

Art and Royal Authority: On the Creation of Illustrated Scrolls during the Government of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa

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This article examines the illustrated scroll of events known as the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* and the narrative illustrated scroll *Ban Dainagon emaki*, which were produced during the government of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa. By analyzing the items and actions that are depicted or mentioned in these scrolls, the article will study the circumstances in which the scrolls were created and examine the relationship between scroll-making and politics. The results will show that the ultimate goal of Go-Shirakawa's government in producing the two abovementioned illustrated scrolls was to document the state of royal authority in each period since the pre-Heian era.

Keywords: *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, *Ban Dainagon emaki*, illustrated scroll of events, narrative illustrated scroll

Introduction

The period of cloistered rule (1086–1192), in which retired emperors (*in* 院) abdicated as lineal ascendants and then guided the court government by guardianship of the current emperor, is seen as a major turning point in Japanese history. This period encompassed various changes, such as the rise of the social status of samurai families in the establishment and governance of the *shōen kōryō* 莊園公領 system of public land and private estates, exhibiting both the waning light of antiquity and the first glimpses of the middle ages. This hundred-year span from the Shirakawa 白河 and Toba 鳥羽 cloistered governments (respectively 1086–1129 and 1129–1156) to the Go-Shirakawa 後白河 cloistered government (1158–1192) involved a broad differentiation of power, with royal power comprised of two complementary domains of “emperor” and “retired emperor.” In the context of this differentiation of power, the national culture of the capital city spread to the provinces, while at the same time, regional cultures flowed into the capital city, producing many

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novelties.¹ To turn our focus to art, the art of the cloistered rule period is appraised as “possessed of depth, extraordinarily prolific, and full of creativity.”² “Narrative illustrated scrolls” (*emakimono* 絵巻物) were especially abundant in this period; these works composed stories by adding poetry written in characters to *yamato-e* 大和絵 (classical Japanese paintings), a style of painting that was representative of the national culture.

Although conventional historical studies have often centered their interpretations on written materials, in recent years, more historical studies have been conducted using paintings as the basis for research. This article will shed light on illustrated scrolls thought to have been produced during the Go-Shirakawa cloistered government, starting with a review of previous studies, and then analyzing the items and actions depicted and mentioned in these scrolls, and consequently the concepts and ideologies expressed in the pictures. Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa led a cloistered government that had survived a tumultuous period overseeing the following five generations of emperors since his abdication in Hōgen 保元 3 (1158): Nijō 二条, Rokujō 六条, Takakura 高倉, Antoku 安徳, and Go-Toba 後鳥羽. This article will consider the kinds of messages Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa wanted to convey to contemporary and future generations through the production of illustrated scrolls and reexamine the relationship between politics and illustrated scroll production during his reign.

1. Illustrated Scroll Production under Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa

Illustrated scrolls tend to be seen as a popular art form that summarize literary works in a lucid way; however, during the period of cloistered rule, the imperial family is thought to have played a leading role in their production. All four of Japan’s most highly-appraised illustrated scrolls (*Genji monogatari emaki* 源氏物語絵巻, *Shigisan engi emaki* 信貴山縁起絵巻, *Ban Dainagon emaki* 伴大納言絵巻, and *Chōjū jinbutsu giga* 鳥獣人物戯画) were works of the cloistered rule era; scroll production at that time was, in a sense, a matter of national importance.

The seventy-seventh emperor, Go-Shirakawa (1127–1192; r. 1155–1158), fourth son of seventy-fourth Emperor Toba, and half-brother of the seventy-sixth emperor, Konoe 近衛 (who passed away at the young age of seventeen), inherited the throne in the seventh month of Kyūju 久寿 2 (1155) as a placeholder until his first son, imperial prince Morihito-shinnō 守仁親王 (the

1 Heian 平安-era (794–1185) noble society included many followers of Pure Land Buddhism, who prayed so that they could pass on to the next life in Amitabha’s Pure Land. In the late Heian period, the pessimistic *mappō* 末法 ideology of the “latter days of the law” of Buddhism strengthened the Pure Land faith, and the work of lower-class clergymen called “saints” (*hijiri* 聖) contributed to the nationwide spread of Pure Land teachings. Meanwhile, in the provinces, samurai were constructing castles in each region to strengthen their clan or regional ties. The Northern Fujiwara (Ōshūfujiwara 奥州藤原) of the Ōu 奥羽 region were particularly active during the century-long span covering the three generations of Kiyohira 清衡 (1056–1128), Motohira 基衡 (d.u.), and Hidehira 秀衡 (?–1187), importing Kyoto culture with an abundance of wealth derived from gold mining and horse trading. In addition to building ostentatious temples like Chūsonji 中尊寺 and Mōtsūji 毛越寺, they boasted great wealth from a unique culture that was produced through trade with northern regions. It was through the Fujiwara clan that regional products were brought into the capital.

2 Tsuji Nobuo 辻惟雄, *Nihon bijutsu no rekishi* 日本美術の歴史, University of Tokyo Press, 2005, p. 141.

eventual seventy-eighth Emperor Nijō), would assume the role of emperor. From a young age, Go-Shirakawa was transfixed with the popular *imayō* 今様 poetry of that era. He had a strong awareness of the power of culture and worked to develop a variety of cultural activities. The treasure house built into Rengeō-in 蓮華王院 for him by Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181) around Chōkan 長寛 2 (1164) shows a small measure of this. The writings, musical instruments, and paintings in the collection at the treasure house are so wide-ranging as to suggest that one of the motives for involving Taira no Kiyomori in Japan's trade relations with the Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279) was to have him seek out treasures to place there.³ The illustrated scrolls held at Rengeō-in include *Nenjū gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻 (Illustrated Scroll of Events), *Hōgen sumaizu emaki* 保元相撲図絵巻, *Jōan gosechi emaki* 承安五節絵巻, *Kokawa-dera engi emaki* 粉河寺縁起絵巻, *Gosannen kassen emaki* 後三年合戦絵巻, *Ban Dainagon emaki*, *Kibi no Otodo Nittō emaki* 吉備大臣入唐絵巻, *Hikohohodemi no Mikoto emaki* 彦火々出見尊絵巻, *Yamai no sōshi* 病草紙, *Gaki zōshi* 餓鬼草紙, and *Jigoku zōshi* 地獄草紙.⁴ The production of nearly all of these scrolls is likely to have reflected the intentions of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa.⁵

As Itō Daisuke 伊藤大輔 points out about the production of artworks by retired emperors, “As power tended to be decentralized in the cloistered rule period, the retired emperor separated from the reigning emperor and participated in political conflicts to reinforce royal authority as a representative of the royal family. Works of art were tools for pressuring others and winning competitions through the superabundant beauty of these works. In this sense, producing works of art is seen to have been a supremely political act.”⁶ This is an expression of the growing theories in recent years that view the retired emperor's production of works of art as instrumental in political disputes. Specifically, there are a large number of studies emphasizing the relationship between Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's production of illustrated scrolls and his involvement in politics, arguing that he adorned royal authority with narrative scrolls,⁷ that Go-Shirakawa tried to get recognition for his own authority using scroll-making as an image strategy,⁸ that the scrolls were a ploy to get “psychological compensation” that would communicate the strength of royal authority,⁹ and that Go-Shirakawa sincerely desired to have his legitimacy guaranteed on both political and

3 Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, *Emaki de yomu chūsei* 絵巻で読む中世, Chikuma Shobō, 2005, p. 63.

4 Masuki Ryūsuke 増記隆介, Sarai Mai 皿井舞, and Sasaki Moritoshi 佐々木守俊, *Kodai kokka to bukkyō bijutsu: Nara, Heian jidai* 古代国家と仏教美術：奈良・平安時代 (*Tennō no bijutsushi* 天皇の美術史, vol. 1), Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2018, p. 76.

5 Gomi Fumihiko, Sano Midori 佐野みどり, and Matsuoka Shinpi 松岡心平, *Chūsei bunka no bi to chikara* 中世文化の美と力 (*Nihon no chūsei* 日本の中世, vol. 7), Chūōkōronshinsha, 2002, p. 210.

6 Itō Daisuke, *Shōzōga no jidai: Chūsei keiseiki ni okeru kaiga no shisōteki shinsō* 肖像画の時代：中世形成期における絵画の思想的深層, University of Nagoya Press, 2012, p. 1.

7 Sano Midori, “Monogatari chikara: Chūsei bijutsu no ba to kōsōryoku” 物語る力：中世美術の場と構想力, in *Chūsei bunka no bi to chikara*, Gomi et al., pp. 173–233.

