba's time" refers to his reign (r.1183-1198) or his time as a retired emperor (1198-1221), but we can assume that the text was composed by the early thirteenth century.<sup>124</sup>

During roughly the same period, layers of rituals were performed to pacify the ghosts of Antoku and the Taira. It, thus, seems that the production of the *Tale of the Heike* served as one part of a series of placatory events that included the rituals at Amidaji, Shōchōjuin, and Daisenbōin, as discussed above. The *Tale of the Heike* was recited by *biwa hōshi* 琵琶法師, story-telling blind priests who played the lute (琵琶 *biwa*), an instrument that was considered efficacious in establishing contact with unseen powers.<sup>125</sup> The blind were known for their gift of spiritual vision capable of communicating with the other world. Even before the production of the *Tale of the Heike*, the *biwa hōshi* performed rituals to ward off evil spirits and appease the

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<sup>124</sup> The earliest reference to the *Tale of the Heike* is found in *Gyokuzui*, Kujō Michiie's diary, which states that Michiie borrowed the record of the Taira (平家記事 *Heike kiji*) in 1220 from Taira no Mitsumori 平光盛 (1172-1229), a son of Kiyomori's brother Yorimori 頼盛 (1131-1186). Yorimori and Mitsumori did not join the Taira's flight from Kyoto in 1183. This text of the *Tale of the Heike* perhaps refers to a sort of record (記事 *kiji*), although its content is unknown. The text of the *Tale of the Heike* was probably produced in the early thirteenth century; thus, the "record of the Taira" might have served either as a source in composing the *Tale of the Heike* or as the text which was produced by Fujiwara no Yukinaga. As discussed above, several different individuals, for example Sugawara no Tamenaga and Fujiwara no Tokinaga, are also regarded as authors of the *Tale of the Heike*. They are all historically identifiable figures. A number of different candidates for authors of the text suggest that the *Tale of the Heike* was the product of collaboration. Kujō Michiie, *Gyokuzui*, ed. Imagawa Fumio (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1984), (Jōkyū 2:1220.4.20), 289-290.

<sup>125</sup> Nagai Akiko, "Mōsō biwa no michi," ed. Amino Yoshihiko in vol. 6 of *Nihon rekishi to geinō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990), 42-73.

deceased. It is perhaps for this reason that the *biwa hōshi* began to be engaged with the recitation of the *Tale of the Heike* that embodied the placatory function.

Some scholars have pointed out the placatory nature of the *Tale of the Heike*. For example, Tsukudo Reikan discusses the production of the *Tale of the Heike* along with Jien's construction of Daisenbōin.<sup>126</sup> Tsukudo, noting the blind monk's ability to see and hear into realms beyond our physical world, argues that the *Tale of the Heike* was recited for its placatory purpose. Moreover, Gomi Fumihiko notes the petition of the construction of Daisenbōin, in which Jien expressed his willingness to employ monks specializing in exoteric rituals (顯宗 *kenshū*), esoteric rituals (密宗 *misshū*), mountain ascetic practices (験者 *genja*), and sermons of sūtras (説教師 *sekkyōshi*).<sup>127</sup> Jien also included other monks who could recite sūtras or stories with a good voice and musical instrument. All of these monks were expected to appease vengeful ghosts with their various ritual abilities. The *biwa hōshi*, blind lute-playing monks who recited important historical narratives, can be categorized with the monks specializing in the sermons of sūtras and music. Based on this information, Gomi further claims that the *Tale of the Heike* was composed at Daisenbōin.

Due to a lack of conclusive evidence, it is difficult to verify that the place of the production of the *Tale of the Heike* was Daisenbōin. However, I would agree that Jien was involved and Daisenbōin was one of the likely places for its production. As we have seen, it was Jien who was the patron of Yukinaga, one of the authors of the *Tale of the Heike*. In addition, Jien was the key figure in the implementation of the placatory rites; he was the founder of Daisenbōin in Kyoto. He was also associated closely with several other influential figures (Go-

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<sup>126</sup> Tsukudo Reikan, *Chūsei geibun no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yūseido, 1966), 35-57. Following Tsukudo's research, Plutschow also discusses the placatory nature of the *Tale of the Heike*. Plutschow, 220-225.

<sup>127</sup> *Jien kishōmon* in vol. 3 of KI (Jōkyū 2:1208), 296-305; Gomi (1987), 27.



Shirakawa, Go-Toba, Kanezane, Kanshō, Chūkai, Shōkū, Yoritomo, et al.) who were similarly involved in placatory rites. Like the *nenbutsu*, the narration of the war tale itself served as an active rite to appease the vengeful ghosts. Although I will elaborate on the meanings of the narration of the *Tale of the Heike* during the medieval period in Chapter Four, here I would like to point out the placatory nature that is intrinsic in the performance of the blind monks.

All of these connections surrounding Amidaji were not coincidental. Rather, it seems that Amidaji's institutional affiliation was intentionally established by those who were involved in the pacification of spirits and death rituals to bring peace to the nation. The results of this study support the view that Amidaji operated ritually and institutionally within a network of influential monks and noblemen who strategically situated themselves in the most important religious and political centers, and were concerned about vengeful ghosts throughout Japan, not restricted only to those of Antoku and the Taira.

## 2.10 AMIDAJI IN THE LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Once Amidaji had established support on the national level and connected with key political and religious centers through its patronage and affiliation, the temple seems to have performed appropriate placatory rituals for the souls of Antoku and the Taira. Perhaps due to the temple's connection with these political and religious centers, there was a change in its appointment of the temple administrator or the temple's head (别当 *bettō*) from nuns to monks. In the late thirteenth century Chōzen 長全 (b.d. unknown) is listed as the sixth head priest of Amidaji after the nuns'

administration.<sup>128</sup> Although documentation on Chōzen is scant, his honorable title, Dharma-Eye (法眼 *hōgen*), suggests that he was an eminent monk because such a title was granted only by the imperial court in the capital. Chōzen might have had a close link with the imperial family in Kyoto and transferred from a temple located there. Indeed, a constant influx of monks from various schools of Buddhism was common in medieval times, and the abbot of Amidaji was often dispatched from the headquarters at Sangoji and its prime subtemple Nison'in in Kyoto. Chōzen's appointment might have been arranged through Amidaji's sectarian affiliation. Nun Shōa, the second nun, was a daughter of the re-founder Meia, which suggests that the nuns were blood-related, whereas the male priests were related not by blood but doctrinal lineage since the late thirteenth century.

As part of its imperial support, the temple regularly received supplies from the local office of Nagato Province and maintained tax-exempt rice fields. The income from the rice fields was used for the expense of the rituals, such as the continuous *nenbutsu* ritual (不断念仏 *fudan nenbutsu*).<sup>129</sup> During the term of the seventh abbot Jūtei 重貞 (b.d. unknown), the successor of Chōzen, in the late thirteenth century, it is recorded that the temple received a large amount of rice from its landholdings.<sup>130</sup> According to *Amidaji bettō shidai*, dating from 1516, the temple was granted 3000 *koku* 石 of rice – 15,000 bushels (120,000 gallons or 540,000 liters)

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<sup>128</sup> Chōzen's name appears first in *Nagato kokusen* dated in 1291. *Nagato kokusen* in AJM, 34-35. Depending on whether the writer of the document considers Gyōkyō as the founder of the temple, the number of head priest differs. To avoid confusion, I regard Gyōkyō as the founder; therefore, Chōzen is the sixth head priest. See AJM, 136-139; *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 382-387.

<sup>129</sup> For example, see *Nagato kokushi chōsen* (1237); *Nagato kokusen* (1238) in AJM, 9-10, 15-16.

<sup>130</sup> *Amidaji bettō shidai* in AJM, 134-138. As noted earlier, the first part of the document *Amidaji bettō shidai* was recorded by Shūeki in 1516 and the second part, which is after Shūeki, was written by Ihō in 1765. Since the monk Jūtei's term belongs to the first part, I date this document to 1516 in this case.

– a substantial amount during Jūtei’s tenure.<sup>131</sup> One third of the rice was used for daily prayers at the Hachiman Shrine, as this Hachiman deity was identified as the protector of the western gate of Japan.<sup>132</sup> It was, thus, important to dedicate prayers to the deity at great expense. From this one third of the rice profits also came the funds to support the annual Buddhist ritual for Emperor Antoku. We can assume that the death anniversary of Antoku was held on a grand scale by this time when Jūtei was the head priest. The significance of the ritual can be explained by the fact that the anniversary of the death of Antoku has been called “the death anniversary of the former emperor,” suggesting it was initiated under the reign of Go-Toba, Antoku’s successor. Another 1000 *koku* was used for the cost of the restoration of the temple complex.<sup>133</sup> The period when Amidaji received such a huge amount of financial resources corresponds to the temple’s restoration in the late thirteenth century. The restoration is documented in *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* 阿弥陀寺境内図識語 (Illustration of Amidaji’s complex with its preface), dated to 1294, which states that the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine, the Spirit Hall, and other buildings were restored between 1289 and 1294 because they had been devastated after 105 years had passed.<sup>134</sup> The document dates to 1294; subtracting 105 years from 1294 is 1190, which is close to the time when the imperial court commissioned an appropriate hall in the precinct of Amidaji. Thus, the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* provides evidence for the original buildings constructed under the imperial order in 1191 because the document states that the buildings were “restored.” As discussed earlier, “a hall” repeatedly stated in Kanezane’s diary *Gyokuyō* in 1191 was, thus, most

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<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.* Although a *koku*, a quantity of rice, has varied in Japanese history, it is approximately 5 bushels (40 gallons) or 180 liters. See vol. 5 of NKD, 561.

<sup>132</sup> See *Chinju Hachimangū engi* in AJM, 182-183.

<sup>133</sup> The use of the other 1000 *koku* is not recorded in the document. *Amidaji bettō shidai* in AJM, 134-138.

<sup>134</sup> The decay of the buildings was perhaps caused naturally as a century had passed since the late twelfth century. The completion of the restoration is shown in the pictorial source attached to the document. *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* in AJM, 140-141.

likely the Spirit Hall. Moreover, we can assume that the Main Hall and the Hachiman Shrine were also built at that time.

However, Amidaji did not receive constant imperial patronage throughout its history. A decrease in imperial attention is seen in later periods. This imperial negligence might have been caused by three factors. First, as previously mentioned, Amidaji continued to hold appropriate rites for Antoku and the Taira and the temple's buildings had already been restored by this time. Thus, the temple might not have needed additional funding from the imperial court. The second was Amidaji's remote location, which was 600 kilometers from the capital. Third, people's fear of the ghosts of Antoku and the Taira gradually faded, as those directly responsible for their deaths disappeared from the political stage and were no longer targets of the angry spirits. Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa passed away in 1192 and the Minamoto clan, who had defeated the Taira, lost its political power and was replaced by the Hōjō 北条 clan by the mid-thirteenth century. The placatory rite was most often commissioned by those who were responsible for the tragic deaths of the victims in the political intrigues. As such, the Hōjō family, although an offshoot of the Taira clan, were not concerned about the rituals at Amidaji because they were not directly connected to the Genpei War. This lack of interest in the ghosts of Antoku and the Taira is evident because one cannot find any records kept by the elite that mention the placatory rites at Amidaji during this period, suggesting that the temple was not particularly important to the imperial court. Given this disinterest in Amidaji, it is possible that the public considered Antoku's soul successfully pacified by the many layers of rituals.

## 2.11 CONCLUSION

When situated within the larger framework of history, the transformation of Amidaji into a mortuary site can be seen as a reflection of a series of placatory projects created to appease the vengeful souls of Antoku and the Taira. Because the calamities caused by the tragic deaths of the dead emperor and warriors were so extensive, multiple rituals were conducted in various places to help these wandering souls attain Buddhahood and then turn them into protectors of the nation. The rituals in places such as Nagato, Kyoto, Kamakura, and Mt. Kōya, as well as the production of the *Tale of the Heike*, were all initiated by the same circle of prominent figures during the same time period and with the same placatory and protective end. Thus, the performance of the rituals at Amidaji was by no means an isolated occurrence, but was part of a larger project that included other rituals conducted in different places, as well as the production of the *Tale of the Heike*. Within this broader movement to placate Japan's vengeful ghosts, the rituals at Amidaji were particularly important. The malicious spirits of Antoku and the Taira would be drawn to Amidaji not only because it was the site that overlooked the sea battle, but also because it was the site where the corpse of the child emperor was believed to be interred. In order to bring ritual efficacy directly to the spirits of the deceased, the construction of the mortuary facility in such a place was crucial. So then what did the Amidaji temple complex look like? What rituals were held at Amidaji? What kinds of art objects served as ritual components at this special temple? I will explore these questions in the following chapters.

### 3.0 CHAPTER TWO: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE COMPLEX

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTON

In Chapter Two I will analyze paintings, drawings, and texts that depict Amidaji's complex in order to reconstruct the architectural setting and the enshrinement of artifacts at the temple. It is important to recognize how intimately the art and architecture related to the ritual program of the temple. The discussion in this chapter will enable us to examine the artifacts, currently devoid of context, and provide a basis for consideration of the rituals that will be elaborated in Chapter Four.

Due to the loss of the original buildings of Amidaji, the task of reconstructing the temple complex is challenging. The existing complex offers little evidence to help us understand the original layout of the former temple. Throughout its history, Amidaji was repeatedly damaged and destroyed by fire. Then, in 1870, the Buddhist temple was completely demolished during the Meiji-period persecution of Buddhism and was replaced by a Shintō shrine. The current Shintō shrine was rebuilt again after its destruction by air raids during World War II. Today's shrine, Akama Jingū, has a totally different visual program from the former Buddhist temple.

Another reason why such a reconstruction is difficult is that architecture changes over time. As Gregory Levine has noted in his study of Jukōin 聚光院, a subsidiary temple of Daitokuji 大徳寺 in Kyoto, it is essential not to view temple complexes "as frozen in the past,

for they have undergone repeated repair and alteration over the centuries.”<sup>135</sup> Amidaji was no exception; buildings were expanded and new buildings were constructed over many centuries. Although we are aware of the changes that took place in the buildings through plans and designs, our knowledge of Amidaji’s compound at all stages of its history is uneven and limited. Depictions of the temple complex vary in usefulness; for instance, some provide us with precise ground plans, while others include only rough sketches of the complex. These sources, depicting the complex from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries, are too numerous to examine in a single study; thus it is necessary to decide what period of Amidaji we should reconstruct.

My analysis of the sources of Amidaji’s architecture shows that changes in location and plans of the principal buildings were minor. Amidaji reconstructed its major structures, rather than building completely different ones. This is supported by the fact that visual sources made approximately six hundred years apart—after several rounds of demolition and reconstruction—are similar. For example, a pictorial map dated to 1294 reflects the same ground plan as the pictorial maps of the temple complex made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). Moreover, when we compare the plans made before and after the 1732 fire, it is clear that Amidaji rebuilt the burned structures. This is in keeping with a Japanese philosophy of architectural preservation that favors restoring buildings to their original state.

Instead of reconstructing Amidaji’s complex throughout its entire history, I will focus on the temple compound in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because the textual and visual evidence of this period best enables us to visualize the original layout of the temple. Based on my hypothesis that the changes to Amidaji’s principal buildings were rather minor, I consider the temple complex of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to represent Amidaji’s plan and

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<sup>135</sup> Gregory Levine, *Jukōin: Art, Architecture, and Mortuary Culture at a Japanese Zen Buddhist Temple*. PhD dissertation (Princeton University, 1997), 21-22.

design before its destruction in the Meiji period. In order to show that the changes in location and plan of Amidaji's major buildings were minor, I will also include a discussion of sources that predate these two centuries. Additionally, this chapter will reconstruct the program of art, such as Buddhist icons, sliding-door paintings, and portraiture, displayed within each architectural setting, and briefly introduce rituals held within each architectural space. Inventories of artifacts and diaries kept by visitors confirm that works of art served as principal components of a larger ritual package at Amidaji. The final section of this chapter will examine the relationship between the former Buddhist temple complex and the current Shintō shrine complex in order to understand the locations and scale of Amidaji's major buildings on the current site where Akama Jingū stands today.

### **3.2 RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LOST TEMPLE COMPLEX**

The major architectural structures of Amidaji were the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine, the Goma Hall, the Spirit Hall, the Reception Hall, and the Kitchen-office. Smaller structures included a bell tower, walls, gates (i.e., a two-story gate, *torii* gates), and stone monuments (i.e., lanterns, graves). Unlike the conventional and symmetrical arrangements of temples found on level ground, the structures of Amidaji were placed on tracts of terraced land on the mountainside, from which the ocean below could be seen.

There are several sources that verify the locations and scale of these chief buildings. The earliest schematic drawing, which is useful when examining the original structures of the temple,



is the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* (Illustration of Amidaji's complex and its preface) from 1294.<sup>136</sup> Although this pictorial source is a rough drawing, it shows the temple's original buildings approximately a century after the imperial edict that ordered the construction of mortuary structures in 1191. As noted in Chapter One, the colophon added to the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* states that the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine, and the Spirit Hall were "restored" between 1289 and 1294 due to the dilapidation of these buildings. The illustration includes the principal structures: the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine, the Goma Hall, the Spirit Hall, the Reception Hall, and the Kitchen-office with the gates, the steps, the walls, the bridges, and the pond in the landscape setting.<sup>137</sup> There are some differences, but the locations and the architectural features of the major buildings in the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* roughly correspond to those of sources made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which will be examined below.

The most accurate sources, dated to the eighteenth century, are the three detailed plans of the temple complex. They are the *Amidaji ruishō izen/igo no zu* 阿弥陀寺類焼以前以後之図 (Plans of Amidaji before/after the fire) and the *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu* 長府領阿弥陀寺図 (Plan of Amidaji in Chōfu Domain), all of which were created around 1732 when the fire occurred at the temple.<sup>138</sup> According to the architectural historian Nishi Kazuo, these plans were used by both

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<sup>136</sup> See *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* in AJM, 140-141.

<sup>137</sup> In addition to the bridge over the pond, another bridge is depicted in the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo*. This bridge might have been used for specific rituals. One possible ritual was the procession of the Taira women who were not captured after the Genpei War and who started mortuary rites for Antoku and the Taira war dead. As will be introduced in Epilogue, the ritual procession is still carried out today on the anniversary of Antoku's death, and the procession mainly consisted of five sets of five females cross the bridge temporarily set up from the Main Gate to the Main Hall. Priest Mizuno suggested this possibility of the use of the bridge. The other possible use of the bridge was for *mukaekō* 迎講 or *neri kuyō* 練り供養, a ritual enactment of Amida Buddha and his attendants welcoming the souls of the deceased to the Pure Land. In this ritual, Amida Buddha and his attendants also cross the bridge from the direction of the Western Paradise. However, there is no document regarding this ritual at Amidaji. Mizuno Naofusa, "Senteisai," in *Akama Jingū: Shimonoseki, Genpei shiseki to bunkazai* (Shimonoseki: Kyōdo no Bunkazai o Mamorukai, 1985), 47.

<sup>138</sup> All of these sources are currently located in the Yamaguchiken Monjokan. *Amidaji ruishō izen/igo no zu* (Doc. 58 ezu 1086); *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu* (Doc. *fukuroiri ezu* 276).

commissioners of the reconstruction and by carpenters.<sup>139</sup> Indeed, these three plans show us the details of the architecture: the positions of the chancel (母屋 *moya*), the outer portion of the building that envelops the chancel (庇 *hisashi*), pillars, doors, and steps; therefore they were essential for carpenters to read before they began their work of renovating the complex.

As both titles indicate, the *Amidaji ruishō izen no zu* was made before the fire of 1732, while the *Amidaji ruishō igo no zu* was made afterwards.<sup>140</sup> While neither plan includes any inscriptions except for the cardinal directions, the third source, *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu*, is labeled with the names and specifications of the buildings. Therefore, we can identify the main buildings easily. The *Amidaji ruishō izen no zu* depicts the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine, the Goma Hall, the Spirit Hall, the Reception Hall, the Kitchen-office, and the Gion Shrine. It also includes the gates, steps, wells, and walls of the precinct. On the other hand, the *Amidaji ruishō igo no zu* illustrates the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine, the Spirit Hall, the Kitchen-office, and the Gion Shrine. The only difference between these plans is that the Goma Hall and the Reception Hall are not present on the latter. The absence of the two halls, however, does not mean that only these two structures were lost in the fire.<sup>141</sup> Historical sources tell us that the fire damaged those plus two additional buildings: the Spirit Hall and the Kitchen-office.<sup>142</sup> After the fire, the local warlord Mōri Morotaka 毛利師就 (1706-1735) restored the Spirit Hall in 1734 and

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<sup>139</sup> I discussed this with Nishi Kazuo on December 14, 2004.

<sup>140</sup> A careful look at these sources indicates that the titles were inscribed later than the production of the plans. When the plans were restored, the covers were pasted on the back of them. During the restorations, the paper strips of titles were pasted on the covers. Because the backside of the covers is also inscribed, we know that the covers were originally the back of other documents.

<sup>141</sup> Nishi Kazuo and his former student Abiru Hiroshi redrew the *Amidaji ruishō izen/igo no zu* and identified major buildings in the eighteenth century. They have pointed out that the *Amidaji ruishō izen no zu* represents the temple complex before the fire of 1732, while the *Amidaji ruishō igo no zu* represents the complex damaged by the fire. However, they have not examined the plans with other textual and visual evidence that I use in this dissertation. Chino Kaori, a modern art historian, has followed these two architectural historians' interpretation. See Abiru; Nishi, 288-290; Chino, 177-79.

<sup>142</sup> See *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* of 1739 in vol. 7 of BJY, 382-387.

Mōri Masataka 毛利匡敬 (1725-1789) rebuilt the Kitchen-office in 1736.<sup>143</sup> The reconstructions of the Goma Hall and the Reception Hall were completed in 1760 and 1763 respectively through the sponsorship of Masataka.<sup>144</sup> Since the *Amidaji ruishō igo no zu* includes only the Spirit Hall and the Kitchen-office, we can assume that the plan was made after the reconstructions of these buildings in 1736 and before 1760.

The *Amidaji ruishō izen no zu* is very similar to the *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu* on which the head priest Zōei 増盈 (d. 1747) pasted strips of specifications. The ground plan depicted in the *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu* represents the temple complex prior to the fire of 1732, but the paper strips pasted on it indicate the reconstruction process of the building subsequent to the fire. The inscriptions on the strips, for example, state that “the reconstruction of the Goma Hall and the Reception Hall had not yet begun” when the priest pasted the strips. The contents of these paper strips correspond to those of the textual evidence in the *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* 赤間関阿弥陀寺来由覚 (Note of history of Amidaji in Akamagaseki) of 1739.<sup>145</sup> This suggests that Zōei recorded the reconstruction process around the same year. The dimensions of the major halls in the plans are listed in the *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1807) and the *Yuraiiki* 由来記 (1821) as follows:

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<sup>143</sup> See also another version of *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* dated to 1807 and *Yuraiiki* (*Note of history*) dated to 1821 in vol. 7 of BJY, 408-418.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, Mōri Masataka was also known as Mōri Shigetaka 毛利重就. When he was the local lord of Chōfu Domain, his name was Masataka. After he became the local lord of Hagi Domain, he changed his name into Shigetaka.

<sup>145</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1739) in vol. 7 of BJY, 383-384.

Main Hall:	5 <i>ken</i> (front), all 4 sides <sup>146</sup>
Goma Hall:	3 <i>ken</i> (front), all 4 sides
Spirit Hall:	4 and a half <i>ken</i> (front) x 2 and a half <i>ken</i> (side)
Reception Hall:	8 <i>ken</i> (front) x 6 <i>ken</i> (side)
Office-kitchen:	8 <i>ken</i> (front) x 5 and a half <i>ken</i> (side)
Hachiman Shrine (main hall):	1 <i>ken</i> (front) x 2 <i>ken</i> (side)
	(worship hall): 5 <i>ken</i> (front) x 2 <i>ken</i> (side) <sup>147</sup>

In general, there are two definitions of the Japanese term “*ken* 間.” First, *ken* refers to a bay, namely a space between two pillars; however, each *ken* is not necessarily of uniform length. Second, *ken* is used as a standard measurement. Amidaji’s plans use *ken* in the latter way. One of the reasons for the use of *ken* as a standard measurement in Amidaji’s plans is that the dimensions of the temple’s other structures are listed by using *ken* and other units of length--*shaku* 尺 (30.3 cm) and *sun* 寸 (3.03 cm). It is thus unlikely that *ken* refers to a space between two pillars in Amidaji’s plans. When Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598) implemented a land survey (太閤検地 *taikō kenchi*) in 1582-1598, he declared that one *ken* was equal to 6.5 *shaku* (197 cm), while in the Edo period it was reduced to 6 *shaku* (182 cm). We cannot nevertheless apply this measurement to the plans of Amidaji automatically. Despite Hideyoshi’s standardization, the length of a *ken*, which was applied to architecture, differed from region to region. As a result of my analysis of the chief buildings on the ground plans of Amidaji, a *ken* is equivalent to approximately 210 centimeters. This is calculated by considering the size of a *tatami* 畳 mat that covered the floor of the Reception Hall during the Edo period and the

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<sup>146</sup> “5 *ken*-4 sides (五間四面 5 *ken* 4 *men*)” is probably in the *ken-men* notation (間面記法 *ken men kihō*), which specifies the width of *moya* (chancel) and the number of its sides with *hisashi* (peripheral section). Accordingly, the Main Hall of 5 *ken*-4 sides is comprised of *moya* 5 *ken* wide surrounded by *hisashi* on the 4 sides. The notation leaves the depth of the chancel unspecified because most halls were of a typical depth, which varied from period to period. It was 2 *ken* in the Heian period (794-1185), but since the Kamakura period (1185-1333) the chancels typically had almost the same depth as width. In medieval times, *ken* usually refers to a bay (a space between two pillars). For the general building structure and scale in medieval times, see Itō Nobuo and Kobayashi Takeshi, *Chūsei jūin to Kamakura chōkoku* in vol. 9 of *Genshoku nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1968), 170-175.

<sup>147</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1807) in vol. 7 of BJJY, 413; *Yuraiki* (1821) in vol. 7 of BJJY, 418.

dimension of the room. The west side of the Reception Hall has three rooms (two ten-*tatami* rooms and one eight-*tatami* room) whose depths add up to the total depth of the Reception Hall's chancel of 6 *ken*.<sup>148</sup> The size of a *tatami* mat in the region where Amidaji stood was generally 6.3 *shaku* (190 cm) x 3.15 *shaku* (95 cm) since the Edo period.<sup>149</sup> Accordingly, an eight-*tatami* room was a 380 cm square, whereas a ten-*tatami* room measured 380 cm x 475 cm. The plans tell us that one of the two ten-*tatami* rooms on the west side of the Reception Hall had its longer side to the west, while the other room had its shorter side to the west. In addition, the widths of the four wooden boards that formed thresholds (敷居 *shikii*) were part of the depth of the Reception Hall. The width of each threshold was usually 12 cm. Thus, the depth of the Reception Hall's chancel measures 1235 cm (380 + 475 + 380 cm) plus the width of 4 thresholds (48 cm). This length 1283 divided by 6 *ken* equals approximately 210 cm, which is the length of a *ken*. Combining all of these references, I have estimated the length of a *ken* employed in the Amidaji's plans. Based upon these calculations, the size of each building can be approximated, and these approximated sizes correspond to the dimensions listed in various documents (the *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* of 1807 and the *Yuraiki* of 1821).<sup>150</sup>

There are several other visual sources from this same period that are schematic drawings of the temple. These drawings provide information not only about the location, scale, and identification of each building, but also about the exterior features of the halls. Among the sources, the most reliable is the wood-block print *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidai sentei byōdō shinkei no zu* 赤馬関聖衆山阿弥陀寺境内先帝廟堂真景之図 (Picture of the true-view of former emperor's Spirit Hall in Amidaji precinct in Akamagaseki; hereafter *Akamagaseki*

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<sup>148</sup> Inscriptions on the *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu* tell us the size of these rooms in terms of *tatami*.

<sup>149</sup> *Nihon bijutsushi jiten*, eds. Ishida Hisatoyo, et al. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987), 570.

<sup>150</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* of 1807 and *Yuraiki* of 1821, made in different time periods, show that the dimensions of the key buildings sustained their scales.

*Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu*) dated to 1841.<sup>151</sup> This source depicts the temple's various architectural features including halls, gates, walls, steps, and stone monuments with inscriptions of their names. Each building of the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* has approximately the same number of pillars as the *Amidaji ruishō izen/igo no zu*. The locations and identifications of the major buildings in all of these sources essentially match. Moreover, the stone wall surrounding the precinct where the Goma Hall, the Spirit Hall, the Reception Hall, and the Kitchen-office stood is very similar to the one seen in the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu*, the *Amidaji ruishō izen/igo no zu*, and the *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu*. Even the location of the well near the Goma Hall is depicted on the same spot in all sources.

Through these comparisons, I have determined that there is a correlation between the ground plans and the schematic drawing. Therefore, the *Amidaji ruishō izen/igo no zu*, the *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu*, and the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* are all reliable sources which can be used to determine the locations, scale, and identifications of Amidaji's chief buildings.

There are several important print lithographs. *Simonoseki*, made by Johan Fredrik van Overmeer Fisscher (1800-1848) who accompanied the German physician Siebold on his trip to Edo in 1826, provides details about Amidaji's principal structures; its depiction of the temple's features is nearly identical to that of the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu*.<sup>152</sup> One of Fisscher's lithographs depicts Amidaji's precinct and its surroundings, including the mountains, ocean, neighboring residences, and shrine and temple complexes. Fisscher's other lithograph accurately depicts Amidaji itself. In this drawing, however, the structure of the Spirit Hall is not

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<sup>151</sup> *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidai sentei byōdō shinkei no zu* is preserved in the Yamaguchiken Monjokan (Doc. *ippan kyōdo shiryō* 228).

<sup>152</sup> *Simonoseki* is preserved in the Kyūshū Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan (Doc. *kichōsho* 555).

L-shaped; yet, the features of the other major buildings of Amidaji are similar to those seen in the Japanese pictorial sources.

Although the artists' attention to detail varies from careful and precise floor plans to schematic drawings and collections of sketches, these visual sources agree with one another and their accuracy is supported by important textual sources. All documentation indicates that Amidaji rebuilt buildings without major changes throughout its history.

### 3.3 PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS AND PLACING ARTIFACTS IN SPACE

Next, we will look at the exteriors and interiors of the principal buildings, as well as attempt to position the artwork within those architectural spaces. The temple documents, known as *jūmotsuchō* 什物帳 or *jūhō mokuroku* 什宝目録 (inventories of treasures), which are organized records of the items enshrined in the rooms and buildings, can be used to help us place the artifacts within the architectural space.

*Amidaji jūmotsuchō* 阿弥陀寺什物帳 (Inventory of Amidaji), dated to 1739, lists the works of art and ritual implements, as well as ceremonial decorations and furnishings found within each hall.<sup>153</sup> The inventory begins with the items permanently installed in the Spirit Hall, the Main Hall, and the Goma Hall. Many other items, which were perhaps preserved in storage, are also listed, following the section on the three specific halls. It can be logically inferred that

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<sup>153</sup> *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* was composed by Zōei, the thirty-fourth head priest. The final page of the inventory ends with the date (1739) followed by the name of the temple, Amidaji, and its seal and the addressee. Since the date, the author, and the recipient of the *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* and the *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* are the same, these two documents were composed together. See *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* in vol. 7 of BJY, 387-393; *Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 382-387. *Jūhō mokuroku* (inventory of treasures), dated to the late Edo period, also lists the temple's treasures. *Jūhō mokuroku* is included in the *Shōjuzan Amidaji ryaku engi* (abbreviated temple origin tale of Shōjuzan Amidaji). Reproduced in Hayashi and Tokuda (1983), 253-255.

items listed as present in the rooms were the focus of frequent (daily or monthly) rituals in those buildings and that many of those in storage were used for less-frequent (annual) ceremonies. The stored pieces may have included items that were no longer used or had never been used in rituals when the inventory was made. Other temple sources, although not called inventories, also list the artworks of Amidaji. Among them are the *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* of both 1739 and 1804, and the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu*.

In addition to the temple documents, visitors often described what they saw in Amidaji. For example, the Edo comic poet Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝 (1749-1823) described the location of the Hachiman Shrine, the Goma Hall, and the Spirit Hall, as well as the portraits of Antoku and the Taira clansmen that he saw in the Spirit Hall in his travel account *Koharu kikō* 小春紀行 in 1866.<sup>154</sup> Based on these references, as well as the sources used in the earlier part of this chapter, I will explain the ground plans and describe the exteriors and interiors of the principal buildings in the complex. I will also introduce rituals performed within each architectural space primarily by using the sources that list daily and annual observances at Amidaji.<sup>155</sup>

### 3.3.1 Main Hall

The Main Hall (本堂 *hondō*), which faces south, was located in the innermost part of the temple complex. As we have seen, it was one of the largest buildings with its chancel measuring five *ken* by five *ken*. The roof of the hall was covered with layers of cypress-bark shingles (檜皮葺 *hiwadabuki*). It also had a single-bay step canopy (向拝 *kōhai*), a roof built over the steps

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<sup>154</sup> Ōta Nanpo, *Koharu kikō* in vol. 9 of *Ōta Nanpo zenshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1987), 20-21.

<sup>155</sup> Amidaji's daily and annual observances are listed in the *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1739, 1807) and the *Yuraiki* (1821) in vol. 7 of BJY, 386-387; 412-413; 417-418.



leading up to the building.<sup>156</sup> A set of stone lanterns stood in front of the hall, as we can identify them from both pictorial and written sources. The *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* of 1294 presents a structure similar to the Main Hall in the same place, suggesting no major changes were made in its form and location from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The building was comprised of an inner sanctum (内陣 *naijin*), an outer sanctuary (外陣 *gejin*), a rear sanctuary (後陣 *kōjin*), and side sanctuaries (脇陣 *wakijin*). The layout of the interior with a (5 x 1)-bay outer sanctuary and a (3 x 2)-bay inner sanctum was standard in the medieval period.<sup>157</sup> A one-bay altar (須弥壇 *shumidan*) was situated in the inner sanctum. The inner and outer sanctuaries were divided by lattice screen doors (格子戸 *kōshido*) to maintain the sanctity of the inner sanctum, where only monks of high status were permitted access. Those of lower status and the laity were permitted only to the other less sacred spaces.

In the most sacred location in the hall, the raised altar in the inner sanctum, there was possibly a shrine in which the primary icon of veneration (本尊 *honzon*) was placed. The primary icon of the Main Hall was the Amida triad. Because the hall was dedicated to Amida Buddha, the hall can be called an Amidadō 阿弥陀堂 (Amida Hall) as well. According to primary sources, such as *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* 阿弥陀寺別当秀益申状案 and a medieval traveler's account, *Michiyukiburi* 道行きぶり, this Amida triad was said to be the personal Buddhist icon of Taira no Kiyomori, who was Emperor Antoku's grandfather on his maternal side.<sup>158</sup> Nun Meia, who revived Amidaji in 1186 after the Genpei War, probably

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<sup>156</sup> I use the term bay when I simply mean a space between two pillars. When I mean a measurement (approximately 210 cm), I use the Japanese term *ken*.

<sup>157</sup> For other main halls built during medieval times, see Itō and Kobayashi, 172.

<sup>158</sup> *Michiyukiburi*, 109. According to the *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan*, the Amida triad was attributed to the famous Heian sculptor Jōchō 定朝 (d. 1057). See *AJM*, 132-135.

brought the sculpture to the temple. The inventory of 1739 further tells us that another Amida triad, as well as a Shaka triad, were also enshrined in the Main Hall. The other Amida triad was placed on the left side of the central shrine; the Shaka triad was placed on the right.<sup>159</sup> According to the temple document (*Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe*), this second Amida triad was thought to be the personal icon of Antoku's uncle Taira no Shigemori 平重盛 (1138-1179), and the Shaka triad was said to be the devotional image of Antoku's mother Tokushi.<sup>160</sup> None of these statues, however, have survived to the present.

The overall iconographic meaning of the artwork in the Main Hall is unclear. Although the list of annual observances at Amidaji indicates that rituals such as reciting sūtras, lighting lamps, and offering food and flowers were performed in front of icons every day, it is too general to determine the specific nature of the rituals performed there.<sup>161</sup> During the New Year's rituals (from the 1<sup>st</sup> day through the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> month) sūtra recitation was practiced not only in the Main Hall, but also in the Hachiman Shrine, the Gion Shrine, and the Tenjin Shrine. On the 15<sup>th</sup> day of every month, a practitioner performed a ritual of empowerment (加持 *kaji*) in order to drive out evil spirits in the Main Hall.

### 3.3.2 Hachiman Shrine

To the east of the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine (八幡社 *hachimansha*) stood on a stone base. The Edo evidence, including textual and visual sources, indicates a typical Hachiman Shrine consisting of three separate but physically integrated structures: a worship hall (拜殿 *haiden*) at

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<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 382.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 386-387.

the front, linked by an enclosed chamber (相の間 *ainoma* or 石の間 *ishinoma*) to a main hall (本殿 *honden*) at the rear.<sup>162</sup> The Hachiman Shrine was also a large multi-room structure. It contained a worship hall (5 x 2 *ken*) used for various ceremonies associated with the deities at the shrine and a main hall (1 x 2 *ken*) which was home for the enshrined deities. The space between the buildings, covered by a roof, was gradually incorporated into the ritual space of the interior.

This Hachiman Shrine was dedicated to three deities: Hachiman 八幡, regarded as the deification of Emperor Ōjin 応神 (legendary; r.270-310), Hachiman's father Emperor Chūai 仲哀 (legendary; reigned in the late second century), and Hachiman's mother Empress Jingū 神功 (legendary; the late second and early third centuries). In some cases, these deities were sculpted in human form; however it is unknown what forms were chosen to represent the sacred bodies of the deities housed in this Hachiman Shrine.<sup>163</sup>

Fortunately, we have a black-and-white photograph of the Hachiman Shrine from 1864.<sup>164</sup> The photograph shows a man praying to the Hachiman deity in front of the worship hall, which is similar to the structure seen in the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu*. In both sources, the tiled roof of the Hachiman Shrine had a step canopy. A pair of stone sculptures of Korean lion-dogs (狛犬 *komainu*), which functioned as guardians of Shintō deities, was placed in front of the Hachiman Shrine. A stone lantern is shown in the photograph of 1864.

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<sup>162</sup> In the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* from 1294, the Hachiman Shrine was surrounded by a vermilion wooden fence and had roofed corridors on three sides. The Shrine stood at the center of an enclosed space covered with stone pebbles, which signified the sacred area. The roofed corridors were supported by tall pillars. Unlike the typical Hachiman shrine, the building depicted in the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* had only a main hall (*honden*). Whereas the Hachiman Shrine of 1294 had stood on the hill, the Edo-period Hachiman Shrine stood on a stable stone foundation.

<sup>163</sup> Using the account from 1517, we know that some sort of a sacred body was enshrined in the Hachiman Shrine. See *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* in AJM, 132-135.

<sup>164</sup> Reproduced in *Me de miru Shimonoseki Toyoura no 100 nen*, eds. Kiyonaga Tadao, et al. (Nagoya: Kyōdo Shuppansha, 1998), 164.

This stone lantern has survived, and from its inscription we know that it was made in 1852. The absence of this stone lantern in the *Simonoseki* (1821) and the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* (1841) supports their accuracy in depicting the temple complex since these two sources predate the creation of the stone lantern. Three *torii* gates signified the area as a Shintō sanctuary: the first one in front of the worship hall, the second one on the boundary of the temple complex in the south, and the third one shown in the pilgrimage passage leading to the Hachiman Shrine.

The Hachiman Shrine was also approachable from the Main Hall through a bridge over the pond.<sup>165</sup> During the Edo period, the size of the pond was reduced, thus the length of the new bridge was shorter than the one it replaced.<sup>166</sup> The bridge led to the Gion Shrine (祇園社 *gionsha*), located between the Main Hall and the Hachiman Shrine. The Gion Shrine was built to ward off the epidemic that killed many local people in 1683.<sup>167</sup> The Gion Shrine can also be seen in the background of the photograph from 1864.<sup>168</sup>

The rituals performed in the Hachiman Shrine and the Gion Shrine were recorded in the annual observances of Amidaji. As in the Main Hall, the recitation of sūtras took place in front of the deities in the Hachiman Shrine and the Gion Shrine during the New Year's ceremonies. The head practitioner (大壇主 *daidanshu*) also prayed for the good luck and longevity of the military (武運長久 *buun chōkyū*) at the Hachiman Shrine. On the 15<sup>th</sup> day, after a ritual of

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<sup>165</sup> The *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* of 1294 shows that the Main Hall connected with the Hachiman Shrine through a roofed corridor. The corridor actually functioned as a bridge above the pond. Currently, Akama Jingū does not have a pond around this area; however, according to Priest Mizuno, the area between the current Main Hall and the Hachiman Shrine is damp.

<sup>166</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 382.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> On the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> days of the 6<sup>th</sup> month, there was a festival at the Gion Shrine. Although the content of the Gion Festival at Amidaji is undocumented, the festival was perhaps similar to the one in Kyoto where the headquarters of the Gion Shrine was situated.

empowerment (加持 *kaji*) in the Main Hall, sacred offerings (幣帛 *heihaku*) were dedicated to the deities in the Hachiman Shrine. The Summer Festival took place at the Hachiman Shrine on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month, and was co-sponsored by Kameyama Hachiman Shrine near Amidaji. Kameyama Hachiman Shrine sent their messengers “seven and a half times (7 度半)” to Amidaji’s Hachiman Shrine. A sacred portable shrine housing the deity from Kameyama Hachiman Shrine was transported back and forth between Kameyama Hachiman Shrine and Amidaji’s Hachiman Shrine seven times, and it was left at the midpoint between Kameyama Hachiman Shrine and Amidaji. There, the shrine temporarily rested for a certain number of days and was carried back to Kameyama Hachiman Shrine on the eighth trip.<sup>169</sup> The Autumn Festival held on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the 9<sup>th</sup> month was conducted in the same way as the Summer Festival with the transportation of the portable shrine.<sup>170</sup>

### 3.3.3 Goma Hall

To the west of the Main Hall was the Goma Hall (護摩堂 *gomadō*; fire ritual hall), a three-*ken* square structure. Although some scholars have identified this building as the Spirit Hall, there are several problems with this hypothesis.<sup>171</sup> First, no primary sources describe the square structure between the Main Hall and the L-shaped structure as a Spirit Hall. In fact, there is explicit evidence that shows the name of this building to be the Goma Hall in the *Chōfuryō*

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<sup>169</sup> Shigeyama Teisuke, *Shimonoseki 2 sennen shi* (Shimonoseki: Kanmon Shidankai, 1915), reprinted in (Shimonoseki: Bōchō Shiryō Shuppansha, 1974), 99-100.

<sup>170</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 386-387.

<sup>171</sup> See Nishi, 288-290; Abiru, 49-56; Chino, 177-179. Although Nishi, Abiru, and Chino use the term Miedō (Portrait Hall) instead of “Spirit Hall,” I consistently use Spirit Hall in order to avoid confusion. The functions of a Portrait Hall and a Spirit Hall were basically the same.

*Amidaji zu*.<sup>172</sup> Second, in the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* we find the inscription, “the Eleven-headed Kannon (十一面観音 *Jūichimen Kannon*)” next to the square building.<sup>173</sup> According to the temple sources such as the *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* and the *Amidaji jūmotsuchō*, the main icon of the Goma Hall was the Eleven-headed Kannon; this would suggest that the square structure was the Goma Hall. Third, Kujō Kanezane’s late twelfth-century diary *Gyokuyō* repeatedly emphasized that a hall at Amidaji should be constructed based on the Spirit Hall of Emperor Sutoku in Sanuki Province.<sup>174</sup> Sutoku’s Spirit Hall presents a similar architectural feature to Amidaji’s Spirit Hall, which I identify as an L-shaped structure, like the structure next to the square building that my research designates as the Goma Hall. Although Sutoku’s Spirit Hall did not have an L-shaped structure as Antoku’s Spirit Hall did, it had other architectural details, such as the roof covered with layers of cypress-bark shingles, the orientation, and basic structure, which resemble those depicted in the pictorial evidence for Amidaji’s Spirit Hall. Given these reasons, I consider the three-*ken* square hall to be the Goma Hall.

It is important to note that another building, which resembled this Goma Hall, stood on a hill in the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* of 1294. However, the Goma Hall found in the plans and pictorial sources of the Edo era was situated on the ground level of an L-shaped structure. The Goma Hall shown on the hill in the 1294 source was replaced by the gravestones of the Taira members in the Edo sources such as the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* and the

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<sup>172</sup> *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu* (Doc. *fukuroiri ezu* 276).

<sup>173</sup> *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* (Doc. *ippan kyōdo shiryō* 228).

<sup>174</sup> As discussed in Chapter One, Emperor Sutoku’s soul was also recognized as a vengeful ghost by Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa. According to *Shiromineji engi* (Origin tales of Shiromineji), dated to 1406, Emperor Sutoku’s residence (Honmaruden 本丸殿) was relocated to Mt. Shiromine and converted into a Spirit Hall after his death. The present hall is a reconstruction dated to 1680. See *Shiromineji engi* in vol. 19 of SGR, 276.

