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Editors' Introduction

Engi: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins

WITHIN JAPAN'S immense corpus of religious literature, *engi* 縁起 constitute an enduring and vexed bodies of texts. According to the most widely accepted etymology, the word *engi* first entered Japanese usage as a translation of the Buddhist term *pratīyasamutpāda* (dependent origination), which designates the doctrine that all phenomena come into existence due to causes and are therefore devoid of permanence or essence.¹ Another school of thought maintains that the term *engi* originated as a translation of *nidāna*, one of twelve recognized modes or "limbs" (*aṅga*) of classical Buddhist discourse (see Abé's essay in this issue). Within canonical and para-canonical Buddhist literature, *nidāna* has a fundamentally narrative quality in that it "may be used to index where, when, why, and/or how a teaching is transmitted" (NANCE 2012, 225, note 27). Of course, etymology need not govern subsequent uses of a word, yet the causal and narrative valences of *pratīyasamutpāda* and *nidāna* do resonate with the ways in which Japanese *engi* tell stories about how things came to be as they are. During the eighth century, the term *engi* was appropriated as a descriptor for accounts of the founding of temples and the ordinations of monks and nuns. Over time, the label came to be applied to a wide range of textual and visual materials, especially those narrating the histories of religious institutions. In contemporary usage, such accounts are known by the scholarly neologism *jisha engi* 寺社縁起. Materials of this sort are the primary

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1. For an influential example of the *pratīyasamutpāda* etymology, see SAKURAI et al. (1975, 445–46). For further reflections on *engi* as etiology, see Moerman's article in this issue.

focus of this special issue. In order to delimit a manageable scope for the present project, we have focused on premodern texts and images; this choice fits with our own expertise and training. Nevertheless, early modern, modern, and contemporary materials form an important part of the *engi* corpus and are the subject of a growing body of Japanese-language research.² We hope that this special issue will help to encourage new research and reflection, for there is ample scope for further work on *engi*.

Engi may be defined in a narrow sense as accounts of the origins of religious institutions, but over the course of their long history, they developed into a capacious, porous category that not only contrasted but also overlapped with other textual and visual types, such as property registers (*ruki shizaichō* 流記資財帳) or illustrated biographies (*eden* 絵伝). In formal terms, *engi* in general and *jisha engi* in particular vary significantly. Some are paintings, while others are unillustrated texts. Although they tend strongly toward narrative forms of representation, they also embrace ritual instructions, lists of various kinds, or other components that, taken individually, are very unlike *engi* in the narrow sense.

This endemic diversity raises the question of how—and even whether—*engi* should be defined. As a definitional strategy, we might seek to identify a single, defining characteristic as a criterion for determining whether or not a particular text or image belongs to the category of *engi*; to do so, however, would create problematic exclusions. Precisely because monothetic (that is, single-criterion) definitions are so rigid and limiting, they have been amply critiqued in the field of religious studies (for example, SMITH 1982). It is more helpful to imagine *engi* in terms of a plural set of characteristics, some but not all of which will be found in any particular *engi*. One may thus expect that varying degrees of similarity (and divergence) will obtain among *engi*, after the fashion of Wittgensteinian family resemblances. *Engi* A (for instance, the *Minoōdera engi* 箕面寺縁起 examined by Kawasaki Tsuyoshi in this issue) may bear some resemblance to *engi* B (for example, the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* 融通念仏縁起絵巻 analyzed by Takagishi Akira), whereas *engi* C (the noh drama or sutra frontispiece considered by Ryūichi Abé) may seem very different indeed. We favor this more flexible approach to delimiting *engi* and assessing the relationships among them because it accommodates variation among the ways in which *engi* have been composed and construed.³

Indeed, the reception of *engi* has ranged as widely as their formal characteristics. Whereas some *engi* served as offerings to the gods, others became

2. For recent work on *engi* from the Edo period onward, see HISANO (2009) and essays in TSUTSUMI and TOKUDA (2005; 2010).

3. For inclusive approaches in current Japanese research, see for instance the introduction and essays in TOKUDA (2013) and SANO et al. (2010).

objects of reverence themselves or were used as authoritative histories; at other times, *engi* (sometimes the very same *engi*) have been excoriated as rank forgeries or specious fictions. In the positivist context of modern scholarship, a dismissive attitude toward *engi* became normative among academics. When Gorai Shigeru, one of the most eminent folklorists working in the twentieth century, advocated the study of *engi*, his project was in part an apologetic. In arguing for the potential of *engi* as sources for the fields of literature, history, and religious studies, Gorai pitted himself against longstanding scholarly bias: “Traditionally, *jisha engi* have been considered preposterous tales or pictures, nothing more than the self-promotion of shrines and temples” (GORAI 2008, 3).

Even a cursory review of contemporary research indicates that prejudices against *engi* as a form of degenerate history have by now abated dramatically. In the field of literature, connections between *engi* and important medieval genres such as *setsuwa* 説話 and *honjimon* 本地物 have become a topic of sustained interest (see for instance, FUKUDA 1984 and MATSUMOTO 1996). Meanwhile, the study of *engi* has become a subfield in the Japanese academy, represented by a scholarly association (Jisha Engi Kenkyūkai 寺社縁起研究会) and an ever-growing number of monographs and scholarly articles, within which advocacy of “*engi* studies” (縁起学) is of particular note. In this regard, Tsutsumi Kunihiko has treated *engi* in a broad sense as embracing all forms of vernacular cultural expression and has described his work as an attempt at systematic study along the lines of systematic anatomy.⁴

The totalizing bent of work like Tsutsumi’s notwithstanding, the study of *engi* continues to be marked by a persistent focus on individual texts and images, in large part because as a corpus *engi* are so complex. Research in English often takes the form of a study paired with a translation, whether literary in orientation (for example, TYLER 1990) or focused on ritual and institutional history (for example, ANDREEVA 2010 or QUINTER 2007a and 2007b). Meanwhile, a steady flow of studies on *engi* has yielded examinations of how *engi* are imbricated within pilgrimage practices (MACWILLIAMS 1997; 2004; TOKUDA 2013), how they represent and operate within sacred landscapes (ROTH 2014; see also Kawasaki’s article in this issue), and how they articulate combinatory religious systems (GRAPARD 1986; 1989; 1998; SAKURAI 2000).