8 Inamoto Mariko 稲本万里子, “Goshirakawain no emaki seisaku to sono kinō ni kansuru chōsa kenkyū” 後白河院の絵巻制作とその機能に関する調査研究, *Kenkyū seika hōkokusho* 研究成果報告書, 2003.

9 Satō Yasuhiro 佐藤康広, “Miyako no jiken: *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, *Ban Dainagon emaki*, *Yamai no sōshi*,” 都の事件：『年中行事絵巻』・『伴大納言絵巻』・『病草紙』 in *Bijutsu o sasaeru mono* 美術を支えるもの (*Kōza Nihon bijutsushi* 講座日本美術史, vol. 6), Kinoshita Naoyuki 木下直之, ed., University of Tokyo Press, 2005, pp. 79–108.

religious grounds using scrolls of events and narrative illustrated scrolls.¹⁰

The contents of the illustrated scrolls produced under the guidance of Go-Shirakawa can be broadly classified into illustrated scrolls of events and narrative illustrated scrolls. In the next section, we will look at the items and actions depicted and mentioned in these scrolls, focusing on *Nenjū gyōji emaki* and *Ban Dainagon emaki*, which are both set in the capital, the mainstay of royal power.

2. Items and Actions Depicted in the *Nenjū gyōji emaki*

Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美 notes that the following illustrated scrolls of events that have appeared in the literature were all produced during the era of Go-Shirakawa.¹¹

1. *Hōgen Jōnanji keiba emaki* 保元城南寺競馬絵巻 (*Sanetaka kōki* 実隆公記)
2. *Hōgen sumaizu emaki* 保元相撲図絵巻 (*Gyokuyō* 玉葉)
3. *Nin'an gomisogi gyōkō e*, 7 vols. 仁安御禊行幸絵 七卷 (*Kanmon gyōki* 看聞御記)
4. *Jōan gosechi emaki*, 3 vols. 承安五節絵巻 三卷 (*Kanmon gyōki* 看聞御記)
5. *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (*Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集)

Of these, the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* is an extremely important document for understanding the customs of the Heian period. Volume sixteen of the extant early Edo 江戸-period (1603–1867) *Nenjū gyōji emaki* reproduction made by father and son Sumiyoshi Jokei 住吉如慶 (1599–1670) and Gukei 具慶 (1631–1705) depicts annual ceremonies, festivals, Buddhist services, games, and other events involving the late Heian-period imperial court, nobility, and towns.¹² However, not all key imperial annual events from January to December are depicted; the focus is on events from January to June, and much of the scroll space is given over to January events, conveying some dozen events such as Chōkin no Gyōkō 朝覲行幸 (vol. 1), private banquets (vol. 5), large court banquets (vols. 6 and 10), imperial events to pray for the *Golden Light Sutra* (vol. 7), and *tōka* 踏歌 dancing (vol. 10). In this section, we will examine the Chōkin no Gyōkō depicted in volume 1.

Chōkin no Gyōkō is a ceremonial congratulatory rite in which the emperor goes out to greet his imperial father and mother at the beginning of the new year. This rite was established as an

10 Nagai Kumiko 永井久美子, “Monogatari emaki ni miru Goshirakawa inseiki: *Ban Dainagon emaki*, *Hikohohodemi no Mikoto emaki*, *Kibi no Otodo Nittō emaki* o chūshin ni” 物語絵巻に見る後白河院政期：『伴大納言絵巻』『彦火々々出見尊絵巻』『吉備大臣入唐絵巻』を中心に, PhD dissertation, University of Tokyo, 2011.

11 Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (*Nihon no emaki* 日本の絵巻, vol. 8), Chūōkōronsha, 1987, p. 119.

12 Of the existing reproductions, the most outstanding one is considered to be from the Sumiyoshi family line (in possession of the Tanaka family). Volume 16 of this Sumiyoshi reproduction was temporarily passed on to the head of the Taima governors for safekeeping when the Sumiyoshi family's fortunes declined around the time of the Meiji Restoration. Later, painter Tanaka Yūbi 田中有美 (1840–1933) received it from that head of family, and then Tanaka Shinbi 田中親美 (1875–1975) inherited it; it remains in possession of the family today (Ibid., p. 121). The original *Nenjū gyōji emaki* scrolls were lost to successive fires, but Fukuyama Toshio 福山敏男 has done a detailed study of existing reproductions; see Fukuyama Toshio, “Dai nijūyonkan kai-setsu: *Nenjū gyōji emaki* ni tsuite” 第二十四巻解説：年中行事絵巻について, in *Nenjū gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻 (*Nihon emakimono zenshū* 日本絵巻物全集, vol. 24), Fukuyama, ed., Kadokawa Shoten, 1968.

imperial court event in the period of the fifty-fourth emperor, Ninmyō 仁明 (r. 833–850). Its first appearance in historical records was in the document “Tennō Chōkin Daijō Tennō” 天皇朝觀太上天皇, volume 28, eighth section on emperors of the *Ruijū kokushi* 類聚国史, compiled by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903). It reads, “Emperor Saga 嵯峨, day of the Water Rabbit, in the eighth month of Daidō 大同 4 (809). Emperor visited Retired Empress [Retired Emperor?].¹³ Minister of the Right Junii Rank Fujiwara Ason Uchimarō 藤原朝臣内膳, consecration. Day-long banquet. Exchange of gifts.”¹⁴ In other words, in the eighth month of the year Daidō 4, Emperor Saga (786–842; r. 809–823) inherited the throne from his older brother, the fifty-first emperor, Heizei 平城 (774–824; r. 806–809), and a day-long banquet was held under the consecration of Minister of the Right Fujiwara Ason Uchimarō. At this point, Chōkin no Gyōkō had not yet been established as a New Year ceremony; according to *Ruijū kokushi*, Emperor Ninmyō decided to greet the retired emperor and imperial mother at the beginning of every new year starting in Jōwa 承和 1 (834).

Chōkin is based on a Chinese ceremony mentioned in the *Works of Mencius*, volume 9: *Wan Zhang I* (“Mengzi” *juanjiu Wanzhangzhangjushang* 〔孟子〕卷九・万章章句上): “After the death of Yao, when the three years’ mourning was completed, Shun withdrew from the son of Yao to the south of South river. The princes of the kingdom, however, repairing to court, went not to the son of Yao, but to Shun. Litigants went not to the son of Yao, but to Shun. Singers sang not the son of Yao, but to Shun.” This passage reveals that Chōkin was originally an act in which subjects gave salutations to the emperor; in China, the emperor greeting the retired emperor is not called Chōkin. Furthermore, as Sano Masato 佐野真人 points out, “It would not have been feasible to have a ceremony in which the emperor has an audience with the retired emperor on a customary basis” in China.¹⁵ As such, it is safe to say that Chōkin no Gyōkō is a Japanized imperial court event. The program of the Chōkin no Gyōkō ceremony is recorded clearly in *Saikyūki* 西宮記, a work on the usages and practices of the court compiled by Minister of the Left Minamoto no Takaakira 源高明 (914–982), a son of Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (885–930; r. 897–930) who had descended to the status of civilian and married the daughter of Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (908–960). His work studying the usages and practices of the court is thought to have been influenced by Morosuke, who perfected the Kūjō 九条 school of practices.

Volume 1 of *Nenjū gyōji emaki* is understood to depict the seventy-eighth emperor, Nijō, proceeding from the Imperial Palace to Hōjūji 法住寺 Palace to greet Go-Shirakawa on the second day of the new year in Chōkan 1 (1163).¹⁶ In the scene in which the emperor starts out departing the Hall for State Ceremonies in the main building of the Imperial Palace (see figure 1), the emperor is standing in the frame of the south side of the Hall for State Ceremonies, accompanied by two court ladies, and wearing a round-necked robe colored with wax tree dye. This dyed robe is a type of ceremonial attire that emperors have worn for important ceremonies since the Heian

13 The original text reads 帝朝于太上皇后. Here, “empress” 皇后 is thought to be an error for “emperor” 天皇.

14 *Kokushi taikēi: Ruijū kokushi* 国史大系：類聚国史, Keizai Zasshisha, 1916, p. 230.

15 Sano Masato, *Kodai tennō saishi, girei no shiteki kenkyū* 古代天皇祭祀・儀礼の史的研究, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2019, p. 246.

