Rites and Rule: Kiyomori at Itsukushima and Fukuhara

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"All my true intent, my faith is here."
Kiyomori's dedicatory prayer
for the *Heike nōkyō*

DURING THE LAST TWENTY YEARS of his life, Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181) achieved a brief but spectacular political ascendancy in which ritual played a crucial role. If the Taira had won the Genpei War, which engulfed Japan between 1180 and 1185, the daring ostentation of Kiyomori's ritual regime would have set the standard for his descendants and imitators. As a result of his family's defeat, however, Kiyomori has been marked with the stigma of failure. Historians, especially those writing in English, have preferred to attend to the war's victors, the Minamoto, and have tended to focus on political and military history.[1] This article is thus meant as an intervention. By placing

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[1] See, for instance, Jeffrey P. Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu: The Origins of Dual Government in Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), chap. 1; Wayne Farris, *Heavenly Warriors: The Evolution of Japan's Military, 500–1300* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992), chap. 7. Two comprehensive treatments in Japanese are Takahashi Masaaki 高橋昌明, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no*

ritual at the center of the following analysis I mean to reassess one of Japan's most famous but least understood historical figures, as well as our politically centered paradigm for early medieval history. To that end, I employ a theoretical model of "ritual regimes," a phrase I have coined to refer to flexible systems of rites through which members of the Heian elite constructed their lordship by figuring themselves as righteous, rightful rulers.

Influential work by David Kertzer, Clifford Geertz, and others has demonstrated the fruitfulness of analyzing politics and ritual together;[2] studies of rites of rulership have also come to embrace a broad cultural range, from Polynesian kings to European queens.[3] David Cannadine once wrote of English history that "there has been no systematic attempt to analyse such ceremonial in a long-term, comparative, contextual perspective."[4] Despite a growing body of research, the same can still be said about Japan, a situation this article redresses by framing a study of a specific case—Kiyomori's career—in broader theoretical terms and by providing a historical link between periods treated in other studies.[5]

Like the influential political historian Jeffrey Mass, I am convinced that the best way to understand Kiyomori is within the context of Heian-period norms, but I adopt a different perspective. Mass was

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yume 平清盛—福原の夢 (Kōdansha, 2007); Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, *Taira no Kiyomori* 平清盛 (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1999).

[2] David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[3] Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*, trans. Paula Wissing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[4] David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', *c.* 1820–1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 104.

[5] Joan R. Piggott and Thomas Donald Conlan have respectively analyzed the use of ritual to produce authority by early Japanese sovereigns and rival medieval courts. Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan has also examined the political significance of regional lords' ritual and iconographic programs during the mid-to-late Heian in *Hiraizumi: Buddhist Art and Regional Politics in Twelfth-Century Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998). Although resonating with the themes of that project, this article addresses the ritual politics of the central court.

concerned with the Kamakura period, and therefore perceived Taira "links to the past" as "deficiencies" and "inadequacies."[6] My research shows that Kiyomori was not a myopic conservative doomed to be outstripped by the more prescient Minamoto, but rather a creative ritual agent who competed successfully with his peers—the established aristocracy. Kiyomori painstakingly crafted a ritual program through which he transformed himself from an unremarkable scion of a warrior house into an imposing senior aristocrat. The rites in question were deeply performative in character, serving both to display and to enact Kiyomori's nobility; thus, they were saturated with political significance.[7] As Kertzer has argued, politics depends upon ritual, for rites furnish the symbols and structures that are the basis for political communication.[8] Indeed, all ritual is political, in that ritualization produces social differentiation, which is to say, power relations.[9]

The ritual regimes model that I propose here focuses on lay elites' cultivation of sites, rites, and texts over which they exerted direct control. In this respect, I am concerned with the internal dynamics of what the institutional historian Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 has called power blocs (*kenmon* 権門). According to Kuroda, royal and aristocratic houses—and also warrior lineages and religious complexes—formed conglomerates with extensive properties and resources. The head of each bloc exercised direct authority (if not always full control) over its constituent members, but no bloc grew so great that it was able to dominate its rivals; as a result, blocs were locked into external relations of interdependence.[10] Instead of investigating Taira relationships with

[6] Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu,* p. 36.

[7] For approaches to ritual that emphasize performance, see, for instance, Roy A. Rappaport, "The Obvious Aspects of Ritual," in his *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (Richmond, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1979), esp., pp. 174, 181; Ronald Grimes, "Performance," in *Theorizing Rituals,* ed. Jens Kreinath, Jan Snoek, and Michael Stausberg, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1:379–94.

[8] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, esp., chaps. 1, 9.

[9] On power and ritual, see, for instance, Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), chap. 3. On perceived conflicts in ritual studies between practice theory (of which Bell is a proponent) and performance theory, see Ronald Grimes, "Performance Theory and the Study of Ritual," in *New Approaches to the Study of Religion,* ed. Peter Antes et al., 2 vols. (New York: De Gruyter, 2004), 2:109–38.

[10] Kuroda Toshio, *Kenmon taisei ron* 権門体制論, vol. 1 in *Kuroda Toshio chosakushū* 黒田俊雄著作集 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1994); see also Mikael Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

other power blocs, such as those headed by the great temples Enryakuji and Kōfukuji, I emphasize two sites that were of central importance to Kiyomori but that have been all but overlooked in Western-language literature. These are Itsukushima 厳島, an island shrine off the coast of Hiroshima prefecture in what was historically Aki province; and Fukuhara 福原, a Taira settlement in present-day Kōbe that briefly became the capital just before the eruption of the Genpei War.[11]

Ritual regimes

Unlike other members of the apical elite—nobles of the third rank and higher and members of the royal family—Kiyomori was not born to rule. Like his father, Tadamori 忠盛 (1096–1153), and grandfather, Masamori 正盛 (d. 1121), he began as what Mass has called a military noble: a low-ranking member of the aristocracy who made a living through the arts of war. Both Tadamori and Masamori parlayed military service to the court into lucrative appointments as provincial governors, thereby establishing their family among the class of wealthy custodial governors (*zuryō* 受領). They also became clients of retired emperors by exchanging their prodigious economic resources for preferment in rank and office. Meanwhile, through their administrative appointments and military campaigns against rebels and brigands in the provinces, they developed strong ties to western Japan and maritime trade.[12] Following in his father's and grandfather's footsteps, Kiyomori worked as a governor, provided military service to retired emperors, and took an interest in trade with the continent. But none of these experiences equipped him to join the high aristocracy, let alone participate in executive governance as a member of the Council of State.

Kiyomori's fortunes shifted in 1160, when he was promoted to the third rank as a reward for frustrating the attempted coup known as the Heiji Disturbance. He was now a senior noble (*kugyō* 公卿).[13]

[11] It should be noted that the characters and pronunciations for the toponym Itsukushima have varied. A common choice in the twelfth century was Itsukishima 伊都岐島.

[12] For the careers of Masamori and Tadamori, as well as the history of the Ise Heishi (Kiyomori's branch of the Taira family), see Takahashi Masaaki, *Kiyomori izen: Ise Heishi no kōryū* 清盛以前——伊勢平氏の興隆 (Heibonsha, 1984); Motoki Yasuo 元木泰雄, *Inseiki seijishi kenkyū* 院政期政治史研究 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1996), chap. 9.

[13] The disturbance occurred in the twelfth month of Heiji 平治 1 (January 1160). This date is widely misreported in the secondary literature as correlating to 1159. For dis-

This breakthrough represented nothing less than a class shift for Kiyomori and his entire family. For years, the Ise branch of the Taira family (also known as the Ise Heishi) had lived out their lives in positions of clientage, never rising above the fourth rank at court.[14] Now that he had joined the apical elite, Kiyomori opened up opportunities for other members of his line. In the meantime, however, the Taira were plagued by a reputation as social arrivistes. If they were ever to become accepted members of court society, they needed to enhance their dignity.

In order to contend with his new peers, Kiyomori reinvented himself as a grand aristocrat. Without resorting to logic or argument, he began in the 1160s to develop a regular and distinctive program of rites, whereby he showed that the Taira belonged among the upper nobility because they ritualized like them. The *kugyō* and royals had long since undertaken practices that I analyze in terms of "ritual regimes."

Through ritual regimes men and women who were truly eminent (or hoped to become truly eminent) worked to construct their lordship. Like their political counterparts, ritual regimes operated on a symbolic level by expressing their patrons' authority and on an instrumental level by enacting their mastery. They were coercive, compelling the participation of clients, family members, and other groups; but they were also attractive, inviting imitation and competition from peers and rivals. When successful, ritual, including pilgrimage, generated status, and thus affected the social matrices through which power flowed. As a rule, ritual regimes were characterized by conspicuous devotion, the pious cousin of conspicuous consumption. Using piety as what Thorstein Veblen called a "means of repute," eminent men and women reaffirmed their membership in the ruling elite while vying with each other for preeminence in the ritual sphere.[15]

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cussions of the disturbance, see Gomi, *Taira no Kiyomori,* pp. 125–44; Farris, *Heavenly Warriors,* pp. 270–73; Takeuchi Rizō, "The Rise of the Warriors," in Donald Shively and William H. McCullough, eds., *Heian Japan,* vol. 2 of *The Cambridge History of Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 691–95. See also *Heiji monogatari* 平治物語, in *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系, ed. Satake Akihiro 佐竹昭広 et al., 100 vols. (Iwanami shoten, 1989–), vol. 43; Edwin O. Reischauer, trans., "Heiji Monogatari," in *Translations from Early Japanese Literature,* ed. Edwin O. Reischauer and Joseph Yamagiwa (Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1951), pp. 375–457. Kiyomori's promotion is dated to Eiryaku 永暦 1 (1160) 8/1 in *Kugyō bunin* 公卿補任, vols. 53–57 of *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系, ed. Kokushi Taikei Henshūkai 国史大系編集会 (1938; rpt. Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2007) [hereafter *SZKT*], 53:449.

[14] Tadamori, for instance, had risen only as far as the senior fourth upper rank.

[15] For the classic exposition of conspicuous consumption, see Thorstein Veblen, *Theory*

Although ritual regimes were complex, they can be fruitfully analyzed in terms of a tripartite structure of signature sites, rites, and texts. The most successful regimes boasted one metropolitan and one remote constellation of these elements. The metropolitan constellation generally consisted of a grand, semi-private Buddhist temple, where patrons tended to deposit a deluxe manuscript of an authoritative scripture—usually a full copy of the Buddhist canon—and where they sponsored a lavish, large-scale, and regularly scheduled rite. The remote constellation tended to be anchored in a distinctive pilgrimage site where kami worship played a major role and Buddhist theology took on a localized, nonnormative cast. There, the signature texts were generally sūtra manuscripts that had been copied by hand or specially commissioned by pilgrims. The signature rites, which tended to focus on those texts, included sūtra readings, sūtra burials, and dedicatory offerings.[16]

This schematic, threefold morphology reduces the multiplicity of elite ritual activity to a limited number of components. Two considerations make this simplification worthwhile. First, the ritual regimes model offers an interpretive reward: it enables one to think through a complex range of historical data. In highlighting connections between textual practices, specific locations, and ritual performances, it facilitates synthesis; and in highlighting dynamics of emulation and competition, it helps to explain ritual and political change. Second, the ritual regimes model is flexible; at the same time that it enables one to identify a core set of practices, it also allows that departure from norms could be just as significant as conformity. Furthermore, the model itself is open to adaptation. For instance, although I integrate visual culture and performance traditions into the category of "site," a historian of art or music might treat these as separate elements.

Generally speaking, ritual regimes were marked by four characteristics. First, they were distinctive and proprietary, and thus contributed to their masters' public personae. Patrons' conspicuous devotion demonstrated their elite status, and differentiated them from their peers. As Clifford Geertz wrote of nineteenth-century Balinese nobles, "Each

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of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions (1899; New York: Modern Library, 2001), esp., chap. 4.

[16] Victor Turner, "Pilgrimages as Social Processes," in his *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 166–230; D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), esp., chap. 4.

lord . . . sought to distance himself from his nearest rivals by expanding his ceremonial activity."[17] In Heian Japan, style joined expanse as a major concern: the masters of ritual regimes needed to lay claim to unique rites as the outward sign of their social distinction. They also owned or otherwise controlled the site, rite, and text that made up their metropolitan constellation. Signature metropolitan temples were not monasteries providing training and support to a resident community of monks and nuns (as we tend to think today); rather, they were private facilities used by a regime's master and close affines. Masters, and later their descendants, retained control of appointments to these temples' administration. Even signature temples that eventually accrued monastic populations tended to retain their affiliation with the patron's house instead of entering into main-temple/branch-temple relationships with other religious institutions.[18] By contrast, remote pilgrimage destinations were public: anyone willing and able to fund a journey and adhere to ritual protocol could—at least in theory—make a pilgrimage. Within this context, the masters of successful ritual regimes used abundant, consistent patronage to mark remote sites as "theirs": they went often and gave much.

Second, the metropolitan constellation of a ritual regime was heritable, whereas the remote constellation was shared. In this respect, ritual regimes contributed not only to individual but also to group identity. When patrons died, their metropolitan sites, rites, and texts became the patrimony of their heirs. Accordingly, the grandson of someone who had initiated a successful ritual regime inherited—and was expected to maintain—the temples, rites, and texts of his grandfather and father. At the same time, if he himself managed to retain sufficient political and economic influence, he would establish a distinctive metropolitan constellation of his own. By contrast, remote sites tended to be shared among lineage members: father, son, and grandson made the same pilgrimage, performed the same devotional rites, and engaged with the same or similar texts.

Third, ritual regimes were governed by paradoxical but mutually reinforcing imperatives: masters were expected to adhere to precedent

[17] Geertz, *Negara*, p. 133.