*Dainihon kairiku meisho zue* 大日本海陸名所図絵 (Picture of famous places in Japan).<sup>175</sup> The gravestones of the Taira were erected on the hill in 1648 by the abbot Zōen 増円 (d.1653).<sup>176</sup> We can confirm the date of the erection of the gravestones from the dedicatory inscription carved on the stone monument.<sup>177</sup> This stone monument and these gravestones survive and remain in this same location. This suggests that the Goma Hall was moved from the hill to the location near the L-shaped structure before the production of the gravestones of the Taira in 1648.

The tiled roof of the Goma Hall was a hipped and pyramidal roof called a jewel-shaped roof (宝形屋根 *hōgyō yane*). When four planes converged, the peak was concealed by a box-like cover (露盤 *roban*), topped by a jewel (宝珠 *hōju*). The Goma Hall faced east and had a single-bay step canopy over its front stairs. Perhaps the smaller size of this hall reflected the fact that fewer clerics would be in attendance at the ritual. A wooden plaque that read “Secret Place (秘密場 *himitsuba*)”--the place where esoteric rites, notably Goma rituals, took place--was attached above its entrance doors.<sup>178</sup> Inside the Goma Hall was placed the fire-ritual platform (護摩壇 *gomadan*). The fire ritual was held in front of the main icon, an Eleven-headed Kannon.<sup>179</sup> This main icon was flanked on one side by a sculpture of Fudō Myōō 不動明王 (immobile guardian king), and on the other side by a sculpture of Bishamonten 毘沙門天

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<sup>175</sup> *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* (Doc. *ippan kyōdo shiryō* 228); *Dainihon kairiku meisho zue* is kept in the Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Hakubutsukan.

<sup>176</sup> During the administration of the priest Zōen many buildings were restored and built. *Amidaji bettō shidai* (1516, 1765) in *AJM*, 136-139.

<sup>177</sup> The inventory of 1739 lists the gravestones of the Taira members. See *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of *BJY*, 384. One of the stone lanterns, set up in front of the Taira gravestones, also has an inscription that tells us these lanterns were produced in 1644.

<sup>178</sup> In addition to the inventory of 1732, Ōta Nanpo witnessed this plaque. See *Koharu kikō*, 21. Secret Place (秘密場 *himitsuba*) is the abbreviation of 秘密法場 *himitsuhōjō* or 秘法場 *hīhōjō*, which literally means a secret place for transmitting dharma.

<sup>179</sup> This Eleven-headed Kannon was said to have sculpted by the famous sculptor Unkei 運慶 (d.1223). See *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1739) in vol. 7 of *BJY*, 382.

(protector of the north).<sup>180</sup> The Goma Hall also stored other esoteric Buddhist images (i.e. maṇḍala) and implements (i.e. vajra). None of the images survive today.

In the Goma Hall, the rite of repentance, accompanied by the fire ritual, was carried out in front of the main icon, the Eleven-headed Kannon.<sup>181</sup> On the 15<sup>th</sup> day of every month, a *tendoku* 転読 recitation of the *Great Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom* (大般若經 Daihannyakyō) was performed by chanting only a portion of some important lines at the beginning, the middle, and the final volumes, or chanting only the title of each.<sup>182</sup> On the 16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup> days of the 12<sup>th</sup> month, the head practitioner initiated the ritual in front of the Fudō Myōō in order to extinguish sins.

### 3.3.4 Spirit Hall

The Spirit Hall (靈廟 *reibyō*) was an L-shaped structure located to the south of the Goma Hall. This hall housed the portraits of Emperor Antoku and the Taira as well as the sliding-door paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. Although the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo*, the earliest pictorial and textual evidence referring to this hall, calls it *Tennō obyōdono* 天皇御廟殿 (can be read *Tennō gobyōden*), or the Spirit Hall of the Emperor, later the hall was referred to in different ways.<sup>183</sup> For instance, Iio Sōgi referred to it as the *mieidō* 御影堂 or the Portrait Hall

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<sup>180</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1739) states the Fudō Myōō statue was sculpted by Kūkai, the founder of Shingon Buddhism in Japan, and that the Bishamonten statue was sculpted by Unkei. *Ibid.* It is difficult to accept these attributions of Amidaji's sculptures to Unkei and Kūkai because their names often appear as the sculptors of the images which were claimed by many temples throughout Japan. Without conclusive and physical evidence, it would be fruitless to argue the authorship of these images.

<sup>181</sup> The rite of repentance is listed in the *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* from 1807.

<sup>182</sup> This way of reciting is typical since the *Great Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom* contains 600 volumes.

<sup>183</sup> *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* in AJM, 140-141.



when he visited Amidaji in 1480.<sup>184</sup> In the Edo period, the hall was called the *Tenōdō* 天王堂,<sup>185</sup> *Tennōdō* 天皇堂,<sup>186</sup> *Tennōden* 天皇殿 (hall of the emperor),<sup>187</sup> and *Antoku tennō den* 安徳天皇殿 (hall of Emperor Antoku).<sup>188</sup> It is not certain why this hall was given so many names. In any case, all primary sources mentioning this hall generally refer to it as a “hall of Emperor Antoku,” suggesting that the portrait of Antoku was the most important object for worship in it.

The Spirit Hall, covered with cypress-bark roofing, incorporated four rooms (A, B, C, and D). The document, *Dannoura shiseki* 壇浦史蹟, provides us with the detailed information about the interior of the room where the portraits of Antoku and the Taira members were installed.<sup>189</sup> Room A was the lower room 下段の間 (*gedan no ma*) and Room B was the upper room 上段の間 (*jōdan no ma*). The upper room had a raised floor level. The difference in levels between the upper room and the lower room indicates that the upper room, which was reserved for the seats of the high-ranking individuals, was more important than the lower room. This architectural setting was normally designed to emphasize the hierarchical relationship between the warlord and his retainers. In the case of Amidaji’s Spirit Hall, the portraits of Antoku and the Taira members were installed in the upper room; thus, the hierarchical relationship between the portraits of the deceased and the visitors was restated. The visitors were presumably permitted access only to the lower room. The upper room of the Spirit Hall perhaps functioned as the main hall; the lower room functioned as the worship hall.

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<sup>184</sup> *Tsukushi michi no ki*, 169.

<sup>185</sup> See *Akamagaseki shinshi ya narabini kinpenzu* preserved in the Iwakuni Chōko Museum. Reproduced in vol. 6 of *Taikei Chōsen Tsūshinshi*, eds. Shin Gisu and Nakao Hiroshi et al. (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten), 58.

<sup>186</sup> For example see *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* (1739) in vol. 7 of BJY, 387; *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1807) in vol. 7 of BJY, 409, 413; *Yuraiki* (1807) in vol. 7 of BJY, 414-415, 418.

<sup>187</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1739) in vol. 7 of BJY, 383-384; also see *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu* (Doc. *fukuroiri ezu* 276).

<sup>188</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1739) in vol. 7 of BJY, 382, 386.

<sup>189</sup> Naruse Yoshisada, *Dannoura shiseki*. This document is preserved in the Yamaguchiken Monjokan (Doc. Yoshida Shōdō 822).

In the upper room (Room B), a wooden statue of Emperor Antoku took the uppermost and central position on the altar with the ten portraits of important Taira clan members painted on the sliding doors lining the walls of this sacred space. The altar on which Antoku's portrait stood was called *gyokuza* 玉座 (seat of emperor). His portrait was placed between the painted portrait of Lady Rō-no-onkata 廊御方 (b.d. unknown) pasted on the left sliding door and that of Lady Sotsu-no-suke 帥典侍 (b.d. unknown) on the right. On the wall to the left side of the portrait of Antoku were the portraits of Lady Dainagon-no-suke 大納言典侍 (b.d. unknown), Taira no Sukemori 平資盛 (1158?-1185), Taira no Nobumoto 平信基 (b.d. unknown), and Taira no Noritsune 平教経 (1160-1185). On the wall to the right side of Antoku's portrait were the portraits of Lady Jibukyō-no-tsubone 治部卿局 (b.d. unknown), Taira no Norimori 平教盛 (1128-1185), Taira no Tomomori 平知盛 (1152-1185), and Taira no Tsunemori 平経盛 (1124-1185).

Under the altar of Antoku's statue, a *gorintō* 五輪塔 (a five-story stone stūpa) was erected. The five-story stūpa, surrounded by a stone fence, stood approximately sixty centimeters below the floor of the Spirit Hall.<sup>190</sup> This location of the five-story stūpa is confirmed by the plan of the Spirit Hall, compiled in the *Shingonshū shojiin meisaisho* 真言宗諸寺院明細書.<sup>191</sup> This plan does not show the Spirit Hall as an L-shaped structure; however, it depicts the five-story stūpa, which is surrounded by a stone fence, standing under the floor. Inscription written following this plan further states that the five-story stūpa was erected underneath the floor and it was surrounded by a stone fence. The author of the *Kigai Bōchō kikō*

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<sup>190</sup> Ueno Takejirō, ed. *Sanryō* (Tokyo: Kōbun Shoin, 1925), reprinted in (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1989), 235.

<sup>191</sup> *Shingonshū shojiin meisaisho*. This document is preserved in the Yamaguchiken Monjokan (Doc. *Toyourahan kyūki* 104).

癸亥防長紀行 sketched the stūpa and explained its location and size, identical to those in the *Shingonshū shojiin meisaiho*.<sup>192</sup> Ōta Nanpo also witnessed the *gorintō* and sketched it in his diary in 1866.<sup>193</sup> The intimate relationship among the burial site, the stūpa, and the portrait of the deceased was central to the mortuary temple.

Many visitors to Amidaji first entered Room A (the lower room) to venerate the portraits of Antoku and the Taira enshrined in Room B (the upper room), and then went to Room C. Room C preserved the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* and the *etoki* (picture-explaining) ritual took place there. Eight sliding-door panels of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* decorated three sides of the room.<sup>194</sup>

The arrangement of Rooms A, B, and C is validated by several visitors' records. When the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) visited Amidaji in 1691, he first venerated the wooden statue of Antoku surrounded by the painted portraits of the Taira clansmen.<sup>195</sup> Then he entered the next room with the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.<sup>196</sup> When the geographer Furukawa Koshōken 古川古松軒 (1726-1807) stopped at Amidaji in 1783, he also worshiped in the same fashion.<sup>197</sup>

Hierarchically, Room B is more important than Rooms A and C. In addition to the difference in levels between Room B and Room A, as mentioned earlier, the layout indicates that Room B was the most important space in the Spirit Hall. Room A is a devotional space that accompanies Room B in which rituals were performed. The superiority of Room B to Room C is

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<sup>192</sup> Anonymous author, *Kigai Bōchō kikō* (1863). This document is preserved in the Yamaguchiken Monjokan (Doc. 30 *chishi* 15).

<sup>193</sup> *Koharu kikō*, 20-21.

<sup>194</sup> Hayashi Eison, *Tsukushi michikusa* (Bunka 1:1804.9.20) in *Kinsei kikō shūsei*, ed. Itasaka Yōko (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1991), 370.

<sup>195</sup> Engelbert Kaempfer, *Edo sanpu ryokō nikki*, trans. Saitō Makoto (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977), 95-97.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>197</sup> Furukawa Koshōken, *Seiyū zakki* in vol. 2 of NSS (Tenmei 3:1783.4.27), 335.

confirmed not only by the architectural layout but also by the textual evidence. For example, *Nagato Bakan Amidaji engi* 長門馬関阿弥陀寺縁起 (Origin tales of Amidaji in Nagato Bakan), dated to 1763, uses the term *rō* 廊 to refer to Room C.<sup>198</sup> The term “*rō*” means a room adjacent to the main hall; thus, Room C was a structure subordinate to Room B. The five-story stone stūpa erected below the statue of Emperor Antoku in Room B further highlights the significance of the space. Thus, Room B is the most sacred space in the whole building. It is unknown what was in Room D. As the Spirit Hall and its content and rituals are more complex than the other buildings, they will be discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.

### 3.3.5 Reception Hall and Office-kitchen

To the west of the Spirit Hall was the Reception Hall (客殿 *kyakuden*) and the Office-kitchen (庫裏 *kuri*). Since the port of Akama, where the temple stood, was a busy harbor connecting Honshū and Kyūshū, Amidaji provided lodging for travelers for many centuries. Such travelers included Iio Sōgi who stayed at Amidaji on his way to Kyūshū in 1480.<sup>199</sup> During the Edo period, the Reception Hall was used mainly to hold banquets for Korean ambassadors en route to Kyoto.<sup>200</sup> Although on each trip approximately five hundred Korean ambassadors came to Japan, Amidaji was reserved only for the highest-ranking officers. Since the temple was their first stop on the mainland of Japan, the Reception Hall played an important role in welcoming and impressing foreign dignitaries. For this purpose, the Reception Hall experienced several expansions. By the nineteenth century, the Reception Hall was the largest building in the

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<sup>198</sup> *Nagato Bakan Amidaji engi*. This document is preserved in the Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Toshokan (Doc. *kyō* 21.001.21).

<sup>199</sup> *Tsukushi michi no ki*, 169.

<sup>200</sup> Shin Gisu and Nakao Hiroshi, *Zusetsu Chōsen tsūshinshi no tabi* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2000), 28-31.

complex, measuring eight by six *ken*. Most rooms were covered with *tatami* mats; it is, however, uncertain what interior decorations (i.e., sliding doors and furniture) were created for the Reception Hall.

To the north of the Reception Hall was a garden, said to be designed by Sesshū 雪舟 (1420-1506), the Zen monk-painter who was patronized by the provincial warlord Ōuchi. The *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* illustrates the dry garden behind the Reception Hall. The western part of the Reception Hall was attached to the eastern end of the Office-kitchen. The Office-kitchen functioned not only as a kitchen, but also as a temple office for the monks. Both the Reception Hall and the Office-kitchen had tiled-roofs with entries on the south.

To the southwest of the Office-kitchen was the boundary between the Amidaji's complex and the estate of the Itō family.<sup>201</sup> The Itō family was linked closely to Amidaji not only by supporting the temple financially, but also by sending two sons to Amidaji to serve as head priests: Zōkai 増海 (d.1682) and Zōei 増盈 (d.1747). These priests contributed substantially to the restoration project. The names of Zōkai and Zōei often appear in documents related to the reconstruction of the temple in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *Itōke madorizu* 伊藤家間取図 (Plan of the Itō family) dated to 1847 shows the size and the function of the Itō family's entire house.<sup>202</sup> Inscriptions such as the cardinal directions and “the boundary of Amidaji (阿弥陀寺、間 *Amidaji no aida*)” written on the border of the northeast side of the house help us to

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<sup>201</sup> The Itō family was the master of the inn (本陣 *honjin*) that provided lodging for feudal lords 大名 (*daimyō*) who were required to travel between their domains and the capital Edo periodically through the alternate residence duty system (参勤交代 *sankin kōtai*) during the Edo era. As the master of the inn, the Itō family further provided lodging and hosted banquets for important foreign guests including the head of the Dutch trading post on Dejima Island in Nagasaki. The trading leader was also required to travel from Nagasaki to Edo periodically under the order of the Tokugawa government.

<sup>202</sup> *Itōke madorizu* and its identical source (*Itōke yahochi makazuzu*) are stored in the Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Hakubutsukan. Reproduced in AHI, 14.

examine the location of the house in relation to Amidaji. Several wells are depicted on the *Itōke madorizu*, the one in the northwest corner still remains in a parking lot today. Other Edo-period pictorial sources, such as the *Akamagaseki ezu* 赤間関絵図 (Illustration of Akamagaseki), the *Shimonoseki ezu* 下関絵図 (Illustration of Shimonoseki), and the *Akamagaseki shinshi ya narabini kinpenzu* 赤間関信使屋并近辺図 (Illustration of Akamagaseki lodgings for Korean ambassadors), confirm the location of the Itō's house as depicted to the southwest of Amidaji's Office-kitchen.<sup>203</sup> Analyzing all of this information, we can determine the southwestern border of Amidaji's compound.

### 3.3.6 Living Quarters of Monks

There were several living quarters for monks in the temple complex. One of the largest residences was the Umenobō 梅の坊 (plum residence) located along the eastern edge of the complex. The *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu* shows the Umenobō in the northeastern corner. We can see the long flight of steps leading up to the Umenobō, indicating that it stood on higher ground than the main temple precinct where the Main Hall and the Hachiman Shrine were located. As will be described later, today there is still a long staircase leading to the Umenobō site, which is currently occupied by a different building called Itokuden 威徳殿. The dimensions of the Umenobō are not recorded, but judging from the *Chōfuryō Amidaji zu*, the Umenobō might have been almost the same size as the Main Hall. The principal icon of the Umenobō was Benzaiten 弁財天, a female Buddhist deity; however, we do not know the placement and use of this icon

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<sup>203</sup> *Akamagaseki ezu* and *Shimonoseki ezu* are preserved in the Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Hakubutsukan. Reproduced in AHI, 4. *Akamagaseki shinshi ya narabini kinpenzu* is preserved in the Iwakuni Chōkokan. Reproduced in vol. 6 of *Taikei Chōsen Tsūshinshi*, 58.

since no records provide us with detailed information about the interior of the residence of the monks.<sup>204</sup> Another building with large residential quarters for monks was the Okunobō 奥の坊 (inner residence), located to the east of the Hachiman Shrine. The site of the Okunobō is now occupied by Chokushiden 勅使殿 (the rest or retreat for the imperial family and imperial messengers). Like the Umenobō, information about this residence is scarce, but it is recorded that the portrait of a person called Yabu 藪 was placed in the Okunobō.<sup>205</sup>

The *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo*, dated to 1294, also depicts the monks' residences, Umenobō and Okunobō. As the inscriptions written next to these residences show, the building to the northeast of the Hachiman Shrine is the Umenobō, and the one near the stone retaining wall that leads to the Spirit Hall is the Okunobō. The locations of these residential quarters, depicted in the *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo*, are basically the same as those in the abovementioned Edo-period sources; thus, I re-emphasize that the changes that took place in the locations and plans of the principal buildings were minor throughout the temple's history.

### 3.4 CURRENT SITE

The final phase of this analysis will consider the relationship between the former Buddhist temple complex and the current Shintō shrine complex. Can we locate where the Buddhist complex was on the current site where Akama Jingū stands? What does the current configuration tell us about the architecture of the older complex and about the transition from a Buddhist temple (which included Shintō elements) to an entirely Shintō shrine? It will also

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<sup>204</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* (1739) in vol. 7 of BJY, 382.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 383. It is unknown why his portrait was kept in the Okunobō.

examine how the memorial function for the emperor Antoku both influenced and was influenced by this change. The prior sections of this chapter used many different kinds of textual and visual evidence. At this stage of my research, a new kind of evidence needs to be examined – documentation of my own experience of the current shrine complex. This is important since excavation is not allowed in the site of Amidaji. It also adds an additional dimension to the prior parts of the analysis, which helps us to see beyond the formal, analytical parts of the question and to consider the actual experience of walking through the temple complex in its former states. In this section of the analysis, I will first describe the current architectural structures of Akama Jingū. Then, I will consider several unchanged elements of topography and architecture so that we can use these as points of reference to locate the former temple buildings.

Akama Jingū, as it stands on Mt. Benishi, overlooks the ocean below. The principal structures of today's Akama Jingū are the Main Gate, the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine, the Hōichi Hall, the Graveyard of the Taira, and the Mausoleum of Emperor Antoku. The first shrine structure seen by visitors is the Suitenmon 水天門, or “gate to paradise in water.” This colorful two-story structure frames a beautiful view of the ocean and symbolizes the gate to the paradise at the bottom of the sea, based on the account of the *Tale of the Heike*.<sup>206</sup> According to this epic, Antoku's grandmother told Emperor Antoku at the final moment before they jumped into the sea that she was going to take him to paradise at the bottom of the sea. Believing her, Antoku leaped from the boat in the arms of his grandmother. The paradise at the bottom of the sea was considered to be the Dragon Palace.<sup>207</sup> This monumental gate evokes the historical moment of Antoku's death and signifies the sacred space of the shrine. Since it presents the same design on the front and rear sides in a symmetrical fashion--except for the signboard of

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<sup>206</sup> The *Tale of the Heike*, 378.

<sup>207</sup> I will elaborate on the Dragon Palace in Chapter Four.



Akama Jingū in front--it serves a dual function as both the entrance to the shrine complex and to the Dragon Palace in the ocean below.

Through the Suitenmon, we enter the central shrine precinct. The most venerated structure, the Main Hall (本殿 *honden*), is situated in the innermost area of the precinct farthest from the gate. The Main Hall consists of the outer worship hall (大安殿 *taianden*), the inner worship hall (内拝殿 *naihaiden*), the norito hall (祝詞殿 *noritoden*), and the sacred hall (神殿 *shinden*). The floor levels of these parts of the hall vary; they rise to emphasize the increased importance of each area. The outer parts of the Main Hall are both unified and divided by an artificial pond which is behind the outer worship hall, but in front of the inner worship hall in the rear, on either side of this pool are roofed-corridors (廻廊 *kairō*). In the middle of the pool is a stage where dance and music are performed during special ceremonies. The outer worship hall is a place for the laity to worship while they are facing toward the sacred shrine. A collection box is set up in front of the outer worship hall, and a pair of Korean lion-dogs sculptures are placed at the gate. The inner worship hall, a few steps above the outer worship hall, is reserved for the visitors who commission rites from the priest. Behind the inner worship hall is the norito hall, which stands higher than the level of the inner worship hall. In the norito hall, the priest recites *norito* 祝詞 (sacred prayer to *kami*). This more sacred space is built in the innermost and highest place of the Main Hall. Steep stairs lead from the norito hall to the sacred hall. The access to the sacred hall is exclusive; strictly speaking, only the head priest can climb the steps and perform rituals close to the sacred hall. An altar for food and wine offerings is set up in front of the sacred hall, and a wooden portrait statue of Emperor Antoku is installed on an altar in the sacred hall. This statue was relocated from the Spirit Hall of the former temple to the sacred hall after

the Meiji-period persecution of Buddhism. The statue of Antoku, which serves as a deified form (御神体 *goshintai*), is currently concealed from public view.

When we compare the location of today's Shintō Main Hall with that of the Buddhist Main Hall during Amidaji's earlier periods, it is clear that the present hall is positioned closer to the mountain as it is today after much soil and rock were removed to provide more flat space for the current Shintō complex. This relocation is evident in *Kanpeichūsha Akamagū ryakuzu* 官幣中社赤間宮略図 (Sketch of Akama Shrine), dated to 1882, which shows the complex of Akama Jingū prior to its destruction in World War II. In this source, the Main Hall was situated back against the slope of the mountainside and was completely surrounded by walls.<sup>208</sup> The worship hall was located in front of and below the Main Hall. The locations and structures correspond to those in the 1930s photograph of the Shrine.<sup>209</sup> All of the buildings shown in *Kanpeichūsha Akamagū ryakuzu* were burned during World War II and were later rebuilt basically in the same location as seen today, with the exception of the excavation of the mountain to allow more space for construction.

The Hachiman Shrine (八幡社 *hachimansha*) is located to the east of the Main Hall.<sup>210</sup> Like the prior Hachiman Shrine before its demolition during the Meiji period, today's shrine is also comprised of three structures: a worship hall (*haiden*), a stone-floor chamber (*ishinoma*), and a main hall (*honden*).<sup>211</sup> A pair of stone lanterns stands in front of the Hachiman Shrine. Another large stone lantern is placed to the left of these lanterns. A pair of stone Korean lion-

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<sup>208</sup> *Kanpeichūsha Akamagū ryakuzu* is preserved in the Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Hakubutsukan.

<sup>209</sup> Reproduced in *Mede miru Shimonoseki Toyoura 100 nen*, 47, 128.

<sup>210</sup> Between the Main Hall and the Hachiman Shrine is the Tenjin Shrine (天神社 *tenjinsha*).

<sup>211</sup> A little shrine in the main hall of the Hachiman Shrine is the original structure that escaped from the destruction of the entire shrine complex during the war.

dogs sculptures is situated in front of the main hall to protect the deities enshrined within. The deified forms of Emperor Ōjin, Emperor Chūai, and Empress Jingū are housed in the main hall.

The Hōichi Hall (芳一堂 *Hōichidō*) is located to the west of the compound. This small hall (1 x 1 bay) houses a wooden sculpted portrait of Hōichi 芳一, a fictional blind monk who appears in *Kwaidan* 怪談 (ghost story), a collection of stories written in 1904 by Koizumi Yakumo 小泉八雲 (also known as Lafcadio Hearn; 1850-1904).<sup>212</sup> In *Kwaidan*, the Taira ghosts, who are still wandering at the site of Amidaji, ask the fictional *biwa hōshi* (blind lute player) named Hōichi to recite the *Tale of the Heike*, especially the battle scene of Dannoura, in order to appease themselves. To commemorate Hōichi, his sculpted portrait was produced and enshrined in this small building. In the sculpture, Hōichi is represented at the moment when he recited the *Tale of the Heike* accompanied by his musical performance on the *biwa* (lute).<sup>213</sup> The statue of Hōichi is placed facing the ocean where Antoku and the Taira drowned themselves.

To the west of the Hōichi Hall is the graveyard for the Taira clan members. The graveyard contains mortuary sculptures including stone stele (板碑 *itabi*) and a group of five-story stone stūpas (五輪塔 *gorintō*). There are fourteen stone steles, arranged in two rows of seven. Each stele is inscribed with the name of the victim who died at the Battle of Dannoura and a symbolic referent, called a seed syllable (種字 *shuji*) for Amida Buddha. The steles in the first row are dedicated to Taira no Arimori 平有盛 (d.1185), Taira no Kiyotsune 平清経 (d.1185), Taira no Sukemori 平資盛 (1158?-1185), Taira no Noritsune 平教経 (1160?-1185),

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<sup>212</sup> Yakumo was a Briton who came to Japan in 1890. After his marriage to a Japanese woman, he obtained Japanese citizenship and renamed himself Koizumi Yakumo. Inspired by the tragic story of Antoku and the Taira that he had heard from his wife, Yakumo wrote the collection *Kwaidan* which included the *Story of Mimi-Nashi-Hōichi* in 1904. Lafcadio Hearn, *Kwaidan: Stories and Studies of Strange Things* (Boston: H. Mifflin, 1904).

<sup>213</sup> Today, during the Festival of Hōichi on July 15, his statue is placed in front of the Taira's graveyard, and a *biwa* player performs a narration of the *Tale of the Heike*.

Taira no Tomomori 平知盛 (1152-1185), and Taira no Norimori 平教盛 (1128-1185), respectively. The second row consists of another seven steles dedicated to Taira no Ienaga 平家長 (d.1185), Taira no Tadamitsu 平忠光 (d.1185), Taira no Kagekiyo 平景経 (d.1185), Taira no Kagetoshi 平景俊 (d.1185), Taira no Tadafusa 平忠房 (d.1185), and Taira no Tokiko 平時子 (1126-1185). A flat stone is placed on the ground in front of each stone stele to receive offerings of candles, flowers, and food. As mentioned earlier, the stone steles of the Taira members were erected by the head priest Zōen in 1648. Behind the two rows of stele are many five-story stone stūpas. The date of these stūpas is uncertain, but it is said that the local people, after recovering numerous Taira bodies that had drifted to the shore after the battle, buried them and erected the five-story stone stūpas on the spots of burials.<sup>214</sup> These stūpas, which had been scattered around Amidaji, are said to have been collected and arranged in the current place by Zōen in 1648.<sup>215</sup>

Down the hill from the Taira's graveyard is the *Antoku tennō ryō* 安徳天皇陵, the officially recognized earthen burial mound of Emperor Antoku.<sup>216</sup> The Spirit Hall originally stood in the area of this mound before Antoku's mausoleum was restored in 1883. Similar to other imperial mausoleums, Akama Jingū's mausoleum has a gate with imperial chrysanthemum crests. This gate faces the sea where Antoku and the Taira drowned themselves. Because the resting place of the emperor is considered sacred, access to the tomb is limited. Akama Jingū opens the gate on only two occasions with the permission of the Imperial Household Agency: on the visit of imperial family members and on the death anniversary of Antoku. When the gate is

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<sup>214</sup> Ubukata Takashige, *Heike monogatari to kisō to kōzō* (Tokyo: Kindai Bungeisha, 1984), 273-274.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> The following information about Antoku's earthen burial mound is based on Mizuno Naofusa, "Amidaji mieidō ni tsuite," in *Akama Jingū* (Shimonoseki: Akama Jingū Shamusho, 1985), 62-63.

opened, special rites (e.g., offerings of food, wine, and flowers; music performances; or *norito* prayers) are held in front of it.

The mausoleum is enclosed by three layers of stone structures, which are devices to distinguish the sacred realm and the mundane realm. The outermost structure is a stone wall, connected with the gate and set up high to protect the sanctuary. This wall prevents us from seeing inside the sacred space.<sup>217</sup> The second structure is a low stone fence. The innermost stone enclosure, forming an octagon, is constructed of polished granite stones (御影石 *mikageishi*) found in the Mikage District in Kobe City; it surrounds a hemispherical earthen mound. On the top of the mound are planted magnolia-family trees (*hitotsuba* ヒトツバ and *ogatama* オガタマ) because they are evergreen and sacred. The trees serve as the *yorishiro* 依代, a medium where the spirit of Antoku descends from the other world. The earthen mound and trees on it are easily identified in the *Kanpeichūsha Akamagū ryakuzu*.<sup>218</sup> A *gorintō* (a five-story stone stūpa) is buried inside the earthen mound. As mentioned earlier, this stūpa signifies the place where the wooden statue of Antoku stood in the Spirit Hall. When the Spirit Hall was dismantled, the stūpa was buried in the current earthen mound.

During the Meiji persecution of Buddhism, Amidaji's land was confiscated by the government. As a result, Akama Jingū relinquished the land where the Reception Hall and the Kitchen-office had formerly stood. This portion of the land was purchased by the ophthalmologist Fujino Gen'yō 藤野玄洋 (1840-1887) in 1867. Later, Gen'yō's wife Michi ミチ converted it into an inn with a Japanese-style restaurant, still in operation today, called

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<sup>217</sup> Fortunately, some photographs provide us with information about the inside of the mausoleum. I also visited Akama Jingū on the death anniversary of Antoku in 2006 and saw the inside the mausoleum when the gate was opened.

<sup>218</sup> The *Kanpeichūsha Akamagū ryakuzu* depicts only one tree on the earthen mound. This tree was burnt during World War II, and two new trees were planted after the war.

Shunpanrō 春帆楼, which serves *fugu* (puffer fish) cuisine. Originally, the Shunpanrō Inn had three buildings. One of the three buildings, which is next to the current mausoleum of Antoku, is now called the Memorial Hall for the Sino-Japanese War (日清講和記念館 *Nisshin kōwa kinenkan*) because this was the place where the Treaty of Shimonoseki (下関条約 *Shimonoseki jōyaku*) was signed in 1895. Next to the memorial hall is the current Shunpanrō Inn.<sup>219</sup> Further west of the inn is a vacant lot, where huge stones, parts of an old architectural foundation, are scattered. This vacant lot, which before World War II contained the residence of a wealthy banker, is approximately five meters higher than the ground level where the Shunpanrō Inn stands. The different ground levels suggest that the temple precinct extended to the western edge of the current Shunpanrō Inn but not to the area of the vacant lot.

### 3.5 UNCHANGED FEATURES

Despite the destruction of the entire complex of Amidaji during the Meiji period and then the ravage of Akama Jingū during World War II, some topographical features and architectural structures remain intact. I identified these unchanged structures by walking around the current shrine complex. It is important to consider these elements because they give us clues to locate the lost temple buildings. In general, the topographical features--the mountain, the hill, the river, and the ocean--remain the same. Also, the locations of water sources (i.e. the well and water ditch) and stone or earth platforms were less affected by the disasters. For instance, the current shrine stands on the hill at the foot of Mt. Benishi where Amidaji stood. The location of the

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<sup>219</sup> When the National Athletic Meeting was held in 1963, Emperor Shōwa and his wife stayed in the Shunpanrō Inn.

ocean in front of Akama Jingū has basically not changed. The well, located near the Goma Hall, still exists in the same spot behind the mausoleum of Antoku.

In addition to the topographical features, Akama Jingū preserves several man-made structures that predate the establishment of the current shrine. Examples are gravestones of the Taira members, the five-story stūpa signifying the altar where Antoku's portrait was placed, a stone monument carved with a Japanese poem composed by Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694), and stone lanterns placed in front of several structures. A portion of the path from the mausoleum to the Taira's graveyard also survives to the present day. Although this path is no longer used, it indicates how visitors went up through the path from the Spirit Hall to the graveyard of the Taira prior to the Meiji period.<sup>220</sup> The path is depicted, for example, in the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu*, showing the stairs leading up to the level where the gravestones stood. The locations of these structures help us to reconstruct the lost architecture in the current site.

### 3.6 RESITUATING AMIDAJI INTO THE CURRENT SHRINE SITE

If we transpose the plan of the former temple complex onto the current site by paying attention to these unchanged elements, it is possible to identify the locations of Amidaji's major buildings on the site. The transposition shows how the former Buddhist complex can be placed with reference to the current shrine.

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<sup>220</sup> For example, the travel diary of Tōyama Kagemichi records that he climbed up the hill where the stone mortuary monuments of the Taira were erected after visiting the Spirit Hall and the Reception Hall. See Tōyama Kagemichi, *Zoku mizōki* (Bunka 1:1804.4.3) in *Kinsei kikō shūsei* (Tokyo: Tosho Kankōkai, 1991), 231.

The current Main Hall, which is larger than the former Main Hall of Amidaji, stands on a north-south axis through the main gate. The size of the Main Hall was reduced after the Shintō-style Main Hall was built in the Meiji era, but the Shintō-style Main Hall was reconstructed and expanded after the destruction in 1945. The current Hachiman Shrine is situated closer to the Main Hall than the former one. Both the Main Hall and the Hachiman Shrine are located further back toward the mountain after excavating some of the mountainside to allow for expansion of the complex. These changes are evident when examining photographs showing the Main Hall and the Hachiman Shrine taken in the 1930s -- after the demolition of the Main Hall and the Hachiman Shrine in the Amidaji period, yet before the completion of today's buildings during the 1950s.

Antoku's burial mound is situated in the area of the former Goma Hall and Spirit Hall. As noted above, the center of the earthen mound where a five-story stūpa is buried marks the place where the wooden statue of Antoku stood in the Spirit Hall. The current stone wall that divides the main complex of the shrine from that of the mausoleum seems to have been moved slightly to the west. This is confirmed by evidence from earlier periods that shows the well to be near the former Goma Hall which was inside the stone wall that enclosed the west compound where the Goma Hall, the Spirit Hall, the Reception Hall, and the Kitchen-office were located. Today, however, the well is located outside the stone wall. Near this wall is a stone monument carved with the famous poet Matsuo Bashō's poem commemorating Antoku's death. The monument was erected in 1786, perhaps in relation to the six-hundredth anniversary of Antoku's death.<sup>221</sup> In the visual sources such as the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu*, Fisscher's *Simonoseki*, and the *Kanpeichūsha Akamagū ryakuzu*, the Bashō's stone monument stood close

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<sup>221</sup> The six hundredth anniversary of Antoku's death was observed in 1784, only two years prior to the erection of the monument.



to the well but outside the wall that separated the complex containing the Goma Hall, the Spirit Hall, the Reception Hall, and the Kitchen-office from the other parts of complex. Currently, we can find the Bashō's monument near the well, suggesting that the location of the monument may not have been altered dramatically.

The section that contained the Reception Hall and the Kitchen-office are now occupied by the Memorial Hall for the Sino-Japanese War and the Shunpanrō Inn.<sup>222</sup> The boundary between the Shunpanrō Inn and the raised area that is currently vacant corresponds to the western end of Amidaji's complex. The vacant area to the west of the Shunpanrō Inn contains huge stones (remains of the former residence of the banker) and is much higher than that of the Shunpanrō Inn; thus, it is improbable that Amidaji's Reception Hall and the Kitchen-office would have been located there. The eastern end of the temple precinct is now used as a retreat for the imperial family members, which replaced one of the former residences for the monks, the Okunobō.

A source issued in the fifteenth century prohibits horse-riding in Amidaji's complex, suggesting that the temple occupied a large area.<sup>223</sup> A similar prohibition was reissued in the seventeenth century. According to temple records, dated to 1763 and 1807, the whole temple complex measures 180 *yobu* 余歩 (more than 324 meters) north-south and 200 *yobu* 余歩 (more than 360 meters) east-west.<sup>224</sup> Combining this data with the calculations I made earlier using the

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<sup>222</sup> After World War II, the Dairen Shrine 大連神社 was relocated from Manchuria to the site of Akama Jingū. The Dairen Shrine was originally built in Manchuria during the Japanese occupation after the Russo-Japanese War. The Dairen Shrine is situated in the north-east complex, which is carved far back into the mountain; therefore, in order to get there, we have to climb up narrow steps. The Inari Shrine 稲荷神社 was also built near the Dairen Shrine.

<sup>223</sup> *Nagato Itōke monjo* (1455) in AJM, 197-198; *Chōfu hanshu Mōri Hidemoto kinzei* (1618) in AJM, 130-131.

<sup>224</sup> *Nagato Bakan Amidaji engi, Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 412-413. One *bu* equals approximately 1.8 meters.

size of the *tatami* mat in the Reception Hall, the square measure of the whole temple complex, indicated in the documents of 1763 and 1807 above, is reasonable.

### 3.7 CONCLUSION

The reconstruction of the former temple has been a great challenge because of the lack of original buildings and the inability to conduct archaeological excavations. However, based on the available sources and my survey of the current site, I have identified the names, the locations, and the scale of Amidaji's major buildings: the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine, the Goma Hall, the Spirit Hall, the Reception Hall, and the Kitchen-office. I have also suggested the position of the chief artifacts and ritual implements within the former temple buildings. This reconstruction of architecture is important because none of the artworks existed in isolation. Rather, they were integral components of a decorative program that included architecture to support specific rituals performed there. Moreover, by resituating the plan of the former temple complex onto an actual site, I have determined the probable location of material remains at the current site. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation and beyond my personal expertise, future excavation of this site might provide valuable information for further study of Amidaji. Although it will never be possible to confirm definitively the reconstruction of Amidaji, what we know of the site through various types of documentation confirms that my research is the most reasonable hypothesis.

## 4.0 CHAPTER THREE: ART IN THE SPIRIT HALL

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

During the Meiji-period persecution of Buddhism, Amidaji's buildings were completely destroyed and the temple was replaced by a Shintō shrine. Then in World War II, the shrine burned down during an air raid. Due to the repeated destruction on this complex, innumerable treasures were lost, but we are fortunate that several important artworks from Amidaji did survive. Among them are the portraits of Antoku and the Taira members, as well as the sliding-door paintings that illustrate the life of Emperor Antoku, which had been enshrined in the Spirit Hall. Because the temple no longer exists, the primary function of these works as ritual artifacts in placatory rites is largely obscured and forgotten.

In contrast to previous scholarship which tends to treat artworks in isolation and neglect the actual process of associated rituals, I will suggest that they were integral components of a series of rituals carried out at the temple, and I will examine their functions as memorial icons and their connection to a larger mortuary context. Before examining how Amidaji's artworks functioned ritually, this chapter is devoted to a basic analysis of the objects, including their description, date, authorship, and placement in the temple buildings. First, I will focus on the portraits of Antoku and the Taira, which have not been well researched to date. Second, I will investigate the sliding-door paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, incorporating

my own analysis with previous studies. I will also propose a new hypothesis regarding the circumstance of the production of the “original” *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.

## 4.2 ANTOKU’S PORTRAITURE

Akama Jingū owns three portraits of Emperor Antoku: two sculptures and one painting. One of the carved portraits serves as a sacred or deified body (神体 *shintai*) in the Sacred Hall of the current shrine. Under the guidance of the Japanese government, this sacred image has been kept secret in its miniature shrine and has never been revealed to the public since the persecution of Buddhism in the late nineteenth century. Such a hidden image is traditionally thought to have enhanced efficacy. The current shrine also claims that this deified body of Antoku is too sacred to be shown.

For these reasons, even the priest of Akama Jingū rarely opened the doors of the miniature shrine where Antoku’s statue was installed. Unfortunately, hiding the image caused serious damage because it was eaten by worms, contrary to most hidden images which are usually better preserved. When Mizuno Naofusa, the current head priest, opened the doors of the miniature shrine in the Sacred Hall in 1963, he was shocked to see the devastated condition of the statue.<sup>225</sup> He told me that in order to repair the statue he brought the portrait statue of Antoku, wrapped in a white cloth, by train to Kyoto, as if he was holding a child in his arms.<sup>226</sup> At the Conservation Center for Cultural Properties in the Kyoto National Museum the statue was

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<sup>225</sup> Priest Mizuno told me about this information on November 26 and 27, 2004.

<sup>226</sup> Priest Mizuno said that he could not go to the restroom while on the train for hours because he was afraid of losing the sacred image.

examined and repaired. When conservators dismantled the statue into wooden blocks, they found an ink-inscription written inside the statue. Unfortunately, they could not decipher the inscription, which often gives the circumstances of production (i.e. the date, the sculptor, or the production place). Presumably, a report of the examination and repair of the portrait was made; however, it has remained unpublished and unshared by researchers. My request to see this special image was politely refused; nonetheless, based on Priest Mizuno's description of the portrait, various records mentioning it, and other portraits similar to it, a rough approximation of the design of the wooden statue of Antoku is possible.

#### 4.2.1 Historical Sources on the Portraits

There are a considerable number of references to Amidaji's portrait, designated the primary icon in the Spirit Hall. The earliest extant reference appears in *Michiyukiburi* 道ゆきぶり, the diary of Imagawa Ryōshun 今川了俊 (1326-1414?), a shogunal deputy stationed in Kyūshū in 1371. Ryōshun frequented Amidaji and venerated the portrait of Antoku. His diary mentions Antoku's portrait, but no detailed description is given.<sup>227</sup> The next description is found in the writings of Iio Sōgi 飯尾宗祇 (1421-1502), a well-known linked-verse poet who recorded his travel account in 1480:

I went to visit the Portrait Hall [Spirit Hall] where I saw the portrait of Emperor Antoku. The image portrays Antoku with his hair parted in the middle and bound up at the sides in the old style. He wore a pair of red *hakama* trousers and carried a wooden scepter. He had a most pleasing countenance and appeared to be smiling. He looked just as he must have been in life; you forgot that this was but an image of one long dead. Unworthy though I be, I could not restrain my tears as I humbly gazed upon him. Next were the portraits of the Taira members: New Middle Councilor Tomomori,

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<sup>227</sup> *Michiyukiburi*, 109.

Master of the Palace Repairs Office Tsunemori, Director of the Palace Storehouse Bureau Nobumoto, Prime Minister Norimori, Middle General Sukemori, and Noto Governor Noritsune. Then there were four or five court ladies, beginning with Lady Dainagon-no-suke. Among the warriors of the Taira, Noritsune particularly excelled in the martial arts....<sup>228</sup>

His account describes the portrait of Antoku in detail; the child emperor's hairstyle, clothing, attributes, and countenance. Sōgi explains that Antoku, with his hair separated into two parts on each side of his face, held a wooden scepter and wore red trousers. At the same time, he mentions the portraits of the Taira members.

In 1518, a fire destroyed almost all of the buildings, including the Spirit Hall. Following this disastrous fire, in 1519, the head priest Shūeki sent a letter to Sue Hiroaki, who served the provincial warlord, Ōuchi Yoshioki 大内義興 (1477-1528).<sup>229</sup> In his letter, Shūeki laments that the temple lost many buildings and artifacts, but he reports that the portraits of Antoku and the Taira were rescued by the fleeing monks. The temple's restoration project was set to begin soon after this request, and it seems to have lasted a long time. The slow process of restoration was partly due to the extensive damage to many buildings.<sup>230</sup> During the restoration, the monk Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良 (1501-1579) visited Amidaji in 1541. His travel diary states that he

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<sup>228</sup> *Tsukushi michi no ki*, 169. I have slightly altered the translation of Eileen Katō, "Pilgrimage to Dazaifu: Sōgi's *Tsukushi no Michi no Ki*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 34:3 (Autumn 1979), 347.

<sup>229</sup> *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* in AJM, 132-135.