16 Gomi, *Emaki de yomu chūsei*, pp. 68–69.



Figure 1. The emperor departing from the Hall for State Ceremonies. *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, vol. 1. Komatsu, *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, pp. 2–3.

period. The slightly reddish-brown “wax tree dye” color was brought over from China, imitating an ochre color symbolizing the color of the sun in attire for the emperor. According to the *Nihon kōki* 日本後紀, kimono colored with wax tree dye was established for use in various ordinary ceremonies and for audiences with foreign envoys through an imperial decree made by Emperor Saga in Kōnin 弘仁 11 (820).

The court lady to the emperor’s left is bearing a sword, and the court lady to his right is bearing the emperor’s jewel. The sword (Kusanagi no Tsurugi 草薙劍) and the jewel (Yasakani no Magatama 八坂瓊曲玉) are two of the Three Sacred Treasures handed down through generations of emperors as representations of the imperial throne, and they were traveling along with the emperor. To the right of the court lady bearing the jewel, there is a person in waiting who appears to be a regent. Below the south steps proceeds an imperial carriage (*hōren* 鳳輦), with a gilt bronze Chinese phoenix decorating the center peak of its cabin. In order to avoid defilement, the emperor would not officially have ridden in a vehicle that touched the ground, and instead would travel in an imperial carriage shouldered by palanquin bearers for formal ceremonies. The Sadaishō 左大將 (general of the inner palace guards, left division) is standing next to the cherry tree to the east of the stairs, and the Udaishō next to the *tachibana* orange tree to the west. Armed imperial guards defend the area around the carriage, and attending senior court nobles form a line at the top of the courtyard. Thus, the emperor leaves the Imperial Palace, and is about to proceed to the retired emperor’s palace, watched over by both military and civilian officials.

The imperial procession passes through the Shōmei gate of the south series of gates, and the front and Kenrei gates of the outer wall of the Imperial Palace, and continues along the main street of the palace in front of the Taiken gate, where a crowd of spectators has gathered. Among these, we see two ox carts dashing in the opposite direction, and commoners fleeing in fear of the raging oxen (see figure 2).

The imperial procession arrives at Hōjūji Palace, built at the end of Shichijō Avenue on the outskirts of Heian-kyō 平安京, and the emperor and retired emperor view court dancing and music together (see figure 3). In a seat in front of the central main residence building, we can see the hem of the emperor’s wax-tree dyed robe as he sits down, and food spread out on nine serving plates in front of him. The retired emperor is seated on a cushion to the right side of the emperor,



Figure 2. Onlookers in town. *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, vol. 1. Komatsu, *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, p. 5.



Figure 3. Dance viewing. *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, vol. 1. Komatsu, *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, pp. 10–11.

and only a minimal hem of his imperial robe is showing. Going west from the main residence building toward the roofed path, there are eleven senior court nobles (including regents) seated on slatted wood, and all have the hems of their ceremonial court attire inner robes hanging over the handrail; this type of etiquette is thought to have begun around the mid-tenth century. Five court officials are seated on wooden flooring to the right and left of the upper courtyard below the stairs, and all have placed their shorn shallow clogs in front of them. To the right and left below the south stairs, seven palace guard officers are sitting cross-legged on tiger pelts, and in the middle of them is a dancer wearing a red robe. To summarize, in the “dance viewing” scene, multiple nobles are depicted in addition to the emperor and retired emperor, whose faces are not shown. The regents seated on slatted wood closest to the emperor, followed by the ministers, reveal that the status of nobles is shown according to their distance from the emperor and retired emperor.

A dragon boat floats on the pond, and four children are rowing with poles. Dragon boats were brought to Japan from China during the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907). Since dragons were imaginary animals that often crossed water, and waterfowl often flew in resistance of strong winds, these were frequently used together to decorate the prows of boats, with *ryūtō gekishu* 龍頭鷁首 boats (dragon and waterfowl boats) working in pairs, each with one animal on its prow. From the Heian period to the Muromachi 室町 period (1336–1573), *ryūtō gekishu* boats were used at religious

festivals, imperial court events, and in water festivities of nobles. Chapter 24 of the *Tale of Genji*, “Butterfly,” also depicts a scene in which people prepare a Chinese-style *ryūtō gekishu* boat in the palace courtyard in spring, and release it onto the pond, amusing themselves with Japanese and Chinese poetry and music. The Chōkin no Gyōkō scene in volume 1 of the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* does not depict a *ryūtō gekishu* boat, but it is likely floating about somewhere in the south pond.

As we have seen above, the Chōkin no Gyōkō scene realistically depicts items and actions that were not fully conveyed in the usages and practices document, *Saikyūki*, such as the attire of the emperor, retired emperor, and nobles; the items presented by the court ladies; the route of the imperial visit and the scenery along the way; and the arrangement of those in attendance.

3. Creation of the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* Event Scroll

During the Toba cloistered government, conflicts intensified within the imperial family and the regent’s family surrounding the issues of succession to the throne and the inheritance of manors. In the imperial family, the opposition was between Cloistered Emperor Toba and Retired Emperor Sutoku 崇徳 (1119–1164; r. 1123–1142), and in the regent family, the opposition was between Chief Imperial Advisor Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097–1164) and Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Yoritada 藤原頼長 (1120–1156). In the seventh month of Kyūju 2 (1155), Emperor Go-Shirakawa acceded to the throne, and upon Retired Emperor Toba’s death in the seventh month of Hōgen 1 (1156), Retired Emperor Sutoku’s side raised an army which was then defeated after attacks by Minamoto no Yoshitomo 源義朝 (1123–1160) and Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181) on the emperor’s side. This was the first battle to occur within the city of Heian-kyō since its founding, and it further damaged the greater palace area, which had been falling into decay since the second half of the tenth century. In the second month of the following year, Emperor Go-Shirakawa accepted a proposal by advisor Shinzei 信西 (Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲, 1106–1159) and decided to reconstruct the greater palace area, which was completed in only eight months. Then, on the twenty-second day of the first month, Hōgen 3 (1158), he revived the custom of private banquets, which had been long discontinued.¹⁷ This day is depicted as follows in volume 3, chapter 4, tale 98 of the *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集, a collection of stories compiled in the mid-Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185–1333).

Private banquets had begun in the Kōnin years, but were discontinued in the Chōgen 長元 years (1028–1037). While they were supposed to be revived on the twenty-first day of the first month, Hōgen 3, due to the rain that day, the banquet was moved to the twenty-second.¹⁸

17 On the history of the period from the outbreak of the Hōgen Rebellion to the establishment of Go-Shirakawa’s government, see Kōchi Shōsuke 河内祥輔 and Nitta Ichirō 新田一郎, *Tennō to chūsei no buke* 天皇と中世の武家 (*Tennō no rekishi* 天皇の歴史, vol. 4), Kōdansha, 2011, pp. 16–51; and Mikawa Kei 美川圭, *Goshirakawa tennō: Nihon daiichi no daitengu* 後白河天皇：日本第一の大天狗, Minerva Shobō, 2015, pp. 13–106.

18 Nishio Kōichi 西尾光一 and Kobayashi Yasuharu 小林保治, eds., *Kokon chomonjū jō* 古今著聞集 上 (*Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* 新潮日本古典集成, vol. 59), Shinchōsha, 1983, p. 151.

Private banquets were an annual imperial court event held on the day of the rat, between the twenty-first and twenty-third days of the first month, on the south corridor of the central pavilion of the imperial palace. The emperor, crown prince, and senior court officials would attend and call on persons of letters of lower noble ranks to write literary works and take part in the banquet festivities. According to the *Kokon chomonjū*, these banquets began in the Kōnin era and discontinued in Chōgen 7 (1034), and were then revived 124 years later in Hōgen 3. The banquet that year had in attendance chief advisor Fujiwara no Tadamichi (aged sixty-two), Grand Minister Fujiwara no Munesuke 藤原宗輔 (aged eighty-two), and other nobles and court officials; it was apparently a magnificent event “hearkening back to old times.”¹⁹

Furthermore, on the twenty-second day of the sixth month of Hōgen 3, Emperor Go-Shirakawa revived the sumo wrestling seasonal court banquet, which had been discontinued for thirty-five years. After all the passion he threw into reconstructing the greater palace area and reviving the imperial council, Emperor Go-Shirakawa abdicated to Imperial Crown Prince Morihito on the eleventh day of the eighth month of Hōgen 3 (1158), after ruling for only three years, and began his cloistered rule as retired emperor. Over the thirty-year period of his cloistered government, as mentioned above, Go-Shirakawa is thought to have had many illustrated scrolls of events produced. In this way, Emperor Go-Shirakawa reproduced the spectacles of the greater palace he rebuilt and the imperial council he revived during his reign in a series of event scroll paintings; the *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, in particular, came to be completed as an encyclopedia of imperial court events based on documents recording the usages and practices of the court.²⁰

The *Nenjū gyōji emaki* was completed around 1165, and is said to have included over sixty volumes, although most were lost in wartime fires. What remains are sixteen reproductions, made by the father and son Sumiyoshi Jokei and Gukei in the early Edo period based on some of the originals, as well as three other reproductions. On the imperial command of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, the originals are thought to have been painted by official imperial artist Tokiwa Genji Mitsunaga 常盤源二光長 (d.u.), with clean copies of the *kotobagaki* 詞書 (captions) being delegated to Chancellor Fujiwara no Norinaga 藤原教長 (1109–1180).²¹ Additionally, Fujiwara no Motofusa 藤原基房 (1144–1230), son of chief advisor Fujiwara no Tadamichi and expert in studies of the usages and practices of the court, was appointed in the role of “director of editing.”