[18] Yamagishi Tsuneto 山岸常人, "Hosshōji no hyōka o megutte" 法勝寺の評価をめぐって, *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 426 (1998): 1–25 emphasizes the private, proprietary qualities of the "vow-temples" that I analyze as signatures.

but also to innovate. Adherence to precedent was the single most important criterion for acceptable behavior among the aristocracy.[19] To be legitimate, a particular action had to be based in tradition. At the same time, to be distinctive, a ritual gesture had to be novel. Thus, the masters of ritual regimes became masters of adaptation. Often they appropriated one portion of an established regime—for instance, a temple plan—and then introduced their own variations upon that theme. The resulting tension between precedent and innovation played out in the social dynamics of emulation and competition that were so central to conspicuous devotion.

Fourth, ritual regimes were compelling in both senses of the term: they were at once attractive and coercive. By appealing to the tastes and ambitions of high society, the masters of ritual regimes attracted the participation of their affines, clients, and peers. They used their rites to compel financial subsidies, attendance at rites, and other expressions of support. Ritual regimes thus visibly instantiated hierarchical relationships, memorializing their masters' ability to command fealty and cooperation.

Historically speaking, these four characteristics, along with the site-rite-text structure, can be traced back to the establishment of the regency.[20] To illustrate the dynamics of this tradition, as well as its impact on Kiyomori's choices, I will present one example of a ritual regime from the regency (mid-900s to circa 1110), when the Fujiwara regents were ascendant, and one from the period of "rule by retired emperors" (*insei* 院政, circa 1100 to 1221), when retired emperors achieved political preeminence. Then, in order to illuminate the dialogic nature of these ritual programs, as well as the immediate context for Kiyomori's activities, I will discuss the ritual regime of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192, r. 1155–1158), who began as Kiyomori's patron but ended as his enemy.

By far the most famous regent, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027) established an immensely successful ritual program that exemplifies

[19] On precedent, see Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol,* pp. 18–21; on the culture of recording and evaluating present practice for future reference, see Yoshida Sanae, "Aristocratic Journals and the Courtly Calendar," in *Teishinkōki: What Did A Heian Regent Do? The Year 939 in the Journal of Regent Fujiwara no Tadahira*, ed. Joan R. Piggott and Yoshida Sanae (Ithaca: Cornell East Asia Series, 2008), pp. 8–21.

[20] On the incipient ritual regime of Fujiwara no Tadahira and his sister Onshi in the first half of the tenth century, see Heather Blair, *Peak of Gold* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2008), pp. 68–72.

the qualities of a ritual regime. He began with a signature rite shaped by the paradoxical imperatives to emulate and innovate. This was the Thirty *Lotus* Lectures (*sanjikkō* 三十講), with which he expanded upon a precedent set by his sister Fujiwara no Senshi/Akiko 詮子 (also known as Higashi Sanjōin, 962–1002), among others. Whereas previous patrons had sponsored series of eight lectures, one for each of the eight scrolls in a standard manuscript of the *Lotus Sūtra,* Michinaga boldly increased the number of lectures to thirty. At a rate of one or two lectures per day, this enlarged series lasted for two weeks or a month and constituted a truly spectacular—and expensive—rite. By 1018, Michinaga had also acquired a truly distinctive text. This was the first printed copy of the Buddhist canon in Japan, a Song-dynasty xylograph, imported from China in 987 by the monk Chōnen 奝然 (938–1016).[21] By dint of owning this most technically advanced edition of the most authoritative body of scripture available, Michinaga fashioned himself as a lord of the Dharma. He installed this canon in Hōjōji 法成寺, a temple that was as grand as it was proprietary, which he had constructed across the Kamo River from his Tsuchimikado Mansion. Renowned for its architecture and sumptuous arrays of icons, Hōjōji dramatized the compelling aspects of ritual regimes: during construction, Michinaga prevailed upon junior and senior nobles to drag foundation stones through the streets and to carry dirt with their own hands.[22] Subsequently, members of high society testified to the temple's powers of attraction by rhapsodizing about its splendor.[23] During Michinaga's life, then, these three elements—the Thirty *Lotus* Lectures, the Song canon, and Hōjōji—functioned as Michinaga's signatures. Upon his death, they passed to his heir—a transfer that illustrates the heritable quality of a ritual regime.

[21] *Midō kanpakuki* 御堂関白記, Kannin 寛仁 2 (1018) 1/15, by Fujiwara no Michinaga, 3 vols., in *Dai Nihon kokiroku* 大日本古記録, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, 100+ vols. (Iwanami shoten, 1957–), 3:237.

[22] See, for instance, *Sakeiki* 左経記, Kannin 4 (1020) 2/12 and 2/15, by Minamoto no Tsuneyori 源経頼 (985–1039), in *Zōho shiryō taisei* 増補史料大成, ed. Shiryō Taisei Kankōkai, 48 vols. (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1965) [hereafter *ZST*], 6:88–89; *Shōyūki* 小右記, Jian 治安 3 (1023) 6/8 and 6/11, by Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046), 11 vols., in *Dai nihon kokiroku,* 6:171–72. For a detailed analysis of Hōjōji as a medium for and effect of Michinaga's "authority" (*ōken* 王権), see Uejima Susumu 上島享, *Nihon chūsei shakai no keisei to ōken* 日本中世社会の形成と王権 (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppankai, 2010), pp. 167–88.

[23] *Eiga monogatari* 栄華物語, in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集, 88 vols. (Shōgakukan, 1994-), 32:18.299–325.

The shared, group-oriented qualities of ritual regimes are apparent in Michinaga's remote constellation. As his father had done and his descendants would do, Michinaga made an arduous pilgrimage to Kinpusen 金峯山, a sacred mountain located about thirty-six miles southeast of contemporary Ōsaka, on the Kii Peninsula. Kinpusen functioned as the regents' signature site: from 969, when Fujiwara no Kaneie 藤原兼家 (929–990) made a pilgrimage, until the end of the eleventh century—a period precisely coextensive with the regents' political ascendancy—members of their patriline routinely traveled to Kinpusen in the longest, most challenging journey of their lives. Whereas other remote pilgrimage sites frequented by the same men—most notably Mt. Kōya 高野山—became shared sites, Kinpusen did not. Throughout the regency, the Fujiwara retained their status as its most eminent patrons.[24] On their journey to the mountain, they carried texts that were literally their signatures—sūtra manuscripts that they had copied by hand in golden ink on indigo paper. Once at the summit, they interred these texts in the distinctive rite of sūtra-burial.[25]

Retired Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053–1129), the primary architect of the *insei,* sought to outdo the regents by adopting their strategies. Accordingly, the dynamics of emulation and competition, and the mutuality of ritual and political change, are especially visible in his ritual regime. While he was still on the throne, Shirakawa began to construct a splendid new temple called Hosshōji 法勝寺; shortly thereafter, he inaugurated a brand new rite, the Mahāyāna Assembly (*daijō-e* 大乗会). The assembly was initially held to celebrate the completion of the first phase of a canon-copying project but quickly became an annual event, as well as an important venue for monastic promotions.[26] When that canon—written in gold ink on indigo paper—was

[24] Blair, *Peak of Gold.* Do note, however, that Emperor Shirakawa did visit Kinpusen once, in 1090. Heather Blair, "Mountain and Plain: Kinpusen and Kōfukuji in the Middle Ages," in *Nara, Nanto bukkyō no dentō to kakushin* 奈良・南都仏教の伝統と革新, ed. Samuel C. Morse and Nemoto Seiji 根本誠二 (Bensei shuppansha, 2010), pp. 1–39.

[25] Blair, *Peak of Gold,* pp. 151–88; D. Max Moerman, "Archaeology of Anxiety," in *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*, ed. Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 262–66.

[26] On the first Mahāyāna Assembly and its connection to the canon, see *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記, Jōryaku 承暦 2 (1078) 10/3 (*SZKT,* 12:320); cf. *Hyakurenshō* 百練抄, Jōryaku 2/10/3 (*SZKT,* 11:36); Kamikawa Michio 上川通夫, "Issaikyō to chūsei no bukkyō" 一切経と中世の仏教, *Nenpō chūseishi kenkyū* 年報中世史研究 24 (1999): 11, 12, 27 n. 25. For a recent reassessment of the importance of the Mahāyāna Assembly as one of the Three

finally completed in 1110, Shirakawa deposited it in Hosshōji.[27] These three components (Hosshōji, the Mahāyāna Assembly, and the blue-and-gold canon) functioned as Shirakawa's signatures.[28] They not only were proprietary, distinctive, heritable, and compelling but also constituted a dramatic expression of the tension between precedent and innovation. In each component Shirakawa was competing with the regents, as is illustrated by the case of the land upon which he built Hosshōji. He obtained the property from the Fujiwara regents and used a temple plan that was strikingly similar to Hōjōji's.[29] At the same time, he strove to outdo the regents by adding distinctive architectural features, such as a nine-story pagoda. This structure, the tallest in the capital, stood as a monument to Shirakawa's greatness.[30] Similarly, in celebrating the longest scriptures of the Buddhist canon, Shirakawa's Mahāyāna Assembly resonated with, but was distinct from, the Canon Assembly (*issaikyō-e* 一切経会), the signature rite of Michinaga's son, Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 (992–1074). In fact, Shirakawa copied the regents' canon directly, compelling them to lend him indices and manuscripts so that he could generate his own store of scripture.[31]

Assemblies of the Northern Capital (*hokkyō san'e* 北京三会), see Uejima Susumu, *Nihon chūsei shakai no keisei to ōken,* part 2, chap. 2, esp., pp. 442–46.

[27] *Denryaku* 殿暦, Ten'ei 天永 1 (=Tennin 天仁 3, 1110) 2/28, 2/29, 3/5, 3/11, 3/23, 5/11, by Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078–1162), 5 vols., in *Dai nihon kokiroku* (3:76, 78, 79, 81, 89); "Shirakawa'in kondei issaikyō kuyō goganmon" 白河院金泥一切経供養御願文, attributed to Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041–1111), in Yamazaki Makoto 山崎誠, *Gōtotoku nagon ganmonshū chūkai* 江都督納言願文集注解 (Hanawa shobō, 2010), pp. 32–33.

[28] Notably, Shirakawa later developed other signatures, the Tobadono 鳥羽殿 compound and the Thousandfold Offering (*senbu kuyō* 千部供養; see below for more on this rite). Clearly, real ritual practice did not necessarily conform to my ideal type, a regime comprised of single signatures.

[29] Tomishima Yoshiyuki 冨島義幸 and Takahashi Yasuo 高橋康夫, "Hosshōji no garan to kenchiku: sono enkaku saikō" 法勝寺の伽藍と建築——その沿革再考, *Kenchiku shigaku* 26 (1996): 34–53; Shimizu Hiroshi 清水擴, *Heian jidai bukkyō kenchikushi no kenkyū* 平安時代仏教建築史の研究 (Chuō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1992), pp. 91–104.

[30] Tomishima Yoshiyuki, "Inseiki ni okeru Hosshōji kondō no igi ni tsuite" 院政期における法勝寺金堂の意義について, *Nihongaku kenkyū* 4 (2001): 23–56.

[31] For the Canon Assembly and its role in Yorimichi's ritual regime, see Blair, *Peak of Gold,* 89–97. For Shirakawa's demands that the regents lend him manuscripts, see *Go-nijō Moromichiki* 後二条師通記, Eichō 永長 1 (1096) 4/5, by Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062–1099), 3 vols., in *Dai nihon kokiroku* (3:184); *Denryaku,* Kōwa 康和 4 (1102) 10/4 (1:158). Note that in the latter journal entry, the *Dai Nihon kokiroku* editors identify "the emperor" (namely, Horikawa 堀河, 1079–1187; r. 1087–1107), as the agent here; however, the man sent to request the manuscripts, Fujiwara no Nagamasa 藤原永雅 (n.d.), worked with Shirakawa and was likely acting on his behalf.

When his canon was complete, he made much of the fact that it was written in gold and therefore the best there could possibly be.[32]

For his remote constellation, Shirakawa moved from Kinpusen to Kumano 熊野, once again drawing on but departing from the established patterns of the regency.[33] Both sites are located within the Ōmine Range 大峰山脈 on the Kii Peninsula and are home to cults in which Buddhism and kami worship are inextricably entwined. But when Shirakawa began to travel repeatedly to Kumano in the 1110s, to install manuscript copies of the Buddhist canon and to conduct rites of offering there, he left Kinpusen (and the regents) behind. Significantly, this shift in territory, as well as the increase in the frequency of pilgrimage, occurred precisely when Shirakawa's political influence was coalescing into the *insei.* Shirakawa's ritual regime was traditional enough to legitimate his nascent political order but new enough to differentiate it from the regents'. New ritual regimes signaled new political orders.

These patterns set the horizons of possibility for later generations of royals and aristocrats, including Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, who was Shirakawa's great-grandson, and Kiyomori, a newly minted member of the upper nobility. From 1160 until 1177, these two men maintained a symbiotic relationship in the realms of politics and ritual, with each participating—albeit on a limited basis—in the other's ritual activities. The nature of their interdependence, however, changed over time. Initially, the Taira family's longstanding position as a house of military nobles and provincial governors ensured that Kiyomori would play the role of supporter to Go-Shirakawa. Then, during the 1170s, the retired emperor began to interact with his erstwhile client on an increasingly equal footing in the ritual sphere. Eventually, personal and political conflict destroyed this rapprochement, but until that time, the two ritual regimes, Kiyomori's and Go-Shirakawa's, intertwined.

The fact that Kiyomori and Go-Shirakawa took Buddhist orders together in mid-life exemplifies their longstanding interdependence. In

[32] "Shirakawa'in kondei issaikyō kuyō goganmon"; see n. 27.