<sup>230</sup> This was the period of the political shift from the Ōuchi family to the Mōri family in controlling the region where Amidaji stood. Indeed, Yoshitaka, who had succeeded Yoshioki, died by his own hand following a rebellion by Sue Hiroaki's grandson Takafusa 隆房 (1521-1555) in 1551, and this led to the ultimate destruction of the Ōuchi clan. The slow restoration of the temple is also apparent in documentary references. For example, Emperor Go-Nara 後奈良 (r.1526-1557) expressed his disappointment at Amidaji's slow restoration process in an edict issued in 1529. In an official document Mōri Motonari 毛利元就 (1497-1571), who became the provincial warlord after the Ōuchi, ordered the restoration of the Spirit Hall in 1556. The imperial edict issued by Emperor Ōgimachi 正親町 (r.1557-1586) in 1562 further ordered Amidaji to complete its restoration immediately. The temple's reconstruction was probably completed in 1577 because in the same year the head priest Yōsen 養専 (b.d. unknown) expressed profound appreciation to the wealthy local landlord Itō Moriyoshi 伊藤盛良 (b.d. unknown), who played a crucial role in restoring Amidaji financially. These references indicate how extensively the fire of 1518 damaged Amidaji and the temple faced difficulties in reconstructing many buildings lost in the fire. See *Go-Nara tennō rinji* in AJM, 126-127; *Mōri Motonari ando jō* in AJM, 62-63; *Ōgimachi tennō rinji* in AJM, 128-129; *Amidaji Yōsen shōjō* in AHI, 53-54.

venerated the portrait of Antoku and saw the paintings that illustrated the life of Emperor Antoku on the wall.<sup>231</sup>

Further references to Antoku's portrait appear in poems dedicated to the spirit of Antoku and illuminate the practices associated with the image. Approximately one hundred poems were dedicated to Antoku at the Spirit Hall.<sup>232</sup> To compose a poem and dedicate it to Antoku's soul was customary at Amidaji in earlier periods. Inspired by the portrait of Antoku, most were composed as offerings to the image. Although the Japanese poem, composed in a more-or-less thirty-one-syllable format, does not give a detailed description of the portrait, a notation is usually added to provide us with information. For example, on two occasions when Toyotomi Hideyoshi journeyed to Amidaji in 1587 before his unification of the nation and in 1592 before his invasions to Korea, he and his retainers dedicated their poems to the soul of Antoku in the Spirit Hall. Several travel accounts of Hideyoshi's retainers remark that the portrait of Antoku was enshrined in the Spirit Hall and the portraits of the Taira members were painted on the wall there.<sup>233</sup> In 1598, the warrior Zesai Shigekane 是齋重鑑 (d.1609) also records in his travel journal:

The portraits of the Taira clan were displayed in the Spirit Hall of Amidaji that was built to commemorate their suicides. The portrait of Antoku was made of wood. The portrait

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<sup>231</sup> *Sakugen oshō nyūminki shotoshū* in vol. 116 of BZ (Tenmon 10:1541.7.13), 317-318. Usually, if the hall where an icon was installed is destroyed, the icon is temporarily housed in a different place (i.e., another hall in the same temple complex or a different temple nearby) until the completion of the reconstruction. However, Sakugen's account indicates this was not the case; the portrait of Antoku was enshrined before the completion of the Spirit Hall. This circumstance could be explained by the fact that there was no place to store temple treasures, including the portrait, because the fire destroyed almost all the buildings in the temple complex in 1518. The fire broke out in the neighborhood of Amidaji and spread to the temple. Given this situation, the monks at Amidaji could not find an appropriate place to temporarily install the portrait of Antoku in either the temple or the neighborhood. The enshrinement of Antoku's portrait in the Spirit Hall before its completion was thus necessary, and it was perhaps in this context that Sakugen saw the portrait.

<sup>232</sup> Horikawa Takashi, "Kaiko shikajō," in *Kaiōgyū*, 53-88.

<sup>233</sup> For example, see Takenaka Shigekado, *Toyo kagami* in vol. 16 of SGR (Tenshō 15:1587.5.?), 411; Kinoshita Katsutoshi, *Kyūshū no michinoki* in vol. 15 of SGR (Bunroku 1:1592, undated), 234.

of the eight-year-old emperor was venerable.... I also composed a poem to pray for my safe trip....<sup>234</sup>

His diary explicitly states that the portrait of Antoku was made of wood. It also tells us that he dedicated his poem not only to commemorate Antoku's death but also to pray for his safe journey.<sup>235</sup>

In the Edo period, many people from various places visited Amidaji. This was in part encouraged by safe roads and good lodging, as well as by economic stability that brought people increased prosperity and leisure time for pleasure travel under the Tokugawa government. The German physician Engelbert Kaempfer witnessed the wooden statue of Antoku along with the portraits of the Taira depicted on the sliding doors in the Spirit Hall in 1691.<sup>236</sup> He describes the face of Antoku as plump and stout with long black hair, and on each side of Antoku's sculpted image were placed the painted portraits of the Taira, dressed in black garments like those worn at the imperial court.<sup>237</sup> In 1750, the *haiku* poet Takebe Ayatari 建部綾足 (1719-1774) visited Amidaji and saw the statue of Emperor Antoku and the portraits of the Taira members (Tsunemori, Tomomori, Jibukyō-no-tsubone, Sotsu-no-suke, etc.).<sup>238</sup> In his diary, Ayatari notes that the Taira portraits were displayed as if protecting the child emperor. In 1767, the

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<sup>234</sup> Zesai Shigekane, *Kyūshū gekōki* in SNK (Keichō 3:1598.6.13), 108.

<sup>235</sup> Because many visitors sailed from the port of Akama to the island of Kyūshū crossing the sea where Antoku and the Taira died, prayers for their safe trip might have related to people's fear about the ghosts of Antoku and the Taira.

<sup>236</sup> *Edo sanpu ryokō nikki*, 95-97; also see Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey, *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*, trans. Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 300-302. The travel account of Overmeer Fisscher in 1822 reports that Antoku's portrait was made of bronze. This is the only reference which mentions the medium of the statue was bronze. Overmeer Fisscher, *Sanpu kikō*, trans. Shōji Mitsuo and Numata Jirō, in vol. 2 of *Nihon fūzoku bikō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1978), 204-205.

<sup>237</sup> As will be quoted in Chapter Four, Kaempfer's diary states that two life-sized portraits of the Taira members in black garments were placed on both sides of the sculpted portrait of Antoku. Among the portraits of the Taira members, five men wear black formal robes. As I have reconstructed the placement of the portraits of the Taira members in Chapter Two, however, it is more likely that the portraits of the Taira women were placed on each side of the sculpted portrait of Antoku. Since Kaempfer mentions only the two portraits, it is uncertain about the placement of these portraits in relation to the other Taira portraits.

<sup>238</sup> Takebe Ayatari, *Urazutai* in vol. 79 of SNK (Kan'ei 3:1750.6.14), 408.



geographer Nagakubo Sekisui 長久保赤水 (1717-1801) observed that the wooden statue of Antoku was placed on the altar and the portraits of the Taira were depicted on the sliding doors in the Spirit Hall built over Antoku's grave.<sup>239</sup> In 1802, Hishiya Heishichi 菱屋兵七 (b.d. unknown) similarly recorded in his diary that he saw the wooden statue of Antoku and the portraits of the Taira members depicted on the sliding-doors.<sup>240</sup> Heishichi further mentioned a fee (100 *mon*) was required to see these images.<sup>241</sup>

When the comic poet Ōta Nanpo traveled to Amidaji in 1806, he venerated the wooden statue of Antoku and the portraits of the Taira on the sliding doors.<sup>242</sup> Nanpo's record lists the names of the subjects of the Taira's portraits as well. In the following year the physician Izawa Ranken 伊沢蘭軒 (1777-1829) paid a visit to Amidaji, where he saw the standing wooden portrait of Antoku.<sup>243</sup> Ranken notes that the sculpted statue of Antoku was painted with colors and the portraits of the Taira were depicted on the sliding-doors. The fact that Antoku's statue was painted is verified by the travel diary of the Confucian scholar Kawakita Onzan 川北温山 (1794-1853). Onzan describes Antoku's portrait in his diary in 1811:

Incense smoke blackened the surface of Antoku's portrait, but the eyes of the portrait were shining. When I took a close look at the carved image, I could see that Antoku wore a green upper garment and a pair of red trousers.<sup>244</sup>

His record tells us that the portrait was placed in the Spirit Hall for long periods and was subjected to the darkening by incense and candle smoke. "Shining eyes" suggest that crystals

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<sup>239</sup> Nagakubo Sekisui, *Nagasaki gyōeki nikki* in vol. 1 of NKS (Meiwa 4:1767.10.27), 248.

<sup>240</sup> Hishiya Heishichi, *Tsukushi kikō* in vol. 51 of SNK (Kyōhō 2:1802.4.18), 628.

<sup>241</sup> Treasures (including a sword attributed to Antoku, another sword used by Taira no Noritsune, poem sheets dedicated by visitors in the past) preserved in the Reception Hall were also shown in exchange of additional 100 *mon*. *Ibid.*

<sup>242</sup> *Koharu kikō*, 20-23.

<sup>243</sup> See the entry of Bunka 3:1806.6.25 in Izawa Ranken, *Nagasaki kikō* in vol. 7 of *Izawa Ranken zenshū* (Osaka: Oriento Shuppansha, 1998), 559-561.

<sup>244</sup> Kawakita Onzan, *Kojū yoshō* in vol. 1 of NKS (Bunka 8:1811.undated), 348.

were inserted for his eyeballs. Onzan's description of the portrait also indicates Antoku's costume.

One of the chief missions of Amidaji during the Edo period was to host banquets for Korean emissaries. On eight of their twelve visits between 1607 and 1811, Amidaji provided lodging for high-ranking Korean ambassadors. Like Japanese visitors, the Korean ambassadors dedicated their poems to the soul of Emperor Antoku.<sup>245</sup> The travel account of Kyon Jin 慶暹 (1562-1620), vice ambassador with the Korean embassy of 1607, records that a "clay" portrait of the child emperor was made by those who had sympathy for his death at the age of eight.<sup>246</sup> Another Korean author of *Tōsa nichiroku* 東嗟日録 also saw the clay statue of Antoku in the Spirit Hall in 1682.<sup>247</sup>

Moreover, the travel journal of the Dutch physician Phillipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) explains that a carved statue of Antoku stood on the altar behind a curtain.<sup>248</sup> The anonymous Japanese author of *Kigai Bōchō kikō* records in 1863:

I visited the Spirit Hall and venerated the wooden portrait of Emperor Antoku. This portrait was a standing image. Antoku held a wooden scepter in his left hand and wore a crown on his head. Since inside the [miniature] shrine was dark, it was difficult to see the details of his face and crown....<sup>249</sup>

There are more references mentioning the portraits of Antoku and the Taira; but since most of them give similar information, I will not introduce all of them. As the references above

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<sup>245</sup> Muroi Kōji, "Chōsen tsūshinshi ga nokoshita Antoku tei aitō no uta," in *Kaiōgyū*, 89-111.

<sup>246</sup> Muroi, 92. Only Korean records say that the portrait was made of clay. The room in which the portrait was enshrined was dark, although candles were lit as offerings. The dark room and the pigments on the image made it difficult to see the medium of the statue. We know that Korean ambassadors previewed the travels made by the former ambassadors before their trip; thus, they likely believed the portrait of Antoku was made of clay even though they could not tell that from seeing it.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>248</sup> Phillipp Franz von Siebold, *Edo sanpu kikō*, trans. Saitō Makoto (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1967), 93-94.

<sup>249</sup> Although the anonymous author of *Kigai bōchō kikō* mentions that Antoku's portrait wore a crown, it is unlikely that he wore it since he was a child. Normally, a person after the coming-of-age ceremony (元服 *genpuku*) changed adult's hairstyle and wore a crown. *Kigai Bōchō kikō* (Doc. 30 *chishi* 15).

demonstrate, many visitors actually saw the portrait of Antoku in the Spirit Hall. Perhaps even common people, if they paid a fee, could view the image.<sup>250</sup> As Kaempfer describes, the Japanese normally kneeled down to worship the statue of Antoku.<sup>251</sup> The mid-nineteenth century source, *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu*, which served as the pictorial guide for the temple, depicts that a visitor kneels down on the ground in front of the Spirit Hall, facing the direction where Antoku's statue was enshrined.<sup>252</sup> These sources suggest that normally visitors expected to venerate Antoku's statue and that the portrait of Antoku was a “must-see” work.

#### 4.2.2 Visualization of Hidden Portrait of Antoku

The description of Antoku's portrait in the aforementioned documentary sources corresponds closely to Priest Mizuno's description of the portrait currently concealed in the Sacred Hall of Akama Jingū. In particular, Sōgi's description closely resembles Mizuno's. According to Priest Mizuno, the hidden portrait of Emperor Antoku is a free-standing statue made of Japanese cypress. It stands on a lacquered wooden altar, but formerly it stood on a raised ceremonial mat (上畳 *agedatami*) with striped silk edging of various colors (縵縵縁 *ungenberi*).<sup>253</sup> The height of the statue measures approximately 90 centimeters. Antoku wears a formal court robe with a pair of trousers. Most of the surface pigment has flaked away throughout its long history; however, a vestige of red pigment remains on both thighs of the statue. Antoku's black hair is arranged in a boy's loop on each side of his head (下げみづら *sagemizura*) and his plump face,

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<sup>250</sup> For example, see *Tsukushi kikō*, 184.

<sup>251</sup> *Edo sanpu ryokō nikki*, 95.

<sup>252</sup> *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* (Doc. *ippan kyōdo shiryō* 228).

<sup>253</sup> The *tatami* mat was replaced by a lacquered wooden altar in order to prevent damage from worms after the statue had been repaired in 1963.

slightly smiling, has crystals inserted for eyeballs (玉眼 *gyokugan*), adding a realistic appearance. The crystal eyeballs remind us of Kawakita Onzan's description quoted earlier of Antoku's statue. Priest Mizuno describes the statue's pose in greater detail. The child emperor's left hand is raised and his right lowered. The position of his hands suggests that he held some object (now lost). As earlier temple visitors describe, Antoku probably held a ceremonial wooden scepter (笏 *shaku*).<sup>254</sup>

The bronze statue of Emperor Antoku, which is currently displayed in the shrine's museum, also gives a clue to what the hidden statue originally looked like. Although the bronze statue is different in medium from the wooden one, the current head priest Mizuno says that they are similar in appearance. The bronze statue was dedicated in 1965 by Kageyama Yasuo, who claimed himself to be a descendent of the Taira clan. The bronze image was designed in consultation with Mizuno and specialists of court costumes and traditions; as a result, it was no doubt cast in the manner of the hidden statue.

The bronze statue portrays Antoku standing on a raised ceremonial mat with striped silk edging of multiple colors. Curtains are hung from the top of the miniature shrine roof, creating a sacred space for the image. The curtain in front is raised up to the height of the forehead of the statue. In order to see the whole body of the statue, we have to kneel down. This setting implies the authority of Antoku over the viewer. Like the hidden statue, it is approximately 90 centimeters high. Antoku's hair is bounded up at the sides, similar to his wooden portrait. Mizuno also describes the costume of the bronze statue resembles that of the hidden image. The bronze image of Antoku is also dressed in a robe over long trousers, but, unlike the original

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<sup>254</sup> Mizuno assumes that Antoku might have had a pair of beads (数珠 *juzu*) in his right hand and a fan (差羽 *sashiba*) in his left. According to him, the hole formed by the left hand position of Antoku is too small to hold a wooden scepter.

statue, it holds a scepter in his right hand not his left. With the exception of these minor differences, the bronze statue resembles the hidden image.

Furthermore, a painted portrait of Antoku is owned by Akama Jingū.<sup>255</sup> Priest Mizuno even posits that the painted portrait was made based on the hidden image; thus, this work also helps us to visualize the wooden statue of Antoku. Executed in ink and color on paper in the format of a hanging scroll, it measures 72.1 centimeters wide by 131.4 centimeters tall. Similar to the statue, Emperor Antoku, dressed in a court robe with a pair of red trousers, stands on a raised ceremonial mat with striped silk edging of various colors. In his right hand he holds a wooden scepter, while his left hand holds the end of his green robe. As introduced above, the same colors of attire are mentioned in the diary of Kawakita Onzan who witnessed the wooden statue of Antoku in 1811; this also suggests the painted portrait was produced based on the sculpted portrait. In the painted portrait of Antoku, the elaborate green robe displays patterns of chrysanthemum, paulownia, and auspicious clouds.<sup>256</sup> Antoku's hair is parted in the middle and bound at the sides, but has no loops, unlike his wooden and bronze portraits as described above. Antoku's snowy white skin reflects the trend of the aristocracy in his time. His clothing and calm countenance evoke those of Antoku in the last moments before his suicide, which is described in the *Tale of the Heike*.<sup>257</sup> The tale also describes Antoku's robe as olive-gray color and his hair as being bounded up at the sides. In the painted portrait, the child emperor stands in an interior setting, with a bamboo blind rolled up and tied with tassels and a monochrome ink

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<sup>255</sup> The circumstance of production of this portrait will be discussed later.

<sup>256</sup> Antoku's younger brother, Emperor Go-Toba, especially liked chrysanthemums and often used the pattern of chrysanthemums on his clothing and furniture. Since then, the chrysanthemum has become an imperial crest. Paulownia is also an imperial crest, deriving from ancient Chinese legend. According to the legend, a phoenix is said to perch on the tree of a paulownia at the birth of a sage. The cloud pattern symbolizes immortality and auspicious events in Daoism. The cloud pattern is also associated with the ancient Chinese emperor and was adopted by the Japanese imperial family. Thus, Antoku's robe has appropriate patterns for an emperor.

<sup>257</sup> The *Tale of the Heike*, 378.

painting depicted behind him. When the portrait is hung, the setting serves as a device to elevate the child emperor's position over that of the humble viewer.

### 4.3 PORTRAITS OF THE TAIRA

Ten painted portraits of the important Taira clan members, currently in the format of hanging scrolls, are housed in Akama Jingū. Originally these portraits were painted on the sliding-doors of the Spirit Hall. Rectangular paper strips are painted in gold and silver or in red above each sitter with inscriptions. The inscriptions indicate the ranks and names of the subjects. It is possible that paper strips had formerly been pasted on. The brushwork of the inscriptions on the gold-silver strips and the red strips is different, indicating that they were done by different individuals.<sup>258</sup>

The chief councilor of the Tokugawa government, Matsudaira Sadanobu's 松平定信 (1758-1829) cultural projects, the *Assembled Antiquities* 古画類聚 (*Koga ruijū*) and the *Ten Categories of Collected Antiquities* 集古十種 (*Shūko jisshu*), contain sketches of the Taira portraits at Amidaji with the inscription of the names of the subjects.<sup>259</sup> Strangely, we find a discrepancy in the identifications of the sitters in the inscriptions of Amidaji's current portraits and those of Sadanobu's projects. In fact, only half of the subjects' identifications are the same. This inconsistency of identification was perhaps caused by damage to the original inscriptions

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<sup>258</sup> No documents provide about the calligraphers.

<sup>259</sup> Sadanobu commissioned Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1763-1840) and his colleagues to visit shrines, temples, and private collectors throughout a wide area of Japan to survey and record Japan's artistic and archaeological heritage. Sadanobu's two catalogues contain copies of the Taira's portraits at Amidaji. The copies attest to the fact that the extant Taira portraits were placed on the sliding-doors in the Spirit Hall. Strangely, the wooden statue of Antoku is not included in the two sources. Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Koga ruijū* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1990), 17-18, 34-35; *Shūko jisshu* (Tokyo: Tosho Kankōkai, 1908), 98-102, 112, 196-199.

and repeated restoration.<sup>260</sup> It was also caused by loss in memory of who these individuals were as the portraits were no longer displayed and used in rituals after the Meiji persecution of Buddhism. There are similar problems identifying specific scenes of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, mounted in separate hanging scrolls after the temple was demolished in the Meiji period.

Although it is likely that the Taira portraits possess some features that were based on distinctive physical traits of the subjects, there are no other extant works portraying the Taira members to examine for comparison.<sup>261</sup> As such, I follow the identifications that Akama Jingū currently uses. The ten Taira members are identified as Taira no Norimori, Taira no Tomomori, Taira no Noritsune, Taira no Tsunemori, Taira no Sukemori, Taira no Nobumoto, Lady Dainagon-no-suke, Lady Sotsu-no-suke, Lady Jibukyō-no-tsubone, and Lady Rō-no-onkata.<sup>262</sup> These six men and four women are seated, each on a separate *tatami*. The edges of the *tatami* are embroidered with a large flower pattern and beneath this is a white wave design – a pattern common for seating used only for imperial princes and high-ranking court members.

One might speculate that all the subjects of the portraits died in the Battle of Dannoura, but only half of them (five men) died in the battle and the other half (one man and four women) did not. The survivors were captured as prisoners by the Minamoto warriors and transferred to

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<sup>260</sup> The temple inventory of 1739 indicates the renewal of the painted portraits of the Taira. The portraits of the Taira might have been restored more than a few times.

<sup>261</sup> The *Illustrated Handscrolls of the Taira Courtiers* (*Heike kindachi sōshi*), dated to the thirteenth century, portray the Taira members; however it is rendered in *hikime kagihana* 引目鉤鼻 manner, with eyes in straight line, nose in a hooked line, and a small dot-like mouth. This manner does not show the facial features of the individuals; thus we cannot use it in examining the likenesses of the Taira members. The surviving *illustrated handscrolls of the Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari emaki*), dated to the early seventeenth century, have the same format in its depictions of the Taira members. These scrolls are currently preserved in the Hayashibara Museum in Okayama City. None of these works depicting the Taira members are helpful for comparison. Hayashibara Bijutsukan, *Heike monogatari emaki* (Okayama: Hayashibara Bijutsukan, 1992).

<sup>262</sup> The sizes of the Taira portraits are 123 x 83 cm.

Kyoto.<sup>263</sup> It is uncertain why these ten figures were chosen to be depicted in the portraits, but all had served the child emperor until the last moments of his life in the sea of Dannoura. In particular, the four ladies depicted in the portraits were Antoku's wet nurses and assistant handmaids. These high-ranking ladies-in-waiting took care of the emperor's daily needs.<sup>264</sup> In the case of a child emperor these ladies-in-waiting slept by him, attended to his slightest needs, and educated him. They also nursed him when he was sick and terribly grieved for his death because of their intimate relationship with the emperor since his birth.<sup>265</sup> Although the ways of treating an emperor's body and imperial burial customs varied, the general purpose in constructing a mortuary building was to recreate the space that was once used by the deceased while alive. In the case of Antoku, such a space would be similar to the inner quarters (内裏 *dairi*) of the imperial palace. In the inner quarters of the imperial palace, ladies-in-waiting looked after the child emperor; thus, the arrangement of the portraits of the Taira ladies-in-waiting next to Antoku was made to correspond to the architectural space where Antoku spent his lifetime. This claim is further supported by the travel account of an Edo warlord, Hosokawa Yūsai 細川幽齋 (1534-1610). Yūsai said that the local people called Amidaji the "inner quarters of the imperial palace (*dairi*)."<sup>266</sup> Thus, the room where the portraits of Antoku and the Taira were enshrined was likely the replication of the inner quarters of the imperial palace where they had lived.<sup>267</sup> Moreover, it is important to note that Amidaji functioned not only as a site to

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<sup>263</sup> Although forty-three female prisoners were reported after the Battle of Dannoura, only six specific names of women are listed. Among the six names is Kenreimon'in, the mother of Antoku. See *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Bunji 1: 1185.4.4), 144-146; the *Tale of the Heike*, 381-382.

<sup>264</sup> For the duties of ladies-in-waiting in the Heian period, for example, see *Sanuki-no-suke no nikki* in vol. 26 of SNKBT.

<sup>265</sup> For instance, ladies-in-waiting grieved for the death of Emperor Horikawa 堀河 (r.1086-1107). See *Sanuki-no-suke no nikki*, 418-426.

<sup>266</sup> Hosokawa Yūsai, *Kyūshū michinoki* in vol. 15 of SGR (Tenshō 15:1587.5.?), 226.

<sup>267</sup> This idea of the replication of the living space for the mortuary structure can be supported by several cases. For example, the living quarters of the monk Kūkai was converted into the Portrait Hall after his death. This case was



perform mortuary rites for Antoku but also as a place to commemorate the battle that took place in front of it. Given these reasons, the portraits of the Taira members, who had served Antoku until the last moments of his life in the Battle of Dannoura, were necessary to be enshrined with the child emperor in the Spirit Hall.

The male sitters, except for Sukemori, are dressed in black official court robes (束帶 *sokutai*). Sukemori wears a light-yellow robe (直衣 *nōshi*), an informal outfit worn by male courtiers. The principal components of their costumes are a black ceremonial hat (冠 *kanmuri*), a black overrobe (袍 *hō*), a silk waist-sash (平緒 *hirao*), and a pair of white trousers (袴 *hakama*). The women are dressed in formal costume (唐衣裳 *karaginumo*), which consisted of a Chinese outer robe (唐衣 *karaginu*), an upper garment (表衣 *uwagi*), five layers of robes (五衣 *itsuginu*), an unlined garment (単 *hitoe*), a middle garment (打衣 *uchigi*), a skirt (裳 *mo*), trousers (袴 *hakama*), and a belt (小腰 *kogoshi*). Their hair is parted precisely, and allowed to fall naturally down their backs (垂髮 *taregami*). At their cheeks, they have a wisp of short hair (鬢批 *binsogi*), which is a mark of marriage or engagement. Their faces are made up with white makeup, with rouge on their lips. Another aristocratic fashion created by shaving off the actual eyebrows and drawing false eyebrows high on the forehead with cosmetic pigment (作り眉 *tsukuri mayu*) is

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seen both in Tōji and in Mt. Kōya. Moreover, the Spirit Hall for Emperor Sutoku, who was also believed to become a vengeful ghost, was formerly his residence (Kinomaruden 木丸殿) in Sanuki Province, the place of his exile and death. After the death of Sutoku, his residence was relocated beside his tomb, where his body had been cremated and buried, and it was converted into the Spirit Hall. The portrait of Sutoku was enshrined in the Spirit Hall. Sutoku's Spirit Hall was later named Tonshōji 頓証寺 by Emperor Go-Komatsu 後小松 (r.1382-1412). As discussed earlier in Chapter One, the imperial court ordered to build a hall for Antoku in Nagato Province following the case of Sutoku's hall. Sutoku's residence in Sanuki Province perhaps looked like the inner quarters of the imperial palace (although it was a smaller scale than the inner quarters of the imperial palace in Kyoto). Today's Spirit Hall, which has architectural features of the living quarters of the imperial palace, was reconstructed in 1680 by the provincial warlord Matsudaira Yorishige 松平頼重 (1622-1695). For Sutoku's Spirit Hall, see *Shiromineji engi* in vol. 19 of SGR, 276.

visible. The Taira members are rendered in aristocratic attire appropriate to serve Emperor Antoku.

#### 4.4 DATE OF THE PORTRAITS OF ANTOKU AND THE TAIRA

Before arguing when the portraits of Antoku and the Taira were produced, it is important to understand the general occasions and procedures for producing portraits of emperors. Normally, there were two types of portraits. One is *juzō* 寿像 (longevity and commemorative portrait), which is produced during the lifetime of its subject; the other is *izō* 遺像 (posthumous portrait), which is produced after the death of its subject, in many cases, on the first, third, seventh, or thirteenth death anniversary. These two types of portraits of emperors, contemporaneous to Antoku in the late Heian and Kamakura periods, were usually made by artist(s) whose lineage can be traced back to the courtier Fujiwara no Takanobu 藤原隆信 (1142-1205). Takanobu is known as the inventor of the *nise-e* 似絵 style. *Nise-e*, literally a picture of likeness, is a small-scale painting which emphasizes a likeness of the model's face.<sup>268</sup> In order to produce *nise-e*, it is crucial to have an initial sketch of the face (紙形 *kamigata*), based on the artist's actual observation of the subject during the subject's lifetime.<sup>269</sup> This *nise-e* style was transmitted and maintained exclusively through several generations starting from Takanobu to his descendents within his family workshop. This exclusivity is partly because the artist(s) in the lineage of Takanobu, who were courtiers and talented painters, could actually meet with members of the

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<sup>268</sup> The term *nise-e* is not limited to the representation of human beings. It is also applied to the pictures of animals based on actual observation. The term first appears in a document from the late twelfth century. The first use of the term was for the portrait of Go-Toba in *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Jōkyū 3:1221.7.8), 792.

<sup>269</sup> *Kamigata* literally means paper forms.

imperial family and court members, as well as have access to the sketches made and stored in their workshop.<sup>270</sup>

Generally, *nise-e* display a three-quarter view of the sitter, which is different from Antoku's frontal portrait. In addition, it is rare to depict an emperor standing in the format of a portrait, such as the portrait of Antoku at Amidaji. Most portraits of emperors, based on *kamigata* sketches, are seated in a three-quarter view. For example, the painted portrait of Emperor Go-Toba, currently preserved at Minase Shrine 水無瀬神宮 in Osaka, is a *nise-e* portrait showing the seated emperor in a three-quarter view. According to the early Kamakura chronicle *Azuma kagami*, Fujiwara no Nobuzane 藤原信実 (1176?-1265?), a son of Takanobu, quickly sketched Go-Toba's face right before the emperor's exile following his defeat in the Jōkyū Disturbance in 1221.<sup>271</sup> Based on the sketch, Nobuzane completed the portrait of Go-Toba. Extremely similar renditions of Go-Toba's facial expression, although the direction of the face is the opposite, are found in two handscrolls -- the *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents* 天子撰関御影 (*Tenshi sekkan miei*) and the *Portraits of Emperors and Regents* 天皇撰関御影 (*Tennō sekkan miei*).<sup>272</sup> Moreover, a sketch of Emperor Go-Shirakawa was drawn by Nobuzane's great-grandson Fujiwara no Tamenobu 藤原為信 (b.d. unknown) in 1311.<sup>273</sup> This

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<sup>270</sup> *Nise-e*, made on the basis of facial sketches, played an important role in recording the appearance of the imperial family and court members.

<sup>271</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Jōkyū 3:1221.7.8), 792.

<sup>272</sup> The *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents*, a scroll portraying twenty-one emperors arranged in order of accession, showing all but four of the emperors whose reigns extended over the two hundred and more years between 1107 and 1339, employs the *nise-e* style. It also depicts regents and ministers at court. The illustrious procession begins with the Emperor Toba (r.1107-1123) and ends with Emperor Go-Daigo (r.1310-1339) in the *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents*. This scroll is important as an official pictorial record of successive emperors. The *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents* was portrayed by Fujiwara no Tamenobu 藤原為信 (a great-grandson of Nobuzane) and Tamenobu's son Gōshin 豪信 (b.d. unknown). The *Portraits of Emperors and Regents* is another handscroll assembling the portraits of seventeen emperors, nine princely abbots, and eleven regents.

<sup>273</sup> *Kitsuki* in vol. 30 of ZST (Jōan 4:1174.9.22), 66.

sketch depicting Go-Shirakawa seated in a three-quarter view was deposited in the hollow space inside the wooden statue of Go-Shirakawa, which has been enshrined in the Spirit Hall (Lotus Hall) within the complex of Hōjūji. The sketch is very similar to the wooden statue in which he is also seated.<sup>274</sup> It is suggested that the wooden portrait of Go-Shirakawa was produced based upon this sketch by Tamenobu after the reconstruction of Go-Shirakawa's Spirit Hall that had been burnt in the fire in 1249.<sup>275</sup> An identical portrait of him is inserted in the *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents* and the *Portraits of Emperors and Regents*. The relationship between the individual portraits executed by the Fujiwara painters and those in the *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents* and the *Portraits of Emperors and Regents*, as shown in the cases of Go-Toba and Go-Shirakawa, suggests that the Fujiwara painter was able to include these portraits of the sovereigns in the two scrolls because he had access to the sketches of the emperors that had been made by Takanobu's family atelier.

Although both the *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents* and the *Portraits of Emperors and Regents* are scrolls portraying emperors arranged in order of accession, some emperors including Antoku are not included. The exclusion of four emperors--Konoe 近衛 (1139-1155), Rokujō 六条 (1164-1176), Antoku 安徳 (1178-1184), and Chūkyō 仲恭 (1218-1234)--in the *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents* and the *Portraits of Emperors and Regents* was perhaps due to the fact that they died relatively young and their reigns were short. For these reasons, the Fujiwara painters did not have the occasion to sketch these emperors while

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<sup>274</sup> Mōri Hisashi, *Shōzō chōkoku* in vol. 10 of *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1967), 34-37.

<sup>275</sup> Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Shōzōga* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994), 95.

the subjects were enthroned; they were not able to portray the emperors without the *kamigata* sketches.<sup>276</sup>

As for Antoku, his short life was lived in political turmoil. Soon after his enthronement at the age of three, the edict to defeat the Taira was submitted by Prince Mochihito 以仁 (a son of Go-Shirakawa) and the Minamoto raised an army against the Taira in 1180. Antoku, escorted by the Taira, was forced to flee from the capital in 1183. During this confusion, it is unlikely that the Fujiwara artists had an occasion to make a sketch of Antoku. This was perhaps the prime reason why Antoku is absent in the scrolls of the *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents* and the *Portraits of Emperors and Regents*. Thus, the portrait of Antoku, which was used at Amidaji, could not be executed in a regular way.

Nevertheless, in order to perform appropriate mortuary rites for Emperor Antoku, it was important to produce a portrait; for the portrait of the departed was one of the essential objects in mortuary rites—particularly for a deceased emperor. As I have argued in Chapter One, it was most likely that the Spirit Hall functioned as the Portrait Hall that Go-Shirakawa ordered to be built in the precinct of Amidaji in 1191. Because the portrait functioned as a medium where the spirit of the dead descended, it also served a vital role in the placatory rite to appease the vengeful ghost that the soul of the deceased might have become.<sup>277</sup> Thus, it was necessary to enshrine the portrait of Antoku in the Spirit Hall where the mortuary and placatory rites were held. The *Tale of the Heike* reports that Antoku's mother used a painted portrait of Antoku for her own private rites in the hermitage of Jakkōin in Kyoto before the imperial order of 1191, but

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<sup>276</sup> Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Zuijin teiki emaki, Chūden gyokai zu, Kuge retsuei zu, Tenshi sekkan miei* in vol. 12 of ZNE, 106.

<sup>277</sup> The placatory function of the portrait will be discussed in Chapter Four.

little is known of the circumstances of that image.<sup>278</sup> Even so, this portrait was unlikely rendered by an artist who belonged to Takanobu's family workshop due to its absence in the two scrolls of the *Portraits of Sons of Heaven and Regents* and the *Portraits of Emperors and Regents*. The lack of documentary evidence makes it difficult to reconstruct its history, but it is possible that a special arrangement was made for the production of the portrait of Antoku in 1191 when the mortuary rites were performed at Amidaji on a national level. Antoku's portrait was possibly made based on information from those who knew Antoku well. Such information might have been provided by the imperial family (e.g., Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa), court members (e.g., Kujō Kanezane) and the Taira members (e.g., Antoku's mother Tokushi and his wet nurses).

#### 4.5 INVENTORY OF 1739

Modern scholars do not comment on *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* (inventory of Amidaji) made by Priest Zōei 増盈 (d.1747), but this inventory provides a clue to determining the date of the portraits of Antoku and the Taira.<sup>279</sup> The inventory was created in 1739 and submitted to Chōfu Domain that controlled the area of the temple at that time. For the sake of easy reference, I have added “A” and “B” in my translation of the inventory.

A.

Hall of Emperor [Spirit Hall]

Item: Emperor Antoku-----wooden statue

Notation remarks: sculptor is unknown

Item: Sliding-door paintings--ten portraits of the Taira members--painted by old Dharma-Eye

Item: Korean dogs-----one pair-----sculpted by Jōchō

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<sup>278</sup> *The Tale of the Heike*, 432.

<sup>279</sup> *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* in vol. 7 of BJJY, 387-393.

Item: Curtain decorated with jewels----one

Item: Gauze sliding door-----one

Item: Hanging bamboo curtain-----one

Item: Golden sliding doors-----eight

Notation remarks: the paintings of the Minamoto and the Taira warriors.

Sixteen rectangular sheets (*shikishi*) are pasted on them.

Item: Hanging curtain-----one

Item: Tray with legs-----one set

Item: Golden lantern-----one

Item: Stone lantern-----two

[omission]

B.

The old painted portrait of Emperor Antoku

Notation remarks: This is stored along with the damaged and repaired portraits of the [Taira] family as well as the paintings of warriors. They total nineteen.

How can we interpret this inventory? Section A shows items installed in the Spirit Hall at the time Priest Zōei made the inventory. In the hall, the wooden statue of Emperor Antoku was enshrined and ten portraits of the Taira members were placed on the sliding doors. The portraits of the Taira were attributed to Kano Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476-1559), who received an honorary title, Dharma-Eye (法眼 *hōgen*), from the court around 1546, and was later called “old Dharma-Eye (古法眼 *kohōgen*)” after his death. “The golden sliding doors” refer to the images of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, as gold pigment is applied to the clouds and the background of the eight sliding-door paintings. The notation further indicates that they are paintings of the Minamoto and the Taira warriors. Since the paintings include battle scenes of the Minamoto and the Taira, the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* is named in this way in several sources.<sup>280</sup> Two rectangular sheets (色紙 *shikishi*) are painted on each panel of the

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<sup>280</sup> For example, see *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* of 1739 in vol. 7 of BJJ, 383.

paintings; thus the number of the sheets is sixteen in total.<sup>281</sup> All of these references correspond to the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. The order of items listed in the inventory is typically hierarchical and comprised of groups arranged according to the room unit and ritual unit. The statue of Antoku, the primary icon, is followed by the Taira portraits, and other ritual implements. The *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, because it is placed in a different room, is found subsequent to the portraiture.

In Section B, “the old painted portrait of Antoku” refers to a painted portrait of Antoku; “the portraits of family members” refer to those of the Taira family. Again, the paintings of the warriors are those of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. The number “nineteen” refers to the following: one painted portrait of Antoku; ten portraits of the Taira, each on a separate panel; and eight panels of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. It is important to keep in mind that the portraits of the Taira and the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, which are listed in Section B, were damaged.

To answer why one group of ritual utensils appears in Section A while another group of objects appears in Section B, we should note a major difference between these two groups. Section A appears in the section with items installed in principal buildings (the Spirit Hall, the Main Hall, and the Goma Hall), indicating that the objects had permanent positions in these buildings. In contrast, Section B appears in the section where documents and treasures of the temple are listed. They include, for example, a hanging scroll of Nirvana, which was used only once a year to commemorate the death of Śākyamuni, official documents issued by Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado and Shogun Ashikaga Takauji, or swords and spears that once belonged to the Taira warriors. In other words, items in Section B did not serve as ritual utensils in a permanent

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<sup>281</sup> As will be discussed, two rectangular sheets were originally pasted on each panel, but later they were painted on them, perhaps due to the deterioration or loss of them.



setting, but were removed from their original architectural setting to storage. Some of the items listed in Section B were used possibly once or only periodically; but for a variety of reasons (i.e., use on less-frequent occasions, being old or in damaged condition), they were no longer placed in the permanent setting.

The inventory therefore clarifies which items were installed in the original architectural setting and which were not. More importantly, Amidaji must have possessed both a sculpted and a painted portrait of Antoku. When the monk Zōei made the inventory, the sculpted portrait had a permanent position in the Spirit Hall; whereas the painted portrait was kept in a different place, most likely storage. At the same time, the inventory shows that two complete sets of the portraits of the Taira members and the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* existed -- one set was enshrined in the Spirit Hall and the other was kept in storage. Since the inventory says that the “old” painted portrait of Antoku was preserved in the temple storehouses, it is probable that the original portrait was produced much earlier than 1739. This also applies to the portraits of the Taira because they replaced the older and damaged ones.

As noted earlier, Imagawa Ryōshun, although he did not say whether the portrait of Antoku was sculpted or painted, saw one in 1371. Sōgi’s description of the portrait of Antoku in 1480 corresponds closely to the current head priest’s description.<sup>282</sup> The conservators who examined Antoku’s sculpted portrait in the Kyoto National Museum claim that, based on their expertise of sculpture, the portrait dates to the early Kamakura period.<sup>283</sup> The date of the

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<sup>282</sup> Despite several disasters throughout the history of Amidaji, it is possible that the hidden image preserved in the current shrine is the same one Sōgi saw. The portrait of Antoku was rescued even after the fire of 1519. When fire occurred again at Amidaji in 1732, no reports were made that the portrait was damaged. Although the temple was demolished in 1870, the sculpted portrait of Antoku was treated as a sacred body even during the period of persecution. During World War II the portrait was removed from the sacred shrine in order to avoid destruction by air raids, and it was preserved in an underground shelter. The statue was re-enshrined after the completion of the Sacred Hall in 1949.

<sup>283</sup> Priest Mizuno told me about this when I discussed with him on November 27, 2004.

wooden statue needs further investigation; yet, given the imperial order to construct the Spirit Hall in 1191 as well as the remarks by medieval travelers and modern specialists, the extant wooden statue is likely the one seen by Ryōshun or Sōgi. The extant sculpted portrait of Antoku may have been produced around 1191 when Antoku's Spirit Hall was constructed. Due to the lack of documentary evidence and the inability to observe the hidden portrait of Antoku, it is impossible to recover more about the carved image.

The painted portrait of Antoku is in good condition, suggesting that the painting was never hung for long periods or subjected to darkening by incense or candle smoke. As Priest Mizuno assumes, to produce the painted portrait, the painter might have referred to the existing statue of Antoku. Similar to Amidaji's portraits, the Spirit Hall for Emperor Sutoku in Sanuki formerly housed both a sculpted portrait of Sutoku and a painted portrait of him. Although the wooden portrait of Sutoku was lost perhaps during the Meiji persecution of Buddhism, the early nineteenth century evidence, *Ten Categories of Collected Antiquities (Shūko jisshu)*, contains a sketch of it with a significant degree of resemblance to the painted one, which was transferred from the Spirit Hall of Sutoku in Sanuki to his shrine in Kyoto during the Meiji period.<sup>284</sup> This case suggests that either a painted portrait or a sculpted portrait became the source for the production of either one of them. If this situation could be applied to Amidaji's example, it might explain its uniqueness: the painted portrait of Antoku is frontal and standing like the sculpted image. The reason why Antoku's painted portrait is frontal could be also explained in relation to the arrangement of the portraits of the Taira members. Although no documentation offers the use of Antoku's painted portrait, it might have been hung on a special occasion in the upper room of the Spirit Hall where the portraits of the Taira were also displayed. This frontal

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<sup>284</sup> *Shūko jisshu*, 5; Miyajima (1994), 21.

portrait of Antoku might have been appropriate to take the central position surrounded by the Taira portraits.

My observation of the extant painted portrait follows other art historians' analyses that the painted portrait looks relatively recent and was perhaps made in the nineteenth century or even in the twentieth century.<sup>285</sup> It is unlikely that the surviving painted image of Antoku is the same as the one described as "old" at the time of 1739 when the inventory was recorded. The damaged portraits of the Taira and the older paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, which were registered together with the painted portrait in the inventory of 1739, did not survive. It is possible that the damaged and older artworks were lost during some disastrous event (the Meiji-persecution of Buddhism and World War II). Like these works, the old painted portrait of Antoku might have been lost and replaced by a new one, which is likely the current portrait.

#### 4.6 SCULPTED OR PAINTED?

How were the portraits enshrined in the Spirit Hall? In primary sources such as temple records and travelers' diaries, we find the terms *ei* 影 (reflection), *miei* 御影 (august reflection), *goson'ei* 御尊影 (august venerable reflection), *goshin'ei* 御真影 (august true reflection), *goeizō* 御影像 (august reflected image), *sonzō* 尊像 (venerable image), *son'yō* 尊容 (venerable countenance), *izō* 遺像 (posthumous image), *mikatachi* みかたち (august image), *omokage* 面影 (vestige), and

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<sup>285</sup> Chino, 179; Ido Makoto also mentioned that the painted portraits of Antoku and the Taira were produced recently. I discussed with Ido on November 26, 2004.

*zō* 像 (image) employed interchangeably to describe the portrait of Antoku.<sup>286</sup> Sources written during the Edo period use terms, such as *gazō* 画像 (painted image), *mokuzō* 木像 (wooden statue), *chōzō* 彫像 (sculpted image), or *sozō* 塑像 (clay image) to indicate the mediums of Antoku's portraits.<sup>287</sup> From these terms in primary sources, except for those that explicitly state the medium, it is difficult to judge whether the portrait mentioned in the record is a painting or a sculpture. However, through careful analysis of the evidence referring to the Amidaji portraits, as well as consideration of their general function and setting, we can make a compelling case about whether a painted or sculpted portrait of Antoku was enshrined in the permanent setting.

All the aforementioned documentary sources offer evidence of a wooden sculpted portrait of Antoku as the icon permanently enshrined in the Spirit Hall.<sup>288</sup> In addition, the fundamental function of the sculpted and painted portraits supports this. In a permanent arrangement, a work of sculpture is most frequently the center of daily rituals. By contrast, a painting is often used as the focus of rituals that are held less-frequently; in many cases, on a one-time occasion. Whereas the sculpted portrait is a component of a permanent setting, the painted portrait creates a temporary ritual space. The sculpted image, due to its size and weight, cannot be moved easily; conversely, the painted image, often in the form of a hanging scroll, can be portable and could be rolled up and stored in the temple repository when not needed. While the painted image is fragile, the sculpted one is not. This is common not only for portraits of actual persons but also

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<sup>286</sup> For example, the temple document *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* (1519) uses the term *goshin'ei*; Imagawa Ryōshun's diary *Michiyukiburi* (1371) uses *goson'ei*; Sōgi's diary *Tsukushi michiki no ki* (1480) uses *mikatachi* and *ei*. The term *shōzō* 肖像, which is commonly used today, was first used in the mid-fifteenth century. *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* in AJM, 132-135; *Michiyukiburi*, 109; *Tsukushi michiki no ki*, 169.

