WRITING WOMEN INTO RELIGIOUS HISTORIES: RE-READING REPRESENTATIONS OF CHŪJŌHIME IN MEDIEVAL JAPANESE BUDDHIST NARRATIVES

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Asian Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

June 2006

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This dissertation focuses on representations of Chûjôhime, a legendary eighth-century noblewoman, in medieval Japanese Buddhist narratives. Through an examination of literary, religious, and cultural discourses on women in medieval Japan, this study considers how reception histories and conditions surrounding the production of pictorial Buddhist narratives are linked. By examining the socio-historical and religious conditions in which the legend of Chûjôhime developed and expanded from a doctrinal Buddhist tale of female salvation in the Kamakura period (1185-1333) to a popular text for the religious and cultural edification of women in the Muromachi period (1392-1573), and analyzing its literary structure, and the gender criticism it employs, I demonstrate how this narrative was used to establish a place for women in the literary, religious and socio-historical arenas, at a time when women's participation in religious institutions and society, as well as their economic power, were gradually declining. This dissertation offers a new approach to understanding the role of women as agents, as it traces a dialogue that questions feminine disclosure and the significance of texts and images as means of empowerment, oppression, and socio-religious criticism by re-evaluating the place of gender in the history of medieval Japanese Buddhism.
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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION/ TRANSCRIPTION

The names and titles of works and people, as well as modern Japanese terms, are romanized according to the Hepburn system used in Kenkyūsha’s New English-Japanese Dictionary. Chinese names and terms are romanized according to the Wade-Giles system. Within parentheses, the abbreviation J. stands for Japanese, C. for Chinese, and Skt. for Sanskrit. All Sanskrit terms appear in their stem form, with the English s used as plural. Words such as karma, sutra, and nirvana, which have become part of the English vocabulary, are not italicized.

Japanese names are given in Japanese order – surname followed by a given name. Temple names include the suffixes ji or dera (eg., Taima-dera) meaning temple. The word division also follows the convention used in Kenkyūsha: in the case of the suffix in, it is romanized and a hyphen is used if it designates a subtemple within a temple complex (eg., Chion-in); where the suffix in (“cloister”) can stand as an independent word – referring to the name of an independent temple or the post-retirement name of a high-ranking person (Gotobaln) – it is capitalized and no hyphen is used; where the suffix in cannot stand as an independent word, it is made part of a compound and italicized (Kokin). Place names when an inherent part of an independent term are italicized (Kumano bikuni). Titles of literary works are treated as
independent words, except for the case when they are part of abbreviated titles (Kokin but Kokinshū).

Regarding the romanization method for classical Japanese I have used the historical spelling of words (rekishi-teki kana-zukai), thus kyō ("today") is spelled kefu. Likewise, I have distinguished between he, we, and e; wo and o; wi and i, and I have used dzu for " and jihi for ".

All primary Japanese documents – including the Taima mandala engi emaki, the Taima-dera engi emaki, Zeami’s noh play Hibariyama, and Sanetaka’s diary (Sanetaka kōki) – in this dissertation are translated from the original, unless otherwise cited. In translating, I have consulted the modern Japanese transcriptions of the original medieval texts. As for Buddhist terms, texts, and names of deities, I use Japanese readings (Amida instead of Amitābha, for example).

The errors which remain are all my own responsibility.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I offer profound thanks to the many people who along the way helped to bring this dissertation to fruition through their contribution of time, interest, instruction, and critique. First, I would like to thank Professor Gail Chin, who introduced me to Japanese art history and sparked my interest in Buddhist narratives during my undergraduate studies at the University of Victoria.

At the University of British Columbia, I am deeply indebted to Professor Nam-lin Hur for guiding my study of medieval Japanese Buddhism and cultural history, Professor Sharalyn Orbaugh for teaching me how to think critically and to build bridges between Japanese literature and gender studies, and Professor Christina Laffin for her academic assistance and friendship.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Professor Hank Glassman and Professor Keller Kimbrough who have directed me toward sources and scholarship on Chūjōhime since the beginning of my project.

A research stay in Japan from 2002-2005 was made possible only through the generous funds made available by a Japan Foundation Dissertation Fellowship and a Kokugakuin University Fellowship, and was enriched by the input of a large number of scholars. I wish to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Professor Ikeda Shinobu of

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Chiba University, Professor Matsuo Ashie of Kokugakuin University, Professor Komine Kazuaki of Rikkyō University, and Professor Tokuda Kazuo of Gakushuin Joshi Tanki University. Special thanks go to Professor Ii Haruki, Director of the National Institute of Japanese Literature in Tokyo, who gave me the opportunity to publish a short piece on Chūjōhime, Professor Michael Watson of Meijigakuin University who allowed me to present stages of my research at various venues, and Professor Gaye Rowley of Waseda University who provided me with library access, critical guidance, and support.

Finally, I am forever indebted to Professor Joshua Mostow, my dissertation advisor and inimitable mentor, with whom I discovered the pleasures of thinking in dialogue. He encouraged me to go forward with this research project even at its earliest and most unshaped form, and he provided me with academic guidance, endless generosity, and assistance. With immeasurable patience, he taught me how to read classical Japanese texts and visual images in cultural context, and he also edited earlier versions of this dissertation. Through his encouragement I was able to turn my linguistic handicap into a stimulating challenge. Without his unflagging spirit of critique, academic expertise, and encompassing support this research project would have never seen the light.
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In what way and to what degree was the misogynistic rhetoric of women’s salvation in Japanese Buddhism during the Kamakura (1185-1333) and Muromachi (1392-1573) periods related to social change? Traditionally, in the study of Japanese Buddhism, which has been oriented to the thought of ‘great men’ and to episodes of doctrinal upheaval, the stories of ‘great women’ have been largely excluded from religious histories. The writing of women into religious histories in medieval Japan has not only been ignored in terms of the religious practices women engaged in, but also in terms of the attitudes towards women expressed in the writings of the male clergy.¹

For example, the salvation of women was a central topic in medieval Japanese doctrinal debates. It has only been in the last decade and a half, however, that this issue of female salvation has been addressed in either Japanese and Western scholarship.² In addition to attracting interest and study in academic circles, Buddhist texts and images dealing with the place of women in Japanese Buddhism inevitably generated a study of Buddhist scriptures and pictorial Buddhist narratives. In the 2003 exhibition, Josei to bukkyō 女性と仏教 (Women and Buddhism), at the Nara National Museum, the majority of art works displayed explored the various attitudes towards women and
salvation as an essential task of understanding the role and importance of women within
the history of Japanese Buddhism.

How are we to interpret the role and significance of female salvation within the
imagination of medieval Japanese Buddhism? What was the function of pictorial
Buddhist narratives of female salvation in Kamakura – and Muromachi-period society?
Despite the prevalence of textual and pictorial records of female salvation in medieval
Japan, few scholars have answered these questions in a comprehensive fashion.³

In spite of the significance of images for the study of religious history,
historians of religion ignore the pedagogical role of these visual representations whereas
art historians are primarily concerned with the iconography of images. However, images
are not isolated phenomena, but parts of society – both shaping and being shaped by
socio-historical conditions. Concerning illustrated Japanese Buddhist narratives of
female salvation, not only do religious implications immediately come into play, but
the literary tradition is also an integral part of their study. As this tripartite significance
indicates, pictorial Buddhist narratives intersect the disciplines of art history, religion,
and literature. My study bridges these disciplines – incorporating a fourth discipline of
gender studies as well – by placing the representations in the context of pictorial
exegesis, and thereby elucidating the power of images of women and salvation created
and exploited by Pure Land Buddhism.

Pictorial Buddhist narratives of female salvation enrich our understanding regarding the religious significance of women in medieval Japan and offer new insight into ways in which women are written into religious histories. One such example is the legend of Chûjôhime which is commonly known within the corpus of Japanese literature as Chûjôhime densetsu 中将姫伝説. Chûjôhime’s legend was from the onset, as it remained throughout the course of its history, an account of a woman’s salvation through faith in Amida and birth in the Pure Land. Its roots date back to the twelfth century, and versions of Chûjôhime’s narrative have maintained their popularity through the 1950s. Even today, in some regions of Japan, the outlines of the story are still familiar at certain temples, such as Taima-dera 当麻寺 in Taima-chô 当麻町, Kitakatsuragi-gun 北葛城郡, Nara Prefecture; Tokushô-ji 得生寺 in Arita 有田, Wakayama Prefecture; and Seiren-ji 青蓮寺 in Uda 字田, Nara Prefecture, which claim historical and material connections to the life and meritorious deeds of this legendary heroine.

Kamakura-period documents, such as the Gojunreiki 御巡礼記 (1192), the Kokon chomonjû 古今著聞集 (1254), and the Shijû hyaku in'ên shû 私百因縁集 (1257) constitute the oldest extant textual records of Chûjôhime’s legend.
The *Taima mandala engi emaki* (Miraculous Origin of the Taima Mandala), a narrative handscroll painting dated to the mid-thirteenth century, is known today as the earliest extant pictorial record of Chûjôhime’s story. This Buddhist tale of female salvation illustrates the story of an eighth-century young noblewoman whose devotion to Amida Buddha resulted in the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala, a tapestry depicting Amida Buddha’s Pure Land Western Paradise (*gokuraku jôdo* 極楽浄土), and in her attainment of birth in the Pure Land (*ôjô 往生*). The *Taima mandala engi emaki* depicts the story as follows: Due to the vow of the young eighth-century noblewoman, Chûjôhime (literally, “the Middle Captain princess”), to see Amida Buddha in human form, an auspicious nun appears, tells her to gather one hundred horseloads of lotus stems and to spin them into threads. Together they dye the lotus threads five colors. Shortly after, a heavenly maiden appears who, in a single night, weaves the threads into the Taima mandala and then disappears on a five-colored cloud into the West. Having explained the meaning of the Taima mandala to Chûjôhime, the nun also ascends on a five-colored cloud into the West, revealing herself as a human manifestation of Amida Buddha. Upon Chûjôhime’s death, Amida Buddha and his host descend to welcome her into Amida’s Pure Land, signaling her attainment of salvation.
In the Muromachi period, versions of Chūjōhime’s legend, such as the
*Taima-dera engi emaki* (Miraculous Origin of Taima Temple), dated 1531, added a new twist to this Buddhist tale of female salvation – that of the princess as an ill-treated stepchild – and combined the heroine’s religious experiences at Taima-dera with a narrative of her childhood. This expanded and newly added story-line concerning Chūjōhime’s childhood consists of her mother’s death, the abandonment of both Chūjōhime and her younger brother on Mount Katsuragi due to the evil plot by the jealous stepmother, the children’s return home and their advancement in court rank, Chūjōhime’s second abandonment and intended execution on Mount Hibari due to the wicked stepmother’s slander, her rescue by a samurai and his wife, her reunion with her father, her taking the tonsure at Taima-dera, the creation of the Taima mandala, and Chūjōhime’s attainment of birth in Amida’s Pure Land.

How does the ‘secular’ addition of the narrative about Chūjōhime’s childhood experiences emphasize gender as a conditioning factor in the evolution of the texts and images that constitute her legend as a ‘sacred’ Buddhist tale of female salvation in medieval Japan? Gender is a central conditioning factor at play in the evolution of the texts and images that constitute the narrative of Chūjōhime’s legend. There is ample
evidence in the Kamakura period of women's belief in the possibility of their own salvation across the whole spectrum of Japanese Buddhism, but particularly within the context of the new Pure Land sects. Under Hōnen 法然 (1133-1212), the founder of the Pure Land sect (Jōdo shū 净土宗), and Shinran 観鸊 (1173-1262), the founder of the True Pure Land sect (Jōdo shin shū 净土真宗), Pure Land Buddhism gained popularity because it promised salvation to all beings who have faith in Amida and aspire to be born in his Pure Land, regardless of class or gender. This aspect is of particular importance regarding attitudes towards women and female salvation within Pure Land Buddhism, the key religious point communicated through Chūjōhime’s narrative.

The gender of the story’s heroine and the gender of the audience affected the story’s development as well. In the oblique yet powerful way in which fiction illustrates the tensions of reality and its milieu, the evolution, expansion, and dissemination of Chūjōhime’s legend addresses the problem – or, speaking in terms of religious history, the place – of women in Japanese Buddhism, particularly from the twelfth century onwards. Buddhist ambivalence toward women was determined by the religious concept of the “Five Obstructions” (goshō 五障), referring to the five states of being women are unable to attain due to their sex. Then there was the exclusion of women from sacred
places (nyonin kekkai 女人結界), such as Mount Kōya and Mount Hiei. Many temples used to bar women because of their impurity due to menstrual and birth blood, which were considered offensive to the gods. Therefore, by including women in the promise of salvation on the one hand, but excluding them due to their sex on the other, Buddhism presents a case of “inclusive exclusion.”

Local and oral traditions sustained and elaborated the narrative of Chūjōhime through the centuries, and a variety of written texts, both documentary and literary, provide glimpses of various stages in the course of its development and expansion. Although the original sources for Chūjōhime’s story, as it became known from the Muromachi period onward, are unknown, today the earliest extant main literary texts which are believed to have given rise to the expansion of Chūjōhime’s story from the Muromachi period onward are noh plays such as Zeami’s Taema (1363-1443) and Hibariyama (fifteenth century); religious commentaries on the Taima mandala such as the Taima mandala sho (fifteenth-century); kabuki plays such as Hibariyama hime sutenatsu (1690); and joruri performances, as for example Chūjōhime 中将姫 (1744). Well into the nineteenth century there was continuous cross-fertilization between Chūjōhime’s story as performed onstage and the same story as it was recounted at temples or other points.
along the pilgrimage routes – especially along Kumano – of the medieval and early
modern periods. Religious proselytizing at temples that claimed a direct relationship to
events in the narrative contributed to its evolving complexity and popularity.

My objective is to explore the practices by which women are written into
religious histories. Re-reading Kamakura – and Muromachi-period representations of
Chūjōhime’s legend in the Taima mandala engi emaki and the Taima-dera engi emaki,
I will investigate both the inclusion and exclusion of women in religious history, and
what these inclusions and exclusions reveal. To what extent do the dynamics of the
inclusion and exclusion of Chūjōhime in these Buddhist narratives at particular
junctures and in specific contexts allow for women to be written as agents into the
histories and legends that constitute religious traditions? My analysis seeks to move
beyond a version of feminist history that is, in the words of the feminist historian Joan
Wallach Scott:

The realization of the radical potential of women’s history comes in the
writing of histories that focus on women’s experiences and analyze the
ways in which politics construct gender and gender constructs politics.

Feminist history then becomes not the recounting of great deeds
performed by women but the exposure of the often silent and hidden
operations of gender that are nonetheless present and defining forces
in the organization of most societies.\textsuperscript{9}

In concurrence with the observations made by Judith Butler and other feminists who have pointed out the constructed nature of the categories 'male' and 'female,' this dissertation seeks to examine such constructions in historical perspective.\textsuperscript{10}

Since history is one of the primary modes of discourse through which religious images of men and women are constituted, I will focus on specific instances of the textual production of Chûjôhime's legend in which women and gender are explicitly addressed, and in doing so interrogate the writing of history that excludes in relation to that which includes.

In the following chapters, I consider how reception history and conditions surrounding the production of pictorial Buddhist narratives are linked, through an examination of literary, religious and cultural discourses on women. By analyzing the socio-historical and political conditions in which the legend of Chûjôhime developed and expanded from a doctrinal Buddhist tale of female salvation in the Kamakura period to a popular text for the religious and cultural edification of women in the Muromachi period, its literary structure, and the gender criticism it employs, I demonstrate how Chûjôhime's narrative was used to establish a place for women in the literary, religious
and socio-historical arenas, at a time when women’s participation in religious and social institutions, as well as their economic power, gradually declined.

Chapter Two examines the earliest extant textual and pictorial record of the legend of Chūjōhime, the Taima mandala engi emaki. By situating Pure Land Buddhism within the socio-historical context of the Kamakura period, I show, through a detailed textual and pictorial analysis of the Taima mandala engi emaki, how this particular narrative emphasizes the key doctrinal aspects of the Pure Land sect, especially those concerning female defilement and salvation.

Chapter Three examines the Muromachi-period Taima-dera engi emaki – a handscroll painting that has been virtually unexamined, even in Japan – to illustrate the sources which gave rise to the development and expansion of the story. A detailed textual and visual analysis of this work – for which no edited or annotated version exists – sheds light on the origin and significance of the addition of Chūjōhime’s childhood narrative – such as the death of her mother; her abuse at the hands of her wicked stepmother; her abandonment and intended execution on Mount Hibari; and her reunification with her father – for this Buddhist tale of female salvation. In my examination of gender and Buddhism in the Taima-dera engi emaki, I argue that this work reveals an overall intensification of attempts to disempower certain aspects of
constructed femininity as time progressed.

Chapter Four challenges the conventional notion that the Taima-dera engi emaki simply incorporates the ‘secular’ events of Chûjôhime’s childhood narrative in order to make this ‘religious’ Buddhist tale more entertaining. A close comparison between this work and other Muromachi-period stepchild stories shows that the Taima-dera engi emaki can also be read a text for the edification of women, as well as a socio-cultural critique of women’s status and role in Muromachi-period society, especially under the increasing influence of Confucianism.

To portray Buddhism as a timeless, homogeneous and unchanging oppressor of women would be to neglect the intricate ways in which different configurations of specific religious, socio-cultural, and historical discourses empower or marginalize ascribed gender characteristics. The methodology employed in these three chapters attempts a new approach for understanding genre in the medieval period, by examining the literary, pictorial, and religious aspects of the scroll paintings to arrive at a new interpretation concerning the genres they represent.

Chapter Five considers the maternally-focused storyline in both the narrative of Queen Vaidehi in the Taima mandala and that of Chûjôhime in the Taima-dera engi emaki, which centers on the mother-child dyad relationship. I argue that these
Buddhist narratives of female salvation were not only adopted by the male clergy to represent and proselytize their soteriological view of women as sacralized mothers and idealized objects of salvation due to their sex, but were also adopted by the psychologists Kosawa Heisaku and Okonogi Keigo to fit their psychoanalytical interpretation relating to what they have called the "Ajase Complex," a "family romance" that they contrast to Freud's Oedipus complex. Interestingly, the Indian Buddhist tale of Prince Ajâtasatru (J. Ajase) is one of the very ones depicted in the Taima mandala, and I explore the interconnections between the discourses that reference this tale. I question how and why specific attributes associated with women were prone to marginalization by certain texts and cultural norms that laid claim to Buddhist inspiration.

This dissertation offers a new approach to theories of women as agents in Muromachi-period setsuwa, as it traces a dialogue that questions feminine disclosure and concealment and the significance of texts and images as means of empowerment, oppression, expression of desire, and socio-religious criticism by showing how historical conditions affect women's cultural production and reception.
Notes to Chapter One

1 In this dissertation, my usage of the term ‘medieval,’ a translation of the Japanese word *chüsei* 中世, refers exclusively to the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. These two eras were characterized by religious and social upheaval following the decline of the Heian aristocracy in the twelfth century and preceding the rise of the Tokugawa shogunate in the seventeenth century.


4 See Appendix A.

5 In the eighth century, Taima-dera belonged to the Sanron sect (*Sanron Shū* 三論宗) of Buddhism, but today it owes allegiance to both the Pure Land sect (*Jōdo Shū* 淨土) and the Shingon sect (*Shingon Shū* 真言宗). Three of Taima-dera’s subtemples belong to
the Pure Land sect, the other two are Shingon subtemples. Taima-dera is the property and responsibility of priests of both sects, who also participate together in the mukaekó 迎講, a ritual enactment of Chūjōhime’s birth into Amida’s Pure Land, which is performed annually on May 15 at both Taima-dera and at Tokushō-ji. Both temples have copies of the Taima mandala as their central icon of worship. Seiren-ji houses a gilded wooden sculpture of Chūjōhime and is associated with the creation of the medicine Chūjō-tō 中将湯, a remedy against various kinds of women’s pains related to the lower abdomen, which is manufactured by Tsumura Juntendō and is still available in pharmacies throughout Japan today.

6 Hereafter Amida’s Pure Land.

7 Ceremonies and rites barring women’s participation have existed in Japan since ancient times, as have religious institutions and sacred sites women are forbidden to enter. These areas are alternatively known as nyonin kekkai 女人結界 (women excluded) and nyonin kinsei 女人禁忌 (women prohibited), and are usually enforced at religious sites on mountains and temples. If the zone is violated it is said that there will be immediate divine retribution. Randle Keller Kimbrough, “Voices from the Feminine Margin: Izumi Shikibu and the nuns of Kumano and Seiganji,” in Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory, vol.23 (2001): 60.

8 See Appendix A for texts preceding the Muromachi-period version of Chūjōhime’s story. According to Waku Junko, the expansion of Chūjōhime’s story occurred through proselytizing activities of wandering preachers (hijiri 聖), as well as through noh plays, such as Taema and Hibariyama, and kyōgen performances. Waku Junko 和久順子, “Chūjōhime setsuwa keifu kangae 中将姫説話系譜考,” in Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryo kankokai, Nihon no koten to kusho bungei 日本の古典と口承文芸 (Tokyo: Yubandō Shuppan, 1983), 173-186.


CHAPTER TWO

The Legend of Chûjôhime in the Kamakura Period (1185-1333)

There is ample evidence in the Kamakura period (1185-1333) of women’s belief in the possibility of their own salvation across the whole spectrum of Japanese Buddhism, but particularly within the context of the new Pure Land sects. This aspect is of particular importance regarding attitudes towards women and female salvation within Pure Land Buddhism, the religious key point communicated through the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, which is the earliest extant pictorial narrative of Chûjôhime’s legend and the central focus of this chapter.

This chapter examines the earliest extant textual and pictorial record of Chûjôhime’s legend, the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, in order to shed light on the way the founders of Pure Land Buddhism – Hônên 法然 (1133-1212) and Shinran 観鸞 (1175-1262) – viewed women, which was based on the concept of the “Five Obstructions,” and how it shaped their ideas about women’s capability to attain salvation. In this first chapter, I seek to analyze Pure Land Buddhism in the context of early medieval Japan and to situate Chûjôhime’s legend in the socio-historical milieu of the Kamakura period. Through a detailed textual and visual analysis of the *Taima mandala engi emaki* I will show how this particular narrative emphasizes the key doctrinal concepts of the Pure Land sect, especially those concerning female salvation.

First, I will give a brief introduction to the *Taima mandala engi emaki*. Following the transcription of the original text and translation, I will provide a detailed description and discussion of the paintings. Finally, I will locate the *Taima mandala engi*
emaki within the socio-historical and cultural milieu of the Kamakura period, and explore how it reflects the views of the founders of Pure Land Buddhism regarding women and salvation at the time.

1.1 Preface: The Taima mandala engi emaki

A. Background

The Taima mandala engi emaki consists of two narrative handscroll paintings, which date to the mid-thirteenth century and illustrate the legendary origin of the Taima mandala (fig.1). Initially, the scrolls were owned by Taima-dera, a Buddhist temple of the Pure Land sect, located in Taimachô, Kitakatsuragi-gun, Nara prefecture, which is the birthplace of this legendary story. However, in Enpô 3 (1675), the scrolls were donated to Kômyô-ji 光明寺, a Pure Land Buddhist temple of the Chinzei school 鎮西流, which is located in Kamakura, Kanagawa prefecture. The donor of the scrolls was Naitô Yoshimune 内藤義概 (1619-1685), who was the proprietor of Kômyô-ji at the time, and his name is inscribed in golden characters on the back of the black lacquer box containing the scrolls. The inscription reads:

相州鎌倉天照山光明寺珍蔵当麻曼陀羅縁起絵巻

傳前摂政太政大臣藤原良経公後京極殿真翰図画工士佐将監撮

延寶三之秋大檀越内藤左京亮従五位下義概以彼証之次更加修飾命寄付畢

現住四拾六世貴誉萬量天爾

This temple, Amaterasu-san Kômyô-ji, in Kamakura owns the Taima mandala engi emaki.

