

TAKAGISHI Akira 高岸 輝

The Reproduction of *Engi* and Memorial Offerings

Multiple Generations of the Ashikaga Shoguns
and the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*

The *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*, a set of illustrated handscrolls reproduced on an ongoing basis from the 1300s into the 1500s, provides a striking example of the enduring ritual, social, and artistic relevance of an *engi* in the years after its creation. By examining the personnel and dating of multiple copies, this article demonstrates that the *engi* was used in memorial rites for successive generations of Ashikaga shōguns. In addition to supporting ritual practice, the project to continually reproduce the *engi* also drove cross-media adaptation and mobilized complex networks of patrons, calligraphers, painters, and monastic fundraisers.

KEYWORDS: *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*—Ashikaga Shoguns—Seiryōji—memorial rites (*tsuizen*)—handscrolls—printing—*kanjin*—Ryōnin—Ryōchin

TAKAGISHI Akira is an Associate Professor of art history at the University of Tokyo.

THE *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* 融通念仏縁起絵巻 was created near the end of the Kamakura period in 1314 (Shōwa 正和 3), and then reproduced on an ongoing basis from the Northern and Southern Courts period through the Muromachi. Today more than ten copies are preserved; these form an important group of works that have drawn the attention of scholars of art, literature, and religion (for important studies, see IWAHASHI 1931; TASHIRO 1976; MATSUBARA 1991; UCHIDA 1997; ITŌ 2000; and ABE 2013). Although its title includes the word “engi,” in terms of content, the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* differs significantly from illustrated handscrolls whose narratives conform to the *jisha engi* stereotype by explaining the founding of a temple or shrine, or the miracles worked by an icon of a buddha or *kami*. In this *engi*, the first half of the narrative takes the form of a biography of an eminent monk, namely Ryōnin 良忍 (1073–1132), who originated the practice of the *yūzū nenbutsu*. The second half, which is set in the years following Ryōnin’s death, enumerates the various blessings enjoyed by people of both high and low status by virtue of the merit of *nenbutsu* practice.

The *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* evinces a number of striking characteristics. That it was repeatedly copied throughout the Muromachi period speaks to its continuity. The scrolls also have a strong collective quality: under the leadership of the Ashikaga shoguns, luminaries such as retired emperors and senior nobles produced the calligraphy for the text (*kotobagaki* 詞書) of the extant versions, while multiple painters collaborated to produce the illustrations. Furthermore, the scrolls have a documentary character due to the fact that the *kotobagaki* record the dates upon which they were inscribed. Finally, in terms of format, the scrolls are decidedly multifarious: although they were initially produced as conventional handwritten and hand-painted manuscripts, they were subsequently printed, and then converted back into manuscript form.

In this article, I demonstrate on a case-by-case basis that the various copies of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* were produced to generate posthumous merit for the Ashikaga shoguns, men who were known in their own day as the Muromachi-dono 室町殿. As ABE Mika (2013) has pointed out, the scrolls functioned in part as fundraising registers (*kanjinchō* 勧進帳) among devotees of the *yūzū nenbutsu*, and the Ashikaga shoguns certainly saw themselves as grand patrons. The use of *engi* in funerary rites, however, seems to have been quite rare. Whatever the motivations of the shoguns and their family members may have been,

their repeated engagement with the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* is a striking case of the ritual use of *engi*, as well as of the production of *engi* as ritual objects.

The Contents of the Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki and its Reproduction

Extant versions of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* can be divided into three groups. The first is known as the Shōwa group because it stems from an original dating to 1314 (Shōwa 3). The second is the Ryōchin holograph *kanjin* group, which was created during the Northern and Southern Courts period in the context of *kanjin* campaigns conducted by Ryōchin 良鎮 (n.d.) between 1381 and 1387. The third is comprised of printed versions of the *engi*, which were first produced in the course of Ryōchin's *kanjin* in 1391 (Meitoku 明德 2): these are known as the Meitoku print group. Through his involvement in the production of multiple, even printed, versions of the *engi*, Ryōchin promoted the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* throughout the country and increased the number of those with karmic connections to the *nenbutsu* (*nenbutsu no kechien-sha* 念仏の結縁者). The goal was to pray for rebirth in the Pure Land, a pattern we also see in *kanjin* campaigns at Taimadera 当麻寺, a famous center for Pure Land devotion in Yamato, where the names of more than 2,150 *kechiensha* were inscribed on the cabinet (*zushi* 厨子) built in 1242 to store the Taima mandala 当麻曼荼羅. Scrolls in the Ryōchin holograph *kanjin* group were largely financed by powerful families from Yamato Province, including the Ochi 越智, whose base was in the area around Taimadera. Contributors formed a karmic tie through their support of the project to reproduce the *engi*, and had their names entered on a register that was then placed in the bottom of the Taima mandala cabinet. By contrast, with the Meitoku group, it is clear that the retired emperor, senior aristocrats, eminent monks, shogun, and daimyo participated in the inscription of the *kotobagaki*. All of these men had strong connections to the capital. Thus, although Ryōchin conducted the fundraising in both cases, the scrolls from the later Meitoku group boasted patrons of a much higher social position than those of the holograph *kanjin* group.

Several important extant copies of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* belong to the Meitoku print group. These include the 1391 Meitoku print version itself, which is preserved at Dainenbutsuji 大念佛寺 and elsewhere; the Seiryōji 清凉寺 version, which dates to circa 1414 (Ōei 応永 21) and for which the fourth Ashikaga shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimochi 足利義持 (1386–1428), inscribed part of the *kotobagaki* in his own hand; and the Zenrinji 禅林寺 version, which appears to have been completed around 1465 (Kanshō 寛正 6) and for which the eighth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1435–1490), inscribed a portion of the *kotobagaki*.

The following discussion provides an analysis of the aims driving the production of the Meitoku print, Seiryōji, and Zenrinji versions. Because these are later

copies, too often they have been seen to be of value only as ancillary sources. In fact, the reproduction of the *engi* has much to tell us about the ways in which religious narratives and illustrated handscrolls circulated and functioned in medieval society. As we shall see, the Ashikaga shoguns and their associates created *engi* for specific ritual ends through processes that not only strengthened but also enacted social ties.

Before proceeding to an analysis of how and why the Ashikaga shoguns used the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*, it is necessary to describe the contents of the scrolls (for full-color reproductions, see Itō 2000). The following explanation is based on works belonging to the Meitoku print group, which, as just noted, centers on a set of printed copies of the *engi*. Scroll and scene numbers are derived from the Seiryōji version, which is associated with the Meitoku print group but was in fact produced as a handwritten and hand-painted copy.

Scroll one, scene 1: at age twenty-three, Ryōnin, who has climbed Mt. Hiei to undertake Buddhist practice, goes into seclusion at Ōhara 大原, where he leads a life focused on *nenbutsu* concentration (*nenbutsu zanmai* 念佛三昧).

Scene 2: In the summer of Ryōnin's forty-sixth year, Amida appears to him in a waking dream and grants him instruction in the *yūzū nenbutsu*. The central teaching is one of mutuality: due to one person's *nenbutsu*, many attain birth in the Pure Land, and due to many people's *nenbutsu*, the individual attains birth in the Pure Land.

Scene 3: Beginning with Retired Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103–1156; r. 1107–1123), Ryōnin promulgates the *nenbutsu* among all kinds of people, both high and low. As he records their names in his register (*myōchō* 名帳), his following grows.

Scenes 4 through 7: Ryōnin records the name of the Kuramadera 鞍馬寺 Bishamonten 毘沙門天 (Sk. Vaiśravaṇa) in his register; then, with that deity's assistance, he adds the names of a large number of gods, from Bonten 梵天 (Sk. Brahma) and Taishakuten 帝釈天 (Sk. Indra), to the twelve heavenly generals and the ten kings, to *kami* such the Kamo 賀茂 and Ise 伊勢 deities. Eventually, even the birds and beasts lend their ears to Ryōnin's teaching.

Scene 8: At age sixty, Ryōnin attains rebirth at the Raigōin 来迎院 in Ōhara. Auspicious signs, such as a wonderful smell and trailing purple clouds, surrounded his deathbed. His body is said to be as light as a feather.

Scene 9: Later, Ryōnin appears in a dream to the Ōhara monk Kakugon 覺嚴, informing him that he has achieved the highest grade of the highest birth in the Pure Land.