<sup>287</sup> For instance, the temple inventory *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* (1739), Nagakubo Sekisui's diary *Nagasaki gyōeki nikki* (1767), Furukawa Koshōken's travel account *Seiyū zakki* (1806), and Itō Ranken's diary *Nagasaki kikō* (1807) record Antoku's portrait as a wooden statue (*mokuzō*). *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* in BJY, 387; *Nagasaki gyōeki nikki*, 248; *Seiyū zakki*, 275; *Nagasaki kikō*, 559.

<sup>288</sup> I have already noted the exceptions recorded by Korean ambassadors and by Overmeer Fisscher.

images of Buddhist deities in general. Thus, a carved image of Antoku is more suitable to be enshrined as an icon for regular, daily rituals.

Moreover, from a technical point of view, a wooden statue is more time-consuming and difficult to produce than a painted one. The materials for the production of portrait sculpture were more expensive than those for portrait painting. In part due to these technical reasons, sculpted portraits are not made in great numbers. To possess the carved image of the deceased and perform rituals with it is exclusive and can be done only at one or a few places that is/are closely associated with the deceased. Normally, the head temple that venerates the patriarch or commemorates a priest in the temple lineage has their sculpted portraits. This usually includes the temple in which the deceased was engaged during his lifetime or the mortuary temple that was built for the deceased. It is, therefore, natural that Amidaji, the central place to perform memorial services for Antoku, would display a permanent wooden portrait of Antoku. Such a statue was treated as a living icon that required daily offerings of food, water, flowers, candles, and incense.

Besides this evidence, my supposition that Amidaji displayed a permanent wooden statue of Antoku can be made by considering a pair of gilded wooden sculptures of Korean lion-dogs (狛犬 *komainu*). Korean lion-dogs, also known as Chinese lions, are mystical animals whose origin can be traced back to ancient Chinese and Central Asian legends.<sup>289</sup> In Japan, lion-dogs made of stone or wood have functioned as paired guardians at Shintō shrines. In the Heian period, when Antoku lived, lion-dogs were also placed in front of curtains behind which the emperor was seated in his living quarters at the imperial palace. As listed in the *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* of 1739, the Spirit Hall contained a curtain decorated with jewels, a gauze sliding

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<sup>289</sup> For the origin and functions of Korean lion-dogs, see *Nihon bijutsushi jiten*, 334.

door, and a hanging bamboo curtain, which were also essential furnishing items that were placed before the seat of an emperor in the living quarters of the imperial palace. As stated earlier, since the mortuary building was created to replicate the space used by the deceased in his lifetime, a set of lion-dog statues were appropriate to protect the sanctuary within which Antoku was secluded.

Moreover, in the later periods, the portraits of deified individuals, such as Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu, were often painted or positioned in the setting in which two statues of Korean lion-dogs are placed in front of the veranda and stairs. Amidaji's lion-dogs were also intended to have flanked the portrait statue of Antoku, who acquired divine status (神格 *shinkaku*) through continuous worship. According to the *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* of 1739, the pair of Korean lion-dogs were allegedly made by Jōchō, the prestigious eleventh-century sculptor. Many sculptures in Japan were thought to be sculpted by Jōchō without conclusive evidence, often simply because the images were made in the Heian and Kamakura periods. Though we can not simply accept the attribution, we can assume that Amidaji's Korean lion-dogs had been enshrined in the Spirit Hall for a long time.

Today, only one gilded lion-dog is preserved in Akama Jingū. The size of this surviving sculpture, approximately 30 centimeters tall, is suitable to be displayed with Antoku's wooden portrait which measures 90 centimeters in height. Given this consideration, it is probable that the wooden portrait image of Antoku was enshrined in the Spirit Hall on a regular base and the painted portrait of Antoku was used for rituals on special occasions.<sup>290</sup>

The medium of the Taira portraits is described with words such as *kabe* 壁 (wall), *fusuma* 襖 or *shōji* 障子 (sliding door). Wall implies immovability, while sliding door implies a

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<sup>290</sup> Unfortunately, no records have survived to verify the use of the painted portrait of Antoku.

movable function. These words, however, are interchangeable; for a sliding door sometimes refers to a panel affixed to a wall in the medieval period.<sup>291</sup> Interestingly, a close examination of the temple ground plan of 1732 demonstrates that the main sanctuary of the Spirit Hall had a unique structure. The main sanctuary, where the portraits were enshrined, had sliding-doors on two sides (east and north) and walls on the other two sides (west and south). The plan shows that the portraits of the Taira were placed on both fixed panels and movable sliding-doors. This unusual architectural setting needs more investigation, but we are confident that the portraits of the Taira were affixed to the interior of the room.

As discussed in Chapter Two, my reconstruction of the overall placement of the portraits of Antoku and the Taira in the Spirit Hall shows the wooden portrait of Antoku was surrounded by the portraits of the Taira members. These painted portraits on the wall panels functioned differently from those in the formats of hanging scrolls or folding screens. Whereas a portrait in the format of a hanging scroll can be easily moved from room to room and can be rolled and stored when not in use, the sliding door/wall must permanently stay in the same room. Thus, the portraits of the Taira were always on display. These fixed Taira images--although painted portraits--functioned as the focus of regular memorial rites. I believe that the portraits of the Taira needed to be displayed permanently with the wooden statue of Antoku in order to serve and protect the child emperor even in his afterlife. I also think that the Taira portraits had permanent positions in the Spirit Hall because the building was designed to conduct rituals to commemorate the deaths of Antoku and the Taira as well as the Battle of Dannoura.

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<sup>291</sup> See *Nihon bijutsushi jiten*, 432.

#### 4.7 ILLUSTRATED STORY OF EMPEROR ANTOKU

A complete set of eight paintings, the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, is currently mounted as eight hanging scrolls with gray cloth borders. Prior to the Meiji period, the panels of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* were mounted on sliding doors and walls of the three sides of the room in the Spirit Hall.<sup>292</sup> Traces of door pulls made of metal (引手金具 *hikite kanagu*) can be observed on Panels I, II, VII, and VIII (four panels on the northwest and southeast sides), which indicate that these panels were originally pasted on the sliding doors. Panels III, IV, V, and VI (four panels on the southwest side), however, do not bear such traces. Their absence is due to the fact that they were pasted not on the sliding doors, but on the walls. The original arrangement of these eight panels is confirmed by the architectural plans (*Amidaji ruishō izen/igo no zu*).<sup>293</sup> Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Two, the size of each room of the Spirit Hall can be approximated using the 210 cm/*ken* unit. The lengths of the three sides of Room C in the Spirit Hall roughly correspond to the widths of the panels on each side. This also verifies that the eight panels were originally mounted on sliding doors and walls there.

Today the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* is generally called the *Antoku tennō engie* 安徳天皇縁起絵; nonetheless, the earliest reference to this title did not appear until Takeda Tsuneo, a modern art historian, labeled it such in an exhibition catalogue in 1971.<sup>294</sup> Various primary sources refer to the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* in different ways. *Mōriike*

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<sup>292</sup> The paintings were reconfigured as eight hanging scrolls after the Meiji Restoration. The sizes of Panels I, II, VII, and VIII (four panels on the northwest and southeast sides) are 159 x 126 cm, and those of Panels III, IV, V, and VI (four panels on the southwest side) are 159 x 88.3 cm. It is not known what was depicted on the sliding entrance-exit doors bordering a corridor on the northeast side, but it is likely no paintings were installed, as it is common for this type of setting to be used for *etoki*. I note that the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* was also copied by artists for Matsudaira Sadanobu's project in the late eighteenth century.

<sup>293</sup> *Amidaji ruishō izen/igo no zu* (Doc. 58 ezu 1086).

<sup>294</sup> Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Chūsei shōbyōga* (Kyoto: Benridō, 1971), 48.



*hōkōnin Kunishi Mototake shōjō* 毛利家奉公人国司元武書状 (1563-1567), for example, calls the pictures *Tennō-e shōji* 天皇繪障子 (sliding-door paintings of the emperor).<sup>295</sup> The temple document *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* 赤間関阿弥陀寺来由覚 (1739) records them as *Genpei musha-e* 源平武者繪 (Paintings of the Minamoto and the Taira warriors).<sup>296</sup> Other sources like *Amidaji bettō shidai* 阿弥陀寺別当次第 (1765) identify the paintings as *Genpei-e sōkin* 源平繪惣金 (golden paintings of the Minamoto and the Taira).<sup>297</sup> Thus, it is clear that the paintings did not have a fixed title.

*Engi* 縁起 is a Buddhist term, a translation of the Sanskrit phrase *pratītya-samutpāda* (dependent origination), which denotes the conditioned arising of all phenomena. In Japan, *engi* refers to a genre recounting origin tales of religious institutions. *Engi* usually include a temple or shrine history (including halls and images) and miracles that occurred through the worship of deities enshrined at the religious precinct.<sup>298</sup> *Engi-e* 縁起繪 can be translated “picture of the origin tales of the temple or shrine; the term “*engi*” means a story of the origin tales of the temple or shrine and “*e*” means a picture. Given this definition, Amidaji’s paintings might be alternatively called *Amidaji engi-e* 阿弥陀寺縁起繪 (illustrated origin tales of Amidaji), for they

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<sup>295</sup> *Mōriike hōkōnin Kunishi Mototake shōjō* in AJM, 89-90; *Mōriike hōkōnin Kodama Motoyoshi shōjō* in AJM, 91-92.

<sup>296</sup> *Amidaji jūmotsuchō* in vol. 7 of BJY, 382, 388, 390.

<sup>297</sup> *Amidaji bettō shidai* in AJM, 135-137.

<sup>298</sup> Amidaji has three textual sources which are categorized as *engi* and referred to as such. The first one is *Nagato Bakan Amidaji engi* (Origin tales of Amidaji in Nagato Bakan) written by the thirty-eighth abbot Ihō 意宝 (d. 1777) in 1763 and later published in 1922. The contents in this *engi* were not newly created when written. The text draws heavily upon earlier sources such as *Amidaji bettō shidai*, *Amidaji Shūeki mōshijōan*, and *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe*. The second *engi*, *Shōjuzan Amidaji ryaku engi* (Abbreviated origin tales of Shōjuzan Amidaji), made in the late Edo period, records an abbreviated version of the temple’s history. The third *engi*, *Chinju Hachimangū engi* (Origin tales of Hachiman Shrine), dates to the fourteenth century, recounts the history of the Hachiman Shrine in the complex of Amidaji. *Nagato Bakan Amidaji engi* is preserved in the Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Toshokan. *Shōjuzan Amidaji ryaku engi* is introduced in Hayashi and Tokuda, 253-255. *Chinju Hachimangū engi* in AJM, 183-184.

are associated with the temple's origin tales, the tragic deaths of Antoku and the Taira, which created direct motivation for its establishment. Due to the paintings' emphasis on Antoku's life, some scholars have suggested that the paintings be called “*Antoku tennō-e* 安徳天皇絵 (pictures of Emperor Antoku).”<sup>299</sup>

The term *engi* acquired an additional meaning in medieval Japan. In some cases, *engi* was used to refer to a story, more specifically, a biography or life story. For example, in the sixteenth-century, we find “*Hōnen no engi* ほうねんのゑんき (法然の縁起)” which refers to the biography of the eminent priest Hōnen.<sup>300</sup> Amidaji's paintings are correlated more with Antoku's life story than with the origin of Amidaji. In this sense, it is appropriate to title Amidaji's paintings *Antoku tennō engi-e*, as Takeda did. It is uncertain whether Takeda used the term *engi* specifying this additional meaning. At any rate, I translate Amidaji's paintings as the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, implying the meaning of *engi* as biography.

#### 4.7.1 Description of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*

The paintings of Amidaji illustrate ten major events related to Antoku's six-and-a-half-year life span, loosely based on the *Tale of the Heike*. Damage to the paintings, (in some areas the pigment has flaked off badly), attests to a long history of use. The deterioration of the paintings makes it difficult to identify the scenes depicted in the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. I follow Ido Makoto's identifications of the ten major events:<sup>301</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> They hesitate to revise the name in order to avoid confusion with the eight paintings and Antoku's portrait. Hayashi and Tokuda, 230.

<sup>300</sup> *Oyudono-no-ue no nikki* in vol. 4 *hoi* of ZGR (Tenmon 5:1536.6.2), 188.

<sup>301</sup> The list is based on Ido Makoto. Ido, 10-11.

- 1) Birth of Antoku
- 2) Go-Shirakawa's Flight to Mt. Hiei
- 3) Yoshinaka's Troops
- 4) Go-Shirakawa's Return to the Capital
- 5) Koremori's Departure
- 6) Battle of Ikuta Forest
- 7) Battle of Ichinotani
- 8) Yashima Palace
- 9) Battle of Yashima
- 10) Battle of Dannoura

As texts in Japan are usually read from right to left, the story of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* moves from right to left, thereby giving the viewer a sense of continuous movement. This movement can be understood as corresponding to Emperor Antoku's travels from the east to the west. Antoku was born in Kyoto, fled westward, and died in the western corner of the main island of Japan. The scenes are depicted on a gold background with trails of gold clouds framing them. The cloud pattern, a frequently used pictorial technique in Japanese art, signifies the temporal and spatial transitions between the pictorial cells. Architectural settings and landscape motifs are inserted not only to indicate specific places, but also to divide the different episodes.

Sixteen small rectangular sheets of paper are drawn on the upper center of each panel and provide brief descriptions of the scenes.<sup>302</sup> The inscriptions are written in Chinese on two rectangular sheets, painted gold and silver, in each panel. Normally, the inscribed sheets, read in conjunction with the painted images below, are pasted onto the paintings. Similar to the portraits

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<sup>302</sup> According to *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in 1739, it is said that the inscriptions were written by Shōren'in 青蓮院. *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJJ, 382. Shōren'in, one of Enryakuji's *monzeki* 門跡 cloisters, was headed by a monk who was born in the imperial house or in the aristocracy. Without conclusive evidence, we cannot accept this attribution, but it is interesting to note that the third head priest of Shōren'in was Jien. As will be argued later, Jien might have involved in the production of the original *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. The term "Shōren'in" may refer to the calligraphic style called "Shōren'inryū 青蓮院流," which was created by the imperial princely monk Son'en 尊円 (1298-1356), the seventeenth head priest of Shōren'in. As will be discussed, Son'en was known as a calligrapher of the illustration of the *Tale of the Heike*, which is the earliest reference to Heike paintings. This connection between the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* and the monks such as Jien and Son'en might help us recover the circumstances of the production Amidaji's paintings.

of the Taira, the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* had pasted rectangular sheets, which have been lost; instead the rectangular forms were painted on, but in the wrong order.<sup>303</sup> A series of restorations may have caused the discrepancy in the order of the inscriptions on the painted scenes at Amidaji.

I will highlight the major scenes in the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* in order to discuss the story content in reference to the *Tale of the Heike*, the inscriptions on the rectangular sheets of paper, and the texts of *etoki* (picture-explaining) performances. I will then reconstruct the original placement of the rectangular sheet through an examination of the scenes. A translation of the inscriptions on the rectangular sheets appears in Appendix A.

Panel I begins with the birth of Emperor Antoku at the Rokuhara palace in Kyoto on the twelfth day of the eleventh month in 1176. The pictorial technique of removing the roof (吹抜屋台 *fukinuki yatai*) allows the viewer to peer down onto the indoor activities of the palace. The palace, which forms a diagonal line running from the middle right corner to the upper left corner, is parallel to the thatched roof. This composition also provides us with a view inside the building. Inside one of the rooms of the palace, female attendants are depicted serving Tokushi, the mother of Antoku. Tokushi, in voluminous robes (layers of white outer robes and colorful robes with red undergarments), is seated perhaps next to a court lady seen in profile and wearing a red outer robe. It is difficult to discern, due to damage to the painting, but the newborn baby Antoku can be seen in the arms of Tokushi. A wooden tub, which was likely used to wash the baby, sits on the *tatami* floor. The room is surrounded by several standing curtains. Below the room where Antoku was born is a different building with a thatched roof. In this building a female attendant

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<sup>303</sup> As noted earlier, this is confirmed by the textual evidence (*Amidaji jūmotsuchō*).

in a white outer robe sits on the veranda and reports the safe delivery of the baby boy to a seated man in a monk's robe. This figure might be Go-Shirakawa (Antoku's paternal grandfather).

In the innermost part of the palace are seated male courtiers, perhaps the Taira, who would be anxious for a report of the birth of a boy. Slightly lower than the room where these male courtiers are seated, a female attendant, wearing a white outer robe with a red undergarment, stands and slightly opens the bamboo blinds. She delivers the news of the birth of Antoku to a male courtier in a formal black outer robe and white trousers with a ceremonial hat. Three other courtiers walk in haste on the veranda. The one in front holds a box, which is probably a gift he received from a guest who came to the palace to celebrate the birth of a boy. Nearby two more courtiers are seated on the green *tatami* mat. Three men in white outer robes stand near the palace as if guiding one of the guests. The palace complex is surrounded by fences, also depicted diagonally, parallel to the palace structure.

Outside the palace, many nobles and courtiers pay visits to the palace for the celebration of Antoku's birth. Some ox-carts and attendants have just arrived; others wait for their owners. While the aristocrats are depicted in colorful outer robes and white trousers with ceremonial hats and wooden scepters, their attendants wear white outer robes and white trousers with different types of hats. Buddhist monks are also present near the fence; two monks in Buddhist garments (one wears a hat and the other wears a scarf) face each other as if talking about the birth of Antoku. We can find some aristocratic women; for example, three female figures are walking near the fence. Landscape (hill, trees, and stream) occupies the lower right portion of the composition. Overall, Panel I depicts busy scenes following the birth of Antoku.

Panel II displays the temporary residence for Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, who fled from the capital to Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei. On the twenty-second day of the seventh month in

1183, an imperial messenger reported that Kiso Yoshinaka 木曾義仲 (1154-1184), a Minamoto military leader, was making his way up to the capital at the head of fifty thousand mounted soldiers. The Taira intended to protect both Emperor Antoku and Go-Shirakawa and take them to the western provinces to avoid the confusion. However, Go-Shirakawa had slipped away from his palace to Mt. Hiei secretly with a small number of his attendants. Yoshinaka had the monks at Hiei promise their aid to the Minamoto before his arrival of Kyoto; thus, Go-Shirakawa's decision to flee to Mt. Hiei suggests that the retired emperor was already on the Minamoto's side. After the retired emperor arrived at Enryakuji, he was promptly joined by high-ranking court officials (e.g., former and present Regents, the Chancellor, and the Ministers of the Left and Right).

In the panel, Go-Shirakawa, although his face is invisible, is seated on the raised *tatami* mat in the temporary palace. Two courtiers, perhaps the Ministers of the Left and Right, sit face-to-face with each other on the veranda. There are two other courtiers in red and black outer robes respectively seated at the corner of the veranda. On the ground in front of the temporary residence is a *tatami* mat where two other courtiers are seated. Inside and outside the gate of the temple armed monks, holding spears, congregate. Behind the walls connected to the gate many heads of spears and bows are visible. Court members, warriors, and armed monks guard the retired emperor, conveying a state of extreme tension. At the bottom of Panel II, we see Kiso Yoshinaka's troops heading toward Mt. Hiei to escort Go-Shirakawa back to the capital. A white flying banner is seen, indicating Yoshinaka rides in the vanguard. By this time the Taira with the child emperor Antoku had withdrawn from the capital.

Panels III and IV illustrate Go-Shirakawa's return from Mt. Hiei to his mansion in the temple complex of Hōjūji 法住寺 on the twenty-eighth day of the seventh month in 1183.

Accompanied by courtiers, the cart in which the retired emperor rides is about to go through the main gate of the mansion. A couple of courtiers in court robes await the cart at the inner gate of the complex, and many courtiers and court attendants gather outside the mansion to welcome the retired emperor's return with a spectacle. For example, a mounted courtier is depicted behind the cart. His horse is led by an imperial attendant. Other courtiers in formal robes walk toward the gate of the mansion. In the distance, at the top of Panel III, three armed warriors ride into the mountains. This scene probably shows the departure of Taira no Koremori 平維盛 (1157-1184?), who left Kyoto late and rushed to join the other Taira members.

Moving further to the west geographically, the upper and bottom parts of Panel IV and the all of Panel V depict the Battle at Ikuta forest 生田の森 and the Battle of Ichinotani 一の谷 (present-day Kōbe) on the seventh day of the second month in 1184. On the steep slope of the mountain behind Ichinotani, in the upper part of Panel IV, the Minamoto general Yoshitsune's horsemen descend from the cliff. This sudden assault, called *hiyodorigoe* 鶉越え, caused a great number of panic-stricken Taira warriors to gallop into the sea to save themselves. Since so many men rushed onto the sailing vessels at once, they sank into the sea. In the picture, we can identify at least one ship that is sinking.

Some famous events can be identified in Panel V; for example, we can see the battle between Kumagai no Naozane 熊谷直実 (1141-1208) and Taira no Atsumori 平敦盛 (1169-1184) on the beach of Akashi. Naozane captured the courtly youth Atsumori, but was so impressed by the beauty of the boy, whose age was around the same as his own son, that he could only bring himself to kill Atsumori to prevent the youth's death at the hands of less appreciative men. In the painting, Naozane holds a red fan with a gold sun and gallops to the sea where he finds Atsumori, mounted on a white horse, running off to the sea in the hope of

boarding rescue vessels. Naozane looks forward, to the viewer's left, and Atsumori turns back to Naozane at the right. The Taira's temporary palace at Ichinotani, used as an encampment, is also depicted. Behind the wooden fences, many Taira warriors, strictly guarding the palace, fight against the Minamoto.

Panel VI illustrates the Battle of Yashima 屋島 (near Takamatsu) on the island of Shikoku on the third day of the second month in 1185. Similar to the composition seen in Panel I, the temporary palace of the Taira members is depicted diagonally. In the upper right corner of the palace is the room occupied by Taira women. They grieve after hearing only a few Taira men had escaped at Ichinotani. Nii-no-ama, Antoku's grandmother, in nun's robes, sits on the *tatami* floor at the center of the female attendants. They gaze in sorrow at the autumn moon, which is depicted above the building. Taira women touch their sleeves to their faces, crying. Male Taira members are seen in different buildings in the center of Panel VI.

We can identify well-known episodes from the *Tale of the Heike* in these works. One of them is Nasu no Yoichi's 那須与一 (b.d. unknown) shooting an arrow. Yoichi, chosen as the best Minamoto archer, shoots an arrow to hit a fan set by the Taira off-shore. On the boat a young Taira lady stands and holds a pole attached to a fan target at its top. The famous event of *Yoshitsune's Dropped Bow* (弓流し *yumi nagashi*), in which the Minamoto general Yoshitsune tries to retrieve a bow he dropped so that his enemies would not notice his bow was knocked loose (if the bow is knocked loose, it means that the archer is not strong enough to shoot an arrow), is depicted out of place geographically and chronologically. In reality, this event occurred at the Battle of Yashima; however, in Amidaji's paintings it is inserted in the Battle of Ichinotani.



Panels VII and VIII depict the final battle, the Battle of Dannoura 壇の浦 on the twenty-fourth day of the third month in 1185. This is the most dramatic scene that occupies the most space of the entire set of paintings, suggesting its importance. The sea is filled with the boats of the Minamoto army, all with white banners, and those of the Taira troops waving red streamers. A large ship (a Chinese-style ship called *karafune* 唐船), which serves to make the Minamoto believe that Antoku is on board, appears in the center of Panel VII. In the right corner of Panel VIII a school of dolphins surface and swim. A diviner announces that the Minamoto will be destroyed if the dolphins stay on the surface and turn back; the Taira will be endangered if they dive and pass the Taira's boats. The creatures pass straight under the Taira vessels, predicting the Taira's defeat in battle. Thus, the dolphins foretell the annihilation of the Taira. Minamoto Yoshitsune's *Leap over Eight Boats* (八艘飛び *hassōtobi*) is also seen in the right corner of Panel VIII. Yoshitsune slightly turns back in the direction of an enemy who chases him, and his left foot just touches the boat he jumps over. Following him, Taira no Noritsune, spreading his arms with a sword in his right hand, appears on the boat to the left of Yoshitsune.

The tragic scenes of the Taira are seen in Panel VIII. Most importantly, Nii-no-ama holds the child emperor Antoku in her arms and is about to jump into the ocean. This last moment is narrated in the *Tale of the Heike*:

The Emperor had turned eight that year, but seemed very grown up for his age. His face was radiantly beautiful, and his abundant black hair reached below his waist. "Where are you taking me, Grandmother?" he asked, with a puzzled look. She turned her face to the young sovereign, holding back her tears. "Don't you understand? You became an Emperor because you obeyed the Ten Good Precepts in your last life, but now an evil karma holds you fast in its toils. Your good fortune has come to an end. Turn to the east and say goodbye to the Grand Shrine of Ise, then turn to the west and repeat the sacred name of Amida Buddha, so that he and his host may come to escort you to the Pure Land. This country is a land of sorrow; I am taking you to a happy realm called Paradise." His Majesty was wearing an olive-gray robe, and his hair was done up in a boy's loops at the sides. With tears swimming in his eyes, he joined his tiny hands, knelt toward the east, and bade farewell to the Grand Shrine. Then he turned toward the west and recited the

sacred name of Amida. The Nun snatched him up, said in a comforting voice, “There is a capital under the waves, too,” and entered the boundless depths....<sup>304</sup>

The female attendants on board with Antoku raise one sleeve to their faces, as if wiping away tears. Male soldiers also appear on the same boat, protecting the child sovereign. To the left of the boat with Antoku is a lady, whom the Minamoto warriors raise by the hair with a rake. This is Tokushi, Antoku’s mother, who leaps overboard after she sees what has happened of her son; however, she is immediately caught with a wooden-shaped grappling hook and dragged on board by a Minamoto warrior. Other members of the Taira drown themselves in the sea. For example, to the left of Tokushi, two Taira soldiers, in heavy armor, jump into the water. This recalls the scene of the *Tale of the Heike* where Taira no Norimori and his brother Tsunemori shoulder anchors over their armor and dive into the sea hand in hand. Another warrior also drowns himself from the same boat. In the left and at the bottom of Panel VIII, several Taira soldiers jump themselves into the sea. Many red banners of the Taira, because they had lost their owners, float on the surface of the sea, evoking the report that the sea was tainted red from banners and human blood.

Two religious complexes are shown in Panels VII and VIII. The one on the right is Amidaji’s Hachiman Shrine; the other, on the left, is Kameyama Hachiman Shrine. Because they share basically the same religious function (to protect the nation as tutelary deities), the structures are similarly rendered in the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.

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<sup>304</sup> The *Tale of the Heike*, 378.

#### 4.7.2 Authorship and Date of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*

This section will examine the authorship and date of the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* by situating them within the larger history of the pictorial representations of the *Tale of the Heike* or Heike paintings (平家絵 *Heike-e*). Amidaji's works are generally categorized as Heike paintings, since they depict the scenes found in the text of the *Tale of the Heike*. As mentioned earlier, modern art historians, such as Takeda Tsuneo, Kawaguchi Keiko, and Ido Makoto, on iconographic and stylistic grounds, date the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* at Amidaji to the late sixteenth century. This supposition will be confirmed by textual evidence.

The pictorialization of the *Tale of the Heike* is usually executed in handscroll, folding screen, fan, and book album formats.<sup>305</sup> The earliest reference to Heike paintings is in the early fourteenth century. According to *Juboku kudenshō* 入木口伝抄 (Oral transmission of compilation of Juboku), the illustration of the *Tale of the Heike* combined with text was produced in a monk's living quarters on Mt. Hiei during the late Kamakura period.<sup>306</sup> The format of the work is unknown, but it was likely a handscroll, the most common format of the

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<sup>305</sup> See examples in Kagawa Rekishi Hakubutsukan, *Genpei kassen to sono jidai* (Takamatsu: Kagawa Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2003).

<sup>306</sup> The document says that it was produced during the Genkyō and Genkō periods (1321-1324). See Ochiai Hiroshi, "Juboku kudenshō ni tsuite: Kokubungaku shiryō to shite no kōsatsu." *Hōsei daigaku kyōyōbu kiyō* 78 (February 1991), 69-89. This work is called "Illustration and text of the Heike on the Mountain (山上平家絵詞 *Sanjō heike ekotoba*)." The text of this handscroll preserved at Mt. Hiei was inscribed by the imperial princely monk Son'en in the *monzeki* temple Shōren'in. As *Tsurezuregusa* reports, Mt. Hiei, where Jien had been active, played an important role in the compilation of the *Tale of the Heike*; thus, the pictorialization of this tale in the same place is significant. As I have already noted, the calligrapher of the inscriptions on the *shikishi* of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* is said to be Shōren'in. Jien served the head priest at Shōren'in. Although it is speculative, the production of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* might have related to the circle of Jien. I would like to elaborate on this issue in my future research.

text and the illustration produced at that time and the most likely format for a monk to produce.<sup>307</sup>

Illustrated handscrolls were normally kept in the temples or shrines where they were dedicated or in treasuries owned by members of the royalty and aristocracy; in some cases handscrolls were circulated among the elite when requested. When appreciated, the text of the handscroll was usually read by someone (i.e., monks, nuns, and attendants), while the high-ranking individual (i.e., imperial family members, nobility, and warriors) viewed the illustrations – similar to the way *etoki* “explaining pictorial scenes” were used with the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.

One such example is seen in *Kanmon gyoki* 看聞御記, a diary of the imperial prince Gosukōin 後崇光院 (1372-1456), the father of Emperor Go-Hanazono 後花園 (r.1428-1464). It records that the author borrowed the illustrated Heike scrolls from the imperial palace in 1438.<sup>308</sup> Gosukōin viewed the pictures while he had his attendant read the text. In other words, Gosukōin appreciated the paintings, while listening to the narration. Although he did not use the term “*etoki* (picture-explaining)” in his diary, this common way of appreciation of a handscroll can be understood as *etoki* practice.<sup>309</sup> Prince Gosukōin further reports that the ten picture scrolls he borrowed at that time were gifts from the shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori 足利義教 (r.1429-1441) to Emperor Go-Hanazono. On another occasion in 1441, Gosukōin was given three handscrolls

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<sup>307</sup> The handscroll usually starts with a passage of text followed by a picture. For viewing the handscroll, while the right hand holds the opening section, the left unrolls the scroll, exposing a portion of text and picture, usually about fifty to sixty centimeters at a time. The intended audience is a few, in most cases, elite members.

<sup>308</sup> *Kanmon gyoki* in vol. 2 *hoi* of ZGR (Eikyō 10:1438.6.13), 550. See also Miya Tsugio, “Genpei kassen-e.” *Nihon bijutsu kōgei* 337 (October 1966), 24; Kusaka Tsutomu, “Kassen emaki to Heiji monogatari ekotoba: Gunki bungaku to no kanrenkara,” in vol. 13 of NET: *Heiji monogatari ekotoba* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977), 105.

<sup>309</sup> The term *etoki* will be discussed in Chapter Four. A similar *etoki* practice is seen, for example, in the Edo-period pictorial source, *Reflections on Recent Miracles* (*Kinsei kisekikō*).

illustrating the Battle of Yashima by Emperor Go-Hanazono.<sup>310</sup> These documentary sources of royalty suggest that the illustrated handscrolls of the *Tale of the Heike* circulated among the elite as *etoki*. The handscrolls Gosukōin saw were perhaps polychromed, since many such examples were produced during his time.<sup>311</sup>

No extant painting of the *Tale of the Heike* was known to still exist until the monochrome painting with delicate ink-line drawing (白描画 *hakubyōga*) scrolls, preserved in a private collection (Ogasawara Chiyoko), the Seikadō collection, and the Kyoto National Museum, came to light in the 1960s.<sup>312</sup> The Ogasawara Heike set is comprised of three scrolls; while the Seikadō and the Kyoto National Museum have merely one scroll each.<sup>313</sup> The four scrolls, a part of an original set of eight scrolls, are traditionally attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (active c.1462-c.1521), the head of the imperial painting bureau (絵所 *edokoro*).<sup>314</sup> On stylistic grounds, modern art historians date the handscrolls to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The late fifteenth century also witnessed the popularity of the folding screen format for narrative illustration.<sup>315</sup> In 1463, Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (r.1449-1473) borrowed a

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<sup>310</sup> *Kanmon gyōki* in vol. 2 *hoi* of ZGR (Kakitsu 1:1441.4.15), 615.

<sup>311</sup> Although we no longer have examples of the Heike handscroll made in the medieval period, primary sources indicate their existence. The earliest extant polychrome scrolls are the *Heike monogatari emaki* owned by the Hayashibara Museum. The scrolls were painted by Tosa Sasuke 土佐佐助 (b.d. unknown) in the early Edo period. See Hayashibara Bijutsukan, 1-3.

<sup>312</sup> The three volumes are *Birth of Emperor Antoku*, *Prayer for the Safe Birth of Prince Atsufumi*, and *General's Return to Capital*. See Umezu Jirō, "Den Mitsunobu hitsu Heike monogatari emaki." *Bijutsushi* 35 (March 1960), 95-99. Umezu dates the scrolls around the sixteenth century based on stylistic analysis. The scrolls are rather small; the paper measures half of a regular handscroll. It is believed that the scrolls in this style were made to educate the children of the elite (the emperor, shogun, and aristocrats). See Wakasugi Junji, *Emakimono no kanshō kihon chishiki* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1995), 28.

<sup>313</sup> The *Death of Kiyomori* is depicted in the volume of the Kyoto National Museum.

<sup>314</sup> These scrolls are mentioned in the *Inventory of Ancient Objects (Kōko gafu)* made by the connoisseur Kurokawa Mayori 黒川真頼 (1829-1906). The authorship of these scrolls seems to rely on the connoisseurship of the Edo-period painter Sumiyoshi Hirotsura 住吉弘貫 (1793-1863), as noted by Mayori in the *Inventory of Ancient Objects*.

<sup>315</sup> Unlike the handscroll format, the folding screen is traditionally furniture used as a divider of interior space, an enclosure for the outdoor, or a backdrop for important persons. Besides these basic functions, it may create a special but temporary setting for a special occasion.

folding screen painting(s) of the *Tale of the Heike* from Shōkokuji 相国寺.<sup>316</sup> Moreover, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455-1537) viewed a screen(s) decorated with fans depicting scenes from the *Tale of the Heike* at court in 1486.<sup>317</sup> The earliest extant folding screen of the illustrated *Tale of the Heike* is preserved in Chishakuin 智積院 in Kyoto. It is a six-fold screen depicting the Battle of Ichinotani, and is traditionally attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu. Art historians, such as Takeda and Kawamoto, though they discount the attribution to Mitsunobu, stylistically date the Chishakuin's work to the late sixteenth century.<sup>318</sup> Similar to Chishakuin's Heike screen are two pairs of screens depicting the Battle of Ichinotani and the Battle of Yashima at Tenshinji 天真寺 and the British Museum.<sup>319</sup> Since screens of the Battles of Ichinotani and Yashima were often made as a pair, Chishakuin's folding screen may originally have had a counterpart, the Battle of Yashima. Several similarities of iconographic motifs and compositions are found in all three of the works at Chishakuin, Tenshinji, and the British Museum. For example, the composition of the Fukuhara palace in the center is similar in all three screens. The Taira warriors who surrounded the palace, as well as the cart being carried out through the gate from the palace, are also depicted similarly. These similarities confirm that the artists shared the same source. According to Kawamoto's stylistic analysis, Chishakuin's screen predates Tenshinji's screens and the British Museum's screens; therefore, these two

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<sup>316</sup> *Inryōken nichiroku* in vol. 21 of ZZST (Kanshō 4:1463. intercalary 6.12), 407; See also Takeda Tsuneo, "Heike e," in vol. 9 of *Nihon no koten: Heike monogatari*, ed. Nagazumi Yasuaki (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1979), 180-183.

<sup>317</sup> See the diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, *Sanetaka kōki*, vol. 2 *ge* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2000), (Bunmei 18:1486.5.19), 680.

<sup>318</sup> Takeda, 187; Kawamoto, 140.

<sup>319</sup> Based upon stylistic analysis, it is considered that the screens in Tenshinji are datable to the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, and those in the British Museum are dated to the seventeenth century. Kawamoto, 96, 139-140.

screens are either direct copies of Chishakuin's screen, or derived from a copy book (粉本 *funpon*) based on Chishakuin's Battle of Ichinotani.<sup>320</sup>

Amidaji's sliding-door paintings might be related to the works at Chishakuin, Tenshinji, and the British Museum, based on similar motifs in them. For instance, all of these works depict the last moments of the young Taira warrior Atsumori as well as the scene of the Minamoto warrior Yoichi's archery. Upon careful observation, however, one notices that Amidaji's paintings also embody differences from the screens of Chishakuin, Tenshinji, and the British Museum. More specifically, Amidaji's painter adopted some motifs from the copy books or other works, but he made many modifications of his own and then created motifs and compositions not found in any of the extant visualizations of the *Tale of the Heike*. Amidaji's paintings are unique because they include some scenes which are not normally depicted in Heike paintings. The scenes illustrating Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's flight from the capital and his return to the capital are among them. Moreover, the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* is the only one that starts with Antoku's birth and ends with his death.

Amidaji's paintings bear no identifying artist's signature or seals, but have also been traditionally attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu.<sup>321</sup> It is difficult to accept the attribution of Amidaji's works to Mitsunobu not only because the extant paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* were produced after Mitsunobu's lifetime but also because his name was often cited as the author of any pre-Edo *yamato-e* style paintings whose authorships were previously listed as unknown.<sup>322</sup> Such attributions, as that of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, were mostly

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<sup>320</sup> Kawamoto, 96, 136.

<sup>321</sup> Mitsunobu's name was mentioned in the Edo-period sources in connection with the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. For example, see *Koharu kikō*, 20; *Nagasaki kikō*, 559.

<sup>322</sup> The term *yamato-e*, which means "Japanese picture" was first used in the Heian period to distinguish works painted in a Japanese style from those executed in the Chinese manner, or *kara-e*. The definition of *yamato-e*,

made by Edo-period authenticators. It is now argued that only nine paintings, among one hundred works traditionally attributed to him, are likely to have been brushed by Mitsunobu.<sup>323</sup>

Although the traditional attribution of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* to Tosa Mitsunobu is unacceptable, Amidaji's paintings might have been created by an artist in the same workshop as the artist of Chishakuin's painting because of similarities to the iconographic motifs in the Chishakuin screen. Amidaji's paintings may have been produced by other members of the Tosa school – a school more inclined towards the *yamato-e* style.<sup>324</sup> Such a painter, who remains anonymous for the present, might have executed Amidaji's paintings through patrons who were involved in the restoration project of the temple.<sup>325</sup>

Thorough stylistic and iconographic studies done by Takeda and Kawamoto demonstrate that the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* dates to the late sixteenth century.<sup>326</sup> This claim is verified by the written evidence related to the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. The earliest record is found in Priest Sakugen's travel account in 1541:

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however, changed over time. In the Muromachi period when Mitsunobu was active, *yamato-e* refers to the highly colored style favored by the Heian court, as opposed to the monochrome ink paintings introduced from Song and Yuan China.

<sup>323</sup> Yoshida Yūji, "Tosa Mitsunobu," in vol. 5 of *Nihon bijutsu kaiga zenshū* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1979), 144-146; Melinda Takeuchi, "Signed, Sealed, and Delivered: Tosa Mitsunobu (1434-ca.1523) and the Afterlife of a Name," in *The Artists as Professional in Japan*, ed. Melinda Takeuchi (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 90.

<sup>324</sup> Because of the poor condition and the extensive retouching of the paintings, stylistic analysis is fruitless. I compared the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* to works attributed to Tosa Mitsumochi 土佐光茂 (1496-c.1559), the son of Mitsunobu. However, in Mitsumochi's paintings, I cannot find styles and motifs similar to Amidaji's paintings. For Mitsumochi's paintings, see Aizawa Masahiko, "Den Tosa Mitsumochi hitsu Shasōzu byōbu no hissha mondai ni tsuite." *Kokka* 1198 (September 1995), 9-21.

<sup>325</sup> Possible patrons for the commission of the extant *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* are Ōuchi Yoshitaka, Sue Hiroaki, Sue Saburō, and Mōri Motonari, who were all active as warlords in Nagato Province where the temple stood and had links with painters (Tosa school, Kano school, etc) who produced major works including the illustrations of the *Tale of the Heike* in Kyoto. Also, the painter might have been arranged by Buddhist monks. Amidaji's headquarters Sangoji and its major patron Sanjōnishi Sanetaka were associated with the Tosa and Kano painters in Kyoto. Due to lack of strong evidence for specific patrons for the *Illustrate Story of Emperor Antoku*, I do not address the issue here.

<sup>326</sup> Kawamoto, 96; Ido, 12-19.



I entered the Portrait Hall [Spirit Hall] and worshiped a portrait of the past emperor. Then, I saw paintings (図画 *zuga*) of the deceased emperor's life (from birth to death) on the wall.<sup>327</sup>

The paintings that illustrated the life of Emperor Antoku on the wall probably refer to the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.

Furthermore, two references attest to the fact that a new set of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* was produced based upon the older set sometime between 1564 and 1567.<sup>328</sup> *Mōriike hōkōnin Kunishi Mototake shojō* 毛利家奉公人国司元武書状 and *Mōriike hōkōnin Kodama Motoyoshi shojō* 毛利家奉公人兒玉元良書状 state that the provincial warlord Mōri Motonari was delighted by the “renewal (新調 *shinchō*)” of “the sliding-door paintings of the emperor (天皇繪障子 *tennō e shōji*),” which are identified as the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.<sup>329</sup> This “renewal” recalls the inventory of 1739, showing that Amidaji had two complete sets of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*; one set was enshrined in the Spirit Hall and the other set was preserved in storage.

I posit that the paintings that Sakugen saw in 1541 were the original set of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* and the paintings that Motonari was delighted by their renewal in 1564-1567 were the extant set. As mentioned earlier, Sakugen visited Amidaji during a long period of

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<sup>327</sup> *Sakugen oshō nyūminki shotoshū*, 318.

<sup>328</sup> Due to deterioration, paintings used for *etoki* practice were often replaced by new ones. For example, the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku*, which had been exhibited on the walls of the Picture Hall at Hōryūji since its production in 1069, was removed and replaced by Yoshimura Shūkei's 吉村周圭 (b.d. unknown) copy in 1788. The extant paintings of the *Illustration of the Final Days of Life of Minamoto no Yoshitomo* were also produced by Kano Tan'yu 狩野探幽 (1602-1674), based on the original paintings. These paintings will be discussed in Chapter Four. Akiyama Terukazu, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964), 169; Hayashi Masahiko, “Noma daibō Ōmidōji genzon etoki daihon no kenkyū.” *Meiji daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo kiyō bessatsu* 8 (1988), 1; Hayashi Masahiko, “Owari han so Genkeikō jihitsu daihon kō,” in *Etoki: I satsu no kōza*, ed. Etoki Kenkyū kai (Tokyo: Yuseidō Shuppan, 1985), 240.

<sup>329</sup> *Mōriike hōkōnin Kunishi Mototake shojō* and *Mōriike hōkōnin Kodama Motoyoshi shojō* in *AJM*, 90-92; also see Ido, 5-6.

restoration due to an extensive fire that reduced almost all buildings to ashes in 1518. This fire might have damaged the paintings. When the reconstruction of the Spirit Hall was finally completed after Motonari ordered to rebuild it by reason of his dream in which Emperor Antoku appeared and told him to restore the Spirit Hall immediately in 1556, the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* were very likely renewed.<sup>330</sup>

As the above stylistic analysis has concluded, the extant paintings probably date to the late sixteenth century. The documentary evidence confirms more specific date of the production, which was likely sometime before Motonari saw them between 1564 and 1567. The sliding-door paintings illustrating Antoku's biography were renewed and installed in the Spirit Hall around that time, whereas the original works, which date further back, were kept in storage. The date of the renewal, which was after Tosa Mitsunobu's lifetime, further strengthens the idea that Amidaji's paintings were not executed by him.<sup>331</sup>

#### 4.8 CIRCUMSTANCE OF THE PRODUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL PAINTINGS

When was the original *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* that predates the renewed one created? I speculate that the prototype of the renewed *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* could have existed around the time the Spirit Hall was originally constructed in the early Kamakura period. This hypothesis might be explained by links between *etoki* rites for Prince Shōtoku 聖徳太子 (574-622) and the important figures active in the placatory rites for Antoku and the Taira in

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<sup>330</sup> See Motonari's dream in *Mōri Motonari andojō* in AJM, 62-63.

<sup>331</sup> The date of Mitsunobu's death is undocumented, but his son's name appeared instead of his in primary sources after 1521. Based upon this, scholars generally consider Mitsunobu to have died in 1521.

the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Inspired by the *etoki* performance for Prince Shōtoku, Amidaji's paintings perhaps came to be produced and designed for *etoki* ritual, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

We know that many elite members of society, including the historical figures who were involved in the establishment of Amidaji, actually attended *etoki* rituals for Prince Shōtoku. Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's participation in the *etoki* ritual of the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* at Shitennōji 四天王寺, the Buddhist monastic center originally founded by Prince Shōtoku, is particularly important.<sup>332</sup> To accompany Go-Shirakawa, Kujō Kanezane attended the *etoki* ritual in the Picture Hall at Shitennōji in 1187. As will be examined in the following chapter, the motivation behind the production of the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* was related to the mortuary ceremonies for Prince Shōtoku, which included the pacification of the soul of the deceased Shōtoku, who also possessed potential to become a restless spirit. As stressed in Chapter One, the construction of the Spirit Hall at the site of Amidaji was motivated by Go-Shirakawa's fear of the vengeful ghost of Antoku; thus, the placation of his soul was the most important mission of the temple.

Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa was renowned as a patron of the arts. For example, his large collection of handscrolls was kept secret in his treasure hall at Rengeōin 蓮華王院 in his residential complex in Kyoto.<sup>333</sup> Although Amidaji's paintings were not in the format of illustrated handscrolls, Go-Shirakawa may have commissioned the sliding-door paintings of Amidaji through his connections with important painters. Go-Shirakawa contributed to a large

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<sup>332</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Bunji 3:1187.8.23), 395-396. It is interesting that Emperor Takakura, who was Go-Shirakawa's son and Antoku's father, also visited the Picture Hall at Shitennōji and had the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* copied. For the reference of Takakura's visit of Shitennōji, see Akiyama, 176.

<sup>333</sup> Gomi Fumihiko, Sano Midori, and Matsuoka Shinpei, *Chūsei Nihon no bi to chikara* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronshinsha, 2002), 209-217.

array of placatory projects that could have included the production of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* in order to pacify the soul of his grandson.<sup>334</sup>

Also, events related to the retired emperor were among the ten scenes of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. As mentioned earlier, depicting scenes related to Go-Shirakawa is very unusual in large-scale paintings of the *Tale of the Heike* on which Amidaji's paintings were modeled. One possibility for explaining this is that Go-Shirakawa himself was a key figure in founding Amidaji. At the same time, he could have sponsored the original paintings; thereby two scenes related to his activities were deliberately inserted.

Additional evidence links the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* to other historical figures active in the foundation of Amidaji. The *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* that Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa and Kujō Kanezane saw during their visits at Shitennōji was lost to fire, but new paintings were commissioned by the Tendai archbishop Jien in 1224. In addition to his post on Mt. Hiei, Jien became the head priest of Shitennōji, where he reconstructed a new Picture Hall to replace the one that had been burnt in the fire. During the reconstruction of the new Picture Hall, Jien had the painter Sonchi 尊智 (active early 13<sup>th</sup> c), who received the honorary title Dharma-Eye (法眼 *hōgen*), draw the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* on the wall.<sup>335</sup> The *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* was made for the *etoki* ritual, one of the central rites performed in the Picture Hall at Shitennōji. This history further supports my proposal that the original paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* might have been created at the time of the construction of the Spirit Hall. Because Amidaji's paintings were

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<sup>334</sup> His art collection includes the *Illustrated Handscrolls of Battle of the Latter Three Years (Go-sannen kassenzu)* that depict a civil war which occurred in the Mutsu region (present-day Tōhoku area). These scrolls treat subjects similar to those of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, which also include battle scenes.

<sup>335</sup> For the reference to Jien's commission of the Picture Hall and the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku*, see Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Hōnen shōnin eden, jō* in vol.1 of ZNE, 188-189.

depicted in reference to the *Tale of the Heike*, Jien, the most probable patron for the production of the tale, may have expected the ritual efficacy through the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* to be similar to that of the narration of the *Tale of the Heike*, namely the pacification of the dead.<sup>336</sup> Curiously, Jien selected Sugawara no Tamenaga, a provincial proprietor of Nagato Province who contributed to the early stage of Amidaji, to be the composer of a Chinese stanza at the completion ceremony of the reconstruction of Shitennōji's Picture Hall.<sup>337</sup> This event suggests that Tamenaga was also familiar with the *etoki* practice for Prince Shōtoku at Shitennōji. Through his presumed knowledge of the *etoki* rite, Tamenaga might have contributed to the production of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* that was likewise narrated as an *etoki* performance.

Given the lack of firm documentation concerning the production of the prototype of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, further speculation may not be relevant here. If the prototype of Amidaji's paintings was produced around the time of the construction of the Spirit Hall during the early Kamakura period, it would predate the earliest reference to the pictorial representations of the *Tale of the Heike* in the early fourteenth century. Although there is no absolute proof of the circumstances of the production of the original paintings, the connections between the *etoki* practice for Prince Shōtoku and the important figures who were involved in the establishment of Amidaji may strengthen the possibility that the prototype of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* was commissioned in the early Kamakura period. In other words, influential figures may have utilized, as a series of placatory projects, the picture-explaining rite that necessitated the production of the paintings.

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<sup>336</sup> As discussed above, the earliest evidence that the illustration of the *Tale of the Heike* was produced on Mt. Hiei in the late Kamakura period might have been connected to the prototype of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.

<sup>337</sup> Komatsu (1981), 188-189.

## 4.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have gained a basic knowledge of the surviving works in the Spirit Hall. We now know what the sacred portrait of Emperor Antoku looks like with the aid of primary sources, Priest Mizuno's description, and other portraits enshrined at the current shrine. The portraits of the Taira members, formerly enshrined as if protecting the wooden statue of the child emperor, are also important artworks in the Spirit Hall. Furthermore, based on the written evidence, Amidaji possessed two sets of sliding-door paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. The original paintings were lost perhaps during some disastrous event (i.e., the Meiji persecution of Buddhism and World War II), and the extant ones were produced in the late sixteenth century. Building upon the fundamental information gleaned from the works of art in the Spirit Hall, the following chapter will position them within their ritual contexts and propose that mortuary art played a compelling role in actively placating the souls of Antoku and the Taira.

## 5.0 CHAPTER FOUR: RITUALS OF THE SPIRIT HALL

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the *etoki* (picture-explaining) rituals that were held in the Spirit Hall. The Spirit Hall was the most important building at Amidaji, and key artworks installed there survive to this day. As mentioned in previous chapters, the portraits of the child emperor Antoku and the Taira as well as the sliding-door paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* were enshrined there. The efficacy of these works was strongly associated with their place of enshrinement in the Spirit Hall of the temple that was built in front of the site of the battle and where Antoku's body is believed to be interred. My hypothesis is that these objects can be understood as mortuary artworks in the rituals to commemorate the deaths of Antoku and the Taira, to placate their souls, and to help them to be reborn in the Western Paradise of Amida Buddha – a goal that was the fundamental mission of Amidaji.

One of the central rituals held in the Spirit Hall was the *etoki* of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. The *etoki* tradition at Amidaji has generally been considered to be merely an act explicating the biography of Antoku and the battle scenes from the Genpei War; however, the significance of *etoki* as having both memorial and placatory functions cannot be overstated. I suggest that the *etoki* ritual performed in the Spirit Hall, if combined with the rituals carried out in front of the portraits of Antoku and the Taira, was believed to be effective in achieving three

goals: the commemoration of their deaths, the placation of their wandering spirits, and the assistance of their souls in gaining rebirth in paradise.

After defining the practice of *etoki*, I will introduce several parallel examples that support my theory about the use of *etoki* with the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. Some of these examples focus on the life stories of historically eminent individuals; others center on events related to the tragic deaths of warriors and their subsequent memorial services. I will then look at the issue of *etoki* performance in combination with the rituals performed before the portraits of Antoku and the Taira at Amidaji. Finally, I will examine the style and motifs of the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* to show how they reinforced the goals listed above.

## 5.2 OVERVIEW OF JAPANESE *ETOKI*

To examine the functions of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, it is necessary to have a general understanding of the practice of *etoki* in Japan. The term *etoki* 絵解き or 絵説き, a combination of two words--*e* (絵 picture) and *toki* (解き to comprehend or 説き to explain)--literally means “explaining the picture.”<sup>338</sup> The practice of *etoki* involves an oral and visual presentation of the “narrative scene,” based primarily on Buddhist literary texts or the biographies of religious persons. In a narrow sense, *etoki* is an explication of a picture that shows or refers to a story, where “story” means the presentation of a series of events occurring within a sequence of time. Merely explaining a picture should not be termed *etoki*, since it does not share the characteristics I have mentioned above.

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<sup>338</sup> *Etoki* also refers to a practitioner who explains the picture. For example, see Prince Gosukōin’s diary, *Kanmon gyōki* in vol. 2 of ZGR (Eikyō 5:1433.9.3), 135.



In *etoki* rituals, a monk would stand or sit in front of a seated audience and point to the appropriate part of the picture with a stick as he narrated the events it depicted. In this way, the audience could better comprehend the events shown in the picture. In general, *etoki* practice is important for didactic and missionary purposes because, through *etoki*, lay people can easily understand the story, which may have been difficult to comprehend just through listening and reading about it. In this sense, *etoki* functions as a Buddhist sermon in a form accessible to a non-monastic and often illiterate audience. Nonetheless, if the pictorialization of the text is meant to serve as an aid in understanding the story, why does the illustration need to be explained orally at all? Why does the picture become the object to be explained? The simple answer to these questions is that the combination of literary text, pictorial image, and performance by the monk was deemed to be the most effective way to convey messages. But this claim that *etoki* was merely used to aid uninformed audiences to understand the story is not fully convincing. For instance, when the Heian nobleman Fujiwara no Yorinaga and his colleague Shinzei 信西 (d. 1159), who were not uninformed viewers but scholars and statesmen, experienced an *etoki* ritual at Shitennōji, they corrected the monk's explanation of the pictures and added some narration when they found the monk's explanation insufficient.<sup>339</sup> Thus, we cannot simply see *etoki* as a type of didactic explanation of the image. Rather, *etoki*, embodying literary texts, pictorial images, and performances, becomes in itself a ritual practice that goes beyond merely explicating the scenes.

Depending on the subject matter of *etoki*, its functions differ; even the content of the same *etoki* materials varies significantly, depending upon its context. The subject matter of the paintings used for *etoki* performances also vary greatly, but can be grouped roughly into four

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<sup>339</sup> *Taiki* (Kyūan 4:1148. 9.14), 263-264.

categories according to the textual source.<sup>340</sup> The content is so complex that it sometimes does not fit into a category, as will be mentioned in the case of Amidaji's paintings, but the groupings give us a general idea of the diversity of the subjects for *etoki* ritual. The first category is based on Buddhist texts, such as the *Lotus Sūtra mandara*, the *Taima mandara*, illustrations of ten kings, and paintings of the hells and six realms.<sup>341</sup> The second group includes biographies of historical figures – Śākyamuni, royalty (Prince Shōtoku, Emperor Antoku, and Empress Danrin), and eminent monks (Kūkai, Hōnen, Shinran, Ren'nyo, and the like). The third category is associated with specific sites (Kumano, Nachi, Tateyama, Kiyomizudera, Zenkōji, and the like), which are often associated with the genre of pilgrimage *mandara*. The fourth category focuses on historical events, such as the Battle of Rokuhara and the Battle of Miki. Amidaji's paintings belong to the second category, which we can see from their title: the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. But Amidaji's paintings also embody features of the third and fourth categories because they are related to a particular place, Amidaji, and to a historical event, the Genpei War. This overlapping and crossing of categories of *etoki* subjects indicate the complexity of these paintings which condensed multiple meanings.

The origins of the *etoki* tradition can be traced to Korea, China, Central Asia, Tibet, and even India. For example, narrating depictions of the life of Śākyamuni painted on the walls of temples was a popular experience in the Tang period (618-907) in China. Portable picture-

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<sup>340</sup> See Hayashi Masahiko's categorization of *etoki* subjects into six groups (Narrative Paintings Based on Buddhist Texts, Illustrated Biographies of Buddha Śākyamuni's Life Stories, Hagiographies of Historical Figures and Buddhist Monks, Origins of the Foundations of Holy Mountains and Temples, War Tales, and Legendary Tales), which is translated by Kaminishi. Hayashi Masahiko, *Etoki mangekyō: Sei to zoku no imajinēshōn* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1993), 7-8; Kaminishi Ikumi, *Explaining Pictures: Buddhist Propaganda and Etoki Storytelling in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 11.

<sup>341</sup> The term *mandara* is a Japanese derivation of the Sanskrit term *maṇḍala* which often refers to esoteric *maṇḍalas* such as the Diamond and Womb *Maṇḍalas*. I prefer to use not "maṇḍala" but "mandara" in this case because the term *maṇḍala* usually refers to geometrical configurations of deities or symbols based on Esoteric Buddhist doctrines.

scrolls were also used for *etoki*, with texts called *bianwen* 變文 (j. *henbun*: transformation text).<sup>342</sup> *Bianwen*, which originated from Buddhist sūtras, are texts including explanations and commentaries. Since *etoki* make the subject more lively and exciting through the performative aspect of the storytelling, they even came to embody some characteristics of popular entertainment.<sup>343</sup> It is likely that Buddhist monks who studied in China introduced *etoki* practices to Japan.<sup>344</sup>

The earliest record of the tradition of *etoki* in Japan is found in the *Rihō ō ki* 吏部王記, which tells of a visit of the imperial prince Shigeakira 重明親王 (906-954) to Jōganji 貞觀寺 in Kyoto in 931.<sup>345</sup> According to this source, Shigeakira and his brother first went to the Main Hall to venerate the Buddha, and then entered the hall dedicated to the former prime minister Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804-872). In this hall, a monk of Jōganji gave a pictorial explanation of the paintings of the *Eight Scenes of Śākyamuni's Life* (釈迦八相伝 *Shaka hassōden*) that were depicted on the pillars. Pictures of biographical stories, such as Śākyamuni's, were sources of the earliest and most popular subjects of *etoki* in Japan. This example of *etoki* perhaps functioned not only to explicate the illustrated scenes but also to commemorate the death of Śākyamuni. The explication of the paintings here seems to have been a part of a larger ritual that incorporated worship in front of the statue of Buddha. This claim will be clearer when we look at other examples of *etoki* in the next section.

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<sup>342</sup> For examples in China, Wu Hung, "What is Bianxiang?: On the Relationship between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52: 1 (June 1992), 111-192; Kawaguchi Hisao, "Kōsōden no etoki," in vol. 5 of *Bukkyō minzoku taikai* (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1993), 277-296.

<sup>343</sup> A popular lecture (俗講 *zokkō*) of Buddhist sūtras was one example of these texts as entertainment. The lecture required two persons – the Dharma Master, who asks the question, "How is it?" and the Lecturer, who then chants passages from a Buddhist sūtra – as narrators. Wu, 157.

<sup>344</sup> The travel account of the monk Ennin 円仁 (794-864) records that he witnessed *etoki* performance at the temples in Chang'an. After returning from China, Ennin introduced the *etoki* practice in Japan. See his record of pilgrimage to China (838-847). Ennin, *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* in vol. 12 of ZZGR (Kaisei 6:841.1.9), 234.

<sup>345</sup> Shigeakira, *Rihō ō ki* in vol. 39 of SS (Jōhei 1:931.9.30), 56.

### 5.3 ETOKI FOR SHŌTOKU AND SHINRAN

Among the illustrated biographies used for *etoki* practice in Japan, the best known was the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* (聖徳太子絵伝 *Shōtoku taishi eden*). Shōtoku was an imperial prince who served as the regent for his aunt, Empress Suiko 推古 (r. 592-628), and who played a vital role in supporting Buddhism, which was introduced to Japan in the middle of the sixth century. Due to his great contributions in both political and religious realms, Shōtoku became the focus of a cult as early as the late seventh century. Many devotional practices and artistic works were created as the cult grew in popularity.

*Taiki* 台記, the diary of the influential nobleman Fujiwara no Yorinaga, describes his viewing the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* while a monk narrated the story on several occasions between 1143–1150 at the Picture Hall 絵堂 (*edō*) of Shitennōji, a temple allegedly founded by Prince Shōtoku.<sup>346</sup> Yorinaga attended *etoki* five times at Shitennōji, sometimes with Retired Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103-56; r.1107-23) and other times with his colleague Shinzei or his parents. For example, in 1146 when Yorinaga and Shinzei accompanied Retired Emperor Toba, the aristocrats and royalty venerated the statue of Prince Shōtoku after they recited the sūtra and made offerings of lighted candles to it in the Spirit Hall 聖霊院 (Shōryōin), built in front of the Picture Hall in the Eastern Complex of Shitennōji. Shitennōji's Spirit Hall

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<sup>346</sup> As discussed in Chapter One, Yorinaga was to be killed in the Hōgen War in 1156. For Yorinaga's participation in the *etoki* at Shitennōji, see *Taiki* (Kōji 2:1143.10.22), (Kyūan 2:1146.9.13), (Kyūan 3:1147.9.12), (Kyūan 4:1148.4.12), (Kyūan 4:1148.9.19) in vol. 23 of ZST, 102, 184-186, 228-230, 252, 263-264; (Kyūan 6: 1150.9.9) in vol. 24 of ZST, 38-39. Originally, the primary temple documents (*Taishiden kokin mukurokushō* and *Taishiden gyokurinshō*) show that Shitennōji's *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* displayed a legend of the seventh generation (*Shichidaiki*) based on the belief that Shōtoku was the incarnation of Huisi 慧思 (j. Eshi; 515-577), the second patriarch of Tendai Buddhism. Shitennōji has been repeatedly destroyed by fire, so the paintings have been lost. Thus, it is not certain that the paintings recorded in *Taiki* also illustrated Shōtoku's previous life. See Asai Kazuharu, Asaga Hitoshi, and Ishikawa Tomohiko, "Shōtoku taishi no bijutsu," in *Shōtoku taishi jiten* (Tokyo: Kashima Shobō, 1997), 366.

functioned not as Prince Shōtoku's grave but as a place to enshrine a wooden statue of Shōtoku, which served as the medium in which his soul resided.<sup>347</sup> After paying homage to the statue of Shōtoku in the Spirit Hall, Toba, Yorinaga, and Shinzei listened to the *etoki* ritual in the Picture Hall. It is important to note that they went to the Spirit Hall before attending the *etoki* in the Picture Hall because this combination of venerating the portrait and experiencing *etoki* was seen in other *etoki* cases to be discussed. During the performance of *etoki*, a monk pointed at the picture with a stick while delivering the explanation. Yorinaga and Shinzei, although they were the audience, sometimes corrected the monk's explanation of the pictures.<sup>348</sup> Yorinaga added some narration and even asked the monk questions when his explanation was insufficient and uncertain. On other occasions of their visits, Toba, Yorinaga, and Shinzei always entered the Spirit Hall first to venerate the statue of Prince Shōtoku and then went to the Picture Hall to listen to *etoki*.<sup>349</sup> The service combined *etoki* on the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* and prayers centered around a portrait statue of Shōtoku.<sup>350</sup>

In addition, Shitennōji's picture-explications of Shōtoku's life were not isolated from other ritual activities at the temple. Yorinaga's diary verifies that Retired Emperor Toba's visits to Shitennōji were primarily due to his participation in the annual *nenbutsu* services in which he chanted Amida's name one million times. As Kadokawa Gen'yoshi has noted, Toba's visits to

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<sup>347</sup> Shōtoku's tomb is located in Eifukuji 叡福寺 in Osaka Prefecture. He is buried with his mother and one of his wives.

<sup>348</sup> See the entry of Kyūan 4:1148.9.14 in *Taiki*, vol. 23 of ZST, 263-264. Yorinaga and Shinzei were familiar with the story of Prince Shōtoku's life. Also see Abe Yasurō, "Shōtoku Taishi shinkō," in *Shōtoku Taishi jiten*, 434.

<sup>349</sup> *Taiki* also reports that when Yorinaga's parents visited Shitennōji in 1143, they had *etoki* of the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* performed. This is the only exception where they went to participate in the *etoki* before venerating the statue of Prince Shōtoku. At any rate, the *etoki* of the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* and the veneration of his statue were a set ritual. *Taiki* (Kōji 2:1143.10.22), 102. See Fujioka Yutaka, "Shōtoku taishi kōyōzō no seiritsu to tenkai: Chōzō o chūshinni," in *Shōtoku taishi shinkō no bijutsu*, ed. Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 1996), 285.

<sup>350</sup> The *etoki* performance at Shitennōji further appears in Kujō Kanezane's dairy, *Gyokuyō*, in 1187. Like other visitors, Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa and Kanezane paid homage to a statue of Prince Shōtoku, and then went to the Picture Hall to attend the *etoki* ritual. Vol. 3 of GY (Bunji 3:1187.8.23), 396.

Shitennōji were to venerate the events on the fourteenth of September, one of the days of *rokusai* 六齋 (8<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup>, and 30<sup>th</sup>), and the autumnal equinox day (彼岸 *higan*).<sup>351</sup> On these six days, one was supposed to be modest and refrain from certain activities because the Four Heavenly Kings 四天王 (*shitennō*) examined the nation and its government, and evil spirits could harm humans. Because Shitennōji (temple of the four heavenly kings), as its name designates, was dedicated to the Four Heavenly Kings, it was appropriate to perform the *nenbutsu* recitation during the *rokusai* there. The recitation of the *nenbutsu* in accompaniment to music played on a gong during the six days was believed to be effective in appeasing the souls of the dead, particularly vengeful spirits.<sup>352</sup> On the autumnal equinox day, the *nenbutsu* was also chanted as a means to honor the ancestors and transmit merit to the spirits of the departed. It is uncertain how the six-day-*nenbutsu* rite of *rokusai* and the autumnal equinox were related to the picture-explanations of Shōtoku's life. However, I will argue below that Prince Shōtoku's spirit might have been thought to become restless due to the annihilation of his descendants; therefore a series of rituals seem to have been carried out to appease and placate the souls of the dead, including Shōtoku's.

The paintings depicted in the Picture Hall of Shitennōji in the twelfth century probably focused on Shōtoku's entire career as pictorializations of the tenth-century text *Shōtoku taishi denryaku* 聖徳太子伝暦 (Biography of Prince Shōtoku).<sup>353</sup> This suggests that the general function of the *etoki* performance at Shitennōji was to commemorate Shōtoku as well as to honor his accomplishments. The paintings of the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* that Heian

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<sup>351</sup> Kadokawa Gen'yoshi, *Katarimono bungei no hassei* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1975), 43; see its translation in Kaminishi, 24; also see Kevin Carr, *The Lives of Shōtoku: Narrative Art and Ritual in Medieval Japan*. Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 1995), 275.

<sup>352</sup> *Iwanami bukkyō jiten*, 1067.

<sup>353</sup> Asaga Hiroshi, "Shitennōji shōryōin edō Shōtoku taishi eden no saikentō," in *Shōtoku taishi shinkō no bijutsu* (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 1996), 289-295.

emperors and aristocrats saw at Shitennōji no longer exist, but Edo-period copies of an eleventh-century illustration of Prince Shōtoku's life survive on the wall panels of Hōryūji 法隆寺, one of the cultic centers of Shōtoku, in Nara Prefecture.<sup>354</sup> The original eleventh-century works, formerly installed in Hōryūji, are currently preserved at the Tokyo National Museum. Although the actual *etoki* ritual at Hōryūji is undocumented, *Kenkyū gojunrei ki* 建久御巡礼記 (Pilgrimage account in the Kenkyū era) by the monk Jitsuei 実叡 (b.d. unknown) confirms that *etoki* was performed there.<sup>355</sup>

The Hōryūji version of Shōtoku's picture biography, designed by Hata no Chitei 秦致貞 (act. mid-11<sup>th</sup> century), was installed on three sides of the interior of the Picture Hall (絵殿 *edono*) in the Eastern Precinct of Hōryūji in 1069.<sup>356</sup> The production of the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* was made with that of the wooden statue of Prince Shōtoku at the age of seven. Before this time, the World-Saving Kannon (救世観音 *Guze Kannon*), also known as the Dream Hall Kannon statue (夢殿観音 *Yumedono Kannon*), had served as the prime icon in the Spirit Ritual (聖霊会 *shōryōe*), performed on the anniversary of Prince Shōtoku's death. The Dream Hall Kannon, made to the same measurements as Prince Shōtoku himself, was considered as his life-sized portrait. In 1069, however, the portrait of Shōtoku at the age of seven was sculpted in order to replace the Dream Hall Kannon as the main icon in the Spirit Ritual. Thus,

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<sup>354</sup> As mentioned elsewhere, the copies were made by Yoshimura Shūkei in 1788.

<sup>355</sup> *Kenkyū gojunrei ki* records that a noblewoman left Hōryūji without attending the *etoki* because she needed to hurry to Taimadera before it got dark. *Kenkyū gojunrei ki* in vol. 6 of *Kokubun tōhō bukkyō sōsho* (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoin, 1927), 25.

<sup>356</sup> For a description of Hōryūji's paintings, see Akiyama, 169-203; Kikutake Jun'ichi, *Shōtoku taishi eden* in vol. 91 of *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1973); Kaminishi (2005), 20-31; Carr, 106-244.

the principal icon in the Spirit Hall was changed from the Dream Hall Kannon to the image of Shōtoku at the age of seven.<sup>357</sup>

The portrait of Shōtoku at the age of seven was carved by a professional sculptor-buddha master, Enkai 円快 (act. mid-11<sup>th</sup> century), and its surface was painted by Hata no Chitei, the same artist who created the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku*.<sup>358</sup> This statue of Shōtoku was originally enshrined in a room behind the galleries where the paintings of Prince Shōtoku's life were displayed in the rectangular Picture Hall.<sup>359</sup> The portrait and the illustrations that depict the biography served as vital components of the Spirit Ritual in the memorial observances for Prince Shōtoku. Thus, the motivation behind the production of the paintings and the wooden statue, as well as their placement, indicate they were worshiped together by the visitor and served as a set of ritual objects to memorialize the death of Shōtoku.<sup>360</sup>

The location where the *etoki* was performed at Hōryūji was significant in relation to the death of Shōtoku. Archaeological evidence reveals that the Ikaruga Palace (斑鳩宮 *Ikaruga no miya*) formerly stood at the site of Hōryūji's Eastern Precinct today; this precinct contained the Dream Hall, the Dharma Transmitting Hall, the Relics Hall, and the Picture Hall, all of which functioned as centers of worship of Shōtoku.<sup>361</sup> According to the early eighth-century Japanese chronicle *Nihon shoki*, Prince Shōtoku built the Ikaruga Palace in 601 and used it as his private residence.<sup>362</sup> The Ikaruga Palace was directly associated with his death because he died there of

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<sup>357</sup> Asai Kazuharu, Asaga Hiroshi, and Ishikawa Tomohiko, "Shōtoku taishi no bijutsu," in *Shōtoku taishi jiten*, 393-394.

<sup>358</sup> The circumstance of production (authorship and date) is inscribed inside the wooden statue.

<sup>359</sup> Akiyama, 173.

<sup>360</sup> The rituals that utilized such artworks must have promoted the cult of Prince Shōtoku as an ideal figure who played an important role in both religious and political sectors. Indeed, some individuals such as Fujiwara no Michinaga (a powerful regent), Emperor Go-Shirakawa, and Minamoto no Yoritomo (the first Kamakura shogun) claimed that they were incarnations of Prince Shōtoku in order to legitimate their religious and political authority.

<sup>361</sup> Nitō Atsushi, "Ikaruga no miya ni tsuite." *Nihon rekishi* 451 (December 1985), 18-36.

<sup>362</sup> *Nihon shoki* in vol. 3 of SNKB, 551.



disease in 622.<sup>363</sup> After Shōtoku's death, the palace was inherited by his son Prince Yamashiro (山背大兄王 Yamashiro-no-Ōe-no-miko: d.643).

In 643, however, Prince Yamashiro and his family were suddenly attacked by their political rival Soga no Iruka 蘇我入鹿 (d.645), whose soldiers set the palace on fire. Although Prince Yamashiro and all members of his family escaped from the attack, they returned to the Ikaruga Palace and hung themselves. Instead of fighting against the army of Iruka, Prince Yamashiro chose to commit suicide so that commoners involved in this confrontation would not get injured or killed.<sup>364</sup> This can be interpreted as a religious suicide of self-sacrifice (捨身 *shashin*). According to the *jātaka* tales, willingly giving up one's body to save others is the most precious and compassionate act that the bodhisattva can perform.

Due to the self-immolation of Yamashiro and his entire family, all the direct descendants of Prince Shōtoku perished; as a result, Shōtoku could receive no rites performed by his descendants. As ancestral worship was a crucial element incorporated in Buddhist mortuary rituals, the annihilation of Shōtoku's descendants caused the emergence of non-kin spirits (無縁 仏 *muen botoke*) who had no descendants in this world to pray for them. Such non-kin souls were believed to become wandering ghosts harmful to the living.<sup>365</sup> It is possible that Shōtoku's descendants became vengeful spirits not only because they died in distress, but also because they had no bereaved family to conduct memorial rites to assist them to be reborn in paradise. As some scholars have suggested, it is likely that Shōtoku himself also threatened the living as a

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<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, 577.

<sup>364</sup> *Nihon shoki* in vol. 4 of SNKB, 79-84.

<sup>365</sup> *Iwanami bukkyō jiten*, 982.

malicious ghost.<sup>366</sup> Although it is beyond the scope of this study to prove that Shōtoku and his descendants became vengeful ghosts, there is no doubt that Hōryūji's Eastern Precinct, as the site of the deaths of Shōtoku and his descendants, had a strong link to their deaths. Hōryūji's Eastern Precinct was thus an appropriate place to hold the Spirit Ritual on the anniversary of Prince Shōtoku's death.

Indeed, the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* depicts the Ikaruga Palace in its relation to the scenes of Shōtoku's death and subsequent funeral procession. Another scene represents the ascension of the souls of Prince Yamashiro and his family who committed suicides at the Ikaruga Palace. Their souls are shown flying to the sky from the five-story pagoda. Commemorating these tragic scenes and assisting the ascension of the souls of Shōtoku and his descendants seem to have given the *etoki* performance of Shōtoku's life a ritualistic function, more precisely, a placatory function at the place where they had died. For these reasons, the veneration in front of Shōtoku's wooden statue and the *etoki* performance of the *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku* may have had a mortuary dimension.<sup>367</sup> Despite the original functions closely associated with the death anniversary, no document records that the *etoki* ceremony at Hōryūji fell on any specific memorial day. As references show, Hōryūji staged *etoki* performances upon the request of high-ranking visitors. This was the same as at Shitennōji. Although there is no evidence that *etoki* on the life story of Prince Shōtoku at Hōryūji and

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<sup>366</sup> For example, see Umehara Takeshi, *Kakusareta jūjika* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1980). I do not agree with Umehara's speculation that Hōryūji was built to confine Shōtoku's angry spirit. Umehara does not make a distinction between a vengeful spirit (*onryō*) and an honorable spirit (*goryō*). As I have stated in Chapter One, basically a vengeful spirit and an honorable spirit refer to the same entity, but the former is expected to be transformed into the latter. In other words, it is not an angry ghost but a benevolent one that is enshrined and worshiped.

<sup>367</sup> It should be noted that the Spirit Ritual at Hōryūji included the transferring of the spirit of Shōtoku temporarily from the Picture Hall (together with the relics of Śākyamuni from the Relics Hall, which Shōtoku is said to have held at the age of three) to the Golden Hall by a portable shrine. Tokyo-to Bijutsukan, *Shōtoku taishi ten* (Tokyo: NHK, 2001), 297.

Shitennōji was performed on his death anniversary, it is probable that the occasions of performing the *etoki* ritual were changed over time, and that they later were not limited to the traditional memorial observance.

The next example of *etoki*, like that of Shōtoku, also used an illustrated biography, but was staged on the death anniversary of the subject. The *Illustrated Biography of Priest Shinran* (善信聖人親鸞伝絵 *Shinran shōnin den-ne*) was made part of the annual memorial services for Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1262), the founder of the Jōdo Shin sect 浄土真宗. The monk Kakunyo 覚如 (1270-1351), the most important disciple of Shinran, composed a liturgy of gratitude (報恩講式 *Hōonkōshiki*), which was a manual of the memorial services, on the thirty-third anniversary of Shinran's death in 1294.<sup>368</sup> In the following year, Kakunyo wrote Shinran's biography (御伝鈔 *Godenshō*) and produced a set of illustrated scrolls based on the biography. Typically, the memorial services of eminent monks were accompanied by narration of their biographies; thus, both the text and the illustration of the biography of Shinran were created to be used in these memorial observances.

A memorial service for Shinran is depicted in the handscroll of the *Illustrated Biography of Priest Shinran*.<sup>369</sup> The scroll shows a small hexagonal chapel where a wooden statue of Shinran is enshrined directly in front of a stone grave monument. A monk is praying in front of the statue, and participants, including monks and other believers, can be seen in the hall and corridor. This hexagonal chapel is called the Ōtani Mausoleum (大谷本廟 *Ōtani honbyō*). The Ōtani Mausoleum functions as a Spirit Hall (or Portrait Hall) because Shinran's relics are buried

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<sup>368</sup> For Shinran's portraits and a liturgy of gratitude, see James Dobbins, "Portraits of Shinran in Medieval Pure Land Buddhism," in *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, eds. Robert Sharf and Elizabeth Sharf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 33-40.

<sup>369</sup> Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Zenshin shōnin Shinran den-ne* in vol. 1 of ZNET, 60-61.

underneath it and a wooden statue of Shinran is housed in it. Although the handscroll does not show an actual *etoki* performance, it is possible that after people worshiped the statue of the priest, they listened to *etoki* in a different place like the Picture Hall. In fact, the *etoki* for Shinran has been an integral component in the rituals performed for the anniversary of his death. Narrating the illustrated biography of Shinran remains an essential ritual today.<sup>370</sup> In the current form of the ritual, the scrolls illustrating Shinran's life are displayed while a monk narrates the priest's biography at the Liturgy of Gratitude (報恩講 *Hōonkō*), that is, the annual memorial services for Shinran.<sup>371</sup> As Kakunyo explicitly states, the prime purpose of the Liturgy of Gratitude is to show thankfulness to the founder of the sect and to commemorate his death. Thus, the *etoki*, as one of the components of the annual memorial service, must have served the same purpose.

These examples of *etoki* have demonstrated that the illustrated biographies of Shōtoku at Hōryūji and Shinran at Ōtani Mausoleum were produced to be used in *etoki* performances on their death anniversaries. Moreover, the *etoki* was held at specific places that had mortuary significance, suggesting that *etoki* performance was crucial in commemorating the deaths of important figures. After venerating the statue of the departed in the hall dedicated to him, the participants would have listened to his biography as a way to remember his life and accomplishments, made all the more significant within the context of memorial service.

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<sup>370</sup> The Jōdo Shin sect pays special reverence to Prince Shōtoku because Shinran dreamed that Shōtoku was a reincarnation of Kannon, the Bodhisattva of Compassion. *Etoki* of Prince Shōtoku was also carried out in several Jōdo Shin temples. It was perhaps due to these links that Kakunyo employed *etoki* rituals in the anniversary of Shinran's death.

<sup>371</sup> Currently, this ritual is enacted in the Portrait Hall (御影堂 *goeidō*) of Honganji 本願寺. In the Portrait Hall the wooden statue of Shinran is displayed on the central altar. Four hanging scrolls illustrating the *Biography of Shinran* are hung to the right of this altar. The current Liturgy of Gratitude also uses a wooden statue of Shinran and the *Illustrated Biography of Priest Shinran* as an integral set in the memorial service. For more information, see Kawaguchi, 291-292; Asakura Masaki, "Hōonkō," in *Shinshū girei no imamukashi* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 2001), 38-49; Nishi Honganji, *Shinran shōnin goshōki Hōonkō*.  
[http://www.hongwanji.or.jp/2002/01/goshoki/hoonko\\_cf.htm](http://www.hongwanji.or.jp/2002/01/goshoki/hoonko_cf.htm) (23 December 2003).

#### 5.4 *ETOKI OF HISTORICAL EVENTS AS PACIFICATION RITUAL*

The preceding section examined the picture-explaining practices that focus on life stories of historically eminent individuals and showed that the performances of *etoki* were inextricably linked to mortuary rites that commemorated their deaths. In this sense, Amidaji's paintings, which depict Antoku's life, are similar to the *etoki* practices of Shōtoku and Shinran. The following examples of *etoki* similarly treat historical figures; yet instead of dealing with their entire lives, they center on events related to their tragic deaths and subsequent memorial services. The *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* is also associated with these *etoki* practices in which the tragic deaths of the main characters occurred in battles. It is thus helpful to understand the significance and process of this type of *etoki*, performed for those who died violently, before exploring the functions of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*.

The *etoki* of the *Illustration of the Final Days of the Life of Minamoto no Yoshitomo* (源義朝公御最期之絵図 *Minamoto no Yoshitomo kō gosaigo no ezu*), a set of two hanging scrolls, was performed in the temple Ōmidōji 大御堂寺, better known as Noma daibō 野間大坊, near Nagoya in Aichi Prefecture.<sup>372</sup> Defeated in the Heiji Disturbance in 1159, Minamoto no Yoshitomo 源義朝 (1123-1160) escaped from Kyoto and was harbored by his retainer Osada Tadamune 長田忠到 (d.1190) who governed the area near Nagoya. During Yoshitomo's stay in Tadamune's residence, Tadamune betrayed and assassinated Yoshitomo. Tadamune's attack

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<sup>372</sup> The paintings are also called the *Illustration of Battle of Rokuhara* (六波羅合戦図 *Rokuhara kassenzu*) because Yoshitomo's death was a result of this specific battle which occurred in the Heiji Disturbance. It is unknown when *etoki* rituals started in this temple, but the extant paintings were produced by Kano Tan'yū, based on the original paintings. We do not know when the original paintings were made, but given the cases of Shōtoku and Shinran, their production was probably related to the anniversary of Yoshitomo's death. For the *etoki* of the *Illustration of the Final Days of the Life of Minamoto no Yoshitomo*, see Hayashi (1988), 1; Hayashi (1985), 240.

occurred when Yoshitomo, unarmed and unguarded, was taking a bath. Later, in 1190, Yoshitomo's son Yoritomo (who was to establish the Kamakura military government in 1192) held a memorial service at Ōmidōji near the place where his father was killed.<sup>373</sup> Like at Amidaji, Yoritomo revived a pre-existing temple as a place to pray for his father's rebirth in paradise.

The right hanging scroll of the *Illustration of the Final Days of the Life of Minamoto no Yoshitomo* depicts Tadamune's residence where Yoshitomo was hosted, the bath where he was beheaded, the battle scene where Yoshitomo's retainers fought against those of Tadamune following the assassination, and the pond where Yoshitomo's bloody head was washed. The left scroll illustrates Ōmidōji where a solemn memorial ceremony was held by Yoritomo. The temple precinct included the main hall, the gate, the belfry, the five-storied pagoda, and Yoshitomo's grave – all of which were built or rebuilt through the patronage of Yoritomo. A monk would use a pointer and guide the viewers through the scrolls, elucidating the narrative events and their relationship to the actual sites. The *etoki* would have been especially effective in recalling the historical experience, for the actual sites of these events were often visited by the audience after the *etoki* performance. The remains of Tadamune's residence and bathroom, the pond, Ōmidōji's main hall where the funeral took place, and Yoshitomo's gravestone, all depicted in the paintings and explained by the monk, were just outside the hall where the *etoki* was staged.<sup>374</sup> Due to the close proximity of these historic sites, the monk stressed the importance of Ōmidōji in its association with Yoshitomo's tragic end and Yoritomo's patronage.

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<sup>373</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Kenkyū 1:1190.10.25), 399-400. Ōmidōji was originally established during the reign of Emperor Tenmu 天武 (r.673-686), was revived by the monk Gyōki 行基 (668-749) during the reign of Emperor Shōmu 聖武 (r.724-749), and was further patronized by Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (r.1072-1086). Yoritomo dedicated a Jizō statue, which served as a main icon in the Main Hall, to Ōmidōji after his father's death.

<sup>374</sup> The *etoki* was performed at the Main Hall.

Indeed, the *etoki* texts reveal this process and emphasis during the performance.<sup>375</sup> The text ends with Tadamune's poem of parting after the scene where he and his son were executed in front of Yoshitomo's grave.<sup>376</sup> When we look at the left scroll carefully, we notice a mortuary stone monument built for Tadamune and his son in front of Yoritomo's gravestone. Accordingly, the *etoki* was designed not only to commemorate the death of Yoshitomo, but also those of Tadamune and his son.

Another *etoki* practice that focuses on a death and subsequent memorial service was performed with the *Illustration of the Battle of Miki* (三木合戦図 *Miki kassenzu*).<sup>377</sup> This work, a set of three hanging scrolls, was dedicated to a young warlord, Bessho Nagaharu 別所長治 (d.1580). Attacked by the army of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Nagaharu and his army took shelter in Miki Castle for a two-year siege between 1578 and 1580 during the Battle of Miki in Hyōgo Prefecture. Hideyoshi cut off all food supplies to the castle and starved Nagaharu's soldiers into surrender. Finally, Nagaharu surrendered the castle to Hideyoshi and wrote a capitulation. In it, Nagaharu asked Hideyoshi to refrain from killing all of his retainers and the local people who were involved in the battle in exchange for the lives of Nagaharu and his entire family. Then, Nagaharu chose to commit suicide to save the others. His suicide led to an end of the fighting and saved thousands of people in the area of Miki. This self-immolation was related to the idea of a religious suicide's self-sacrifice, renouncing the flesh to save others, which recalls the suicide of Prince Yamashiro. A few years after this tragedy, Nagaharu's retainers and the local

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<sup>375</sup> Several *etoki* texts are stored in the temple storage. For the texts, see Hayashi (1988), 227-254.

<sup>376</sup> It was customary to compose a poem at death.

<sup>377</sup> For the *etoki* of the *Illustration of the Battle of Miki*, see Abe Yasurō, "Miki kassenzu." *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 47:11 (October 1982), 140-143.

people established a mortuary temple, Hōkaiji 法界寺, for the repose of the souls of Nagaharu and his family.

The right scroll of the *Illustration of the Battle of Miki* focuses on three military conflicts in Mount Tanjō, in Ōgo, and in Hirayama.<sup>378</sup> The upper area of the middle scroll illustrates another three battles (Noguchi, Kanki, and Ōmura), and the lower area of this scroll represents Miki Castle where four events were depicted in a temporal sequence (the meeting, the siege, the suicides of Nagaharu and his family, and the surrender of the castle). The left scroll depicts the meeting of Hideyoshi and Nagaharu's messenger, who delivered the letter of surrender, as well as Nagaharu's grave and the memorial service at Hōkaiji.

The climax of the *etoki* is the scene where Nagaharu and his family died by their own hands. This scene is supplemented by their death poems. Similar to the *Illustration of the Final Days of the Life of Minamoto no Yoshitomo*, the *Illustration of the Battle of Miki* depicts not only the scenes of the battle, but also Nagaharu's grave and memorial rites on the anniversary of his death in Hōkaiji. The *etoki* ritual using this series of paintings was conducted on the death anniversary of Nagaharu. In the final scene of the *Illustration of the Battle of Miki*, Nagaharu's grave and his memorial services are depicted. A script corresponding to the scene narrates as follows:

This temple is the place where the corpse of Nagaharu was buried and his grave was erected. Peasants in twelve villages [in the Miki area] sounded the commanders' bells and drums that they had gathered up [from the battlefield] and chanted the *nenbutsu* in order to express gratitude toward Nagaharu and to transmit spiritual merit to him. This temple is the place where we pray for Nagaharu's enlightenment.<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>378</sup> There are two extant sets of the *Illustration of the Battle of Miki*. The inscription on the box that contains the first set of scrolls states Nagaharu's retainer dedicated the scrolls to Hōkaiji during the Tenshō era (1573-1592); however, based upon stylistic grounds, the works were perhaps produced in the seventeenth century. The second set was a copy of the first one dedicated by a descendant of Nagaharu in 1841. It is suggested that the *etoki* ritual of this work perhaps began on the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Nagaharu. See Abe, 140.

<sup>379</sup> Abe, 142.



From the text, we know that the *etoki* ritual was combined with *nenbutsu* chanting, a typical practice conducted as the dedication of merit. Because the portrait of the deceased was essential in the death anniversary, the *etoki* ritual was further incorporated in a series of rites held in front of the portrait. Like the examples in the *Taiki* entries mentioned above, it is clear that the explication of the picture was an element in a larger program of ritual devotion and merit dedication.

The cases of Ōmidōji and Hōkaiji have further shown that the *etoki* was inextricably bounded to specific sites where the main characters died prematurely and where mortuary rites were dedicated to their souls. Moreover, during and after the narration of the protagonists' deaths, viewers were encouraged to relive those historical moments themselves because the places described in *etoki* were near the actual sites of their deaths. Both of these *etoki* texts include poems of parting, as does the *etoki* at Amidaji, which recounts the events associated with Antoku's death. Modern scholars have noted that the *etoki* rites at Ōmidōji and Hōkaiji were performed to appease the souls of those who died in tragic ways, however, most of the references to such a placatory function are made only in passing and have not fully discussed the *etoki* in the context of mortuary rites.<sup>380</sup> In order to clarify how “picture-explaining” was used to appease the souls of the dead, I will examine Amidaji's paintings by placing them in a larger ritual context.

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<sup>380</sup> For example, see Akai Tatsurō, *Etoki no keifu* (Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1989), 362-381; Ido, 18; Mizuno Ryōko (2003), 342.