Kokon chomonjū, volume 11, illustration 16, tale 397, states:

During the reign of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, a raised cloth picture illustrating annual events, Matsudono Motofusa.

During the era of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, annual events were depicted in paintings,

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 151–153.

²⁰ On the context of the production of the *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, see discussions by Komatsu, *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, pp. 106–123, and Mikawa, *Goshirakawa tennō*, pp. 34–42.

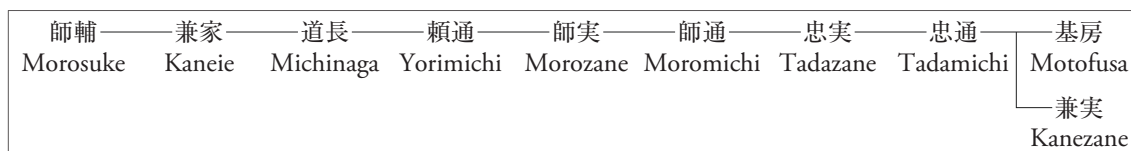
²¹ The *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (reproduction) includes the addition of a postscript by Sumiyoshi Jokei which notes, “Occasional writer, Minister Masatsune. Painter, Mitsunaga.” According to a study by Komatsu Shigemi, this note’s calligraphy penmanship is that of Fujiwara no Norinaga. See Komatsu, *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, pp. 122–123.

and with much appreciation were presented to Matsudono. He observed them closely, and noted the places with errors on blotting paper, signing and sealing them with his own handwriting and returning the notes to the cloistered emperor for viewing. On the decision that the paintings needed to be redone, the cloistered emperor said: “How could we correct paintings bearing blotting paper marked with the signature of such a person? With this, these paintings are already a priceless treasure.” As such, they were included in the treasure house at Rengeō-in. The blotting paper is still there. It is really an incredible thing.²²

In other words, when Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa showed a well-made annual event painting to Fujiwara no Motofusa, Motofusa thoroughly looked it over, wrote down some notes about places that had errors, and returned these to Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa. Usually, one would follow the notes and redo the paintings, but Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa regarded the memo of such a person as Motofusa to be a treasure and added the paintings as-is to the treasure house collection at Rengeō-in, which was built for him by Taira no Kiyomori.

Fujiwara no Motofusa became regent in 1166 and served as chief advisor to the emperor from 1172 to 1179. Intimately involved with the imperial council, he was respected by the imperial court as a learned leader. Looking at Motofusa’s origins, the diagram below indicates that one of his ancestors was Morosuke, who was born the second son of chief imperial advisor Tadamichi and completed the Kujō school’s study of court usages and practices. Morosuke’s descendants were blessed with many daughters, and for eight successive generations of emperors, from the reign of the sixty-third emperor, Reizei 冷泉 (950–1011; r. 967–969), to the seventieth emperor, Go-Reizei 後冷泉 (1025–1068; r. 1045–1068), he monopolized the position of regent and chief advisor as a maternal relative of the emperor. Father and son Fujiwara no Michinaga 道長 and Yorimichi 頼通 built the golden age of regency government, and their descendants, called the Midō 御堂 school, inherited the position of regent and chief advisor for generations as Fujiwara family elders. This is why imperial ceremonies were executed based on the *Kujō nenjū gyōji* 九条年中行事, and why the Kujō school’s studies on imperial usage and practice predominated over other schools. It is safe to say that this is the context in which Motofusa’s studies in court usage and practice were highly esteemed during Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa’s government.

Fujiwara no Motofusa’s lineage



22 Nishio and Kobayashi, eds., *Kokon chomonjū ge* 古今著聞集 下 (*Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei*, vol. 76), Shinchōsha, 1986, pp. 40–41.

4. Items and Actions Depicted in the *Ban Dainagon emaki*

As with the event scroll paintings, Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's government also produced a large volume of narrative illustrated scrolls, one of which, the *Ban Dainagon emaki* (Illustrated Scroll of Chief Councilor Ban), is a Japanese national treasure counted among the four major picture scrolls in the country. This illustrated scroll depicts the conspiracy and downfall of Dainagon (chief councilor of state) Tomo no Yoshio 伴善男 (811–868) in the context of the conflagration of the Ōtenmon 応天門 gate of the Heian Palace by arson, which occurred on the night of the tenth day of the third month of Jōgan 貞観 8 (866), during the reign of the fifty-sixth emperor, Seiwa 清和 (850–881; r. 858–876), in the early Heian period. Estimated to have been produced in the second half of the twelfth century, or about three hundred years after the Ōtenmon Incident, the scroll is currently in possession of the Idemitsu Museum of Arts. Consisting of three volumes, according to Komatsu Shigemi, although it was recorded in the *Kanmon gyōki* as one volume, it was cut and reorganized into a three-volume work at the discretion of Wakasa Governor-General Sakai Tadakatsu 酒井忠勝 (1587–1662) in the seventeenth century.²³ As with the *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, the paintings are thought to have been done by court painter Tokiwa Genji Mitsunaga, who had been very active around Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, and the poetic *kotobagaki* were under the direction of noted calligraphist Fujiwara no Norinaga.

The *Ban Dainagon emaki* contains two lines of *kotobagaki* for both the second and third volumes, but the opening *kotobagaki* of the first volume have been lost to history. However, since the *kotobagaki* of the second and third volumes closely resemble tale 114, “Ban Dainagon Ōtenmon o yaku koto” (The Incident of Ban Dainagon Burning Ōtenmon) in the story collection *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 from the early Kamakura period, the *kotobagaki* of the first volume can generally be inferred. In terms of content, volume 1 depicts the conflagration of Ōtenmon through arson, and Grand Minister Fujiwara no Yoshifusa's visit to the emperor's habitual residence to admonish Emperor Seiwa to thoroughly search for the truth of the event; volume 2 depicts Minister of the Left Minamoto no Makoto 源信 (810–868) and his court ladies appealing to heaven for his innocence, and a fight between children that triggers the discovery of the true culprit; and volume 3 depicts the investigation of a servant who was an eyewitness at the site of the arson, and Dainagon Tomo no Yoshio being sent into exile.

The beginning of the first volume depicts a group of police and judicial chiefs rushing down Suzaku Boulevard toward the scene upon hearing news that Ōtenmon is ablaze (see figure 4). The government position of police and judicial chief under direct control of the emperor was established by the fifty-second emperor, Saga, to keep public order in the ancient capital of Heian. However, their professional duties gradually expanded to encompass duties that had originally belonged to the Ministries of the Left and Right and other security positions, including actions like investigating and apprehending criminals, and restraining and interrogating them. As a royal police force or military force centered on the emperor, by the regent's and advisor's era they wielded

23 Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Ban Dainagon ekotoba* 伴大納言絵詞 (*Nihon no emaki*, vol. 2), Chūōkōronsha, 1987, p. 100.



Figure 4. Group of police and judicial chiefs mobilizing. *Ban Dainagon emaki*, vol. 1. Komatsu, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, pp. 2–3.