The second scroll takes up accounts of the merit of the *yūzū nenbutsu*, with episodes extending from the time following Ryōnin's death up through the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the scrolls were created.

Scroll 2, scene 2: Retired Emperor Toba has the recitation of the *nenbutsu* increased from a hundred to a thousand repetitions.

Scroll 2, scene 6: When an aristocratic nun achieves birth in the Pure Land, there are auspicious signs, such as numinous clouds and an extraordinary scent.

Scene 7: The wife of a certain oxherd is on the verge of dying in childbirth, but is saved through the *nenbutsu*.

Scene 8: When the wife of a certain monk dies, she is taken before King Enma 閻魔王; however, she avoids being cast into hell because of the *nenbutsu*, and comes back to life.

Scene 9: When an epidemic ravages the village of Yono 与野 (contemporary Saitama City) in Musashi Province, the local *myōshu* 名主 recite the *nenbutsu*, create a register upon which they inscribe their families' names, and thereby escape infection. However, the daughter of a *myōshu* who, being elsewhere, is unable to record the names of his family members, falls ill and dies.

Scene 10: The Meitoku print group includes a scene at the end of the scroll depicting the great *yūzū nenbutsu* (*yūzū dai nenbutsu* 融通大念仏), an annual rite held at Seiryōji. (Note that this scene does not occur in the Shōwa group or the Ryōchin holograph *kanjin* group.)

*The Meitoku Print Version and the
Twenty-third Memorial Service for Ashikaga Yoshiakira*

The Meitoku print version of the *engi*, which Ryōchin helped to print, was a large-scale project involving the creation of wood blocks for both the pictures and the *kotobagaki*; it thus occupies a significant place in the history of Japanese printing. Though we may infer that a significant number of copies were printed in the Meitoku era, at present only the one held by Dainenbutsuji in Osaka and a second copy mounted on *byōbu* screens in a private collection are now known. To date, there has been some speculation about the circumstances under which the Meitoku print version was produced. UCHIDA Keiichi (1997; 1998) has advanced the hypothesis that the handscrolls were printed to generate posthumous merit for Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320–1388), who was active during the Northern and Southern Courts period. Several pieces of evidence have been adduced in support of this interpretation. First, the *kotobagaki* confirms the participation of Yoshimoto's son Morotsugu 師嗣, his foster-son Ryōgen 良玄, his uncle Ryōyu 良瑜, and his brother Minamoto no Muneaki 源宗明. Second, the printer was Jōa 成阿, a man associated with Ima Kumano Shrine 今熊野社 (新熊野神社) and recognized by Yoshimoto as a *renga* master. By drawing attention to the dates upon which the *kotobagaki* were inscribed, as well as the handwritten colophons for the Dainenbutsuji copy, here I wish to reassess the purposes driving this grand project to print a set of handscrolls. As I will demonstrate, the individuals who inscribed the *kotobagaki* likely did so as part of memorial offerings for Ashikaga Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (see chart 1 for a chronological list of their names).

DATE OF INSCRIPTION	CALLIGRAPHER (AND INSTI-TUTIONAL AFFILIATION)	PORTIONS INSCRIBED
Kōō 康応 1 (1389)/12/7	Dharma Prince Gyōnin 堯仁 (Myōhōin 妙法院)	scroll 1, sections 2 and 3
12/7	Dharma Prince Kakuzō 覚増 (Shōgoin 聖護院)	scroll 1, sections 4 and 8
12/7	Nijō Morotsugu	scroll 1, section 5
12/8	Dharma Prince Sondō (Shōren'in 青蓮院)	scroll 1, section 1
Kōō 2 (1390)/1/26	So'on 祖音 (Kenninji 建仁寺)	scroll 1, section 6
first part of the third month	"the <i>sōjō</i> 僧正 known as the <i>bhikku</i> of Tendai Peak [Enryakujī]"	scroll 1, section 7
Meitoku 1 (1390)/13/29	Ryōgen (Ichijōin 一乘院 at Kōfukujī)	scroll 2, section 2
7/8	Jōa (Ima Kumano)	colophon for the carving of the woodblocks
8/25	Minamoto no Muneaki	scroll 2, section 1 (section on Amitābha's all-pervading radiance [<i>kōmyō henjō</i> 光明遍照])
last part of the twelfth month	Ryōyu (Onjōji)	scroll 2, section 8
Meitoku 2 (1391)/4/8	"the Kiyomizudera 清水寺 <i>shugyō</i> 執行 and Dharma Seal, the supernumerary <i>daisōzu</i> 大僧都"	copy of the colophon from the Shōwa version
4/27	"the supernumerary <i>vinaya</i> master (<i>rishhi</i> 律師) Shu'un 珠運"	colophon for the carving of the final woodblocks

CHART 1. *Kotobagaki* for the Meitoku print version.

At the end of the last scroll in the Dainenbutsuji copy, there is a handwritten colophon, which reads, "Regarding my intent in having this printed, I have contributed two copies for the posthumous awakening (*bodai* 菩提) of my parents. – Meitoku 2 [1391]/7/29, *Mino no kami* Sukekage 美濃守助景 [stylized signature]." Combined with information included in CHART 1, this colophon shows that the inscription of the *kotobagaki* took place over a period of about two-and-a-half years, from the twelfth month of Kōō 1 (1389) to the fourth month of Meitoku 1 (1391); furthermore, the printing was completed by the seventh month of 1391.

The names of the participants, who included dharma princes and eminent *kenmitsu* monks, as well as the regent and other nobles, are listed in the colophons. It may well be that, like *Mino no kami* Sukekage, who underwrote two printed copies to pray for his parents' posthumous enlightenment, other participants inscribed the *kotobagaki* as a memorial offering (追善供養 *tsuizen kuyō*) for particular individuals. As noted earlier, Uchida has surmised that the scrolls were meant to generate posthumous merit for Nijō Yoshimoto, an eminent aristocrat and noted poet, who had died the year before the printing project began, that is, in 1388 (Kakyō 嘉慶 2).

If, however, we attend to the dates on which the *kotobagaki* were inscribed, we see that a number of them converge. This suggests a different interpretation, in which the reproduction of the *engi* centers on Ashikaga Yoshiakira. On the seventh day of the twelfth month in 1389 (Kōō 1) the highest-ranking participants, namely, two dharma princes and the regent Nijō Morotsugu 二条師嗣 (1356–1400), wrote out their portions of the *kotobagaki*; the following day, the Dharma Prince Sondō 尊道 (1332–1403) inscribed his portion. Thus, the text for the first part of the first scroll, from the beginning to the fifth section, was inscribed all at once, on a date that had likely been selected to begin work on the Meitoku print project. Among sources dating to the same period, we find the following entries in *Kanenobu kōki* 兼宣公記, the diary of the senior noble Hirohashi Kanenobu 広橋兼宣 (1366–1429):

12/2: Clear skies. The annual Eight Lectures [on the *Lotus Sutra*] are to be held at Tōjiji 等持寺 for five days starting today. Thus, at [the hour of] the snake, my lord [Hirohashi Nakamitsu 広橋仲光] set out. (He wore formal court dress.) Opting for informality, he ordered his “eight petalled” carriage. I went to the residence of the lady [Sūkenmon'in 崇賢門院].

12/6: Clear. My lord set out early, as he has done recently. Today in the Eight Lectures the vows are realized [*kechigan* 結願]. For five days, he has not gone out on business; [these rites] are most important.

These entries confirm that a set of eight Lotus lectures was held for five days, from the second through the sixth of the twelfth month. Held at Tōjiji, the family mortuary temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺) of the Ashikaga shoguns, this rite was the offering (*kuyō* 供養) held on the occasion of the twenty-third anniversary of the death of the second shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiakira, who had died on Jōji 貞治 6 (1367)/12/7.

Given that the primary objective of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* was to generate merit for the deceased, and that the dates recorded by contributors center on particular points in the calendar, it is reasonable to assume that these dates marked the death anniversaries of the people for whom memorials were being performed. Simply put, men with ties to Yoshiakira joined forces to mark the

anniversary of his death by inscribing the *kotobagaki* of the Meitoku print version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*. The possibility thus arises that Yoshiakira's son, the third shogun, Yoshimitsu 義満 (1358–1408), was at the center of the creation of the printed handscroll, for two of his favorites, the Dharma Prince Gyōnin 堯仁 (1363–1430) and the Dharma Prince Sondō, participated in the project.