[33] Shirakawa made his first pilgrimage to Kumano in 1090. *Chūyūki* 中右記, Kanji 寛治 4 (1090) 1.16, 1.22, 2.26, by Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062–1141), 7+ vols., in *Dai Nihon kokiroku* (1:49–52). He began to make repeated pilgrimages in the second decade of the eleventh century. For Kumano during the *insei,* see Moerman, *Localizing Paradise,* chap. 4.

1168, Kiyomori fell ill and he and his wife, Tokiko/Jishi 時子 (d. 1185), took the tonsure.[34] A year later, Go-Shirakawa followed suit, and shortly thereafter, he and Kiyomori took full ordination together at Tōdaiji 東大寺, a gesture that made them effectively Dharma brothers.[35] Neither man adopted a rigorous monastic lifestyle, nor did their new religious status obstruct their political activity. Their ordination did, however, seal their intimacy and provide them with new epithets. For the rest of his life Kiyomori was known as the chancellor novice (*nyūdō daishōkoku* 入道大相国), for he had served as chancellor and then taken orders, whereas Go-Shirakawa was best known as the Dharma Emperor (*hōō* 法皇).

Well before they took the tonsure, Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa and Kiyomori began to develop their ritual regimes in dialogue with one another. In the wake of the Heiji Disturbance, which had eliminated their rivals in 1160, they used their new-found political and social scope to embark upon a flurry of ritual activity. Go-Shirakawa assiduously followed the examples of other retired emperors, particularly his father, Toba 鳥羽 (1103–1156, r. 1107–1123), and great-grandfather. Nonetheless, two other factors proved to be his leitmotifs in the ritual sphere: he adopted an idiosyncratic, secularizing tone, and he consistently interacted with Kiyomori.

Go-Shirakawa began with an action that signaled what was to become an abiding interest in Kumano: in 1160 he established a branch shrine known as "the New Kumano" (Ima-Kumano 新熊野) within the precincts of his residential compound, the Hōjūjidono 法住寺殿, where he had just erected a mansion.[36] By siting the shrine where he

[34] *Hyōhanki,* 兵範記, Nin'an 仁安 3 (1168) 2/11, by Taira no Nobunori 平信範 (1112–1187), vols. 18–22 in *ZST*, 21:6; *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, by Kujō (Fujiwara) Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207), ed. Kokusho Kankōkai, 3 vols. (Meicho kankōkai, 1988), Nin'an 3/2/11 (1:40).

[35] *Gyokuyō*, Kaō 嘉応 1 (1169) 6/17 and Kaō 2 (1170) 4/19 (1:66–67, 93–94); *Hyakurenshō*, Kaō 1/6/17, 2/4/20 (*SZKT*, 11:84, 85).

[36] At the same time, Go-Shirakawa installed the Sannō 山王 deity on the Hōjūjidono grounds in a shrine known as Ima-Hie 新日吉; *Hyakurenshō,* Eiryaku 1 (1160) 10/16 (*SZKT,* 11:75). The Hōjūjidono complex had its beginnings in spoils from the disturbance, namely, land owned by Go-Shirakawa's supporter Shinzei 信西 (1106–1159) and a mansion owned by his enemy Fujiwara no Nobuyori 藤原信頼 (1133–1159). See Sugiyama Nobuzō 杉山信三, *Inge kenchiku no kenkyū* 院家建築の研究 (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1981), pp. 229–76, and Oboroya Hisashi 朧谷寿, "Hōjūjidono no bunkengakuteki kōsatsu" 法住寺殿の文献学的考察, in *Go-Shirakawa-in: dōranki no tennō,* ed. Kodaigaku Kyōkai (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1993), pp. 369–89.

lived, he emphasized his intimate connection with it. He then moved quickly to pair the new Kumano with the old. Several days after the branch shrine's dedication, he set off for the Kii Peninsula on his first documented Kumano pilgrimage.[37] Even in the context of the *insei*, Kumano became conspicuously associated with Go-Shirakawa, who, it was said, went there more often than any other retired emperor—thirty-four times.[38]

Go-Shirakawa's conservative repetition of the Kumano pilgrimage provided a legitimating basis that allowed him to indulge his more idiosyncratic predilections. At both Kumano and Ima-Kumano, he incorporated devotional performances of contemporary songs (*imayō* 今様) into his liturgical practice.[39] Ritual use of *imayō* fit with his well-known love for popular music, but he was also convinced that the songs were soteriologically effective.[40] With their distinctive, persistent quality, Go-Shirakawa's *imayō* liturgies constituted his signature remote rite. Notably, Kiyomori was party to these devotions, for he accompanied the retired emperor on his first pilgrimage to Kumano.[41] Though Kiyomori had made the journey before, he now performed the services of a loyal retainer within Go-Shirakawa's emergent ritual regime.

In establishing his signature site in the capital, Go-Shirakawa played the role of a great lord who could command service, while Kiyo-

[37] *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄; by Go-Shirakawa, in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 56:171–72; cf. Yung-Hee Kim Kwon, trans., "The Emperor's Songs: Go-Shirakawa and *Ryōjin Hishō Kudenshū*," *MN* 41.3 (1986): 289. See also *Hyakurenshō*, Eiryaku 1 (1160) 10/23 (*SZKT,* 11:75).

[38] This number may not be accurate. As Matsumoto Kōichi 松本公一 has pointed out, it comes from a document issued in 1192, exactly thirty-four years after Go-Shirakawa had abdicated. Nonetheless, the number has come to symbolize Go-Shirakawa's enthusiasm for Kumano. Matsumoto Kōichi, "Go-Shirakawa-in no shinkō sekai: Rengeōin, Kumano, Itsukushima, Onjōji o megutte" 後白河院の信仰世界——蓮華王院・熊野・厳島・園城寺をめぐって, *Bunka shigaku* 文化史学 50 (1994): 116. The document in question is a determination issued by Go-Shirakawa's chancellery (*in no chō* 院庁), dated to the first month of Kenkyū 建久 3 (1192), and now held by the Kyoto Ima-Kumano Shrine. Doc. 579 in *Kamakura ibun* 鎌倉遺文, komonjo-hen, ed. Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, 42 vols. (Tōkyōdō, 1971–91), 2:7–9.

[39] *Ryōjin hishō,* in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 56:171.

[40] He wrote, for instance, that when *imayō* "are sung with sincerity at shrines or temples, they bring about divine revelations and fulfill our wishes. They fulfill people's desires for official positions, they prolong human life, and they immediately cure illnesses." *Ryōjin hishō,* in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 56:178; trans. from Kwon, "The Emperor's Songs," p. 296; cf. pp. 270–71.

[41] See n. 37.

mori acted as his client. In 1164, Kiyomori underwrote construction of the Rengeōin 蓮華王院, a grandiose, thirty-three-bay buddha-hall enshrining one thousand images of Kannon (Skt. Avalokiteśvara; Ch. Guanyin), the bodhisattva of mercy, on the Hōjūjidono grounds.[42] In terms of its structure and patronage, the Rengeōin was modeled closely on precedent: a generation earlier, Tadamori had financed a hall with the same specifications for Go-Shirakawa's father, Retired Emperor Toba.[43] With this project, then, Go-Shirakawa was showing that though Kiyomori had become a senior noble, he was still the retired emperor's man.

Some years later, Go-Shirakawa increased Kiyomori's stake and status at the Rengeōin when he established the Comprehensive Shrine (Sōsha/Sōja 総社) there. Kiyomori had been making highly visible pilgrimages to Itsukushima since 1160, and on one of these, in 1174, Go-Shirakawa accompanied him. When he dedicated the Sōsha in 1175, Go-Shirakawa meant it to enshrine the gods of "the Twenty-one Shrines, from Hachiman 八幡 on down, and, in addition, those of Hinokuma 日前, Atsuta 熱田, Itsukushima, and Kehi 気比."[44] The Twenty-two Shrines—that is, the Twenty-one Shrines plus Ise—

[42] According to Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), Kiyomori funded the Rengeōin with resources from Bizen province. *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, by Jien, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系, ed. Takagi Ichinosuke et al., 100 vols. (Iwanami Shoten, 1967), 86:5.239. For translation, see Delmer Brown and Ichirō Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 118. According to *Kugyō bunin,* at the time of the Rengeōin's dedication in 1164, the Bizen governor was Taira no Kunimori 平国盛 (n.d.). Due to the fact that Kiyomori's son Shigemori 重盛 (1138–1179) was rewarded with a promotion when the cloister was dedicated (*SZKT,* 53:456), it appears that Bizen had become a proprietary province (*chigyō koku* 知行国) over which Kiyomori and Shigemori exerted sufficient control to direct its income as they saw fit.

[43] Note that Uno Shigeki 宇野茂樹 has suggested that it was Kiyomori who underwrote the final phases of construction of the Tokuchōjuin, pointing out that the final dedication was held on Heiji 1 (1159) 2/22, after both Toba and Tadamori had died. Uno, "Rengeōin: midō to sentaibutsu" 蓮華王院——御堂と千体仏, in *Go-Shirakawa-in: dōranki no tennō,* ed. Kodaigaku Kyōkai, pp. 423–31. On the context and precedents for the cloister, see Mukasa Akira 武笠朗, "Taira no Kiyomori no shinkō to Heishi zōji, zōbutsu" 平清盛の信仰と平氏造寺・造仏, part 2, *Jissen Joshi Daigaku bigaku bijutsu shigaku* 実践女子大学美学美術史学 14 (1999): 1–17.

[44] *Hyakurenshō,* Angen 1 安元 (1175) 6/16 (*SZKT,* 11:91); see also *Kikki* 吉記, Angen 1/6/16, by Yoshida (Fujiwara) Tsunefusa 藤原経房 (1143–1200), 3 vols., ed. Takahashi Hideki (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 2002–2009), 1:187–89. For the antecedents and significance of the Sōsha, see Mizutani Tagui 水谷類, "Sōsha no seiritsu" 惣社の成立, *Sundai shigaku* 駿台史学 63 (1985): 35–59; Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, "Chūsei ni okeru kamigami no kanjō" 中世に於ける神々の勧請, in *Chūsei bunkashi kenkyū* 中世文化史研究, ed. Takase Shigeo (Kyoto: Hoshino shoten, 1944), pp. 3–42.

formed a set of authoritative religious sites in the Kinai region. Distinguished by official patronage, they defined the home territory of the court and played a central role in the ideology of state-protection.[45] Go-Shirakawa's installation of these deities in his own buddha-hall was emblematic of his broader efforts to raise the profile of the Twenty-two Shrines and the prestige of the *insei* order that they protected.[46] By the same token, with Hinokuma, Atsuta, and Kehi, he was working to integrate regional deities into his own, centralizing ambitions. More importantly for the purpose of my discussion, in singling out Itsukushima, a western shrine that had become indelibly associated with the Taira, Go-Shirakawa was enshrining his ties to Kiyomori. He took this ritualization even further by instituting an annual festival, the Sōsha Matsuri 総社祭. This was a magnificent occasion, featuring entertainments such as votive dances (*kagura* 神楽) and wrestling matches (*sumō* 相撲). Some sticklers, like Kujō Kanezane, a member of the regents' house, were less than enthusiastic about Go-Shirakawa's ritual ostentation, but their displeasure did nothing to dampen the festival's popularity.[47] In fact, the Sōsha Matsuri soon became part of the court calendar of annual events,[48] and proved to be Go-Shirakawa's signature rite—a new festival that symbolically dramatized his centrality to the divine, state-protecting order and elevated the site favored by Kiyomori.

Go-Shirakawa's relationship with Kiyomori is less evident in the realm of texts, where the retired emperor tended toward the secular and the idiosyncratic. In the metropolitan domain, rather than sponsoring a canon, as his predecessors had done, he established an extensive library, which included secular literature, at the Rengeōin.

[45] On the establishment and significance of the Twenty-two Shrines, see Okada Shōji 岡田荘司, *Heian jidai no kokka to saishi* 平安時代の国家と祭祀 (Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1994), pp. 325–60, 500–505; Allan Grapard, "Institution, Ritual, and Ideology: The Twenty-Two Shrine-Temple Multiplexes of Heian Japan," *History of Religions* 27.3 (1988): 246–69.

[46] Okada, *Heian jidai no kokka to saishi*, pp. 501–3.

[47] *Gyokuyō*, Angen 1 (1175) 10/3 (1:480).

[48] *Hyakurenshō*, Angen 1 (1175) 10/3 (*SZKT*, 11:91); *Moromitsu nenjū gyōji* 師光年中行事, by Nakahara Moromitsu 中原師光 (1206–1265), in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 and Ōta Tōshirō 太田藤四郎, 37 vols. (Zoku gunsho ruijū kaneseikai, 1923), 10A:365a. Cf. *Gyokuyō*, Jishō 治承 3 (1179) 10/3 and Yōwa 養和 1 (1181) 10/3 (2:297, 531) for subsequent observances of the festival.

Although there were precedents for great bibliographic collections, Go-Shirakawa's became famous for its range, which extended from Chinese histories to Japanese poetry anthologies to illustrated handscrolls.[49] It is possible—though far from certain—that Kiyomori tendered his assistance in this matter, as well. Among the prestige goods that Kiyomori acquired from the continent were books, and this was at a time when new texts, editions, or copies were highly desirable commodities.[50] In the remote domain, Go-Shirakawa produced a text that once again reflected his interest in *imayō*. This was the *Ryōjin hishō,* a collection of songs accompanied by a narrative commentary that he wrote between the 1150s and 1179. Inasmuch as the anthology was the product of his own labor, the *Ryōjin hishō* bore Go-Shirakawa's signature. It was also connected with his pilgrimages to Kumano, which he described in detail, along with his conviction that *imayō,* and their performance and preservation, are among the best offerings one can make to the kami.[51]

With his Kumano pilgrimages, Go-Shirakawa proved himself to be the legitimate heir of the *insei*. By establishing the Ima-Kumano shrine, penning the *Ryōjin hishō,* and integrating *imayō* into his liturgical practice, he demonstrated his ability to introduce new ritual forms. Meanwhile, in the city he commanded a great store of cultural capital in the Rengeōin treasury. With the Sōsha Matsuri's performing arts and parading nobles, he showed that he could rival—and insert himself into—the public ceremonial calendar. And by having Kiyomori build the Rengeōin, he made his social mastery visible. All the while, he was interacting with Kiyomori, even as he argued in ritual terms for his own right to rule.