[The calligraphy is] attributed to the Regent Chancellor, senior noble

16
Fujiwara no Yoshitsune, the Gokyogoku Lord, and the paintings to the painter Tosa Shôgen.5

In the fall of Enpô 3 (1675), the temple proprietor and Junior Lower Fifth Rank Official of the Imperial Guards of the Left, Naitô Yoshimune, gave the order to add explanations and decorations [to the scroll painting], and when it was completed he donated it [to Kômyô-ji].6

[This is recorded by] the present head priest [of Kômyô-ji], the venerable Manryô Teni, who is the forty-sixth descendant of the lineage.7

The scrolls are executed in ink and color on paper with gold leaf (kinpaku 金箔) and gold paint (kondei 金泥). Both scrolls are currently mounted with a plain border at top and bottom. Each scroll consists of three textual and three pictorial sections, which are arranged in an alternating manner. As a result of the particular arrangement of the sheets of paper, a small area of empty space separates the end of each textual passage from the beginning of each pictorial passage. In the Taima mandala engi emaki, the textual and pictorial passages occupy separate sheets, which not only suggests that the calligraphy and paintings were originally produced separately and were only later combined, but also that the textual and visual components of the scrolls served different functions. In support of this theory, especially concerning the latter aspect, I would like to draw attention to the fact that all painted sections of the Taima mandala engi emaki show signs of extensive use, such as numerous creases and wrinkles which tend to develop from frequent unrolling and rolling, some extent of faded color, and some areas where the gold pigment has flaked off. None of these features can be detected in the
textual sections, which appear undamaged. This suggests that initially the paintings were used independently from the text for illustrating the story to an audience.

In Japan, the practice of painting-recitation (etoki 絵解) as a method of proselytizing the Buddhist faith through oral description of Buddhist images dates back to the ninth century. Records, such as the monk Kyôkai’s 景戒 (active ca. 780s-800s) Nihon ryôiki 日本霊異記, compiled between 810-824, document that nuns used images of hells and the six paths of rebirth (rokudô 六道) for teaching and constitute the earliest evidence of etoki practice. Especially traveling nuns along the pilgrimage routes used etoki for teaching the faith. Therefore, since Taima-dera was located along the pilgrimage route to Kumano, it is likely that the paintings were used for etoki. However, the most substantial evidence for the paintings of the Taima mandala engi emaki having been used for etoki comes from the narrative of the scrolls itself. The second pictorial section of the second scroll depicts the mysterious nun, dressed in clerical robes and with a shorn head covered by a veil, seated with one knee up, while she recites the meaning of the Taima mandala to Yokohagi’s daughter, the heroine (fig.2).

As recorded in the Taima mandala chûki 当麻曼陀羅注記 (1223), a commentary written by Hônen’s disciple, Seizan Shôkû 西山性空 (1177-1247), copies of the Taima mandala were widely used for etoki in the Heian and Kamakura period. He visited Taima-dera in 1229 and witnessed a lecture on the Taima mandala during which a monk would kneel in front of the mandala, point to the image with a feather pointer, and explain the meaning of the image. The mysterious nun’s appearance as well as posture, and the usage of large-size imagery, such as mandalas, as teaching tools, are characteristic of this particular etoki practice.
Furthermore, in addition to the large scale of the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, measuring a total height of 51.6 centimeters for each scroll, and a total length of 778.1 centimeters for scroll one and 689.5 centimeters for scroll two, it strikes the viewer that the majority of space in both scrolls is occupied by images rather than by text. This further suggests the importance these paintings had as a pictorial narrative and the function they served as a didactic tool in order to proselytize the Pure Land faith in the Kamakura period, particularly regarding the possibility of salvation for women through faith in Amida.

Regarding the painter of the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, whose name is recorded as Tosa Koshōgen 土佐古将監 in the postscript of the first scroll, as Tosa Shōgen 土佐将監 in the inscription on the back of the lacquer box containing the scrolls, and as Sumiyoshi Hōgen Keion 住吉法眼慶恩 in a letter accompanying the scrolls, the consensus is that these are apocryphal attributions and that the real identity of the artist remains unknown. The postscript of the first scroll is in the handwriting of Kanō Eishin 狩野永真 (1613-1685) and it identifies the artist as Tosa Koshōgen:

右、曼陀羅之縁起上下卷土佐古将監
真跡決然而無涉乎猶豫者也
狩野永真法眼証之印

As stated in the above, Tosa Koshōgen, was in charge of the first and second scrolls of the *Taima* mandala engi. The true autograph is a spontaneous matter and [done] without interference or delay.
The signature of Kanô Eishin Hôgen is proof [of its authenticity].

While the authenticity of Kanô Eishin’s signature has been confirmed, indicating that this postscript is a seventeenth-century addition, the attribution of Tosa Kôshôgen as the artist only indicates an official rank and not a personal name. As stated by Komatsu, Kanô Eishin uses the name Tosa Kôshôgen, who advanced to the rank of “Officer of the Third Rank of the Imperial Guards of the Right” (Ukon’e no Shôgen 右近衛将監), to Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (1469-1523). However, since the scrolls date to the thirteenth century, which seems to be the case based on the calligraphy and painting styles, this attribution is obviously wrong and a Tosa painter was not responsible for the paintings. Furthermore, the confirmed thirteenth-century production date of the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, as well as the fact that the *Manzai jugó nikki* 溝津後記 (1424) and the *Chikanagakyōki* 親長卿記 (1466) constitute the earliest extant documentary evidence for an artist using the name Tosa, a man named Fujiwara Yukihiro 藤原行広 (fl. 1406-34) who was also known as Tosa Shôgen 土佐将監, indicate that a Tosa painter could have not been involved in the production of the scroll paintings.

Moreover, in addition to the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, formerly owned by Taima-dera but presently in the possession of Kômyô-ji, Taima-dera is still in the possession of the *Taima-dera engi emaki* 当麻寺縁起絵巻 (Miraculous Origin of Taima Temple), a narrative handscroll painting illustrating the temple’s foundation legend and Chûjôhime’s story. The *Taima-dera engi emaki* is dated 1531 and its attribution to the painter, Tosa Mitsumochi 土佐光茂 (1496-1569), has been authenticated. Therefore, it is possible that the Tosa name in both the seventeenth-century added postscript and
inscription on the lacquer box was recorded in order to establish a connection between
the Tosa school and the *Taima mandala engi emaki*.

The third record stating the name of the painter of the scrolls is a letter dated 1793
and signed by Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1758-1829). This letter, which was
placed inside the lacquer box, gives the name of the painter as Sumiyoshi Hōgen Keion
住吉法眼慶恩 who is believed to have been a Buddhist painter and active during the
second half of the thirteenth century. However, so far no supporting evidence has been
found to authenticate this attribution, leaving the identity of the artist unknown.

A translation of the textual passages from the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, as well
as a description and analysis of the paintings appear below.

1.2 Textual and Visual Analysis of the *Taima mandala engi emaki*

**Scroll One, Text One:** (fig.3)

當麻寺のおこりは、用明天皇の第三皇子、麿子の親王の建立の寺なり。
そののち、夢想のつげありて、投行者のむかしのあとをしめて、この寺
をうつしたてまつれり。それよりこのかた、大炊天皇御宇に、よこはき
のおとどといふ人のむすめ、いいますかりけり。深窓のうちにやしなはれて、
たまだれのほかにいだしたてまつらず。この君を、きずなきたまとおぼし
かしつくに、よるのつるのこの中になか、野邊のきざすのけぶりに
むせぶおもひにすぎたり。しかれども、はるのはなに心をそめず、あきの
つきておもひをよせず、ふかく仏のみちをたつ“ねて、法のさとりを
もとむ。これによりて、称讃浄土経千巻をかきて、玉の軸をととのへ、
華のひもをひらきて、この寺におさめたてまつる。
As for the origin of Taima-dera, it is a temple that was established by Emperor Yômei’s third son, the Imperial Prince Maroko. Subsequently, an oracle in a dream appeared [to Maroko] and he moved and rebuilt this temple at a site occupied by the traces of old En no Gyôja. Later, in the reign of Emperor Ôi, the daughter of a man named the Lord of Yokohagi resided there. She was raised deep inside the house, and [her father] never let her go outside the ornate jeweled curtains. [The father’s] thinking of her and waiting on her as [if she were] a flawless jewel exceeded [the love] of the [mother] crane crying in the night [among her offspring], or the [mother] goose choked by smoke in the [burning] fields. But her heart was not stained by the flowers of spring, nor did she long for the autumn moon. Searching deeply for the path of the Buddha, she sought for enlightenment in the Dharma. For that purpose, she copied one thousand scrolls of the Pure Land-Praising Sutra, mounted them on jeweled rollers, tied the sutra scrolls together with gorgeous strings, and dedicated them to this temple.

Prior to my discussion of this first passage, I would like to draw attention to the uncertainty that surrounds the main characters of this legend. As evident from this original text of the Taima mandala engi emaki, in comparison to later versions of Chûjôhime’s legend, particularly those from the Muromachi period onward, the name Chûjôhime 中将姫 does not appear here at all. The name Chûjôhime is recorded in works such as the Sonpi bunmyaku 存否文脈, a genealogical record of the principal families of pre-Muromachi period Japan, which was compiled by Tôin Kinsada.
Dai nihon shi 大日本史, a history of Japan that was begun in 1657 by Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀 (1628-1700) but not completed until 1906. The name seems to have become part of the Chûjôhime legend and turned from a descriptive title into a proper name by the early fifteenth century, when the noh play Taema was written by Zeami, but its origin is difficult to trace.  

Kamakura-period records predating the Taima mandala engi emaki, such as the Kenkyû gojunrei Ki 建久御巡礼記 (1191), the Taima mandala chû 当麻曼陀羅注 (1223), the Taima-dera ryûki 当麻寺流記 (1231), the Gokokuji-bon 護國時本 (1235), the Taima-dera konryû no koto 当麻寺建立之事 (1237), the Ninna-ji-bon 仁和寺本 (1253), the Kokon chomonjû 古今著聞集 (1254), the Shishû hyaku in’en shû 私衆百因縁集 (1257), and the Zenrin-ji bon 禪林寺本 (1262), identify the heroine as ‘the minister’s daughter’ (daijin no musume 大臣の娘) or as ‘daughter of the major counselor’ (dainagon no musume 大納言の娘) but do not mention the name Chûjôhime, which further obscures its origin. 

It is possible that the name Chûjôhime entered the tradition from an oral narrative underpinning the account of the early life of Yokohagi’s daughter, perhaps introduced by Pure Land preachers, or it might have arisen in order to give the girl a more personal name than simply calling her hime 姫 (princess), hongan no ama 本願の尼 or hongan-ni 本願尼 (nun of the original vow) as she is referred to in the Kamakura-period Taima mandala engi emaki. In my translation, I will refer to the heroine as “Yokohagi’s daughter.”

Yokohagi’s association with the Chûjôhime/Taima mandala legend can be traced
to some extent because he is frequently described by his title and rank as *udaijin* (Minister of the Right), *daijin* (Minister), or *otodo* (Minister), but there are no references to the name Yokohagi itself and his personal name differs. For example, in the *Kokon chomonjū* he is called ‘Yokohagi Daijin Fujiwara Tadane’, in the *Shishū hyaku in’en shū* he is called ‘Yokohagi no Udaijin Tadamune’, and in the *Zenrin-ji bon* he is called ‘Yokohagi no Otodo.’

In addition, the term *yokohagi* does not refer to the name of a clan or a place, but refers to the name of a sword (*tachi*), so-called because it is worn sideways on one’s side. Therefore, “yokohagi” is a fictional name which was probably given to the Minister character in the Chūjōhime/Taima mandala legend due to his rank of *otodo*.

Since the rank of Chūjōhime’s father was that of *daijin* (Minister) and not that of *chūjō* (Middle Captain), it is questionable why the heroine is referred to as Chūjōhime rather than as Yokohagi’s daughter from the Muromachi period onward. Zeami’s noh play *Taema* is the earliest extant document that gives the heroine’s name as Chūjōhime but without any explanation regarding its origin. The *Taima-dera engi emaki* mentions that the heroine became the Emperor’s consort and received the title *Chūjō no Naishi* (Middle Captain Lady in Waiting). However, the origin of Yokohagi’s rank as a *chūjō* in Post-Kamakura-period versions of Chūjōhime’s legend remains unclear.

**Scroll One, Picture One:** (fig.4)

The pictorial section following this opening textual passage depicts Yokohagi no Otodo’s daughter inside a secluded room. She is sitting on *tatami*, which indicates that
she is of high rank, in front of a table and assiduously copying the Pure Land-Praising sutra. On a table behind her we see a number of scrolls which she has already finished copying. Her body is almost entirely hidden behind a kichō 几帳 (‘curtain of state’), only her head and her right hand, in which she is holding a writing brush, are visible. The viewer of the scroll gets an intimate view of this scene due to the rolled-up blinds and the ‘blown-off roof’ (fukinuki yatai 吹抜屋台) technique. Executed in the tsukuri-e 作り絵 (‘made-up picture’) technique, the painting shows traces of polychrome color and gold paint. The color choice emphasizes certain elements in the image. For example, the gold paint emphasizes the brilliance of the jewels and gold thread on the kichō, reminding the audience that this is the home of a noble woman.

This section runs counter to the audience’s expectation for a young female aristocrat because, instead of engaging in worldly pleasures and thinking about poetry and love which is characteristic of noblewomen, the young aristocratic heroine in the Taima mandala engi emaki is only concerned with entering the Buddhist path and devoting her life to the dharma. The heroine mirrors the blossoming flowers which decorate the fusuma 襦 (sliding screen) on the left. Like the flowering blossoms, she is in bloom because of her young age and beauty. However, her heart is not stained by the flowers; all she desires is to copy the Pure Land-Praising Sutra. Considering this unusual behavior of the young aristocratic heroine, leaving her sheltered life, worldly pleasures and even her father, we are intrigued to question the circumstances, which are not given in the text of the Taima mandala engi emaki, why this heroine renounces the world at such a young age.

This depiction of Yokohagi no Otodo’s daughter, growing up in seclusion and
giving up all wealth in order to search for the Dharma, is reminiscent of the story of Prince Siddhartha Gautama, the historical Buddha. Siddhartha Gautama (ca.563-483 BC) was born in Kapilavastu, Nepal, into the Sākya clan of the priestly-warrior caste.

Siddhartha’s father, the head of the clan, ordered that he live a life of total seclusion in the palace and sheltered him from the hardships of the outside world. However, one day Siddhartha left his palace for an excursion and saw an old man suffering from the frailties of age; a sick man, suffering from disease; and a dead man. This experience made him realize that life is suffering and he left his family in search of the Dharma.

After rigorous ascetic practices and meditations, Siddhartha attained enlightenment, and became the Buddha (‘Enlightened One’).

Scroll One, Text Two: (fig.5)

そののち、天平寛文七年六月十五日、ついにはなのかざりをおとして、こけのたもとになぜり。すなはち、かかいていはく、[ われもし生身の如来をみたてまつらずば、この寺門をいつて] かさねてちかふ。七日の期をかぎりて、一心の誠をこらせりかかるあひだ、同月廿日、とりの比丘尼きてていはく、[ 祈念のこころざしをみるに随喜のおもひにたえずして、われここにきたれり。九品の教主をおがみてまつらんとおもばば、われその相をあらはすべし。すみやかに、はすのくき百駄をあつむべし] といへり。順主の尼、この事をうけて、天徳におよばずに、忍海連におぼせて、近江国の課役として、たちまちにもよをしあつめたり。ここに化尼、さとりをえてきたれり。みつ"からはすのくきをおりて、いとをいだす事、わつらひなし。ももわくくりいだし、ちちわくに
After that, on the fifteenth day of the sixth month of Tempyō-hōji 7 (763), she [Yokohagi’s daughter] threw away her flower ornaments and embraced sleeves of moss. Thereupon, she made a vow, declaring: “Unless I see Amida Buddha in living form, I shall not leave this temple.” She vowed this once again and limited herself to a period of seven days [to fulfill her vow to see Amida], and she devoted herself [to her vow] with a single-minded and steadfast heart. During this time, on the twentieth day of the same month, a mysterious nun appeared and said: “Because I was so deeply moved by the sincere devotion expressed in your prayer, unable to resist a feeling of happiness, I have come here. If you wish to pay homage to the Lord of the Nine Grades, I shall reveal his countenance [to you]. Very soon, you should gather one hundred horseloads of lotus stems,” she said. Yokohagi’s daughter, received this [order], and, after her petition came to the emperor’s knowledge, he ordered Lord Muraji of Oshinumi to conscript labor from nearby Ōmi province, and [the lotus stems] were collected and supplied immediately. Here the mysterious nun re-appeared, having achieved enlightenment. Breaking the lotus stems and pulling out the threads by herself was no trouble. She pulled out one hundred threads, and one thousand threads remained.

Scroll One, Picture Two: (fig.6)

This section depicts five scenes, occurring at different times in the narrative, within one and the same painting. This technique is called *iji dōzu* 異時同図 and it is a
common feature of Kamakura-period narrative painting. On the right, we see Yokohagi no Otodo’s daughter receiving the partial tonsure (*amasogi* 尼削) from a monk who is standing behind her. The partial tonsure required that the forehead hair had to be cut to form a fringe, parted and shortest in the center, but there was no set rule as to the length of the hair. The partial tonsure represented the first phase of formal renunciation of the world and acceptance of the precepts.³⁴ To the left of this scene, through the open doors of the room, we witness the conversation between Yokohagi’s daughter and the mysterious nun. The two women can easily be differentiated from each other due to their hairstyles and garments. In contrast to Yokohagi’s daughter, seated on the right, who is partially tonsured and wears a dark robe, the mysterious nun seated on the left is fully tonsured (*kanzen teihatsu* 完全剃髪), wears a white robe and a veil (*zukin* 頭巾), and holds a rosary in her hands. The full tonsure was reserved for women who were fully ordained with the precepts, had taken up residence in a temple, and full devotion to Buddhist practices.³⁵

Outside the room, a high-ranking official, distinguished by his court hat (*eboshi* 鳥帽子) and pants is seated on the veranda. He appears to be listening to the conversation that takes place inside the room between the two nuns. Having received the written request – issued either by the princess herself which would almost elevate her to the rank of an empress, or by the high-ranking official – for the collection of the lotus stems, indicated by a white scroll, a messenger leaves the veranda and, at the bottom of the stairs, he hands the scroll to another messenger.

To the very left of this painted section, we see a nobleman – distinguished by his *eboshi* – standing outside the gate, instructing a large number of male workers to bring
and unload the horseloads of lotus stems, and dispatching workers to gather more lotus stems. He has unrolled the scroll containing the written request and he is keeping track off the workers who enter the gate and the number of horseloads of lotus stems they deliver. One of the workers is carrying a stack of lotus stems through the temple gate into the courtyard, and a nobleman is announcing the delivery of the lotus stems to the mysterious nun. Adjacent to the gate we see inside a chamber, where both Yokohagi's daughter and the mysterious nun, as well as three other noblewomen – distinguished by their twelve-layered robes (jūnihitoe 十二単) and hairstyles – extract the lotus threads from the lotus stems. A fifth woman is seated outside the chamber on the veranda, and a bundle of lotus stems is placed next to her. Although the narrative unfolds from right to left, instead of reading the narrative in a linear fashion, we must read the events depicted in this painting in a clockwise circular manner from right to left.

Scroll One, Text Three: (fig.7)

はじめて井をはるに、みつ"満たんとして、なみ容よたり。いとをひたしてそむると、そのいろ五色をそめいだせり。人力の所為にあらず。神通の方使なり。みる人奇特のおもひをなし、願主不覚のたみだにおぼる。
この地の奇瑞をおもふに、むかし、天智天皇御時、井のほとりに、よるよるひかりをはなつ石あり。すなはち、勅使をして、そのところをみせらる。その石のかたち、佛像をなせり。よりて彫勒の三尊に彫刻して、精舎一堂の建立をなせり。名つくるに、そめ寺といへり。この井の本当によりて、つけられるところなり。役行者、この佛庭に、末代の法苗のため、一本の桜樹をうへられたり。人みんな霊木といへり。花のいろ
First, a well was dug and the water began to flow copiously. When they dipped the lotus threads [into the well], they were dyed the five colors. This was not of human effort. This was divine intervention. People who saw this thought that it was a miracle and that it was due to the work of the mysterious nun. In the past, during the reign of Emperor Tenji (r. 662-671), next to the well there were rocks that emitted rays of light at night. At that time, [the emperor] dispatched an imperial messenger [to this place] in order to examine the rocks. The [natural] shape of these rocks resembled that of a Buddhist triad. Immediately, they sculpted them into a Miroku triad and built a temple hall around this triad.36 This temple was called Some-dera. Based on the miraculous origin of this well, it became a sacred place.37 In this yard [where this Buddhist sculpture was located], En no Gyoja planted a cherry tree for the sake of the Age of the Final Dharma.38 Everybody considered it to be a sacred tree, and its blossoms emitted various fragrances. After many ages had elapsed, it became a decayed tree in a shadow. However, [after the well was dug] [the tree’s] old seeds sprouted and regained their old color in the spring. Perhaps, [these miraculous events occurred due to the fact that] the well was dug in that sacred place.

Scroll One, Picture Three: (fig. 8)

This painting depicts workers digging the well, others are cutting and preparing
the wooden bars for the construction of the well. A monk is standing by, giving instructions, and overseeing the building process. Towards the left, the mysterious nun, the nun of the original vow (Chûjôhime), and three women in court attire are sitting around the (now completed and wood-framed) well, dying the threads. They are enclosed by folding screens and striped curtains. To the left of this scene stands an old tree, referring to the cherry tree which represents the legacy of En no Gyôja.

The next illustration shows the three stones from which bright rays of light radiate out. The final section of this painting depicts workers carving a Buddhist triad out of the large stones and constructing a hall for the sculpture. Our last view is that of a closed temple hall, the place where the Miroku triad is housed.

I would like to draw attention to the significance regarding the pairing of these two scenes and the time difference between them. The establishment of Taima-dera at a place formerly occupied by En no Gyôja and the discovery of the light-emitting rocks are part of the origin story of Taima-dera, which was founded during the reign of Emperor Tenji and, therefore, predates the events concerning Yokohagi no Otodo’s daughter and the creation of the Taima mandala by a hundred years. Unlike the opening textual passage of the Taima mandala engi emaki which elaborates on Prince Maroko’s dream to move the temple to a specific place associated with En no Gyôja, the opening pictorial section of the scroll does not illustrate any episodes of the temple’s foundation legend. The paintings in the Taima mandala engi emaki are exclusively concerned with events surrounding the heroine that led her to becoming a nun, the creation of the Taima mandala, and her attainment of birth in Amida’s Pure Land. Since the dyeing of the lotus threads is a miraculous event, it is likely that the artist paired this scene with earlier
scenes of miraculous events, such as En no Gyôja’s ever-sprouting cherry tree and the light-emitting rocks resembling a Buddhist triad, in order to declare them equal in terms of the sacred miraculous power associated with this location.