Who was “Mino no kami Sukekage?”

The next point to which I want to draw attention is the participation of an individual called “*Mino no kami Sukekage*” in the Meitoku printing project.¹ Previously he has gone unidentified, but if we scour the historical record for this period, we find that there was a man named Urakami Sukekage 浦上助景 who was a retainer of the Akamatsu 赤松 family. Documents from Gakuanji 額安寺, a temple located in the contemporary city of Yamatokōriyama in Nara Prefecture, provide a comparatively early set of sources on Sukekage (YANAGISAWA BUNKO SENMON IINKAI 1964): his name appears in documents dating to the period between 1374 (Ōan 応安 7) and 1380 (Kōryaku 康暦 2). The relevant documents are related to one of Gakuanji's estates, Kanaoka no Higashi no Shō 金岡東莊, which was located in Bizen Province in what is now Okayama City. Because these sources refer to “Urakami, the sword-bearing *saemon no jō* lord” and “Sukekage, *saemon no jō*,” Urakami Sukekage appears to have been the deputy *shugo* in Bizen (KŌSAKA 1970, 148–67). The stylized signature (*kaō* 花押) used in the Gakuanji documents is of the same basic form as that used in the colophon to the Dainenbutsuji copy of the Meitoku print version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*; thus it is quite possible that “Sukekage” is the same person in both cases. Furthermore, a document titled “Order (*gechijō* 下知状) from the warrior government to the temple” in the archives of Kajūji 勧修寺, a temple in Kyoto, bears the date “Meitoku 2 [1391]/6/2, *Mino no kami*” followed by a stylized signature. This date precedes the Meitoku print version of the *engi* by one month; furthermore, the calligraphy and the signature exactly match the colophon on the *engi*. It appears that by this time Urakami Sukekage had been promoted from *saemon no jō* to *Mino no kami*; most likely, he went up to Kyoto and took on the duties of the *shoshidai* 所司代, that is, the deputy to the head of the *samurai dokoro* 侍所, when the latter office was assumed by his master, Akamatsu Yoshinori 赤松義則.

In fact, the list drawn up by IMATANI Akira (1986) of appointments and dismissals to the offices of the head of the *samurai dokoro* and his deputy confirms that Urakami Sukekage served first as deputy *shugo* of Bizen from 1374 to circa

1. Translator's note: Although the positions of *kami* and *saemon no jō* had once pointed to administrative offices (provincial governor and second assistant in the left bodyguards, respectively), by the Muromachi period they had largely attenuated into honorific emoluments. For this reason I have left them untranslated.

1388, and 1389 to 1391 (Ōan 7 to Kakyō 2 and Kōō 1 to Meitoku 2), and then as deputy to the head of the *samurai dokoro* from 1399 to 1402 (Ōei 6 to 9). Furthermore, from 1390 until the following year (Meitoku 1 to 2) he became deputy *shugo* of Yamashiro. In the latter two cases, the primary appointee—first *shugo* and then head of the *samurai dokoro*—was Akamatsu Yoshinori, who later inscribed part of the *kotobagaki* for the Seiryōji version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* (IMATANI 1977; 1986; see also HAGA 1962).

A considerable number of copies of the *engi* must have been printed during the Meitoku era. Although it is only Urakami Sukekage's Dainenbutsuji copy that has been preserved down to the present day, it is quite likely that men of similar status—*shugo* and their powerful retainers—printed other copies. Certainly, not only Akamatsu Yoshinori but also men from the Hosokawa 細川, Shiba 斯波, Yamana 山名, and Rokkaku 六角 houses, who contributed calligraphy to the *kotobagaki* of the Seiryōji version, contributed to the production of the Meitoku print version as well. Thus, it was not only aristocrats but also the upper echelons of warrior society that contributed to the reproduction of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*.

Gazing Upon the Entire Realm:

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the Meitoku Print Version

With respect to context, we have thus far clarified the aim of the Meitoku print version (it was meant to generate merit on the occasion of the twenty-third anniversary of the death of Ashikaga Yoshiakira), as well as the participation of Urakami Sukekage, who held the important *bakufu* position of deputy to the head of the *samurai dokoro*. These two points strongly suggest that the Meitoku print project was undertaken by members of the circle of Yoshimitsu, Yoshiakira's son. Such an unprecedented, large-scale project to print an illustrated handscroll could not have succeeded without powerful political and financial backing. By way of comparison, we may consider the printed, illustrated version of the *Mulian jiu mu jing* (Jp. *Mokuren kyūbokyō* 目連救母經; Sutra on Mulian's search for his mother) now owned by Konkōji 金光寺. This was printed in 1346 (Jōwa 貞和 2) by members of Ashikaga Takauji's 足利尊氏 circle, with the aim of generating merit for the deceased parents of the project's participants: the colophon notes that the *bakufu* and powerful military families such as the Shimada 嶋田, Ishidō 石塔, Akamatsu, Hosokawa, and Sasaki contributed to the sutra-printing initiative (MIYA 1968). The large Meitoku print project surely drew upon this kind of precedent.

My reconstruction of the background for the creation of the Meitoku print version runs as follows. First, Ryōchin, who had been active in the vicinity of Taimadera as a *hijiri* advocating the *yūzū nenbutsu*, gained the backing of powerful regional families such as the Ochi, and then sought to disseminate the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* across Japan. The Chion'in 知恩院 and Nezu Museum

根津美術館 scrolls, both of which belong to the Ryōchin holograph *kanjin* group, bear colophons stating that Ryōchin's intent was to ensure that there would be more than one copy of the *engi* scrolls in each of the sixty-six provinces. The main point seems to have been to reproduce multiple copies comparatively cheaply: according to the copy preserved in the Nezu Museum, support from the Ochi family alone ensured the completion of twenty copies. Nonetheless, there has not been a high incidence of preservation of complete copies.

Thereafter, Ryōchin seems to have moved from Yamato, where he had previously exerted himself, to the Saga 嵯峨 area near Kyoto. It is unclear what point of contact he may have had with Yoshimitsu in conjunction with the Meitoku printing project, but it is clear that from the Meitoku disturbance of 1391 until the reunification of the Northern and Southern Courts in 1392, his proselytizing and promotion of the *engi* across the realm coincided with Yoshimitsu's plans to consolidate and extend his own rule. In this respect, it is important to note that Yoshimitsu was almost certainly aware of a compelling precedent in the form of two projects undertaken by his grandfather, Takauji. As already mentioned, in the 1340s, Takauji had been involved in the printing of the *Mokuren kyūbo kyō*; he had also created a totalizing temple network, in which one official "Temple for the Peace of the Realm" (Ankokuji 安国寺) and one stupa for the consolation of the spirits of the dead (*rishōtō* 利生塔) had been constructed in each province. Similarly, in Yoshimitsu's day, the dissemination of the printed *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* throughout the realm symbolized the centrifugal quality of shogunal power. In terms of the actual spread of the *engi*, the involvement of Urakami and others of the *shugo* retainer class was likely an important factor, for these men were active in the capital but maintained bases in the provinces.

The Meitoku print version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* was not at all an effort in the mass production of low-grade goods; rather, as a printed work it boasted a high degree of both perfection and power. Rare in both quality and quantity, the *engi* scrolls were printed in large numbers and disseminated throughout the country. It was in this respect that the relationship between Yoshimitsu and the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* was replicated among the subsequent Ashikaga shoguns.

Creativity in the Seiryōji Version of the Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki

The version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* owned by Seiryōji is a member of the Meitoku print group because its composition is based on the Meitoku print version; however, both its pictures and the *kotobagaki* are rendered entirely by hand. In this case, the Meitoku version, which had transformed the hand-painted and handwritten versions of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* produced during the Northern and Southern Courts period into woodblock prints, now

took on renewed life as a splendid hand-painted and handwritten work. There was a precedent for this kind of developmental arc: based upon the printed *Mokuren kyūbokyō* created under Ashikaga Takauji, Yoshimitsu had commissioned Rokkaku Jakusai 六角寂濟 (1348–1422) to paint a handscroll known as *Mokuren sonja e* 目連尊者絵 (TAKAGISHI 2002). Moreover, Ryōchin himself provided another type of continuity, for it was he who conducted the *kanjin* for both the Meitoku print and Seiryōji versions of the *engi* scrolls.