Figure 5. Group of police and judicial chiefs heading toward Ban Dainagon's residence. *Ban Dainagon emaki*, vol. 3. Komatsu, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, pp. 72–73.

their power to the fullest.²⁴ The *Ban Dainagon emaki* opens with a portrayal of the police and judicial chiefs and introduces them again in the third volume when they investigate the servant, chase down and capture Ban Dainagon (see figure 5), and escort him after his conviction. In this way, the scroll diligently communicated the scenery of the capital at the time of the Ōtenmon Incident. However, as it has been pointed out that the scene of the police and judicial chiefs charging out to the site of the fire leading soldiers mounted on horseback at the beginning of the first volume would have only occurred in a limited window of about thirty years in the late twelfth

24 Sasaki Keisuke 佐々木恵介, *Tennō to sesshō, kanpaku* 天皇と摂政・関白 (*Tennō no rekishi* 天皇の歴史, vol. 3), Kōdansha, 2011, pp. 186–187.

century;²⁵ this suggests that the capital depicted by the artist would have overlapped with the twelfth-century capital in which the illustrated scroll was created.

The scene in the *Ban Dainagon emaki* that has the biggest impact on viewers is likely that in which Ōtenmon is going up in flames. Various people are depicted looking at the fire from both sides of Ōtenmon as it is engulfed in flames. While there are many commoners in everyday clothing standing inside Suzakumon 朱雀門 gate downwind of the fire, on the upwind side in front of Kaishōmon 会昌門, government officials and their attendants are gathered. Since the inside of Suzakumon to the south side of Ōtenmon is downwind of the fire, there is a mantle of black smoke overhead and sparks falling, and the fear expressed in the depiction of the figures and facial expressions cannot be concealed (see figure 6). Meanwhile, there is less commotion among the senior court nobles, courtiers, lower nobility, and military officers gathered on the north side of Ōtenmon in front of Kaishōmon, since they are standing upwind; they are tossing awestruck or inquisitive looks toward the conflagration (see figure 7). Thus, unlike the narrative scroll *Genji monogatari emaki*, produced during the governments of retired emperors Shirakawa and Toba and depicting primarily imperial court life, the narrative scroll *Ban Dainagon emaki*, produced under Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, has a vivid energy that contrasts commoners and nobles. It shares this point with the previously mentioned event scroll *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, perhaps due to ideas unique to Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, who had close contact with wandering entertainers and commoners through *imayō* poetry.

The scene changes to one in which Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804–872), surrounded by mysterious characters in ceremonial court attire, visits the pavilion of the emperor's habitual residence immediately following the fire, and admonishes Emperor Seiwa to do a full investigation of the facts to find the truth (see figure 8). Emperor Seiwa, who receives Fujiwara no Yoshifusa in his bedchamber upon his sudden arrival, is sitting on a red-hemmed mattress, in a long scarlet *hakama*, donning an outer robe over his undergarments, with his hair left exposed. At this meeting with the emperor, Grand Minister Fujiwara no Yoshifusa advocates for the innocence of Minister of the Left Minamoto no Makoto, who had been falsely accused by Dainagon Tomo no Yoshio, wearing an upright *eboshi* 烏帽子 hat and everyday robes worn by the imperial family. The emperor is depicted with an uncovered head, and the Grand Minister in an upright *eboshi* and everyday attire, something that would have been inexcusable for a palace visit in that era. This conveys both the chaos of the situation and the close bonds between maternal grandfather Fujiwara no Yoshifusa and his grandson Emperor Seiwa.

Volume 2 opens with a depiction of an envoy heading to the residence of Minister of the Left Minamoto no Makoto to issue his pardon, as it has come to light through the admonitions of Fujiwara no Yoshifusa that Minamoto has been falsely accused. In this scene, where the facial expressions of the court ladies change from anguished to joyful when they get news of the pardon, the painting also depicts the implements of Minamoto no Makoto's residence. There is nothing but a metallic lacquered inkstone case with an open lid (see figure 9). In contrast, the inside of Tomo no Yoshio's residence depicted in volume 3, immediately after Tomo no Yoshio is taken away by the men who have been sent to capture him, includes many implements such as a metallic lacquered

25 Suzuki Keizō 鈴木敬三, *Shoki emakimono no fūzokuteki kenkyū* 初期絵巻物の風俗史的研究, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1960, pp. 505–507.



Figure 6. Group of people inside Suzakumon. *Ban Dainagon emaki*, vol. 1.
Komatsu, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, pp. 14–15.



Figure 7. Government officials in front of Kaishōmon. *Ban Dainagon emaki*, vol. 1.
Komatsu, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, pp. 22–23.



Figure 8. Emperor Seiwa and Fujiwara no Yoshifusa.
Ban Dainagon emaki, vol. 1.
Komatsu, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, p. 30.

mirror case, a container for hair ointment, a tray, a serving table, and a long-handled saké decanter (see figure 10). These portrayals contrast “simplicity” with “extravagance,” a theme which also appears in the scene of children fighting in volume 2. A security forces servant and an accountant for the Ban Dainagon household live side by side in a partitioned housing unit, but the servant’s home is sided with wicker, while the accountant’s is sided with clapboard, showing that the accountant’s home is economically affluent (see figure 11).

The children’s fight, which is painted using an intertemporal technique, triggers the discovery of the true culprit. It takes place in the fall, six months after the Ōtenmon fire, in a corner of an eastern alley in a neighborhood of the capital. There is a fight between the children of a security forces servant and those of an accountant of the Ban Dainagon household, and their parents come outside. According to the *kotobagaki*, when the accountant defends his own children and tramples the servant’s children “as if to kill them,” the servant’s anger boils over, and he divulges that he witnessed the scene of the arson. This starts rumors that Ban Dainagon was himself the true culprit in the Ōtenmon fire—this section of volume 2 portrays the townspeople one after another, including those who saw the fight and those who spread the rumors. The faces of characters from the lower class are not depicted in the typical *hikime kagibana* 引目鉤鼻 (“slit eyes and hook nose”) nondescript style, but are instead depicted with rich facial expressions (see figure 11).

5. Creation of the *Ban Dainagon emaki*

The *Ban Dainagon emaki* is an illustrated scroll on the topic of the Ōtenmon Incident which took place in Jōgan 8 (866); however, it does not convey the history of the Ōtenmon Incident itself. The Ōtenmon Incident is recorded in the national history *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録, completed by the sixtieth emperor, Daigo, in Engi 延喜 1 (901). Reading this work, we see that there is scant information about the Ōtenmon fire itself, stating only, in the record for the tenth day of the third month of Jōgan 8, under Emperor Seiwa: “Tenth day. Night. Ōtenmon fire. Spread up to the two buildings Seihōrō 棲鳳樓 and Shōranrō 翔鸞樓.”²⁶ Then, the same text goes on to explain the handling of the incident after the fire in the record for the third day of the eighth month of Jōgan 8.²⁷ Ōyake no Takatori 大宅鷹取 (d.u.), a government official of Bitchū living in the eastern side of the capital, accused Dainagon Tomo no Yoshio and Uemon no Suke Tomo no Nakatsune 伴中庸 (d.u.) of setting fire to Ōtenmon. Then, the day after his accusation, Ōyake no Takatori was restrained by the police and judicial chiefs of the left (record for the fourth day of the eighth month, Jōgan 8), and on the seventh, at the command of the emperor, state councilors Minabuchi no Toshina 南淵年名 (808–877) and Fujiwara no Yoshitada questioned Tomo no Yoshio at the investigative bureau (record for the seventh day of the eighth month, Jōgan 8). On the twenty-ninth, Tomo no Yoshio’s son, Tomo no Nakatsune, was taken into custody at the Saemon office, and on the same day Ikue no Tsuneyama 生江恒山, who had killed Ōyake no Takatori’s daughter, was tortured (record for the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month, Jōgan 8).

26 Kuroita Katsumi 黑板勝美 and Kokushi Taikei Henshūkai 国史大系編修会, eds., *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (*Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系, vol. 4), Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1966, p. 180.

27 Ibid., p. 192.

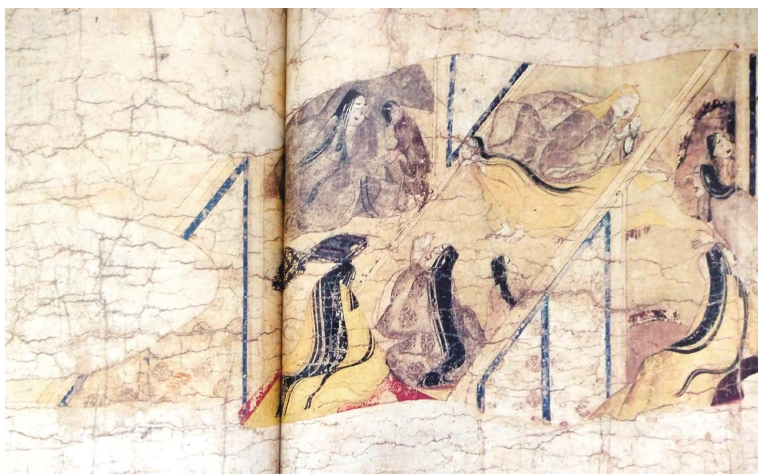


Figure 9. Court ladies of the Minister of the Left residence. *Ban Dainagon emaki*, vol. 2. Komatsu, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, pp. 44–45.