The aim of this volume is to facilitate the ongoing development of the study of *engi* by reflecting upon what *engi* do, why they are important, and how we might best study them. We advocate for work that takes a holistic view of the organizational and practical aspects of textual culture at temples and shrines

4. See Tsutsumi’s introduction and the “Symposium” in TSUTSUMI and TOKUDA (2005, 7–14 and 325–61).

(for example, ABE 2013) because it was this culture that formed the primary matrix for the production of *engi*. It is also necessary to account for the social contexts in which *engi* were put to use.⁵

An Episodic History

Although a comprehensive survey of the development of *engi* as a genre is beyond the scope of this introduction, it is important to note several historical points at which *engi* underwent substantial transformation. Accordingly, this section briefly treats the emergence of *engi* as a textual type in the Nara period, a shift toward visuality as illustrated *engi* began to be produced during the Heian period, and the adaptation of *engi* for use in fundraising (*kanjin* 勧進) campaigns during the Muromachi period.

Annals compiled in the early eighth century suggest that the earliest *engi* were produced in the context of government efforts to control Buddhist temples, nuns, and monks during the formation of the *ritsuryō* 律令 polity. For their part, temples and their associated communities produced *engi* as part of a broader rhetorical effort to represent themselves and their interests to other groups. According to the *Nihon shoki*, shortly after Suiko Tennō 推古天皇 appointed men to posts in what would become the Office for Monastic Affairs (*sōgō* 僧綱), government officials ordered a clerical census in 624 (Suiko 32): “In assessing the temples, monks, and nuns, they recorded in full the conditions (*en* 縁) according to which the temples were created, the conditions under which the monks and nuns entered the Way, and the dates on which they crossed over [into ordained life]. At this time, there were 46 temples, 816 monks, and 569 nuns (1,385 people in all)” (*Nihon shoki*, Suiko 32 [624]/9/3 [*heishi* 丙子], SNKBZ 3: 586–87).⁶

Whether or not records of *en* were in fact subsequently produced and used as clerical census registers, *engi* did come into use as a distinctive textual genre composed by the communities within and around religious institutions for consumption by government officials. Nara-period sources suggest that early *engi*, which were routinely paired with itemizations of institutional property (*ruki shizaichō*), were produced in a context in which government-temple relationships were characterized by conflicts over property and questions of institutional legitimacy. According to the *Shoku nihongi*, in response to allegations that temple communities were amassing property but neglecting the dharma, Genshō Tennō 元正天皇 (680–745; r. 715–724) mandated the merger of “a number

5. Though the arguments are specific rather than general in scope, see “Chūsei shinwa no sōzō: Hasedera engi to nanto sekai” 中世神話の創造—長谷寺縁起と南都世界 in UEJIMA (2010, 528–75) and CHIKAMOTO (2000) for examples of work in this vein.

6. See for example entries for Suiko 32 [624]/4/3 (*boshin* 戊申), 13 (*bogo* 戊午), and 17 (*jinjutsu* 壬戌) (SNKBZ 3: 585–87).

of temples” in 716. The production and submission of documents was a central element in Genshō's initiative. Part of her royal edict reads: “The provincial governors must clearly inform the provincial teachers (*kokushi* 国師), monks, and lay donors (*danōtsu* 壇越) of the temples that are to be merged within their districts. Furthermore, they are to itemize [temple] properties, convey [those records] to a messenger and submit them.” Later in the same edict, it emerges that some temples had been accused of being nothing more than tax and property shelters for lay donors. Thus, “As for properties and fields, the provincial teachers and monks, the governors and lay donors must confer and make clear records of their assessments. On the appointed day, together they must vet and submit [the records]. In accord with ancient usage, it is impermissible for the lay donors to monopolize this [process]” (*Shoku nihongi*, Reiki 靈龜 2 [716]/5/15, SNKBT 13: 10–15, especially 13). Although the *Shoku nihongi* does not use the term “*engi*” to describe the reports mandated in 716, Genshō's policy appears to have laid the matrix from which early *engi* emerged. Temples and their associated constituencies, which included lay supporters and government officials, were to submit documents proving the temples' legitimacy and substantiating their claims to property.

Among the best-known *engi* today are a set of texts bearing dates from the Tenpyō 天平 era. According to their own testimony, these *engi*-plus-*shizaichō* for Hōryūji 法隆寺, Daianji 大安寺, and Gangōji 元興寺 were created in response to an order issued in 746 (Tenpyō 18) by the Office for Monastic Affairs.⁷ For our purposes, there are two key points to be made regarding these texts and their precursors: first, the *engi* and their associated *shizaichō* are stylistically laconic but rhetorically and historically complex. As Genshō's edict and later Council of State directives indicate, officials were keenly aware that temple accounts were prone to falsification (*Ruiju sandai kyaku*, Council of State directive dated Jōgan 貞觀 10 [868]/6/28, SZKT 25: 121). Although the Gangōji *engi* in particular has long been treated as an important early source for the history of Buddhism in Japan (for example, STEVENSON 1999), as Yoshida Kazuhiko 吉田一彦 argues in his article in this issue, the text is likely a later concatenation. Doubts have also been raised about the dating of the Hōryūji *engi* and *shizaichō* (OKADA 1989). It is thus important to recognize that *engi* are often, even always, heavily mediated, and that their history should be open to ongoing criticism and reassessment. Furthermore, precisely because they were meant to build up a legitimate history for religious institutions, *engi* often involved fabrication. In this respect, they were much like other documentary genres, as discussed by Goodwin and Wilson in their article for this issue; certainly, the rhetorical investments of *engi* are at least as important as other information they may convey.

7. The relevant passages occur at the end of these *engi*; see, for instance, DNBZ 117: 25–26; 118: 140–41 and 144; MATSUDA 2001, 140–42, 89–90, 46–47.

As the economic base for religious institutions began to shift toward the administration of estates (*shōen* 莊園) and fundraising (*kanjin*) activities, the functions of *jisha engi* changed as well. From the Heian period onward, we begin to see examples of *engi* being used as official documentation of property transfers (公驗 *kugen*) in disputes over temple estates and other property (see “Kōyasan goshuin *engi* to shōensei 高野山御手印縁起と莊園制” in KOYAMA 1998, 55–76), or as resources in campaigns to raise funds for construction and repair (see “Chūsei shinwa no sōzō: *Hasedera engi* to nanto sekai” in UEJIMA 2010, 528–75). Signs of these shifts can be detected even in *engi* about sacred mountains, though at first glance such materials may appear to extoll the power of mountain landscapes without any relation to economic concerns. For example, when a *yamabushi* 山伏 named Gyōshun 行俊 was involved in a dispute with Kōfukuji 興福寺 over Ishii no shō 石井庄, which was located near the Katsuragi Mountains in Yamato Province, he based his claims to the land rights on his possession of what he called “the *Ōmine engi*” 大峯縁起. According to Gyōshun, the transmission of the *engi* could be traced back to En no Gyōja 役行者, who had been born on Ishii no shō; therefore, the land properly belonged to the owner of the *engi* (KAWASAKI 2010, 407–11). Although the exact resolution of this conflict goes unrecorded in extant sources, Gyōshun’s campaign against his powerful rival was successful enough that it continued for several years. This indicates that the fact—or even the mere idea—of *engi* ownership could indeed confer authority upon a claimant.