[49] Takei Akio 竹居明男, "Rengeōin no hōzō: nōmotsu, nendaiki, emaki" 蓮華王院の宝蔵——納物・年代記・絵巻, in *Go-Shirakawa-in: dōranki no tennō,* ed. Kodaigaku kyōkai, pp. 432–58.

[50] In 1179, for instance, Kiyomori gave a printed copy of three hundred volumes of the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 to his grandson, Crown Prince Tokihito 言仁, who later reigned as Emperor Antoku 安徳 (1178–1185, r. 1180–1185). *Sankaiki* 山槐記, Jishō 3 (1179) 12/16, by Nakayama (Fujiwara) Tadachika 中山忠親 (1131–1195), vols. 26–28 in *ZST* (27:328); *Hyakurenshō,* Jishō 3/12/16 (*SZKT,* 11:99). As Charlotte von Verschuer points out, with this gesture Kiyomori was likely imitating Michinaga. Von Verschuer, "Demystifying the Taira Trade Network" (paper presented at the conference "Lovable Losers: The Taira in Action and Memory," Banff, Alberta, Canada, August 2011), p. 21.

[51] See nn. 39, 40.

Kiyomori

Although his family's longstanding status as clients to the retired emperors had made Kiyomori familiar with the dynamics of emulation, competition, and coercion that characterize a ritual regime, in the first forty years of his life he had lacked the sociopolitical standing necessary to develop his own authoritative sites, rites, and texts. His promotion to the third rank in 1160, however, made it possible and advantageous for him to give up the life of a client for that of a great patron. He seized the opportunity to establish himself, first at Itsukushima around 1160, and then at Fukuhara around 1169. As I demonstrate below, he developed his ritual regime in three phases: commencement, elaboration, and destabilization.

Phase 1: Commencement, 1160–1167

Kiyomori chose Itsukushima as his preferred religious site for several important reasons. First, its location in western Honshū put it at the heart of Taira mercantile interests that dated back to his father's day. For Kiyomori, foreign trade provided a source of prestige as much as wealth.[52] Because Itsukushima lay along the Inland Sea, between the capital and Hakata 博多, the harbor in Kyūshū where ships from the continent docked, it was perfectly situated to provide divine protection to Kiyomori's mercantilism.

Second, in theological and ritual terms, Itsukushima exemplified two themes that characterized Kiyomori's religious interests, the ocean and the *Lotus Sūtra*. Located on an island and home to three goddesses who are closely associated with the sea, Itsukushima has always had a strong marine quality. Moreover, although most Heian-period pilgrimages required land travel, Itsukushima devotees made their entire journey by ship. Kiyomori's devotions at Itsukushima tended to focus on the *Lotus Sūtra,* which asserts that the benevolent practices of the bodhisattva Kannon include the protection of sailors.[53] Kiyomori,

[52] For Kiyomori's father's involvement in trade, see *Chōshūki* 長秋記, Chōshō 長承 2 (1133) 8/13, by Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077–1136), vols. 16–17 in *ZST,* 16:166. Von Verschuer argues convincingly that prestige was the most important motivation for Kiyomori to involve himself in trade; see her "Demystifying the Taira Trade Network."

[53] *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華経 (*Lotus sūtra;* Jp. *Myōhō rengekyō*), no. 262 in *Taishō*

in fact, understood Itsukushima's goddesses to be manifestations of Kannon,[54] and the island was open to interpretation as the bodhisattva's sublime abode, Mt. Fudaraku 補陀落山 (Skt. Potalaka), which is surrounded by the sea. Tellingly, when Kiyomori took the tonsure, both of his Dharma names, Seiren 清蓮 (Pure Lotus) and Jōkai 浄海 (Pure Sea), testified to his abiding interest in the ocean and the *Lotus*.

Third, Itsukushima matched Kiyomori's position: in the same way that he was an upstart among the high aristocracy, Itsukushima was new in the context of elite culture. During the previous two centuries, custom had dictated that the powerful, when going on pilgrimages, would travel south, to the mountains. Though mindful of precedent, in establishing his own regime, Kiyomori looked to the west, thereby embracing his social difference and capitalizing on his connections to trade. The daring choice to shift from the mountains to the sea provides a glimpse into Kiyomori's discernment and penchant for taking risks. He perceived that he was more likely to gain respect by differentiating himself from his new peers among the upper aristocracy than by slavishly emulating them; and he readily pursued this strategy.[55]

Fourth, Itsukushima was aesthetically appealing. The shrine is famous today for its main hall (*honden* 本殿), which, being built on piers in the intertidal zone, appears to float upon the water at high tide. Just what Itsukushima looked like when Kiyomori first saw it is impossible to know, but by the mid-1160s, the inner precinct was sited on the shore and boasted multiple buildings with long connecting corridors.[56] In addition to its arresting siting and design, the shrine was also

shinshū daizōkyō 大正新脩大蔵経, ed. Takakusu Junjirō et al., 85 vols. (Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1932) [hereafter *T.*], 9:57c13, 19.

[54] Text of the dedicatory prayer for the *Heike nōkyō* 平家納経, dated Chōkan 長寛 2 (1164), ninth month, in Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂実, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū* 平家納経の研究, 3 vols. (Kōdansha, 1976), 2:666–67. Alternatively, see the more readily available *Itsukushima* 厳島, vol. 40, in the *jinja-hen* of *Shintō taikei* 神道大系, ed. Shintō Taikei Hensankai (Shintō taikei hensankai, 1987), pp. 3–4.

[55] For instance, Kiyomori later made plans to make pilgrimages to Hakusan and Mt. Fuji. Both mountains were well beyond the scope of accepted, or even acceptable, elite pilgrimage practices. Kiyomori's interest in them may indicate that he had ambitions to expand his influence eastward. Taga Munehaya 多賀宗隼, "Taira no Kiyomori to tōgoku: Fujisan to nihonjin" 平清盛と東国——富士山と日本人, *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 513 (1991); Gomi, *Taira no Kiyomori,* pp. 261–62. For Hakusan, see also *Hyōhanki,* Nin'an 2 (1167) i7/21 (*ZST,* 20:247); for Fuji, *Sankaiki,* Jishō 3 (1179) 1/12 (*ZST,* 27:201).

[56] "Itsukishima-sha kannushi Saeki Kagehiro no ge" 伊都崎島社神主佐伯影弘解, dated eleventh month of Nin'an 3 (1168). It must be noted that only one of the published

distinguished by a strong performing arts tradition. Its female shrine attendants (*naishi* 内侍) had earned a reputation for their skill in song and dance. Shrine liturgies featured *kagura, dengaku* (田楽), and other performing arts, lending a unique style to the dedicatory rites that capped elite pilgrimages.

Finally, Itsukushima's lack of other eminent patrons allowed the Taira considerable latitude. The shrine had been officially recognized as the foremost shrine (*ichinomiya* 一宮) in Aki province, but little is known about it before the Taira began underwriting major construction projects there. Like most premodern religious complexes, Itsukushima included facilities dedicated to the worship of both kami and buddhas, and over time, several quasi-independent temples were established in the area. The earliest of these, Suishōji 水精寺, received endowments from Kiyomori's son Munemori 宗盛 (1147–1185) and consequently enjoyed significant institutional growth.[57] All told, Taira support enabled Itsukushima to grow into an important religious complex with institutions that were stable enough to survive the fall of the Taira themselves.

Once Kiyomori had settled upon Itsukushima, he proceeded to undertake repeated pilgrimages, sponsor grand rites, and deposit deluxe sūtra manuscripts there—all to make his mark. Each of these strategies can be analyzed as a component in a ritual regime—site, rite, or text. For the sake of clarity and concision, in the following discussion I focus on Kiyomori's activities; however, it should be understood that his entire house was involved in the Itsukushima cult. His half-brother Yorimori 頼盛 (1131–1186), for instance, made twenty pilgrimages to the shrine.[58]

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versions of this document includes a description of the inner and outer shrines; see doc. 1 in Shiryō tsūshin sōshi daiichi-hen Itsukushimashi shoshū monjo 史料通信叢誌第壱編厳島誌所収文書, in *Hiroshima-ken shi* 広島県史, Kodai chūsei shiryō-hen, 5 vols. (Hiroshima-ken, 1974–1980), 3:1524–31. Given that the shorter version lacks this passage, the original structure and content of the document are open to question; see doc. 3483 in *Heian ibun* 平安遺文, ed. Takeuchi Rizō, 15 vols. (Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1980), 7:2725–27.

[57] For Munemori's patronage and Suishōji's institutional growth, see docs. 317–20 and 322 in Nosaka monjo 野坂文書, in *Hiroshima-ken shi,* Kodai chūsei shiryō-hen, 3:1007–12. For Suishōji's history, see Seno'o Shūzō 妹尾周三, "Aki Itsukushima (Itsukishima) Misen Suishōji no sōken ni tsuite" 安芸厳島 (伊都岐嶋) 弥山水精寺の創建について, *Bukkyō geijutsu* 304 (2009).

[58] For Yorimori's pilgrimages, see Komatsu, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū,* 2:254–63. In 1168 (Nin'an 3), Yorimori also donated a relic to Itsukushima. See doc. 162 in Shinshutsu Itsukushima monjo 新出厳島文書, in *Hiroshima-ken shi,* Kodai chūsei shiryō-hen, 3:419.

Kiyomori, who made at least eight journeys to Itsukushima between 1160 and 1180, clearly viewed the Itsukushima deities as his own benefactors. At one point, he addressed the goddesses in the following terms: "At root, I, your disciple, have a karmic tie with you. Devotedly have I cultivated reverent faith in you; how manifest are your blessings! May you ever guard the fortune and fate of my house and line. My dreams are not mistaken: you have swiftly brought about your disciple's flowering fortunes."[59] Judging from this passage, it appears that Itsukushima functioned rather like a lineage shrine (*ujiyashiro* 氏社), where family members routinely announced successes and setbacks. In fact, Kiyomori's pilgrimages generally followed upon major Taira successes or risks.[60] And yet Kiyomori's object was not simply to protect his own interests but to legitimate them; therefore he also strove to make Itsukushima into an ecumenical site that would be attractive to his peers.

It is no coincidence that the first evidence for Kiyomori's connection to Itsukushima dates to 1160, immediately following his elevation to the upper nobility. This was an opportune time for him to begin his own ritual regime. Moreover, because aristocratic diarists now paid attention to what he did, more information about his activities is available from this point on. Although the origins of Kiyomori's interest in Itsukushima must remain a matter of speculation,[61] medieval sources make a few suggestions. Nakayama (Fujiwara) Tadachika commented that the 1160 pilgrimage was due to some "longstanding vow" on Kiyomori's part, and the *Heike monogatari* claims that Kiyomori was motivated by divine revelations that he had received at Mt. Kōya during

[59] Dedicatory prayer for the *Heike nōkyō*; see n. 54.

[60] Matsuoka Hisahito 松岡久人 and Gotō Yōichi 後藤陽一, "Itsukushima shinkō no rekishi" 厳島信仰の歴史, in *Itsukushima shinkō jiten* 厳島信仰事典, ed. Nozaka Motoyoshi (Ebisu kōshō shuppan, 2002), pp. 54–77.

[61] Such speculation has been rampant. See, for instance, Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀, "Taira no Kiyomori no shinkō ni tsuite" 平清盛の信仰について, in *Akamatsu Toshihide kyōju taikan kinen Kokushi ronshū* 赤松俊秀教授退官記念国史論集, ed. Akamatsu Toshihide Kyōju Taikan Kinen Jigyōkai (Kyoto: Akamatsu Toshihide kyōju taikan kinen jigyōkai, 1972), pp. 2–41. In this article Akamatsu made the provocative suggestion that it was Shinzei who encouraged Kiyomori's interest in Itsukushima; however, Matsui Teruaki 松井輝明 has recently shown that a key document is probably a forgery; Matsui, "Itsukushima naishi shōyō hanashi no seiritsu to sono haikei: Fujiwara Shinzei no kodomotachi no shojō o chūshin ni" 厳島内侍称揚譚の成立とその背景——藤原信西の息子たちの書状を中心に, *Kenritsu Hiroshima Daigaku ningen bunka gakubu kiyō* 県立広島大学人間文化学部紀要 5 (2010).

repair work on the great pagoda between 1155 and 1156.[62] It is also quite possible that Kiyomori had developed an interest in Itsukushima during his earlier stint as governor of Aki.[63]

In addition to pilgrimage, Kiyomori used the strategic deposit of Buddhist scriptures at Itsukushima to strengthen his ties to the shrine. In 1164 he wrote, "In the month when fall fades, I came into the divine presence" in order to dedicate the offertory manuscripts known as the *Heike nōkyō.*[64] Because they numbered thirty-three, these scrolls probably referred obliquely to the Itsukushima goddesses as Kannon, who, according to a famous passage of the *Lotus Sūtra*, assumes thirty-three beneficent guises.[65] In fact, the *Heike nōkyō*'s centerpiece is a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* that is executed in the single-chapter style (*ipponkyō* 一品経), in which each of the scripture's twenty-eight chapters is rendered in a separate scroll. The *Lotus Sūtra*'s "opening" and "closing" sūtras—the *Wuliang yi jing* 無量義経 (Sūtra of measureless meaning; Jp. *Muryōgikyō*) and the *Foshuo guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* 仏説観普賢菩薩行法経 (Contemplating Samantabhadra sūtra; Jp. *Bussetsu kan Fugen bosatu gyōhō kyō*)—also make up one scroll each in the set, as do two short scriptures, the *Bore boluomiduo xin jing* 般若波羅蜜多心經 (Heart sūtra; Jp. *Hannya haramitta shingyō*) and *Foshuo Amituo jing* 佛說阿弥陀經 (Amitābha sūtra; Jp. *Bussetsu Amidakyō*), which were commonly grouped with the *Lotus* in a wide range of applications.[66] Finally, a dedicatory prayer (*ganmon* 願文), composed on Kiyomori's behalf and written out in his own hand, comprises the thirty-third scroll.[67]

[62] For Tadachika's comment, see *Sankaiki,* Eiryaku 1 (1160) 8.5 (*ZST,* 26:120). For the Kōya pagoda, see *Heike monogatari,* vol. 44–45, in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 44:4.151–53; cf. Helen Craig McCullough, trans., *The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 104–5. See also *Kojidan* 古事談, tale 5.33; attributed to Minamoto Akikane 源顕兼 (1160–1215), in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 41:478–79.