For the Seiryōji version, questions of style are bound up with the project's personnel. Patterns in gold and silver ink are scattered upon the paper used for the *kotobagaki*; as for the pictures, paper affixed to the back of the scroll proves that six men, Rokkaku Jakusai, Awataguchi Ryūkō 粟田口隆光, Fujiwara no Mitsukuni 藤原光国, Tosa Yukihiro 土佐行広, Eishun 永春, and Fujiwara no Yukihide 藤原行秀, were each responsible for several scenes. They were all Yamato-e painting masters at the time and included the incoming and outgoing heads of the painting bureau (*e dokoro* 絵所). Instead of the style varying significantly from painter to painter, there is a sense of unity to the Seiryōji scrolls. This indicates that the Kamakura and Muromachi handscroll style continued to thrive among Yamato-e painters of the highest level, where it functioned as a classic mode to which one was expected to adhere. In turn, this testifies to the fertility of Ōei-era painting circles, for a range of the most skillful painters readily aligned themselves with one another.

Nevertheless, a careful comparison of the style of each of the painters does reveal differences in their respective aims. The defining characteristic of Jakusai and Fujiwara no Mitsukuni, a father and son associated with the Rokkaku atelier, was their pronounced use of surface ornamentation in golden ink. Fujiwara no Yukihide made frequent use of vivid, unmixed colors; moreover, his precise depiction of architectural elements and his habit of representing human figures through the free use of line and color-wash (*horinuri* 掘塗) recalled the work of the Kamakura-period master Takashina no Takakane 高階隆兼 (n.d.).² For his part, Tosa Yukihiro expanded the picture plane and painted people in rich colors, such that they seemed to come alive. Meanwhile, the small, individuated figures painted by Awataguchi Ryūkō generate a unique energy in his crowd scenes, while the collapse of forms in Eishun's depiction of architecture presages the new style that appeared after the Ōnin and Bunmei Wars (TAKAGISHI 2013).³

2. For example, the garden in the residence of Retired Emperor Toba (second scroll, second scene in the Seiryōji version) is thought to be modeled on the garden of Fujiwara no Toshimori 藤原俊盛 as depicted in the second scene of the fifth scroll of *Kasuga gongen genki emaki* 春日権現験記絵卷.

3. The post-Ōnin style is exemplified by the first and seventh scrolls of the *Boki-e* 慕婦絵, which date to 1482 and are owned by Nishi Honganji (note that by contrast scrolls two through six and eight through ten date to 1351).

DATE OF INSCRIPTION	CALLIGRAPHER (AND RELEVANT AFFILIATION)	PORTIONS INSCRIBED
Ōei 21 (1414)/3/15	Yamana Tokihiro 山名時熙	scroll 2, section 4
4/8	Dharma Prince Gyōnin	scroll 1, section 3, introduction; sections 1 and 2 are in the same hand
4/8	Shimizudani Saneaki 清水谷実秋	scroll 1, section 7
4/8	Shiba Yoshinori 斯波義教	scroll 2, section 9
4/11	Gien 義円 (Shōren'in)	scroll 1, section 4
4/15	Kōgyō 光暉 (Tōin at Kōfukuji)	scroll 1, section 8
4/15	Jua	scroll 2, copy of the colophon by Ryōchin
4/20	Kōkyō 光經 (Sonshōin at Tōdaiji)	scroll 1, section 9
5/3	Chūkei 忠慶 (Sonshōin)	scroll 1, section 9
5/6	Nijō Mochimoto 二条持基	scroll 1, section 5
5/6	Kankyō 桓教 (Jitsujōin 実乗院)	scroll 2, section 2
5/6	Akamatsu Yoshinori 赤松義則	scroll 2, section 5
5/6	Kōa 興阿	scroll 2, section 10
5/6	Ryōshin 了心	scroll 2, section 10
first part of the fifth month	Dōi 道意 (Shōgoin)	scroll 2, section 8
6/7	Rokkaku Mitsutaka 六角満高	scroll 2, section 7
middle of the seventh month	Sonkyō 尊經 (Jōjūin 常住院)	scroll 1, section 6
12/17	Zenjūbō Jōsei 禅住坊承盛	scroll 2, account of the publication of the Meitoku print version
Ōei 22 (1415)/8/15	Shōi 聖意 (Shichi Kannon'in 七観音院)	scroll 1, section 6 (passage on the manifestation of Tenjin 天神)
Ōei 24 (1417)/10/26	Sūkenmon'in 崇賢門院	scroll 2, closing colophon
Ōei 30 (1423)/6/22	unknown	scroll 2, section 6

CHART 2. *Kotobagaki* for the Seiryōji version.

Although differences of these kinds can indeed be detected at the level of individual style, at root, there is a strong sense that the painting masters who worked on the Seiryōji version pursued their own creativity within the scope of the reigning style of their day. Through controlled competition among the painters, the scrolls achieved the highest degree of perfection. What was at stake, then, was not an automatic process of copying, but rather a disciplined and social form of creativity. No other picture scroll provides so strong a sense of this dynamic as the Seiryōji version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*.

*The Seiryōji Version and Memorial Services
at the Seventh Death Anniversary of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*

Mode of production constitutes the most obvious point of divergence between the Meitoku and Seiryōji versions of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*, but other differences can be adduced as well. The latter bears inscriptions of the names (*myōgō* 名号) of Amida and his attendants Kannon 觀音 and Seishi 勢至, an oracle (*takusen* 託宣) from Hachiman Daibosatsu 八幡大菩薩, and *waka* verses at the beginning of the first scroll. The calligraphy for this portion of the text was rendered by Retired Emperor Go-Komatsu 後小松 (1377–1433; r. 1382–1412), while the calligraphy for the first part of the second scroll was written by Ashikaga Yoshimochi, Yoshimitsu's son and successor. With respect to the *kotobagaki*, the number of calligraphers is altogether higher than for the Meitoku version; it is also unique in including not only the retired emperor and shogun but also powerful daimyo.

Moreover, the following postscript by Sūkenmon'in 崇賢門院 (1339–1427), the mother of Emperor Go-Enyū (1358–1393; r. 1371–1382), was added to the end of the second scroll.

Due to the encouragement of Ryōchin Shōnin, for the sake of the Latter Enyū-in, I take up my brush to form a karmic tie.

Ōei 24 [1417]/10/26 [Sūkenmon'in]⁴

Sūkenmon'in's postscript clearly indicates that the *emaki* was produced in 1417 to generate merit for the deceased Retired Emperor Go-Enyū; moreover, the date (10/26) falls precisely half a year after the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death. There are, however, some issues surrounding this postscript. First, the postscript postdates Ōei 21 (1414), the year in which the *kotobagaki* were inscribed, by three years. Furthermore, the paper on which the postscript was written was decorated using only golden ink, whereas decorations in other portions of the scroll combine gold with silver. When we take these points into

4. There is a notation in another hand between the date and Sūkenmon'in's signature.

consideration, we cannot deny the possibility that additions were made to the *emaki* after it was first completed.

Thus, let us set aside for the moment the theory that the scroll was conceived as a means to generate posthumous merit for Retired Emperor Go-En'yū and analyze the dates for the inscription of the *kotobagaki*, as we did in the previous section. As CHART 2 shows, the *kotobagaki* inscriptions for the Seiryōji version also cluster around specific dates. The process of calligraphing the *kotobagaki* began in the third month of Ōei 21 (1414), and was very nearly complete by the seventh month of that year. It is very likely that, as with the Meitoku version, the earliest dates point to the aims of the project; therefore, in what follows, I consider these dates one by one.

The earliest date upon which a portion of the *kotobagaki* for the Seiryōji version was inscribed, Ōei 21 (1414)/3/15, coincided with the *kechigan* day of the Seiryōji *yūzū dainenbutsu* 融通大念仏, an event about which the *kotobagaki* for the tenth scene of the second scroll has this to say: “Every year from the sixth until the fifteenth day of the third month, men and women, both lay and ordained, from near and far crowd together, appearing like mist and assembling like stars.” In explaining the dates for the *dainenbutsu*, the *Seiryōji engi* 清凉寺縁起 (also known as the *Shakadō engi* 釈迦堂縁起), which dates to Eishō 永正 12 (1515), hints at a connection between the death of Chōnen 喬然 (d. 1016), the monk who brought Seiryōji’s main icon, a famous image of Śākyamuni, to Japan from China (HENDERSON and HURVITZ 1956), and the origins of the temple’s *dainenbutsu* rite. According to that *engi*, “Chōnen passed into perfect quiescence [that is, death] on Chōwa 長和 5 [1016]/3/16, a *hinoetsu* 丙辰 year. Should we wonder that from the day before there should be ten days of rites to generate posthumous merit on his behalf?” Whether or not the *yūzū dainenbutsu* was indeed connected to memorials for Chōnen, we may surmise that Yamana Tokihiro 山名時熙 meant his inscription of his portion of the *kotobagaki* for the Seiryōji version of the *Yūzū dainenbutsu engi emaki* on 3/15 to coincide with the *kechigan* for the rite.