In a contemporary development that involved changes in both use and form, shrine and temple *engi* became increasingly pictorial, as the use of illustrations drove a shift toward visuality and devotional ornamentation (*shōgon* 莊嚴). First, illustrated scrolls were produced beginning in the Heian period; examples of such combinations of pictures and text include the *Shigisan engi* 信貴山縁起 and *Kokawadera engi* 粉河寺縁起.⁸ Then, illustrated hanging scrolls began to be produced in great numbers from the late Kamakura period onward; here the *Kotobiki no miya engi* 琴引宮縁起, *Taima mandara engi* 当麻曼荼羅縁起, *Seiganji engi* 誓願寺縁起, and *Shidoji engi* 志度寺縁起 are representative works. As even this limited set of examples indicates, *engi* feature prominently among the most outstanding extant handscrolls and hanging scrolls.

With the shift toward visual media, new possibilities emerged for *engi* with respect to function, content, and representation. Although handscrolls and hanging scrolls do converge in mutually illuminating ways, some basic differences derive from their formal qualities. For instance, in the sphere of appreciation and use, the intimacy of handscrolls contrasts with the public character

8. On *Shigisan engi*, see BROCK 1992. For an overview of the development of illustrated handscrolls during the medieval period, see MCCORMICK 2009, though note that the study focuses on small-format scrolls.

of hanging scrolls. Furthermore, whereas handscrolls tend to favor a temporal mode of representation that unfolds along a horizontal axis, hanging scrolls evince an oppositional narrativity characterized by tensions between the overall composition and its constituent parts (SANO 2010). That is, in handscrolls, events unfold in order as the reader rolls the scroll from right to left. Eschewing this emphasis on temporal sequencing, hanging scrolls require a viewer to attend simultaneously to individual scenes, which are rendered in considerable detail, as well as the overall composition of which they are a part. Here we wish to draw attention to several results of pictorialization: the increased fluidity and functional diversification of *engi*, as well as the stimulation of joint religious activities among temple communities and their lay supporters, two groups linked to each other by *engi*.

Although particular circumstances varied significantly and we often lack clear indications of just how *engi* operated, it is possible to outline three main scenarios for the operation of pictorialized and ornamented *engi*. In the first, *engi* were produced for particular devotional reasons according to the wishes of lay patrons. In the second, *engi* were created and displayed in accord with the hopes of religious professionals associated with a temple or shrine in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of that religious institution to lay patrons or outsiders. Finally, *engi* were initially created as pictorial tales (*monogatari e* 物語絵), and only later converted into *engi* (NARA KOKURITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1975, 11–20). Among illustrated *engi* produced from the Heian into the Kamakura period, the first scenario seems to have prevailed among handscrolls, whereas the second was common for hanging scrolls; however, this was not a fixed distinction. In point of fact, there are many cases in which the reception and reproduction of *engi* changed over time due to shifts in their circumstances and surrounding environments. Interest in and positive assessments of this kind of diachronic change in the operation of individual *engi* has become a significant trend in recent research (TREDE 1999; 2010; see also Takagishi's article in this issue).

Among extant *engi* in illustrated handscroll format (*engi emaki* 縁起絵巻), the *Kasuga gongen genki e* 春日権現験記絵 represents an especially famous case of production by lay sponsors for deposit within a religious institution. In the third month of Engyō 延慶 2 (1309), the Minister of the Left, Saionji Kinpira 西園寺公衡, presented this set of handscrolls to his ancestral gods at the Kasuga Shrine. According to the colophon for the table of contents, once Kinpira had planned the creation of the *engi*—a project that involved the best calligraphers and painters of his day—his house enjoyed continued good fortune. The *Kasuga gongen genki e* can thus be considered a model of the devotional presentation and ornamentation of an *engi* in the form of an illustrated handscroll. Following its dedication, it was treated as a treasure and kept deep in the shrine's storehouses. During the Muromachi period, it was jealously guarded by the

Tōbokuin 東北院, a Kōfukuji cloister with close ties to the Saionji house. Strict limits were placed on access and viewing rights, although on several occasions the scrolls were sent to Kyoto so that the emperor might view them (FURUYA 1982; see also TYLER 1990, 18–19). In sum, on the one hand, pictorialization contributed to the ability of religious institutions to promote knowledge of their *engi* among lay constituencies; on the other, it gave rise to a new kind of religious treasure, one that was presented by lay patrons and administered by religious institutions.

Of course, not all illustrated *engi* were produced in order to be deposited at temples or shrines. One early example of an *engi emaki* created for use in *kanjin* is the *Kachiodera engi emaki* 勝尾寺縁起絵巻, which dates to 1243 (Kangen 寛元 1) (NAKANODŌ 2012, 169–82). In fact, we may infer that fundraising activities provided a key opportunity for the production of *engi*.

The exact form of fundraising for construction and repair varied based on the circumstances of individual religious institutions, but a well-known and early example of a system for undertaking the completion of a restoration project is to be found in the activities of Chōgen 重源, who served as the first Tōdaiji *kanjin shiki* 東大寺勸進職 following the razing of the southern capital in 1181 (Jishō 治承4) (NAKANODŌ 2012; GOODWIN 1994; ROSENFELD 2011). The genesis of *kanjin hijiri* 勸進聖 was by no means universal, but in the late Kamakura period, Ritsu monks became particularly conspicuous in this area (see “Kanjin no taiseika to chūsei ritsu sō 勸進の体制化と中世律僧” in MATSUO 1995, 8–24), and during the Muromachi period, especially following the Ōnin war, the activities of “ten-grains *hijiri*” (*jikkoku hijiri* 十穀聖) became very pronounced (ŌTA 2008, 359–97). Ten-grains *hijiri*, who purposely refrained from eating ten different kinds of grain as a form of ascetic discipline, extended the scope of their activities by maintaining close ties to powerful aristocrats and warriors in the capital. There are many instances in which such men created *kanjin* registers by capitalizing upon the literary talents of the aristocracy, and these projects often seem to be related to the creation of illustrated *engi* scrolls (see “Kanjin hijiri to shaji engi: Muromachi ki o chūshin to shite” in TOKUDA 1988, 130–200; SHIMOSAKA 2003). For example, the *Bizen no kuni Saidaiji engi emaki* 備前国西大寺縁起絵巻, an illustrated account of the origins of Saidaiji in present-day Okayama, was produced in 1507 (Eishō 永正 4) in the midst of a rebuilding campaign following a fire in 1496 (Meiō 明応 5). This handscroll was created in a *wabun* 和文 idiom on the basis of a *kanjin* register that had been written in *kanbun* 漢文. It is of particular value because it records the names of the ten-grains *hijiri* who undertook the *kanjin* campaign. At the end of the scroll, the concluding passage praises “the ten-grains *hijiri*” Chūa 忠阿, who had expended great effort in the reconstruction, as the greatest of the transformation-bodies (*zuiichi no keshin* 随一の化身) of Kannon (KAWASAKI et al. 2013, 39–40).