## 5.5 ETOKI AT AMIDAJI

Written documents about the *etoki* performance of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* come from the Edo period.<sup>381</sup> The earliest eyewitness account is found in a diary by Engelbert Kaempfer, a German physician of the Dutch East India Company. When Kaempfer visited Amidaji in 1691, he first paid homage to the statue of Emperor Antoku and then listened to *etoki*. Kaempfer wrote:

A young priest let us into the entrance hall of the temple, which was covered with black gauze like a theater, except for the center, where a piece of silver fabric had been spread. Here, on an altar, stood the imperial prince who drowned, plump and stout with long, black hair. The Japanese worshiped him by bowing down to the floor. On each side, two life-sized persons of imperial descent were depicted. They were dressed in black garments like those worn at the imperial court. The priest lit candles, and began to narrate the tragic story by pointing at the pictures depicted on the sliding doors in the next room.<sup>382</sup>

Another travel account was written when Ōta Nanpo, the Edo comic poet, visited Amidaji in 1806. He also describes the rituals performed in the Spirit Hall that featured the statue of Antoku and the Taira portraits as well as the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*:

I entered a hall where I paid homage to a wooden portrait of Emperor Antoku. On the sliding doors to the right and left of the portrait of Antoku there were painted portraits

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<sup>381</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the *etoki* was not held at Amidaji before the Edo period. Three texts of Amidaji's *etoki*, which are preserved in the Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Toshokan, were made also in the Edo period. I discussed the relationship between *etoki* and text with Tokuda Kazuo and Hayashi Masahiko, two prominent scholars of *etoki*, on October 28 and 29 in 2006, respectively. According to Tokuda, the date of the production of the *etoki* text does not mean the date when *etoki* began to be performed. Tokuda suggests that the production of the text was often motivated by the change in the targeted audience. Because *etoki* was performed in front of people from various social classes during the Edo period, the text of *etoki* was made in response to the change in the audience. Hayashi agrees with Tokuda. I also agree with Tokuda although I believe the motivations behind the production of the text of *etoki* may vary depending on each case. As discussed in Chapter Three, the extant set of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* was produced in the late sixteenth century and the original set might have existed much earlier. Thus, I suggest that Amidaji conducted the *etoki* performance much earlier than the Edo period.

<sup>382</sup> Bailey, 301-302. I slightly changed the translation. Also see *Edo sanpu ryokō nikki*, 95-97; Engelbert Kaempfer, *Nagasaki um 1690: Reise von Nagasaki an den kaiserlichen Hof nach Jedo* in *Reisen in Nippon* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1969), 130-131.

of [Lady] Rō-no-onkata, [Lady] Dainagon-no-suke, [Lady] Sotsu-no-suke, [Lady] Jibukyō-no-tsubone, [Taira no] Nobumoto, [Taira no] Tomomori, [Taira no] Norimori, [Taira no] Sukemori, [Taira no] Tsunemori, and [Taira no] Noritsune. In the next room, to the right of the previous room [where the portraits were enshrined], there were paintings depicting the biography of Emperor Antoku from his birth to his suicide, as well as battle scenes of the Genpei War. The text, used for *etoki* ritual, was inscribed in the upper part of the paintings.... The monk held a bamboo stick [to point to the appropriate scenes on the paintings] and his explanation of [the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*] was heartbreaking.<sup>383</sup>

Other travelers also recorded that they worshiped the statue of Antoku and participated in *etoki* in the Spirit Hall.<sup>384</sup> As noted in my reconstructive analysis of the temple in Chapter Two, the Spirit Hall was designed to welcome visitors first to the lower room (worship hall) in order to venerate the souls of Antoku and the Taira, whose portraits were enshrined in the upper room (main hall), and then to the room where the panels of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* were displayed. Three texts of *etoki* are preserved in the local archive of Shimonoseki City; all start with the introduction of the portraits and explain the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* in the Spirit Hall.<sup>385</sup> The records of visitors, the architectural setting, and the texts of *etoki* all confirm the order of ritual, that is, first the worship of the portraits of Antoku and the Taira members and then the recitation of the *etoki*. Therefore, just like at the temples dedicated to Shōtoku and Shinran, worshiping the wooden statue and listening to *etoki* in the Spirit Hall were two parts of an established ritual at Amidaji. The program of ritual in the Spirit Hall must have been crucial.

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<sup>383</sup> *Koharu kikō*, 20-21.

<sup>384</sup> See for example, *Nagasaki gyōeki nikki*, 248-249.

<sup>385</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji Antoku tennō esetsu* (Doc. Mōri 1.2.65); Reproduced in Tomikura Tokujirō, *Heike monogatari no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1958), 500-506; and in Ishida Takuya, “Akama Jingū hōmotsu Antoku tennō engi ezu kakejiku shikishigata oyobi sono etoki shishō.” *Daitō bunka daigaku kiyō* 17 (March 1979): 181-190; *Sentei oetoki narabini miyako meguri* (Doc. kyō 2.1.31); Reproduced in Ishida, 190-191; and *Chōshū Akamagaseki Amidaji oetokisho* (Doc. 1.1.124); Reproduced in Hayashi Masahiko and Tokuda Kazuo, *Etoki daihonshū* (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1983), 249-253.

To explore the significance of this complex ritual procedure, it is important to discuss the functions of the portrait of Antoku. The portrait in the Spirit Hall was not simply as a representation of the deceased for ritual memorialization and veneration. Like Buddhist images, portraits of the departed were considered living icons. The materials used to make a portrait – most commonly wood, silk, or paper – were themselves sacred, prepared and worked by artisans who were part of the Buddhist establishment. When an image was finished, an eye-opening (開眼 *kaigen*) ceremony was held in which the officiant dotted in the pupils of the eyes to signify its birth as a living, consecrated image. The symbolic opening of the eyes animated the image upon its consecration. Once animated in the eye-opening ritual, the image would be enshrined on a temple altar and be provided with offerings of lighted candles, incense, water, and food – much like the person would have received while living. This eye-opening ritual was conducted for the portrait, which was enshrined after the completion of the ritual.<sup>386</sup>

The following examples will further demonstrate that the portrait was treated as a living icon. When the eminent monk Myōe 明恵 (1173-1232) died, his study was transformed into his memorial chapel.<sup>387</sup> In the chapel, his painted portrait was hung on the sliding-doors in front of the place where the monk sat during his lifetime. In front of his portrait, a table was set up, on which were displayed a sūtra box, incense burner, bell, inkstone, fan, lamp, and water jar, all items which had been used regularly by Myōe. These items were arranged just as they had been when he was alive, suggesting that Myōe's portrait was treated as a substitute for the deceased, as if he were alive. The icon received daily meals, hot water, medicine, and lighted candles from his followers. In fact, the definition of the term, *ei* 影, which literally means “shadow” and is

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<sup>386</sup> Tōin Kinkata in vol. 3 of *Entairyaku* (Kan'ō 1:1350.9.11), 310.

<sup>387</sup> Mōri, 21-22.

often used to refer to portraits in East Asian tradition, found in a Kamakura-period dictionary *Myōgoki* 名語記 verifies this function of the portrait as a living entity inspired by the soul of the deceased.<sup>388</sup> *Ei* is defined in the dictionary as a representation of a real individual as well as a spirit of the dead and a soul. As such, the portrait serves not only as a substitute for a human being's physical form but also for the soul of both a living person and a dead person. As Bernard Faure has further suggested in his study of the flesh icons of mummified Chan (Zen) monks in China, "The shadow or trace becomes as real as the body."<sup>389</sup> The concept of a "living" statue is further supported by the practice of dressing wooden nude statues.<sup>390</sup> Thus, the portrait should be treated in the same way as the living person.

As with Buddhist images, the portrait of the departed functioned, especially in the ritual setting, as a medium through which the animating spirit of the deceased descended from the other world. Portraits also may act as doors between us and the deceased, assisting us to send the souls of the deceased to the other world (ideally, paradise), to have them return to us, and then to send them back again. This explains why portraits were hung in front of the coffin at funerals when the soul was still in the body, why they were hung at the cremation site when the soul was leaving the body, and why they were hung again for certain Buddhist memorial services when the soul of the deceased was temporarily coming back to our world.<sup>391</sup> In general, the portrait reflects a likeness that the soul would recognize as a place to descend. In this sense, the portrait functions as a medium where the soul resides -- *katashiro* 形代.<sup>392</sup> It is a physical object used as an emblem of the presence of a spirit. Indeed, in a fourteenth-century diary, the portrait of the

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<sup>388</sup> Vol. 2 of NKD, 564.

<sup>389</sup> Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 170.

<sup>390</sup> For example, the clothes of the wooden statue of Prince Shōtoku at Kōryūji 広隆寺 is changed annually.

<sup>391</sup> On details of how to use the portraits, see *Kennaiki* in vol.14 of DNK (Shōchō 1:1428.1.23), 49-50.

<sup>392</sup> Suitō Makoto, *Chūsei no sōsō, bōsei: Sekitō o zōryū suru koto* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1991), 22-23.

deceased is referred to as a *katashiro*.<sup>393</sup> To further support this theory, we often find in medieval sources that the spirit of the deceased was believed to have descended into the portrait that was perceived as a medium, like a door, between our world and the spirit world.

This was also the case in Amidaji, where Antoku's portrait was viewed as an animate, living icon. As recorded in temple documents, daily offerings were made in front of the statue. Antoku's portrait received each day meal services that were attended by twenty-five monks (a ritual head practitioner, a cook, two food servers, a tea server, and twenty monks who prepared a setting for the service).<sup>394</sup> The inventory of 1739 confirms this by stating that a tray for food offerings was always placed in the Spirit Hall. Thus, the portrait embodied the living aura of the dead Antoku and served as the focus of offerings and ceremonies. Antoku's portrait had to be sustained alive by daily offerings and ritual activities much as the living emperor would have required in life – here, to maintain its spiritual power and efficacy as a religious icon.

Due to their ritual efficacy, portraits of the deceased were used to appease an angry spirit in the placatory rite. According to a tenth-century document, the portrait of Sugawara no Michizane, who died in exile through the political machinations of his colleague, was produced primarily to be used in the pacification rites.<sup>395</sup> When the colleague who conspired in Michizane's exile was suffering from a series of misfortunes (i.e., the deaths of individuals close to him), he commissioned performances of the pacification rite and a portrait of Michizane. The monk, who initiated the rite, mentioned that daily offerings should be made in front of the portrait. Indeed, the pacification projects for Emperors Sutoku and Antoku followed those for Michizane. Thus, the portrait of Antoku was a necessary part of the placatory ritual to appease

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<sup>393</sup> Vol. 4 of *Moromoriki* (Jōwa 3:1347.3.23), 63.

<sup>394</sup> This elaborate daily meal service was abolished later due to its cost when the temple faced financial difficulties. *Toyourahan kyūki* in SSS, 1426-1427.

<sup>395</sup> *Daihōshi Jōzō den* in vol. 3 of ZZGR, 469.

his angry spirit. This is most likely the original function of his portrait when the Spirit Hall, functioning as a Portrait Hall, was commissioned in 1191 by Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa. At that time, the retired emperor was threatened by Antoku's restless soul that was believed to have caused the Great Earthquake and Go-Shirakawa's grave illness.

The meaning of Antoku's portrait should also be considered in relation to the five-story stūpa (*gorintō*) that was erected beneath the portrait. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Edo-period document, *Shingonshū shojiin meisaiho*, verifies the location of the five-story stūpa.<sup>396</sup> Several visitors also witnessed this stūpa in the Spirit Hall. For instance, the author of *Kigai Bōchō kikō* (travel account of Bōchō) saw it and sketched it in 1863.<sup>397</sup> An identical sketch is found in the diary of Ōta Nanpo in 1866.<sup>398</sup> Traditionally, a five-story stūpa functions as a grave marker. In this case, however, one cannot be sure whether the body of Antoku was actually buried underneath, as will be discussed below. The practice of constructing such a stone monument was believed to be a good deed effective for the acquisition or transfer of merit to those who erected it and those who were buried underneath.<sup>399</sup> At the same time, perhaps analogous to a perishable wooden tablet in the shape of stūpa 卒塔婆 (*sotoba*), a five-story stone stūpa can be seen as a medium where the soul of the dead descends.

Given that both the portrait and the five-story stūpa beneath Antoku's carved portrait functioned as media, where the animating spirit of the deceased was transferred, the performance of rituals in front of the portraits of Antoku and the Taira in the upper room (Room B) of the

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<sup>396</sup> *Shingonshū shojiin meisaiho* (Doc. *Toyourahan kyūki* 104).

<sup>397</sup> Anonymous author, *Kigai bōchō kikō* (1863), (Doc. 30 *chishi* 15).

<sup>398</sup> According to the author of *Kigai Bōchō kikō*, the mausoleum or grave (御陵 *oryō*) was located under the Spirit Hall and the five-story stūpa was erected on the mausoleum. It is difficult to imagine how he and other visitors saw the five-story stūpa which stood under the Spirit Hall. They could have witnessed it under the floor of the Spirit Hall from the outside the building.

<sup>399</sup> *Suitō*, 56-74.

Spirit Hall was perhaps intended to evoke the spirits of the deceased to pass through the medium of the portraits from the other world to our world. These spirits were then taken to Room C where the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* were displayed in order to have them listen to *etoki*. The complex program of ritual in the Spirit Hall, comprised of the worship in front of the portraits and participation in *etoki*, was thus vital to bring the power of ritual directly to the spirits.

## **5.6 THE PLACEMENT OF THE *ILLUSTRATED STORY OF EMPEROR ANTOKU* IN THE SPIRIT HALL**

How did the panels of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* depict space and how were they placed in the room in order to carry out the *etoki* ritual? The painter utilized some motifs as background to connect scenes so that the audience could follow the events more naturally as they were narrated. Mountains and oceans in the scenes are not only settings for specific events, but also act as devices to connect them. Often space is compressed to simplify the story and make a more pleasing image. For example, two mountains, Mt. Hiei and Mt. Rokkō, which are geographically far away from each other, are depicted in the same range. Ichinotani, Yashima, and Dannoura, where battles broke out, are all located along the inland sea, but are far from each other. Nonetheless, the three battle scenes look as if they are one continuous battle. Mountains and rock formations are also used for dividing different scenes. For example, in Panel II, a rock outcropping separates the Rokuhara palace from the temporary residence of the retired emperor on Mt. Hiei. Trees do not seem to be drawn as any recognizable species; the painter may not have paid much attention to them when he drew them. It is also possible that the painter



deliberately depicted trees without distinct features because by so doing he could bring a sense of unity to the whole picture.

In the final two panels, Dannoura, a beach along a narrow strait where the battle took place and where Emperor Antoku and the Taira drowned, is painted in front of Amidaji. When the monk was reciting the battle scene, he may have created a tense atmosphere during which the audience reached a peak of terror and grief while viewing the final two panels of the dramatic scene at Dannoura, which faces the actual coastal site of the battle. Its significance is emphasized by the fact that among the ten events related to Emperor Antoku's life, the battle scene at Dannoura occupies the largest area on the panels. The arrangement of the panels might have been designed to facilitate viewers at Antoku's temple to relive that historical moment. If they opened the sliding doors and looked outside, they could see the actual battle site in front of them. While viewing and listening to the battle scene of Dannoura, the audience was facing the actual location of this tragic event, just outside the Spirit Hall. This placement could not have been coincidental. It was chosen so that the audience experienced the events even more intensely. We can imagine the monk's dramatic performance from the present condition of the paintings; the pigments have flaked off the images of Antoku and Nii-no-Ama. This heavy damage suggests that the narrator pointed at Antoku and Nii-no-Ama with a pointer repeatedly and with great excitement. Similar to the *etoki* practices of the *Final Days of the Life of Minamoto no Yoshitomo* and the *Battle of Miki*, the painted and narrated scenes were integrated with the actual landscape where past events occurred, and the viewers of the *etoki* might have an illusion that such events took place in front of them. Not only the paintings but also the site itself must have enabled the monk performing *etoki* to re-create a very dramatic battle scene. Dramatization of the narrative were employed as part of the picture-explanation at Amidaji.

Therefore, the panel placement, image content, basic compositional structure, narration style, and landscape motifs were each carefully considered in the original design so that the painting could be smoothly and dramatically narrated for the *etoki* ritual.

## 5.7 AMIDAJI AS LIMINAL PLACE

Why was it necessary to carry out such a dramatic picture-explication performance at Amidaji? Where did the souls of Emperor Antoku and the Taira go? According to various accounts of the Genpei War, Antoku's grandmother Nii-no-ama, embracing the child emperor, jumped into the sea in front of Amidaji.<sup>400</sup> Antoku asked his grandmother where she was going to take him when they were about to throw themselves into the sea. She answered that she would take him to a place called paradise and that place was also a capital under the waves. Then Nii-no-ama encouraged him to intone the name of Amida Buddha so that he would be escorted by Amida and his attendants to the Pure Land.<sup>401</sup> This action reflects a type of religious suicide known as “*jusui* 入水 (entering water), or more precisely, *jusui ōjō* 入水往生 (attaining rebirth through drowning), which was usually undertaken to effect swift passage to Amida's paradise.”<sup>402</sup> The practice appears in accounts of those who have attained rebirth in the Pure Land, called *ōjōden* 往生伝. For example, it was believed that the western gate of the temple Shitennōji, which faced the sea, was the eastern entrance of Amida's Pure Land, and many devotees committed

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<sup>400</sup> Although *Azuma kagami* reports Lady Azechi-no-tsubone 按察局 held the child emperor in her arms and jumped into the sea, other sources say that Nii-no-ama leaped overboard with Antoku. See *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Bunji 1:1185.3.24), 143; *The Tale of the Heike*, 378; *Hyakurenshō* in vol. 11 of KT (Bunji 1:1185.3.24), 115.

<sup>401</sup> *The Tale of the Heike*, 378.

<sup>402</sup> D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 101; For religious suicide, see Moerman, 92-128.

ritual suicides by jumping into the sea there in the hope of a salvific rebirth.<sup>403</sup> It is reported that at Nachi shore Taira no Koremori drowned himself after intoning Amida's name a hundred times in order to achieve rebirth in paradise.<sup>404</sup> The journey to Fudaraku (Potalaka: the earthly paradise of Kannon) is also this type of religiously motivated suicide in which a Buddhist priest set sail in a small rudderless boat from the port of Kumano's Nachi in the search of salvation.<sup>405</sup> Based upon this belief, Antoku and the Taira members could reach Amida's Pure Land through religious suicide.

“A capital under the waves” referred to Amida's paradise as the underwater palace of the dragon king 龍宮城 (*ryūgūjō*). This palace is generally conflated with a Buddhist paradise because the land across or beneath the sea is often identified with the Pure Land. However, the *Tale of the Heike* declares that this was not the case. After the Genpei War, Antoku's mother Tokushi saw a dream:

In a dream I saw the Former Emperor [Antoku] and the Taira senior nobles and courtiers, all in formal array, at a palace far grander than the old imperial palace. I asked where we were, because I had seen nothing like it since the departure from the capital. Someone who seemed to be the Nun of Second Rank [Antoku's grandmother] answered, “This is the Naga Palace [dragon king's palace].” “What a splendid place! Is there no suffering here?” I asked. “The suffering is described in the *Ryūchiku Sūtra*. Pray hard for us,” she said. I awakened as she spoke. Since then, I have been more zealous than ever in reciting the sūtras and invoking Amida's name so that they may attain enlightenment. I think it has all been exactly like experiencing life in each of the Six Paths.<sup>406</sup>

According to Tokushi's vision, Antoku and the Taira members were present in the underwater palace of the dragon king. The palace here is, however, not envisioned as paradise but as the

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<sup>403</sup> Miyoshi Tameyasu, *Shūi ōjōden* in vol. 7 of NST, 596-597, 615; Fujiwara no Munetomo, *Honchō shinshū ōjōden* in vol. 7 of NST, 685.

<sup>404</sup> *The Tale of the Heike*, 347-350.

<sup>405</sup> Moerman, 102.

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid.*, 436.

realm of animals, one of the Six Realms of transmigration, meaning that the child emperor and the Taira did not reach Buddhist salvation. It is uncertain what the *Ryūchiku Sūtra* 龍畜經 (lit. dragon and animal sūtra) is, but the Nagato version of the *Tale of the Heike* tells that there is suffering in the palace of the dragon king that is the same as suffering in the realm of animals.<sup>407</sup> In addition, the Kōya version of the *Tale of the Heike* says even the dragon king suffers from heat three times a day.<sup>408</sup> *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集 (*Teaching essentials for rebirth*), one of the most influential works of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan, similarly states the dragon king's suffering and explains the realm of animals that exists in the sea.<sup>409</sup> The *Tale of the Heike* reports that Antoku became a dragon king when he drowned himself.<sup>410</sup> Jien, who implemented the placatory rites for vengeful ghosts including Antoku in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, identified Antoku as the reincarnation of the deity of Itsukushima Shrine 厳島神社, the daughter of the dragon king.<sup>411</sup> Jien further stated that Antoku, because he was the reincarnation of the dragon king's daughter, returned to the sea where he belonged at his death. Thus, the abode of the dragon below the sea where Antoku and the Taira family dwelled was not a pleasant place like paradise.

For this reason, Tokushi was more ardent than ever in reciting the sūtras and chanting Amida's name in the hope that Antoku and the Taira would be reborn in paradise. Jien's identification of Antoku with the dragon king's daughter also reflects the hope for Antoku's salvation because the *Lotus Sūtra* describes how the dragon king's daughter attained enlightenment at the age of eight (the same age when Antoku died) despite the five hindrances

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<sup>407</sup> *Heike monogatari* in vol. 30 of NKB, 527.

<sup>408</sup> Vol. 7 of NKD, 909.

<sup>409</sup> *Ōjōyōshū*, 97-100.

<sup>410</sup> *The Tale of the Heike*, 378.

<sup>411</sup> *Gukanshō*, 254.

(sense-desire, hatred, sloth, restlessness, and doubt) possessed by women's defiled body.<sup>412</sup> By identifying Antoku with the dragon king's daughter, Jien's interpretation suggests that Antoku had potential to attain rebirth in Amida's Pure Land despite his tragic death.

Additionally, the temple document, *Amidaji bettō shidai* (Lineage of Amidaji head priests), states that the sixteenth-century head priest Chokui had a dream or vision in which Emperor Antoku and the Taira, unable to release themselves from torment, sank to the bottom of the sea.<sup>413</sup> In this dream Chokui received an oracle that he should perform two specific rites, the fire ritual (光明真言護摩 *kōmyō shingon goma*) and the consecration ritual of sand (土砂加持 *dosha kaji*) during the two equinoxes. These rituals were designed to eliminate the sins of the deceased and to assist them in attaining rebirth in the Pure Land by chanting the *mantra* of radiant light (光明真言 *kōmyō shingon*) and sprinkling sand that symbolized the *mantra* on the graves. Amidaji's list of annual observances indicates that a flowing water ritual (流灌頂 *nagare kanjō*) was also performed on the anniversary of Antoku's death.<sup>414</sup> In this ritual, esoteric magical spells (i.e., the *mantra* of radiant light and secret incantations) or the name of Amida Buddha were inscribed on wooden tablets (卒塔婆 *sotoba*) made in the shape of a five-story pagoda. Then, the wooden tablets were cast into the sea. Releasing the wooden tablets to the sea was considered effective to transmit spiritual merit to the souls of those who died in drowning; therefore this ritual was essential for the souls of Antoku and the Taira to be reborn in

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<sup>412</sup> For the enlightenment of the dragon king's daughter, see *The Lotus Sutra*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 182-189.

<sup>413</sup> *Amidaji bettō shidai* in *AJM*, 136-139.

<sup>414</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of *BJY*, 386.

the Western Paradise.<sup>415</sup> The specific rite indicates that the spirits of Antoku and the Taira were still wandering in the sea.

All of these dreams and subsequent rituals suggest that the souls of Antoku and the Taira were believed to be suffering at the bottom of the sea, unable to attain rebirth in Amida's Pure Land. The dragon palace was, therefore, regarded not only as the realm of the dead but also as the nexus between this world and the next world. Since the dragon palace was considered part of the other world, the sea where Antoku and the Taira members drowned was the realm of the other world, and Amidaji, which stood in front of the sea, was a liminal place between the earthly realm and the underground realm and, thus, was a crucial site to make peace with the unsettled spirits.<sup>416</sup>

Contrary to the idea of religious suicide that normally promises a salvific rebirth, moreover, there are many cases reported where malicious ghosts, who died by drowning or through suicide – circumstances under which death not only was violent but also resulted in the loss of the body itself – were threats to the living; for such spirits, even access to hell was denied.<sup>417</sup> These souls of the departed were also believed to stay in the area where they had died violently. In addition to the politically implicated belief that Antoku and the Taira became vengeful spirits, as discussed in Chapter One, the very unusual and tragic circumstances surrounding their deaths hindered their souls from being reborn in the next world. It was

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<sup>415</sup> *Iwanami bukkyō jiten*, 775.

<sup>416</sup> Today's shrine's main gate, Suitenmon or "gate to paradise in water," symbolizes the gate to paradise at the bottom of the sea, derived from the account of the *Tale of the Heike*. Ironically, however, the paradise to which Antoku's grandmother referred did not turn out to be Amida's paradise but the dragon palace which is located in one of the Six Realms. Thus, I think the shrine's gate symbolizes a gate through which the souls of Antoku and the Taira were evoked from the sea.

<sup>417</sup> For example, see Namihira Emiko, "Ijō shisha no sōhō to shūzoku," in vol. 4 of *Bukkyō minzokugaku taikei* (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1988), 141-160; Katsuda Itaru, *Nihon chūsei no haka to sōsō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006), 316-337; also see the case in China, Myron L. Cohen, "Souls and Salvation in Popular Religion," in *Death Ritual: in Late Imperial and Modern China*. eds. James Watson and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1990), 191.

believed that the spirits of Antoku and thousands of the Taira, denied even access to hell, wandered around in the boundary area between the two realms. As previously stressed, people rumored that the malicious ghosts of Antoku and the Taira caused the Great Earthquake in Kyoto and the serious illness of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa. These inauspicious signs or bad omens made people believe that the souls of the deceased were unsettled and therefore required that proper rituals be generated and transferred to the souls of the deceased to help them gain rebirth in the Western Paradise. The liminal state of Amidaji, the temple constructed in front of the very site where Antoku and the Taira drowned, as well as the temple where Antoku's body was believed to be interred, needed to take responsibility for making peace with the angry ghosts of Antoku and the Taira.

## 5.8 THE POWER OF *ETOKI* AS REQUIEM

At this crucial liminal site, Amidaji's *etoki* seems to have been meant to appease the unsettled souls of Antoku and the Taira, as well as to help their souls to be welcomed in the Western Paradise. The picture explication of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* also included the participants' expressions of mourning. The meaning Amidaji's *etoki* served was perhaps similar to *chinkonka* 鎮魂歌 (poems to appease the spirit of the dead), which had a long tradition; for example, *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (anthology of ten thousand leaves), an eighth century anthology of poems, compiled numerous *banka* 挽歌 (laments for the dead) that were composed and recited to appease the souls of the departed in the rituals. As Gary Ebersole has argued, many *banka* were read during the liminal period of the temporary enshrinement of the corpse prior to transferring

the body to the permanent burial site, which suggests that the recitation of poems was directed to an intermediary, disembodied stage of the spirit of the departed before its final destination, the realm of the dead.<sup>418</sup> Japanese *chinkonka* may have something in common with the Latin term “requiem,” defined as a mass for the deceased and a song or hymn of mourning composed or performed as a memorial to a dead person. These hymns are intended to help the soul of the dead enter Heaven. I think that the term requiem can be applied to the *etoki* ritual at Amidaji. The final section of this chapter explores why it was necessary to perform *etoki* at Amidaji by considering Buddhist tradition and its relation to the narration of the *Tale of the Heike* by the *biwa hōshi* (story-telling blind monks who played the lute). It is important to investigate the meaning of the narration of this tale, because Amidaji’s paintings were loosely based on it. I will also examine how the paintings embodied a desire for rebirth in the Pure Land and how we can redefine the function of *etoki* in the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* as a requiem.

An intimate relationship between the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* and the *Tale of the Heike* exists not only because the pictures were based on the story, but also because of the location where the *etoki* was recited. Particularly in the liminal zone, the *biwa hōshi*’s narration of the *Tale of the Heike* seems to have been required to appease the disoriented ghosts, for the sites where the *Tale of the Heike* was recited during the medieval period were also considered to be boundary areas between the earthly realm and the netherworld.<sup>419</sup> For example, *Moromoriki* 師守記, the diary of Nakahara Moromori 中原師守 (b.d. unknown), records that the author saw performances of *biwa hōshi* at Yatajizōdō 矢田地蔵堂, Kitanosha 北野社, and Rokkakudō 六角

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<sup>418</sup> Gary Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 54-78.

<sup>419</sup> See Yamamoto Kichizō, “Heike monogatari: Chūsei sekai no hakken.” *Shūkan asahi hyakka Nihon no rekishi: Heike to Gukanshō* (May 1986), 152-155; Ogasawara Kyōko, *Toshi to gekijō: Chū kinsei no chinkon, yūraku, kenryoku* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992), 39-135; Hyōdō Hiromi, *Heike monogatari no rekishi to geinō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), 174-188.



堂 in Kyoto in 1340.<sup>420</sup> Another reference to the places of *biwa hōshi* activity is found in *Yasutomiki* 康富記, the diary of Nakahara Yasutomi 中原康富 (d.1457).<sup>421</sup> Yasutomi witnessed performances of *biwa hōshi* at Seiganji 誓願寺 and Horikawa Jōbodaiji 堀川淨菩提寺 in 1444. Performances at places such as Chinnōji 珍皇寺, Inabadō 因幡堂, and Senbon'enmadō 千本閻魔堂 are also recorded.<sup>422</sup> Yatajizōdō, Kitanosha, Rokkakudō, Chinnōji, Inabadō, and Senbon'enmadō are all religious sites that have literary and historical associations as boundary areas between our world and the netherworld.<sup>423</sup> In these places, spirits of the dead are believed to have lingered, therefore requiring the services of the *biwa hōshi*.

Interestingly, when Nakahara Moromori viewed the performance of the *biwa hōshi* who recited the *Tale of the Heike* in front of Rokkakudō in 1340, he covered his face perhaps with cloth or hid his face with a decorative fan.<sup>424</sup> In medieval Japan this disguise to cover his face, called *igyō* 異形, was made when people might encounter something dangerous and harmful.<sup>425</sup> Yamashita Hiroaki, a renowned scholar of the *Tale of the Heike*, has argued that Moromori covered his face because he was afraid of encountering the Taira ghosts at Rokkakudō.<sup>426</sup> This temple was considered one of the boundary sites between our world and the netherworld. I agree with Yamashita's interpretation because the spirits of the Taira, perhaps evoked through the narration of the *Tale of the Heike*, might have been threatening to Moromori at such a liminal

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<sup>420</sup> For example, see *Moromoriki* in vol. 1 of SS (Ryakuō 3:1340.2.14), 93; also see Yamamoto, 154.

<sup>421</sup> *Yasutomiki* in vol. 37 of ZST (Ōei 25:1418.9.6), (Ōei 25:1418.9.25), (Kakitsu 3:1443.5.7), (Kakitsu 3:1443.5.11), 40, 43, 347, 352; vol. 38 of ZST (Bun'an 1:1444.4.7), (Bun'an 1:1444.5.5), (Bun'an 1:1444.8.10), 46-47, 57, 87.

<sup>422</sup> See Yamamoto, 152-155; Ogasawara, 39-135.

<sup>423</sup> There is a legend that a priest called Nichizō 日藏 revived and erected a thousand wooden-slat grave markers at Senbon'enmadō after he had visited the hells. Chinnōji is famous for its well that connects our realm and the underground realm. Seiganji is a mortuary temple of the Reizei family. Horikawa Jōbodaiji is a mortuary temple of another aristocratic family.

<sup>424</sup> *Moromoriki* in vol. 1 (Ryakuō 3:1340.2.14), 93.

<sup>425</sup> Amino Yoshihiko, *Igyō no ōken* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993), 86-87.

<sup>426</sup> Yamashita, 76.

place. Moromori's disguise suggests that the malicious ghosts of the Taira roamed in the areas where the *Tale of the Heike* was recited.

The *Tale of the Heike* was often recited on river banks.<sup>427</sup> River banks were regarded as a place where wandering spirits and potential ghosts gathered.<sup>428</sup> In Kyoto, the river bank was also a place where avenging ghosts from other places tried to enter the capital. This included the ghosts of the Taira because they had been forced to leave the capital and had died far away. It was believed that the ghosts of the Taira wandered around the river banks trying to return to Kyoto after their deaths. These associations between the river banks and the Taira ghosts suggest that the *biwa hōshi* narrated the *Tale of the Heike* at these sites to appease these ghosts, as well as to prevent them from entering the capital. It is important to remember the motivations behind the production of the *Tale of the Heike*, which I described in Chapter One. The *Tale of the Heike* was probably compiled under the patronage of the monk Jien in order to appease the restless spirits of Antoku and the Taira. Jien, who served as head priest at the most important temple Enryakuji as well as prayed at the imperial palace for the well-being of the emperor, aimed at bringing peace to the nation through the placation of the ghosts. Jien was also the founder of Daisenbōin, which was designed primarily to appease the souls of the war dead, including Antoku and the Taira.

Thus, the performances of the *Tale of the Heike* at sites associated with death may have been aimed specifically at pacifying the volatile and disoriented spirits of those who died by violence. There was, in other words, a need for control over the netherworld; ideally no spirits

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<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.* In the Heian period corpses were abandoned, often in the Kamo River. For example, an order was given to gather a large number of skeletons in the Kamo River in 841. In 871, river banks were also used to deposit corpses of the peasants. See Tanaka Hisao, "Bunken ni arawareta bochi: Heian jidai no Kyoto o chūshin to shite," in *Bochi*, ed. Mori Kōichi (Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1975), 91-92.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*

should be allowed to wander at will outside of it. As with funerals and memorial ceremonies, recitations of the *Tale of the Heike* may have had the function of aiding the deceased's passage through the underworld's ten courts of judgment and providing the spirit with as many comforts as possible in the underworld until the soul could be reincarnated in one of the Six Realms, or most ideally, be reborn in the Western Paradise. Also, recitations of the *Tale of the Heike*, which recount the tragic deaths of Antoku and the Taira, were possibly a sort of offering made as an expression of profound grief.

In addition to the arguments of Tsukudo and Gomi, as introduced in Chapter One, the respected historian Amino Yoshihiko states that the battle scenes were narrated to appease the souls of those who were lost in battles.<sup>429</sup> He emphasizes that, in particular, the battle between the Minamoto and the Taira in the *Tale of the Heike* was narrated for that purpose. Another prominent historian, Yamamoto Kichizō, has noted that when the narration of the *Tale of the Heike* took place in a private residence, it was performed in the private Buddha hall (持仏堂 *jibutsudō*) and in the hall for Buddhist practice (道場 *dōjō*), where a deity was worshiped and where religious practice occurred.<sup>430</sup> Such architectural space was designed for merit transferal dedications and offerings that aided the rebirth of the soul of the deceased in paradise. These examples support the theory that narrations of the *Tale of the Heike* were carried out as merit transferal rites at such liminal sites where the living could contact the deity and the deceased.

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<sup>429</sup> Amino Yoshihiko, ed., *Chūsei henrekimin no sekai*, in vol. 6 of *Taikei nihon rekishi to geinō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990), 172.

<sup>430</sup> Yamamoto, 154-155.

## 5.9 MEANINGS OF THE NARRATION OF THE *HEIKE* AT AMIDAJI

For the same reasons that the *biwa hōshi* recitations of the *Tale of the Heike* were important at liminal areas, it was necessary to narrate the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* at Amidaji, which was also situated at the boundary between the earth and the netherworld. Amidaji might have held ordinary *biwa hōshi* performances as well. The novel *Kwaidan*, written by Koizumi Yakumo in 1904, recounts the fictional blind monk Hōichi's *biwa* performance at Amidaji. As mentioned in Chapter Two, his novel was based on *Gayū kidan* 臥遊奇談 (1782) and other legends passed on in the area where the temple stood.<sup>431</sup> It recounts how the Taira ghosts, who are still wandering at the site of Amidaji, ask the monk Hōichi to narrate the *Tale of the Heike*, especially the battle scene of Dannoura. Although the story is fiction, we know that *biwa hōshi* were actually active in Nagato Province where Amidaji stood.<sup>432</sup> More curiously, volumes of the texts of the *Tale of the Heike* were dedicated to the soul of Antoku and preserved as a secret treasure in the Spirit Hall at Amidaji. Since the volumes were kept (or also perhaps produced) at Amidaji in Nagato Province, they were called the Nagato version, one of the main streams among more than one hundred variant manuscripts of the *Tale of the Heike*. The inscription written on the box where the volumes of the *Tale of the Heike* were kept states that they were made during the time of the head monk Hōshin 宝津 (d.1798) in 1784, which suggests that the volumes were dedicated in relation to the six-hundredth anniversary of the death of Antoku.<sup>433</sup> These links between the *biwa hōshi* and Antoku's mortuary temple indicate that the monks of

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<sup>431</sup> *Gayū kidan* in vol. 8 of *Kyoto daigaku zō daisōbon kisho shūsei* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1995), 312-315; Yamashita, 4.

<sup>432</sup> *Bōchō mōsō biwa shiryō* in vol. 17 of NSS, 224-228.

<sup>433</sup> Hōshin was also known as Jihon 持本, the thirty-ninth head priest of Amidaji.

Amidaji were aware of the placatory functions of narrating the *Tale of the Heike* and they most likely incorporated the *biwa hōshi*'s recitation at the temple precinct.

Layers of functions of the narration of the *Tale of the Heike* were superimposed over the *etoki* ritual of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* at Amidaji. Amidaji, a special imperial mortuary site, perhaps needed to have the narration of the lives of Antoku and the Taira performed in a specific way; namely, in the format of *etoki* by using the pictorial device in the special hall.

## 5.10 MEANINGS OF GOLD AND MOTIFS IN THE PAINTINGS

The idea that Amidaji's *etoki* aimed not only at appeasing the souls of the dead but also at enabling them to be welcomed into the Western Paradise is supported by the use of the color gold and the motif of the river in the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. The events related to Emperor Antoku's life are arranged in registers containing architecture and landscape set against a gold-leaf background. In the paintings, gold is used for clouds (金雲 *kinun*) and ground (金地 *kinji*). Golden clouds surround each scene not only as dividers, but also as frames to highlight the various sections of the narrative and lend a more dramatic presentation by creating a small, stage-like setting for each scene.

Using gold for clouds and backgrounds is common in Muromachi paintings;<sup>434</sup> however, gold may have other meanings in the case of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. An expensive substance, gold may express the wealth of the commissioner, but it is also considered

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<sup>434</sup> Other contemporary flower-and-bird paintings as well as the *Scenes in and around the Capital* (洛中洛外図 *rakuchū rakugai zu*) use gold in the same way.

a holy substance in Buddhism.<sup>435</sup> It is normally used to create *shōgon* 莊嚴, or “adornment of the sanctuary.” The sanctuary was adorned to recreate the appearance of the paradises in which deities are believed to dwell. Especially in medieval funeral settings, gold is important because it is the color of the Buddha and purifies whatever it touches.<sup>436</sup> One of the most important places illuminated by the golden Buddha is the Pure Land. For example, a schematic representation of the Pure Land is represented in the *Taima mandara* 当麻曼荼羅 where everything is illuminated by the golden radiance of Amida Buddha who is seated on a lotus throne flanked by bodhisattvas. The souls of the blessed are reborn on the lotus petals in the pond located in front of Amida Buddha. The funeral can be thought of as the moment when the deceased is reborn in the Pure Land, which is suffused with the radiance of Amida Buddha.<sup>437</sup> This moment of rebirth for the dead is the moment when the deceased is bathed by the shining golden Amida Buddha for the first time in the Western Paradise. In order to create the imagery of the Western Paradise, the desired destination for believers in Pure Land Buddhism, the funeral setting and the spirit hall for the elite were often decorated with gold.<sup>438</sup> Applying this idea to

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<sup>435</sup> *Chōshūki*, the diary of Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077-1136), records that a large amount of gold was placed over Emperor Shirakawa’s ashes in 1131. Yiengpruksawan considers this account as an example of showing wealth. However, I believe that Shirakawa’s ashes were placed beneath gold dust for a spiritual reason. Shirakawa’s ashes were buried beneath the pagoda which Shirakawa himself built for them. The relics or ashes of the Buddha are golden bones. Accordingly, it may be possible that Shirakawa desired to make his ashes special like Buddha’s so that he would attain enlightenment and identify himself with the Buddha. The Buddha is a golden person (*kinjin* 金人) or has a golden body, speaks golden words, and emanates a golden light. The relics or ashes of the Buddha are golden bones (*kinkotsu* 金骨). A pagoda is a golden temple (*kinsetsu* 金刹). A main Buddhist temple is a golden hall (*kondō* 金堂). A Buddhist temple is also a golden land (*konchi* 金地). For Shirakawa’s funeral, see Mikawa Kei, *Shirakawa hōō: Chūsei o hiraita teiō* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2003), 248-250. For the references to gold, see Mimi Yiengpruksawan, “The House of Gold: Fujiwara Kiyohira’s Konjikidō.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 48:1 (Spring 1993), 50; Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Kin to gin: kagayaki no Nihon bijutsu* (Tokyo: Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1999), 6-24.

<sup>436</sup> Yiengpruksawan, 50.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>438</sup> For instance, a gold folding screen was placed behind the wooden casket or wooden altar of Hino Shigeo 日野重子 (1411-1463), the mother of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (r.1449-1483) at her funeral in 1463. The record *Iryōken nichiroku* declares that a golden folding screen was used in accordance with custom and we know

the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, the gold clouds and background may imply a “desire” for Antoku and the Taira to be reborn in the Pure Land.

Gold also seems to have been regarded as a prophylactic to the impurity of death. Fujishima Ganjirō has noted that Fujiwara no Kiyohira 藤原清衡 (1056-1128) covered the Golden Hall (金色堂 *konjikidō*), where his body now lies inside the altar, with gold in order to counteract the contamination of the mummy.<sup>439</sup> The wooden caskets of three male Fujiwara mummies in the Golden Hall within the complex of Chūsonji 中尊寺 were also covered with gold, probably for the same reason. According to Sudō Hiroaki, a leading scholar of Chūsonji, the Golden Hall is a grave hall where the greatest adornment of sanctuary is realized.<sup>440</sup> In this special sanctuary, the desire to be reborn in paradise is realized and the impurity of death is transformed into purity. The impurity of death then becomes something sacred. As Mimi Yiengpruksawan has also stated, because gold, the color of Amida Buddha, purifies whatever it touches, “gold itself could be used to neutralize the violation of taboo.”<sup>441</sup> Indeed, as described in the sūtras, the Pure Land is free of dirt and purifies its inhabitants. Given this religious power of gold, we may assume that gold was used abundantly in the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* because the paintings were created for a mortuary temple, which was directly related to death.

The following description of the circumstance of the handling of Antoku’s body will make it clearer why abundant gold was utilized in the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. Although it is said that Emperor Antoku’s body was recovered from the ocean and buried at the

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that golden folding screens were commonly used at funerals. See Akazawa Eiji, “Jūgoseiki ni okeru kinbyōbu ni tsuite,” *Kokka* 849 (December 1962), 576-579; Bettina Klein, “Japanese kinbyōbu: The Gold-leafed Folding Screens of the Muromachi Period (1333-1573),” *Artibus Asiae* 45:1 (1986), 15-17; *Inryōken nichiroku* in vol. 21 of ZST (Kanshō 4:1463.8.11), 415-417.

<sup>439</sup> Yiengpruksawan, 51.

<sup>440</sup> Sudō Hiroaki and Iwasa Mitsuharu, *Chūsonji to Mōtsūji* (Osaka: Hoikusha, 1989), 67-77.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid.*

site of Amidaji, primary sources and legends contradict this claim. For instance, the tradition that was passed on at Amidaji reports was that Antoku's body was caught in a net by a fisherman named Nakajima-Shirō-daibu-Masanori 中島四郎大夫正則.<sup>442</sup> It is said that Nakajima buried Antoku's corpse at the foot of Mt. Benishi where Amidaji stood.<sup>443</sup> However, another legend tells a different story. It says that Antoku's body was caught in a net by another fisherman from the village of Sawae 沢江 and placed in a coffin.<sup>444</sup> The coffin was transported perhaps to the capital, but when it reached a place called Toyoura 豊浦, it suddenly stopped. Although people who were carrying the coffin tried to move it, the coffin would not move any further, so the body was buried at the site.<sup>445</sup> In 1889, Amidaji was officially proclaimed as the burial place of Emperor Antoku by the Imperial Household Agency.<sup>446</sup> However, the Imperial Household Agency currently lists five other places (including Toyoura) as possible burial sites of Emperor Antoku.<sup>447</sup> In addition, Kujō Kanezane's *Gyokuyō* records in an entry just ten days after the Battle of Dannoura that it was not certain what happened to Emperor Antoku.<sup>448</sup> The Kamakura official chronicle, *Azuma kagami*, describes how Antoku died, but does not mention that his

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<sup>442</sup> Mizuno Naofusa, "Senteisai," in Akama Jingū (1985), 48.

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>444</sup> Takemura Setsuko, "Heike monogatari no tabi," in *Heike monogatari: Eiga to metsubō no rekishi dorama*, eds. Mizukami Tsutomu et al. (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1998), 200.