The next date upon which contributors inscribed their portions of the *kotobagaki* was Ōei 21 (1414)/4/8. Dharma Prince Gyōnin, Ichijō Saneaki 一条実秋 (1384–1420), and Shiba Yoshinori 斯波義教 (1371–1418) all took up their brushes on this date, which corresponded to the day of the Assembly for the Buddha’s Birth (Busshō-e 仏生会 or Kanbutsu-e 灌仏会). One of the most important rites at Seiryōji, this annual event drew the attention of the capital’s elite. For example, exactly one year earlier, the Daigoji 醍醐寺 monk Mansai 満濟 (1378–1435), who later became the *monzeki* 門跡 abbot of the Sanbōin 三宝院, wrote in his diary on the eighth day of the fourth month: “I made my pilgrimage to the Shaka Hall in Saga. This is an annual rite” (*Mansai jugō nikki*, Ōei 20 [1413]/4/8). In sum, we may infer that the process of inscribing the second round of the *kotobagaki*

was meant to coincide with the Assembly for the Buddha's Birth; this constitutes another important link with Seiryōji's ritual calendar.

The third set of inscriptions was made soon thereafter. The monks Jua 寿阿 (n.d.) and Kōgyō 光暎 (1363–1433) wrote out their portions of the *kotobagaki* on 4/15, and Kōkyō 光經 (n.d.) did the same on 4/20. As contemporary sources such as the *Sakkaiki* 薩戒記 and *On hakkōki Ōei nijūichi* 御八講記応永廿一 demonstrate, between 4/14 and 4/19, Ashikaga Yoshimochi held an Eight Lotus Lectures Assembly at Tōjiji for the seventh anniversary of the death of his father, Yoshimitsu (ŌTA 2002). Tellingly, Kōgyō, who was abbot of the Tōin 東院 at Kōfukuji, served as morning lecturer on the first day of this rite, and Kōkyō, who was abbot of the Sonshōin 尊勝院 at Tōdaiji, did the same on the second day. In other words, the two Nara monks came up to the capital for the Eight Lotus Lectures held in honor of Yoshimitsu; then, while they were in the capital, they wrote out portions of the *kotobagaki* for the Seiryōji version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*. It is also worth noting that Kōgyō's judgement (*shōgi* 証義) in the Eight Lectures was deemed “particularly elegant”; upon Yoshimochi's recommendation, the throne appointed him *bettō* of Kōfukuji on 4/23 after the Eight Lectures had ended (*Jimon no koto jōjō kikigaki* 寺門事条々聞書; see *Dai Nihon shiryō* 7.20: 110). Moreover, Kōkyō was appointed *bettō* of Tōdaiji on 6/12 (*Tōdaiji bettō shidai*); this too was likely a reward for his service during the Eight Lectures. In sum, the Buddhist rites sponsored by Yoshimochi to generate merit on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of his father Yoshimitsu's death were linked to the inscription of the *kotobagaki* for the scrolls.

The inscription of the *kotobagaki* for the Seiryōji version reached its peak on Ōei 21 (1414)5/6, with five contributors, namely Nijō Mochimoto 二条持基 (1390–1445), Kankyō 桓教 (n.d.), Akamatsu Yoshinori 赤松義則 (1358–1427), Kōa 興阿 (n.d.), and Ryōshin 了心 (n.d.) writing on that date. And, if we include Dōi 道意 (d. 1429), who wrote during the “first third of the midsummer month” (that is, sometime during the first ten days of the fifth month), the number of participants active at this time grows to six. The date 5/6 corresponds directly to the anniversary of Yoshimitsu's death, which had occurred on Ōei 15 (1408)5/6. Memorial rites were indeed being held for Yoshimitsu at this time: until the twelfth day of the month Retired Emperor Go-Komatsu held a Lotus Repentance Rite (*Hokke senpō* 法華懺法) at his imperial residence in which he prayed for Yoshimitsu's posthumous wellbeing (*Zokushigushō*; *Sentō gosenpōkō ki*).

Thus, when we attend to the dates upon which the *kotobagaki* for the Seiryōji version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* were inscribed, we find that the production of the scrolls was linked to rites at Seiryōji, as well as being closely connected to rites conducted to generate posthumous merit for the seventh anniversary of the death of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. Moreover, the following

passage from *Kitanosha monjo* 北野社文書 gives a good sense of how the rites for Yoshimitsu actually worked. (Intralinear notes are enclosed in parentheses.)

The monks of Seiryōji (known as the Shakadō 釈迦堂) humbly address themselves [to the *bakufu*]:

As Buddhist rites for the Rokuon'in 鹿苑院 Lord [=Yoshimitsu] we have conducted offerings of eternal flames before the image of Śākyamuni, beginning on the first day of the sixth month of Ōei 15 [1408]. We have done so in accord with the vow made by Kitayama-in, who provided one *kanmon* 貫文 every month to conduct these [rites]. After the death of the lady, her vow fell into neglect because no determination had been made. We informed the *bugyō* 奉行, the *Jibu Echizen no kami* 治部越前守, of this several times, whereupon he told us that there must be no regression in our diligence with regard to the eternal flames. All told, the allotments for the seven years extending from Ōei 27 [1420] until this year amount to eighty-seven *kanmon* (this number has been emended by adding in the intercalary months). By using other supplies meant for the Buddha, we settled this. However, the temple is [now] powerless, and it seems that we will fall short. We have heard that while the lady was alive [the *bakufu*] used *nengu* 年貢 from *Jūshichikasho* 十七ヶ所 [a *shōen* in Kawachi] to pay [for the lamp oil]. We have been quick to receive strict orders, but the grants have not been disbursed to us for a number of years. Whether speaking of the Buddhist rites or the power of her vow, we draw upon our earnest sincerity in either case. Thus we address ourselves to you.

Eighth month of Ōei 33 [1426] (*Dai Nihon shiryō*, 7.10: 235)

This document, which is obviously related to an appeal for funds, shows that memorial rites for Yoshimitsu had continued at Seiryōji for more than fifteen years in the form of offerings of lamps. The eternal flames offered before the temple's main icon had first been lit as a means to generate posthumous merit on Ōei 15 (1408)/ 6/1, one month after Yoshimitsu's death. His wife, Kitayama-in 北山院 (Hino Yasuko 日野康子) had provided one *kanmon* to Seiryōji every month as funding; however, funds were some years in arrears as a result of Kitayama-in's death in Ōei 27 (1420). The fact that Seiryōji had long been the site for memorial rites for Yoshimitsu made it inevitable that the *engi* scrolls, which had also been produced on his behalf, should be given to Seiryōji.

Ashikaga Yoshimochi and the Personnel for the Seiryōji Version

Who was behind the production of the Seiryōji version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*? When we consider that the earlier Meitoku print version was organized by Yoshimitsu to generate posthumous merit for his father, Yoshiakira, Yoshimitsu's son Yoshimochi emerges as the obvious candidate. An examination of the roster of *kotobagaki* contributors reveals that three of them—Gakuin

Ekatsu 鄂隱惠藏 (1366–1425), Ichijō Saneaki, and Zenjūbō Jōsei 禪住坊承盛 (n.d.)—did in fact have extremely close relationships with Yoshimochi. Admittedly, this is not a great number, but it is still significant.

Yoshimochi, who was inclined toward Zen, is known to have placed a great deal of trust in Gakuin Ekatsu (TAMAMURA 1951; MURAO 1989), and we catch a glimpse of this in his support of Ekatsu. In the sixth month of Ōei 21 (1414), immediately after he had written out his portion of the *kotobagaki* for the Seiryōji version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*, Ekatsu was appointed to the position of “stupa master” (*tassu* 塔主) of Yoshimitsu’s gravesite, the Rokuon’in at Shōkokuji 相国寺. It is also worth noting that Ekatsu wrote one of the verses upon the ink painting “Catching a Catfish with a Gourd” (*Hyōnenzu* 瓢鮎図), which Yoshimochi commissioned from the painter Josetsu 如拙 (n.d.). (This painting is held by Taizōin 退藏院 and is now designated a national treasure).