Scroll Two, Text One: (fig.9)

おなじき廿三日のゆふべ、化女一人きたれり。そのかたちみやびかなる事、天女のごとし。化尼にとびていはく[はすのいと、すでにととのへまうけるや」といふ。すなはち、いろいろのいとをささげさつくるに、わずこをあぶらに二升にひたして、ともしびとす。室いぬめのすみをしめて、いろはたをたてて、いぬのときより、とらの時におよびて、あしだまもてるだまもゆらに、おりいたせり。そののち、化尼、本願尼両人のまへに、一丈五尺の曼茶羅一舗、たけのふしなきを軸として、かけたてまつる。これをおかみたてまつるに、玉をつらねてみがきたるがごとく、金をのべてがざりたるがごとし。莊厳赫大として、光明遍照せり。ときに化女のはたおりめ、五色のくもにのりて、いなびかりのきゆるがごとくして、さりぬ。

On the evening of the twenty-third day of the same month, a mysterious woman appeared. Her elegant appearance was just like that of a heavenly maiden. The mysterious woman asked the mysterious nun: “Have the lotus threads already been prepared?” Thereupon, being offered various threads, she dipped two bundles of straw into two shô of oil, and lit up the room. Then, in the north-western corner of the [temple] hall, she set up a loom, and from eight
o'clock in the evening until five o'clock in the morning she wove [the threads into a tapestry] so that her anklets and armlets jingled. After that, in front of both the mysterious nun and the nun of the original vow, the mysterious woman hung a mandala which measured five meters square and was suspended on a single, un-jointed bamboo stick. Worshipping this [mandala], it looked like it was lined with jewels and decorated with gold. Rays of light radiated out in magnificent splendor. Then, the mysterious woman who wove [the mandala] mounted a five-colored cloud and disappeared like a flash of lightening.

Scroll Two, Picture One: (fig. 10)

The heavenly woman, the mysterious nun, and the nun of the original vow are shown seated in a room. The three women are clearly distinguished by their hairstyles. From left to right, the mysterious woman is depicted as a court lady with long hair and wearing a twelve-layered robe, which is a standard depiction for aristocratic women in Heian and Kamakura period imagery. The mysterious nun is shown fully tonsured wearing a white head cloth, and Yokohagi’s daughter is shown partially tonsured. The mysterious nun instructs the mysterious woman how to weave the Taima mandala. This completely female appearance of the mysterious woman (the weaver) – foremost indicated by her twelve-layered robe and long hair – marks a strong contrast in comparison to the appearance of Yokohagi’s daughter. Wearing a kesa and having her hair cut short, she does not display any of the elegant, beautiful and sexual appealing features characteristic of a young aristocratic woman.
The next scene shows the mysterious woman moving into another room, where she weaves the Taima mandala. While the mysterious nun and Yokohagi's daughter are sitting in front of the Taima mandala, the mysterious woman is ascending into the western direction on a five-colored cloud.

Scroll Two, Text Two: (fig. 11)

化尼，此像の深義をときいてはく、「南のへりには、序分をあらはし、北のへりには、三昧正受のむねをのべ、中台には、四十八願の浄土の相をととのへ、下方には、上中下品の来迎の義をつくるもの」となり。これをくくに、なみだ二のそでをしばるといへども、心は九品の土にまうつるがごとし。本願の尼、つらつらこの事をおもふに、彌陀の智願として、大聖の定通なりとおもへり。すなはち、にれ 生身の如来をおがみたてまつりて、極楽の莊厳をみるにあらずや。ここに、化尼、四句唱をつくりていはく、「往昔迦葉説法所法其今来作佛事願懐西方故我来入是場永離苦」この唱をくくに、なみだをながし、たましごけす。ときに本願尼、なくなくその由来をとふに、化尼のいはく、「われは西方極楽の教主なり。おりめは、わが左脇の弟子観音なり」といひて西方をさしてさりぬ。そのわかれをしたふに、ふでしてかくといふとも、ことばをもみちてのぶといふとも、ことのたるまじきにはべり。ただ、なみだのかはかむをもみて、かぎりとせり。

The mysterious nun explained the true essence of this image. She said: “The southern border is the jōbungi ("Court of the Prefatory Legend") and the northern
border explains the *zanmai shōju* ("The Correct Concentrations"). The central court depicts the forty-eight aspects of the Pure Land. In the lower register, the upper-middle-lower birth *raigō* righteous aspects are shown. Upon hearing this, it is said that [Yokohagi’s daughter] squeezed out two sleeves of tears; it was like her heart had already entered the Realm of the Nine Grades. Yokohagi’s daughter thought about this matter carefully, and thought that [everything was the result of] the Great Sage’s power of concentration, [represented] in form of the wisdom and vow of Amida. Thereupon, having paid homage to [Amida] Buddha in his human form, did she not indeed witness the bliss of the Pure Land? Here, the mysterious nun recited the following four-line verse:

In the past, Kāśyapa taught the Buddhist Law in this place.

Revere the Buddhist Law and practice it.

If you desire rebirth in the western quarter, I will come.

If you enter this [sacred] place, you eternally forsake suffering.

Hearing this, Yokohagi’s daughter stopped crying. When Yokohagi’s daughter asked for the origin [of the mysterious nun], the mysterious nun said: “I am the Lord of the Pure Land Western Paradise. The weaver [of the mandala] is my left-hand attendant Kannon.” The [mysterious] nun pointed to the west and disappeared [into the western direction]. In the yearning after this separation, neither writing of the brush, or words amply expressed could suffice. All [Yokohagi’s daughter] could do was hope her tears would dry.

**Scroll Two, Picture Two: (fig. 12)**

This painting depicts Yokohagi’s daughter and the mysterious nun sitting
in a room and facing the Taima mandala. The mysterious nun is explaining the deeper meaning of the mandala to Yokohagi’s daughter. Then, both walk out to the veranda. At this moment, the mysterious nun ascends to the western direction and transforms herself into Amida. Pictorially, this transformation is indicated by the rays of light radiating out from her body. Her identity is revealed when she transforms herself from nun to the Buddha. This visual passage replaces the textual passage, where the nun reveals her identity as Amida through her words. The mysterious nun’s sudden transformation into Amida Buddha is reminiscent of the episode in chapter twelve (“Devādatta”) of the *Lotus Sutra*, where the eight-year-old daughter of the Dragon King offered a jewel to the Buddha and instantly achieved buddhahood.\(^{46}\) This aspect is of extreme importance regarding women’s capability of overcoming the five obstructions and attaining enlightenment, and I will discuss it in detail later in this chapter. The idea that women could attain enlightenment is not unique to the story of the Dragon King’s daughter but is also evident in the teachings of the Pure Land sect based on the thirty-fifth vow of Amida, in which he states that “all sentient beings who have faith in him and recite his name will be born in his Pure Land.”\(^{47}\) In both transformation scenes – that of the mysterious woman into Kannon and that of the mysterious nun into the Buddha – we see the return of blooming trees in the painting. I would like to suggest that similar to the scene of En no Gyōja’s cherry trees miraculously starting to bloom after the well was dug, in this scene the return of blooming trees at the moment of the auspicious nun’s and weaver’s transformations emphasizes the sacred miraculous power of this event at
In the reign of Emperor Kōnin (r. 770-781), on the fourteenth day of the third month of Hōki 6 (775), the nun of the original vow realized her wish of attaining birth [in Amida’s Pure Land]. The sky opened up, purple clouds descended diagonally, and music was heard from the West. The Kalavinka [birds] were singing, the heavenly host [descended] facing the eastern direction. The air was filled with a beautiful fragrance; it was a good omen. These rare events of the last days have never been heard of in previous generations.

This last painting depicts the nun of the original vow in her residence at the moment of her death when Amida and his heavenly host descend on clouds to welcome her into the Pure Land. At the bottom right, two women are weeping out of sorrow for the nun’s death. In the center of the room, in front of a folding screen, are seated a female attendant and the nun of the original vow. The nun of the original vow is facing the Taima mandala, in front of which are placed various...
offerings, and she is holding her hands in prayer.

From the left, the descent unfolds. First, standing on lotus dais, descending on clouds, and greeting the nun of the original vow are Fugen (Skt. Samantabhadra), who is the bodhisattva of universal virtue; Kannon (Skt. Avalokiteśvara), who is the bodhisattva of compassion; and Seishi (Skt. Mahāsthāmaprāpta), who is the bodhisattva representing the power and wisdom of Amida. Fugen is identified by holding a canopy, and Kannon is identified by holding an empty lotus dais, which he offers to the devotee at the moment of death and on which he carries the soul of the devotee to the Pure Land. Seishi is identified by holding his hands in prayer. They are surrounded by small gold-colored Buddhas (kebutsu) and celestial beings (tennin).

Following them is a host of bodhisattvas. Some are playing musical instruments, while others are dancing and holding banners. Amidst them is Amida Buddha, who is making the mudrā (in-zō) of Upper-class Lower-birth (jōbon geshō), welcoming the devotee into the Pure Land at the moment of death.

This particular depiction of Amida descending through a landscape of mountains and rivers together with his host of musical bodhisattvas, called shōjū raigō 聖衆来迎, has become a standard iconographic convention for raigō paintings since the eleventh century. However, what is unusual about this raigō scene in the Taima Mandala Engi Emaki is the presence of Monju (Skt. Mañjuśrī), the bodhisattva of wisdom, who is standing to the right of Amida (fig. 15). He is holding a vajra sword in his right hand and a sutra scroll in his left. Although a few raigō paintings exist which include Monju, such as the
thirteenth-century Amida shōjū raigō zu 阿弥陀聖衆来迎図 at Anrakuju-in 安楽寿院 in Kyoto and at Matsuo-dera 松尾寺 in Nara, the Taima Mandala Engi Emaki is the only extant example depicting Monju with five tufts of hair (Gokei Monju 五髻文殊). As I will show in the following section, the inclusion of this Gokei Monju among Amida’s host in the Taima Mandala Engi Emaki was closely linked to the donor of the scrolls, women’s faith in Buddhism, and their capability of attaining salvation.

1.3 Investigation into the Production and Patronage of the Taima mandala engi emaki

Out of the four versions of Chûjôhime’s legend under investigation in this dissertation – the Taima mandala engi emaki, Zeami’s noh plays Taema and Hibariyama, and the Taima-dera engi emaki – the Taima mandala engi emaki is the oldest extant textual and visual reference. Therefore, the Taima mandala engi emaki serves as an important point of departure for the discussion of Chûjôhime’s legend because it provides the foundation for the development of these later versions.

Previous research has focused on the Taima mandala engi emaki in terms of Chûjôhime’s religious significance for Taima-dera in conjunction with the creation of the Taima mandala, but so far no attempt has been made to link the religious significance and narrative content of the Taima mandala engi emaki to that of later versions of Chûjôhime’s story. Scholars have argued that the various versions of Chûjôhime’s legend represent a “secularization of a sacred tradition,” a “humanization of a deity,” as well as a “hime-ization,” all of them transforming a religious heroine into a popular fairy-tale
princess. These interpretations are problematic since they imply that transformed representations of Chûjôhime’s legend became independent from the legend’s religious origin and its emphasis on women’s religious experiences.

This chapter situates the Taima mandala engi emaki within the socio-historical and religious context of the Kamakura period. It aims at interpreting the meaning of Chûjôhime’s legend in terms of its significance for women. Why was this particular narrative singled out for representation at this time? What was its significance for female audiences? How does this narrative convey ideas about gender from a religious perspective?

I will argue that the Taima mandala engi emaki is foremost an account of female salvation, serving as a didactic Buddhist sermon in order to popularize the Pure Land faith and to emphasize women’s capability of attaining enlightenment. However, imbedded within this Buddhist narrative is a construction of gender, rendering women as impure, that arose with the introduction and popularity of Buddhism in Japan, and penetrated the social spheres of medieval Japanese society.

In the course of this dissertation, I will show that this underlying theme of women, impurity, and the possibility of attaining salvation through Pure Land faith was reinterpreted and recreated in later versions of this narrative over time, taking on various forms that coincided with changing perceptions of the audience as well as patronage.

A.) Cultural Setting

The Kamakura period marks a shift in political power from the peaceful
rule of the Heian aristocracy to the tumultuous rule of the military warlords, which affected all aspects of medieval society. In 1185, the Minamoto clan under the leadership of Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159-1189) defeated the Taira clan in the Battle of Dannoura, bringing an end to the five-year-long Genpei War (1180-1185). During the war, which brought destruction and suffering to the entire country, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源賴朝 (1147-1199) emerged as the head of the clan. In 1192, after Emperor GoToba 後鳥羽天皇 (r.1183-1198) bestowed on him the title of Barbarian-subduing General (Seiitai Shōgun 征夷大将軍), Yoritomo established his military government (bakufu 幕府) at Kamakura. Following Yoritomo’s death in 1199, his wife, Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157-1225), became a Buddhist nun and, along with her father Hōjō Tokimasa 北条時政 (1138-1215) and her brother Hōjō Yoshitoki 北条義時 (1163-1224), usurped all the political and military power of the shōgunate. In 1221, the retired emperor GoToba launched the Jōkyū Rebellion to overthrow the Hōjō in order to reinstate imperial rule, but his attempt ended in failure. The Hōjō rule ended in 1336 when they were defeated by Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358).

The power struggles between the Minamoto and the Taira, and their impact on Kamakura-period society, are documented in such works as The Tale of Heike (Heike monogatari 平家物語), dated 1371, and the Gukanshō 恶管抄, dated 1219. Unlike the Heike monogatari, which focuses on the Kamakura-period military battles, the Gukanshō, a history of Japan compiled by the Buddhist priest Jien 慈円 (1155-1225), provides us with impressions of the medieval mind and sentiments at the time when the high civilization of the Heian aristocracy waned and the country was plunged into the age of warriors. Jien, a member of the northern branch of the Fujiwara clan, wrote the
Gukanshō in order to justify the historical success of his family as regent-rulers at the Heian court. This work is unique because it is the first historical account that views the past in distinct terms of cause and effect, as well as a progression from one stage to another. Jien’s emphasis on the progress of history emerged from a heightened awareness of momentous change, and the anguish that he and members of the aristocracy encountered as a result of these political changes was understood in terms of its inevitability.

Following the early years after the Genpei War, one of the country’s priorities was renewal, such as the revitalization of Japan’s traditional religious foundations, the rebuilding of Buddhist temples damaged or destroyed by the fighting. What was the importance of this revival movement for Taima-dera and how did it aid in the production of the Taima mandala engi emaki?

As for the history of Taima-dera, the Taima mandala engi emaki states that the temple was founded in 612 by Emperor Yômei’s third son, Prince Maroko. In 680, the grandson of Prince Maroko and founder of the Taima clan, Taima no Kunimi 当麻国見, whose meritorious deeds in the Jinshin Rebellion of 672 helped establish the Fujiwara clan’s political power, moved Taima-dera to its present location and established it as the clan temple (uji-dera 氏寺). According to an entry in the Nihon sandai jitsuroku 日本三代実録 (The Authentic Chronicles of Three Rules), a historical treatise dated 901, Taima-dera owed its prosperity and imperial patronage to two women of the Taima clan. One of these women, the daughter of Taima no Osadamaro 当麻治田麻呂, married Emperor Saga (786-842; r. 809-823). She gave birth to a girl by the name of Kiyohime 潔姫 (810-856) who married Fujiwara
no Yoshifusa 藤原良房(808-872). Out of their union was born a daughter, Fujiwara no
Akirakeiko 藤原明子 (829-900), who became the consort of Emperor Montoku 文德天
皇 (827-858; r. 850-858) and the mother of Emperor Seiwa 清和 天皇 (850-880)
(r. 856-876). 62 This genealogy is significant because the marriage of Taima no
Osadamaro’s daughter to Emperor Saga marked the end of the Taima clan and the
beginning of the Fujiwara clan as patrons for Taima-dera.

It was precisely this patronage that was significant for the revival of Taima-dera
and for the production of the *Taima mandala engi emaki* in the Kamakura period.
According to the *Taimachō-shi henshū* 当麻町史編集, in Jishō 4 (1180) the troops of
Taira no Shigehira 平重衡 (1156-1185), captured the monks of Tōdai-ji 東大寺 and
Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 in Nara, who had revolted after the assassination of Prince Mochihito
以仁王 (1151-1180) by the Heike, and burned both temples in revenge for the support
they provided to the Minamoto and their imperial patrons. 63 In the same year, the Taira
forces also attacked Taima-dera because it was a branch temple of Kōfuku-ji, and burned
down both the temple’s Golden Hall (*kondō* 金堂) and the Lecture Hall (*kodō* 講堂). The
Golden Hall, which housed the gilded-wooden sculpture of Miroku mentioned in the
*Taima mandala engi emaki*, was rebuilt in 1184, and the Lecture Hall was restored in
1303. 64

In addition to these restorations, both Taima-dera’s Mandala Hall (*mandaradō*
曼陀羅堂) and its shrine (*zushi* 廟子) containing the Taima mandala underwent repairs in
1242. In 1243 the Mount Sumeru altar (*shumidan* 须弥壇), on which the shrine rested,
was restored as well and decorated with mother-of-pearl. 65 I would like to suggest that
the circumstances as well as the donors involved in these repairs, particularly those concerning the shrine, played an important role for the production of the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, shedding light on the scroll’s religious significance for women.

The wooden doors of the shrine, which consist of two large panels, are decorated with a gold-on-black lacquer design (*kinmaki-e* 金蒔絵) depicting lotus flowers growing out of a pond. Below the lotus pond design are inscribed the names of 2,150 karmically linked devotee donors (*kechien* 結縁), including monks, laymen, as well as other high-ranking men and women connected with both the imperial court in Kyoto and the military government in Kamakura (fig. 16).66

Among these names, four are inscribed in golden characters in the center of the left door panel and are larger in size than the other ones (fig. 17). From right to left, these four names are Kongo Hotokeko Gyoe 金剛仏子行恵, Bosatsukai no Amashô Jônyo 菩薩戒尼清净如, Seii Taishôgun Yoritsune 征夷大将軍頼経, and Bosatsukai no Amajaku Jôe 菩薩戒尼寂靜恵. All are Buddhist titles except for the third one which is the title of the military rank held by Fujiwara no Yoritsune, who headed the repairs, at the time.67

The first title, Kongo Hotokeko Gyoe, refers to a person who has received the precepts of esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyô* 密教). According to Komatsu Shigemi, this Buddhist title was given to Kujô no Michiie 九条道家 (1193-1252), the third descendant of the northern branch of the Fujiwara clan and the father of Fujiwara no Yoritsune 藤原頼経 (1218-1256), when he took the tonsure at Hosshô-ji 法性寺 in 1238.68 The second title, Bosatsukai no Amashô Jônyo, refers to a woman who received the bodhisattva precepts from a Buddhist teacher (*kaishi* 戒師) at the time when she took the tonsure.
The consensus is that Bosatsu kai no Amashō Jōnyo was the Buddhist name of Kujō no Michiie’s wife because it is recorded immediately following his name.69

The third name, Sei Taishōgun Yoritsune, refers to Fujiwara no Yoritsune who was the fourth son of Kujō Michiie.70 Regarding the last name inscribed on the doors of the shrine, Bosatsu kai no Amajaku Jōe, Komatsu Shigemi argues that it either refers to Yoritsune’s wife, a woman only known as Take no gosho hime 竹御所姬, or to his sister, Chūgū Shunshi 中宮舜子 (1209-1233), who was the wife of Emperor Gohorikawa 後堀河天皇 (1212-1234; r.1221-1232). Following Gohorikawa’s abdication in 1232, Chūgū Shunshi changed her name to Sōhekimon-in Shunshi 藻壁門院舜子 and became a lay nun on the third day of the fourth month of Jōei 2 (1234).71 These attributions are problematic because an inscription on the doors gives the year of the dedication as Ninji 3 (1242), but both Yoritsune’s wife and sister had already passed away in 1234. However, in spite of the fact that these pious women were already deceased at the time of the repairs, one possibility for their names being recorded on the doors of the shrine is that they might have left wills, but no evidence exists.

According to an entry in the Azuma kagami 吾妻鏡 (Mirror of the East) (1180-1266), the wife of Fujiwara no Yoritsune suffered from illness caused by stillbirth on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of Tempuku 2 (1234) and, even though monks provided faith-healing incantations (kaji 加持), she died several hours later. Yoritsune and his five-year-old daughter, as well as other members of the court, conducted Buddhist memorial services for the deceased, and in 1235 an Amida hall was constructed particularly for the purpose of conducting memorial services.72

Another entry in the Meigetsuki 明月記 (Record of the Clear Moon) (1180-1235)
of Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241), states that on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of Jōei 2 (1234) Sōhekimon-in Shunshi and retired Emperor Gohorikawa conducted a shell-matching game (kai awase 貝合) among members of the court, the wager being a handscroll painting. Five months later, on the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the same year, Sōhekimon-in fell ill and passed away. Based on this evidence, it seems unlikely that the woman named Bosatsukai no Amajaku Jōe, who is listed among the donors on the shrine doors, was either Yoritsune’s wife or his sister because the repair and dedication of the shrine took place in 1242, eight years after their passing. It seems more likely that the name Bosatsukai no Amajaku Jōe, which is listed following Yoshitsune’s title and therefore indicates that this person was one of his immediate family members, refers to Yoshitsune’s daughter because, with the exception of his mother, she was his only close female relative alive at the time.

In addition to the names of karmically linked devotee donors mentioned above, a colophon is found on the Taima-dera engi (Ninna-ji-bon), a manuscript dated 1253 which outlines the foundation legend of Taima-dera and the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala. Based on this colophon, the Ninna-ji-bon was used as a registration book in order to raise funds (kanjincho 募進帳) for the repair of the Mandala Hall at Taima-dera and it was signed by Shamon Shōkū. The colophon reads:

表書云 当麻寺縁起本 付私云以此本大曼陀羅堂為修理之勧進帳 沙門

The [colophon on the] front of the Taima-dera engi manuscript states that it was used as a registration book for the raising of funds for the repair of the Great Mandala Hall. [Signed] Shamon.
In her research, Saeki Eriko has compared the textual passages concerning the foundation legend of Taima-dera and the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala recorded in the *Kenkyū gojunrei-ki* (1191), *Gokoku-ji-bon* (1235), *Jōgū taishi shū-ki* (1237), *Ninna-ji-bon* (1253), *Kokon chomonji* (1254), *Shiju hyaku in’en shū* (1257), and the *Zenrin-ji-bon* (1262) with those recorded in the *Taima mandala engi emaki* (1256-1262). Her investigation focused on the inclusion and variation of the name of the donor, the copying of the Pure Land-Praising sutra, Yokohagi’s daughter taking the tonsure, the appearance of the mysterious nun, the gathering of the lotus stems, the dying of the lotus threads, the Some-dera story, the weaving of the mandala, the mysterious nun’s explanation of the mandala to Yokohagi’s daughter, the mysterious nun’s four line verse stating that she is Amida and the weaver Kannon, and the date and birth of Yokohagi’s daughter into Amida’s Pure Land in these documents. Saeki concluded that the *Ninna-ji-bon* is closer to the *Taima mandala engi emaki* than any of the other texts, therefore, it might have been the source for its production. Furthermore, Saeki suggests that the *Taima mandala engi emaki* might have been commissioned by wealthy donors connected to the restoration projects of the Mandala Hall, the shrine and the altar at Taima-dera at the same time as these repairs took place. Only high-ranking aristocrats could have commissioned such as precious scroll, and not only would they have been deeply involved in the funding but also in the planning and execution of this work.

Due to the lack of documents concerning the commission and patronage of the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, the pictorial narrative and religious significance of this handscroll painting provide us with the only clues to reconstruct these circumstances. Although the *Taima mandala engi emaki* briefly mentions the foundation legend of
Taima-dera, the central focus of this pictorial narrative is the story of a young noblewoman who, through her deep faith in Amida, caused the appearance of Amida and Kannon in human form, facilitated the creation of the Taima mandala and, in the end, attained birth in Amida’s Pure Land. Therefore, because the key aspect communicated through this handscroll painting is the capability of women to attain birth in the Pure Land through faith in Amida, women must have played a crucial role in terms of audience for this work.