[63] According to *Kugyō bunin,* Kiyomori was appointed governor of Aki in 1146 (*SZKT,* 53:450), but Gomi Fumihiko has argued that he served only between 1153 and 1156. Gomi, *Inseiki shakai no kenkyū* 院政期社会の研究 (Yamakawa shuppan, 1984), p. 148.

[64] Dedicatory prayer for the *Heike nōkyō*; see n. 54. For more detailed analysis of these offertory scriptures, see Komatsu, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū*; Julia Meech-Pekarik, *Taira Kiyomori and the Heike Nogyo* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976).

[65] *T.* no. 262, 9:56c6, ff.

[66] For the standard received texts of the sūtras, see *Miaofa lianhua jing, T.* no. 262, 9:1–62; *Wuliang yi jing, T.* no. 276, 9:383–89; *Foshuo guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing, T.* no. 277, 9:389–94; *Bore boluomiduo xin jing, T.* no. 251, 8:848; and *Foshuo Amituo jing, T.* no. 366, 12:346–48.

[67] See Komatsu's exhaustive discussion of the *ganmon* in *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū,* 2:639–727.

The dedicatory prayer of the *Heike nōkyō* was literally a signature. Furthermore, Kiyomori had recruited male family members and close associates for the project, assigning each man the responsibility for one scroll; as he explained, the manuscripts were meant to bind his family into a cohesive group while instantiating their devotion to Itsukushima:

> I assigned one chapter in one scroll each to men of my lineage, my house, and my retainers—thirty-two people in all. I had them exhaust their skills to make [the manuscripts] as beautiful as possible. The text, where flowers scatter and lotuses appear, proceeds from the united power of my house. The classic, with its jeweled spindles and brocaded paper, derives from the shared feeling of my family.[68]

By these means, Taira men distinguished themselves through votive ostentation while signaling their unity.[69]

The rococo aesthetics for which the *Heike nōkyō* is famous were meant to please the goddesses, but they were also a material representation of Taira unity and success that was surely meant to impress Kiyomori's new peers. Even though access to votive scriptures became exceedingly limited once the manuscripts had been deposited in shrines or temples, such texts were objects of considerable public interest. Devotional norms required that any offering be as beautiful as possible, and members of high society gossiped about the details of sūtra-copying projects.[70] Thus, the Taira did their level best to create the most opulent and stylistically varied set of manuscripts anyone had ever seen. Vying to outdo one another, Kiyomori's family members had their texts decorated with gold, silver, and mineral pigments; they commissioned polychrome "Japanese" and "Chinese" paintings (*yamato-e*

[68] Dedicatory prayer for the *Heike nōkyō;* see n. 54.

[69] For theories about the identities of the various patrons, see Komatsu, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū,* 3:750–52.

[70] For one example of society interest in a sūtra-copying project, see *Eiga monogatari,* in *Shin nihon koten bungaku zenshū,* 32:18.233–39; cf. William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, trans., *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period,* 2 vols. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), pp. 530–32. On ornamentation (*shogun* 荘厳) in Buddhist visual culture, see Cynthea J. Bogel, *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), pp. 54–55. For discussions of sūtra ornamentation and aristocratic aesthetics in the Heian period, see also Komatsu, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū,* 1:133–45; Willa Jane Tanabe, *Paintings of the Lotus Sūtra* (New York: Weatherhill, 1988).

大和絵 and *kara-e* 唐絵) for the frontispieces; and they incorporated puzzles and *waka* poetry into the manuscript design.[71]

To match his extravagant sutras, Kiyomori was planning a grand rite. In the dedicatory prayer for the *Heike nōkyō* he pledged support for lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*, writing: "Beginning next year, I will sponsor a series of thirty lectures and make it an annual event, without any lapse."[72] The entire set of lectures would last for weeks, require a large monastic staff, and feature opulent ritual fittings and gifts. The very picture of conspicuous devotion, the Thirty *Lotus* Lectures suited Kiyomori's self-aggrandizing ambitions.

Kiyomori's choice of this particular ritual form was significant, for it was closely associated in cultural memory with the most powerful political lineages, since Fujiwara no Michinaga had developed the rite as one of his signatures, and the royals had appropriated it for themselves during the coalescence of the *insei*.[73] Thus, the Itsukushima lectures were an exercise in politically informed mimesis through which Kiyomori fashioned himself as a peer of the regents and the retired emperor.

With his first pilgrimage in 1160, his dedication of the *Heike nōkyō* in 1164, and his establishment of the Thirty *Lotus* Lectures, presumably in 1165, Kiyomori charted his own course through the patterns laid down by the most august figures of the past two centuries. His new ritual regime, which honored the buddhas and kami, also brought him significant sociopolitical gains. In addition to seeing his family enjoy ongoing success in the cycles of court appointments and promotions, he managed to marry off his nine-year-old daughter Moriko/Seishi 盛子 (1156–1179) to the current regent, Fujiwara (Konoe 近衛) no Motozane 基実 (1143–1166).[74] This alliance bolstered Kiyomori's authority,

[71] On the scriptures' ornamentation, see Julia Meech-Pekarik, "Disguised Scripts and Hidden Poems in an Illustrated Heian Sūtra: Ashide and Uta-e in the Heike Nōgyō," *Archives of Asian Art* 31 (1977/78): 52–78; Tanabe, *Paintings of the Lotus Sūtra,* pp. 68–75; Charlotte Eubanks, "Illustrating the Mind: Faulty Memory *Setsuwa* and the Decorative Sūtras of Late Classical and Early Medieval Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 36.2 (2009): 223–27.

[72] Dedicatory prayer for the *Heike nōkyō*; see n. 54.

[73] The Fujiwara family continued to sponsor large-scale *Lotus* lectures up through the thirteenth century. Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures: *Hokke Hakkō* in the Heian Period," *Monumenta Nipponica* 39.4 (1984): 403–5. Shirakawa had inaugurated an annual series of Thirty *Lotus* Lectures at Hosshōji in 1111 (*Denryaku,* Ten'ei 2/5/21 [3:144]), and these were still an annual event in Kiyomori's day.

[74] Jien dates the marriage to Chōkan 2 (1164), 10/4. *Gukanshō,* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 86:5.239; cf. Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past,* pp. 117–18.

mantling his background as a *zuryō* governor with the legitimacy of a *kugyō* aristocrat.

Kiyomori subsequently reaffirmed Itsukushima as his destination of choice, even when it meant going against established norms. This occurred in 1167, when the court moved to seal Kiyomori's status as one of the most eminent members of the nobility, anointing him as chancellor (*dajō daijin* 太政大臣), even though he had not fulfilled the customary prerequisites for the position.[75] The chancellorship, though largely an honorary emolument, was the traditional mark of a respected elder statesman. At the time it was said that no chancellor had ever departed from the capital during his term; yet shortly after his appointment, Kiyomori violated that norm by setting out for Itsukushima and spending nearly a month in Aki. He thereby sent the message that his influence had grown so great that he could do as he liked.[76] To drive the point home, when he stepped down from the chancellorship a few months later, he went to Itsukushima yet again.[77]

Around this time, Kiyomori and his family were underwriting major construction projects to ensure that Itsukushima looked the part of a prestigious destination. Instrumental in this effort was a shrine priest named Saeki Kagehiro 佐伯影弘 (n.d.).[78] By 1168, Itsukushima had assumed grand proportions and an extensive, two-part plan; that year in a petition, Kagehiro itemized "thirty-seven buildings with connecting corridors three-hundred bays in length" within the precincts of the main shrine and "nineteen buildings with connecting corridors seventy-seven bays in length" in the outer shrine. Kagehiro went on to remark that he had also overseen remodeling projects: "Before, these all had wood shingle roofs; now they have all been redone in

[75] According to *Kugyō bunin,* in Eiman 永万 2 (1166), Kiyomori was promoted to the second senior rank on 6/6, and then appointed palace minister on 11/11. On Nin'an 2 (1167) 2/11, he was promoted to the first rank and made chancellor (*SZKT,* 53:459, 462–63). Customarily, only men who had served as ministers of the right or left were made chancellor; Kiyomori had filled neither post.

[76] *Sankaiki,* Nin'an 2 (1167) 2/25 (*ZST,* 27:15) and *Akihiro ōki* 顕広王記, Nin'an 2/2/25; by Prince Akihiro 顕広王 (1095–1180), in *ZST,* 21:8.

[77] In an entry that is not included in the *ZST* version of *Akihiro ōki,* Prince Akihiro noted that Kiyomori departed for Itsukushima on Nin'an 2 (1167) 9/3. *Dai nihon shiryō sōgō deitabeisu* 大日本史料総合データベース http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/db.html (Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo), accessed July 1, 2012.

[78] For Kagehiro's relationship to the Taira and land commendations in Aki, see *Hiroshima-ken shi,* Kodai chūsei shiryō-hen, 3:21–26; Peter J. Arneson, "The Struggle for Lordship in Late Heian Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 10.1 (1984).

cypress bark. We have added halls for the kami and residential quarters. Some have grown in size and some have been newly built. We have used gilt bronze for their metal fittings. We have made donations so that they will be beautiful and elegant, and we have augmented their ornamentation."[79] In this document, Kagehiro took credit for the shrine's beautification, but his patrons were the Taira: through him, the Taira were reconfiguring the shrine to suit their own rising stature and, by extension, to characterize themselves as righteous, rightful members of the ruling elite.

Phase 2: Elaboration, 1168–1177

Having entered the high aristocracy, Kiyomori proceeded to the next phase, elaborating his rites, climbing through the court hierarchy, and developing his ties to the throne in the second half of the 1160s. Again, his ritualizing and politicking reinforced each other: as his influence increased, his rites became ever more spectacular. Although Kiyomori made high-profile pilgrimages to Itsukushima and deposited a new signature text there, the most striking aspect of his ritual activity at this time was his development of Fukuhara as a ritual center.

Fukuhara did not conform to the norms governing the metropolitan constellations of previous ritual regimes, which had been anchored in such suburbs of Heian as Shirakawa or Uji. Located near the shore of the Inland Sea, in what is now Kobe, Fukuhara was well removed from the capital. It stood in the midst of a belt of estates to which the Taira had laid claim starting in the 1160s, and grew over time from a family compound into a larger community.[80] In 1180, Kiyomori declared it the new capital and removed the court thence from Heian. This change of capital was short-lived, but it showed that Kiyomori imagined that Fukuhara would become a center in its own right.

Kiyomori's choice of Fukuhara throws into high relief the importance of the sea to his ritual program. Although Fukuhara was adjacent to a major land route, the San'yōdō 山陽道, it was also strategically near the mouth of the Yodo River 淀川, which provided egress from

[79] "Itsukushima-sha kannushi Saeki Kagehiro no ge"; see n. 56.

[80] For more on Fukuhara, see Takahashi Masaaki's in-depth study, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no yume*, which includes a discussion of Taira estates in the area, pp. 85–93.

the city of Heian to what is now Ōsaka Bay. Most importantly, it abutted the Ōwada no Tomari 大輪田泊 anchorage on the Inland Sea. This harbor had been in use since the early Heian period, but, with Kiyomori attending to its development, it flourished. Ships carrying goods and traders from the continent docked there, enabling Kiyomori to meet with Song merchants in Fukuhara on several occasions. He sought to ingratiate himself with the royal family by plying its members with prestige goods from the continent, and, to the chagrin of conservative nobles, he even went so far as to introduce a Chinese trader to Go-Shirakawa.[81]

Ritual played a key role in transforming Fukuhara from a rustic outpost into a social, cultural—and ultimately political—center. Eschewing the elite tradition of building signature temples, Kiyomori worked instead to sacralize the physical environment. In fact, by fusing his rites with the Ōwada anchorage, he effectively consecrated his mercantile activities and cosmopolitan interests. As he had at Itsukushima, he continued to evince a preference for the *Lotus Sūtra* and the maritime; more importantly, he was also now able to secure the participation of the royal family in his ritual regime.