The second *kotobagaki* contributor with close ties to Yoshimochi was Ichijō Saneaki, also known as Shimizudani Saneaki 清水谷実秋. A noted Sesonji-school calligrapher, Saneaki was prominent within Yoshimochi’s circle. Several pieces of his calligraphy were executed at Yoshimochi’s behest, and two were explicitly created to generate posthumous merit for Yoshimitsu: in 1408, Saneaki wrote out a *ganmon* 願文 for funeral services held on the hundredth day after Yoshimitsu’s death, and in 1409 he wrote out a second *ganmon* plus a *fujumon* 諷誦文 for the first anniversary of Yoshimitsu’s death.⁵ Saneaki also wrote out a *ganmon* and *fujumon* for Yoshimochi’s visit to Hie Shrine 日吉社 in 1415 (Ōei 22) (*Yoshimochikō Hiesha sanki* 義持公日吉社參記; see *Dai Nihon shiryō* 7.22: 233). Furthermore, he inscribed the text of the 1415 *Sanuki no kuni Shippōsan Hachiman kotobiki no miya engi* 讃岐国七宝山八幡琴引宮縁起, an unillustrated text in scroll format, at Yoshimochi’s behest.

Finally, Zenjūbō Jōsei was a powerful moneylender associated with Enryakuji 延暦寺 (KUWAYAMA 1964; SHIMOSAKA 1978). Around 1413 (Ōei 20), that is, one year before the creation of the Seiryōji version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*, Zenjūbō was selected together with Shōjitsubō 正実坊 as an official storehouse keeper (*kubō okura* 公方御倉) charged with management of the Muromachi *bakufu*’s property. Thus, he hailed from a social stratum entirely different from that of the Seiryōji version’s other *kotobagaki* contributors. In this respect, it is quite likely that he was specially nominated by Yoshimochi because he had shouldered some of the financial burden for producing the scrolls. Based on the activities of these three men—Gakuin Ekatsu, Ichijō Saneaki, and Zenjūbō Jōsei—we may surmise that it was indeed Yoshimochi who commissioned the Seiryōji version of the *engi*.

5. These texts are now included in the *Kōyōki* 迎陽記, a literary anthology compiled by Higashibōjō Hidenaga 東坊城秀長 (1338–1441).

*The Bun'an Version of the Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki and
Posthumous Merit for Ashikaga Yoshinori*

The Bun'an version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* provides an example of how the reproduction of the *engi* continued in the wake of the Seiryōji version. Although the Bun'an version itself is not extant, a copy of the last three sections of the first scroll survives; this was copied by Prince Sadafusa 貞成 (1372–1456) of the Fushimi no Miya 伏見宮 line and is held by the Imperial Household Agency's Archives and Mausolea Department. An examination of this copy indicates that the Bun'an version was conceived as a copy of the Seiryōji version. It meticulously replicated such details as the dates of the inscriptions by Ichijō Saneaki, Kōgyō, and Kōkyō, as well as the notations affixed to the back of the Seiryōji scrolls to identify the painters.

The circumstances for the Bun'an project are described, albeit somewhat elliptically, in a colophon reproduced in Sadafusa's copy. This reads,

Zuishun'in 瑞春院 (the primary wife of Fukōin 普広院) recopied these pictures; the emperor, regent, and other [members of the court] wrote out the text. In accord with my hopes, I have taken up my inept brush without second thoughts. Furthermore, I finished copying two sections in order to form a karmic tie (*kechien*). After that, I copied the words. Bun'an 2 [1445]/4/15.

Thus, in accord with a vow made by Zuishun'in (Sanjō Tadako 三条尹子, n.d.), the widow of the sixth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshinori 足利義教 (1394–1441, here referred to as Fukōin), a project was undertaken to recopy the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* circa 1445, with Emperor Go-Hanazono 後花園 (1419–1470; r. 1428–1464), Nijō Mochimoto 二条持基 (1395–1445), and others participating in the inscription of the *kotobagaki*. Judging from the fact that the vow originated with Yoshinori's widow, we may conclude that the aim of the Bun'an version was to generate posthumous merit for Yoshinori, who had been assassinated by Akamatsu Mitsusuke 赤松満祐 in the Kakitsu Disturbance 嘉吉の乱 of 1441 (TASHIRO 1976; MATSUBARA 1991).

Zuishun'in was a dedicated patron of Nison'in 二尊院, a temple that, like Seiryōji, was located in Saga. It is therefore possible that she provided support for the scrolls and the temple at the same time. Like Seiryōji, Nison'in was a central Pure Land temple in Saga, and Ryōchin, who had conducted the *kanjin* campaign for the Meitoku and Seiryōji versions of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*, had been active there. Furthermore, like Seiryōji, it had a connection to shogunal memorial services. In 1447 (Bun'an 4), a "*nenbutsu* in accord with the Dharma" (*nyohō nenbutsu* 如法念仏) was held there to generate posthumous merit on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of Yoshinori's death (*Morostatoki*, Bun'an 4/4/16), with Zuishun'in as the recognized sponsor. Zuishun'in was devoted to Nison'in in part because she was born into the Sanjō family, whose

members were supporters of the temple. According to the eleventh section of the *Nison'in engi*, her support was also rooted in personal ties:

Thereafter, the years wore on and on, and the halls and residences fell into disrepair, but the reverend Kōdō 弘導 was honored for his learning in the four schools, perfumed by discipline and practice. Zuishun'in placed her faith in him, and therefore the deceased chancellor, Fukōin, also came to revere him.

Thus, this text claims that Yoshinori offered his patronage to the temple, as well. I would also like to draw attention to the *Yūzū nenbutsu kanjinchō* 融通念仏勸進帳 (Register of donors for the *yūzū nenbutsu*), a document written in the hands of Emperor Go-Hanazono and Prince Sadafusa and owned by Zenrinji (BUNKACHŌ BUNKAZAIBU 2001). It is written on paper decorated with gold and silver leaf and ink, and at the end of the scroll a monk, who may be Ryōin, is represented together with four transformation buddhas (*kebutsu* 化仏), riding on clouds of welcome from the Pure Land. The colophon gives the third month of Bun'an 4 as its date (UMEZU 1958); this makes it likely that the register was also produced for the seventh anniversary of Yoshinori's death. At present, the register is associated with the Zenrinji version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*; however, that version of the *engi* was created approximately twenty years later. Accordingly, it makes better sense to assume that the register was used in the production of the temporally proximate Bun'an version of the *engi*. The fact that Zenrinji owns the register can be explained by institutional circumstances. Around the time of the Bun'an era, Zenrinji had been placed under the administration of Nison'in (TSUJITA 1960); this shift forged a close connection that would have facilitated the transfer of treasures between the two temples.

From the preceding analysis, we may infer that the Bun'an version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* was created in accord with a vow made by Zuishun'in, that it was based on the Seiryōji version, that it was completed around the sixth month of 1447 (Bun'an 4), and that it was then dedicated at Nison'in.⁶

*The Zenrinji Version of the Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki
and the Generation of Posthumous Merit for Ashikaga Yoshinori*

It is the Zenrinji version that adorns the end of the career of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*. In their overall form, these scrolls emulate the Seiryōji version, and their social context hews to earlier patterns as well. Emperor Go-Hanazono inscribed the *kotobagaki* for the beginning of the first scroll, much as he had for the Bun'an version, while the eighth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa, did the same for the beginning of the second. Fundraising was conducted by Yūchin 融鎮,

6. Note that, based on the existence of the *kanjin* register, YOSHIDA Yūji (1995, 300–301) inferred that the Zenrinji version was based on both the Seiryōji and the Bun'an versions.