If we accept Saeki’s theory that the scrolls were commissioned in the years 1242-1243 around the same time as the repairs of the Mandala Hall, shrine, and altar took place, we can assume that a woman or a group of women in the entourage of Fujiwara no Yoritsune, of aristocratic birth like he himself, were involved in this project and received his support. As evident from the many names of women listed among the donors on the doors of the shrine, women were drawn to the Taima mandala and faith in Amida because of the connection between a woman and the mandala’s legendary miraculous creation in the locale of Taima-dera.

Based on this significance of the Taima mandala and its creation story for the salvation of women through faith in Amida, Yoritsune’s interest in sponsoring this particular handscroll painting might have perhaps originated from the loss of his wife and sister in 1234. Therefore, Yoritsune’s possible involvement in the production of the Taima mandala engi emaki could have been a personal act of devotion in order to pray for the birth of his female relatives in Amida’s Pure Land.

However, Saeki’s theory is problematic because it does not account for the gap in time between the repairs of 1242-43 and the completion of the Taima mandala engi
emaki more than ten years later, estimated to have occurred sometime between 1256 and 1262.

Buddhist paradise images, such as the paintings on the rear panel of the Tamamushi shrine and those on the walls at Hōryū-ji (fig. 18) as well as the Tenjukoku Shūchō mandala 天寿図織帳曼陀羅 at Chūgū-ji 中宮寺 in Nara, were introduced to Japan as early as the seventh century. Previous studies have provided evidence for these paradise images, for example the Tenjukoku Shūchō mandala, which is a seventh-century fragmentary embroidery depicting the “Land of Heavenly Longevity”, having been commissioned upon the death of a spouse. The Tenjukoku Shūchō mandala was commissioned upon imperial command in 623 to honor the wish of Prince Shōtoku’s 聖徳太子 (574-622) widow, Tachibana no Oiratsume, to create a visual imagery of the Buddhist paradise in which her husband was believed to have been born.

While these early images portray a variety of Buddhist paradises including Amida’s Pure Land, images dating from the late Heian period onward depict predominantly the paradise of Amida. Therefore, considering that representations of Amida’s Pure Land were commissioned by women not only as acts of merit for their own salvation but also for that of their husbands or fathers and that Fujiwara no Yoritsune died in 1256, precisely the year in which the production of the Taima mandala engi emaki is believed to have begun, the donor of the Taima mandala engi emaki might have been Yoritsune’s daughter or other high-ranking noblewomen in his entourage, who commissioned this work as an act of devotion and gratitude for Yoritsune’s patronage of Taima-dera. Yoritsune’s death might have had an effect on the funding provided for Taima-dera, which might explain the long time it took for the
scrolls to be completed.

In spite of the uncertainties surrounding the production of the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, based on the religious significance of this pictorial narrative for women, I propose that further evidence in support of Saeki’s theory, namely that a woman or a group of women constituted the audience for this handscroll painting and that the funding and supervision of this project was headed by Fujiwara no Yoritsune or someone of equal rank, lies in the presence of the figure of Gokei Monju (fig. 19) depicted in the *raigō* scene of the *Taima mandala engi emaki*. Komatsu suggests that the connection between this figure of Gokei Monju and women’s faith during the Kamakura period may be traced to the origin of a small wooden sculpture of Gokei Monju, which is enshrined at Chûgû-ji and dated 1269 (fig. 20). This sculpture of Gokei Monju at Chûgû-ji closely resembles the image of Gokei Monju portrayed in the *Taima mandala engi emaki* because he also carries a sutra scroll in his left hand and a *vajra* sword in his right. Even more important, however, is the fact that the donor of the Gokei Monju at Chûgû-ji was the nun Shinnyo 信滿, who not only rediscovered the Tenjukoku Shûchô mandala at Chûgû-ji in 1269 but also, through the popularization of this paradise scene embroidery, revived this nunnery in the Kamakura period. Considering the extensive revival projects at Taima-dera, such as the repairs of the Golden Hall in 1185, the Mandala Hall and the shrine in 1242, the altar in 1243, and the Lecture Hall in 1303, the production of the *Taima mandala engi emaki* dated 1256-1262 falls right into this period of restoration at Taima-dera and might have been commissioned as part of the revival movement of this temple. Therefore, I support Saeki’s theory that a group of women in the entourage of Fujiwara no Yoritsune, of aristocratic birth like he himself, constituted the audience for
the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, were involved to a certain degree in the production of the scrolls, and that Fujiwara no Yoritsune supplied the funding for this project.

Monju plays a prominent role in the *Lotus Sutra* (Skt. *Saddharmapundarika*, *J. Hokekyō* 法華経), which was the first major text to promise salvation for women once their female bodies had been transformed into male bodies. In the “Devādatta” chapter, it is related how Monju visited the Dragon King’s palace where the Dragon King’s eight-year old daughter understood the doctrine immediately, the significance being that she attained sudden enlightenment and Buddhahood. Twelfth and thirteenth-century frontispieces to sutra scrolls, such as the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* (*Yuimakyo* 維摩経), often depict Monju. This indicates that the presence of the figure of Monju, both at Chūgū-ji and in the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, was not accidental but deliberate.

In the Heian period, female adherents were fundamental to the widespread faith in the *Lotus Sutra* and the Pure Land, evidenced by exquisite decorated manuscripts, paintings and sculptures created by female patrons. In the Kamakura period, women further contributed to the popularity of the Pure Land sects founded by Hōnen and Shinran. Women featured as the main characters in Buddhist miracle tales (*reigenki* 霊験記) as well as in accounts of people who had attained birth in the Pure Land (*ōjōden* 往生伝), just like the heroine in the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, and therefore promoted the idea of “women’s salvation” (*nyonin ōjō* 女人往生).  

But what drew women to the Pure Land faith in the Kamakura period? How did the teachings of Hōnen and Shinran facilitate the popularity of faith in Amida and female salvation, and how does the *Taima mandala engi emaki* visually facilitate these doctrinal aspects?
Even though the worship of Amida had been known in Japan since the late sixth
century, it was not until the emergence of the Tendai Buddhist monk Genshin 源信
(942-1017) that concrete religious activity centered on Amida and that Pure Land
Buddhism became a popular faith of personal salvation. Records indicate that the
*Sutra on the Teaching of Infinite Life* (Skt. *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha, J. Muryōju-kyō 無量
寿経), which is one of the three Pure Land sutras, was recited at the imperial court in 640
and that paintings of Amida and his two attendant bodhisattvas, Kannon and Seishi, were
brought to Japan from Korea in 689. In Japan, the earliest extant visual depiction of
Amida, Kannon, and Seishi is found on the wall paintings in the Golden Hall at Hōryū-ji
in Nara, which are dated 710 and are presently kept in the Hōryū-ji Treasure House
(fig.21). Among the extant seventh-century images of Amida, inscriptions indicate
that early Amida worship occurred predominantly in ceremonies for the dead and in
memorial services. The monk Gyōgi 行儀 (670-749) preached Amida's promise of
salvation through faith, and Emperor Uda 宇多天皇(866-931) is said to have invoked
Amida's name on his deathbed. In the Heian period, Amida was worshipped by
both the Tendai and the Shingon schools, but Pure Land Buddhism did not make the leap
towards becoming a popular religious sect until the time of Kūya 空也 (903-972). The
height of the Pure Land development, emerging as an independent school of Buddhism,
occurred after Genshin, under his successor, Hōnen.

Pure Land Buddhism, which emphasizes meditation on and invocation (*nenbutsu
念仏*) of Amida's name as sufficient practice for devotees in order to attain birth in his
Pure Land, became a popular faith for aristocrats in the Heian period through Genshin's
In the Öjōyōshū, Genshin promoted and shaped, both textually and visually, visions of Amida’s Pure Land. At a time of corruption of the clergy, political instabilities, and natural disasters in the late Heian period as well as the new military rule in the Kamakura period, the concept of mappō – a corrupt period in which the dharma had decayed and which is said to have begun in 1052 – caused medieval society to aspire toward a faith that would promise everybody a glorious life after death and an escape from their worldly sufferings. This belief in mappō was not only central to religious practices of the Tendai sect during the Heian period, but it also influenced the teachings, practices, and writings of the religious founders of Kamakura-period Buddhist schools, such as Hōnen, Shinran, Myōe and Nichiren.

The Pure Land sect held the belief that the invocation of Amida’s name on one’s deathbed (rinjū nenbutsu) guaranteed salvation, and that the dying would have a vision of Amida greeting and conducting the devotee to the Pure Land, as promised in Amida’s nineteenth vow. Although Hōnen still valued the precepts, his main emphasis on achieving salvation in Amida’s Pure Land was through the frequent recitation of the nenbutsu by chanting Hail to the Name of Amida Buddha (Namu Amida Butsu). Honen’s most significant innovation, however, was to teach that the common person (bonbu) could attain rebirth in Amida’s Pure Land, not through one’s own effort (jiriki) but through solely relying on the power of Amida (tariki). Amida provides salvation for all who have faith in him and aspire to be reborn in his Pure Land, regardless of class and gender. This last aspect is of particular importance regarding attitudes towards women and female salvation within Pure Land Buddhism, the
religious key point communicated through the *Taima mandala engi emaki*.

### 1.4 The *Taima mandala engi emaki* as an Account of Female Salvation

The *Taima mandala engi emaki* depicts the story of an eighth-century noblewoman, whose devotion to Amida caused the appearance of a mysterious nun and a mysterious woman, who, in one single night, wove the threads into the Taima mandala. After having explained the meaning of the Taima mandala, both the mysterious woman and the mysterious nun ascended on clouds to the western direction of the Pure Land, revealing themselves to be human manifestations of Kannon and Amida respectively. Upon the heroine's death, Amida and his heavenly host welcomed her into the Pure Land.

This thirteenth-century Buddhist tale plays an important role regarding attitudes towards women and their capability of salvation within Pure Land Buddhism. According to Buddhist thought, women were considered impure and defiled due to the concept of the "Five Obstructions" (*goshô, itsutsu no sawari* 五章), which refers to the five states of existence that women are unable to attain as expounded in the *Lotus Sutra*. Initially, these five states of existence referred to those of the gods Brahma, the god Sakra, the tempter Mara, the wheel-turning king Chakravartin, and the Buddha. These obstructions were corporeal rather than spiritual; it was physiology that rendered women unfit, unable to conform to the thirty-two primary and eighty secondary marks of the Great Sage (*mahâpurusa*). In the sutras the "Five Obstructions" denoted only the ranks which women were unable to attain; however, in medieval exegesis, the phrase underwent a subtle but significant semantic drift from denoting those forms of existence external to women to connoting a state of being inherent to them. In Japan, the "Five Obstructions" were seen as innate qualities that excluded women from attaining salvation, and over the
course of time menstrual blood became the most popular claim for women’s impurity and inability to attain salvation. The terms sawari suggests something closer to the notion of offence or sin, implying women’s culpability for their condition. Similar to the defilement arising from menstruation, the “Five Obstructions” are understood to be internal to the state of ‘woman,’ something that women have brought upon themselves through previous negative actions.

The Pure Land sect was revolutionary and gained popularity among Heian and Kamakura-period Japanese society because it promised salvation to all beings, especially to women. This aspect is both textually and visually emphasized in the *Taima mandala engi emaki* by the heroine’s vow to see Amida in living form, the appearance of Kannon and Amida in the guise of female weaver and nun, and the heroine’s final entry into the Pure Land upon her death. Therefore, the heroine in the *Taima mandala engi emaki* serves as a role model for women, exemplifying that through faith in Amida women can be freed from their suffering inflicted upon them by their sex and are capable of attaining salvation. This aspect must have greatly appealed to female audiences listening to this story and having the meaning of the Taima mandala explained to them, which was a common practice performed at temples or on pilgrimage routes by *etoki hōshi*. But where did this incentive for this aristocratic woman, rather than a laywoman or a nun, as a role model come from? The incentive for the depiction of a noblewoman as a role model for women in their hope of salvation through faith in Amida and in spite of their sexuality originated from the central narrative of the Taima mandala.

The Taima mandala (fig.22) is a visualization of Shantao’s 善導 (613-681) commentary (C. *Kuan-ching-su*) on the *Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Infinite*
Life (Kanmuryōju-kyō 觀無量壽経) and is also referred to as “transformed diagram of the Pure Land” (jōdo hensō 净土変相). In his commentary, Shantao divided the sixteen meditations of the Sutra on the Meditation of the Buddha of Infinite Life into two groups of thirteen and three, and he subdivided the last three into the nine grades of birth. This division is pictorialized in the Taima mandala, thus making it an accurate visual rendition of Shan-tao’s teachings.

The central court of the Taima mandala, called “Court of the Central Doctrine” (gengibun 玄義分), depicts Amida and his attendants, Kannon and Seishi, as well as a host of heavenly deities sitting in the midst of the Pure Land (fig.23). A splendid golden palace is depicted in the background of this composition, and in front of Amida and his heavenly host unfolds a lotus pond. The vertical outer court on the right, the “Court of Specific Contemplations” (jōzengi 定善義), illustrates thirteen of the sixteen contemplations from the Sutra on the Meditation of the Buddha of Infinite Life (fig.24). Pictorializations of the remaining three contemplations are shown in the lower horizontal court, called “Court of the Nine Grades of Birth” (sanzengi 散善義), which teaches the nine possible grades in which people can be born in Amida’s Pure Land (fig.25). In the center of the “Court of the Nine Grades of Birth” is a space, called “Court of the Origin” (engibun 緣起分), which contains an inscription stating the origin legend of the Taima mandala (fig.26). The earliest extant and readable inscription of the text in the “Court of the Origin” is found on the Bunki mandala 文龜曼荼羅 which is dated 1505. The inscription is almost identical to the story in the Taima mandala engi emaki, but previous studies have concluded that this kind of inscription is a post-sixteenth-century addition and does not truly represent earlier inscriptions, leaving the original content of
However, the most significant aspect for the discussion of the heroine as an exemplary role model for women’s salvation is the story of Queen Vaidehi (J. Idaike 韓提希) in the left outer court, known as the “Court of the Prefatory Legend” (jobungi 序分義). The story is as follows: Incited by the wicked monk, Devādatta, Prince Ajatasatru (J. Ajase) imprisoned his father and planned to starve him to death. Prince Ajatasatru’s mother, Queen Vaidehi, secretly smuggled food to her husband, and when her action was discovered, Prince Ajatasatru also imprisoned her. Due to Queen Vaidehi’s deep veneration for Sākyamuni, she prayed for him to lead her into a safe place from the world of suffering. Upon hearing her prayer, Sākyamuni appeared and showed her various Buddha paradises. Queen Vaidehi chose to be born in Amida’s Pure Land and in reply to her question of how one can be born in this paradise, Sākyamuni taught her a series of sixteen contemplations.

The attainment of birth in Amida’s Pure Land by the heroine in the Taima mandala engi emaki and Queen Vaidehi’s in the Taima mandala is central to my discussion regarding the religious significance of the Taima mandala engi emaki in terms of female salvation. The popularity of Pure Land Buddhism, especially as it was propagated through Hōnen’s teachings in the Kamakura period, was due to the fact that it extended the promise of salvation to all beings, to the laity as well as to monastics, to commoners as well as to aristocrats, and to women as well as to men. The accessibility of the nenbutsu to believers in any situation of life led to Hōnen’s departure from the orthodox Tendai schools and toward his primary teaching of the “exclusive nenbutsu” (senju nenbutsu 千手念仏). Hōnen’s disciple, Shinran, also propounded the exclusive
nenbutsu practice, but he emphasized an inward dimension to it – particularly the importance of faith (shinjin 信心). Shinran went beyond the practice of only chanting the nenbutsu, explaining in his teachings that it is specifically the state of mind that gives the nenbutsu practice its efficacy. 99

Although the assumed egalitarianism of the Kamakura-period Pure Land leaders has come under close re-examination in recent studies, the classical texts of the Japanese Pure Land tradition clearly include women in the promise of birth in Amida’s Pure Land. 100 Scriptures, such as the Lotus Sutra, enjoin women to aspire to Amida’s Pure Land. This explains the connection between both the heroine in the Taima mandala engi emaki and Queen Vaidehi in the Taima mandala. Although the Taima mandala is intended to serve as a meditation aid for all devotees who have faith in Amida and wish to be born in his Pure Land, it is striking that both the heroine in the Taima mandala engi emaki and the heroine in the Taima mandala are women. This aspect clearly emphasizes the importance Pure Land Buddhism gave to female salvation.

Apart from Pure Land Buddhist scriptures, tales of women’s birth in the Pure Land also became popular from the mid-Heian period onward in a literary genre called ōjōden. The earliest collection of ōjōden, entitled A Record of Japanese Born into the Pure Land (Nihon Ōjō Gokuraku Ki 日本往生極楽記) and compiled by the scholar Yoshishige no Yasutane 慶滋保胤 (934-997) in 985, includes various stories about pious women, often from aristocratic families like the heroines in the Taima mandala engi emaki and the Taima mandala themselves, who became lay nuns and attained birth in the Pure Land. 101 One such example is that of Princess Seishi 正子 (809-879), who was the eldest daughter of Emperor Saga 嘉峨天皇 (786-842; r. 809-823) and Tachibana no
Kachiko (786-850), and the wife of Emperor Junna 淳和天皇 (786-840; r. 823-833). In *The Three Jewels* (*Sanbōe* 三宝絵), a guide to Buddhist ceremonies and leading personages in Japanese Buddhist history compiled for Princess (Fujiwara no) Sonshi, who took the tonsure in 984, Princess Seishi is recorded as a Heian-period Japanese nun who took the tonsure and attained birth in the Pure Land. According to the entry in *The Three Jewels*, Seishi’s decision to become a nun in 840 is described as “cutting her hair and becoming a nun” (ama 尼) and “cutting her hair and entering the path” (nyūdō 入道), meaning that she pursued religious practices without entering a convent, with no mention of a formal ordination ceremony. Like Seishi, the heroine in the *Taima mandala engi emaki* also takes the tonsure without being formally ordained, which was not an isolated case but was rather a common practice among high-ranking women as well as laywomen in the Heian and Kamakura periods. Hōnen and Shinran’s teachings, namely that the constant recitation of the nenbutsu and faith in Amida alone were sufficient enough for devotees to guarantee their birth in Amida’s Pure Land, facilitated this “easy entering the path” forming a strong opposition to the teachings of the orthodox Buddhist sects which emphasized the importance of official ordination and following the precepts.

*Ôjōden* are typically formulaic. For instance, tales of birth frequently tell about pious women, who have not married or have otherwise exhibited a disinterest in mundane worldly affairs. Women in tales of birth are portrayed as having directed their energies toward Buddhist practice, and descriptions of their gentle and compassionate nature provides further evidence of their spiritual insight.

Furthermore, most *ôjōden* describe the auspicious signs, as for example heavenly
music, purple clouds, and the beatific countenance of the deceased, which are proof that Amida has come to welcome the devotee into the Pure Land. These aspects are both textually and visually emphasized in the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, through the heroine’s experience of the *raigō* vision at the moment of death (fig.27): the music that fills the air coming from the instruments played by the bodhisattvas, the purple clouds on which Amida and his heavenly host descend, and the beautiful fragrance that accompanies the descent. Therefore, the *Taima mandala engi emaki* is obviously the heroine’s *ōjōden*.

While both the *Taima mandala engi emaki* and the Taima mandala emphasize women’s capability of achieving birth in Amida’s Pure Land, at the same time they also pose a challenge to the construction of gender and the idea of female salvation in Pure Land Buddhism. The Buddhist attitude regarding the status of women remains deeply ambivalent, for it was the absence of women, condemned as inherently polluted, that made the Pure Land after all pure. Birth in Amida’s Pure Land as a woman was theoretically impossible. Entry into the Pure Land required that women undergo a change of sex and predicated salvation on female self-hatred.

In Māhāyāna doctrines, there are various contesting representations of women and the soteriological path available to them. One commonly found assertion in the canon is that women cannot qualify for bodhisattvahood and Buddhahood without first being reborn as men. The *Sutra on the Teaching of Infinite Life*, *Sutra of Amida* and the *Sutra on the Meditation of the Buddha of Infinite Life* promise birth in the Pure Land to all those who have faith in Amida. However, in speaking of salvation for women, the thirty-fourth vow of Amida stipulates that women must “feel disgust at their female nature”
before they can be reborn, in a male body, in the Pure Land. Another motif frequently cited in the Buddhist scriptures is the theme of women’s “sexual transformation into a male body” (henjō nanshi 变成男子). Examples include chapter twenty-three of the Lotus Sutra, entitled “Former Affairs of the Bodhisattva Medicine King.” It states that:

If a woman, hearing this chapter of the Former Affairs of the Bodhisattva Medicine King, can accept and keep it, she shall put an end to her female body, and shall never again receive one. If after the extinction of the Thus Come One, within the last five hundred years, there is a woman who, hearing this scriptural canon, practices it as preached, at the end of this life she shall straightaway go to the Pure Land, to the dwelling place of the Buddha Amitayus, where he is surrounded by a multitude of bodhisattvas, there to be reborn on a jeweled lotus throne among lotus blossoms, never again to be tormented by greed, anger, envy, or other defilements.

Another reference occurs in the story of chapter twelve of the Lotus Sutra, “Devādatta”, which tells about the young daughter of the Dragon King, who is said to have gained enlightenment upon hearing the Lotus Sutra. Various bodhisattvas question this and ask her:

You say that in no long time you shall attain the unexcelled Way. This is hard to believe. What is the reason? A woman’s body is filthy, it is not a Dharma-receptacle. How can you attain unexcelled bodhi? The Path of the Buddha is remote and cavernous. Throughout incalculable kalpas, by
tormenting oneself and accumulating good conduct, also by thoroughly cultivating perfections, only by these means can one then be successful.

Also, a woman’s body even then has five obstacles. It cannot become first a Brahma king god, second the god Sakra, third King Mara, fourth a sage-king turning the Wheel, fifth a Buddha-body. How can the body of a woman speedily achieve Buddhahood?  

Upon hearing this, she transformed herself into a man and achieved enlightenment.

The Pure Land sutras echo the *Lotus Sutra* in their statements about women and their capability of salvation. While they assure women that they are not excluded from enlightenment, they do so without relinquishing suppositions about women’s inferior nature, as is indicated in the following passage from the *Sutra on the Teaching of Infinite Life* which states Amida’s thirty-fifth vow:

Were I to attain Buddhahood, and yet if there were women in the Countless inconceivable Buddha lands of the ten directions who, when they die, were again to be [born] in feminine form, even though they heard my name, had joy and faith, gave rise to the aspiration for enlightenment, and despised their female body, then I would not accept true enlightenment.  

As indicated in this thirty-fifth vow, Amida has staked his own enlightenment on welcoming women into his Pure Land, specifically those who have faith in him, recite the *nembutsu*, and aspire for birth in the Pure Land. On the one hand, Amida’s vow promises women that they can enter the Pure Land but, on the other hand, only in a male body.