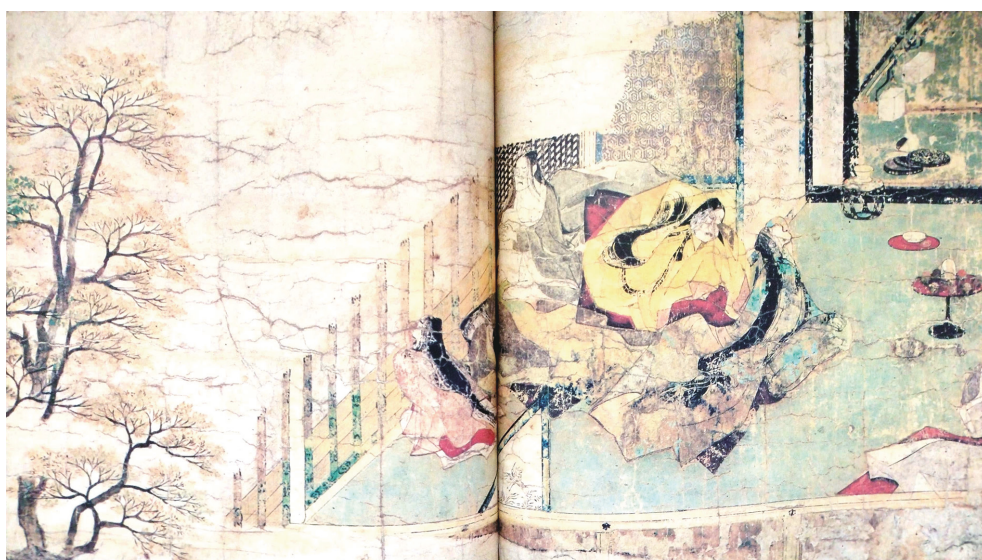


Figure 10. Dainagon residence after losing its master. *Ban Dainagon emaki*, vol. 3. Komatsu, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, pp. 80–81.



Figure 11. The servant's children fighting with the accountant's children. *Ban Dainagon emaki*, vol. 2. Komatsu, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, pp. 56–57.

The next day, Tomo no Kiyotada 伴清繩, co-conspirator of Ikue no Tsuneyama and another servant of Tomo no Yoshio, was also tortured (record for the thirtieth day of the eighth month, Jōgan 8). Then, six weeks after the accusation, on the twenty-second day of the ninth month, the record states that a total of thirteen people, including Tomo no Yoshio, were convicted for burning down Ōtenmon.²⁸

As we have seen above, the *Ban Dainagon emaki* depicts the Ōtenmon conflagration, the discovery of the true culprit, the restriction and questioning of plaintiffs by police and judicial chiefs, the pushiness of Tomo no Yoshio's attendants, and the punishment of the true culprit. While it does not convey history itself, this scroll does incorporate most of the elements of the Ōtenmon Incident recorded in the historical text *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*.

In the context in which the Ōtenmon Incident, which had occurred about three hundred years prior, was chosen as the subject of an illustrated scroll during the era of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, Komatsu Shigemi points out that the Tarō fire occurred on the night of the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month of Angen 安元 3 (1177), and the Jirō fire occurred the next year, on the night of the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of Jishō 治承 2 (1178).²⁹ The Tarō fire started in an alley in Higuchitomi, and fanned out to the northwest, fed by southeasterly winds. According to chief advisor Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207)'s diary *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, and the runological history book *Hyakurensō* 百鍊抄, completed in the late Kamakura period, the range of the fire extended about 180 *chō* 町 (roughly equivalent to 1.8 km²), from Tominokōji on the east, to Suzaku Boulevard on the west, to Rokujō on the south, and to the greater palace area in the north; the Grand Council of State building, which was at the south side main entrance of Ōtenmon, was lost in the fire. Furthermore, fourteen high-ranking court officials' residences were damaged in the fire, including that of *Nenjū gyōji emaki* editor and chief advisor Fujiwara no Motofusa. Many homes held extensive libraries, including those of Dainagon Tokudaiji Sanesada 徳大寺実定 (1139–1192), Dainagon Fujiwara no Takasue 藤原隆季 (1127–1185), Chūnagon Hino Sukenaga 日野資長 (1119–1195), Chūnagon Nakayama Tadachika 中山忠親 (1132–1195), Chūnagon Minamoto no Masayori 源雅頼 (1127–1190), and Sanmi Fujiwara no Toshitsune 藤原俊経 (1113–1191); however, as Kujō Kanezane lamented, “Today we have suffered disaster, our dynasty is in ruins, this is the end of an era, a tragedy,”³⁰ indicating the tremendous toll the fire took on their libraries. In *Hōjōki* 方丈記 (An Account of My Hut), poet and essayist Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155–1216) writes, “Besides, the losses were incalculable. Perhaps a third of the entire city was destroyed.” As his writing shows, the great fire of Angen 3 left one third of the capital in ashes. Furthermore, the Jirō fire the following year started around Shichijō-dōri and Higashinotōin, and is thought to have spread along Shichijō Boulevard to Suzaku Boulevard.

The series of great fires that occurred in the capital must have been extremely worrying for Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, as he had just rebuilt the greater palace area twenty years prior. It would only be natural for him and those around him, who watched the Council Hall and the rest

28 Ibid., p. 195.

29 Komatsu, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, pp. 98–111.

30 Fujiwara no Kanezane 藤原兼実, *Gyokuyō*, vol. 2, Kokusho Kankōkai, 1906, p. 317. Fujiwara no Kanezane is also known as Kujō Kanezane, as he was the founder of the Kujō family, that is, the head family descending from Fujiwara Hokke.

of the Grand Council of State buildings be consumed in the fire right in front of their eyes, to be reminded of the Ōtenmon Incident three hundred years earlier. Perhaps the realistic depictions of the flames and the gathering crowd at the beginning of the *Ban Dainagon emaki* are largely owed to the firsthand experience the creators would have had of the great fires that occurred under Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's government. This may also be the origin of the method of painting, by layering contemporary reality on top of historical records, as mentioned above in the depiction of the police and judicial chiefs. In addition to the conflagration of the greater palace area, we can surmise that the burning of written documents would have been a shocking event to Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, who had produced the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* and committed himself to reproducing imperial court functions based on studies of imperial court usages and practices.

6. Depicted Royal Authority

Annual imperial court events in ancient Japan were ceremonies that were conducted at certain times of the year as customs and imparted a rhythm to the process of daily life throughout the year. The calendar was brought to Japan from China via the Korean Peninsula during the Asuka 飛鳥 period (592–710).³¹ However, it was first used in the twelfth year of the thirty-third empress, Suiko 推古 (604).³² The adoption of the calendar was accompanied by the establishment of an emperor-centered state with centralized authoritarian rule, and annual events developed as functions of the imperial court.

In Enryaku 延暦 13 (794), the fiftieth emperor, Kanmu 桓武 (737–806; r. 781–806), moved the capital to Kadonogun, Yamashiro no Kuni, and named it Heian-kyō, marking the beginning of the Heian period. Emperor Kanmu, who had ancestry from Chinese and Korean settlers to ancient Japan, adored Chinese culture.³³ His son, the fifty-second emperor, Saga, was educated by his father and fervently absorbed the products of Chinese civilization. He appointed writing instructor Sugawara no Kiyotomo 菅原清公 (770–842), whose career included visiting Tang China as an official envoy, and implemented a series of Sinification policies. In Kōnin 9 (818), Emperor Saga handed down an imperial decree which stated that along with revising ceremonies in the country and men's and women's attire to match the Tang Chinese style, court rank diplomas for level five and above would also be changed to the Chinese format. Furthermore, all palaces, temple buildings, gates, and so on, were given new framed titles, as stated in the *Nihon kiriyaku*

31 In the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, tenth month of the tenth year of Empress Suiko, it is recorded: "Winter, tenth month. A Baekje priest named Kwal-leuk arrived and presented by way of tribute books of calendar-making, of astronomy, and of geography, and books of the art of invisibility and of magic." Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之, Naoki Kōjirō 直木孝次郎, Nishimiya Kazutami 西宮一民, Kuranaka Susumu 蔵中進, and Mōri Masamori 毛利正守, eds. and trans., *Nihon shoki (Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū)* 新編日本古典文学全集, vol. 3), Shōgakusan, 1996, p. 538.