DATE OF INSCRIPTION	CALLIGRAPHER (AND RELEVANT AFFILIATION)	PORTIONS INSCRIBED
Kanshō 4 (1463)/i6/29	Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良	scroll 2, section 2
last part of the seventh month	“the former <i>daisōjō</i> 大僧正”	scroll 2, sections 3 and 4
8/17	Kyōgaku 教覚 (Myōhōin 妙法院)	scroll 1, latter half of section 1, and sections 2 and 3
9/2	Nijō Mochimichi 二条持通	scroll 2, sections 5 and 6
9/12	Kyōjo 教助 (Enman'in 円満院)	scroll 1, sections 4 and 5
9/15	Sanjō Sanekazu 三条実量	scroll 2, sections 7 and 8
12/7	Shimizudani Sanehisa 清水谷実久	scroll 1, section 7
Kanshō 5 (1464)/3/25	Ōgimachi Kinsumi 正親町公澄	scroll 1, section 6
4/25	Anegakōji Mototsuna 姉小路基綱	scroll 1, sections 8 and 9
4/25	Asukai Masachika 飛鳥井雅親	scroll 2, section 9
4/25	Asukai Masafuji 飛鳥井雅藤	scroll 2, passages in section 10 on the <i>Seiryōji yūzū dainenbutsu</i> and the printing record
Kanshō 6 (1465) 2/23	Kanroji Chikanaga 甘露寺親長	scroll 2, copies of the Shōwa-era colophon, the colophon by Ryōchin, and the account of the printing of the Meitoku print version

CHART 3. *Kotobagaki* for the Zenrinji version.

who was a member of Ryōchin's lineage. The *kotobagaki* calligraphers were fewer in number than they had been for earlier versions, and the fact that no daimyo lords contributed meant that the social scope of the project contracted considerably. It is thought that one painter each oversaw the paintings for the first and second scroll; this, too, represents a decrease from the six men who worked on the Seiryōji version.

With the Meitoku print and Seiryōji versions, the dates on which the *kotobagaki* were inscribed corresponded to the dates for memorial services, the object of which was to generate merit for deceased Ashikaga shoguns. With the Zenrinji version, however, it is impossible to detect the same kind of correlation (for the dates of the *kotobagaki* inscriptions, see CHART 3). Nonethe-

CALLIGRAPHER (AND RELEVANT AFFILIATION)	PORTIONS INSCRIBED
“Kajiinomiya 梶井宮 Prince Gyōin 堯胤”	scroll 1, section 1
“Prince Kakuin 覚胤 of the Myōhōin”	scroll 1, section 2
“Shōgoin-no-miya Prince Dōō 道応”	scroll 1, section 3
“Prince Tōki 等貴 of the Banshōin 万松院, son of the Prince Fushimi 伏見殿”	scroll 1, section 4
“Prince Eisū 永崇, son of Prince Fushimi”	scroll 1, section 5
first half: “Kōjo 公助 of Jōbōji 定法寺”; second half: “writer unknown”	scroll 1, section 6
“The administrator (<i>bōkan</i> 坊官) of the Kajii monzeki 梶井御門跡, Tominokōji Ninchi 富小路任知”	scroll 1, section 7
“Zōun 增運 of Jissōin 実相院”	scroll 1, section 8
“Gishun 義俊 of Daikakuji 大覚寺”	scroll 1, section 9
“Shōren'in-no-miya, Prince Sonō 尊応”	scroll 2, section 1
“Prince Sonō of Shōren'in”	scroll 2, section 2
“Zōun of Jissōin”	scroll 2, sections 3, 4, and 5
“Shimizudani Sanehisa”	scroll 2, section 6
“His Lordship Jōtokuin 常德院 Yoshihisa”	scroll 2, section 7
“Asukai Masayasu 飛鳥井雅康”	scroll 2, section 8
“Torii[i] kōji Tsunetaka 鳥[居]小路経孝”	scroll 2, first section of the colophon
“unknown”	scroll 2, second section of the colophon

CHART 4. *Kotobagaki* for the original manuscript on which the Jindaiji version was based.

less, trends in the reproduction of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* up until this point make it quite possible that Ashikaga Yoshimasa took the lead in planning the Zenrinji version with the aim of generating posthumous merit for his father, Yoshinori. The dates of the earliest *kotobagaki* for the Meitoku print and Seiryōji versions are particularly significant because they point to the inception of the production process. If we assume the same regarding the Zenrinji version, then we need to attend to the intercalary sixth month of Kanshō 寛正 4 (1463), when Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良 (1402–1481) inscribed his portion of the *kotobagaki* (see CHART 3). The twenty-third anniversary of Yoshinori’s death had occurred the previous month, on 6/24; the project likely started around this time. We also need to attend to the fact that in the midst of advancing the production of the *emaki*, Yoshimasa went in person to Zenrinji. The annal kept by the Inryōken 蔭涼軒, a hall that Yoshimochi had founded at Shōkokuji, is clear on this point,

noting that Yoshimasa “told us that he would finally make a pilgrimage to Eikandō 永觀堂,” that is, to Zenrinji, as well as to “Shinnyodō 真如堂 and Seiwa-in 清和院” (*Inryōken nichiroku*, entry for Kanshō 5/2/12). A final connection between Yoshinori and the Zenrinji version of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* can be inferred from the identities of the *kotobagaki* contributors Kyōgaku 教覺 (n.d.) and Kyōjo 教助 (n.d.), both of whom were Yoshinori’s foster children. The character “kyō” 教 in their names derived from the “nori” in his name (義教). Taken together, these facts support the supposition that the Zenrinji version was meant to generate posthumous merit for Yoshinori.

Considering the Zenrinji version of Yoshimasa’s day from the angle of its workmanship, there is no sense of the kind of overwhelming intensity seen with the Seiryōji version in the time of Yoshimochi. Nonetheless, there is a shift in the ornamentation toward freer and grander use of silver and gold decoration. In this regard, it must also be noted that the Zenrinji version of the *engi* scrolls presages the first signs of the new style of Yamato-e that emerged in the wake of the Ōnin and Bunmei Wars (1467–1477).

Ashikaga Yoshihisa and the Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki

How long did the reproduction of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* continue unbroken among the Muromachi shoguns? As a point of reference, let us consider the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* owned by Jindaiji 深大寺, a temple located in Chōfu city 調布市 in Tokyo. This is an Edo-period copy, but it is notable because the names of the fourteen *kotobagaki* contributors for the original are inscribed in golden ink on the obverse of the paper on which the *kotobagaki* is written (see CHART 4) (MIZUNO 1987, 22–24).

There is a considerable range for the dates in which the contributors were active. For instance, the ninth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshihisa 足利義尚, died in 1489 (Entoku 延徳 1), whereas Gishun 義俊, a Daikakuji 大覚寺 monk, was born in 1516 (Eishō 永正 13). This temporal spread forces us to acknowledge that the dates for the creation of the original manuscript are unclear. Nonetheless, as we can glimpse from Yoshihisa’s participation, rather than coming to an end with the Zenrinji version, an ongoing awareness of precedent continued to maintain the connection between the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* and the Ashikaga shoguns.

Conclusion

When we take a general view of the reproduction of *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki*, we see that the *engi*’s reproduction was a great, ongoing project carried out in the environment surrounding the politically powerful Ashikaga shoguns. Aimed at generating posthumous merit for ancestors, it drew the participation of influential men of the day. We may imagine that the Meitoku print version was

produced in numbers ranging from the double into the triple digits. It is quite possible that, as Ryōchin wrote in his colophon, it was indeed disseminated to all regions, becoming an impetus for people of both high and low station to add their names to the register of those who had formed a karmic tie (*kechiensha*) through the *yūzū nenbutsu*. All of these factors speak to the social visibility of the *engi*—or at least to its reproduction.

It is, however, crucial to realize that medieval Japanese *jisha engi* were strictly guarded, far more than we appreciate today. Even if we concede that on rare occasions some members of the elite were shown handscrolls when they made a pilgrimage to a temple or shrine, medieval records and the excellent state of preservation of the handscrolls that are extant today indicate that scrolls were usually not displayed, to say nothing of being exhibited to commoners as an incentive in *kanjin* campaigns. That being the case, with these handscrolls, the actual processes of production and dedication, together with the ensuing custom of closely guarded storage, were of the greatest significance. Their function, then, approached that of a hidden buddha (秘仏 *hibutsu*). As highly ritualized objects created and treated according to strict rules, *engi* and other high-quality handscrolls generated social and religious meanings even when their visual and textual aspects remained illegible or invisible.

