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URAKI, Kenji. Changes in Landscape and Signs of Formalization in Early Tōshō-Daigongen Images (Portraits of the Deified Tokugawa Ieyasu)

The Tōshō-Daigongen images depicting the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu in old ceremonial court dress were produced in large numbers throughout the Edo period (1603–1868), and are still in the possession of temples and shrines throughout Japan. The Tosho-Daigongen image by the Buddhist painter Kimura Ryōtaku IV, which is owned by the Tokugawa Memorial Foundation (hereafter referred to as the Tokugawa version), is considered the first work of its kind. Similar examples are the Shōjuraigō-ji version which, according to such written sources as Raigō-ji yōsho, is thought to have been produced by Kan'ei 14 (1637); the Chōen-ji version which, based on the kōkatsuchō inventory of the second chief priest of the Chōen-ji Temple, is assumed to have been donated after Kan'ei 20 (1643); and another in the Kyoto University Museum, which was originally in the Kan'ei-ji Kanshōin Temple (hereafter Kyoto University version). Previous studies have placed these four works into the same category in which the hems of the formal robe flow from right to left, and have regarded these works as the first Tosho-Daigongen images with shrine and temple architecture in the background. However, the four works have not previously been satisfactorily compared, nor has it been demonstrated in what order they were painted. This paper compares the landscapes depicted in the four Tosho -Daigongen images (hereafter referred to as early Tosho -Daigongen images), and discusses their development. It further highlights signs of formalization in the Chōen-ji and Kyoto University versions, as well as their similarities to the Tōshō-Daigongen images that were widely produced thereafter.

The setting of the Tokugawa version is thought to be that of Nikkō Tōshō-sha Okusha (the Okusha (inner shrine) of what is currently known as Nikkō Tōsho-gū Shrine), which was constructed during the Genna era (1615–24), owing to the depiction of the wooden pagoda (erected in Genna 8 $\langle 1622 \rangle$) and the irimoya-style hall of worship in the middle of the mountain. Although little is known about the Okusha in the Genna era, the wooden pagoda, which is said to be the tombstone of Ieyasu, was rebuilt in stone in Kan'ei 18 (1641); soon after, the pagoda and the worship hall were moved to the Chōraku-ji Temple in the village of Serada, Kōzuke Province (present-day Serada, Ota City, Gunma Prefecture). This suggests that the landscape in the Tokugawa version represents the Nikkō Tōshō-sha Okusha during the period from Genna 8 to Kan'ei 18 (1622-41), before the wooden pagoda was rebuilt and moved. However, considering the true location of the pagoda and the hall as opposed to their location in the painting, this hardly seems to represent an accurate depiction of the Nikkō Tōshō-sha Okusha. The same is also true of the landscape in other versions.

If one were to compare the scenery of the Tokugawa version with that of the Shōjuraigō-ji version, the precincts of the shrine are spread over the entire width of the painting in both versions. However, only the Tokugawa version depicts a three-storied pagoda, while the Shōjuraigō-ji version comprises a *torii* gate made of stone, and the number of pillars of the worship hall differs, resulting in a building of different length. The Chōen-ji and the Kyoto University versions share the same features as that of the Shōjuraigō-ji: while the three-storied pagoda is not depicted, a stone *torii* gate is included, and the number of pillars used in the hall is the same. On the other hand, the Chōen-ji and the Kyoto University versions differ from that of the Shōjuraigō-ji in that the precincts are concentrated to the right of the screen, while an additional land-scape is painted in ink on the left, and latticed shutters were added to the worship hall.

From the above comparisons of the landscape and architecture of the early Tōshō-Daigongen images, it is possible to deduce that the image developed in the following order: the Tokugawa version, the Shōjuraigō-ji version, and then the Chōen-ji and the Kyoto University versions. It would also make sense to apply this order to their dates of manufacture, since each of the images is unique in terms of their design elements and composition. The stone *torii* gate, which came to be included in the paintings from the Shōjuraigō-ji version onwards, is thought to have been built at the Okusha at the time of the Kan'ei rebuilding, which may help narrow down the date of the scenery and the production dates of the images.

In many of the later Tōshō-Daigongen images, the background is divided into two halves, with the landscape of mountains, rivers, and pavilions on the right, and a water scene to the left. It is possible to consider the Chōen-ji and the Kyoto University versions as the original form of such landscape compositions, and both works as the beginning of the formalization of the Tōshō-Daigongen images.