During the Muromachi period, the degree of dependence on campaigns in which fundraisers asked commoners for “a scrap of paper or half a penny” (*isshi hansen* 一紙半銭), that is, small-scale donations, in order to procure funds for repairs increased more than ever (ŌTA 2008). Meanwhile, the activities of the *kanjin hijiri* who undertook these projects became more conspicuous. The *engi* they used—whether handscrolls or hanging scrolls—were generally plain and characterized by content and styles of expression meant to appeal to one’s immediate emotions. (A striking example of this kind of development is the generation of multiple variants of the *Kumano gongen engi emaki* 熊野権現縁起絵巻; see MATSUMOTO 1996, 19–87). Around the same time, practices of commenting on such *engi* appear to have contributed to the development of *etoki* 絵解, which joined the display of pictures with oral performance, into a distinctive art.⁹

As even this brief survey shows, *engi* changed substantially in both form and function between the seventh and sixteenth centuries. In some cases, shifts in the production of *engi* responded to new circumstances; in others, new developments among *engi* helped to create new situations. These processes ensured diversification along twin axes: *engi* not only changed over the course of the *longue durée* but also varied substantially at any given point in time.

The Question of Genre

Although endemic diversity in style and form militate against consideration of *engi* as a genre, in planning this special journal issue we have worked from a conviction that there is, in fact, an interpretive benefit to studying *engi* as a corpus. Indeed, the notion of *engi* as a category has a long history of both habitual and strategic use: people have been purposely composing *engi* or using that label to re-title preexisting materials for well over a thousand years. With this in mind, we would like to argue that *engi* can be fruitfully considered a genre, provided that we think carefully about what a genre is, can, and should be.¹⁰

One strategy for coping with the diversity of *engi* while also supporting their conceptualization as a category has been to classify *engi* into different types. An important example of this impulse appears in *Jisha engi* 寺社縁起, a landmark volume published in 1975 as part of the *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系 series. In addition to annotated transcriptions of thirteen premodern *engi*, Sakurai Tokutarō, Hagiwara Tatsuo, and Miyata Noboru contributed essays to this volume that have exerted a pronounced influence on the study of *engi*. Sakurai’s essay

9. For important work on *etoki* in Japanese, see HISANO 2009; HAYASHI 1982; and AKAI 1989; in English, see CARR 2011; KAMINISHI 2006; and RUCH 1977.

10. This section has benefitted from the assistance of Shannon Gayk, who shared her work for an introduction to an edited volume on early English literary genres with us (NELSON and GAYK 2015).

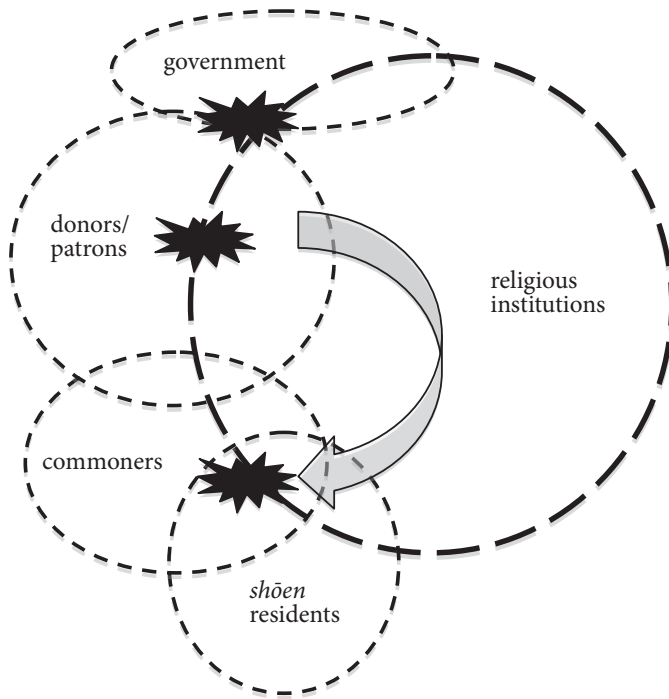


FIGURE 1. Production, reproduction, and use of *engi* (represented by flares) among social groups.

laid out a typology that embraced historical, formal, and thematic categories; the juxtapositions among these types draw attention to tensions between scholarly desires for systematic classificatory models and the nature of *engi* themselves.¹¹ Classification continues to be important to many research agendas because it allows for structured comparisons; nevertheless, the outer boundaries of the *engi* category have tended to remain conceptually vexed. Indeed, recent research has begun to emphasize centrifugal rather than centripetal tendencies, focusing less on what binds *engi* together than on how *engi* disseminate into other modes of expression (see TOKUDA 2013 and TSUTSUMI and TOKUDA 2005, especially 7–24, as well as Abé’s article in this volume).

11. Sakurai organized his discussion around what he called ancient *engi* (古縁起), *engi* focused on doctrinal exegesis (釈経縁起), *engi* focused on accounts of miracles (靈験縁起), *engi* focused on deities’ *suijaku* manifestations (垂迹縁起), shrine *engi* (神社縁起), *engi* in the form of illustrated handscrolls (絵巻縁起), and *engi* focused on sacred mountains (靈山縁起) (SAKURAI et al. 1975, 452–78).

In working to conceptualize *engi* as a genre, the position articulated by Carolyn Miller, a specialist of rhetoric, offers a useful perspective: “genre study is valuable not because it might permit the creation of some kind of taxonomy, but because it emphasizes some social and historical aspects of rhetoric that other perspectives do not” (MILLER 1984, 151). For Miller, who memorably characterized genre as a form of social action, genres provide “typified rhetorical ways of interacting within recurring situations.” We would like to add that genres, and by extension *engi*, shape the situations in which they operate: literary and artistic production is not only an effect but also a cause for social situations. In other words, our concern is not only to look at *engi* in context, but also to consider how *engi* have maintained existing social contexts or created new ones. In the following discussion, we first address the recurring situations in which *engi* operated, and then turn to the question of typified rhetoric.