Early versions of the Pure Land sutras do not contain actual references to the “Five
Obstructions.” This concept was added into the interpretative tradition of Pure Land Buddhism.\(^{107}\) This interpretative tradition originated with Shantao, who explicated the thirty-fifth vow to mean that at death women would “instantly transform their female bodies into male ones (sokuten nyoshin tokujō nanshi).”\(^{108}\) This belief continued with Hōnen, who claimed the meaning of Amida’s vow to be “faults which are numerous and obstructions which are profound” (toga ōku sawari fukaku shite) and listed the “five obstructions” as the primary ones; Shinran further inherited and elaborated this interpretation on women’s inferior aspects.\(^{109}\)

This concept of the “Five Obstructions” shaped the religious self-image of women in the Heian and Kamakura period, as found in the Buddhist poetry of the eleventh-century imperial princess Senshi Naishinno 撰子内親王 (964-1035).\(^{110}\) In response to the second vow of the bodhisattva “Afflictions [obstacles to enlightenment] are numberless: I vow to eliminate them all,” she composed: “There is no way to count them all, but those that are closest to me are the ‘Five Obstructions’.”\(^{111}\)

In response to the *Sutra on the Transformation of Women and their Attainment of Buddhahood* (*Tennyo jōbutsu-kyō* 天女成仏経), which reads “all evil karma will be extinguished, and she will certainly attain great bodhisattvahood; in the end her female body will be transformed, and she will reach the ultimate way,” Senshi responded: “Since I have encountered this teaching given especially for me, it is certain that my body will be transformed – what a joy to hear!”\(^{112}\) In thought on the passage from chapter twenty-four of the *Lotus Sutra* “if a woman, hearing this Chapter of the Former Affairs of the Bodhisattva Medicine King, can accept and keep it, she shall put an end to her female body, and shall never again receive one,” she composed “since there is after all a
way for me to hear this dharma, I know that there is an end to all my sorrows.”

These sentiments expressed by Princess Senshi were common among medieval women, especially aristocratic women, who had knowledge of Buddhist scriptures. Women felt a special affinity to scriptures like the *Tennyo jōbutsu-kyō* and the *Lotus Sutra*, and high-ranking female devotees were often sponsors and religious aspirants (*ganshu* 願主) behind Buddhist rituals, the copying of sutras, the construction of temple halls, and the production of Buddhist sculptures and paintings. The frontispiece on the outer cover of the “Devādatta” chapter of the *Heike nōkyō*  平家納経 dated 1164 and in the possession of Itsukushima Shrine 厳島神社 in Hiroshima prefecture (fig. 28), is one example of such artistic production by these female sponsors and aspirants. In this painting, the Dragon King’s daughter is shown ascending from her ocean palace and offering a jewel to the Buddha, who is seated with his host among clouds and in front of a heavenly palace.

These two passages from chapters twenty-four and twelve of the *Lotus Sutra* indicate that the wisdom of women on the path to enlightenment can be identified due to a sexual change in which they lose their female characteristics and acquire a male body. While the Buddhist goal is to transcend sexuality altogether, it is female sexuality that becomes a major impediment while “maleness” becomes the prerequisite for attainment of salvation.

As previously mentioned, the source for such exclusionary policy was the constructed concept of the “Five Obstructions.” These limitations, it should be noted, were corporeal rather than spiritual; it was physiology that renders women unfit, unable to conform to the thirty-two primary and eight secondary marks of the Buddha. In the
Buddhist scriptures, the “Five Obstructions” denoted only the five ranks which women could not attain, such as those of the god Brahmâ, Sakra, Mâra, the wheel-turning King Chakravartin, and the Buddha. However, in medieval exegesis, this concept underwent a subtle but significant semantic drift from denoting those forms of existence external to women to connoting a state of being inherent in them. The critique was thus, in a rather literal sense, internalized. In Japan, the “five Obstructions” were seen as innate qualities that excluded women from salvation. By eliding morality with physiology women’s religious imperfection was rendered inescapable.

In medieval Japan, the “Five Obstructions” came to be seen as innate qualities that disqualified women from salvation. In his study of the waka topos of the “Five Obstructions” in Heian-period literature, Edward Kamens has shown that religious and secular ideas crossed over boundaries and created new possibilities for the manipulation of ideas in language. While the “Five Obstructions” initially denoted the five states of existence women were unable to attain as expounded in the Lotus Sutra, from the late Heian period onward the “Five Obstructions”, in poetry as in Buddhist discourse, took on new meanings and interpretations setting women clearly apart from men, portraying women as having particular handicaps due to their sexuality.

The Japanese term sawari suggests something more than just the notion of offense, crime or sin implying women’s culpability for their condition; a condition that was identified as menstruation. Women’s monthly obstruction (tsuki no sawari 月の障り) was seen as both the origin and evidence for women’s impurity. This is implied to a certain extent in the Taima mandala engi emaki by contrasting the heroine, a young noblewoman, with the old mysterious nun, a manifestation of Amida. In Japanese
literary tradition, Amida's most common manifestation as a woman is that of an old nun because, having lost the ability to menstruate, Amida not only disassociates himself from the overt feminine sexuality that a younger manifestation might suggest but also symbolizes the capability of attaining birth in the Pure Land. Amida is usually depicted or described as either male or androgenous, but in appealing to a woman troubled with the "five hindrances" – as in the case of the heroine in the Taima mandala engi emaki – Amida is represented as a woman in order to inspire faith and trust. These aspects are indicated visually in the scroll painting in the scene when the old transformed nun ascends into the western direction of the Pure Land on a five-colored cloud and transforms herself into the radiant golden body of Amida. In contrast, we do not see Chûjôhime's act of birth in this sense, namely her transformation into a man. All that is depicted in the Taima mandala engi emaki is her vision of Amida and his host descending down to her dwelling in order to lead her into the Pure Land. By eliding morality with physiology, women's religious imperfection was rendered inescapable. As the source and justification for their abjection was located in women's bodies, biology was indeed destiny.

This aspect is important when considering the development of Chûjôhime's legend from the Muromachi period onward because we see an interesting fusion of this religious idea of female defilement and socio-cultural aspects that render women as "less worthy than men." In order to shed light on how Chûjôhime's legend developed from the religious narrative emphasizing women's capability of attaining birth in Amida's Pure Land in the Taima mandala engi emaki into versions that combine her religious experiences at Taima-dera with an earlier, fictional narrative of her life, as illustrated in
the *Taima-dera engi emaki* 当麻寺縁起絵巻. Chapter Three looks at two particular noh plays by Zeami, *Taema* 当麻 and *Hibariyama* 雲雀山, that served as the impetus for this new development.

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**Notes to Chapter Two**

1 The *Taima mandala engi emaki* is designated as a National Treasure (*kokuhō 国宝*) and, due to its location at Kōmyō-ji, it is also referred to as the *Kōmyō-ji bon 光明寺本*. The exact date of the production of the scrolls is unknown but, based on stylistic features, medium, and subject matter it is dated to the mid-thirteenth-century. Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, ‘*Taima mandara engi emaki, Saigyō monogatari emaki* 当麻曼陀羅縁起絵巻, 西行物語絵巻, in *Nihon Emaki Taisei 日本絵巻大成*, vol. 24 (Tokyo: Chūō Koronsha, 1979), 90.

2 Kōmyō-ji was the family temple (*danna dera 檀那寺*) of the Naitō, a clan of feudal lords (*daimyo 大名*), who expanded their domain and power through the changing of fiefs. In Enpō 2 (1674) Naitō Yoshimune buried his father, Naitō Tadaoki 内藤忠興 (1592-1674) at Kōmyō-ji, donated land to the temple, and provided funds in order to restore the *Taima mandala engi emaki* as an act of his devotion to Kōmyō-ji. However, it is not known how the *Taima mandala engi emaki* made its way out of Taima-dera and came into the possession of Naitō Yoshimune. Miura Katsuo 三浦藤男, *Kamakura no Emaki 鎌倉の絵巻* (Kamakura: Kamakura Kokuhokan, 1984), 8-9.

3 In all the translations throughout this dissertation I have inserted brackets at places where I have added additional information in order to clarify the context.

4 Kōmyō-ji, which is the sectarian headquarters of the Pure Land sect, was founded in 1240 by the priest Nena Ryōchū 然阿良忠 (1199-1287) and was called Amaterasu-san Renge-in Kōmyō-ji 天照山蓮華院光明時. Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, *Nihon no Emaki*, vol. 20 (Tokyo: Chūō Koronsha, 1992), 79.

5 The Gokyōgoku school of calligraphy (*gokyōgoku ryū 後京極流*) was founded in the early Kamakura period by Fujiwara no Yoshitsune 藤原義経 (1169-1206), who is also known as The Gokyōgoku Lord 後京極殿. As for the painter, the name Tosa Shōgen only indicates a rank, therefore, it leaves the identity of the artist unknown. I discuss the attribution and identity of the painter later in this chapter.

6 The inscription states that Naitō Yoshimune ordered the addition of text and decoration to the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, which would indicate that initially the scrolls were not in the state they are today and would account for their good condition. However, Komatsu argues that the scrolls were damaged and that Naitō Yoshimune repaired them and did not actually add new information to the scrolls. Komatsu, *Nihon no Emaki*, 79.

7 The fourti-sixth head priest of Kōmyō-ji, Manryō, is also known as Teni. Ibid., 79.
Throughout the narrative, the nun who appears to Chūjōhime and reveals herself as Amida in human form is referred to *keni* in the text, which I have chosen to translate as “mysterious nun.” The term *keni* refers to buddhas and bodhisattvas who appear temporarily in the guise of a nun.

Miura points out that the large size of the *Taima mandala engi emaki* is unusual among Kamakura-period *emaki-mono*. The only other *emaki-mono* of similar large-scale size is the thirteenth-century *Jōkyūbon kitano tenjin engi* (Legend of Kitano Tenjin Shrine). Miura, *Kamakura no Emaki*, 10. The first scroll of the *Taima mandala engi emaki* is made up of 25 sheets of paper, 16 of them containing images and 9 of them text. The second scroll consists of 22 sheets of paper, 15 of them illustrating images and 7 of them text.


I would like to thank Melissa McCormick for her assistance in providing me with information about the Tosa School for my analysis of Tosa Kōshōgen.

The color of the paper and the style of calligraphy of the postscript differ greatly from the rest of the scroll painting, indicating that it is a later addition.

Komatsu, *Nihon no Emaki*, 78.

Fujiwara Yukihiro’s activity as a painter is known to us primarily from and inscription on the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* (Miraculous Origin of the Yūzū Nenbutsu), a narrative handscroll painting dated 1414 and in the possession of Seiryō-ji 清涼寺 in Kyoto.

Chapter Three of this dissertation deals with the *Taima-dera engi emaki* and its illustration of Chūjōhime’s story in detail.

Komatsu, *Nihon no Emaki*, 78.

This is a transcription of the original text of the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, which is photographically reproduced in both Komatsu, *Nihon Emaki Taisei*, 2-35, and in Miura, *Kamakura no Emaki*, 12-14. In order to provide readers with an easier and more accessible reading of the original text, I have modernized it by adding *dakuten* and punctuation. Also, I have added the characters instead of using the “repeat sign” (*odoriji*). The English translation is my own.

Emperor Yōmei (?-587; r. 585-587).

En no Gyōja 役行者, also known as En no Ozune 役小角 and En no Shōkaku 役小角, was a Buddhist mystic and mountain ascetic of the Nara period. En no Gyōja as the idealized mountain ascetic was the prototype of the *yamabushi* 山伏 and the founder of *shūgendo* 修験道. As recorded in the *Shoku nihongi* 續日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan), En no Gyōja was credited with having magical powers and believed to have been living upon Mount Katsuragi in Yamato province. He climbed mountains and dedicated them to the Buddha. In 699, En no Gyōja was banished to an island at Izu on suspicion of sorcery. Louis Frederic, *Buddhism: Flammarion Iconographic Guides* (Paris: Mame Imprimeurs Tours, 1995), 287. Further references to Taima-dera’s original location at the site of En...
no Gyōja are cited in the Taima mandala chū 当麻曼陀羅注 (1223), a commentary on the Taima mandala compiled by the monks of Taima-dera, and in the Kenkyū gojunrei-ki 建久御巡礼記 (1192) a pilgrimage record about the various temples in Yamato.

While the Taima mandala chū mentions Taima-dera’s imperial foundation and its initial location at the sacred site of En no Gyōja [当麻寺は王孫子建立の場で、役行者の霊所也。Taima-dera is the temple which was built by the Emperor’s grandson, and it is located in the sacred burial place of En no Gyōja.], it does not make any reference to the removal of the temple from this site following Prince Maroko’s auspicious dream. In comparison, the entry in the Kenkyū gojunrei-ki is more elaborate, mentioning Taima-dera’s predecessors, Prince Maroko’s dream, the temple’s original location at the sacred site of En no Gyōja, and its removal from this site: [当麻寺縁起に対し, はじめは推古天皇の定光二年 (六一二) 建立され、萬法蔵院と号したこと、その後朱鳥六年 (六九二) 親王が霊夢の告によって、宜旨を下し [...] 役行者の敷地を乞請、この地に改めて伽藍を移し、禅林時と号したとする縁起が生れて来る。]

Regarding the origin of Taima-dera, [...] originally, it was built in Teikō 2 (612) during the reign of Empress Suiko (r.592-628), it was named Manpōzo-in, and after that in Shuchō 6 (692), the prince, due to an oracle revealed to him in a dream, requested that the temple be moved to a site of En no Gyōja. The temple was moved anew to this place and was called Zenrin-ji. This is how the origin of this temple [Taima-dera] came into existence.

Taimachō kyoiku inkai 当麻町教育委員会, Taimachō shi 当麻町史, (Taimachō: Taimachō kyōiku inkai 当麻町教育委員会, 1976), 514.

22 Emperor Ōi (733-765) is also known as Emperor Junnin 淳仁天皇, and he reigned from 758-764. Nihonshiki Kojiten Henshū I-inkai 日本史広辞典編集委員会, Nihonshiki Kojiten 日本史広辞典 (Tokyo: Yamagawa shuppansha, 1997), 285.

23 This passage compares the father’s feelings of love and care for his daughter to those usually experienced by a mother. It is an allusion to the crane and goose, symbols of devoted mother love in Japanese poetry. Like the mother crane and mother goose in this passage, who are not even leaving their young out of sight in the night or when danger lurks upon them, Yokohagi no Otodo takes the same protective care of his daughter by keeping her concealed within her residence and protecting her from the outside world.


25 Nomura, Hachiro 野村八良, Muromachi Jidai Shōsetsu-ron 室町時代小説論 (Tokyo: Ganshōdō shoten, 1999), 45. For a detailed discussion about the noh play see Chapter Three.

26 These sources are listed in Appendices A and B. I will briefly discuss the textual influence of these sources on the Taima mandala engi emaki at a later point in this chapter.

27 Komatsu, Nihon Emaki Taisei, 93.


29 See Chapter Three page 112.
Regarding the perspective, particularly in terms of interior settings, the paintings in these scrolls are all exclusively done from a ‘blown-off roof’ (fukinuki yatai) perspective.

Monastic robes are also called ‘sleeves of moss.’ It means that Yokohagi’s daughter became a nun.

The nine grades of rebirth (kuhon 九品) are the nine different classes human beings can be born in Amida’s Pure Land, depending on the qualities of the devotee.

Oshinumi 忍海, which was the central western part of Yamato province and the domain of the Muraji clan 連氏, is present-day Kitakatsuragi-gun in Nara prefecture. Ōmi 近江 is present-day Shiga Prefecture. Nihonshi Kōjiten Henshū Iinkai 日本史広辞典編集委員会, Nihonshi Kōjiten 日本史広辞典 (Tokyo: Yamagawa Shuppansha, 1997), 357

Ruch, Engendering Faith, 110.

In Japan, the cult of Miroku (Skt. Maitreya), whose name means “benevolence” and who is the Buddha of the future, is attested from the seventh century in the Hossō sect. Taima-dera was built for the worship of Miroku and a gilded-wooden sculpture of Miroku is enshrined in the golden hall. Miroku forms a triad with Sakyamuni and Kannon. Frederic, Buddhism, 119.

Some-dera 染寺 is a temple located close to Taima-dera in Taimacho, Nara prefecture. “Some” means “to dye.” Visitors today can still see the well that is mentioned in the Taima mandala engi emaki.

The Law of the Final Dharma is referred to as mappō 末法 in Japanese. According to Buddhist thought, the time after the death of the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni, is divided into three ages. These three ages are the Age of the Perfect Law (shōbō 正法) when people followed the teachings of the Buddha, the Age of the Degenerative Law (zōbō 像法) when people failed to understand the true inner meaning of the Buddhist Law, and the Age of the Final Dharma (mappō 末法) when practice of the Buddhist Law cannot be carried out and salvation becomes increasingly difficult. Michele Marra, ‘The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan (I)’, in Japanese Journal of Religious Studies, vol. 15, no. 1 (1988), 25.

A full textual and pictorial account of the foundation legend of Taima-dera is given in the Taima-dera engi emaki (Kyōroku-bon) 当麻寺縁起絵巻 (享禄本) (1531), which I have translated and discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

Kejo 化女 refers to a woman who appears in a changed guise; a transformed woman. Here, the bodhisattva Kannon appears in the guise of a female weaver.

Two shō equal 3.6 liters.

The text says ‘hour of the dog’ (corresponding to 8pm) and ‘hour of the tiger’ (corresponding to 5am).

This is an allusion to poem #2065 in Man'yō shū 10 (万葉集卷第十), where a woman is weaving with such speed and energy that her anklets and armlets jingle, in order to have her lover’s clothing ready by the time he arrives. The poem reads: 与玉も手玉もゆらに織る服を君が御衣に縫ひもあへむかも – With the jewels of my anklets and of my armlets jingling, I weave at the loom. Would I might sew your robe.
ichijô goshaku (一丈五尺) corresponds to five meters.

44 The Taima mandala is also referred to as a 'transformed diagram depicting the Pure Land' (jōdo hensō 純土変相). The visual illustration of the Taima mandala is based on the Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life (Kanmuryōju-kyō 観無量寿経), and key passages from this canonical text are found in the inscriptions framing each scene in the outer rows that surround the central court of the mandala. The central section of the Taima mandala (gengibun 玄義分), depicting Amida and his heavenly host in the Pure Land, is framed on the left by the 'court of the prefatory legend' (jobungi 序分義) which conveys the story of the Indian Prince Ajatasatru. On the right, the central court is framed by the 'court of the thirteen meditations' (jôzengi 定善義) which depicts thirteen out of the sixteen meditations. In the frame below the central court, called sanzengi 散善義, the final three of these sixteen meditations are depicted in form of the nine grades of birth (kuhon 九品). Birth in the nine grades (upper 上品, middle 中品, and lower 下品) depends on the qualities of the devotee; they provide the incentive for moral behavior on earth, while at the same time expressing hope for salvation. Okazaki Jôji 岡崎譲治, ‘Jôdokyo-ga’ 浄土教画, in Nihon no bijutsu 日本の美術, no.43 (1979), 25-30.

45 According to Buddhist doctrine, there have been innumerable Buddhas in the past, who are collectively described as the One Thousand Buddhas, and Kâśyapa (J. Kassapa 火葉) was one of them. He was the predecessor to the historical Buddha Sâkyamuni. He is often shown seated on a lion and he is painted in gold because he represents the light of the sun and the moon. Frederic, Buddhism, 118.


48 Kalavinka is the Sanskrit name of a bird, which is said to have a voice more beautiful and melodious than any other bird. The Kalavinka is cited in Buddhist sutras, such as in the seventh chapter “The Parable of the Phantom City” of the Lotus Sutra, for its beautiful voice, which is used as a metaphor for the Buddha’s voice. According to Buddhist belief, this bird started to sing even before hatching from its shell and to live in the valleys of the Himalayas as well as in Amida’s Pure Land. Frederic, Buddhism, 281.

49 Ibid., 153.

50 When making the mudrā of Upper-class Lower-birth, Amida is holding up the right hand and lowering the left hand with his thumbs on his forefingers. This Upper-class is reserved for followers who have perfected the three aspects of sincerity, faith and the desire to be born in Amida’s Pure Land, and they will be enthroned on a diamond throne. Ibid., 142.

51 The earliest extant depiction of Amida’s descent with his host of musical bodhisattvas dates to 1053 and is a series of paintings of the nine classes of birth (kuhon raigô-zu 九
The vajra sword is an attribute used in esoteric Buddhist rituals to dispel evil forces from sacrificial enclosure. In esoteric Buddhism, the vajra sword symbolizes the victorious power and knowledge over ignorance, and is a sign of supreme wisdom. Frederic, *Buddhism*, 67.

A topknot of hair (hōkei) is found on images of bodhisattvas, guardian deities, and Dainichi Nyorai. A special example of this topknot is found on esoteric images of the bodhisattva Monju. Although Monju appears with one, five, six, or eight topknots in esoteric representations, he is most frequently portrayed with five topknots (gokei). Ibid., 193. Originally founded as a Pure Land temple, Taima-dera has been controlled by both the Pure Land and the Shingon sects since the Heian period, which accounts for the esoteric image of Gokei Monju in the scroll painting. Descriptions of raigō visions depicting Monju are rare and predominantly experienced by women. The *Hosshin shū 発心集* (1216) describes the story of a woman, who, grieving over the death of her daughter, while facing west and chanting the nenbutsu throws herself into the sea at Naniwa. At that moment, purple clouds envelop the boat, beautiful fragrances and music fill the air, and she is greeted by Amida’s host and the bodhisattva Monju. This description is almost identical with the portrayal of Amida’s descent in the *Taima mandala engi emaki*. Miki Sumito, *Hōjōki, Hosshin shū, Shinchō nihon koten shusei* 25 (Hosshinshū III:6) (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1976), 139-142.

When Yoritomo died in 1199, his two sons, Yorie and Sanetomo, were too young to control the shogunate, and a power struggle arose between their mother, Hōjō Masako, her father, Tokimasa, and her brother Yoshitoki. At first Torimasa won, forcing Yorie into exile and assuming the office of regent for Sanetomo, who became shogun. But in 1205 Masako and Yoshitoki joined forces, exiled Tokimasa, and Yoshitoki became shogunal regent. Kozo Yamamura, *The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 3 Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 445.
The *Nihon Shoki* (720), *Shoku Nihongi* (833), *Nihon Koki* (840), and the *Nihonzukisho* (720), *Shoku Nihon Koki* (869), *Nihon Montoku Tenno jitsuroku* (871-879), and the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* constitute the Six National Histories (Rikkoku shi) of Japan. The compilation of the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* in 901 was the collaborated effort of several authors headed by Fujiwara no Tokihira (871-909). This work deals with the time period as the *Okagami* (The Great Mirror), the reigns of Emperors Seiwa (858-876), Yōzei (876-884) and Kōkō (884-887). Nihonshi Kōjiten Henshū I-inkai, *Nihonshi Kōjiten*, 1679.

Fujiwara no Yoshifusa was the first Fujiwara regent acting as a guardian to the child-emperor Seiwa. Shimura Kunihiro, *Nihonshi Yami to Nazo Jiten*, 148.


The date of the burning of Taima-dera’s golden hall is inscribed on one of the wooden beams in the hall. The sculpture of Miroku in the golden hall is believed to be the Miroku, which has been carved out of the three light-emitting stones, recorded in the *Taima mandala engi emaki*. Ibid., 522.

Komatsu, *Nihon no Emaki*, 80.

In premodern Japan people could go by a variety of names. In addition to one’s family name, a person might be identified by one’s office, rank, residence or locale. At transitional points in life such as the coming of age or ordination into the Buddhist clergy, one might also adopt a new name.

The northern branch of the Fujiwara clan (kujō 九条) originated with Kujō Kanezane (1149-1207). Michie, who was the son of Kujō Yoshitsune (1169-1206), served as imperial regent (sesshō kanpaku 摂政関白). Hosshō-ji is a temple of the Pure Land sect in Kyoto and was founded in 925 by Fujiwara no Tadahira (880-949). For a detailed genealogical chart regarding the dominant karmically linked devotee donors who contributed to the shrine repair, see Komatsu, *Nihon no Emaki*, 86.

Ibid., 81. In terms of the order of Buddhist titles inscribed as donors on artifacts, the name of the husband is followed by that of his wife. In some cases, his name is followed by other immediate family members, such as daughters, sisters, aunts or mothers.