<sup>445</sup> Edo period scholars, who relied largely upon local legends in designating the tomb occupants, introduced the site of Toyoura as Antoku's burial place. I actually made a field trip to the Toyoura site, where a keyhole-shaped mound is located in the lake, on October 1, 2006. The Toyoura site is in a lonely mountain area, 30 km away from the sea where Antoku was said to have drowned himself.

<sup>446</sup> *Dannoura shiryaku* in SSS, 340-341. This designation was affected by Japan's first Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi's 伊藤博文 (1841-1909) assertion that uncertainty of imperial tomb occupants discredits Japan's status toward the Great Powers in the West (Britain, Holland, France, and America) during the time when Japan was forming a modern state. Itō was from Yamaguchi Prefecture, where Amidaji stood, and visited Amidaji several times. Itō's connection with the temple might have favorably affected to the designation of Amidaji as Antoku's tomb. Sotoike Noboru, "Tennōryō nyūmon." *Rekishi dokuhon* 51:3 (February 2006), 270-276.

<sup>447</sup> According to a recent survey, forty-six sites are said to be associated either with Antoku's burial site or with his refuge. These sites are scattered over Japan (Aomori Prefecture to the north and Okinawa Prefecture to the south). Zenkoku Heike kai, *Heike denshōchi sōran* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2005).

<sup>448</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Genryaku 2:1185.4.4), 72.



body was recovered from the ocean.<sup>449</sup> Therefore, it is doubtful that Antoku's actual physical remains were buried at Amidaji in a proper way. As mentioned in Chapter One, in a Buddhist funeral, a liminal period between death and rebirth is considered the most important time to help the soul of the deceased to be reborn into the Pure Land. It is necessary to perform various rituals properly to attain this goal. Nonetheless, no memorial rites for Antoku were conducted during the forty-nine-day initial mourning period following his death. Uncertainty about the treatment of Antoku's remains further verifies that his funeral did not undergo the proper ritual process during the liminal period.

Even if Antoku's body was properly buried at Amidaji, it needed to be treated more carefully than most corpses due to the circumstance of his death. In general, the remains of the dead were considered to be a source of defilement. A body that met a tragic end was considered to be even more unclean, and thus polluted. It was very harmful to the living. Since Antoku's life ended in a tragic way, there must have been a fear of pollution from his death. Gold, which has the power to purify even the taboo of death, was thus necessary. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that abundant gold was used in the pictures depicting Antoku's life to counteract the polluting effect of his death.

Let me re-emphasize that there is a progression within the series of rituals conducted in front of portraits of Antoku and the Taira and the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. I have pointed out that the rituals in front of the portraits were essential perhaps to evoke the souls of Antoku and the Taira from the other world into our world. Such souls were summoned to the room where they might have attended the *etoki* rituals. In other words, the dead were reincorporated into the world of the living through a series of rituals. If the souls of those who

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<sup>449</sup> *Azuma kagami* in vol. 32 of KT (Bunji 1:1185.3.24), 143.

died prematurely were invited into our world, was it dangerous to the living? What happened to the souls after they listened to the *etoki* ritual? Did they stay in the realm of the living?

To answer these questions, it is important to examine how the Japanese viewed the spirits of the dead. The ultimate goal of mortuary rites is to help the dead reach salvation. It is expected that the spirits of the dead would become buddhas; it is not considered desirable that they remain in this world, even if they are pacified.<sup>450</sup> Thus, it is crucial to send the souls back to the other world; in this case, to the Western Paradise. The idea that the souls of the dead needed to return to the other world is similar to the idea of the Bon festival. In this festival, the ancestral spirits are recalled from the world of the dead to the world of the living to receive offerings and prayers. The spirits are reincorporated into the world of the living during the offering rituals only for a few days, and then are sent back to the other world when the rituals were finished.

Gold pigment was applied to the paintings of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* because gold implies the desire to be reborn in the Pure Land, and it also could transform the impurity of death into the purity of rebirth. Souls of the dead were appeased by placing themselves into the pictures or in the space which was illuminated by the reflection of gold when they attended the *etoki*. In a sequence of rituals at Amidaji, the souls of Antoku and the Taira, which were evoked through the media of portraits from the other world, were pacified in the space where the *etoki* was held, and then they were assisted to enter into the golden paradise of Amida. In this way, the souls of the departed were placated.

The representation of the river in the paintings also suggests that Amidaji's *etoki* functioned as a requiem to pacify the spirits of Antoku and the Taira and to guide them to the

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<sup>450</sup> Kuroda (1990), 140-142; Kuroda (1996b), 335.

Western Paradise. In Panels VII and VIII of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, Amidaji is shown to the right and Kameyama Hachiman Shrine to the left. Behind Kameyama Hachiman Shrine, houses are visible, probably the dwellings of ordinary people. The river running between the shrine complex and the residential area is likely the Mimosuso 御裳濯川. This river is important as a marker of the actual site as well as a device to divide the sacred realm of the religious complex and the secular realm of the residential area. There is another reason why the river flowing into the ocean is represented: the Mimosuso appears in the poem composed by Nii-no-Ama, the grandmother of Antoku. Just before she jumped into the ocean, Nii-no-Ama was asked by Antoku where she was going to take him. She answered in the form of a poem:

Now I know  
The Place the River Mimosuso is Running into  
is a Paradise beneath the Waves.<sup>451</sup>

Just as the gold clouds and ground of the paintings imply Pure Land believers' desire to enter the paradise of Amida, this poem reflects the same hope for Antoku and the Taira. Thus, it was important to depict the Mimosuso River which implies such a hope. The *etoki* texts also emphasize this poem of parting. Desire for rebirth in the Pure Land was expressed by the ghosts of Antoku and the Taira as well as by the living (e.g., commissioners, performers of *etoki*, or listeners) through the *etoki* of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*. It was likely during the *etoki* performance at Amidaji that the two emotions meshed and were realized.

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<sup>451</sup> Vol. 36 of *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai: Yamaguchiken no chimei*, eds, Shimonaka Kunihiko, et al (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980), 438. The Mimosuso River, another name of the Isuzu River, also runs along Ise Shrine, whose main sanctuary is dedicated to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, the imperial ancestor. Because of this connection, some scholars suggest that Nii-no-ama's poem asserts Antoku as a legitimate heir of the imperial line.

## 5.11 CONCLUSION

The *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* was an integral part of Amidaji, a temple revived to commemorate and placate the souls of Antoku and the Taira. The paintings were, therefore, produced and narrated not only for memorializing their deaths but also for pacifying their spirits. Antoku's temple, which is located in the boundary area between the earthly realm and the other realm, was selected as the most efficacious place to make peace with the volatile spirits and the vengeful ghosts of Antoku and the Taira who died in the sea battle just in front of the temple. It must have been important, therefore, to perform the rituals at Amidaji properly. These proper rituals probably included venerating the portrait of Antoku and performing *etoki* in the Spirit Hall. Just as the *biwa hōshi's* narration of the *Tale of the Heike* was required to pacify the Taira war dead at the liminal state between the earthly realm and the underground realm, the narration of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* may have been designed to appease the spirits of Antoku and the Taira, or even to facilitate the more important function of assisting their entries into the golden paradise of Amida.

By treating the paintings not as isolated artwork but as principal components of the mortuary rites, we may conclude that the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* was an indispensable artwork in the mission of the mortuary temple. James L. Watson states one of the definitions of ritual:

Ritual is about transformation – in particular it relates to the transformation of one being or state into another, changed being or state... Rituals are repeated because they are expected to have transformative powers. Ritual changes people and things; the ritual process is active, not merely passive.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>452</sup> James Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, 4.

Building upon Watson's statement, I propose that the function of narrating the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* is that of a requiem. *Etoki* of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* was not performed in a single direction initiated only by the monk. Rather, *etoki* created an emotionally engaged atmosphere that infused and extracted intense religious feelings among the participants. The narration of the story of Antoku accompanied by the pictures in Amidaji's special hall was a ritual practice that united the spirits of the performers, audiences, and even Antoku and the Taira. The desire for the rebirth of Antoku and the Taira in the Pure Land was expressed in the *etoki* ritual. Such a ritual pulled performers and audiences into participation in the past, enabled them to commemorate and sympathize with the tragic deaths of Antoku and the Taira, and, above all, through *etoki* to transform the angry spirits of the dead into peaceful ones.

## 6.0 EPILOGUE

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout its history, Amidaji has been the site of rituals performed as memorials for the dead emperor Antoku. The temple, however, has acquired additional functions in response to many factors--historical, political, religious, cultural, economic, and social--and its ritual has embodied different effects, depending on its changing context. In my view, one of the key elements that affected Amidaji's role was society's changing conception of the nature of Antoku's soul. The character of Antoku's soul was by no means fixed because its ambiguous nature was open to many interpretations.

In Japan, the souls of the dead are normally thought to ascend to the realm of the ancestral spirits after the thirty-third anniversary memorial rite. In some circumstances, however, they are unable to find a place of rest and they continue to roam in a liminal state between this world and the next world. Such a soul, particularly of one who lost his life under unnatural circumstances, is recognized as being similar to the concept of the *kami* (deity or spirit). As Kuroda Toshio has argued, the concept of the *kami* has been qualified by terms such as *aramitama* 荒御魂 (violent spirit), *nigimitama* 和御魂 (peaceful spirit), *sakimitama* 幸御魂

(benevolent spirit), and *kushimitama* 奇御魂 (awe-inspiring spirit).<sup>453</sup> Kuroda further states that “these terms do not refer to different beings or *kami*, but to reportedly different aspects of the function or efficacy of a given *kami*.”<sup>454</sup> Similarly, the soul of Antoku, who died tragically, was always thought to be the same entity, but its nature was regarded differently depending on which of its aspects was being considered, varying from a roaming soul to a vengeful soul, a peaceful soul, or a benevolent soul. Over time, various historical texts exhibit that religious and political leaders were concerned about the character of Antoku’s soul. Sometimes, his soul was portrayed as protective; at other times, it was depicted as harmful to the living and to the nation. Due to the ambivalence of the soul, the spiritual entity of Antoku was defined and the efficacy of his soul was sometimes manipulated in response to changing circumstances. As will be seen, dream-visions, which were also ambiguous, played an essential role in identifying the aspects of the spiritual entity of Antoku.

I propose that the changing concept of Antoku’s soul was one of the keys to understanding Amidaji’s historical, political, religious, cultural, economic, and social development because his soul was the most important entity to be appeased, memorialized, and worshiped at the temple. In other words, because Antoku’s soul was the object of worship in the central rituals at Amidaji, the way people considered it influenced the mission of the temple. Using a variety of literary sources, this last section of my dissertation outlines the temple’s history and examines the functions of Amidaji in response to changes in how Antoku’s soul was conceived and how sometimes it was manipulated by religious and political leaders for their own ends within the changing context in Japanese society.

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<sup>453</sup> Kuroda (1990), 131; Kuroda (1996b), 326.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*

## 6.2 FROM NORMAL SOULS TO VENGEFUL SOULS

Founded in the ninth century, Amidaji was at first a site to enshrine a spirit of the Hachiman deity.<sup>455</sup> Subsequent to the tragic deaths of Antoku and the members of the Taira clan in the Battle of Dannoura that took place right in front of the temple site in 1185, Amidaji was transformed into an important mortuary site for Emperor Antoku. During the early phase of the temple's development, the female Taira survivors initiated memorial rituals for the repose of the dead emperor and the Taira. At Amidaji, Nun Meia, perhaps a lady-in-waiting who had served Antoku, performed the *nenbutsu zanmai* (constant recitation of Amida's name) in front of the Amida triad. According to legends, several Taira women, who had not been captured as war prisoners, remained at the site of the battle and conducted dedicatory rites by offering flowers and food to Antoku and the Taira dead.<sup>456</sup> In Kyoto, Antoku's mother, Kenreimon' in Tokushi, received the tonsure after she had been transferred from the battle site to the capital.<sup>457</sup> She then moved to the nunnery of Jakkōin in northern Kyoto where she and her female attendants prayed earnestly for the enlightenment of her son and of all the family members of the Taira.<sup>458</sup>

As discussed in Chapter One, all of the rituals conducted by the Taira women were private devotions and prayers on behalf of the souls of Antoku and the Taira dead, none of whom were recognized as vengeful ghosts at this point. The time and circumstances of the transition from regular spirits of the dead to harmful spirits are not clear because the nature of the soul itself was ambiguous. The emergence of the view that these ghosts were vengeful usually depended upon the official recognition of those who were responsible for the tragic deaths of

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<sup>455</sup> See temple documents, for example, *Amidaji bettō shidai*, *Chinju Hachimangū engi*, and *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* in AJM, 132-141; 182-184.

<sup>456</sup> For example, see *Seiyū zakki*, 335; *Tsukushi kikō*, 628.

<sup>457</sup> *The Tale of the Heike*, 426-428.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*, 428-436.



Antoku and the Taira. In this case, Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa was thought to be the guilty one not only because he caused the political and cosmological disorder in which two emperors reigned at the same time (Go-Toba was on the throne without Antoku's abdication) and the Great Earthquake occurred, but also because he neglected his grandson Antoku who had been taken by the Taira clan and instead supported the Minamoto who fought against the Taira. As the oracular dream by the Buddhist monk Butsugon asserted, the Great Earthquake that devastated the capital in 1186 was thought to have been caused by the misconduct of the non-virtuous ruler, Go-Shirakawa, who exercised political authority as the supreme sovereign.<sup>459</sup> Butsugon also stated that many souls of the victims in the Genpei War were roaming in this world.<sup>460</sup> Although there is no way to ascertain the veracity of Butsugon's dream, it is important to note that his dream was taken seriously at that time. Rumor further circulated that a series of natural disasters and misfortunes, including the Great Earthquake in Kyoto and Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's serious illness, were caused by the curses of Antoku and the Taira who had turned into dangerous ghosts. The general populace believed that these ghosts haunted the nation as a whole and the individual people who were responsible for their deaths, particularly Go-Shirakawa. In order to placate the angry spirits, normally those who caused the unnatural deaths needed to recognize the vengeful spirits and initiate the spirit pacification. Therefore, Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa initiated placatory rites to the souls of Antoku and the Taira in order to bring about his own recovery from serious illness and to earn peace for the nation.<sup>461</sup>

After Go-Shirakawa's official recognition of Antoku's soul as a vengeful spirit in 1191, the Spirit Hall was constructed and periodic rituals for the spirits of Antoku and the Taira began

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<sup>459</sup> Vol. 3 of GY (Genryaku 2:1185.8.1), 93.

<sup>460</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>461</sup> Vol. 2 of GY (Kenkyū 2:1191.intercalary 12.26), 774.

to be performed regularly. The pacification rites for the restless spirits of Antoku and the Taira were carried out in the ritual setting at Amidaji, the special temple which stood facing the site of the sea battle and where the child emperor's body was said to have been buried. In other words, Go-Shirakawa's official recognition of the vengeful ghosts of Antoku and the Taira transformed Amidaji into a major placatory site.

### **6.3 DECLINE OF FEAR TOWARD THE ANGRY SPIRITS**

As time passed, however, the placatory aspect of Amidaji was de-emphasized. By the late thirteenth century, people's fear of the vengeful ghosts of Antoku and the Taira waned, as those who were blamed for their deaths left the political stage. Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa died in 1192 and Kamakura Shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo, who was ordered to defeat the Taira clan in the Genpei War, died in 1199. As emphasized above, the vengeful spirits were recognized and the placatory rites were usually commissioned by those who caused the tragic deaths of the victim.

After the direct line of the Minamoto clan became extinct, the Hōjō clan controlled the Kamakura shogunate and seized political power which surpassed that of the imperial court in Kyoto. Since the members of the Hōjō family were not involved with the Genpei War where Antoku and the Taira died, they were not concerned about the placatory rites at Amidaji. Instead, they were afraid of the angry spirit of Retired Emperor Go-Toba who died in exile at Oki (the island near present-day Shimane Prefecture) after his failed attempt to overthrow the Hōjō family

in the Jōkyū Disturbance.<sup>462</sup> Due to this tragic death, Go-Toba's spirit was also alleged to have turned into a vengeful spirit, which necessitated placatory rites by the Hōjō government. The concern of the general public was affected by a contemporary event, in this case, the fate of the victims of the Jōkyū Disturbance. What is important here is that the emergence of a ghost and the necessitation of placatory rites for it depended on the specific context. How the political and religious leaders explained the causes of natural disasters and misfortunes and how contemporary people conceived them determined the nature of the spirit of the deceased.

Despite the decline of the leadership's and the public's fear of the spirits of Antoku and the Taira, Amidaji managed to conduct the proper rituals for the victims of the Genpei War with imperial support during its early phase as a mortuary site. At the same time, another important mission, performing rites designed to promote peace in the nation, rose in prominence. In 1356 Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358), the founder of the Muromachi military government, traveled westward to Kyūshū to subjugate his son Tadafuyu 直冬 (b.d. unknown), the shogunal deputy stationed at Nagato Province, who had raised the flag of revolt against Takauji. On his way to Kyūshū, Takauji stopped at Amidaji and ordered the temple to recite the *Great Sūtra on the Perfection of Wisdom* to pray for the peace of the nation.<sup>463</sup> Takauji also ordered other local religious institutions: Sumiyoshi Shrine 住吉神社 and Iminomiya Shrine 忌宮神社--the first and the second shrines of importance in Nagato Province--to pray for the peace of heaven and earth,

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<sup>462</sup> For example, see Taira no Tsunetaka, *Heikoki* (En'ō 2:1240.2.22), (En'ō 2:1240.7.9) in vol. 32 of ZST, 41-42; 59-60.

<sup>463</sup> Takauji also issued the regulatory code (禁制 *kinzei*) for Amidaji which prohibited warriors and the general public from intruding in and violating the temple complex. According to Imae Hiromichi, professor of Kokugakuin University, Takauji sought the temple's alliance in order to expand his faction by issuing the regulatory code. See *Ashikaga Takauji gohan migyōsho* in AJM, 50-51.

as well as for good luck for the military on the same trip.<sup>464</sup> Thus, it is probable that Amidaji came to be treated similarly to other religious sites where prayers for the peace of the nation were made to the deities. The angry spirit of Antoku was no longer a threat to the nation by this time; thus, the temple does not seem to have received any special commissions from its patrons to perform placatory rituals for him, although it was ordered to perform certain other, more general rites.

#### 6.4 THE MONK CHOKUI

However, upon the entry of the sixteenth head priest Chokui into Amidaji in 1429, the placatory rites for Emperor Antoku and the Taira were re-emphasized at the temple. Chokui, the high priest who wore the dharma robe at Nison'in and learned the Four Teachings (Tendai, Shingon, Enkai, and Jōdo), had been perhaps dispatched by Sangoji, the headquarters of the Seizan sect in Kyoto, to serve the head priest at Amidaji.<sup>465</sup> As discussed in Chapter Four, the temple document (*Amidaji bettō shidai*) states that Chokui saw a dream-vision in which Emperor Antoku and the Taira clan members sank to the bottom of the sea, unable to release themselves from torment.<sup>466</sup> In the dream, the priest received a revelation that he should perform two specific esoteric rites at the two equinoxes: the recitation of the mantra of radiant light in a fire

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<sup>464</sup> Vol. 36 of *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai*, 432. It is undocumented where Amidaji's monks recited the *Great Sūtra on the Perfection of Wisdom* and to what deity the recitation of sūtra was dedicated.

<sup>465</sup> During Chokui's time, Amidaji's affiliation with the Seizan sect of Pure Land Buddhism became evident. As introduced in Chapter One, solid evidence of Amidaji's affiliation with the Seizan sect appears in the late fifteenth century. *Ōgimachi tennō rinji* in AJM, 128-129. Nison'in was a branch temple of Sangoji, but it was equally as influential as Sangoji.

<sup>466</sup> *Amidaji bettō shidai* in AJM, 136-139.

ritual and the consecration of sand in an empowerment ritual.<sup>467</sup> These rites were considered effective in aiding the repose of souls of the departed.

Chokui's oracular dream had an ideological function. In general, dreams are ambiguous in that their interpretation relies upon the individual who could either disregard them or manipulate them for his own ends. Following the evolutionary steps of the spirit of the deceased, it was expected that Antoku's spirit would access to the Western Paradise after the series of rituals that had been conducted earlier. Chokui's dream presented an exception in the evolution of the state of the soul of the departed because he perceived the souls of Antoku and the Taira as roaming spirits. The spirit of the deceased was expected to follow certain evolutionary steps and be transformed into a good spirit. But in some cases the soul of the dead did not follow the normal steps. Such an exception reminds us that the concept of the soul changes, depending upon how people conceptualize it. As a rule, people attributed the different aspects of the soul in response to the changing circumstances. In this case, the financial situation of the temple, the rituals it performed, and its relation to the imperial court all affected and in turn were affected by the changing concept of Antoku's spirit.

During Chokui's tenure as the head priest at Amidaji, the temple faced difficulties in conducting important rituals due to the decrease of income from its landholdings. Amidaji abolished the daily meal services for the soul of Antoku, in which twenty-five monks participated.<sup>468</sup> The performances of the fire ritual and the consecration of sand in the empowerment ritual at the two equinoxes, which, Chokui claimed, were necessary by reason of his oracular dream, were added to the annual observances in order to replace the monthly service attended by a number of monks of Amidaji and its branch temples. The temple was burdened

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<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>468</sup> For the meal services and their abolishment, see *Toyourahan kyūki* in vol. 3 of SSS, 103-104.

with the expense of employing many monks to participate in the rituals. Given these circumstances, Chokui's interpretation of his dream can be seen as a justification for the abolishment of the daily meal services and the institution of other rituals.

Moreover, Chokui's dream was probably used to strengthen the connection between Amidaji and the imperial court by proclaiming the temple's key mission to appease the souls of Antoku and the Taira. By doing so, he sought patronage from the imperial court, as well as from local warlords. This technique was commonly used to enhance a temple's prestige by encouraging other patrons to associate with it through donations.<sup>469</sup> It was, indeed, after Chokui's actions that Amidaji's link with the imperial court was reinforced through the use of rituals commissioned by emperors. For example, the temple performed rites for peace and tranquility in the nation at the request of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado in 1479 and 1488.<sup>470</sup> All of these events suggest that the monk Chokui manipulated his dream in order to revive Amidaji because the temple was in a desperate financial position, unable to maintain the performance of the appropriate rituals on its grounds.<sup>471</sup>

Despite Chokui's contribution to rituals at Amidaji, the temple buildings still fell into disrepair in the late fifteenth century. Iio Sōgi, who traveled to Amidaji in 1480, was horrified by the dilapidated state of the neglected buildings, saying in his diary that the Main Hall was built a long time ago and that some portions of its cypress-bark roof were ripped off.<sup>472</sup> The last restoration of the temple complex was executed in 1295, according to our best evidence, thus, the temple had gradually decayed over many years due to Amidaji's inability to restore the

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<sup>469</sup> For example, authors insert references related to the imperial family members, eminent monks, and miraculous events in the temple origin tales (*engi*) for the purpose of promoting the temple's prestige.

<sup>470</sup> *Go-Tsuchimikado tennō rinji* in AJM, 122-125.

<sup>471</sup> See *Amidaji bettō shidai* in AJM, 136-138.

<sup>472</sup> *Tsukushi michiki no ki*, 169.

devastation.<sup>473</sup> Furthermore, in the early sixteenth century, the local warlord Ōuchi Yoshitaka 大内義隆 (1507-1551) petitioned Sangoji (the headquarters of Seizan sect of Pure Land Buddhism) to send him priests from the headquarters who could transmit exoteric-esoteric rituals to monks in the temples located in his domain.<sup>474</sup> Although the warlord's petition does not mention the names of the priests, the context suggests that several monks were sent to Amidaji through a special arrangement by Yoshitaka because Amidaji was one of the most important temples in his domain. The courtier's diary confirms that, for example, Jushō 寿尚 (d.1496), the eighteenth head priest of Amidaji, was dispatched from Sangoji.<sup>475</sup> All of these details provide additional evidence for the temple's financial deficit in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

## 6.5 AMIDAJI AND LOCAL FEUDAL LORDS

Throughout the feudal period, Amidaji played an important role in the rivalry of provincial lords and in their connections with the imperial house. The patronage of two prominent warrior families, the Ōuchi and the Mōri, appeared in the constant fighting amongst the local warlords. The restoration projects of the temple complex that began after the fire of 1518 were perhaps related to the political motivations by these warlords. The nature of Antoku's soul remained ambiguous; but its uncertainty seems to have been manipulated by the warrior elites.

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<sup>473</sup> *Amidaji keidaizu shikigo* in AJM, 140-141.

<sup>474</sup> *Ōuchi Yoshitaka shojō* in SM1, 31.

<sup>475</sup> *Sanetaka kōki*, vol. 3 *jō* (Meiō 5:1496.11.8), 321; also see AJM, 124.

Amidaji's financial situation further deteriorated after the fire of 1518 that swept over the temple, reducing most of its buildings to ashes. The fire destroyed twenty-one buildings including the Main Hall, the Hachiman Shrine, the Spirit Hall, the Reception Hall, the Office-kitchen, and the residences of monks. In the request for funds for the temple's restoration (*Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan*), the head priest Shūeki lamented that, due to the devastation, there was no place that he could store the surviving artifacts.<sup>476</sup> He further lamented that if there was no place to enshrine the sacred portrait of Antoku, it would be exposed to rain and the spirit of Antoku would bring misfortunes and calamities.<sup>477</sup> In addition, Shūeki stated that the imperial court would be disappointed if the imperial-vowed temple (勅願寺 *chokuganji*), Amidaji, was not restored immediately after the fire.<sup>478</sup> The request for funds was sent to Sue Hiroaki 陶弘詮 (1461-1523), who served Ōuchi Yoshioki 大内義興 (1477-1528) and his son Yoshitaka, both provincial warlords of several provinces in western Japan, including Nagato Province where Amidaji stood. After receiving this request from Amidaji's head priest, Yoshioki and Yoshitaka sponsored the reconstruction of the buildings, not only to prevent Antoku's spirit from causing calamities, but also to assert their affinity to the temple, which in turn facilitated their connection to imperial power in the capital.<sup>479</sup>

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<sup>476</sup> *Amidaji bettō Shūeki mōshijōan* in AJM, 132-135.

<sup>477</sup> His request includes a brief history of Amidaji that stresses its prestige as an imperial temple that preserved important artifacts associated with Antoku and the Taira members, received several edicts from emperors, and conducted important festivals with other large religious institutions (Sumiyoshi Shrine, Iminomiya Shrine, and Kameyama Hachiman Shrine) in its vicinity. This was a similar technique to the one that the monk Chokui had used earlier.

<sup>478</sup> Due to the extensive damage to many buildings in the fire of 1518, the restoration project took a long time. In response to the situation, Emperors Go-Nara and Ōgimachi expressed their disappointment at Amidaji's slow restoration process in 1529 and 1562, respectively. See *Go-Nara tennō rinji* in AJM, 126; *Ōgimachi tennō rinji* in AJM, 128-129.

<sup>479</sup> The Ōuchi was a wealthy regional warrior clan that governed Suō and Nagato, the two westernmost provinces on the mainland of Japan. Suō Province was one of the few ports for official trade with Ming China, and the Ōuchi obtained the right to dispatch one of only three ships that were sent to China at ten-year intervals. Through the trade the Ōuchi made a substantial profit and acquired various imported goods including paintings, calligraphies, textiles,



Along with the Ōuchi's restoration of Amidaji, they sponsored the accession ceremony for Emperor Go-Nara 後奈良 (r.1526-1557) when the imperial court desperately needed financial resources. The Ōnin War (1467-1477), a civil war that ravaged Kyoto and then spread throughout the nation, put the imperial house in a grave financial crisis. The Ashikaga shogun retreated from the capital of Kyoto between 1521 and 1534 to avoid military conflicts there. The enthronement ceremony was usually carried out soon after the former emperor's death or abdication; however, because of the financial crisis and confusion followed by the absence of the shogun, Emperor Go-Nara's enthronement ceremony was postponed and was finally held ten years after the death of the former emperor. Ōuchi Yoshitaka financed the accession ceremony in 1536. He also sponsored the repair of one of the gates of the imperial palace and donated money and gifts to the emperor. Because of these financial supports for the emperor, he was granted a higher court rank which allowed him access to the imperial palace and eventually was promoted to the junior second rank (従二位 *jūnii*).<sup>480</sup> The rank awarded by the imperial court contributed to Yoshitaka's right to rule in the provinces – an important part of the legitimization

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porcelain, and sūtras. The Ōuchi established a cultural center in Suō Province that replicated the capital of Kyoto. The capital in Suō Province was known as a “Little Kyoto (小京都 *shōkyōto*).” The area attracted monks, artists, and men of letters who felt insecure in the devastated capital in the aftermath of the Ōnin War. For example, Iio Sōgi, a famous linked-verse poet, traveled to the Ōuchi's provinces and held linked-verse sessions in 1480 under the patronage of Ōuchi Masahiro 大内政弘 (1446-1495), a grandfather of Yoshitaka. In particular, Yoshitaka was renowned as a generous patron of cultural activities. In addition, he himself mastered the composition of Japanese poems (和歌 *waka*) and linked-verses (連歌 *renga*). He regularly organized gatherings of Japanese poems and linked-verses in which his retainers, as well as several aristocrats and poets who came from Kyoto, participated. This type of cultural gathering functioned as the communal setting of the *za* 座 (lit. seats) where a spiritual, political, and social bond among participants was reinforced. Through his knowledge and sponsorship of these cultural activities, Yoshitaka sought to master both the arts of literature (文 *bun*) and military (武 *bu*) as well as to bolster his cultural and political legitimacy. The terms “Ōuchi *renga* poets” and “*Renga* poets in the Ōuchi palace” were often used to indicate the spiritual, political, and social aspects of the cultural gatherings. The concept of *za* will be discussed in Amidaji's poetry meeting held by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. See Atsuta Kō, *Ōuchi Yoshitaka* in vol. 13 of *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979), 37.

<sup>480</sup> This was an unusual promotion for local warlords.

procedure followed by many of Yoshitaka's predecessors and successors.<sup>481</sup> Given the context in which Yoshitaka established his political and cultural legitimacy to govern his domain through his connection with the throne and the court, his patronage of Amidaji was perhaps related to his political situation. However, the Ōuchi's prosperity did not last long; Sue Takafusa 陶隆房 (1521-1555), an important vassal who had served the Ōuchi faithfully for years, rose in rebellion and forced Yoshitaka to commit suicide in 1551. Four years later in 1555, Takafusa in turn was defeated by Mōri Motonari 毛利元就 (1497-1571).

The Ōuchi's rival feudal lord, Mōri Motonari, supported Amidaji by restoring the Spirit Hall in the mid-sixteenth century. As stated elsewhere, the temple restoration project lasted a long time since it had suffered extensive damage from the fire of 1518, including the loss of most buildings in the complex. According to the certificate of confirmation of the temple's land rights issued by Motonari (毛利元就安堵状 *Mōri Motonari andojō*) in 1556, his patronage was motivated by a dream he had in which Emperor Antoku appeared and told him to restore the Spirit Hall of Amidaji immediately.<sup>482</sup> This dream suggests the dual aspects of the spirit of the departed; Motonari would expect a beneficent effect from the spirit of Antoku if he restored the Spirit Hall, while he would have a maleficent effect if he did not. His dream can be further interpreted as the token to connect the individual to the imperial-vowed temple – most likely for political ends. During the time of his patronage, Motonari was fighting against Ōuchi Yoshinaga 大内義長 (1540-1557), the last hope of the Ōuchi family to regain their authority.<sup>483</sup> Imae Hiromichi has proposed that Motonari sought a political alliance with Amidaji through his

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<sup>481</sup> For Yoshitaka's court promotion in relation to legitimizing his authority, see Wakita Haruko, *Tennō to chūsei bunka* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), 34-43.

<sup>482</sup> *Mōri Motonari andojō* in AJM, 61-62.

<sup>483</sup> Yoshinaga is a stepson of Yoshitaka.

patronage because the religious establishment had military potential and could provide warriors safe haven during a campaign.<sup>484</sup> Motonari's rival Yoshinaga also issued a certificate of confirmation of the temple's land rights in the same year 1556 as Motonari.<sup>485</sup> Motonari's certificate seems to have been more effective than Yoshinaga's in seeking a political alliance with Amidaji and linking it to imperial authority since it included his oracular dream in which Emperor Antoku appeared.

Like Yoshitaka, Motonari financed the accession ceremony of Emperor Ōgimachi in 1557 and received court ranks, which were important to legitimize his authority and to expand his military faction.<sup>486</sup> In fact, only one year after his oracular dream and in the same year of his support for the enthronement of emperor, the Mōri overthrew the other powerful local regional warrior clans (the Ōuchi 大内, the Sue 陶, and the Amako 尼子) and gained control of all the western provinces. The Mōri family's close association with Amidaji continued until the destruction of the temple during the Meiji-period persecution of Buddhism.<sup>487</sup>

The connection between the imperial-vowed temple and local feudal lords such as the Ōuchi and the Mōri cannot be isolated from other events that enhanced their promotions at court as well as their supremacy over the areas that they governed and enlarged. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it became common practice for warrior lords to contribute to the repair and rebuilding of damaged structures in temples and shrines in their regions. The

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<sup>484</sup> Imae in AJM, 62.

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>486</sup> He was conferred the junior fourth rank (従四位 *jūshii*) in 1562 and was promoted to the junior third rank (従三位 *jūsan'i*) in 1572.

<sup>487</sup> For example, Mōri Hidemoto restored the cypress-bark roof of the Spirit Hall and repaired the golden-leafed surface of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* in the early seventeenth century. After the fire of 1732, Mōri Morotaka restored the Spirit Hall in 1734, and Mōri Masataka rebuilt the Kitchen-office in 1736, the Goma Hall in 1760, and the Reception Hall in 1763. See *Amidaji bettō shidai* in AJM, 136-137; *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* and *Yuraiki* in vol. 7 of BJY, 408-418.

centuries from the Ōnin War until the consolidation of the Tokugawa in 1603 were plagued by repeated military and political upheavals. Regardless of the financial strain caused by the instability, provincial lords supported Amidaji through politically charged sponsorship “since the repair and rebuilding of damaged structures were understood to betoken their benevolence and good rulership.”<sup>488</sup> For these warlords, moreover, it was important to affirm their affinity to an imperial-vowed temple like Amidaji because such a religious institution served as a conduit for access to the imperial court, linking the local lords in the periphery to the imperial power in the political center. The patronage of the Ōuchi and the Mōri appeared in the process of expanding their ruling areas during a time of constant fighting among local warlords. Thus, the restoration projects of the temple complex that started after the fire of 1518 were likely related to the political motivations of these locally based warrior leaders.

By claiming its status as the important site for the repose of the soul of Emperor Antoku, Amidaji maintained security and gained economic resources from the patronage of these warrior elites who also assisted the temple in securing compromises to prevent it from being embroiled in warfare. The warlord Mōri further provided monetary support for the anniversary rituals marking Antoku’s death and had his retainers stationed along the route of the ritual processions to guarantee security and proper decorum during the special rituals at the temple.<sup>489</sup> Except for their poetry dedications to the soul of Emperor Antoku, no known document records the rituals commissioned by the Ōuchi and the Mōri at Amidaji. Without doubt, however, the temple could not have performed various rites without these warlords’ support for the reconstruction and repair of the buildings and artworks through their donations. It was during the period of the patronage of Ōuchi and Mōri when the sliding-door paintings, the *Illustrated Story of Emperor*

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<sup>488</sup> Watsky, 69. Andrew Watsky states this in the context of Hideyoshi’s sponsorship.

<sup>489</sup> For example, see *Toyourahan kyūki* in SSS, 526.

*Antoku*, were renewed. The reconstruction of the buildings and the renewal of the paintings show that the temple needed to perform rituals, with which the spiritual entity of Antoku with negative potential could be appeased and transformed into a benevolent spirit force.

## 6.6 AMIDAJI AND TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI

In the late sixteenth century, Amidaji caught the attention of the unifier Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Like his predecessors, he visited and patronized the temple. He also held a poetry meeting, which served to commemorate the death of Antoku, to enhance his bonds with his retainers, and to gain prestige. The soul of Antoku was seen not only as a vengeful spirit to be propitiated, but as a deity to be appealed to provide fortunate results.

Hideyoshi stopped at Amidaji on two occasions in 1587 and 1592. On the twenty-fifth day of the third month in 1587, he arrived in the harbor of Akama en route to Kyūshū before its submission.<sup>490</sup> Two days later, on the twenty-seventh day, Hideyoshi and his retainers visited Amidaji and organized a poetry gathering as a memorial observance for Emperor Antoku.<sup>491</sup> This poetry event at Amidaji was held shortly before his military campaign against the powerful warlord family, the Shimazu clan, in Kyūshū. This military campaign was the largest that

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<sup>490</sup> Hideyoshi's visit to Amidaji in 1587 is recorded by his retainers. For example, see Kusunoki Chōan, *Kyūshū gekōki* in vol. 7 of *Chūsei nikki kikō bungaku zenhyōshaku shūsei*, eds. Takahashi Yoshio, et al. (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2004), 257; Kinoshita Katsutoshi, *Kyūshū no michinoki* in vol. 15 of SGR (Bunroku 1:1592, undated), 234.

<sup>491</sup> The poems of Hideyoshi's meeting were scribed on strips of decorated paper and preserved in a lacquered box with paulownia crest(s). Paulownia is the Toyotomi family crest. He offered poems in addition to this box. *Kaiko shika jō* (Album of poems in old days), which includes original paper strips of poems mounted in an album and poems dedicated by Hideyoshi and other visitors, was designated as a National Treasure by the Meiji government but was lost in an air raid during World War II. Fortunately, the poems of Hideyoshi and his vassals had been recorded in other sources such as the *Antoku tennō gotsuifuku wakakai sakusha oboe* (Note of poetry ritual in commemoration of Emperor Antoku) dated to 1578 and the *Hōfu shiryaku* (Abbreviated history of Hōfu) dated to 1710. See *Antoku tennō gotsuifuku kaiko wakakai sakusha oboe* in AJM, 120-121; *Hōfu shiryaku* in vol. 28 of *Shiryō sōsho* (Shimonoseki: Shimonoseki Monjokan, 1986), 33-34.

Hideyoshi had undertaken with 250,000 men in his coalition army. After his conquest of the Shimazu, Hideyoshi began to consider invasions of Korea (1592-1593; 1596-1598). Although he never left Japan, he directed his armies against Korea from Kyūshū. On his way to Kyūshū in 1592, Hideyoshi and his retainers revisited Amidaji. This time it is uncertain whether Hideyoshi composed a poem for Antoku, but his retainers dedicated their poems to the soul of the child emperor.<sup>492</sup>

Why did Hideyoshi hold a poetry meeting at Amidaji despite the increasing tension prior to his large-scale military campaigns? The simple answer is that the dedication of a poem to the soul of Antoku before the altar of his portrait in the Spirit Hall was customary at Amidaji, having been done by many poets and pilgrims prior to Hideyoshi's visit.<sup>493</sup> Hideyoshi followed an established practice; however, the religious, social, and political functions of poetry cannot be ignored. The religious efficacy traditionally attributed to Japanese poems, *waka*, is well known; for example, this role was stated in the preface of the imperial anthology *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 compiled by the court poet Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (c.868-c.945). Tsurayuki states that Japanese poetry has the power to “move heaven and earth, stir feeling in unseen demons and gods, soften relations between men and women, and soothe the hearts of fierce warriors.”<sup>494</sup> Later, in 1166, the poet-monk Saigyō 西行 (1118-1190) composed a poem at the mausoleum of

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<sup>492</sup> Horikawa, 66.

<sup>493</sup> It is important to notice that Hideyoshi's poetry meeting was performed in temporal proximity to the anniversary of the death of Antoku on the twenty-fourth day of the third month. As will be discussed, various rituals were performed for seventeen consecutive days, starting from the twenty-third day of the third month, the eve of the death anniversary. The entry of the twenty-sixth day of the third month of 1607 in the travel account of a Korean ambassador records that their visit happened to be on the death anniversary of Antoku when monks offered food and recited sūtra all day long. The death anniversary of Antoku was actually the twenty-fourth day of the third month, but Korean ambassadors stayed in the Reception Hall of Amidaji for five days starting from the twenty-second day of the third month, suggesting that various rituals were conducted for successive days before and after the actual anniversary. Accordingly, Hideyoshi's poetry ritual might have been held in connection to the death anniversary.

<sup>494</sup> *Kokin wakashū* in vol. 11 of SNKB, 17; The preface is translated in Keller Kimbrough, “Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry: Spells, Truth Acts, and a Medieval Buddhist Poetics of the Supernatural.” *Journal of Japanese Religious Studies* 32:1 (2005), 2.

Emperor Sutoku, a vengeful ghost contemporary with Antoku.<sup>495</sup> Saigyō dedicated his poem to Sutoku's spirit in order to pacify it. The efficacy of poetry to placate ghosts was perhaps taken for granted at Amidaji. Hideyoshi might have sought divine assistance from the soul of Antoku before military campaigns by appeasing it and turning it into a protective deity.

In addition, Hideyoshi's poetry meeting at Amidaji provided a communal setting of the *za* 座 (lit. seats) that promoted a social and political bond among a group of seated participants, usually a lord and retainers. As Ikegami Eiko has argued, the setting of *za* fostered "social relations across differences in rank and status because it provided a common ground for transactions between persons from different backgrounds."<sup>496</sup> The art of *za*, such as the linked-verse making and the tea ceremony, facilitated networking among individuals and made the art form useful as a political tool.<sup>497</sup> This could be applicable to Amidaji's poetry meeting since Hideyoshi, who recognized this function of the *za* and held linked-verse meetings and tea ceremonies for political ends, organized the *waka* poetry meeting that brought together his major vassals.<sup>498</sup> To attend the poetry meeting was a privilege because participants composed poetry with Hideyoshi in the same space, although their seats were placed hierarchically lower than Hideyoshi's seat. The poetry gathering contributed to creating bonds among the participants as well as to reinstating the *za* spirit within a hierarchical power structure under Hideyoshi's control.

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<sup>495</sup> *Shiromineji engi* in vol. 19 of SGR, 276.

<sup>496</sup> Ikegami Eiko, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 77.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>498</sup> The participants included the four companions who closely served the warlord (御伽衆 *otogishū*): Tsugawa Yoshichika 津川義近 (1540-1600), Yamana Toyokuni 山名豊国 (1548-1626), Ōmura Yūko 大村由己 (1536?-1596), and Kōdera Takatomo 小寺高友 (b.1525), two military generals: Sassa Narimasa 佐々成政 (1536-1588?) and Hachiya Yoritaka 蜂屋頼隆 (d.1589), a medical doctor Nakarai Roan 半井驢庵 (1545-1638), and a scribe who wrote official documents on behalf of the warlord (祐筆 *yūhitsu*) Kusunoki Chōan 楠長譜 (1520-1596). Most of these individuals had served Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582). With the fall of Nobunaga they became Hideyoshi's vassals. Some of them, such as Sassa Narimasa, had fought against Hideyoshi before their submission to him. Given this context, I think that Hideyoshi needed to reinstate political and social bonds with his retainers.

The emphasis on bonds and both the vertical and horizontal relationships between the warlord and his retainers was vital especially in the context of continuous warfare where one depended heavily on the trustworthiness of individuals who might break their military alliance.<sup>499</sup> Given the *za* spirit, Hideyoshi might have expected the political outcome brought about through the poetry meeting at Amidaji to reinforce political and social bonds that were of critical importance in his warfare. It is thus probable that Hideyoshi considered Amidaji's poetry meeting as a setting not only for the commemoration of Antoku's death, but also for his personal political ambitions. Amidaji, due to its prestige as a mortuary site for Emperor Antoku, whose benevolent spirit force could be evoked through his worship, played an important role in facilitating Hideyoshi's political implications.

## 6.7 AMIDAJI AND EDO TRAVELERS

Amidaji acquired additional roles during the Edo period when the Tokugawa government consolidated Japan, sought a “good-neighbor” relationship with Korea after Hideyoshi's invasions, and interacted with limited foreign countries including Holland. During this period, the temple's role as a “famous place (名所 *meisho*)” and as a cultural center was further enhanced. All these changes affected the temple's public role, its finances, and its ritual effects. The concept of Antoku's soul was also altered from a vengeful spirit to be appeased to a lonely and innocent soul whose cruel fate created sympathy and awe in the new visitors.

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<sup>499</sup> Ikegami, 114.



Beginning in the Edo period, Amidaji drew many tourists from a wide geographical area. The increase in visits to the temple was made possible by the spread of a currency economy and by the development of transportation routes and lodging facilities. In response to this situation, many gazetteers were published by individual temples as well as by commercial publishing houses. Among them were the *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidaizu* and the *Dainihon kairiku meisho zue*. These served as pictorial guides and brochures of the temple and introduced the major artifacts enshrined there.<sup>500</sup> At this point, Amidaji, although still an imperial mortuary temple, was characterized as a famous place, embodying a secular function as well. It was introduced to foreigners as one of the most famous temples in the publication of the physician Engelbert Kaempfer who was employed by the Dutch embassy.<sup>501</sup> The harbor of Akama, where Amidaji stood, was known as a prosperous port in western Japan; in general, travelers who stopped by the harbor of Akama visited Amidaji.