The production of *engi* has been driven by the need to represent temples and shrines in authoritative and attractive ways. Generally speaking, this situation has been structured by interlocking relationships among a range of constituencies, most notably religious institutions, government agents or agencies, elite lay donors, commoners, and residents of shrine or temple estates (see FIGURE 1). Although the internal structure of religious institutions is not represented in the figure, it should also be noted that shrines and temples have never been internally homogenous. At a shrine, for instance, priestly lineages might compete for prestige and administrative rights, while at a temple, lower-class monks might vie for economic resources with their elite, learned brethren. Further complicating the picture, the boundaries between religious institutions, government agencies, and so on, were porous. For example, scions of noble or gentry families might take orders and yet retain strong ties to their natal families; accordingly, elite monks bridged the nominal divide between lay donors and ordained monastics. To give visual representation to this kind of porosity, the lines between groups in FIGURE 1 are marked with dotted rather than solid lines.

Because *engi* tended to be produced along the seams between constituencies, they can be considered products of both friction and congress. This is an important point. *Engi* were not solely a medium through which religious institutions addressed exterior audiences. Rather, lay donors, government agents, and other groups often participated or even directed their production. This dynamic is especially vivid in illustrated *engi* such as the *Yūzu nenbutsu engi emaki*, which drew together monastics, local elites, trained painters, and members of aristocratic and warrior circles from the capital (see Takagishi’s article in this issue).

We also need to recognize that over time the position of *engi* vis-à-vis their creators and audiences was open to change. An *engi* that had been produced as a deluxe illustrated handscroll, commissioned by elite donors and donated to a shrine might later be reproduced using cheaper materials for use by itinerant

preacher-entertainers bent on proselytizing and raising funds. The arrow in FIGURE 1 is meant to represent this type of mobility. *Engi*, then, arose from a set of interactions and constituencies rather than a fixed and stable situation. In this respect, their etymological resonance with the concept of dependent origination is especially telling: *engi* were embedded within complex socio-historical circumstances and were themselves subject to ongoing change. In sum, then, we can indeed understand *engi* in light of Miller's stipulation that a genre be located within a recurring situation provided that we are willing to acknowledge that that situation had multiple participants and was itself constantly shifting and evolving.

It remains to consider whether *engi* can also be said to constitute a "typified rhetorical type." Certainly *engi* do not appear to cohere as a generic type if our standard is set by theorization of classical Greco-Roman and modern Euro-American genres, which has tended to focus on aesthetics and to maintain a systematic bent (for example, FRYE 2006). On the other hand, more recent reconceptualizations of genre help us to think of typification in more expansive terms. Reader response theory has provided a seminal reconceptualization by framing genre as a "horizon of expectations" that generations of texts successively cultivate in their audiences (see "Theory of genres and medieval literature" in JAUSS 1982, 79–109). This and other revisionist projects have raised important questions about the locus of genre: do we privilege the concerns of the author, the audience, or the bibliographer? The form, the title, the content, or the purpose(s) of a text? And on which specific genres do we base our general definitions? Not surprisingly, responses to these questions have varied, and in some cases they have sought to chart genre along multiple axes in order to account for its complexity. For instance, writing of Middle English literature, Julie Orlemanski proffers the following definition: "Genres are varieties of writing characterized by *what* they discuss, *how* they discuss it, and for what *purpose* or *audience* they do so" (ORLEMANSKI 2013, 211). This approach has the virtue of combining flexibility with comprehensive scope, though it must also be admitted that the answers to Orlemanski's questions on the what, why, and how of *engi* would proliferate and diverge as much as they would resemble each other.

Research by medievalists supports the conceptualization of *engi* as a meaningful if protean textual-cum-visual type with its own recognizable rhetoric. In this respect, it makes sense to acknowledge the deeply contingent organization of premodern genres, an aspect of literary and visual production highlighted by a number of Europeanists. In a now-classic essay, Alfred Hiatt maintains that an "un-system" prevailed among Middle English genres, such that "what existed was more organic, decentered, and unpredictable, than the idea of a system demands." This does not, Hiatt insists, "mean that there were no established literary practices, modes of composition, or associations attached to particular terms; it does not mean that there were no genres, nor that there was no means

of ordering and categorizing literary production” (HIATT 2007, 291). Medieval genres, in other words, need not have looked like modern (or classical) genres to have been recognizable. Genres might be porous enough to overlap with each other, and they might borrow conventions in order to fulfill particular purposes, but it does not follow that they were ill conceived or ill executed. *Engi*, then, do indeed form a genre, provided that by genre we mean something far more contingent and less systematic than Athenian tragedy or modern murder mysteries.

In addition to endemic diversity, several other factors require consideration if we are to conceptualize *engi* as a genre. First, *engi* tend to be formal hybrids. They may combine materials from multiple genres, make abrupt stylistic shifts, and/or overlap with other modes of textual and visual production. Second, they are decidedly shifty in terms of their self-presentation and reception. Not only do many *engi* contain as much fabrication as fact, but they have also proven singularly flexible in terms of how they have been interpreted and used. Third, *engi* tend to be deeply performative in character. Not only do they seek to enact a desirable past and future but they have also long been bound up with traditions of storytelling and display, whether didactic, entertaining, or both. Far from being unique, these traits may fairly be said to characterize medieval literature more generally; nevertheless, they are integral to the historical operation of *engi*.

Here we treat these characteristics in order, using *Shitennōji goshuin engi* as an example. This text is especially apropos because it deals with a site of foundational importance in the real-and-imagined history of Japanese Buddhism and is narrated in the voice of the inimitable Prince Shōtoku 聖徳太子, a culture hero and divine persona: it is all about origins. Though specious, the *engi*'s attribution to Shōtoku is rendered visually compelling through a line of vermilion handprints (now faded) that were placed over the written *engi* as “Shōtoku's” imprimatur.¹² Both the original manuscript, known as the *konpon-bon* 根本本, and a 1335 copy executed by Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339) are designated national treasures. In addition to these two manuscripts, the *engi* is extant in twenty-one other copies, which were produced between 1145 and 1929 (SAKAKIBARA 2013, 43–45). Clearly, the *Shitennōji engi* has had a long history of appreciation and use.