Kiyomori began ritualizing Fukuhara as soon as he had taken up residence there, holding his first Thousandfold Offering in 1169.[82] This was a rite of immense scale and complexity that had strong royal connotations. Literally an "offering of a thousand copies" (*senbu kuyō*) or an "offering for a thousand monks" (*sensō kuyō* 千僧供養), this was the largest (and by extension, the most expensive) Buddhist rite of the *insei*; it also had a kingly pedigree. Earlier in the twelfth century, Retired Emperor Shirakawa had pioneered it as one of his own signatures, sponsoring Thousandfold Offerings at Hosshōji so often that that temple remained a key site for the rite even in Kiyomori's day. By

[81] On Ōwada and Kiyomori's involvement with trade and traders, see Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no yume,* chap. 3; Takahashi, "Taira no Kiyomori no tai-Chūgoku gaikō to Ōwada no Tomari" 平清盛の対中国外交と大輪田泊, *Kaikō toshi kenkyū* 海港都市研究 2 (2007): 27–39; and von Verschuer, "Demystifying the Taira Trade Network." For the meeting between Go-Shirakawa and a Chinese merchant, see *Gyokuyō,* Kaō 2 (1170) 9/20 (2:107); *Hyakurenshō,* Kaō 2/9/20 (*SZKT,* 11:85).

[82] The last historical reference to Kiyomori being in residence in Rokuhara and the first to him living in Fukuhara both date to 1169. Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no yume,* p. 84. For the first Thousandfold Offering at Fukuhara, see *Hyōhanki,* Nin'an 4 (= Kaō 1, 1169) 3/20–21 (*ZST,* 22:357).

the mid-twelfth century, the Thousandfold Offering had become a standard rite of state-protection that was normally sponsored by the reigning or retired emperor.[83]

Appropriating this kingly ritual form, Kiyomori gave it a marine setting, thereby calling attention to himself as lord of the seaways. In fact, well before he established the rite at Fukuhara, he may already have used a Thousandfold Offering in Kyūshū to sanctify his overseas interests. A temple history credits him with endowing a similar rite at Anrakuji 安楽寺 in Dazaifu, the government outpost that lay some fifteen kilometers inland from the Hakozaki harbor on Hakata Bay.[84] The Dazaifu offices were charged—at least notionally—with oversight of trade, diplomacy, and immigration. Thus, it appears that Kiyomori, who had served (albeit in absentia) as governor-general of Daizaifu from 1158 to 1160, used the Anrakuji offerings to bless his own involvement in the port that Bruce Batten has called the "gateway to Japan."[85] In choosing to use one thousand copies of the *Lotus Sūtra,* which was not normally used for a Thousandfold Offering,[86] for the Anrakuji rite, Kiyomori alluded to a ninth-century project to define Japan as a sacred territory. When the Tendai patriarch Saichō (767–822) had traveled to Kyūshū, he made a vow to establish a number of pagodas around Japan and to have a thousand copies of the *Lotus Sūtra* placed in each.[87] Saichō had meant one of those pagodas to be located at Usa, but the project met with considerable difficulty there, and in 937 local monks petitioned to transfer the manuscripts to a pagoda at Hakozaki.[88] Through siting, choice of scripture, and numerological allusion,

[83] Kan Masaki 菅真城, "Inseiki ni okeru butsuji un'ei hōhō: sensō midokkyō o sozai to shite" 院政期における仏事運営方法——千僧御読経を素材として, *Shigaku kenkyū* 史学研究 215 (1997): 1–25.

[84] "Tenmangū Anrakuji sōsō nikki" 天満宮安楽寺草創日記, extracted in Daizaifu-shi Shi Henshū Iinkai 太宰府市史編集委員会, ed. *Daizaifu-shi shi* 太宰府市史, chūsei shiryō-hen (Dazaifu: Dazaifu-shi, 2002), pp. 21–24.

[85] Bruce Batten, *Gateway to Japan: Hakata in War and Peace, 500–1300* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

[86] Of the 127 Thousandfold Offerings conducted between 1061 and 1180 and studied by Kan, none focused on the *Lotus Sūtra.* Kan, "Inseiki ni okeru butsuji un'ei hōhō," pp. 2–7; cf. Komatsu, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū,* 2:371–73.

[87] Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (1984; rpt. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 86, 110.

[88] Doc. 481, dated Jōhei 承平 7 (937) 10/14, in *Iwashimizu monjo* 石清水文書, in *Dai Nihon komonjo* 大日本古文書, iewake series 4, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, 6 vols. (Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1901-), 2:230–32.

Kiyomori was thus harking back to a well-known effort to integrate the archipelago through the ritual use of manuscripts, but he was also turning precedent to his own ends. His involvement with Anrakuji did not extend to the creation of a full signature, but his use of the *Lotus Sūtra,* the Thousandfold Offering, and a site with strong ties to overseas trade served as a trial run for his subsequent program at Fukuhara.

At Fukuhara, moreover, Kiyomori continued to adapt the Thousandfold Offering, thereby giving it the proprietary and distinctive qualities that are hallmarks of a signature. He increased the rite's frequency, holding it semi-annually, once in the third and again in the tenth month. He made it into a classical combination of Buddhist exotericism and esotericism (*kenmitsu* 顕密) by integrating esoteric elements—fire offerings (*goma* 護摩) and empowerment rites (*kaji* 加持)—with the exoteric chanting of the *Lotus Sūtra.* Furthermore, he added an offering for Amida (Skt. Amitābha; Ch. Amituofo), which expressed Pure Land concerns. In combining these diverse elements, Kiyomori reworked the Thousandfold Offering into a totalizing ritual form.[89]

At Fukuhara Kiyomori also achieved a social triumph by securing Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's regular participation in the Thousandfold Offering. As Mass and others have argued, Kiyomori relied heavily on Go-Shirakawa for promotions and appointments, as well as for the administration of estates (*shōen* 荘園).[90] For his part, Go-Shirakawa had enjoyed Kiyomori's military protection in the Hōgen and Heiji Disturbances and had benefited markedly from Taira financial support. At Fukuhara, Go-Shirakawa played the part of Kiyomori's ritualist; the retired emperor's former client had now become something more like a peer.

Go-Shirakawa steadily increased the level of his participation in the Fukuhara Thousandfold Offerings. He apparently saw the rites not as a threat, but rather as an occasion to express his own ritual prowess. At the first Thousandfold Offering, he was only an audience member, but soon thereafter he took Buddhist orders.[91] Therefore, in the spring

[89] For alternative analyses of the Thousandfold Offering, which respectively emphasize its relationship to the *Heike nōkyō* and maritime safety, see Komatsu, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū,* 2:369–80; Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no yume,* pp. 110–19, esp., p. 112.

[90] Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the Kamakura Bakufu,* pp. 24–25.

[91] For the first Thousandfold Offering, see n. 82. For Go-Shirakawa's ordination, see n. 35.

of 1172 he was able to step into the ring as an officiant.[92] During the autumn rites in the same year, he headed up a ritual staff that included princely monks, members of the Office for Monastic Affairs, and other eminent clerics. In fact, he had arranged to be specially initiated as an esoteric master (*isshin ajari* 一身阿闍梨) so that he could perform a *kaji* empowerment rite on this occasion.[93] Thus, at the same time that the Thousandfold Offerings were a testament to Kiyomori's mastery as a patron, they also provided the Dharma Emperor with an occasion to show that he could live up to his new epithet.

In a very real sense, Go-Shirakawa was the star of the Thousandfold Offerings. Annals maintain that in the autumn of 1172, a thousand monks conducted Amida offerings at a thousand altars, while forty-eight *ajari* performed *goma* rites at their own altars, apparently celebrating Amida's forty-eight vows. In the center of it all, Go-Shirakawa presided over a *Lotus Sūtra* rite in a specially constructed precinct.[94] This was an unabashedly theatrical occasion whose magnificence reflected back upon its sponsor. Go-Shirakawa's involvement reached its peak five years later, when he left his role as performer for that of producer. In the three days following Kiyomori's offering, he sponsored his own extravaganza, a second Thousandfold Offering, and dedicated the merit gained thereby to the benefit of Kenshunmon'in 建春門院, his recently deceased consort.[95] Also known as Taira no Shigeko/Shishi 滋子 (1142–1176), Kenshunmon'in was the sister of Kiyomori's wife, and her close relationship with Go-Shirakawa had greatly facilitated the overall rise in Taira fortunes. Her memorialization at Fukuhara dramatized the intimacy between the Chancellor Novice and the Dharma Emperor.

[92] *Hyakurenshō,* Shōan 承安 2 (1172) 3/15 (*SZKT,* 11:86); *Gyokuyō,* Shōan 2/3/19 (1:196).

[93] *Gyokuyō,* Shōan 2 (1172) 10/11 to 10/19 (1:229).

[94] *Hyakurenshō,* Shōan 2 (1172) 10/11 and 10/15 (*SZKT,* 11:87); *Rekidai kōki* 歴代皇紀, entry for Shōan era, in *Kaitei shiseki shūran* 改訂史籍集覧, ed. Kondō Heijō, 33 vols. (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1983–1984), 18:207. The offering may have been still more complex: the thirteenth-century collection of anecdotes *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 adds the provocative detail that Kiyomori also dedicated one thousand Buddha-images. *Kokon chomonjū,* attributed to Tachibana Narisue 橘成季 (fl. 1250s), anecdote 2.59; vols. 59–60 in *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* 新潮日本古典集成 (Shinchōsha, 1983), 59:113–14. Note that this source seems to amalgamate information about the 1172 fall and spring offerings.

[95] *Gyokuyō,* Angen 3 (1177) 3/22 (2:26); *Hyakurenshō,* Angen 3 (= Jishō 1) 3/18 (*SZKT,* 11:93).

In addition to royalizing Kiyomori, the Thousandfold Offering played a crucial role in constructing both Fukuhara and the Ōwada anchorages as legitimate, even sacred, sites. Through timing and siting, Kiyomori linked the offerings with the local topography.[96] The rites were scheduled for the third and tenth months, near the equinoxes. As Takahashi Masaaki has pointed out, they also began on the day of the full moon.[97] In other words, Kiyomori scheduled the offerings to coincide with the strongest tides of the year. On at least one occasion, he also made them into literally tidal events. In the fall of 1172, he staged the Thousandfold Offering on the beach at the anchorage, with the monks and their sūtra desks all lined up along the shore.[98] An offering of ten thousand lamps was part of the service, which the poet Saigyō (1118–1190) witnessed. Playing on the word *tomari,* which means both "anchorage" and "stay," Saigyō hinted that whereas other lamps would be extinguished, Kiyomori's harbor lights would linger on:

Kienubeki	The way of lamps
nori no hikari no	is to flicker and die out in time
tomoshibi o	but these of the Dharma
kakaguru Wada no	shed light here at Wada,
tomari narikeri	anchorage in the night.[99]

Kiyomori would have been delighted: Saigyō was responding just as he would have wished. Through repeated offerings, Kiyomori had ensured that Ōwada would be remembered as a site of glory, associated not just with trade, but also with the Dharma. Through ritual performance he fused his religious beliefs with his economic, geographic, and political goals.

[96] Tellingly, even in later centuries toponymns in the Ōwada area contained the phrase "thousand monks." Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no yume,* pp. 114–15 and "Kiyomori no tai-Chūgoku gaikō to Ōwada no tomari," p. 36.

[97] Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no yume,* p. 118.

[98] *Hyakurenshō,* Shōan 2.10.15 (87); *Gyokuyō,* Shōan 2.10.11–19 (1:229). See also *Teiō hennenki* 帝王編年記, Shōan 4.10.15 (*SZKT,* 12:342–43), which, as Takahashi notes, is likely a misdated description of events from Shōan 2. Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no yume,* p. 112.

[99] *Sankashū* 山家集, by Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190), in *Shintei Sankashū* 新訂山家集, ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna (Iwanami shoten, 1994), p. 108. Translation from William La Fleur, *Awesome Nightfall: The Life, Times, and Poetry of Saigyō* (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2003), p. 41.

In contrast to the signature texts that Kiyomori installed at Itsukushima, those that he created at Fukuhara were comparatively impersonal; they were, however, very distinctive. The first, under Kiyomori's control, was the immense scriptural corpus at the core of the Thousandfold Offering, namely, a set of one thousand copies of the *Lotus Sūtra.* Diarists and annalists referred to the officiants as "upholders of the *Lotus Sūtra*" (*jikyōsha* 持経者), men who could be expected to own and use their own copies of the scripture.[100] Kiyomori may also have generated his own set of manuscripts to be temporarily lent to his ritualists. In either case, the sheer number of manuscripts made this into an immense collection of scripture that Kiyomori was able to deploy as he wished.

In addition, Kiyomori created as a second textual signature a very unusual canon, written on stones and sunk in the water at Ōwada no Tomari. This had its origins in a breakwater that Kiyomori constructed to protect the anchorage from strong cross winds.[101] According to the *Heike monogatari,* when he started work in 1161, project managers were so frustrated by storm damage that they considered making a human sacrifice to ensure the stability of the underwater structure. This possibility was rejected out of hand, but, we are told, as a compromise the text of the entire Buddhist canon was written on stones, which were then sunk in the harbor. The resulting land mass came to be known as Sūtra Island (Kyō-ga-shima/Kyō-no-shima 経島).[102] Little information is to be found about this project in twelfth-century sources—much less any reference to human sacrifice, averted or otherwise. Nonetheless, diarists confirm that Kiyomori was working on a man-made island at Ōwada as late as 1180, when the Council of State approved a labor conscription for the project at his behest.[103] Mate-

[100] *Hyōhanki,* Nin'an 4 (1169) 3/21 (*ZST,* 21:357); *Hyakurenshō,* Shōan 2 (1172) 3/15 (*SZKT,* 11:86); *Gyokuyō,* Angen 3 (1179) 3/22 (2:216).

[101] Takahashi, "Taira no Kiyomori no tai-Chūgoku no gaikō," pp. 33–34. Note that whereas Takahashi has connected the Sūtra Island project to the need to accommodate Chinese ships, von Verschuer has argued that only shallow-keeled (i.e., domestic) vessels sailed up the Inland Sea. Von Verschuer, "Demystifying the Taira Trade Network," pp. 9–10.