32 From *Seiji yōryaku* 政事要略, volume 25, annual event twenty-five, eleventh month. This suggests that, while the calendar may not have been circulating in society, it was used in Japan from the time of Suiko.

33 According to the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀, in the twelfth month of Enryaku 8 under Emperor Kanmu, the next year's New Year of the Water Rat, Emperor Kanmu's mother Takano no Niigasa was the daughter of Yamato no Ototsugu, descendant of Prince Junda, son of King Muryeong of Baekje.

日本紀略 on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month of Kōnin 9: “On this day, with control, we shall hang frames with new names written.” In Kōnin 12 (821), the *Dairishiki* 内裏式 was completed as a book of the emperor’s ceremonies (compiled by Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu and others). This work describes both established and provisional ceremonies conducted in the imperial court in the early Heian period, detailing the characteristics of each event.³⁴

Starting in Jōgan 14 (872), Emperor Saga’s great-grandson and the fifty-sixth emperor, Seiwa, created the *Jōgan gishiki* 貞観儀式 as a new work on ceremonies; at this point, we could say that Japan’s imperial court events and their ceremonies were more or less complete, while being heavily influenced by Chinese customs.

From the second half of the ninth century into the tenth century, as Japan’s relationship with China went through major changes, a type of national culture (*kokufū bunka* 国風文化) was born, centered on aristocratic society, which conformed to the Japanese climate, customs, and manners, even while having absorbed Chinese culture up to that point. With the development of the *kana* syllabary, it became easier to compose poetry and prose in Japanese, and instead of the earlier collections of Chinese-language poetry and writings, the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集, thought to have been completed in Engi 5 (905), was created as the first collection of *waka* 和歌 poetry compiled for the emperor. Satō Sekiko focuses on the fact that the *Kokin wakashū* was written based on a cursive *kana* script used to record *waka* poetry of that time, and while it has a preface written in *kana* (*kana-jo* 仮名序), it also has a preface written in Chinese characters, called the *mana-jo* 真名序. She writes, “We can infer the editors’ intentions to give authority to *waka* through Chinese writing and the study of Chinese classics” and points out that “starting with the early ninth century, right after Emperor Saga laid out a thorough policy of Sinification, the tone of time-honored Japanese styles gradually became stronger in the culture, and by the eleventh century, the ‘Japanese’ and ‘Chinese’ influences were equal.”³⁵ In this way, imperial court events started out on a path from imitating Chinese events to Japanification, and according to *Uda Tennō gyōki* 宇多天皇御記 cited in the *Moromitsu nenjū gyōji* 師光年中行事,³⁶ folk events such as eating rice gruel containing the seven plants of spring on the fifteenth day of the first month of the year and eating peach blossom rice cakes on the third day of the third month were adopted by the imperial court.

Yamanaka Yū 山中裕 points out that the annual events of the sixtieth emperor, Daigo, and the sixty-second emperor, Murakami 村上 (926–967; r. 946–967), “tended to be made aristocratic,” and that since Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880–949) endeavored to develop “elegant events,” he established the Tadahira school of ceremonies which “were the guidelines for regents and cabinet ministers at imperial court events.” She continues, “The completion of the Fujiwara family’s method of producing ceremonies meant a shift away from emperor-centered ceremony

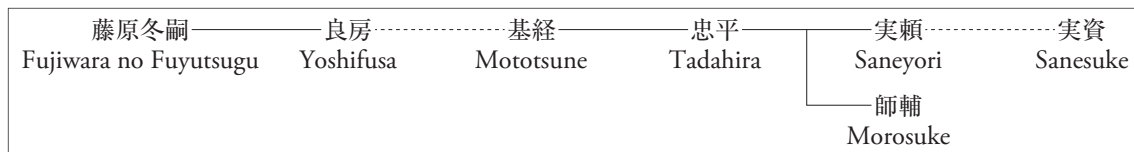
34 For a detailed study on the creation of the *Dairishiki*, see Tokoro Isao 所功, *Heianchō gishikisho seiritsushi no kenkyū* 平安朝儀式書成立史の研究, Kokusho Kankōkai, 1985, pp. 13–29.

35 Satō Sekiko 佐藤勢紀子, “Kanbun no shisō, wabun no shisō” 漢文の思想・和文の思想, in Satō Hiroo 佐藤弘夫 and Hirayama Yō 平山洋, eds., *Gaisetsu Nihon shisōshi* 概説日本思想史 (rev. ed.), Minerva Shobō, 2020, pp. 59–66.

36 Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, ed., *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* 続群書類従, vol. 10 (1), Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 1926, p. 336.

methods to noble-centered methods.”³⁷ The imperial court event ceremonial methods compiled by Fujiwara no Tadahira were inherited by his sons Morosuke and Saneyori 実頼 (900–970). Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Morosuke completed the *Kujō nenjū gyōji*, perfecting the Kujō school of studies in court usages and practices, and Saneyori’s adopted son and Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046) completed the *Ono no Miya nenjū gyōji* 小野宮年中行事, perfecting the Ono no Miya school of studies in court usage and practice. Thus, high-ranking court nobles carried out the tasks of organizing and recording the imperial court events that had gradually been Japanized starting in the late ninth century, and the family lineages of studies in court usages and practices were highly esteemed in Heian-period noble society.

Genealogy of the family studying court usages and practices



The anecdote from the *Kokon chomonjū* mentioning the importance that Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa placed on the blotting paper with comments by Fujiwara no Motofusa could be seen to reflect to some extent his intentions in producing the *Nenjū gyōji emaki*. The comment paper notes the parts of the work that contain errors, but from our perspective, while these really are errors, in a sense this is also a valuable document showing the differences between tradition and the present. Speaking only of the Chōkin no Gyōkō in volume 1 of the *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, the fact that the Chōkin no Gyōkō imperial court event that was Japanized while being based on a Chinese ceremony was chosen as the theme for an illustrated scroll is itself fascinating. The customs that had been strongly influenced by Chinese customs as Emperor Saga was in the process of establishing a series of Tang-style policies are depicted, but more typically Japanese customs developed by Heian nobles are also depicted. For Fujiwara no Motofusa, an expert in ancient practices, who respected conventional practices, anything that did not follow convention would have been an error; however, for “culture king” Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, the parts that did not follow convention may have shown the changes taking place in the development of annual events.

In this period, *yamato-e* were reaching a level of maturity in their themes and style, and Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa may have wanted to use illustrated scrolls, with their narrative capacity, to convey the spectacle of annual events in a way that writings on ancient practices, like the *Saikyūki*, could not.

Furthermore, looking at the composition of Chōkin no Gyōkō, two spaces have been created for the opening and ending sections. The opening section depicts the emperor departing from the Imperial Palace and heading to the palace of the retired emperor, under the watchful eyes of the regent and other military and civilian officials (see figure 1). The ending section depicts a scene in which the emperor and retired emperor watch a performance of dance and music together (see

37 Yamanaka Yū, “Nenju gyōji sono arubeki Sugata: Kyūtei gyōji teichaku made no dōtei” 年中行事そのあるべき姿：宮廷行事定着までの道程, in *Emakimono no kanshō kisochishiki* 絵巻物の鑑賞基礎知識, Wakasugi Junji 若杉準治, ed., Shibundō, 1995, pp. 261–267.

figure 3). In both scenes, the nobles are ranked according to their location. Furthermore, the shift from a space containing the emperor and regent to a space which includes the retired emperor seems to show the shift from the regency government period to the cloistered emperor government period. Additionally, in that process, crowds of common people also appear as spectators. The production of the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* may have included the intention to reconfirm the form of government in which the emperor, regent, and retired emperor jointly governed during the cloistered rule period, in other words, the state of royal authority.

Meanwhile, the *Ban Dainagon emaki* may have played a similar role to the *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, as it was produced after being triggered by the Tarō and Jirō fires that occurred under Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's government. Nitō Satoko 仁藤智子 points out that when the *Ban Dainagon emaki* was produced, “people's awareness of the incident at the time was expressed with the phrase ‘how regrettable,’ inferring that they perceived Ban Dainagon to have been falsely accused.”³⁸ However, from our perspective, the point of producing the *Ban Dainagon emaki* as spearheaded by Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa was not to convey that Ban Dainagon was falsely accused, but rather that the focal point may have been the changes that the Ōtenmon Incident brought about in the state of royal authority.