By calling attention to the formal hybridity of *engi*, we want to make the case that *engi* may fairly be considered a composite genre. Many *engi* recycle and combine textual or visual units of different types; as a consequence, they are often inconsistent, even miscellaneous. In an influential article addressing the “possibility of some medieval works being both complex (complexly produced and received) and

12. The *engi* has been treated as a Heian- rather than an Asuka-period creation ever since Kariya Ekisai 狩谷枝齋 (1775–1835) argued against the attribution to Shōtoku Taishi. For a review of research on the *engi*, see SAKAKIBARA (2013, 2–6).

powerfully generic,” Ardis Butterfield writes of what she calls “inset genres” (BUTTERFIELD 1990, 190). Among the materials Butterfield studies, an inset might be a song inserted into a romance; with respect to *engi*, it might be a list of annual rites appended to a chronologically ordered history. Whereas Butterfield describes the process of embedding formally and stylistically distinctive passages within a larger text as a kind of generic mixing (BUTTERFIELD 1990, 188), juxtaposition might be a more apt term for present purposes. The macro-genre (the setting) and the micro-genre (the inset) retain their differences, resulting in a work that takes on the quality of an assemblage or aggregate.

The *Shitennōji goshuin engi* illustrates this kind of internal embedding, as well as external overlaps into other generic types.¹³ The first of its several distinctive sections begins with a laconic rehearsal of the name of the temple and the locations of four associated cloisters (Kyōden'in 敬田院, Seyakuin 施薬院, Ryōbyōin 療病院, and Hiden'in 悲田院) in a style recalling that of official documents. By contrast, the ensuing passage, which is quite dramatic, combines a stereotypically *engi*-like account of Shitennōji's founding with a hagiography that draws on heroic depictions of Prince Shōtoku first adumbrated in the *Nihon shoki* and then elaborated in texts such as the *Shōtoku Taishi denryaku* 聖徳太子伝暦. In recounting Prince Shōtoku's fight against Mononobe no Moriya 物部守屋, the infamous anti-Buddhist villain of classical narrative, the *engi* adds mythic depth by explaining that Moriya had been the narrator's “shadow and echo” through hundreds of lives. Then, in an abrupt shift, the text moves into an itemization of temple properties, subdivided into categories of halls, treasures, sustenance grants, and fields.¹⁴ This itemization hews to the conventions of property registers, which had been produced from the Nara into the Heian periods.¹⁵ By the time the *Shitennōji engi* was completed, however, itemizations had ceased to be necessary complements to *engi*. In this particular case, mid-Heian writers appear to have produced the list in order to make their composition seem archaic enough to have been written by Shōtoku. The next passage returns to Shōtoku's (auto)biography, recounting his previous incarnations and predicting his career as a defender of Buddhism in a range of future births. This section operates as a prophetic record (*miraiki* 未来記), a type of text that came into comparatively broad use during the middle ages while retaining a close association with Shōtoku (KOMINE 2007; see also WADA 1921). Finally, the most con-

13. The following discussion is based on typeset versions of the text in TANAHASHI (1996, 5–12) and SAKAKIBARA (2013, 16–25); note that the latter edition divides the text into sections.

14. For a discussion of the properties listed, including a review of previous research, see SAKAKIBARA (2013, 85–99).

15. On use and change among *shizaichō* during the early Heian period, see KAWAJIRI (2003, 223–77).

spicuous material aspect of the manuscript, the vermilion handprints, link the *engi* to documentary genres centered on authentication. From the early Heian period, handprints had been used in lieu of seals on documents, and the practice was adapted into religious culture by at least the tenth century.¹⁶ The use of handprints gained popularity among the emperors of the *insei* and Kamakura periods, some of whom made pilgrimages to Shitennōji and saw the temple's *engi*; these men sealed oaths (*kishōmon* 起請文) and other documents with their handprints (KYŌTO KOKURITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 2012, plate 16, 20, 31). In turn, this habit laid the groundwork for medieval forgeries purporting to be royal decrees (TONOMURA 1985). Thus, the Shitennōji *engi* was not “just” or “only” an *engi*; it also contained and therefore was a document, a property list, a biography, and a prophecy. And that was not all: as we shall see, it was also a ritually potent material object.

The second issue to be emphasized regarding *engi* is that they may be considered a shifty, mobile genre in that embroidery, invention, and even forgery have been integral to their production from the start. As discussed in the preceding section, although the *ritsuryō* government required temples to submit accounts of both their history and their property holdings as a means to cope with economic fraud, falsification was clearly an issue in the composition and submission of these records. With the decline of the *ritsuryō* order in the early-to-mid-Heian period, government patronage of religious institutions lessened dramatically. In the context of pressing economic and social needs, *engi* became a key venue through which religious institutions sought to attract new support by representing themselves as sources for authoritative traditions and blessings. Thus, whereas *engi* cannot be taken as reliable reports of “fact,” they do provide evidence for relations between religious institutions and other constituencies, most notably governmental organs and potential adherents.

Importantly, *engi* were also shifty in a second respect: their status and reception, and in some cases their form and content, changed substantially over time. As Yoshida Kazuhiko argues in this issue, the text known today as the *Gangōji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō* 元興寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳 has its roots in the history of one temple but was later redacted and reconfigured to represent the story of another. According to Yoshida, the text probably assumed its present form during a campaign to improve Gangōji's financial situation during the ninth century, when it was backdated to “prove” new historical and economic claims.

As a forgery purporting to be the work of Shōtoku Taishi, the *Shitennōji goshuin engi* embodies the fabricated aspects of its genre: it was most likely

16. See KODAI GAKKAI and KODAI KENKYŪJO (1994, 1: 158). In one early and spectacular example, the monks Chōnen 齋然 and Gizō 義藏 sealed a vow they wrote in 972 with their handprints; this text was later enclosed within the Seiryōji 清涼寺 Shaka 釈迦 image (see, for instance, HENDERSON and HURVITZ 1956, 25–26, 45–47, and plate 8).

produced by a Shitennōji monk named Jiun 慈運 (n.d.) or one of his circle shortly before its discovery in 1004.¹⁷ Like other temples in the post-*ritsuryō* economic milieu, Shitennōji monks faced a dearth of support from the government and plenty of competition over land rights. They also had pressing fiscal needs. The temple had suffered a devastating fire in 960, and the rebuilding process appears to have extended over most of the next century. Although the only evidence is circumstantial, it appears that the *Shitennōji goshuin engi* was composed to amplify the cult of Shōtoku Taishi, to attract pilgrims and patrons, and to assert claims to the properties listed in its *shizaichō* section (“Shitennōji goshuin engi ni tsuite 四天王寺御手印縁起について,” in HIRAOKA 1981, 43–81). In all of these respects, the authenticating handprints would have vividly asserted the text’s pseudo-documentary authority.¹⁸