[102] *Heike monogatari,* in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 44:6.349–50; McCullough, trans., *Tale of the Heike,* pp. 212–13. Note that a roughly parallel account is given in the Kamakura annal *Teiō hennenki,* which dates the project's commencement to 1173. *Teiō hennenki,* Shōan 3 (1173) (*SZKT,* 12:342).

[103] *Sankaiki,* Jishō 4 (1180) 3/5 (*ZST,* 28:3–40), *Gyokuyō,* Jishō 4/2/20 (2:372).

rial evidence for the project may also be adduced: more than a thousand scripturally inscribed stones, which may have originated at Sūtra Island, have been excavated from the nearby Daimotsu 大物 marine archaeological site in Imagasaki.[104]

The persistence of Sūtra Island in cultural memory shows that Kiyomori was remembered as having made the Ōwada anchorage holy and safe by burying a canon there. Whereas the masters of previous ritual regimes had constructed grand temples, Kiyomori made the beach and the anchorage his signature site, consecrating his involvement in trade at a time when contact with foreigners was still viewed with distaste by other influential nobles. At the same time that he was working to legitimate Fukuhara and Ōwada as a cultural and ritual center, he also continued to strengthen his ritual program at Itsukushima.

Earlier, the Taira had declared their wealth, ambition, and unity with the *Heike nōkyō*; now Kiyomori and his half-brother Yorimori expressed their taste and standing with a second collection of sūtras.[105] During the period between 1170 and 1172, they copied out the *Lotus Sūtra* and its opening and closing sūtras by hand, recording their progress scroll by scroll in colophons. By writing in golden ink on indigo paper and by commissioning elaborate frontispieces featuring scenes from the texts' narrative action, they hewed to an idiom that had been a staple of votive textual reproduction among the aristocracy since the early Heian.[106] The choice of conservative but deluxe materials served as a foil to the stylistic exuberance of the *Heike nōkyō*: now Kiyomori and Yorimori were presenting themselves as nobles par excellence.

In copying this second set of sūtras with their own hands, Kiyomori and Yorimori ensured that they would forever remain personally and physically present in the divine realm of Itsukushima. As Charlotte

[104] Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no yume,* pp. 110–11; Kamikawa, "Issaikyō to chūsei no bukkyō," pp. 22, 29 n. 62. The city of Amagasaki publishes archaeological findings on the Daimotsu site on an ongoing basis. See the city's publications website at http://www.city.amagasaki.hyogo.jp/bunkazai_0/105pub.html, accessed Dec. 20, 2011.

[105] The colophons date from the ninth month of Kaō 2 (1170) to the sixth month of Shōan 2 (1172).

[106] These are now known as the *Itsukushima gire* 厳島切 because the set has been cut up and dispersed. On these manuscripts, see Komatsu, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū,* 2:258–61. On blue-and-gold sūtras more generally, see Tanabe, *Paintings of the Lotus Sūtra,* chap. 7; Komatsu, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū,* 1:124–33.

Eubanks has shown, scriptural manuscripts were commonly understood as embodiments of the individuals who commissioned or copied them.[107] Through their personal labors, the brothers wrote themselves into the space of the shrine and forged an indissoluble karmic tie with its goddesses.

Just when he was drawing closer to the goddesses, Kiyomori was drawing closer to the throne. By the time he dedicated the blue-and-gold sutras in 1172, it had become a distinct possibility that he might see his own grandchild crowned emperor. In 1168 his sister-in-law Kenshunmon'in's son ascended the throne as Emperor Takakura 高倉 (1161–1181, r. 1168–1180). Late in 1171, Takakura took his cousin, Kiyomori and Tokiko's daughter Noriko/Tokushi 徳子 (also known as Kenreimon'in, b. 1155) as his consort, and in the following year, she was made empress (*chūgū* 中宮).[108] Having worked hard to connect himself to the royal house, Kiyomori was now in a position similar to that of the early Fujiwara regents. His sister-in-law was a retired imperial lady (*nyoin* 女院) in her own right, his nephew was emperor, and his daughter was empress.

It was in this context that the royals finally lent their support to Kiyomori's efforts to make Itsukushima into a great pilgrimage destination. In the third month of 1174, Go-Shirakawa and Kenshunmon'in went to Itsukushima with Kiyomori in attendance.[109] At the time, Kujō Kanezane stated the obvious: "For seven or eight years, [Itsukushima's] special powers (*reigen* 霊験) have been most wonderful, and the family of the chancellor novice has been particularly devoted."[110] Once the retired emperors had validated Itsukushima with their presence, it could no longer be viewed as an idiosyncratic hinterland site. Thanks to Kiyomori's unstinting efforts, it was now fit for a king.

[107] Charlotte Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body: Buddhist Textual Culture and Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), esp., chap. 4.

[108] At the end of 1171, Noriko became Takakura's consort and Go-Shirakawa's foster daughter; early the following year she was designated Takakura's empress. *Gyokuyō,* Shōan 1 (1171) 12/14 and Shōan 2 (1172) 2/10 (1:170–72, 188–90); *Hyakurenshō,* Shōan 1/12/2 (*SZKT,* 11:86); *Kugyō bunin* (*SZKT,* 53:475).

[109] *Kikki,* Shōan 4 (1174) 3/16, in *Shintei kikki,* 1:141; *Hyakurenshō,* Shōan 4 (1174) 3/19 (*SZKT,* 11:89). See also doc. 58 in Shinshutsu Itsukushima monjo, and doc. 316 in Nosaka monjo, in *Hiroshima-ken shi,* Kodai chūsei shiryō-hen, 3:271–73, 1006.

[110] *Gyokuyō,* Shōan 4 (1174) 3/16 (1:364).

Phase 3: Destabilization, 1177–1181

Kiyomori's ritual regime came under increasing pressure in the late 1170s. His rapprochement with Go-Shirakawa was eroding, and in 1177 friction between them erupted into a spate of controlled violence. In the sixth month of that year, Kiyomori oversaw the exile and execution of a number of Go-Shirakawa's close retainers in a series of events that has traditionally been known as the Shishigatani incident.[111] Enraged by Go-Shirakawa, who had dismissed their abbot in retaliation for a previous conflict, monks from Enryakuji, the great monastery on Mt. Hiei, were fomenting civil unrest. Kiyomori found himself charged with quelling the protests, but instead of confronting the monks, he turned on Go-Shirakawa's men. It was rumored that a group of Go-Shirakawa's cronies had met outside the capital at a villa in Shishigatani in order to hatch a plot to topple Kiyomori.[112] Whether or not the rumor was based in reality, in the following days Kiyomori saw to it that Saikō 西光 (Fujiwara no Moromitsu 藤原師光, d. 1177), who was Go-Shirakawa's intimate and Enryakuji's enemy, was executed, while other members of the retired emperor's inner circle were exiled. Although Kiyomori and the Taira retained their political authority throughout the Shishigatani incident, their show of force could only increase their opponents' antagonism and severely damage Kiyomori's ties to his erstwhile patron.

In the wake of this political upheaval, the Taira turned to Itsukushima. Four months after the incident, it was time to hold the Thousandfold Offering at Fukuhara, but Go-Shirakawa's participation was now problematic. Therefore, Kiyomori shifted the autumn Thousandfold Offering to Itsukushima—a move that was tantamount to a declaration of independence. He was showing that he could take full control of what had once been a royal rite and command its personnel, production, and location. Fukuhara continued to be a crucial site for the Taira, but from the autumn of 1177 onward, there is no evidence that Thousandfold Offerings were ever held there again.

[111] For a more detailed description of the Shishigatani incident, as well as the Hakusanji incident, which fed directly into it, see Adolphson, *Gates of Power,* pp. 151–55.

[112] *Gyokuyō,* Angen 3 (1177), entries beginning with 6/1 (2:51 ff.); *Gukanshō,* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 86:5.244–46; Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past,* pp. 123–25.

At Itsukushima, the Taira sought to reinforce their image as upright proponents of a divinely sanctioned order by sponsoring a series of enormous rites in lieu of the Fukuhara offerings. According to the *Itsukushima sensō kuyō nikki* 厳島千僧供養日記 (Record of the thousand-monk offering at Itsukushima),[113] Kiyomori oversaw several days of ritual activity at Itsukushima in the fall of 1177. On the first day he held a special festival and then a ten-thousand-lantern assembly. The next day, he presided over a Thousandfold Offering, and the day after that, he sponsored a Canon Assembly.[114] Each of these rites would have been grandiose on its own; together, they made for an all-out extravaganza, stunning in scale, expense, and splendor.

Through these rites, Kiyomori showed that in a time of considerable political difficulty, the Taira could—and did—wield the symbolic capital of their most formidable rivals. With the Thousandfold Offering, he appropriated a ritual vocabulary that had been developed by the retired emperors. With the Canon Assembly, he borrowed from the regents, who, for over one hundred years, had used the same rite in Uji as a palladium.[115] By appropriating and strategically re-siting the regents' and retired emperors' rites, Kiyomori crafted a ritual response to a political problem.

It may be that Kiyomori had established the Itsukushima Canon Assembly at an earlier date, for the "Record" maintains that the observance in 1177 "followed the usual example; the protocols were the same

[113] *Itsukushima sensō kuyō nikki*, in *Hiroshima-ken shi,* Kodai chūsei shiryō-hen, 3:1472–77. Two caveats must be given for this source. First, the dating is a bit vexed. The *nikki* includes dates from Angen 2 (1176), but the roots and branches given for those dates are incorrect, and the ranks and offices of the participants include some anachronisms. In light of these problems, Kurita Mototsugu 栗田元次 and Komatsu Shigemi have argued convincingly that the text describes events that occurred in Angen 3/Jishō 1 (1177), and that is the line of reasoning that I follow here. Second, the *nikki* was preserved in a manuscript held by the Asano 浅野 family, some of whose members had served as Itsukushima priests in the Meiji and Taishō periods; however, it was almost certainly incinerated in the Hiroshima bombing. It now survives only in photographs and transcriptions. See *Hiroshima-ken shi,* Kodai chūsei shiryō-hen, 3:77–78; Komatsu, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū*, pp. 350–51, 359–60.

[114] *Itsukushima sensō kuyō nikki.*

[115] Saitō Toshihiko 斉藤利彦, "Issaikyō to geinō: Byōdōin issaikyōe to bugaku o chūshin ni" 一切経と芸能—平等院一切会と舞楽を中心に, in *Issaikyō no rekishiteki kenkyū* (*Bukkyō Daigaku sōgō kenkyūjo kiyō betten*), ed. Bukkyō Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyūjo (Kyoto: Bukkyō daigaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 2004), pp. 78–156; Fukuyama Toshio 福山敏夫, "Byōdōin no kyōzō to nō wakashū ki" 平等院の経蔵と納和歌集記, in *Nihon kenchikushi kenkyū,* 2 vols. (Kurozumi shobō, 1971), 2:246.

as always."[116] Whether or not the rite was new, that Kiyomori held it at all suggests that, like previous generations of regents and retired emperors, he had installed a full copy of the Buddhist canon at his signature pilgrimage site.[117] Canons, being expensive and difficult to obtain or produce, were beyond the reach of most individual patrons.[118] Even so, Kiyomori had both the means for and access to scripture. Previous generations of his family had already engaged in canon-copying projects,[119] and the fourteenth-century regional history *Hōsōki* 峰相記 (or *Bushōki/Mineaiki* 峯相記) credits him with providing the manuscripts for a Canon Assembly held by Go-Shirakawa in 1168 at Shoshazan 書写山 in Harima.[120] It is also quite possible that through his trade contacts Kiyomori had come into possession of a copy of a Song-dynasty xylograph canon.[121]

Having fashioned a ritual persona similar to that of the regents and retired emperors, and having alienated himself from Go-Shirakawa, Kiyomori set about binding himself and his signature sites to other members of the royal house. When his daughter Noriko, consort to reigning emperor Takakura, was pregnant in 1178, Kiyomori, according to one report, sailed to Itsukushima to tender prayers for safe childbirth. He also arranged for propitiatory offerings to be sent from the palace to Itsukushima for the same reason.[122] Formerly, Kiyomori and Tokiko had installed Itsukushima branch shrines in their Rokuhara

[116] *Itsukushima sensō kuyō nikki.*

[117] For Kumano and Kinpusen, see Blair, *Peak of Gold,* chap. 2.

[118] The cost of canons appears to have decreased over time. On the substantial but not prohibitive cost of canons during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, "Daizōkyō no nedan: Muromachi jidai no yunyū daizōkyō o chūshin ni" 大蔵経の値段—室町時代の輸入大蔵経を中心に, *Hokudai shigaku* 50 (2011): 1–35.

[119] In 1113, Masamori had underwritten a canon that Retired Emperor Shirakawa and the Gion Consort 祇園女御 (n.d.) had dedicated at the Six Perfections Hall, later known as Rokuharamitsuji 六波羅蜜寺. This text probably remained in Rokuhara, where Kiyomori could have accessed it, until the temple was lost to fire in 1173. *Denryaku,* Eikyū 永久 1 (1113) 10/1 (4:58); *Chōshūki,* Eikyū 1/10/1 (*ZST,* 15:123–24).

[120] *Hōsōki,* in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū,* ed. Hanawa Hokiichi and Ōta Tōshirō, 28B:217–53, p. 227. Cf. Kamikawa, "Issaikyō to chūsei no bukkyō," pp. 22–23.

[121] Ōtsuka Norihiro 大塚紀弘, "Sōhan issaikyō no yunyū juyō" 宋版一切経の輸入と受容, *Kamakura ibun kenkyū* 鎌倉遺文研究 25 (2010): 49–50; Kamikawa, "Issaikyō to chūsei no bukkyō," pp. 22–23.