As mentioned above, the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* lists the course of events following the Ōtenmon fire as follows: 1. Ōyake no Takatori's accusation, 2. restraint of Ōyake no Takatori, 3. Tomo no Yoshio's interrogation, 4. detention of Tomo no Nakatsune and torture of Ikue no Tsuneyama and Tomo no Kiyotada, and 5. Tomo no Yoshio's conviction. Here, half a month after Ōyake no Takatori's accusation, on the nineteenth day of the eighth month of Jōgan 8 (866), it is stated, “Imperial decree, Grand Minister. Assumes control of government,”³⁹ meaning that Fujiwara no Yoshifusa was appointed the first retainer to become regent. Thus, through this incident, Fujiwara no Yoshifusa led the Hokke 北家 branch of the Fujiwara clan to prosperity, paving the way for the regency government. As stated in the section on the twenty-second day of the ninth month of Jōgan 8, the thirteen people exiled as a result of this incident were all from the Ban (Tomo) family or the Ki family, and both families thus drifted away from central political circles. The Ōtenmon Incident was no more than one among a series of incidents in which the Fujiwara Hokke branch ostracized other families. They increased their authority in the central political world by ousting Tomo no Kowamine 伴健岑 (d.u.) and Tachibana no Hayanari 橘逸勢 (782?–842) through the Jōwa Incident in Jōwa 承和 9 (842) during the reign of the fifty-fourth emperor, Ninmyō; Sugawara no Michizane through the Shōtai Incident in Shōtai 昌泰 4 (901) during the reign of Emperor Daigo; and Minamoto no Takaakira through the Anna Incident in Anna 安和 2 (969) during the reign of Emperor Reizei.

Behind Fujiwara Hokke's rise to power, descendants of Fujiwara Hokke regents came to monopolize the upper ranks of the nobility along with the descendants of emperors. As Sasaki Keisuke mentions, in the early period during the reigns of the sixty-fourth emperor, Ichijō 一条 (980–1011; r. 986–1011), and the sixty-eighth emperor, Go-Ichijō 後一条 (1008–1036; r. 1016–1036), there appears “the archetypal formation in which the people ascending to positions

38 Nitō Satoko, “Ōtenmon no hen to *Ban Dainagon emaki*: Kiroku to kioku no aida” 応天門の変と『伴大納言絵巻』：記録と記憶の間, *Kokushikan shigaku* 国史館史学, no. 19, 2015, p. 29.

39 Kuroita et al., *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, p. 193.

in the nucleus of the state, in other words, the people comprising royal authority, have made themselves at home, and their patriarchs have reached the summit of national politics ... in other words, this is a system in which the emperor's maternal grandfather becomes regent, and the emperor and his mother (the regent's daughter) compose a seamless royal authority underneath the regent.”⁴⁰ This system of royal authority and “clans” overlapping would later be inherited. However, the clan patriarch at the summit of national politics changed from regent to retired emperor with the arrival of the cloistered rule period, in which the form of government was a joint administration run by the retired emperor, emperor, and regent.

The theme of the *Ban Dainagon emaki* is an incident that helped bring about the Fujiwara Hokke's rise to power as the clan that had just laid the foundations for the political system of the cloistered rule period. The scroll also depicts Minister of the Left Minamoto no Makoto and his involvement in the incident, which was not specified in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*. Born the son of Emperor Saga, Minamoto no Makoto was granted the surname Minamoto as he stepped down to civilian status in Kōnin 5 (814). However, he held an important government position, along with his younger brothers Minamoto no Tokiwa 源常 (812–854) and Minamoto no Sadamu 源定 (815–863), who had also stepped down to civilian status. In Ten'an 天安 1 (857), when Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Yoshifusa was appointed Grand Minister, Dainagon Minamoto no Makoto ascended to the position of Minister of the Left. The *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* records, upon the death of Minamoto no Makoto in Jōgan 10 (868), on the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month: “In the winter of Jōgan 6, Dainagon Tomo no Yoshio and Minister Minamoto no Makoto confronted each other, and their relations worsened.”⁴¹ Then, again, on the twenty-second day of the ninth month of Jōgan 8, it states about Tomo no Yoshio, “Early in the Jōgan era, Tomo no Yoshio's relations with Minister of the Left Minamoto no Makoto worsened, and several years later, he tried to slander the minister with rumors of treason, but in the end it was he who committed a crime.”⁴² This suggests that there had always been friction between Minamoto no Makoto and Tomo no Yoshio, but it does not mention that after the Ōtenmon fire, Tomo no Yoshio pinned the blame on Minamoto no Makoto for the arson. However, even though the protagonist Tomo no Yoshio never appears, the *Ban Dainagon emaki* relates that Minamoto no Makoto was slandered by Tomo no Yoshio in two scenes: in volume 1, when “Grand Minister Fujiwara no Yoshifusa admonishes Emperor Seiwa to investigate the truth of the incident,” and in volume 2, when “Minister of the Left Minamoto no Makoto appeals to heaven for his innocence.” These depictions of Minamoto no Makoto being slandered by Tomo no Yoshio, which were not based on the Japanese historical records, reinforce the legitimacy of Fujiwara no Yoshifusa's actions, and simultaneously go on to justify the later prosperity of the Fujiwara Hokke, the start of the regency government, and the start of the cloistered government.

Thus, compared with event scrolls, narrative scrolls have the advantage of storytelling to not only reproduce the actual state of royal authority, but also the historical vicissitudes involved. Furthermore, by depicting the contrasting figures and facial expressions of officials and commoners watching Ōtenmon in flames, choosing the townscape as the setting for the children's fight that

40 Sasaki, *Tennō to sesshō, kanpaku*, p. 172.

41 Kuroita et al., *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, p. 238.

42 Ibid., pp. 196–197.

triggers the discovery of the true culprit, and having many commoners appear as spectators, the producers of this illustrated scroll further expanded the target audience that would reaffirm the state of royal authority.

Conclusion

This article examined the annual event scroll *Nenjū gyōji emaki* and the narrative scroll *Ban Dainagon emaki*, which were produced during Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's government. The *Nenjū gyōji emaki* depicts annual ceremonies, festivals, Buddhist services, and games at the imperial court, among nobility and in the town, during the late Heian period, while *Ban Dainagon emaki* depicts the conspiracy and downfall of Tomo no Yoshio in the story of the Ōtenmon Incident that occurred in the early Heian period. Various people appear in these scrolls, from retired emperors, emperors, and regents to high-ranking nobles, low-ranking officials, and commoners. They are ranked in these depictions, which reproduce not only the state of real royal authority during the cloistered government period, but also its basis, royal authority of the regency period, and the even earlier state of royal authority in the early Heian period. The scrolls were set in the capital city, perhaps because the real area of control enjoyed by royal authority in the early Heian period and later was limited to Heian-kyō and its outskirts.

With these scrolls, the state of royal authority in the cloistered rule period was reproduced, and furthermore, despite joint administration by the retired emperor, emperor, and regent, the retired emperor became a presence that surpassed the others. This is revealed by the fact that, while it is said that scroll paintings do not portray the faces of nobles, the faces of Emperor Seiwa (in *Ban Dainagon emaki*) and Emperor Nijō (in *Nenjū gyōji emaki*) are shown, but the retired emperor's face is not. Thus, during Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's government, under the political system following the regency government, in which royal authority overlapped with "clans," Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa recorded the historical vicissitudes of royal authority as a patriarch using illustrated scrolls. Without denying that Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa used the production of artistic works as a tool in political disputes, as far as *Nenjū gyōji emaki* and *Ban Dainagon emaki* are concerned, it appears that his primary objective in illustrated scroll production was to leave a record of royal authority from a sense of responsibility as a patriarch.

美術と王権
——後白河院政期の絵巻制作をめぐって——

潘 蕾*

本稿では、後白河院政期に制作された行事絵『年中行事絵巻』と物語絵『伴大納言絵巻』を取り上げ、そこに描かれ、語られているモノ・コトの分析を通して、絵巻の成立事情を考察し、その上で、絵巻制作と政治との関わりを検討する。その結果、後白河院による上記二幅の絵巻制作の最大の目的は、平安前期以来の王権のあり方を記録することであったと明らかにした。

キーワード：年中行事絵巻、伴大納言絵巻、行事絵、物語絵

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