In the Edo period, Amidaji began to host banquets for Korean emissaries. Korean ambassadors came to Japan twelve separate times between 1607 and 1811. On eight of these twelve occasions, Amidaji provided lodging for the highest-ranking members of the embassy – three envoys and senior officers – although on each trip approximately five hundred Korean attendants came to Japan.<sup>502</sup> One of the most important missions of the first official visit by Korean ambassadors in 1607 was to bring the Korean king's official state letter in response to shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu's letter expressing that Japan repented Hideyoshi's expeditions to

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<sup>500</sup> *Akamagaseki Shōjuzan Amidaji keidai sentei byōdō shinkei no zu* was printed in a private publisher Mimeidō 未明堂. I cannot find information about Mimeidō. *Dainihon kairiku meisho zue* was published in 1864 by another publisher Shōgyokudō 松玉堂, which was located in Edo. *Dainihon kairiku meisho zue* was printed by Iseya Shōnosuke 伊勢屋庄之助 (active in the 19<sup>th</sup> century). For the reference of Shōgyokudō, see *Genshoku ukiyoe daihyakka jiten*, eds. Kikuchi Sadao, et al. (Tokyo: Daishūkan Shoten, 1982), 134.

<sup>501</sup> *Edo sanpu ryokō nikki*, 95.

<sup>502</sup> The neighboring temple Injōji 引接寺 was used for accommodating the middle-and-lower-ranking officials. A majority of Korean attendants stayed on the ships without accommodations on land.

Korea, had no intention of assaulting Korea in the future, and wished to conclude a treaty of amity with Korea.<sup>503</sup> Because of Hideyoshi's disastrous invasions of Korea, negotiations between the Korean court and the Tokugawa government had been suspended.<sup>504</sup> In order to recover a good-neighbor relationship with Korea, the Japanese treated the Korean ambassadors with great respect and hospitality. Since Amidaji was the first place on the mainland of Japan that the Koreans were received on their way to Edo, careful arrangements were made under the guidance of the Tokugawa military government. A temporary pier was constructed in front of Amidaji's complex to guide Korean ambassadors from the ships, the temple's Reception Hall was expanded and repaired before almost all of their visits, and sumptuous cuisine was served to them.<sup>505</sup> Vice ambassador Kyon Jin with the Korean embassy of 1607 praised the beauty of the city of Akama, in which the temple was located, and was impressed by the splendid interior setting of the Reception Hall at Amidaji.<sup>506</sup> Similarly, chief ambassador Cho Ōm 趙曦 (1719-1777) admired the city of Akama and the Reception Hall of Amidaji in 1764.<sup>507</sup>

At Amidaji, Korean ambassadors dedicated their poems to the soul of Emperor Antoku. These poems were composed using a rhyme scheme that had been used previously in the poem by the Korean monk-politician Sosun Yujon 松雲惟政 (1544-1610) who visited Amidaji in

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<sup>503</sup> Ieyasu's document was a forged document issued by Sō Yoshitoshi 宗義智 (1568-1615), *daimyō* of Tsushima and intermediary in negotiations with Korea. Tsushima is the island located between Kyūshū and the Korean peninsula. Although Korea's King Sōnjo (r.1567-1608) knew that the letter was forged, he accepted the letter and responded with an "answering embassy," the first Korean ambassadors to be followed by eleven more embassies through the early nineteenth century. See Shin and Nakao (2000), 98-108; Ronald P. Toby, "Reopening the Question of Sakoku: Diplomacy in the Legitimation of the Tokugawa Bakufu." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3:2 (Summer 1977), 344.

<sup>504</sup> As such, the missions of their second and third visits in 1617 and 1624 remained the same as those of the first visit.

<sup>505</sup> Shin and Nakao (2000), 28-31.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>507</sup> *Ibid.*

1604.<sup>508</sup> Travel accounts kept by Korean ambassadors indicate that Amidaji's monk requested the Korean ambassadors to compose poems. For example, the vice ambassador on the fourth Korean emissary in 1636 recorded that Amidaji's monks asked him to compose a poem that matched the rhyme sequence of Sosun's poem.<sup>509</sup> Through their poems, Korean ambassadors memorialized the death of the child emperor Antoku and expressed their sympathy toward his tragic death, describing Antoku as a child soul, a lonely soul, and an innocent soul.<sup>510</sup>

Moreover, Japanese Confucian scholars of the domain school Meirinkan 明倫館 visited the Reception Hall of Amidaji to discuss intellectual matters with Korean ambassadors.<sup>511</sup> It is reported that many Japanese literati requested Korean embassies to write prefaces to poetry collections and inscriptions on paintings, as well as to attend poetry recitations and to honor them with their autographs and seals during their stays in many places in Japan.<sup>512</sup> These records indicate that Amidaji became a place that played an important role in enhancing good diplomatic relations between Japan and Korea as well as in exchanging cultures between the two states.

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<sup>508</sup> Although Sosun Yujon had called on monks to confront the Japanese invaders during Hideyoshi's invasions, he was a key figure in the peace agreement between Japan and Korea. In 1604 the Korean monk traveled to Kyoto in order to negotiate a peace agreement with Tokugawa Ieyasu, and he motivated subsequent visits of Korean ambassadors to Japan. See *Ibid.*

<sup>509</sup> Muroi, 93.

<sup>510</sup> To follow the custom that Sosun initiated at Amidaji also had the symbolic meaning of honoring his contribution to the good-neighbor relations between Japan and Korea. However, when Sin Yuhan 申維翰 (b.1681) came to Japan in 1719 as a secretary of the ambassadors on the ninth Korean emissary, Amidaji no longer requested Korean ambassadors to compose poems to the soul of Emperor Antoku. Although Yuhan recorded that it was customary to dedicate poems to the soul of Emperor Antoku, Yuhan's company was not allowed to see the statue of Antoku. For this reason, Yuhan assumed that the Japanese were embarrassed by the small and humble hall where the statue of Antoku was enshrined. Since poetry dedications were made before the altar of Antoku's statue, prohibition to view the image caused the abandonment of poetry dedications by the Korean emissaries. For Yuhan's diary, see Sin Yuhan, *Kaiyūroku*, trans. Kyō Zaigen (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1974), 88-89.

<sup>511</sup> For example, see Yuhan, 89-92; Shin and Nakao (2000), 28-31; Katagiri Tsugio, *Tokugawa Yoshimune to Chōsen tsūshinshi* (Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkōsha, 1985), 138-141.

<sup>512</sup> See Lee Won-sik, "Shōtokudo no hitsudan shōwa to iboku kankei shiryō," in vol. 4 of *Taikei Chōsen tsūshinshi*, eds. Shin Gisu and Nakao Hiroshi (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1993), 72; James B. Lewis, "Beyond Sakoku: The Korean Envoy to Edo and the 1719 Diary of Shin Yu-han." *Korean Journal* 25:11 (November 1985), 27.

Other foreign travelers, such as the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer and the Dutch physician Philipp Franz von Siebold, also made visits to Amidaji in 1691 and 1826 respectively.<sup>513</sup> Kaempfer and his companions were guided by one of Amidaji's monks to the Spirit Hall where they viewed the portraits of Antoku and the Taira. Then they experienced the picture-explication (*etoki*) rituals of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* in the room, next to the place where the portraits were enshrined. After the *etoki* performance, they went to the Reception Hall where they paid *ichi bu* 一分 (a piece of gold worth two and a half taels) in honor of the monastery.<sup>514</sup> The Japanese traveler Hishiya Heishichi mentioned that the portrait of Antoku would be shown in exchange for 100 *mon* 文 when he visited Amidaji in 1802.<sup>515</sup> In addition to the original commemorative and placatory functions, the performance of *etoki* and the display of the temple treasures seem to have acquired a more pragmatic function as a means to solicit funds. Amidaji gained economic benefits directly from the public through these activities to meet the temple's needs for regular maintenance and repair. In Siebold's travel journal, it was reported that donations in the form of admission fees by pilgrims and tourists surpassed the temple's annual income of 70 *koku* 石 (equivalent to 800 gulden) from its landholdings.<sup>516</sup> The religious and secular dimensions of the picture-explanation rituals were intertwined inextricably, as they were in many other performing arts in Japan.

The death anniversary ceremony of Emperor Antoku, which allegedly began to be recognized in the late twelfth century, was well-known during the Edo period. According to a

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<sup>513</sup> *Edo sanpu ryokō nikki*, 93-94; *Edo sanpu kikō*, 93-97; Beatrice, 301-302.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.* Siebold also paid the same amount of *ichi bu* in the Reception Hall after he saw the portraits of Antoku and the Taira, had the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* explained, and observed the temple treasures. It is unknown why Siebold could see Antoku's portrait in 1826, while Yuhan could not see it in 1719.

<sup>515</sup> *Tsukushi kikō*, 628.

<sup>516</sup> *Edo sanpu kikō*, 93-97. The temple's annual income is also recorded in the diary of Hishiya Heishichi. See *Tsukushi kikō*, 628.

temple document, *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe*, dated to 1739, Antoku's death anniversary was called *Senteie* 先帝会 (ceremony for the former emperor), and various rituals were performed for seventeen consecutive days, starting from the twenty-third day of the third month, the day before the anniversary of Antoku's death.<sup>517</sup> Like other mortuary temples, these memorial rites were perhaps comprised of *shōgon* 莊嚴 (adornment of the sanctuary), *kuyō* 供養 (offerings of incense, food, flowers, and light), and *dokyō* 読経 (recitation of sūtras). These rituals took place primarily in the Spirit Hall, where portraits of Emperor Antoku and the Taira clan members were enshrined. The picture-explication of the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku*, as discussed in the previous chapter, was conducted in the Spirit Hall probably on the death anniversary; for such a picture-explication ceremony was typically performed during the anniversary of eminent deceased.

The most spectacular part of the death anniversary was the ritual procession of prostitutes. As popularly asserted, the procession of prostitutes probably originated in the late twelfth century. It is said that some of the Taira court ladies remained at the battle site and could only survive by becoming prostitutes. On the death anniversary of Antoku and the Taira warriors, these women cleansed themselves and dressed in court robes in order to visit the sacred place of Amidaji.<sup>518</sup> At the temple they offered flowers and incense to the spirits of Antoku and the Taira. Primary sources, such as diaries of travelers, indicate that the reenactment of the Taira

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<sup>517</sup> As noted elsewhere, the *Senteie* originated during the reign of Emperor Go-Toba who became emperor immediately after Antoku.

<sup>518</sup> During the Edo period, the procession took the form of twenty-five women: five sets of five females consisting of a girl (稚児 *chigo*), a guard (警固 *keigo*), a court lady (官女 *kanjo*), an attendant (禿 *kamuro*), and a courtesan (上臈 *gorō*). The court lady, the most important figure, was positioned in the middle of the procession and protected by other females. These women were led by the Nakajima family whose ancestor Nakajima-Shirō-daifu-Masanobu was said to have recovered Antoku's remains from the sea and buried them in the complex of Amidaji. See *Akama Jingū shi* (1918) preserved in the Yamaguchiken Monjokan (Doc. *kenshi hensanjo shiryō* 1609); Mizuno Naofusa (1985), 46-48.

procession attracted not only local people but also tourists in the Edo period.<sup>519</sup> The death anniversary was not so much a ritual for the repose of the souls of Antoku and the Taira but the basis for the temple economy.

In addition, a flowing water ritual was performed.<sup>520</sup> After esoteric magical spells (i.e., mantra of radiant light and secret incantations) or the name of Amida Buddha were inscribed on wooden tablets in the shape of a five-story pagoda, the wooden tablets were cast into the sea where Emperor Antoku and the Taira warriors drowned themselves. As discussed in Chapter Four, this ritual was believed to be effective in transmitting spiritual merit to the souls of those who died in drowning and could not reach the proper afterworld. The performance of the flowing water ritual suggests that uncertainty of the nature of the spirits of Antoku and the Taira that might haunt the living unless the ritual was conducted.

Ghost stories about Antoku and the Taira members were popularly believed by the people of various social classes during the Edo period. For example, the essay *Gayū kidan*, published in 1782, contains the story of the monk Hōichi, which was the source of Lafcadio Hearn's *Kwaidan*.<sup>521</sup> In the story, the blind monk recited the *Tale of the Heike* for the Taira ghosts who, unable to be reborn in the Pure Land, roamed at Amidaji. The ghosts of the Taira also appear in *Kasshi yawa* 甲子夜話 written in 1821 by the provincial lord Matsura Seizan 松浦静山 (1760-1841).<sup>522</sup> In one of the episodes, a sailor tells a traveler not to say a word while sailing in the harbor of Akama because the ghosts of the Taira would appear if they spoke. Although all of

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<sup>519</sup> For example, see Nagakubo Sekisui, *Nagasaki gyōei nikki* (Meiwa 4:1767.10.27), 248; Hayami Shungyōsai, *Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei* (1806) in *Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei* (Tokyo: Ōfusha, 1978), 221, 226.

<sup>520</sup> *Akamagaseki Amidaji raiyu oboe* in vol. 7 of BJY, 386.

<sup>521</sup> *Gayū kidan*, 312-315.

<sup>522</sup> Matsura Seizan, *Kasshi yawa*, eds. Nakamura Yukihiro and Nakano Mitsutoshi (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977), 157-158.

these stories are fictions and do not specify how the soul of Antoku was regarded, these Edo accounts also show ambiguity of the nature of the souls of Antoku and the Taira.

## 6.8 MEIJI PERSECUTION OF BUDDHISM

As part of the Meiji Restoration (明治維新 *Meiji ishin*), the newly formed government sought to reestablish the authority of the emperor, linking that agenda to nativist theories and the demotion of foreign influences, including Buddhism. As a result, in 1868, the Meiji government issued a series of decrees ordering the separation of Shintō and Buddhist divinities (神仏分離令 *shinbutsu bunri rei*).<sup>523</sup> The expulsion of Buddhism from syncretic Shintō-Buddhist sanctuaries was frequently accompanied by violent suppression, which included the laicization of priests with Buddhist credentials, the abolishment of Buddhist institutions, and the removal of Buddhist images, scriptures, implements, and buildings from religious complexes. During this confusion, Amidaji was abolished and its buildings were completely destroyed in 1870. The Yamaguchi prefectural government further ordered that Amidaji be called by the Shintō name Antoku Tennōsha 安徳天皇社 (shrine of Emperor Antoku).<sup>524</sup> Despite this turmoil, however, the spirit of Antoku was still revered; indeed, it was used by Shintō authorities and by the imperial government to enhance their own authority.

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<sup>523</sup> For an example of studies on the separation of Shintō and Buddhist divinities, see Yasumaru Yoshio, *Kamigami no Meiji ishin: Shinbutsu bunri to haibutsu kishaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1979); Helen Hardacre, *Shintō and the State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

<sup>524</sup> Shimonosekishi Shishi Henshū Iinkai, *Shimonosekishi shi: Genshi, Chūsei hen* (Shimonoseki: Shimonosekishi Shishi Henshū Iinkai, 1973), 790.

As in other temples throughout the nation, the Buddhist monks at Amidaji were ordered to be defrocked; henceforth the former monks entered the shrine priesthood. The last head priest of Amidaji, Zuisen 瑞泉 (b.d. unknown), was forced to return to lay life and to change his name to Ōji Akira 大司明. Although he became the first *gūji* 宮司 (Shintō head priest) of the shrine, he was dismissed in 1871 shortly after his appointment.<sup>525</sup>

In 1875, the shrine was renamed Akamagū 赤間宮 (can be read Akama-no-miya; Shrine of Akama).<sup>526</sup> Two years later, a locally renowned nativist Shiraishi Shōichirō 白石正一郎 (1812-1880) was appointed as the head priest of the shrine to complete the removal of Buddhist remnants from within.<sup>527</sup> A Shintō-style main hall was constructed on the site of the former Buddhist temple in 1880.<sup>528</sup> Three years later in 1883, during the restoration of the mausoleum of Emperor Antoku, the five-story stūpa, a Buddhist mortuary monument, was buried in an earthen mound and surrounded by fences. A tree was planted on the top of the mound. Even though there were other places that were believed locally to be the burial site of Antoku, the Imperial Household Agency officially designated the mausoleum of Antoku in Akamagū as his burial place in 1889.<sup>529</sup>

During the early Meiji period, many new shrines were erected under the supervision of the imperial government. Murakami Shigeyoshi has classified these newly erected shrines into four categories: “category 1: shrines dedicated to those who lost their lives in battles leading to the modern imperial state (Yasukuni Shrine, Shōkon shrines, and Gokoku shrines, etc); category

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<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>526</sup> The status of Akamagū was *kanpei chūsha* 官幣中社, a middle rank of imperial shrine. Although the current head priest, Mizuno Naofusa, states that the Chinese characters for the name of the shrine at that time should be read “Akama-no-miya,” I refer to the shrine as “Akamagū,” because other shrines established during the same era used a similar nomenclature. Mizuno Naofusa (1985), 62.

<sup>527</sup> *Ibid.*, 800-801; Akama Jingū (1997), 69.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>529</sup> Akama Jingū (1985), 195.



2: shrines dedicated to the loyalists of the Southern Court during the Nanbokuchō period (Minatogawa Shrine, Abeno Shrine, etc); category 3: shrines dedicated to emperors and members of the imperial family (Kashihara Shrine, Heian Shrine, Meiji Shrine, etc); category 4: shrines established on the grounds of Japanese colonies (Chōsen Shrine, Kenkoku shrines, etc).”<sup>530</sup>

Akamagū belongs to the third category because it was dedicated to Emperor Antoku. I would like to elaborate on this third category, adding several contemporary shrines that were specifically dedicated to emperors whose souls were thought to have become vengeful ghosts. For example, Emperor Sutoku’s Spirit Hall (Portrait Hall) at the Buddhist temple complex in Sanuki Province, was abolished in 1868. In the same year, Shiramine Shrine 白峯宮 (Shiraminegū) was established in Kyoto and Sutoku’s soul was ritually transferred from the Spirit Hall in Sanuki to Shiramine Shrine in Kyoto. As discussed in Chapter One, Emperor Sutoku was feared as a vengeful spirit contemporary with Antoku. The spirits of Emperors Go-Toba, Go-Tsuchimikado, and Juntoku were also relocated from their places of exile and death (Oki, Awa, and Sado Islands, respectively) to Minase Shrine 水無瀬宮 (Minasegū) in Osaka. After Go-Toba died in exile in 1239, his Spirit Hall (Portrait Hall) was constructed in the Minase Villa originally built by him. In 1873, the Spirit Hall in the Minase Villa was converted into a Shintō shrine called Minase Shrine, in which Go-Toba’s spirit was re-enshrined with the spirits of Go-Tsuchimikado and Juntoku. The souls of these emperors who had died in exile were ceremonially transferred from the Buddhist temples to the new Shintō shrines.<sup>531</sup> I propose that the re-enshrinement of Emperor Antoku’s spirit in the newly established Shintō shrine of Akamagū from Amidaji is another example of these state-sponsored spirit-enshrinements.

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<sup>530</sup> Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Kokka Shintō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1970), 182, quoted in Kuroda (1990), 149-150; Kuroda (1996b), 345. I slightly changed Grapard’s translation of these categories.

<sup>531</sup> Yasumaru, 62-63.

As Kuroda Toshio has claimed, the souls enshrined in all of these newly established shrines were expected to protect the imperial state; thus, the shrines played an important political role in the consolidation of the government.<sup>532</sup> It was in this context that people felt compelled to demolish the Buddhist temple of Amidaji and to replace it by a Shintō shrine. Within such a critical time and place, a Shintō shrine was considered the most appropriate setting to worship Antoku's soul. The imperial government needed to ensure that these souls, which had threatened the living and the state in the past, would not exert negative power. The government further expected protection from the souls of the dead emperors and warriors which were eventually converted into good souls.<sup>533</sup>

Antoku's soul was expected to be such a benefactor. His soul was reconstructed both as a vengeful ghost that might harm the imperial state and as a benevolent deity that would, it was hoped, protect the Japanese people and the nation. The new Shintō shrine was meant to prevent the soul of Antoku from turning into a malicious ghost. In other words, the fear of a possible re-emergence of Antoku's vengeful soul triggered the destruction of Amidaji and its replacement by a Shintō shrine. Again, the redefinition of Antoku's soul affected the history of the temple. As a Buddhist temple, Amidaji was destroyed during the persecution. Yet, that the cult of Antoku survived is not surprising, given the government's attempts to resurrect a strong imperial role.

The new Shintō shrine enforced its link to the imperial government during the Meiji period. For example, the imperial crown prince traveled to Akamagū to pay his respects to Antoku in 1900, and a proxy messenger was dispatched from the imperial palace to the shrine in 1902 by Emperor Meiji 明治 (r.1867-1912) as part of his political campaign.<sup>534</sup> Under these

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<sup>532</sup> Kuroda (1990), 149-150; Kuroda (1996b), 346.

<sup>533</sup> Yasumaru, 60-61.

<sup>534</sup> Akama Jingū (1997), 69.

circumstances, Akamagū came to acquire political importance for the promotion of the Meiji emperor's legitimacy and State Shintō. Through the process of enhancing the imperial state in the modern era, the new shrine needed to “purify” the death anniversary rituals of all Buddhist elements even though Buddhism and Shintō had intertwined in complex ways over centuries. To accomplish “purification,” the shrine reintroduced select Shintō elements that had originally been incorporated with Buddhism, and redefined its death anniversary rites. In addition, it included supposedly “pure” Shintō rituals.

An official report submitted by the head priest of Akamagū to the central government in 1918 indicates how the shrine had changed its rituals.<sup>535</sup> According to this report, the shrine had completely eliminated the Buddhist mortuary rituals, such as the recitation of Buddhist sūtras. Another Buddhist mortuary rite, the flowing water ritual, was also abandoned. However, the shrine decided to continue the procession of prostitutes, albeit in a slightly altered fashion. For example, instead of offering incense in front of the wooden statue of Emperor Antoku in the Spirit Hall, the prostitutes dedicated a sacred twig of *sakaki* 榊 plant to the hidden statue of Antoku at the new Main Hall. The shrine incorporated new rituals on the day before and the day after the procession of prostitutes. Among them was a ritual procession of a sacred palanquin (御神幸祭 *gojinkōsai*), which was held on the last day of the festival. Following the performance of sacred dance and music (神楽 *kagura*), a sacred palanquin (神輿 *mikoshi*) in which Antoku's soul was temporarily enshrined was pulled by an ox cart on a fourteen-kilometer round trip from Akamagū to the temporary shrine (御旅所 *otabisho*) built on the site where Antoku's body was believed to have been recovered from the ocean. On the same day, after the ritual in front of the temporary shrine, the soul was transferred back to the Sacred Hall in

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<sup>535</sup> *Akama Jingū shi* (Doc. *kenshi hensanjo shiryō* 1609).

Akamagū. The performance of dance and music, as well as the transportation of a sacred palanquin, had not been considered to be exclusive Shintō rituals before the governmental edict of separation; however, the ritualists in the Meiji period redefined these rites as belonging to Shintō. Therefore, Akamagū claimed to carry out these “purified” Shintō-style rituals during the death anniversary of Emperor Antoku. Even today, the shrine has continued to perform essentially the same rituals.

## 6.9 WWII: 1939-1945

In 1940 in the midst of World War II, Akamagū was renamed Akama Jingū, the current name of the shrine.<sup>536</sup> The shrine was then made a major imperial shrine (官幣大社 *kanpei taisha*), the highest rank in the newly created system of Shintō shrines.<sup>537</sup> This promotion of the shrine’s status was perhaps motivated by the government’s elevation of the emperor to a living god during the wartime. The war saw the peak of both the spiritual and political authority of Hirohito 裕仁, posthumously known as Emperor Shōwa 昭和 (r.1926-1989). The role of Akama Jingū as an imperial shrine was thus emphasized, and many people visited the shrine to venerate Antoku, who was thought to be the ancestor of the reigning emperor. Antoku’s soul was glorified as a benevolent protector of the nation that would ensure Japan’s victorious military campaigns during the wartime.

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<sup>536</sup> Akama Jingū (1997), 70.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*, Kanpeisha are directly administered by central offices of shrine administration in Tokyo and were partially supported from public funds.

In the summer of 1945, just one month before the end of the war, the city of Shimonoseki was destroyed by American air raids. Akama Jingū was completely reduced to ashes. Several artworks that had survived through the Meiji persecution of Buddhism were evacuated from the shrine complex and escaped the fire. Yet, the shrine still lost some of the treasures, for example, a large number of poem sheets dedicated to Antoku throughout the temple's history. The war also damaged volumes of the text of the Nagato version of the *Tale of the Heike*.<sup>538</sup>

## 6.10 AFTER WWII AND PRESENT

In the postwar period, due to the separation of religion and state in the Japanese Constitution, the role of the site where the temple had formerly stood changed again to become a reminder of the past and a repository of what it meant to be Japanese, although Akama Jingū sustained a memorial function for the dead emperor Antoku. The fate of Antoku is seen as part of the rich history of Japan's past. The shrine also exemplifies the Japanese imperial family's role which emphasizes cultural importance.

In the aftermath of World War II, Mizuno Hisanao 水野久直 (1907-1994) received the official appointment as *gūji* (head Shintō priest) in 1948 and took the first steps to restore Akama Jingū.<sup>539</sup> Through the tremendous efforts of Priest Mizuno and the Shimonoseki citizens and support from both the central and local government, the Main Hall and the Norito Hall were

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<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>539</sup> Akama Jingū (1997), 70.

rebuilt in 1949. With the completion of the Main Hall, the wooden portrait of Antoku was re-enshrined.<sup>540</sup>

In 1953, Mizuno Hisanao had an oracular dream in which a palanquin--a vehicle for the emperor or deity--appeared through a vermilion *torii* gate from the sea.<sup>541</sup> This example reminds us of the ideological function of the dream which I discussed earlier. He interpreted the vermilion gate in the sea to symbolize Itsukushima Shrine, the Taira clan's tutelary shrine on the island of Miyajima.<sup>542</sup> In the late Heian period, Taira no Kiyomori, Antoku's maternal grandfather, sponsored the construction project of Itsukushima Shrine, which was often compared to the dragon palace, and held Buddhist rites to the dragon king there.<sup>543</sup> For example, in 1174 and 1177, Kiyomori and his family members participated in Sensō kuyō 千僧供養, where one thousand priests chanted the *Lotus Sūtra* to appease the dragon king at Itsukushima Shrine.<sup>544</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Four, the *Tale of the Heike* states that Emperor Antoku became a dragon king.<sup>545</sup> In addition, according to the influential monk Jien's analysis, Antoku was identified as a reincarnation of the dragon king's daughter who is the main deity of Itsukushima Shrine.<sup>546</sup> Mizuno's dream reflects the belief of Antoku as the dragon king or as a reincarnation of the dragon king's daughter. In other words, Antoku's spirit was still thought to be an unstable entity, unable to attain rebirth in paradise. Because of this dream, a palanquin

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<sup>540</sup> In 1964, the Hachiman Shrine was reconstructed. The construction of the other buildings (i.e., outer worship hall, inner worship hall) began in 1965. *Ibid.*

<sup>541</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*, *Jōan 4 nen Kenshunmon'in Itsukushima mōde ganmon* (Jōan 4:1174) in vol. 40 of ST, 133-135; *Itsukushima sensō kuyō nikki* (Angen 2:1176) in vol. 40 of ST, 138-141. Kajiwara Ryōji discusses Kiyomori's devotion to the cult of the Dragon King. See Kajiwara Ryōji, "The *Heike Nōkyō* manuscripts and Taira Kiyomori." *Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō rokuen zasshū* 2 (2001), [http://www.narahaku.go.jp/resources/kiyo/02/kiyo-02-04\\_e.htm](http://www.narahaku.go.jp/resources/kiyo/02/kiyo-02-04_e.htm) (1 April 2004).

<sup>543</sup> Itsukushima-no-kami 伊都岐島神, the main deity in Itsukushima Shrine, was also identified with the dragon deity.

<sup>544</sup> Kajiwara (2001).

<sup>545</sup> *The Tale of the Heike*, 378.

<sup>546</sup> *Gukanshō*, 254.

topped by a phoenix was donated from Itsukushima Shrine to Akama Jingū.<sup>547</sup> Two years later in 1955, on the grounds of the Shintō shrine, a grand Buddhist ceremony, Sensō kuyō was performed on the 770<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Antoku's death under the commission of Priest Mizuno who regarded this specific ritual appropriate for Antoku and the Taira members due to the connections between this ritual and Taira no Kiyomori as well as between Antoku and the dragon king.<sup>548</sup>

In 1958, the two-story Main Gate, Suitenmon (the gate to paradise in water) was constructed in reference to the poems recited by Antoku's grandmother and dedicated by Emperor Meiji's wife (1849-1914). This project was also initiated by Priest Mizuno Hisanao. In celebration of the completion of the gate, Akama Jingū received visits from Emperor Shōwa and his wife who symbolically passed through the gate when the gate first opened. The imperial couple also composed poems to the spirit of Antoku. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the paradise, to which Antoku's grandmother referred in response to his question of where she would take him before their suicides, was not the Pure Land of Amida Buddha but the palace of the dragon king, which was believed to one of the Six Realms. Thus, Mizuno interpreted that the soul of Antoku did not reach paradise. The case also supports my theory that a religiously influential figure's interpretation of the nature of Antoku's soul affected the rituals at the religious site and further reinforced its connection to the elite (in this case, members of imperial family).

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<sup>547</sup> Akama Jingū (1997), 70.

<sup>548</sup> *Ibid.* Although Sensō kuyō literally means a Buddhist ceremony attended by one thousand monks, it does not necessarily indicate an exact number; "one thousand" means numerous monks, usually, one hundred, one thousand, and ten thousand. *Iwanami Bukkyō jiten*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 622. At Akama Jingū one hundred monks participated in the Sensō kuyō. One may wonder why Buddhist rites were held on the grounds of a Shintō complex. But even today, some Buddhist rituals are conducted at Akama Jingū. For example, one of the important donors to the current shrine is Risshō Kōseikai 立正佼成会, a Buddhist organization founded in 1938, which emphasizes the teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

In 1986, Mizuno Naofusa 水野直房 (1934-), Hisanao's son, became *gūji*.<sup>549</sup> To this day Akama Jingū continues to be responsible for commemorating the death of Antoku and proclaiming its close ties to the imperial family. Imperial family members are invited to the shrine on special occasions. The most recent event participated in by the imperial family was the 820<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Emperor Antoku's death in 2005, when Princess Takamado-no-miya Hisako 高円宮久子 (1953-) prayed in front of Antoku's tomb and offered a sprig of the *sakaki* plant to the soul of Antoku in front of the hidden statue.<sup>550</sup> Imperial messengers were also dispatched by the imperial family for this event. The cultural importance of the anniversary of Antoku's death, designated as an intangible cultural asset, and of the imperial family's visits to Akama Jingū, is emphasized today. We must, however, deepen our awareness of the underlying multi-layered meanings and messages that can be elicited through the shrine's rituals and connections with the imperial family, as I have discussed the roles of the temple and the shrine in their associations with the elite.

The new shrine sustains an important role in telling the history of Akama Jingū as well as Amidaji, including what happened in the sea battle off the coast of the current shrine site in medieval times. Priest Mizuno often gives tours for visitors in the shrine complex. Groups of students who come for their school trips listen to the priest's talk with great interest. Priest Mizuno, looking down to the sea in front of the shrine complex, continues to narrate the tragic

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<sup>549</sup> Akama Jingū (1997), 72.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*, The 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Antoku's death in 1985 was attended by Prince Takamado-no-miya Norihito 高円宮憲仁 (1954-2002) and Princess Hisako. In 1996, Princess Hisako composed a song to accompany a dance on the death anniversary.



story of Emperor Antoku and the Taira.<sup>551</sup> The ghosts of Antoku and the Taira still flit through present-day people's mind.<sup>552</sup>

## 6.11 CONCLUSION

I have outlined the history of Amidaji by focusing on the different manifestations of Antoku's soul. The temple was re-established for Emperor Antoku and the Taira who died in the battle of 1185 and functioned as the most important site to commemorate their deaths. Despite its importance, Amidaji was abolished and a Shintō shrine replaced the former Buddhist temple during the Meiji period persecution of Buddhism. Yet the site where Amidaji stood retains its prime mission even after its transformation into Akama Jingū.

The temple was visited by many changes of a political nature, which in turn paralleled changes in the beliefs about the character of Antoku's soul. With the passage of time and the changing political landscape, the soul of Antoku has been interpreted in various ways, ranging from a roaming soul, a vengeful soul, a peaceful soul, to a benevolent soul. It has always been in the process of change, for the character of the soul has been defined and redefined, depending on how people conceptualized it in response to specific contexts. Antoku's spirit, because it was the central entity to be venerated at Amidaji, shaped and reshaped the roles of the temple and added multilayered meanings to the temple and the current shrine over time.

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<sup>551</sup> In 2004, Priest Mizuno performed the *etoki* (picture explication) ritual using the *Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku* in front of the local people. This event also shows that the significance of the ritual has not changed; however, the form and meaning of the ritual were altered to correspond to today's context.

<sup>552</sup> When the construction of an underwater tunnel and bridge between Honshū and Kyūshū was undertaken in the 1930s and 1950s, construction workers heard strange howling noises. It is reported that people thought the ghosts of the Taira made such noises and attributed the difficulties of construction including causalities to the ghosts. This is introduced in Yamashita, 3-4.

## APPENDIX A

### [TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTIONS ON *SHIKISHI*]

8.2 8.1	7.2 7.1	6.2 6.1	5.2 5.1	4.2 4.1	3.2 3.1	2.2 2.1	1.2 1.1
Panel 8	Panel 7	Panel 6	Panel 5	Panel 4	Panel 3	Panel 2	Panel 1

[current order → original order]

1.1→2.1

賀茂春日日吉巖島等靈社其上法皇有御祈念及 申刻皇子降誕上下万民無不喜悅  
 The Retired Emperor [Go-Shirakawa] prayed [for a safe delivery of his grandson] to deities enshrined at Kamo Shrine, Kasuga Shrine, Hiyoshi Shrine, Itsukushima Shrine, etc. Around the Hour of the Monkey, a prince was born. All the people inside and outside the building rejoiced [at the birth of the prince].<sup>553</sup>

1.2 →2.2

頃之小松内大臣被参子息権亮維盛少将清経待從資盛相從 御馬十二疋御劍七色之御衣等被持参客被分進伊勢大神宮八幡  
 Palace Minister Komatsu [Taira no Shigemori], accompanied by his heir, Lesser Captain Koremori, and [his other sons] Kiyotsune and Sukemori, visited [the Mansion of Rokuhara]. They brought [gifts such as] twelve horses, swords, seven-colored robes, etc. The horses, swords,

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<sup>553</sup> I translate the inscriptions on the rectangular sheet with the help of several sources. Hayashi and Tokuda, 236-239; Ido, 22; *Heike monogatari*, trans. Ichiko Teinji, vol. 30 of NKB (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1975); *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. Helen McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988). I use many of the phrases from McCullough's translation.

and robes were also dedicated [as sacred offerings] to the Great Shrine of Ise and the Hachiman Shrine.

### 2.1 →1.2

祈被蓋數房覺僧正昌雲僧正豪仙僧都實全僧都仁慶法印等各碎肝胆被奉祈然而 御產未成  
漸經時刻是所謂生苦之定理歟

Many prayers [for a safe delivery of the prince] were conducted by Archbishops Bōkaku and Shōun, Bishops Gōzen and Jitsuzen, Dharma Seal Jingyō, etc. Despite all of these prayers, the Empress continued to suffer from incessant labor pains without giving birth even after the expected time.

### 2.2 →1.1

治承二年十一月十二日 中宮建禮門院自此曉御產氣御產仍□法皇密々有御幸 關白殿下  
大臣公卿被群參 自禁裏御使無隙御<sup>554</sup>

On the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Jishō, Empress Kenreimon'in had gone into labor since dawn. The Retired Emperor secretly proceeded [to the Mansion of Rokuhara]. Regent, ministers, and courtiers also attended the mansion. From the imperial court, the messengers were dispatched. The people at the mansion were crowded.

### 3.1

壽永二年七月廿五日 依東國武士競上為 平家人之計□主上行幸西國此夜半法皇密々  
On the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Juei, warriors from the eastern provinces rode to the capital, thus the Taira members planned to take Emperor [Antoku] to the western provinces; the Retired Emperor secretly [slipped away from his palace] that night.

### 3.2

御幸天台山寂場房自是曉渡御円融房之間 奉始入道殿下松殿關白大臣公卿皆悉被參集円  
融房中

The Retired Emperor journeyed to Jakujōbō on Mt. Hiei, and in the early morning he further moved to Enyūbō, where [Former] Regent Matsu, [Current] Regent, ministers, and courtiers all flocked.

### 4.1

同廿七日 自天台山法皇還御 供奉人々入道殿下關白太政大臣師長左大臣經宗右大臣兼  
實内大臣實定以下公卿

On the 27<sup>th</sup> day of the same month, the Retired Emperor returned from Mt. Hiei [to his mansion] with Former Regent, Current Regent, Chancellor Moronaga, Minister of the Left Tsunemune, Minister of the Right Kanezane, Palace Minister Sadafusa and other courtiers.

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<sup>554</sup> I insert □ for an indecipherable character.

#### 4.2

及四位五位殿上人至干上下北面盡數供奉 錦古利冠者源義高差白旗候先陣

The courtiers of the Fourth and Fifth Rank and many imperial guards accompanied [the Retired Emperor]. Nishikigori warrior Minamoto no Yoshitaka rode in the vanguard with his white banner flying.

#### 5.1

元曆元年二月七日 撰州一谷合戰之間 越前三位通盛卿已被打之由 平家聞之悲嘆尤切也

On the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the 2<sup>nd</sup> month of the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Genryaku, during the Battle of Ichinotani in Settsu Province, Echizen Governor of the Third Rank Michimori was killed. The Taira members heard [this news] and grieved for his death.

#### 5.2

其後偏臥沈口節有 懷孕之事不堪哀傷 同十三日夜半自船入海 彼人之侍女同以投身 但此女者取止之剃頭訖 權亮三位中將見聞此事

Michimori's wife felt great sorrow for his death. She was unbearably sad about being pregnant with his child. Around midnight on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the same month, she drowned herself. Her female attendant tried to follow Michimori's wife, but she was stopped [from jumping into the sea]. [Because the attendant was not able to commit suicide], she asked to take tonsure instead. Middle Captain of the Junior Third Rank saw and heard about this.

#### 6.1

本三位中將重衡卿被生取之後 母儀二品不堪此悲歎且被沈病席之間奉始 女院一家之人々被嘆之其刻漸及八月瀟秋哀之此三五夜中新月夜□於屋島

After Middle Captain of the Third Rank Shigehira was captured, his mother Nii-no-ama felt sad and became sick. All the Taira women also grieved over the capture of Shigehira. It was the 8<sup>th</sup> month. They gazed in sorrow at the autumn moon on the Yashima strand.

#### 6.2

□□□□左馬頭行盛 君すめは是も雲井の月なれとなほ恋しきは都なりけり 月を見し 去年の今宵のとものみや都のに我をおもひ出らん

Same-no-kashira Yukimori expressed his feelings in the following verse:

Because our lord dwells here, this moon likewise shines over the palace where the clouds rest,<sup>555</sup> yet I think with nostalgia of the royal capital. Viewing the moon, I wonder how the city skies looked around this time of the last year [when I was in the capital].

#### 7.1

沈海公卿殿上人 中納言教盛同知盛修理大夫經盛三位中將資盛左中將清經小將有盛能登 守教經侍從忠房等也

The courtiers who drowned in the sea: Middle Counselors Norimori and Tomomori, Master of the Palace Repairs Office Tsunemori, Middle Captain of the Third Rank Sukemori, Middle

<sup>555</sup> “The palace where the clouds rest” means both the sky and the imperial palace.

Captain of the Left Kiyotsune, Lesser Captain Arimori, Noto Governor Noritsune, Warrior Tadafusa, etc.

7.2

侍飛驒左衛門景経同兵衛景俊越中兵衛盛継上総兵衛忠光悪七兵衛景清以下其数多被打訖  
The warriors who were killed: Hida-no-zaemon Kagetsune and Kagetoshi, Ecchū-no-byōe Moritsugi, Kazusa-no-byōe Tadamitsu, Akushichi-byōe Kagekiyo and many others.

8.1

北政所大納言典侍生取之被伴荒武士欲帰故郷給昔彼王昭君之 赴胡国歟翠黛紅顔錦繡粧  
泣尋沙塞出家

Kita-no-mandokoro and Dainagon-no-suke were captured and were placed in the custody of warrior-barbarians. They were all going back home, but the men grieved like Zhu Maichen returning without his brocade, and the women mournfully compared their lot to Wang Zhaojun's distress when she went to the Xiongnu land.

8.2

郷辺風吹断愁緒 隴水流添夜涙行 着幡州明石向明月□□□□□典侍詠歌  
なかむれはぬるゝ袂にやとりけり月よ雲井の物かたりせよ

Pierced by the wind in the barbarian land, I wept so sadly at night that my tears fell into the stream of the Long River.

They arrived at Akashi Beach in Harima Province on their way back to capital. Lady Sotsu-no-suke expressed her feelings in the following verse:

When I gaze at you, you come to find a lodging in my tear-drenched sleeve. Give me an account, O moon, of the place where the clouds rest.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in footnotes throughout this dissertation. All Japanese names are cited in Japanese order, family name first.

- AHI Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Hakubutsukan 下関市立長府博物館. *Akamagaseki honjin Itōke* 赤間関本陣伊藤家. Shimonoseki: Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Hakubutsukan, 1991.
- AJM Akama Jingū 赤間神宮. *Jūyō bunkazai Akama Jingū monjo* 重要文化財赤間神宮文書. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1990.
- BJY Yamaguchiken Monjokan 山口県文書館. *Bōchō jisha yurai* 防長寺社由来. 7 vols. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchiken Monjokan, 1986.
- BZ Bussho Kankōkai 仏書刊行会. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書 151 vols. Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1978-1983.
- DNK Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所. *Dainihon kokiroku* 大日本古記録 24 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1954-2001.
- DNS Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所. *Dainihon shiryō* 大日本史料 13 vols. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku, 1928-1969.
- GY Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実. *Gyokuyō* 玉葉. 3 vols. Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai, 1993.
- KI Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, ed. *Kamakura ibun* 鎌倉遺文. 46 vols. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1971-1995.
- KT Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美, ed. *Kokushi taiei* 国史大系. 60 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1897-2000.
- NET Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, ed. *Nihon emaki taisei* 日本絵巻大成. 26 vols. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977-1979.

- NKB Various editors. *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1985.
- NKD Nihon Kokugo Daijiten Dainihan Henshū Iinkai 日本国語大辞典第二版編集委員会. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*. 日本国語大辞典. 13 vols. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000-2002.
- NKS Takano Yoshio 高野義夫, ed. *Nihon kikōbun shūsei* 日本紀行文集成. 4 vols. Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1979.
- NSS Miyamoto Tsuneichi 宮本常一, ed. *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* 日本庶民生活史料集成. 30 vols. Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1968-1984.
- NST Various editors. *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系. 67 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970-1982.
- SGR Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, ed. *Shinkō gunsho ruijū* 新校群書類従. 24 vols. Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1977-1978.
- SM1 Ōyama Kyōhei 大山喬平. *Jōdoshū Seizanha to Sangoji monjo* 浄土宗西山派と三鈷寺文書. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1992.
- SM2 Ueda Nobuhiro 植田信広. "Tokyo daigaku hōgakubu hōseishi shiryōshitsu shozō Sangoji monjo 東京大学法学部法制史資料室所蔵三鈷寺文書." *Komonjo kenkyū* 古文書研究 (December 1982): 103-130.
- SNKBT Satake Akihiro 佐竹昭広, ed. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989-2000.
- SNKBZ Various editors. *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994-2002.
- SS Various editors. *Shiryō sanshū* 史料纂集. 145 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1967-2006.
- SSS Shimonosekishi Shishi Henshū Iinkai 下関市市史編修委員会. *Shimonosekishi Shi: Shiryōhen* 下関市史: 資料編. 6 vols. Shimonoseki: Shimonosekishi Shishi Henshū Iinkai, 1993-2001.
- ST Shintō Taikei Hensankai 神道大系編纂会. *Shintō taikei* 神道大系: *Jinjāhen* 神社編. 50 vols. Tokyo: Shintō Taikei Hensankai, 1978-1992.
- ZGR Hanawa Hokinoichi 塙保己一, ed. *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従. 33 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1902-1930.

- ZNE Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, ed. *Zoku Nihon no emaki* 続日本の絵巻. 20 vols. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1981-1994.
- ZNET Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, ed. *Zoku zoku Nihon emaki taisei* 続々日本絵巻大成. 8 vols. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993-1995.
- ZZGR Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会. *Zoku zoku gunsho ruijū* 続々群書類従. 17 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1978-1985.
- ZST Zōho Shiryō Taisei Kankōkai 増補史料大成刊行会. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 増補史料大成. 43 vols. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1934-1944.
- ZZST Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, ed. *Zōho zoku shiryō taisei* 増補続史料大成. 49 vols. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1978-1979.



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