Whether or not the *engi* immediately attracted aristocratic patrons, elite pilgrimage to Shitennōji did begin around the time it was composed.¹⁹ Although it is unclear what, if any, interaction pilgrims had with the *engi* during the ensuing hundred-odd years, by the twelfth century the text had definitely been integrated into devotional practices at the temple. Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120–1156), a scion of the regents’ family, remarked on one of several Shitennōji pilgrimages that on the third day after his arrival, he “entered the hall” and had the provisional steward (*gonbettō* 権別当) bring out relics, which he venerated. According to Yorinaga, “Then we read the *engi* with handprints from the edge to its inner portions” (*Taiki*, Kōji 康治 2 [1143]/10/23]). Like relics and painted or sculpted images of Shōtoku, the *engi* had become part of the material and ritual culture of Shitennōji pilgrimage. Its ability to span evidentiary and devotional modes of representation ensured its ongoing relevance, a circumstance that became an important factor in the social lives of many other premodern *engi*.

In turning to the last aspect of *engi* mentioned above, we would like to emphasize that *engi* were often performative in terms of their facture, ownership, transmission, display, and/or ritual use. As Kawasaki Tsuyoshi’s article in

17. A manuscript of the *engi* copied by the Tōdaiji monk Sōshō 宗性 (1202–1278) is now held by Yōmei Bunko 陽明文庫. This version of the text includes a copy of a colophon from another manuscript (now lost) that credits Jiun with discovering the *engi* inside a six-story pagoda inside the Shitennōji Golden Hall. Transcriptions derived from this textual family are reproduced in ZGR 27.2 (fascicle 802): 326–33, where the text appears under the title *Arahakadera goshuin engi* 荒陵寺御手印縁起, and DNBZ 118: 58–64; refer to SAKAKIBARA (2013, 49 and 74–76).

18. The *Kōya goshuin engi* 高野御手印縁起, which bears handprints spuriously attributed to Kōbō Daishi, provides a useful comparison, especially because its use in property disputes is better documented (SAKURAI 2000, 47–69; KOYAMA 1998, 55–76; FRÖLICH 2007, 69–118).

19. When Fujiwara no Senshi 藤原詮子 (961–1001, a.k.a. Higashi Sanjōin 東三條院) visited the temple (*Midō kanpakuki*, Chōhō 2 [1000]/3/20–25), she inaugurated a steep increase in pilgrimage to Shitennōji. For a concise overview of pilgrimage to Shitennōji, see SAKAKIBARA (2013, 66–73).

this issue shows, *engi* played a key role in constructing new founder figures and actualizing new sacred landscapes during the *insei* period (see also ROTH 2014 on the relationship between *engi* and spatial imaginaire). Similarly, medieval *engi* that valorize religious practice in the Ōmine range, a mountainous area on the Kii Peninsula known as a hotbed of Shugendo, represent the transmission of *engi* as an action conferring religious authority and community membership upon recipients (BLAIR 2015, 246–53; ROTH 2014). *Engi*, then, helped to bring religious communities and landscapes into being on an ongoing basis. In a different vein, display was integral to *etoki*, in which monastics, and later itinerant performers, used narrative paintings, including *engi*, in performances that combined didactic instruction with entertainment.²⁰ Periodic public displays (*kaichō* 開帳) of treasures became a means for temples to raise funds and proselytize, and during the early modern period, *engi* were among the materials used in such exhibitions (see, for instance, HISANO 2005).

Because the Shitennōji *engi* made Shōtoku ritually present by means of what it figures as the “traces of his hands” (the calligraphy and handprints attributed to him), it may be considered a kind of visual, material performance. Notably, the text itself sought to limit access to, and thereby heighten the charisma of, these traces by warning that they should not be viewed needlessly lest they become “disordered.” Its most famous reproduction recapitulated these gestures of revelation and occlusion. When Go-Daigo copied the *engi* in 1335, he acknowledged in his colophon that Shōtoku’s “sacred traces” should not be examined, but also explained that he had ordered the *engi* brought to him in order that he might settle unspecified “doubts” surrounding it (TANAHASHI 1996, 11). After remarking upon correspondences between the date on which he copied the *engi* and that on which Shōtoku supposedly first wrote it, Go-Daigo reenacted “Shōtoku’s” gesture by sealing *his* copy of the *engi* with *his* handprints and henceforth prohibiting the circulation of the text. Kuroda Toshio has argued that Go-Daigo’s assertion of control of the Shitennōji *engi* was part of a broader project to legitimate himself and bring religious institutions, together with their symbolic and material resources, under his own control (see “Ōbō buppō sōi ron no kiseki 王法仏法相依論の軌跡” in KURODA 1994, 2: 197–231, especially 214). In this respect, Go-Daigo was very much performing sovereignty. He may even have viewed himself as a reincarnation of Shōtoku, in many ways the ideal Buddhist ruler (TAKEDA 1993, 94–97).

Importantly, the Shitennōji *engi* was also connected to *etoki*. The earliest known reference to this kind of verbal exegesis of painted pictures stems from the same Shitennōji pilgrimage in which Yorinaga read the “*engi* with handprints.” The day before he viewed the *engi*, Yorinaga entered the Shitennōji Picture Hall

20. See note 9.

(*gadō* 畫堂), where a priest expounded upon paintings that contemporary scholars believe to have been images narrating Shōtoku's life (*Taiki*, *Kōji* 2 [1143]/10/22; KAMINISHI 2006, 23–26). Although pictorial and narrative depictions of Shōtoku's life differed radically in terms of form, they nonetheless appear to have shared an iconic function. As Kevin CARR (2011, 36) has pointed out, paintings used in *etoki* “may function less as a means for transmitting specific narratives, and more as objects of ritualized veneration.” In other words, both the paintings and the *engi* were ritually potent tools for making the prince present. Other *engi* also took on this kind of liturgical, devotional function during the Middle Ages.

In using the *Shitennōji goshuin engi* as an example of the hybrid, shifty, and performative qualities of premodern *engi*, we do not mean to imply that any single *engi* can or should be taken to represent the genre as a whole. The *Shitennōji* (or any other) *engi* is representative only insofar as it manifests some of the characteristics of its genre writ large.