When the third shōgun Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192-1219) was assassinated in 1219, the one-year-old Fujiwara Yoritsune, who was a remote kin to Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199), was made shōgun. In 1226, at the age of seven, Yoritsune became Seii Taishōgun in a political deal between his father, Kūjo Michiie, and the shōgunate regent, Hōjō Yoshitoki, as well as Hōjō Masako who set him up as a puppet shōgun. In 1244, Yoritsune relinquished the position of shōgun to his son Kūjo Yoritsugu (1239-1256). In 1245 he became a Buddhist priest. Nihonshi Kōjiten Henshū I-inkai, *Nihonshi Kōjiten*, 1874.

Ibid., 82.

The name of Yoritsune’s daughter is only given as “princess” (hime gimi 姫君). Komatsu, *Nihon no Emaki*, 82.
Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, Meigetsuki 明月記 (vol.3) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1912). See also Komatsu, Nihon no emaki, 82. Kaiawase, also called kaiōoi 貝覆, is a shell-matching game initially played by the Heian nobility. A clamshell half was decorated and placed outside-up. The matching half of the design was painted on other shells and they were turned over one by one by players competing to match pairs. A poem or miniature painting was added inside each shell in order to facilitate matching, with the first part of a 32-syllable poem written on one half and the latter part written on its mate, while both halves were detailed with an identical motif.

Shamon Shōkū 沙門性空 (1177-1247), also known as Seizan Shōkū 西山性空, was one of the donors whose names are recorded on the shrine doors, and he was the disciple of Hōnen. Fujiwara no Yoritsune studied with Shamon Shōkū and received the tonsure from him in 1245. Following Hōnen’s death in 1212, Shamon Shōkū passed Taima-dera on his travels and heard about the Taima mandala and its miraculous origin. Two years later, he went to Taima-dera and inspected the mandala, found it a faithful representation of Hōnen’s teachings, copied it and wrote commentaries on it. From that time onward, there was a close connection between Shamon Shōkū and Taima-dera as is evident from an inscription on a pillar in the Mandala Hall dated Kangi 2 (1230) which states that Shamon Shōkū donated money, which was income from the agricultural lands he had inherited from his father, for the constant recitation of the nembutsu at Taima-dera.


The only item not included in the Ninna-ji-bon is the origin story of the Some-dera, which is included in the Taima mandala engi emaki. Ibid., 130.

Chūgū-ji is one of three nunneries in the Ikaruga district in Nara prefecture whose chief priestesses were imperial princesses. Chūgū-ji was built by Prince Shôtoku for his mother, Anahobe no Hashihito no Himemiko 穴穂部間人皇女, and the temple’s two main icons of worship are the Tenjukoku Shūchō mandala and a small wooden sculpture of Gokei Monju measuring 52.2cm in height. Okazaki, Jōdokyo-ga, 44.

In addition to the Sutra on the Teaching of Infinite Life, the other two texts constituting the three Pure Land sutras are the Sutra on Amida (Skt. Smaller Sukhāvatīyāha Sūtra, J. Amida-kyō 阿弥陀経) and the Sutra on the Meditation of the Buddha of Infinite Life (C. Kuan-wu-liang-shou-ching, J. Kammuryōju-kyō 觀無量壽経). While the first two scriptures are of Indian origin, the third one, which is the direct textual source for the
narratives and images pictorialized in the Taima mandala, is believed to be of Chinese

86 Ibid., 19.
87 The Ōjōyōshū was a compendium of earlier scriptures and commentaries by the
Chinese Pure Land patriarch Shantao, and it was through this work that Hōnen learned
Genshin’s Ōjōyōshū* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1977), 35.
88 Genshin describes the horrifying six path of rebirth (rokudō 六道) – the realms of hell,
hungry ghosts, fighting spirits, animals, human beings, and heavenly beings – from which
sentient beings can be saved through faith in Amida and birth in the Pure Land. Ibid., 38.
89 Richard K. Payne, *Re-Visioning “Kamakura” Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of
Hawai’i Press, 1998), 116. Shinran’s thought on mappō are recorded in his *Ken Jōdo
Shinjitsu Kyōgyōshō Monrui* 顕浄土真実教行証文類 (*Collection of Passages
Elucidating the True Pure Land Teaching, Practice, and Proof*) and in his *Shōzōmatsu
Wasan* 正像未和讃 (*Hymns of the Three Ages*). Jacqueline Stone, “Seeking
Enlightenment in The Last Age: Mappō Thought in Kamakura Buddhism,” in *The
Eastern Buddhist*, vol. XVIII, no.2 (Autumn 1985), 43. Myōe’s ideas about mappō are
expressed in his *Kōmyō Shingon Dosha Kanjinki* 光明真言士砂勅進機 (*Recommending
Faith in the Sand of the Mantra of Light*), and in Nichiren’s practice of chanting the
Daimoku 頂目 (*Title of the Lotus Sutra*). See Payne, *Re-Visioning “Kamakura”
Buddhism*, 167 & 139.
90 Marra, “The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan (I),” 36.
91 For a detailed discussion regarding the Japanization of the “Five Obstructions” see
93 The Taima mandala is called a jōdo hensō because it is a visual depiction of Amida’s
Pure Land as described in the Shantao’s commentary.
94 The new military government in Kamakura was susceptible to allegations by orthodox
schools that the Pure Land sect posts a threat to national stability because Hōnen had
propagated that “exclusive recitation” (senju nenbutsu 千手念仏), which was his
expansion on Shantao’s teachings, was the only way to attain birth in the Pure Land. Of
concern was a painting, called *Sesshufusha mandala* (always adopting-never abandoning) disseminated by Pure Land devotees, which was destroyed
by the military government. When Hōnen’s disciple, Shamon Shōkū, discovered the
Taima mandala at Taima-dera, he used it as a replacement for the *Sesshu Fusha mandala*
and made it the central icon of the Pure Land sect. Grotenhuis, *The Revival of the Taima
Mandala in Medieval Japan*, 22-25. For a translation of the opening section of Shamon
Shōkū’s *Taima Mandala Chūki*, which describes his discovery of the Taima mandala at
Taima-dera see Ibid., 25-27.
95 The sixteen contemplations are: 1.) sit down, face the West at dawn; 2.) form the
perception of clear water in the West, think of lapis lazuli; 3.) contemplate on the
condition of the beautiful lapis lazuli earth of the Western Paradise; 4.) contemplate on
the jeweled tress of the Pure Land; 5.) contemplate on the lakes of the Pure Land; 6.)
contemplate on the multi-storied jeweled pagodas of the Pure Land; 7.) contemplate on
Amida’s lotus throne; 8.) contemplate and worship the Amida triad; 9.) focus on Amida’s
teachings; 10.) envision Kannon; 11.) envision Seishi; 12.) contemplate on various
aspects of the Pure Land and imagine oneself being born on a lotus flower; 13.) if one
can’t visualize the Great Body of Amida, one should contemplate on the Small Body of
Amida; 14.) contemplate on lower rebirth; 15.) contemplate on middle rebirth; 16.)
contemplate on upper rebirth. Contemplations 14-16 differ depending on the capacity of
the devotee. These last three meditations have been divided into nine stages, that
correspond to nine possible degrees of rebirth in the Pure Land. For a detailed description
of these nine grades see Frederic, *Buddhism: Flammarion Iconographic Guides*, 141.

96 Scholars believe that pre-Muromachi-period texts of the origin legend of the Taima
mandala, recorded in the *engibun*, were originally much shorter than the extant
inscriptions. For a translation of the text in the “Court of the Origin” see Grotenhuis, *The
Revival of the Taima Mandala in Medieval Japan*, 84-85.

97 Ibid., 146.

98 This aspect is significant because traditional Buddhist schools, such as the Six Nara
Schools, Tendai, and Shingon – all of them having served as the prominent faith in the
Nara and Heian period – emphasized strict adherence to the precepts. Enlightenment was
reserved only for the clergy.

99 James C. Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Bloomington &

100 James C. Dobbins, *The Nun Eshinni: Images of Pure Land Buddhism in Medieval

101 Yoshishige no Yasutane had been involved in starting the *Kangaku-e* 観学会
(*Assembly for the Encouragement of Learning*) in 964. Its members were both Tendai
monks and scholars of Chinese studies who came together in order to study the *Lotus
Sutra*, writing devotional poetry, and reciting the *nenbutsu*. Yasutane and his fellow
members of the *Kangaku-e* are typical of the mid-Heian period practice of combining the
*Lotus Sutra* with Pure Land rituals in the hopes of gaining salvation in the Pure Land.

102 Edward Kamens, *The Three Jewels: A Study and Translation of Minamoto
Tamenori’s Sanbōe* (1988), 291.

103 This reference is taken from the *Amida-kyō*, which is one of the basic scriptures of
Pure Land Buddhism. Diana Y. Paul, *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in the


105 Ibid., 187.


107 Ibid., 97.

108 Ibid., 98.

109 Ibid., 98.

Ibid., 78.

Ibid., 91.

Ibid., 124.


It should be mentioned that, while all the textual versions of the “Devâdatta” chapter clearly state and emphasize male transformation, pictorial representations of the same chapter do not depict this aspects. The paintings focus exclusively on the young daughter of the Dragon King and her offering of the jewel to the Buddha, which seems paradoxical because the girl’s youth and pre-puberty stage in life are exactly opposite to the concept of the “five obstructions.”


Ibid., 398.
CHAPTER THREE

The Legend of Chûjôhime in the Muromachi Period (1392-1573)

In Chapter Two, I examined the earliest extant textual and pictorial record of Chûjôhime's legend, the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, in terms of its production, patronage, audience, and—most importantly—its religious significance for women in the Kamakura period. Kamakura-period versions of Chûjôhime's story, such as the *Taima mandala engi emaki* center exclusively on Chûjôhime's vow to see Amida in human form, the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala, and the heroine's attainment of birth in the Pure Land. In contrast, Muromachi-period versions of Chûjôhime's story, such as the *Taima-dera engi emaki* (Miraculous Origin of Taima Temple), add a new twist to the legend of Chûjôhime—that of the princess as an ill-treated stepchild—and combine the heroine's religious experiences at Taima-dera with an earlier narrative of her childhood.¹ This newly added narrative concerning Chûjôhime's childhood emphasizes primarily her mother's death, her abuse at the hands of a wicked stepmother, her abandonment and intended execution on Mount Hibari, and her reunification with her father.² What were the factors that gave rise to this expansion of Chûjôhime's legend from the Muromachi period onward? How does this addition of the narrative about the heroine's childhood experiences emphasize gender as a central conditioning factor in the evolution of the texts and images that constitute Chûjôhime's legend as a Buddhist tale of female salvation?

This chapter examines the earliest extant textual and pictorial Muromachi-period record of Chûjôhime's legend, the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, in order to shed light on the
sources which gave rise to the development and expansion of Chûjôhime's story.

Through a detailed textual and visual analysis of the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, I seek to demonstrate the origin and significance regarding the addition of the key elements in Chûjôhime's childhood narrative for this Buddhist tale of female salvation.

1.1 Preface: *The Taima-dera engi emaki*

A. Background

The *Taima-dera engi emaki* (Kyôroku-bon 享禄本), which is designated as an Important Cultural Property (*jûyô bunkazai* 重要文化財), consists of three narrative handscroll paintings that date to Kyôroku 4 (1531) and are owned by Taima-dera in Taima-chô, Kitakatsuragi-gun, Nara Prefecture. Each of the three scrolls is covered with a blue damask binding. On the outside of the cover binding which is decorated with maidenflower and swastika designs, the scrolls' title, *Taima-dera engi*, is inscribed in golden characters. Upon unrolling each scroll from right to left, an ornate frontispiece unfolds on the inside of the cover binding. Each frontispiece consists of a sheet of dark blue paper (*kongami 紺紙*) and is decorated with an image executed in gold color (*kondei 金泥*) depicting Amida and his heavenly host descending from the Pure Land Western Paradise and greeting the devotee at the moment of death (*raigô-zu 来迎図*). A cartouche, stating the particular class of birth depicted in the painting, appears in the top right-hand corner of each image.

The scrolls are executed in ink and color on paper with gold leaf (*kinpaku 金箔*). All three scrolls measure a height of 34.9 centimeters, but their lengths differ. Scroll one, which consists of seven textual and pictorial sections, measures a total length of 2,269.4 centimeters; scroll two, which consists of nine textual and pictorial sections, measures a
total length of 2,251.5 centimeters; and scroll three, which consists of seven textual and pictorial sections, measures a total length of 2,180.2 centimeters.

Similarly to the Kamakura-period *Taima mandala engi emaki* discussed in the previous chapter, the textual and pictorial passages in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* also occupy separate sheets of paper, suggesting that the calligraphy and paintings were originally produced individually and were only later combined. However, in contrast to the *Taima mandala engi emaki*, measuring a total height of 51.6 centimeters and a total length of 1,467.6 centimeters, the *Taima-dera engi emaki* is produced on a much smaller scale in terms of height, measuring only 34.9 centimeters, and on a much larger scale in terms of length, measuring a total length of 6,701.1 centimeters. This aspect, especially regarding the difference in length, is significant because it resulted from specific developments that occurred in terms of the narrative content, structure, and reception of *shaji engi-e* 社寺縁起絵 (pictures depicting the miraculous origin legend of shrines and temples) in the Muromachi period.

Both the *Taima mandala engi emaki* and the *Taima-dera engi emaki* belong to the same genre of painting called *shaji engi-e*, which originated in the Heian period, rose to popularity in the Kamakura period, flourished in the Muromachi period, and continued to be a popular genres until the late Edo period. These paintings, depicting the origin and history of a shrine or temple, were frequently amplified with legends accompanied by miraculous stories of beneficial effects of deities or spirits (*reigen setsuwa* 靈験説話), such as the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala, to propagate a particular shrine, temple, or Buddhist sect. Often, as in the cases of both the *Taima mandala engi emaki* and the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, *shaji engi-e* were produced in association with temple
solicitation campaigns (kanjin 勧進) in order to secure funds for the institution’s restoration and revival. In contrast to shaji engi-e of the Kamakura period, for example the Shigisan engi emaki 信貴山縁起絵巻 (Handscroll Painting Depicting the Miraculous Origin of Mount Shigi) (late 12th century), which focus primarily on the miraculous actions of deities, shaji engi-e of the Muromachi period, for example the Seiryō-ji engi emaki 清涼寺縁起絵巻 (Handscroll Painting Depicting the Miraculous Origin of Seiryō Temple) (16th century), shift their focus more to the origin and history of a shrine or temple which accounts for the expansion in narrative and length of those later emaki mono. This particular aspect is clearly evident in the Taima-dera engi maki, where the narrative of the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala occupies the least amount of space, both in terms of text and image, and becomes nothing more than a holy backdrop for telling the origin legend and history of Taima-dera and the story of Chūjōhime.

Unlike the Taima mandala engi emaki, the Taima-dera engi emaki is well preserved and lacks any signs of extensive use, such as creases, faded color, or flaked off pigments, suggesting that the latter was less exposed to frequent rolling and unrolling and not likely used for etoki practice as was the case with the former. Furthermore, the Taima-dera engi emaki is well-documented in terms of both the calligraphers and the artist involved in the creation of the scrolls, as well as the circumstances surrounding their production. I will address these issues in detail later in this chapter in my situating the Taima-dera engi emaki within the social, cultural, and historical milieu of the Muromachi period. A translation of the textual passages from the Taima-dera engi emaki, as well as a description and analysis of the paintings appear below.
1.2 Textual and Visual Analysis of the *Taima-dera engi emaki*

**Scroll One, Frontispiece: (fig.29)**

As mentioned in the preface, upon unrolling each of the three scrolls from right to left, an ornate frontispiece resembling the frontispieces of illustrated Buddhist sutras (*mikaeshi-e* 見返絵) unfolds on the inside of the cover binding. The painting is executed in gold color and depicts Amida and his heavenly host descending from the Pure Land to greet the devotee. On the right, we see a devotee, who is seated on the floor in front of a table inside his residence, accompanied by an attendant, and reciting a sutra.

On the left, descending in diagonal motion down and across the painting is Amida surrounded by his host of bodhisattvas. Celestial beings, such as *apsarás* (*J. tennin* 天人), and five distinct groups of tiny transformed golden Buddhas (*J. kebutsu* 化仏) are floating on a finger of clouds in the upper part of the painting. Amida’s Pure Land Paradise (*Skt. Sukhāvati, J. gokuraku anyō jōdo* 極楽安養浄土), which is located in the West, the direction he descends from and where he will take the soul of the devotee to, is pictorially represented as a glorious palace on clouds in the top left-hand corner of the painting. Amida and his host of bodhisattvas, some of whom play musical instruments such as the *koto* 琴, *biwa* 琵琶, *shō* 笙, and *taiko* 太鼓, are standing on lotus dais and descending on clouds. Leading Amida and his entourage are the Bodhisattva of Universal Virtue (*Skt. Samantabhadra, J. Fugen* 普賢) who is identified by holding a canopy, the Bodhisattva of Great Force (*Skt. Mahāsthāmaprāpta, J. Seishi 勢至*) who is identified by holding his hands in the prayer *mudra* (*Skt. Añjali, J. gasshō-in* 合掌印) and standing to the right of Fugen, and the Bodhisattva of Mercy (*Skt. Avalokiteśvara, J. Kannon* 観音) who is identified by offering an empty lotus dais to the devotee on which
the soul of the faithful will be taken to Amida’s Pure Land.\textsuperscript{12}

Amida, standing in the center of his entourage and depicted larger in size than the other figures, has his right hand pointing upward at shoulder level, his left hand pointing downward at hip level, both palms turned outward, and the thumb touching the index finger on each hand forming a circle. This particular welcoming mudra (\textit{raigō-in 来迎印}) is the mudra of Upper-class Upper-birth (\textit{jōbon jōshō 上品上生}), indicating that the devotee belongs to the highest grade (\textit{jōbon 上品}) into which the faithful can be born.\textsuperscript{13} In addition, the devotee’s particular degree of perfection, Upper-class Upper-birth, is also written on the cartouche in the top right corner of the frontispiece. This highest grade is reserved for followers who have perfected the three attitudes of sincerity, faith and the firm desire to be born in the Pure Land. Upon birth in Amida’s Pure Land, beings of this class are enthroned on a diamond throne.\textsuperscript{14} In addition, rays of golden light emanate from Amida’s \textit{ūrnā} (\textit{J. byakugō 白毫}) to the devotee. These rays signal Amida’s coming and welcoming of the devotee into the Pure Land.\textsuperscript{15} This particular \textit{raigō} painting is identical to the one of Upper-class Upper-birth illustrated on the right in the bottom horizontal border of the Taima mandala (fig.25), which likely served as a model for the painter of the \textit{Taima-dera engi emaki}. Lastly, the entire scene depicted in this frontispiece is surrounded by a border decorated with the same maidenflower design which also appears on the ornate outer cover binding and the decorative rollers.

\textbf{Scroll One, Text One: (fig.30)}

夫以栗散の辺国無量なりといへども、日域をして専時教流布の地とし、塵数の剣土無辺なりといへども、西方をして偏襲季相応の境とす。幸に生を受て釈尊善巧
の要法にあへり。但うらむらくは、極悪すでに倒れて、世人薄俗ともに急べきからざるの事をあらそふ。ことごとく夢中の名剣無常の根本なりと見えたり。故むなしき火坑欲入の機におみて、しばしば浄土廣開の門に遠さかる。適習ひ聞ものは、信心練にして又疑惑をいたく。出離の進退誰によりてさだめ、往生の証因何をもってあきらめむ哉。

愛に和州当麻寺において、中将婿といふ人、生身の色相を念せしが故に、化女の姿を現し、九十余駄の仏像を методて、一丈五尺の曼陀羅を纏穏す。清是を見に、観経の所説に違はず、四辺階壇をのつから囲廻し、九品の仏聞まことに歴然たり。まさに知べし、一度此場に詰せん輩は、忽に不退の土にいたると云事を、是則現在の衆生の為に、易行をすすむる方便なり。如来深重の慈悲何事かこれにしかむ。ここをもって、貴賤男女共に誠土を願ひ、浄土を欣ばしれて、遍く同志を求めむがために、遠くその霊舎を勧るに、人王三十四代推古天皇治天二十九年
の年、阿兄聖徳太子の勧誘によりて、河内国交野郡山田郷にをたつ。金堂、講堂、宝塔二基、鐘塀、経蔵、三面の僧坊、宝蔵、門等首尾五年を経て、万法蔵院と号す。則本尊救世観音の像を鋳て、寺庫に安置せられる。今これを思に、正法明如来の果位をさしをき、暫示現して、彼光の中に五道をそなへ、一切の有情を度し、遂に極楽に引接す、即得送弥陀国と云にかかへり。

Although it is said that there is no limit to the number of countries scattered like millet grain, it is [here in] the land of the rising sun where the [Buddhist] teachings circulate. Although it is said that the domains of the world are boundless, the Western Paradise is the only place suitable for people [living] in the Final Age. One is fortunate to receive life and to encounter the essential teachings of the Buddha Sākyamuni.
However, unfortunately, [people] have already fallen into extreme evil and they compete over hurrying towards trivialities.\(^{17}\) For all, dreams of fame and wealth appear to be the foundation of transience. Due to this, vainly people fall into the burning hell of desire, and are repeatedly kept farther away from the wide-open gates to the Pure Land. Hearing the proper teachings, even [those of] little faith will lose their doubts.\(^{18}\) Based on whom does one decide one’s conduct of renunciation, by means of what do [people] give up on the cause of birth in the Pure Land?

Here, at Taima-dera in the province of Yamato, because a person by the name of Chûjôhime prayed to see [Amida] in human form, a mysterious woman appeared, obtained lotus threads from ninety horseloads of lotus stalks, and wove a mandala measuring ten and a half feet.\(^{19}\) Looking at the entire mandala, it does not differ at all from the explanation in the *Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Infinite Life* (*Kanmuryôju-kyô* 観無量寿経).\(^{20}\) Four outer borders enclose the central scene, and each Buddha realm of the Nine Grades is truly distinct.\(^{21}\) One should know that people who made a pilgrimage to this place once immediately achieved birth in the Pure Land, that this doctrine [represented in the mandala] is intended for human beings of the corrupt world, and that it serves as an expedient means to provide an easy path of salvation.

What if the benevolent compassion of the Buddha has indeed spread to this place? For this reason, men and women of both high and low ranks lose interest in the defiled world and joyfully begin to aspire to the Pure Land. For those who everywhere seek the same desire, if we look for the distant origins, in the twentieth year of the reign of Empress Suiko 推古天皇 (592-628), who was the thirty-forth human ruler of Japan, due to the encouragement from her older brother, Shôtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (574-622), a temple
was built in the Yamada village of Kono district in Kawachi Province. Five years later, the temple consisted of a golden hall, a lecture hall, two pagodas, a bell tower, a sutra storage hall, a monk’s quarter, a treasure hall, a great gate, as well as other structures, and it was called Manpōzō-in.

In addition to this, a bronze sculpture of Kuze Kannon was cast and enshrined in the temple. Today, in commemoration of this [bronze sculpture], an image of Shōhōmyō Buddha is placed in this location. [This image of Shōhōmyō Buddha] is believed to bring about divine miracles. He serves as the central light [preventing beings from being reborn in] the five realms of existence in order to save all sentient beings and, in the end, to receive them in the Pure Land Western Paradise, which is also referred to as Amida’s Land of Bliss.