[122] For the prayers, see *Gukanshō,* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 86:5.243; cf. Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past,* p. 122. For the offerings, see *Sankaiki,* Jishō 2 (1178) 6/17 (*ZST,* 27:128–29). Note that Kiyomori also sponsored ongoing rites at a great number of other shrines during this period. *Sankaiki,* Jishō 2/6/28 (*ZST,* 27:137–39).

and Hachijō mansions, much as Go-Shirakawa had done with Ima-Kumano in the Hōjūjidono; now Kiyomori sponsored offertory entertainments at these shrines, as well as at the Comprehensive Shrine in the Rengeōin.[123] With these acts of conspicuous devotion, Kiyomori did his best to ensure that his grandchild had the protection—and was known to have the protection—of the Itsukushima deities.

The royalization of Itsukushima proceeded apace: around 1179, when Noriko's son was designated crown prince, the Council of State seriously considered adding Itsukushima to the roster of the Twenty-two Shrines.[124] Kiyomori must have lent at least tacit support for this initiative, which would have vested Itsukushima with the highest level of patronage that the court could bestow. In the end, Itsukushima did not become the Twenty-third Shrine; instead, it was awarded official offerings to be sent on a regular basis.[125] The court's willingness to dignify the shrine in this way was directly linked to the probability that Kiyomori's grandson, the infant Prince Tokihito, would become the next emperor: the guardian deities of the heir apparent were due special consideration. In fact, a month after the court had granted annual offerings to Itsukushima, it also dispatched congratulatory gifts to celebrate the baby's birth.[126]

The compelling quality of Kiyomori's ritual regime came into full play at this time. Go-Shirakawa had already given the shrine his seal of approval with his pilgrimage in 1174; now, faced with Kiyomori's ascendancy, other nobles began to follow suit. After a flurry of aristocratic pilgrimages surrounding the congratulations for Prince Tokihito's birth had taken place,[127] the former Chancellor Fujiwara no Tadamasa 藤原忠雅 (1124–1193) went to Itsukushima in the sixth month of 1179. Earlier that year he had commented that he "had to go in order to wait upon" Kiyomori. Now he sailed with Kiyomori from Fukuhara to the island shrine, where he made offerings, gave gifts, and enjoyed *dengaku*

[123] For offertory performances of *dengaku* during Noriko's pregnancy, see *Sankaiki*, Jishō 2 (1178) 10/14 and 17, 11/10 (*ZST*, 27:148–50, 160).

[124] Tokihito was made crown prince on Jishō 2 (1179) 12/15 (January 24, 1179). *Hyakurenshō*, Jishō 2/12/15 (*SZKT*, 11:97). For the Twenty-two Shrines initiative, see *Gyokuyō*, Jishō 3 (1179) 2/7 (2:69); *Hyakurenshō*, Jishō 3/2/24 (*SZKT*, 11:98); *Sankaiki*, Jishō 3/2/29 (*ZST*, 27:232).

[125] *Hyakurenshō*, Jishō 3/2/24 (*SZKT*, 11:98); cf. *Gyokuyō*, Jishō 3 (1179) 3/26 (2:274).

[126] *Sankaiki*, Jishō 3 (1179) 3/26 (*ZST*, 27:251); *Gyōkuyō*, Jishō 3 (1179) 3/26 (2:274).

[127] *Gyokuyō*, Jishō 3 (1179) 3/29 (2:274–75).

performances.[128] Clearly, members of the court were now increasingly attracted, or perhaps coerced, by Kiyomori's signature site. Whereas Kiyomori had initially used Itsukushima to legitimate himself, others now used it to curry favor with him.[129]

Just when Kiyomori had achieved a totalizing reach in ritual and politics, his hegemony was undermined by further deterioration in his relations with Go-Shirakawa. Although Go-Shirakawa had made a formal show of good will toward Kiyomori in the early months of 1179,[130] he now seized opportunities to thwart him. When Kiyomori's daughter Moriko died in the sixth month, Go-Shirakawa expropriated land-holdings from her estate. When Shigemori, Kiyomori's son and heir, died in the eighth month, Go-Shirakawa commandeered the Echizen governorship, which Shigemori had controlled for well over a decade.[131] Kiyomori's response was draconian. He dismissed his opponents from office, appointed his supporters in their place, and even incarcerated Go-Shirakawa in what is known as the Jishō coup.[132] Kiyomori now held the reigns of government, but his rapprochement with the retired emperor was shattered and his authoritarianism was provoking considerable antipathy.

Political and ritual events widened the rift between the new Taira hegemony and Go-Shirakawa. In 1180 Kiyomori achieved direct control over the throne with the coronation of his toddler grandson as Emperor Antoku. Immediately afterward, his nephew and son-in-law, the newly retired Emperor Takakura, delivered a ritual coup de grace

[128] *Sankaiki,* Jishō 3 (1179) 3/26, 6/7, 6/22 (*ZST,* 27:250, 290, 296–98). In this entry, Tadachika records an account given by one of Tadamasa's attendants.

[129] For a later representation of the 1179 pilgrimage of Fujiwara no Sanesada 藤原実定 (1139–1191) as an effort to please Kiyomori, see *Heike monogatari,* in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 44:2.115–19; McCullough, trans., *Tale of the Heike,* pp. 84–86.

[130] Go-Shirakawa had dispatched offerings to Itsukushima with prayers for Kiyomori's well-being during the third month of 1179. Docs. 114 and 115 in Shinshutsu Itsukushima monjo, in *Hiroshima-ken shi,* Kodai chūsei shiryō-hen, 3:355–56.

[131] *Gyokuyō,* Jishō 3 (1179) 6/20 (cf. 6/18) (2:284); cf. *Gukanshō,* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 86:5.247–48. I follow the mainstream interpretation, namely, that Go-Shirakawa was making these over into royal estates. Other scholars have assumed that these entries imply that Go-Shirakawa returned the estates to the Fujiwara regents, from whom Moriko had inherited them. See, for instance, the annotations in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 86:490 n. 16; cf. Brown and Ishida's translation, which includes considerable interpolation and a mistaken reference to Bizen instead of Echizen, in *The Future and the Past,* p. 126.

[132] *Hyakurenshō,* Jishō 3/11/15 through 28 (*SZKT,* 11:99); *Gyokuyō,* 11/14 through 29 (2:306–18).

that showed that the Taira now reigned supreme. Shortly after he abdicated, Takakura shocked his courtiers by announcing that he would go to Itsukushima. As his attendant Minamoto no Michichika 源通親 (1149–1202) wrote, "We sighed and thought, 'When a sovereign steps down from the throne, there's soon to be a progress to Kamo or Yahata/Yawata. But some kind of royal progress to the ends of the awful sea, ploughing through the waves?'"[133] Takakura, in other words, was taking royal patronage to an entirely new level. By choosing Itsukushima for his first pilgrimage as a retired emperor (or by being manipulated into doing so by Kiyomori), he implied that the site was on a par with the venerable shrines of Kamo and Iwashimizu (also known as Yahata), both of which were located just outside the capital. Powerful religious institutions took umbrage, too, and yet Takakura remained resolute, departing from the capital in the third month.[134] Not surprisingly, Kiyomori offered his support: according to Michichika, he accompanied the pilgrimage party for two days, from Fukuhara to the harbor at Kojima 児島 in Bizen.[135] In the end, Kiyomori turned back—after all, he had much to see to in the capital with a toddler on the throne—but with the help of Retired Emperor Takakura, he had achieved another triumph. Through ritual performance, Takakura had shown that far-off Itsukushima was as legitimate as the great shrines of the old center. He had also shown that Taira preferences were now royal preferences.

For all Kiyomori's successes, his administrative—indeed, his political—base remained narrow, and he had made numerous enemies. Anti-Taira sentiment was building into armed revolt at precisely this time. As they had at their zenith, the Taira turned to Itsukushima and Fukuhara in time of need; both sites had become fully integrated into the family's political fortunes. After the disgruntled Prince Mochihito 以仁王 (1151–1180) tried but failed to topple him, Kiyomori moved the court to Fukuhara in 1180, intending to establish a capital in the area.[136]

[133] *Takakura-in Ituskushima gokōki* 高倉院厳島御幸記, opening passage; by Minamoto no Michichika, in *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi, 18 vols. (Keizai zasshisha, 1906–1907), 11:935b; cf. Herbert Plustschow and Hideichi Fukuda, trans., *Four Japanese Travel Diaries of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Series, 1981), p. 28. At the time, Michichika was a *bettō* in Takakura's *in-no-chō*.

[134] *Gyokuyō,* Jishō 4 (1180) 3/16 to 3/19 (2:385–86); *Takakura-in Itsukushima gokōki; Hyakurenshō,* Jishō 4/3/19 (*SZKT,* 11:100). Cf. *Heike monogatari,* in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei,* 44:4.201–7; McCullough, trans., *Tale of the Heike,* pp. 130–35.

[135] *Takakura-in Itsukushima gokōki,* Jishō 4 (1180) 3/23 (*Gunsho ruijū,* 11:941b–42a).

[136] Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori: Fukuhara no yume,* chap. 6; Shinshū Kōbe-shi shi hen-

In doing so, he meant to consolidate his strengths, but construction was slow and the political situation was increasingly difficult; five months later the court returned to Heian. Nonetheless, the very fact that Kiyomori attempted to transfer the capital illustrates the scope of his ambitions, both for himself and for Fukuhara. He envisioned himself as a potentate in control of the throne, the court, the capital, and a port that would connect his regime to the wider world. But then the war foreshadowed by Mochihito's call to arms broke out. In the eighth month, just as his nemesis, Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199), was declaring himself lord of eastern Japan, Kiyomori traveled to Itsukushima with plans to continue on to Usa, where he almost certainly sought logistical and military support.[137] A month later, as rumors of the rebel army were circulating among the aristocracy, Kiyomori was making plans to go to Itsukushima yet again, as was Retired Emperor Takakura.[138] Thus, during the opening phase of the Genpei War, the Taira were pursuing two complementary initiatives. Taira no Koremori 平維盛 (1158–1184) was mounting a conventional campaign by marching against Yoritomo in the east.[139] Meanwhile, in his capacity as the family patriarch, Kiyomori was planning to head west in pursuit of divine protection, arms, and men.

Conclusion

When Kiyomori died during the Genpei War, he left a pronounced ritual legacy. For twenty years, in times of celebration and risk alike, he had repeatedly turned to Itsukushima, binding the shrine to his house in the eyes of the world. By selecting a western destination, he had broken with tradition, but then, he had not been bred to the habits and duties of a senior noble, and he was quite conscious of himself as an

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shū iinkai 新修神戸市史編集委員会, ed., *Shinshū Kōbe-shi shi* 新修神戸市史, reikishihen, 4 vols., 2:308–45.

[137] For Yoritomo, see Mass's discussion in *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu,* pp. 71–72. For Kiyomori, see *Gyokuyō,* Jishō 4 (1180) 8/19 (2:428); *Sankaiki,* Jishō 4/8/21 (*ZST,* 28:114). Note that Takakura planned to go, too, and went at least as far as Fukuhara.

[138] After a delay, Takakura, who was often ill, traveled to Itsukushima on the twenty-first day of the ninth month. Likewise, Kiyomori planned and postponed a trip, but it is unclear when he might have departed. *Gyokuyō,* Jishō 4 (1180) 9/9–21, 10/6 (2:432–36); *Hyakurenshō,* same year, 9/21 (*SZKT,* 11:101).

[139] *Hyakurenshō,* Jishō 4 (1180) 9/22 (*SZKT,* 11:101).

innovator. Kiyomori was nothing if not bold, and his choice of Itsukushima was inspired: here was a shrine that suited his interests in sea trade and boasted a scenic location, dramatic architecture, and a rich performing-arts culture. As the corollary of his political ascendancy, Kiyomori's ritual regime drew other members of the high elite—such as Go-Shirakawa, Kenshunmon'in, Takakura, and Fujiwara no Tadamasa—all the way to Aki to offer their own prayers to the goddesses. In doing so, they signaled their acknowledgement of Kiyomori's legitimacy as a great ritual patron, a *kugyō* among *kugyō,* a lord among lords.

By using the sea to hold his canon and the shore to stage his grand rite, Kiyomori sacralized the landscape of Fukuhara and the Ōwada anchorage, thereby hallowing his maritime, overseas, and mercantile interests. At the same time, he showed that he could command more splendor and enjoy greater intimacy with the royal family than any other noble. Combining emulation with competition, he translated an established (and magnificent) ritual form associated with an established (and elite) group to a new setting that he controlled. He then sealed the authority of his ritual program at Fukuhara with the participation of a royal officiant.

Kiyomori's activities at Itsukushima and Fukuhara exemplify all the characteristics of ritual regimes as described above. Eminently distinctive and proprietary, his sites, rites, and texts reinforced individual and group identity; combined precedent with innovation; and compelled the participation of others through coercion and attraction.

When viewed as a ritual regime, Kiyomori's activities reveal significant parallels with those of the regents and retired emperors. This structural consistency militates in favor of a reading of the Taira ascendancy as an outgrowth of, rather than a break with, previous political orders. From a ritual perspective, Kiyomori appears as one of the champions of Heian court culture, not an agent of its ruin at the hands of the so-called warrior class. When the Minamoto defeated the Taira, they ushered in an era of great change; nonetheless, even as the Kamakura *bakufu* established new institutions that reshaped modes of patronage and religious practice, retired emperors and high aristocrats persisted in relying upon familiar religious patterns. The model of ritual regimes thus illuminates a mode of constructing one's right to rule—a mode that endured even when one faced serious challenges.