The protean, flexible quality of *engi* has surely contributed to their longevity: collectively, *engi* have been able to adapt and change to a remarkable extent, as witnessed by the fact that they continue to be produced and circulated today. This points to a dynamism stemming from their relational positioning: *engi* not only occur along the seams between social and institutional groups (see FIGURE 1) but also exemplify generic interaction. Whether they operate as inset genres themselves (for instance, as *engi* passages in a longer drama), or as the setting for other insets, they engage with, even fade into, other textual and visual modes of expression.

Summary of Articles

As this introduction has shown, the motivations for this special issue lie in part with definitional concerns. In his article, Ryūichi Abé advocates for an expansive understanding of *engi* as a mode of discourse that narrates the past causes of present circumstances. By rereading the *Lotus Sutra*'s Dragon Princess episode in light of medieval Japanese literary production and the work of Chinese exegetes, Abé argues forcefully against interpretations of this passage as a statement that women must transform by becoming male (*henjō nanshi* 變成男子) before they can attain enlightenment. In addition to modeling a hermeneutic strategy in which the interpretation of scripture is guided more by vernacular literature than scholastic doctrine, this article focuses on cross-genre insets and resonances: here textual passages from *noh* and *honjimonō* 本地物, as well as visual representation in a sutra frontispiece, are treated as and with *engi*.

Max Moerman's article works against stereotypes of *engi* as bound up with the particularity of specific sites by treating the *Arima onsen engi* 有馬温泉縁起 as a variation on an oft-told tale that is extant in many other forms. Methodologically,

this means that comparison of sources leads not to deductions about the history of a given institution or text but rather to a broad view of how narrative tropes migrate through time and across genres and sites. By examining the confluences among the Arima *engi* and its cognates, this study focuses on the etiological functions of *engi* within the broader framework of religious narrative.

Despite early and persistent doubts about its date, the *Gangōji garan engi nara-bini ruki shizaichō* has often been treated as one of the earliest extant *engi* and therefore a model of—and for—the genre. It has also become a classic source for the dating of the transmission of Buddhism to Japan. In this respect, it is widely cited in textbooks, lending it an aura of truth and reliability in many circles. Yoshida Kazuhiko's article, however, argues that the *Gangōji engi* is a complex product of textual combination, redaction, and elaboration that occurred during the early Heian period, not the Tenpyō era. In this respect, the *engi* may be deemed a forgery that was likely motivated by a desire to control *Gangōji* and its assets. In addition to upending conventional treatment of this text in the English-language field, Yoshida's article also stands as an example of how we might assess many *engi* as the work of unreliable narrators. Careful reading often illuminates the conditions of an *engi*'s production and reception, but will not necessarily provide dependable information about the past the text claims to represent.

With an eye to the rhetorical investments of *engi*, Janet Goodwin and Kevin Wilson examine an *engi* associated with *Jōdoji*, a temple founded by Chōgen on Tōdaiji's Ōbe estate 大部庄 in Harima Province (contemporary Hyōgo Prefecture). By putting the *Jōdoji engi* 浄土寺縁起 into dialogue with other historical sources, this article highlights the editorial choices that shape a particular account of a temple's history. Framing the *engi* as an effort to produce and maintain cultural capital, Goodwin and Wilson, like Yoshida, point to a conflict that is never mentioned in the *engi* as a likely motivating factor in the text's composition. In this case, the *engi*'s creators seem to have been set on erasing memories of a late thirteenth-century struggle between local monastic constituencies and Tōdaiji over control of the Ōbe estate. This example, then, serves as a reminder that we need to attend as much to what *engi* do not say as to what they do.

Usually when we consider the ramifications of *jisha engi*, we look to the effects they exerted upon the institutions they describe. Although Kawasaki Tsuyoshi's article on the *Minōdera engi* does assess the text's influence on how Minō itself was imagined during the *insei* period, this study of an *engi*'s reception also attends to how the text more broadly reconfigured the imagined history of Buddhism in Japan. Kawasaki argues that the *Minōdera engi* was successful in establishing En no Gyōja as a founder figure for increasingly organized communities of *yamabushi*. Furthermore, as it was adapted at other sites, it contributed to a new spatial and temporal imaginaire, not only at Minō but also at mountains surrounding the Nara basin. By focusing attention on reception

rather than production, this study opens up questions of how *engi* contribute to the formation of social constituencies and religious landscapes.

Similarly, in his analysis of the *Yūzu nenbutsu engi emaki*, Takagishi Akira focuses not on the initial production but rather the ongoing reproduction of this illustrated *engi* during the Muromachi period, demonstrating that it was serially recreated in the context of memorial rites for generations of Ashikaga shoguns. Although there is little evidence for the structure and content of the memorial rites themselves, it is clear that the *engi* scrolls, which were produced in both print and manuscript form by mobilizing diverse networks of contributors, were deposited at Seiryōji and other temples as offerings to generate merit for the deceased (*tsuizen* 追善). This article thus points to the multiple lives of *engi*. From the perspective of monastics, this particular *engi* was used to promote *yūzū nenbutsu* practice and to raise funds; for lay donors, it produced social cohesion and ritual continuity; and as time wore on, it transformed into a temple treasure. The proliferation of multiple versions and copies of the *engi* clearly indicate its importance for the history of religious practice and visual culture.

Conclusion

In this introduction, we have argued that it makes sense to consider *engi* as a genre because, as MILLER (1984) suggests, doing so enables us to focus on rhetorical confluences among these texts and images. We are not, however, advocating for the establishment of a distinct field of *engi* studies. That kind of delimitation threatens to distract attention from entanglements between *engi* and other domains of cultural production and activity. In our view, it is the tension between the centripetal pull of *engi* construed as a genre (or at the very least, as comparable texts and images) and the centrifugal force of their diverse engagements that most animates and invigorates the study of *engi*.

It is our hope that this special issue will encourage others to take up *engi* as rich, if sometimes recalcitrant, sources for all kinds of historical projects, from the institutional or economic, to the artistic or literary, to the social or cultural. At the same time, the complexity of the genre warrants rigorous comparative research, as well as ongoing investigations into the lives of individual *engi*. The fundamental condition supporting the social value of *engi* is that they exist (or are assumed, accurately or otherwise, to have existed) as real objects in a given temporal and spatial imaginaire. Thus, the contexts in which *engi* are produced, reproduced, circulated, and interpreted—as well as the contexts that they create—are of crucial importance. Finally, *engi* deserve further theorization, whether in light of what MILLER (1984, 153) might call their “social action,” their modes of representation, or other terms that we have yet to imagine.

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- SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 新日本古典文学大系. 100 vols., plus indices. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989–2005.
- SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994–2002.
- SZKT *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 新訂増補国史大系. 60 vols., plus indices. On demand edition. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007.
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