Scroll One, Picture One: (fig.31)

*The Building of Manpōzō-in in Kawachi Province and Imperial Visit of Prince Shōtoku*

This pictorial section opens with the imperial procession of Prince Shōtoku approaching the temple gate of the newly built Manpōzō-in in Kawachi province. Leading the procession is a group of high-ranking imperial guards on horseback. Following them on foot are various servants pointing out the way ahead, low-ranking as well as high-ranking officials, and imperial guards armed with bows and arrows. A high-ranking official on horseback and surrounded by attendants marks the end of the procession. The entire entourage is surrounding, guarding, and leading the ox cart of Prince Shōtoku on the way to Manpōzō-in. Through the open window of the ox cart we get a glance of the Prince who is seated cross-legged and covered by his robe, his hands in his sleeves, and his hair wound in coils over his ears.
Instead of portraying the building of Manpôzô-in as described in the text, portraying Prince Shôtoku’s imperial visit to this temple not only marks it as a historical event but also lends authenticity to the origin legend of this temple, which was the predecessor of Taima-dera. This authenticity of Manpôzô-in is not only emphasized by the fact that this temple is one of the forty-six temples which were constructed under the guidance of Shôtoku Taishi in the Ikaruga region during the Asuka period, but also by the association of Prince Shôtoku with Kuze Kannon, the deity originally enshrined in his temple. Kuze Kannon’s association with sacred authority and the imperial family dates to the deity’s legendary connection with Shôtoku Taishi, and images of Kuze Kannon are housed in various temples associated with or constructed under the guidance of Prince Shôtoku.26

The next scene depicts the completed Manpôzô-in temple complex itself. Within the walls of the temple precinct we see two women standing next to a three storey pagoda. One of them is a lay nun, distinguished by wearing lay clothing and a veil underneath from which her long hair is sticking out, the other one is a fully-tonsured (kanzen teihatsu 完全剃髪) nun. Our next view is that of a small building, the golden hall, which is located across from a larger building, the lecture hall. Two lay nuns are standing on the porch of the lecture hall and are trying to peek inside, whereas two other lay nuns are standing to the left of the hall facing a bell tower. A sutra storage hall is located next to the bell tower. In an open space behind the sutra storage hall we see a monk, who is holding up an open fan, in the company of an attendant carrying an umbrella and a young partially-tonsured nun (amasogi 尼削) with cropped hair (kamigiri 髪切) holding a fan. They appear to be engaged in a conversation with a high-ranking official standing across
from them and who is accompanied by an attendant carrying his sword. The official
might be informing the monk about Prince Shôtoku’s visit. The closing section of this
painting shows a monk standing on the porch of his residence and looking toward a
pagoda. While the buildings illustrated in the painting correspond to the structures
mentioned in the textual passage, what is striking about this image, however, is the
predominant presence of women in the Manpôzô-in precinct.

**Scroll One, Text Two: (fig.32)**

万法蔵院建立の後、六十一年をえて、天武天皇の御宇白鳶二年に、麻呂王子瑞夢
をえていろく、「はやくかの伽藍をあらためて、役小角練行のみぎりにうつすべし」と、此告をもつて、おはやけに奏す。すなはち三品刑部親王を遣して、遷造あるべきみことのりをくださる。ここ行者殊勝の霊夢を感し、懸懸の縁命をかたじけなくず。誠山水奇をたるはへ、草樹異をふくむ、尤その勝地たたり。

Following the establishment of Manpôzô-in, after a time period of sixty-one years had
passed, in Hakuho 2 (674), during the reign of Emperor Tenmu 天武天皇 (673-686),
Prince Maroko had an auspicious dream in which he was told: “You should quickly
change the location of this temple and move it to a place where the ascetic En no Ozune
practices,”²⁷ and he immediately reported this to the Emperor. Thus the Emperor
dispatched the Captain of Third Rank, the Imperial Prince Osakabe, and conferred an
imperial edict that the temple should be moved.²⁸ In this place, the laudable ascetic [En
no Ozune] experienced an admirable divine revelation, and expressed his gratitude
towards the courtesy of the imperial order. The many mountains and rivers provided
mystery, the plants and trees included variety; it was a scenic spot.
Scroll One, Picture Two: (fig. 33)

The Auspicious Dream of Prince Maroko and the Dispatching of Prince Osakabe to Confer the Imperial Edict

This painting depicts Prince Osakabe conferring the imperial edict that Manpōzō-in should be moved to this scenic mountain spot, and the ascetic En no Ozune expressing his gratitude towards the courtesy of the imperial order in return. While the imperial troops are resting in the shade of trees and flowering plants, Prince Osakabe, dressed in the robe of a high-ranking civil official wearing a sokutai 束帶 and a kanmuri 冠, holding a ceremonial staff (shaku 筋), and accompanied by another civil official, is engaged in a conversation with En no Ozune who is dressed in a simple robe and a feather cloak characteristic of a recluse mountain ascetic. Two ogres (oni 鬼) are kneeling next to En no Ozune; one of them is holding an ax, the other one is holding a staff. The inclusion of these two ogres in the illustration of this particular scene emphasizes the untamed nature of this legendary place and the mountain ascetic, En no Ozune, as well as the divine power associated with En no Ozune, foreshadowing the mysterious events surrounding the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala which occur later on in this narrative. The divine revelation experienced by En no Ozune as mentioned in the text has already happened prior to this scene because we see a variety of offerings and Buddhist utensils placed on a table in front of a Buddhist image inside a hermitage which is located behind En no Ozune.

Scroll One, Text Three: (fig. 34)

親王はやく遷寺のねがひをとけむとする所に、天智天皇第一の御子大友王子位をあらそふ。逆徒は多勢にしてきそひければ、官軍都に跡をとめかたし、遙よし
Once the imperial prince had quickly requested the transfer of the temple to this place, Prince Ōtomo 大友王子 (648-672), who was the first born son of Emperor Tenji 天智天皇 (r.662-671), contested the throne. Since the rebels arrived in great number, the imperial troops left the capital and set their hearts on Mount Yoshino in the far distance, and the Emperor left with them. In the village of Tahara, the Emperor presented roasted chestnuts as offerings on a serving table. The Emperor picked up a chestnut, threw it toward the West, and said: "If I can return again to the way things were, these chestnuts shall bear fruit in one single night," and after he had said this all the chestnuts bore fruit. Even today, chestnuts from this place are presented as offerings.

Upon passing through a place in the vicinity of the Yoshino River, which is called
Kuzu, the Emperor was starving and repeatedly fell from his horse. Since the rebels were already drawing near, the Emperor’s heart was greatly troubled. Here, he presented [as an offering] a fish, called a carp, which is known as a delicious thing of Kuzu. Through its power, he reached Mount Yoshino. From this time onward, people in this area have been offering this kind of fish at the Great Thanksgiving Festival (daijōsai 大嘗会) following an enthronement ceremony. Up to this present day, the descendants of this old man have the name “Kujo” [literally, “mouth help”] as their surname.

In order to demonstrate the reason that he did not aspire to the throne, the instruction that there should be an adjust renouncing of the world on Mount Yoshino, although it was said in as much as an announcement, the prince, still, would not accept the estrangement. [Moreover], the prince’s grandmother, the Empress, learned about this and placed a letter inside of a grilled carp. According to this, he put on the lower part of his hunting pants and made up his mind to leave the mountain.

Scroll One, Picture Three: (fig.35)

Emperor Tenmu Offering Roasted Chestnuts to the Gods in the Village of Tahara
& Emperor Tenmu Leaving the Mountain and Returning to the Capital

In the village of Tahara, Emperor Tenmu placed two chestnuts inside a hut, and is shown seated in front of a serving table on. Emperor Tenmu is facing out to the western direction and is throwing three chestnuts into the yard. His guards are waiting outside of the hut. Three villagers witness the miracle of the chestnuts bearing fruit. On horseback and accompanied by his imperial guards, Emperor Tenmu is leaving Mount Yoshino and returning to the capital.
He left that mountain and reached the path to Fuwa Barrier in Mino Province.

Since he was well informed of the fact that the rebels had already approached the vicinity of Madara River, he got off from his horse. There was a woman of humble birth washing clothes, and because he said: “I beseech you to save my life,” the woman hid the Emperor under a horse trough. The enemies arrived, drew their swords, and asked in an angry voice: “That’s a horse noblemen ride – where is the Emperor hidden?” The woman did not show any signs of fear and said: “I am not treacherous. This horse has been here since this morning, is it because he changed horses?” [Hiding] underneath the trough, the Emperor was secretly praying to the gods: “If I ever get out of this trouble and return back to the throne, I will quickly move and rebuild Manpôzô-in in this place.” And upon
saying this prayer, it seemed that he had indeed received the help of the gods because the rebels returned home. It is said that this woman was the God Hachiman.\textsuperscript{33}

\textbf{Scroll One, Picture Four:} (fig.37)

\textit{A Woman of Humble Birth Hiding the Emperor at Madara River in Mino Province}

This painting depicts the rebels arriving at Madara River, where a peasant woman is sitting on an over-turned horse trough washing clothes. Even though the rebels point their arrows and swords at the woman, she remains calm, continues her chore, and does not reveal the presence of the emperor. The emperor’s abandoned horse is standing in the river but the emperor is hidden from view underneath the trough.

\textbf{Scroll One, Text Five:} (fig.38)

A person, known as Taima no Kunimi, served as Chamberlain of the Third Rank in the imperial army.\textsuperscript{34} This brave soldier led more than two thousand horsemen in Yamato Province, in the vicinity of Seta Bridge in Ōmi Province, and once he encountered Prince Ōtomo’s forces here and fought against them. Shortly after he had defeated the rebels, upon the prince’s retreat to the east of Bashi, Kunimi advanced instantly and punished him with death. The Emperor heard about this and, accompanied by the imperial troops, he returned from the Fuwa Barrier and moved to Kiyomihara Palace.\textsuperscript{35} Thus, through
the performance of this meritorious martial service, it is said that the Emperor, for the second time, came to rule over the whole country.

Scroll One, Picture Five: (fig.39)

The Battle at Seta in Ōmi Province between Taima no Kunimi and Prince Ōtomo

This painting depicts the battle scene between the forces of Taima no Kunimi and Prince Ōtomo in the vicinity of Seta Bridge in Ōmi Province, showing Prince Ōtomo’s forces waving the white flag and making their way home over the Seta Bridge.

Scroll One, Text Six: (fig.40)

かくのごとくの謀叛によりて，遷造の事九箇年延引す。白鳳十年辛巳二月十五日よりはじめて，同十四年己酉にいたりて，首尾五箇年のあひだに，いにしのこことく，ことごとく成風の功終て，満月の尊を安す。ただしこの度は金堂の弥勒菩薩金色の丈六の土像なり。御心の中に，金銅一撰手半の孔雀明王の像をおさめたてまつる。そもそもこの孔雀明王は，行者大峩ををこなび紛き時，三重の滝のうへに九尺五寸の骸骨あり。左の手には念珠をもち，右の手には独鈴をにぎり，あふのがりにふしてこれあり。行者彼鈴杵をとりたまはんとするに，金剛のごとくしてはなれず。本尊不動に祈請ありけるに，明王しめしてのたまはく，「是は汝が第三世の骨なり。この山ををこなぶ事七生なり。もしとらむとおもはるに孔雀明王の法ををこなぶべき」と，すははちかの法を修して，にぎるところの鈴杵をとる。これによりて孔雀明王の像を錦て本尊とし給也。又当寺金堂のまへにおいて，ひさしく孔雀明王の秘法ををこなび給へり。かの鈴杵は大峩の三重にこめをかるとみえたり。
In these days thus, because of this rebellion, the transfer of the temple was delayed by nine years. The temple started being moved for the first time on the fifteenth day in the second month of Hakuhō 10 (682), and its move was completed in Hakuhō 14 (686) at the Hour of the Bird. Finally, after five years, like the past everything was completed beautifully and the Lord of the Full Moon was at peace. But this time, a six-foot tall gilded standing sculpture of the bodhisattva Miroku was also enshrined in the Golden Hall. Inside [of this Miroku sculpture] was placed a gilt bronze sculpture of Kujaku Myō-ō measuring one and a half hand-spans in height.\(^{36}\)

To begin with this Kujaku Myō-ō, in the past when the ascetic [En no Ozune] practiced on Ómine, there was a skeleton measuring nine and a half feet in size on top of a threefold waterfall. In its left hand, the skeleton held a rosary, in its right hand a three-pointed vajra bell, and it was lying on a green tree.\(^{37}\) When the ascetic [En no Ozune] was about to pick up this vajra bell, it was as if the great diamond strength caused him to be separated [from it]. Praying to the main icon of worship, the Bright King [Fudô Myō-ō] gave him a sign and said: "This is the skeleton of your third incarnation.\(^{38}\) You have been practicing on this mountain for seven life times. If you think that you want to take [the vajra bell], you should most quickly practice the Law of the wrathful guardian king." And then [En no Ozune] studied the Law and took the bell. Because of this, [En no Ozune] cast a statue of Kujaku Myō-ō, and made it the principal icon of worship. Also, for a long time, [En no Ozune] practiced the secret teachings of Kujaku Myō-ō in front of the temple's Golden Hall. That vajra bell can be seen placed in the three-storey pagoda at Ómine.
The Ascetic [En no Ozune] Coming Across a Skeleton at the Threefold Waterfall at Ōmine

The contents of this painting differ from those of its corresponding textual passage. Our first view is of the ascetic, En no Ozune, encountering a skeleton at Ōmine. However, contrary to what is stated in the text, the skeleton is not located on top of the threefold waterfall but on the ground below, and, instead of holding a rosary as stated in the text, the skeleton is holding a single-pointed *vajra* scepter in addition to the three-pointed *vajra* bell. En no Ozune is standing on a rock next to the skeleton, holding a rosary, and looking down on it, thinking about taking the *vajra* bell.

Then we see a group of low-ranking samurai traveling through the mountains and approaching a temple hall. This hall houses the sculptures of Fudō Myō-ō and two acolytes, which are visible through the half-open doors. One of the travelers is on horseback, the others are on foot, and some of them are carrying luggage. All of them are armed with swords. However, since these travelers are not mentioned in the text, their relationship to En no Ozune and his practice of the secret teachings of Kujaku Myō-ō is unclear.

Scroll One, Text Seven: (fig.42)

同じ十四年三月十五日開眼供養の儀式あり。導師は高麗国灌僧正これなり。もかしの万法館院をあらためて、いま禅林寺と号す。又行者伽藍守護のために、加持力をもって百済国より四天王を勧請せらる。虚空よりとひきたりて、堂内に来入し給へり。この外行者自作の妓楽妓賢あり。本尊の西のわきにたつ吉祥天女二鉾を安す、これも一鉾は行者自作なり。又うしろに講堂あり。本尊は阿弥陀如来、
On the fifteenth day of the third month in the fourteenth year of the same era, the ritual eye-opening memorial services took place. The officiating Buddhist priest was Ekan 恵薗 (?-681) from Koma Province. He changed the name of the former Manpôzô-in and now renamed it Zenrin-ji. Also, as for the sake of the temple’s protection, the ascetic [En no Ozune] had such special miraculous power, that the Four Guardian kings appeared from the kingdom of Paekche. They came from the distant sky and entered the hall.

In addition to this, the performance of gigaku 伎楽 was also the work of [En no
To the west of the main icon stood two statues of the female goddess, Kichijôten, which were also the work of the ascetic [En no Ozune]. The main icons were Amida Buddha and a small thousand-armed Buddhist statue. Also, there was a statue of the bodhisattva Myôshô in the Golden Hall and, standing to the left of it, a statue of the bodhisattva Jizô. In between these two halls, standing in the west and facing to the east, was the Thousand-armed Kannon Hall. Also, in front of the Golden Hall was a carved stone statue of the deity Hitokoto-nushi-no-myôjin. Well now, this myôjin is the direct descendant foundational Lord-protecting divinities, Ônamuchi-no-kami. This deity appeared during the reign of Emperor Yûryaku (r.456-479): when he was hunting in the mountains, an awesome man appeared and, even though the Emperor saw him, he had doubts and asked: “Who are you? What kind of strange creature are you?” and that person replied: “Emperor, announce your name first.” And the Emperor said: “I am the Lord Ôhatsuse no Wakatakeru, the twenty-second generation descendant of Onamuchi no kami.” At that time, although the god should have indeed said “Kotoshirô-nushi,” he thought that he would denote the koto and change the shiro, and replied with the one word: “I am the Lord” (nushi nari). Therefore, this deity is called Hitokoto-nushi-no-myôjin (The Bright God of the One Word). Thus, because this deity left its traces on Katsuragi mountain, this deity is also known as Katsuragi Myôjin. Also, inside its sacred stone fence, there is a place where Kumano Gongen 熊野権現 manifested itself. This temple was called Taima-dera because the child of Prince Maroko, who is also known as the child of the nobleman Taima no Toyohama, but is in fact the historical person Taima no Kunimi, based on the meritorious martial service he performed in this place, changed the name of his grandfather’s temple, and named it Taima-dera.
Kannon Hall of this temple, the weaving of the Taima mandala will take place at a later point in time which is described below.

Scroll One, Picture Seven: (fig.43)

Moving Manpōzō-in to the Mountain & The Four Guardian Kings Arriving at the Golden Hall of this Temple.

The scene depicted in this painting leads us through the main gate (sanmon 山門) of Manpōzō-in which is guarded by Kongō Rikishi 金剛力士 (Skt. Vajravira) and Misshaku Rikishi 密迹力士 (Skt. Garbhavira). Kongō Rikishi, standing to the left as one enters the gate, is the guarding king of the Daimond World Mandala and represents the power of esoterism. He is identified by having a green body, his mouth closed, his left hand lowered, and a staff in his right hand. Misshaku Rikishi, standing to the right as one enters the gate and clearly visible in this painting, is the guardian king of the Womb World Mandala and represents the power of exoterism. He is distinguished by having a red body, his mouth open, his right hand lowered, and a staff in his left hand.

Having passed through the gate, inside the temple precinct we see two monks engaged in conversation, a samurai praying in front of a temple hall, the monk Ekan, accompanied by attendants and samurai, walking toward a temple hall, and three lay nuns engaged in conversation and standing in front of a pagoda.

Our next view is of the ascetic En no Ozune who is accompanied by two ogres. The three of them are standing in front of a temple hall, but instead of looking inside the hall through the open doors, they are turning their heads to the left and witnessing the descent of the Four Heavenly Guardian Kings. Each of the guardian kings is distinguished by his attributes. Leading the descent is Bishamonten 毘沙門天 (Skt.
Vaiśravana), the guardian of the north, holding a pagoda. He is followed by Kōmokuten 広目天 (Skt. Virūpākṣa), the guardian of the west, holding a sutra scroll in his left hand and a brush in his right; Zōchōten 增長天 (Skt. Virūdhaka), the guardian of the south, holding a sword; and Jikokuten 持國天 (Skt. Dhartrāstra), holding a trident-lance in his right hand and having his left placed on his hip. This particular portrayal of the Four Heavenly Guardian Kings is unusual because, unlike in standard iconographical depictions, they do not stand on rocks and tread on demons but they are standing on clouds, resembling the iconography of Amida’s descent in raigō paintings. The painting closes with a view of a lotus pond, a large temple hall, a pagoda, and other structures in the temple precinct.

Scroll Two, Frontispiece: (fig. 44)

This raigō painting depicts the second grade or Middle class (chūbon 中品) which is reserved for followers who, having taken paths to salvation other than the exclusive devotion to Amida, have nevertheless aspired to be born in the Pure Land. The degree of perfection of the devotee in this painting is Middle-class Upper-birth (chūbon jōshō 中品上生) as stated in the inscription on the cartouche located in the top right-hand corner of the image and illustrated by the iconographical conventions of Amida’s descent, which are characteristic of this specific grade of birth. On the right, the devotee is seated on a cushion on the floor inside his residence, holding his hands in prayer, and clinging to a rosary (J. nenju 念誦). This particular depiction of the devotee holding a rosary is significant because the “Middle class” is the class of the “Disciples” (Skt. Srāvaka, J. shōmon 声聞) reserved for arhats, monks, and nuns. The standard iconographical portrayal of these disciples of the Buddha in painting, such as the Vision of Shantao
(fig.45), and sculpture, such as the Portrait of Shinran (fig.46), shows them holding a rosary. However, it is especially in images of Amida’s descent that dying monks and nuns are exclusively depicted holding a rosary (fig.47). Descending on clouds in diagonal motion from left to right toward the devotee is Amida and his host. However, in contrast to the illustration on the frontispiece of the previous scroll, this illustration of Amida’s descent lacks the palace which represents Amida’s Pure Land, Amida’s heavenly multitude of musical bodhisattvas, Fugen, Kannon, Seishi, and celestial beings. Amida is surrounded by three bodhisattvas who are holding their hands in prayer, and leading them to the devotee are two monks. This particular ensemble, called “Venerable Group of Five” (Amida Goson 阿弥陀五村), includes Amida, three deities of bodhisattva rank and two deities of monk rank. According to the specifications regarding the pictorial composition of Amida and his host in raigō paintings, as set by Genshin in his Ōjōyō-shū for the Upper, Middle, and Lower classes.

Moving from Upper to Lower class the number of deities of monk rank increase whereas the number of deities of bodhisattva rank decrease in those classes of birth. This accounts for the substitution of the two monk deities for the bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi in this raigō painting. The monk deity substituting Kannon and offering a lotus dais to the devotee is the Earth-Encompassing Bodhisattva (Skt. Ksitigarbha, J. Jizo bosatsu 地蔵菩薩), and the one substituting Seishi and holding his hands in prayer is the Indian Buddhist monk Nāgārjuna (J. Ryūju bosatsu 竜樹菩薩). This particular composition follows the tradition established by the five figures of worship depicted in the Mandala of Amida and the Four Bodhisattvas (fig.48), which is illustrated in the Kakuzen-shō 覚禅抄 (1200). Amida makes the mudra of Middle-class Upper-birth by
having his right hand pointing upward at shoulder level, his left hand pointing downward at hip level, both palms turned outward and the thumbs touching the middle fingers. The devotees born in the second grade or Middle-class, upon Amida's welcoming, will be enthroned on lotus flowers in various degrees of bloom, according to heir purity. This aspect is illustrated in the top right-hand corner of this painting by showing Amida and his host ascending from the devotee's residence on clouds, and holding a blooming lotus flowers, meaning that the devotee was very pure.

Scroll Two, Text One: (fig.49)

At the end of the Tenpyō period (729-794) during the imperial reign of Emperor Shōmu (r. 724-749), who was the forty-fifth human emperor of Japan, a wise retainer at the time was the Yokohagi Minister of the Right, Lord Toyonari.52 He acted according to the Confucian morality of filial piety, and his rule extended into all corners of the four directions. From morning to evening, he did not fail to attend to his duties in the Phoenix Palace, and he profited from the prosperity of the Imperial family.53 However, he spent
the months and years grieving about not having a child. At one time, his principal wife
retired to Hase-dera to pray for seven days. During that time, in order to accumulate
merit through prayer, with a single-steady heart she recited ‘Hail to Amida Buddha.’ And
since she prayed from morning to evening “I hail to the name of Kanzeon, the
bodhisattva of mercy.” Fulfill my small wish; answer my pledge of mercy and
compassion; grant a man of good fortune and wisdom, and a woman of right moral
conduct, your mercy,” that night she had an auspicious dream in which her wish came
ture. Overcome with joy, she returned to the capital.

Scroll Two, Picture One: (fig.50)

Retiring to Hase-dera for Prayer

This painting shows various people, including lay men and women, samurai, and
servants carrying luggage, passing through the torii of Hase-dera and making their way to
the main temple gate, which has the Ni-ō installed as guardians. Inside the temple
precinct on the right, a monk is leading a lay woman up to the platform of the main
temple hall (hondō 本堂), where various people from all social classes – but it appears to
be primarily women – are gathering and praying. On the left, a monk is leading a young
girl to the side entrance of the hall, where another monk opens the door to let them in,
probably in order for this lay woman to have a private session with the monk.