With regard to its quality and quantity, the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* embodied larger currents in each era of Muromachi-period culture. After Yoshimochi established precedent with the Seiryōji version, subsequent generations of shoguns reaffirmed their inheritance of blood and power by emulating his reproduction of the *engi*. We should also recognize that the *yūzū nenbutsu hijiri* of Saga harbored the ambition to enlarge their own networks of followers. That said, the most important point is that the *yūzū nenbutsu* doctrine, according to which many people unite by participating in *nenbutsu* to pray for the birth of a single person in the Pure Land, fit smoothly with political ideals: under the name of the Ashikaga shoguns, aristocrats and warriors, lay and ordained, joined together for a common purpose.

REFERENCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Dai Nihon shiryō* 大日本史料. Series 7, multiple volumes. Ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1927–.
- Inryōken nichiroku* 蔭涼軒日録. By Kikei Shinzui 季瓊真蘂. In *Inryōken nichiroku* 1, Tamamura Takeji 玉村竹二 and Katsuno Ryūshin 勝野隆信, eds. Kyoto: Shiseki Kankōkai, 1953.
- Mansai jugō nikki* 満濟准后日記. In *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従, ed. Hanawa

- Hokiichi 塙保己一, addenda 補遺. Vols. 1 and 2. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1928.
- Morosotoki 師郷記. By Nakahara Morosato 中原師郷. 6 vols. Fujii Sadafumi 藤井貞文 and Kobayashi Hanako 小林花子, eds. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai.
- Nison'in engi 二尊院縁起. In *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi. Vol. 27.1: 416–22. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1927.
- Sentō gosenpōkō ki 仙洞御懺法講記. In *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi, addenda. Vol. 26.2: 269–75. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1925.
- Tōdaiji bettō shidai 東大寺別当次第. In *Gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi, addenda. Vol. 4: 569–97. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1932.
- Zokushigushō 続史愚抄. In *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikai* 新訂増補國史大系, ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美. Vols. 13–15. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1930–1931.

SECONDARY SOURCES

ABE Mika 阿部美香

- 2013 Chūsei media toshite no Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki 中世メディアとしての融通念仏縁起絵巻. In *Setsuwa kara sekai o dō tokiakasu no ka?* 説話から世界をどう解き明かすのか, ed. Setsuwa Bungakukai 説話文学会, 68–88. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2013.

BUNKACHŌ BUNKAZAIBU 文化庁文化財部

- 2001 *Gekkan bunkazai* 月刊文化財 453: 31–32.

HAGA Norihiko 羽下徳彦

- 1962 Muromachi bakufu samurai dokoro tōnin tsuketari Yamashiro shugo bunin enkaku kōshō kō 室町幕府侍所頭人付山城守護補任沿革考証稿. *Tōyō Daigaku kiyō*, *Bungakubu-hen* 16 and 19: 77–97.

HENDERSON, Gregory, and Leon HURVITZ

- 1956 The Buddha of Seiryōji: New finds and new theory. *Artibus Asiae* 19: 4–55.

IMATANI Akira 今谷 明

- 1977 Shohyō, Mizuno Kyōichirō cho *Buke jidai no seiji to bunka* 書評・水野恭一郎著『武家時代の政治と文化』. *Shirin* 60: 136–44.
- 1986 *Shugo ryōgoku shihai kikō no kenkyū* 守護領国支配機構の研究. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku.

ITŌ Yuishin 伊藤唯真, ed.

- 2000 *Yūzū nenbutsu shinkō no rekishi to bijutsu* 融通念仏信仰の歴史と美術. 2 vols. Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu.

IWAHASHI Koyata 岩橋小弥太

- 1931 *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki zakkō* 融通念仏縁起絵巻雑考. *Bukkyō bijutsu* 18: 17–38.

KŌSAKA Konomu 高坂 好

- 1970 *Akamatsu Enshin, Mitsusuke* 赤松円心・満祐. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

KUWAYAMA Kōnen 桑山浩然

- 1964 *Muromachi bakufu zaisei kikō no ichi kōsatsu: Nōsen gata, kubō okura no kinō to seiritsu* 室町幕府財政機構の一考察—納銭方・公方御倉の機能と成立. *Shigaku zasshi* 73: 1–33.

MATSUBARA Shigeru 松原 茂

- 1991 *Emaki, Yūzū nenbutsu engi* 絵巻 融通念仏縁起. Tokyo: Shibundō.

MIYA Tsugio 宮 次男

- 1968 *Mokuren kyūbo setsuwa to sono kaiga: Mokuren kyūbokyō-e no shutsugen ni chinande* 目連救母説話とその絵画—目連救母経絵の出現に因んで. *Bijutsu kenkyū* 255: 1–24.

MIZUNO Keizaburō 水野敬三郎, ed.

- 1987 *Jindaiji gakujuitsu sōgō chōsa hōkokusho* 深大寺学術総合調査報告書. Vol. 1. Chōfu: Jindaiji.

MURAO Mototada 村尾元忠

- 1989 *Ashikaga Yoshimochi no shinbutsu izon keikō* 足利義持の神仏依存傾向. In *Chūsei Nihon no shosō* 中世日本の諸相, vol. 2, ed. Yasuda Motohisa Sensei Tainin Kinen Ronshū Kankō Iinkai 安田元久先生退任記念論集刊行委員会, 543–68. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

ŌTA Sōichirō 大田壯一郎

- 2002 *Muromachi bakufu no tsuizen butsuji ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Buke hakkō no shiteki tenkai.* 室町幕府の追善仏事に関する一考察—武家八講の史的展開. *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 44: 41–68.

SHIMOSAKA Mamoru 下坂 守

- 1978 *Chūsei dosō ron* 中世土倉論. In *Chūsei Nihon no rekishi zō* 中世日本の歴史像, ed. Nihonshi Kenkyūkai Shiryō Kenkyūbukai 日本史研究会史料研究部会. Osaka: Sōgensha.

TAKAGISHI Akira 高岸 輝

- 2002 *Rokkaku Jakusai to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu: Rokkaku edokoro no seiritsu to tenkai* 六角寂濟と足利義満—六角絵所の成立と展開. *Kokka* 1281: 5–15.
- 2013 *Chūsei kōki emaki no yōshiki tenkai* 中世後期絵巻の様式展開. *Bijutsushi ronsō* 28: 51–60.

TAMAMURA Takeji 玉村竹二

- 1951 *Ashikaga Yoshimochi no Zenshū shinkō ni tsuite* 足利義持の禪宗信仰について. *Zengaku kenkyū* 42: 20–43.

TASHIRO Shōkō 田代尚光

- 1976 *Zōtei Yūzū nenbutsu engi no kenkyū* 増訂融通念仏縁起之研究. Osaka: Meicho Shuppan.

TSUJITA Nenji 辻田稔次

- 1960 Takauji to Zenrinji 尊氏と禪林寺. *Seizan Zenrin gakuho* 西山禪林学報 6: 10–15.

UCHIDA Keiichi 内田啓一

- 1997 Yūzū nenbutsu engi Meitoku hanpon no seiritsu haikai to sono ito 融通念仏縁起明德版本の成立背景とその意図. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 231: 39–60.
- 1998 Yūzū nenbutsu engi Meitoku hanpon no hangashiteki kōsatsu: Dainenbutsuji-bon o chūshin ni 融通念仏縁起明德版本の版画史的考察—大念仏寺本を中心に. In *Nihon bijutsu shūkō* 日本美術襍稿, ed. Sasaki Kōzō Sensei Koki Kinen Ronbunshū Henshū Iinkai 佐々木剛三先生古稀記念論文集編輯委員会, 245–70. Tokyo: Meitoku Shuppansha.

UMEZU Jirō 梅津次郎

- 1958 Shoki no yūzū nenbutsu engi-e ni tsuite 初期の融通念仏縁起絵について. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 37: 1–22.

YANAGISAWA BUNKO SENMON IINKAI 柳沢文庫専門委員会, ed.

- 1964 *Yamatokōriyamashi shi, shiryōshū* 大和郡山市史, 史料集. Yamatokōriyamashi: Yamatokōriyama Shiyakusho.

YOSHIDA Yūji 吉田友之

- 1995 Yūzū nenbutsu engi-e kaisetsu 融通念仏縁起絵解説. In *Kadokawa emakimono sōran* 角川絵巻物総覧, Miya Tsugio, Shinbo Tōru 真保 亨, and Yoshida Yūji, eds., 286–301. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.

[translated by Heather Blair]