Scroll Two, Text Two: (fig.51)

その後はからざるに、懐妊の心あり、月きたる日かさなりければにや、端正有相
の女子をまうけ給ひける。まことにこれ観音大士のさつくる所なれば、花のかほ
はせ花よりもあさやかに、玉のすがた玉よりもきよし。父のおどどことに愛を
Shortly after, unexpectedly she became pregnant, and in the months passing and
the days piling up she gave birth to a girl. Since the child was conceived through
Kannon’s blessing, the child’s face was more beautiful than any flower and she was purer
than any jewel. Her father, the minister, loved her dearly and thought: “She will probably
advance to the rank of a court lady or even to that of an empress.” In the spring of the
princess’s third year, a boy was born and his looks were also very handsome. There was
nothing that could surpass the minister and his principal wife’s joy. Truly, there was
nothing in the world that compared to it.

Scroll Two, Picture Two: (fig.52)

The Birth of Chūjōhime

This scene shows the principal wife seated in a room inside her residence giving
birth to Chūjōhime. The principal wife is surrounded by various female attendants, one of
them is offering her food on a tray. Another attendant has prepared buckets of water to be
used during the birth, and an archer in the hallway is shooting his arrow, which was a
custom practiced in order to frighten away evil forces that might interfere with the
birth. Yokohagi and another courtier are sitting and waiting in another room, and outside
of the residence servants are also waiting. A servant is rushing off to deliver a message,
which is most likely the announcement of the girl’s birth, and another one arriving in
excitement because he seems to have heard about this joyful event.
Scroll Two, Text Three: (fig. 53)

しかるに姬君は七歳、おとどの若公は五歳の時、母うへ下例の儀ありて、医会のはかりことも往たよりをうしなひ、佛神のめぐみもそのしるしをかくず。日にぞへてをもくわつらひ給ふ程に、ひぞかに北のかたおとどに申させたまゆう「さてもこの世をはかなく成て、ひとり冥途へおもむかんこそ心ほどく侍れ、たとひ火の中水の底なりども、もろともにとちぎりけん。そのゆくふたたばば、死天山三途の川を送り、焰魔の庁庭までいたりたまひなむや」との給へば、おとど直衣の袖をしぼりつつ、「まことにもらともにゆく道ならばさこそなれども、隔生即亡にて生をへだてぬれば、おやをもわきまへす子をもさらにしらず。唯業にまかせてひとりゆく道ならば、みつから髪をきり、ふかき山にこもり念仏申、おなじはらすを期し侍べし。それぞ極楽の正友とも成べき事に侍れ」との給へば、うち恨みがほにて、「あはれ今生のうちきり程はかなき物はよもあらず。誰かは今はあひそびて中道のたびの友にも成るぬべき。とにかくに弥陀より外にたのみたてまつるかたなし」とて、きぬひきつきおはしうるが、やや有「人の身にもままじき物は子なり。今かくやおもひきて、念仏申往生せんとおもふ中にも、ふたりの子の事心にかかり侍りあひかまへて、我むなしくなりたりども、この人々のはたちにもならむまでは、他人に見せたまふな、くさのかげにても、うれしくおもひたてまつらん。しからずば後世をとぴ給ども、うけたてまつらじ物を」との給へば、おとどきたまひて、「君ひとりの御子にも侍らず。ゆめゆめたがふまり。心やすくおぼしめすべし」と有けばば、世にうれしひに見え給ひて、ふたりの御子たちをちかつけ、くるしげなる御こゑにて、「あはれ果報なき人かなる。たとひ後母ありともその心にしたがひにくまれ給ふな、又あひかまへて念仏申で
However, when the princess was seven and the minister’s young prince five years old, their mother became sick. The doctors’ remedies were unsuccessful, and even the benevolence of Buddhist and Shinto deities could not cure her.

One day, when her condition turned for the worst, the principal wife secretly called the minister to her side and said: “This is the end. [We pledged] that we would walk together to the afterworld, into fire, and even to the bottom of the sea, so that neither of us would be left alone. If your feelings have not changed take me to Mount Shide and the Sanzu River, and to King Emma’s court.”

While the minister was continuously wringing the tears out of his sleeve, he said: “Truly, if we could walk this path together I would, but death separates everybody and does not even spare parent and child. Since each person has to walk the path themselves based on one’s karma, you should cut your hair and recite the nenbutsu deep in the distant mountains, so that we will be born on the same lotus. In this way, we should become companions again in the Pure Land.”

With a grudge on her face she said: “How sad! There is nothing as uncertain as the promise of the present life. Not even my companion will accompany me on the road to death. I have nobody to call on other than Amida,” and she pulled her robe over her
head.

After a short while, she said: “If there is one thing a person should never have it is a child. Now, here I am trying to recite the nenbutsu with a single-steady heart to facilitate my birth in the Pure Land, but all I keep thinking about are my two children.57 If nothing else, promise me not to show the children to anybody until they are twenty years old, and I will be happy even in the shade of grasses. However, if you do not obey my wish, I will hate you [for it] from the afterworld.”

Since the Minister granted her the wish and said: “They are not only your children [but mine, too]. Never forget that. You should put your heart at ease,” the wife seemed happy and called both children to her bedside. She said in a pained voice: “There are people with all kinds of karma. However, it breaks my heart that you both are losing your mother at such a young age. So, in order for us to meet again, recite the nenbutsu and help me in the afterlife. I am worried about you children. Even on the dark path of death there are illusions.” Since it was the moment when she could no longer distinguish things, she laid down.

Thinking that it was the end, she turned toward the western direction, recited the nenbutsu, and gasped out her last breath. Even though the minister prayed to the heaven and writhed on the ground, nothing changed. In the end, when the days were sent off, he held a memorial service to send off her spirit.

*Scroll Two, Picture Three:* (fig.54)

*The Death of [Chūjōhime’s] Mother*

In a room inside the minister’s residence the principal wife, surrounded by the minister, her two children, and a female attendant, is lying on a mat on the floor. Since
the minister is already in the room and the principal wife has her back turned toward him [and toward the viewer] and her face turned toward her children, this depiction corresponds to the moment of her last conversation with her children when she asks them to recite the *nenbutsu* after she has passed on so that they will all be reunited again in Amida’s Pure Land. The mother’s head is pointing west corresponding to the instructions by the Chinese Pure Land patriarch, Shantao, that the dying should face west, visualize the coming of Amida and his heavenly host, and continually recite the *nenbutsu*, which are recorded in Genshin’s *Ōjōyōshū*.58 Genshin further quotes Shantao’s instruction that family members and other visitors who have recently consumed meat, alcohol, or the five pungent roots should be refused access to the dying because it might cause the dying to lose their concentration, allowing demons to confuse them and make them fall into the evil realms.59 This doctrinal aspect might explain the depiction of the minister, who is looking at an attendant opening the sliding door on the left and handing him food but he is not accepting it.

Placed on the veranda outside of the room is an incense burner and a water jug because it was custom to burn incense after a person’s death, and seated on the veranda outside of the building are two officials, who seem to be waiting for any news about the principal wife’s condition.

**Scroll Two, Text Four: (fig.55)**

同年の夏のごろ、左大臣諸兄公の息女をむかへ給ふ。これしかしながら二人の君達養育のためにと思食けるにこそ。此人あひなれしはじめには、誠にいとをしき物におもひて、慈念の昼のしたに夜をあかし、摩頂のひたのうへに日をくらす。
しかしといへども、女人のならびに讃曲の心おほど嫉妬の思ふかきゆへにや、よりよりおとどにさらもあらぬ事をもいひなしてこそしれりける。ここに姫君若公もやうやく九歳七歳なりしかば、さずがに人のけしきをも見しりつつ、にくみ給ふとおもひつつ、身をつつしみ心をくくだく起居振舞もあはれなり。或時北のかたおとどに申されけるは、「この君達は一定わがためにはむかしのかたぎにてやおよしなけん。きたる時はまへさまもみにくく、さら時はうしろさまもねたまし。声をきけば心をうごかし、形をみれば胸をさはがす。もしわらはを不便とおぼしみさば、この君達をうしなひ給へ。しからずばわらはにいとまをうへ給へ」と、ねたむ心のふかく、にくむおもひのすむままに、かほをあかめてをのつから声をたててなき給ふ。おとどとかくにをよはされども、一端妻の心をなぐさめむがために、

「さ程に肝にぞみをくきたまはば、御はからひにこそ」とて、袖をかほにあててしばしば物をものたまはておはしけるを、やがてまこととにとりなして、今はほいをとけんとて、都のうちになたけく物のふをめしよせて、おほくの引出物をいたし、「この人々をみきかざらむとをさきかひへ、くそくして捨置べし。是はみつからが一大事也。あひかまへて人のみみにもらえべからず」とおはせられけれども、辞するにあたはず、ふたりの御子をひとつこしにのせたてまつりて、とおき山路をさして行けるに、この君達、「わらはをばいつくべくして行ぞや」との給へば、物のふ、「これは母この御わたり候所へ」となずさめたてまつりければ、「さらばぞきゆきてみたいらせむ」とこしのうちにてよろこびぬるありさま、さながら屠所の羊にことならず、かくてはるばるとゆく程に、名にきくさへおそろしきつつらぎ山の地獄が谷へくしたてまつる。かの山は人跡たえはてて、橁子が薪をとる道さへなく、こりしきたる巖のかけに立より、こしとともにうち捨て
Around the summer of the same year, he approached the daughter of his friend, the Minister of the Left. However, he did this only for the purpose of raising his two children. In the beginning, their love was mutual, their relationship was considered something very special, they spent all night showing their affection to each other, they pledged their love and got married. Even though this is said, the woman’s behavior was false and her heart was filled with jealousy, and from time to time she told the minister lies. When the princess and the young prince were only nine and seven years old, the woman continuously showed signs of the kind of person she really was. She continuously had thoughts of hatred, watched other people, and broke [people’s] hearts. At one time, the principal wife told the minister:

“These children treat me like an old enemy, is it because they have a grudge against me from the past? When I come, they behave indecently in front of me, when I leave, they are jealous of me behind my back. When I hear their voices it moves my heart, when I see them I cannot control my feelings. If the children cause [me] more inconvenience, put
them to death. If you cannot do this, make them leave.”

Deep in her jealous heart were thoughts of hatred but with a sincere look on her face, she cried through false tears. Although the Minister did not fall short in one way or another, for the purpose of partially easing his wife’s feelings he said: “All the gods will be torn into pieces without doubt considering this plan.” He covered his face with his sleeve and, even though he repeatedly grieved over this matter, he did not intervene. Now [the principal wife] carried out her plan. She summoned a brave samurai from within the capital, brought out many gifts, and said: “Take these children to a border region far away, and leave them there. This is a serious matter, so do not let word leak out about this to anybody,” and [the samurai] could not refuse her order. He put both children into a palanquin and took them along a distant mountain path. When the children asked: “Are you indeed taking us to a place far away and are getting rid of us?” the samurai comforted them by saying: “I am taking you to the place where your mother is buried.” And overcome with joy, the children in the palanquin said: “If this is true, show it to us quickly.” But in fact the children’s situation did not differ at all from that of sheep in a slaughterhouse because after their long journey, they arrived at a place even whose hearing name is frightening – the “Valley of Hell of the Dreadful Katsuragi Mountain.”

On that mountain, where there is no sign of human habitation and no young-cut wood or firewood are found on the path, he abandoned the palanquin with the children on a cliff. The two children came out [from the palanquin], and even though they said: “we were indeed abandoned in the place where our mother rests,” there was nothing reminiscent of her and out of grief they cried: “This is indeed an embarrassing matter.” Since the day was drawing close to an end, the children returned to the palanquin. Thus the siblings
went to a high place together, and as they were about to throw themselves off, the brother stopped the sister and the sister stopped the brother, and eight or nine days passed. Their snow-like skin withered in the severe storms, their flower-blossoming faces sank in empty clouds. Oh, how sad in deed! In the past, [the children] were raised in the bedroom of a beautiful woman, now they are abandoned on top of the rock of fate. The sadness of the evanescence of life in destiny of one’s karma was indeed before their eyes.

Scroll Two, Picture Four: (fig.56)

*Valley of Hell of the Dreadful Katsuragi Mountain*

On the right, five samurai, one of them armed with bow and arrow, are descending from the mountain and making their way back to the capital. On the left, we see the two children abandoned on a cliff amidst the deep mountains and standing in front of a shrine. The wild, untamed nature and the misty clouds add an eerie feeling to the scene. Unlike the text, which states that both children were crying out of grief for their dead mother, the illustration only shows the girl crying, whereas the boy does not show any emotion of grief. This pictorial portrayal of the children’s different expressions of emotion for their mother echoes that of the scene of their mother’s passing, where it is also only the girl who cries.

Scroll Two, Text Five: (fig.57)

こゝにたれ人のきゝつたるにか有けん。この事都にかくれかなりしかば、おほやけにもきてこしめしりけり。即勧使をつかはし、かたじけなくもこの人々の姿を御覧して、竜顔に御なみだをうかべさせ給ふ。まことにかれたる木の春にあへるに似たり。
Was it because someone spread the word? When this matter was no longer hidden in the capital, even the Emperor learned about it. Thus, he dispatched imperial messengers and grateful to see the two children, even the imperial countenance shed tears. Truly, it was like a withered tree meeting spring.

Scroll Two, Picture Five: (fig.58)

[The Children] Returning to the Capital

This scene depicts a group of imperial messengers returning to the palace with the two children. Some have already entered the palace precinct, others are just approaching the main palace gate. The two children are seated inside a palanquin, which is being carried by four imperial messengers through the gate of the palace.

Then we see the minister’s residence, which is enclosed by a wall and surrounded by a garden. The minister is standing outside on the veranda and is looking into a room where the children, together with two female attendants, are seated on the ground in front of the emperor. Due to the half-raised blinds, only the emperor’s legs and arms are visible.

Scroll Two, Text Six: (fig.59)

姫君つらつらおもひ給けるは、「かくばかりうきためしに逢ぬる事も、続母のにくみふかきゆへなり。あはれまことの母世にまきまはは、かくうき事にはよもあはじ。今生にてこそ縁うすくとも、後世にはひとつ所にむまれあひたてまつるよしもがな」とぞおぼしける。九の歲、ある僧を諸し発心のやうをかたり給に、僧のいはく、「佛は三世にましませども、弥陀に深重のちかあり。ことさら五障三従の女人をむかへむとの悲願ましませば、この佛に帰し、偏に念仏したまは、かならず母とひとつ蓮にのり給へき也。このよしをときあらはせる御経をば、称
The princess thought carefully:

"The reason why I encountered this misery is because of the stepmother’s profound hatred. How sad! If I were in the same world as my real mother, such a misery would hardly occur. Though in this present life my fate is painful suffering, how I wish there were a way I could be born in a place where I will be free from suffering," she thought.

At the age of nine, she summoned a monk and asked him to tell her how one can obtain religious awakening. The monk said:

"Though the Buddha existed in three life times, it was in his life time as Amida that he made his great vow. This vow addresses especially the ‘Five Obstructions’ and the ‘Three Obligations,’ which women are faced with, and the salvation of all sentient beings. If you pay homage to this Buddha by sincerely reciting the nenbutsu, your mother will be born from a lotus. In order for this to happen, you have to recite a sutra called the Pure Land-Praising Sutra. Always recite this sutra, and you should hold a Buddhist memorial service [for your mother]."

And because he said this, soon she studied this sutra, every day she kept reading each of the sutra’s six scrolls, and prayed for the salvation of her mother. She grew tired of of the
entire world of impermanence, sincerely wished to be born in the Pure Land, and since she found no pleasure the emperor was also very worried. After that, at the age of thirteen, the princess made her great vow. That prayer was for her mother’s salvation, and she copied and dedicated one-thousand scrolls of the *Pure Land-Praising Sutra*. The emperor extended his favor to her more and more, and at the age of thirteen the princess became the Middle Captain Lady-in-Waiting [*Chûjô no Naishi*, an imperial consort], and her brother, the young prince at the age of eleven, was entrusted with the post of Lesser Captain.

**Scroll Two, Picture Six: (fig.60)**

*Chûjôhime* *Studying the Pure Land-Praising Sutra*

This painting shows the princess sitting in a room, which is furnished with sliding doors (*fusuma* 褙) and folding screens (*byôbu* 屏風), and unrolling a scroll of the *Pure Land-Praising Sutra* on a table in front of her. A monk is sitting across from her and instructing her how to recite the sutra. A female attendant is also present.

**Scroll Two, Text Seven: (fig.61)**

継母の悪心いやまずるうへに、二人の公達ともに官位をすゝめらるゝことをきゝて、「あはれ心うきことかな、もしこのまゝ世にあることもあらば、我身の末いかゝあらん」と、みつから髪をかなぐりつゝ、なき給ひけるそおそろしき。まことに嫉妬眞恵は泥楽の業とぞおぼへたる。うちかへしおもはれけるは、「さきにはなかしすてしゆへに二たびかへることもあれば、所詮この度は命をうしなはん」とぞ思ひたゝれける。「女人地獄使能断佛種子、外面似菩薩内心如夜
Since the stepmother’s malicious feeling did not stop, when she heard that the two noble children had both advanced to official posts, she said: “My heart is suffering; if things stay like this in this world, what will become of me?” She herself pulled her own hair and cried terribly. Indeed, her jealousy and anger made her think of a dirty plot.
Considering striking back, she thought: “Since the two children returned home the first time, this time my plan should not fail.” The golden rule of the Buddha states that:

“Women are the servants of hell. On the outside, they resemble bodhisattvas, on the inside they are like devils.” She was indeed such a person. After having said this, she summoned a samurai and said:

“This is the Minister’s state of affairs. At the border region of the capital there is a hunting place. Accompany the princess there to a far distant mountain ravine and kill her. If she is not left there, the Minister will be in trouble, this is a strict order. If word about this matter comes out, you should be punished for it.”

And she knew indeed how to bribe him by placing various twill embroidered brocades in front of him. The soldier immediately obeyed her strict command. Even the dreadful servants of the devil would have been overwhelmed by these various luxurious gifts. His head facing to the ground, the soldier said: “It is my pleasure to follow your command, how shall I proceed?” the principal wife responded joyfully: “Oh, how great!” Now, she had to set up the princess and get her out of the palace. Once, during the Minister’s absence at the palace, the stepmother said to the princess: “If you want to go to your mother’s grave and to present offerings in her honor, now is a good time to think about making an excursion and this person will accompany you.” The princess did not even dream of the wickedness of the stepmother’s heart, and her joy was boundless. She said: “At the age of seven, I was separated from my mother, when I was nine years old, I visited this former territory. After that, I received no sign, stayed at the palace and abstained from this place, but I would like to visit this place [now] indeed,” and she passed on her joy to everybody she met on the way. She said: “I am so overcome
with joy that my tears wet my sleeves; how can this impermanence be mistaken?” She
turned toward the stepmother, joined [her own] hands [in thanks], and left indeed. Truly,
she was frail and pitiable.

Scroll Two, Picture Seven: (fig.62)

Summoning a Samurai and Sending the Princess Away

Unrolling the scroll from right to left, we see a group of five samurai – one of
them is holding a lance and pointing inside to the palace precinct – who are sitting and
waiting outside of the main gate of the palace. Inside the residence, two samurai are
sitting next to an empty palanquin, which is intended for getting rid of the princess, and
another samurai is kneeling in front of a veranda and listening in on the conversation that
is going on inside the room through the open doors.

Inside the room, the stepmother and the princess, who has just finished studying
the Pure Land-Praising Sutra indicated by the partially unrolled sutra scroll lying on the
table in front of her, are engaged in a conversation. This is the moment when the
stepmother sets up the princess to get her out of the palace by assuring her that now is a
good time to visit her mother’s grave, because in this illustration the minister is absent
and the samurai are depicted already waiting outside to take the princess away.

Scroll Two, Text Eight: (fig.63)

「さて御興よせぬ」と申ければ、ひそかに小門より出給ふ。兵ともさらぬ程にも
てなし供奉したてまつる。はるぼると行程に、都の中もすきぬ。姫君の思食ける
は、「母の御はかへも十四年のうちたゝ一度まいりて後さすが程ぶりぬれば、い
つくとはおほえねども、かくまで遠はよもあらじ。いかなることにかと、胸打さ
はぎ物心ばそきまゝに、覚しめしあはせけるは、九歳のとき地獄が谷にすてられてしつのしきしのめぐり来て、又ニたびに成るや」と覚しもあへず。紀州在田郡鶴山のふもとにて御こしより出し奉り、御ともの物共はむなしき興ともろともに、みなみな帰つく。ものゝふ一人「おいたてまつり待るや」とまではいはむもいとゝおもはゆく、おつる涙もせきあへず。袖をおひてふし給ひしを、おさへてくし奉り、あしをばやめて分ゆく程に、とある巌にかたはらに立つよりて、すでにつるぎをぬひて害し、この巌のかけにかくし奉らんとしければ、姫君の御心のうちやる方もなくて、なくなくの給ひけるは、「我にさしたるとかなしみといへども、父のかん当をかうぶりて、この山にてなき身と成はてんことからなし。しかるに母の御為に称讚浄土経を一千巻書まいらせむと思ひたちぬるがゝき出せるをはしろしにおきめ奉らんとて、こゝに侍たるなり。我をこそうしなへと仰をかうぶる共、此御経をば母の御廟へおさめてたふべし」とて、書のこし給へる所紙と友に執出して岩のうへにをき給ひ、「われ先世の宿業つたなくして、今汝が手にかゝらんことは恨にあらず。九歳のときより悲母の御為に、毎日に浄土経六巻つゝよみてまつりて、御善提をとぶらびまいまいれつるに、今日はいまだ也。其程をまつべしや」と仰ければ、物のふもいは木ならで、太刀をさし置てけり。御経あそばさんとし給へども、さすが御険せきあへず纔三巻ばかり読み読むしてまきおさめ、西にむかひ御手をあはせ、「今此三巻のうち一巻を母聖靈往生極楽とふかうし、今一巻の功徳もつては、悲母と必ひとと蓮にむかへさせ給へ」と、掌をあはせ最後の念仏心ととにぞみえ給ひける。武士立より害し奉らんとせが、めもくれ魂もさえ、太刀のうちともみえかねば、しばしば立臥ぬ。
When she said: “Now, the palanquin has arrived,” the princess emerged from the small gate. An attendant soldier accompanied her. As they traveled farther and farther into the distance, the center of the capital disappeared [from sight]. The princess thought: “I have only visited my mother’s grave once in fourteen years, and after that one visit although much time has passed and I do not remember where it is, but it surely was not this far. What is happening? This matter touches my heart, which has already endured so much suffering. When I was nine years old, I was abandoned in the ‘Valley of the Dreadful Hell of Mount Katsuragi.’ This was my second encounter with impermanence.”

The palanquin stopped at the foot of Mount Hibari in the Arida district of Kishū, and the princess got out. Both she and the soldier attendant left the palanquin, whereas the other attendants returned with the palanquin [to the capital]. The soldier said: “It is my duty to kill you.” He stopped, thinking that he has to go a bit farther, but he was unable to hold back his tears. He covered his face with his sleeve, and quickened his pace. Standing on the edge of the rock, he had already drawn his sword and when he hid her in the shade of the cliff, the princess’s heart gave in and shedding tears she said:

“Even if you kill me for no particular reason, you received my father’s orders. There is nobody on this mountain who has the power to stop you. But for the sake of my mother, I want to copy one thousand scrolls of the Pure Land-Praising Sutra and dedicate them as an offering. Please let me have this last wish. If I should be put to the sword, I want to say these last words. I shall dedicate this sutra to the burial place of my mother.”

She got something to write and some paper, and placed it on top of a rock:

“The karma of my previous life was poor, but now my life is in your hands so do not resent me. From the time when I was nine years old, every day I recited each of the six
scrolls of the Pure Land-Praising Sutra for my dead mother, and I prayed for her salvation, but I have not yet recited it today. Can’t you wait?"

The samurai was not made of wood, and he put his sword away. Though she recited the sutra, she was unable to dam her tears, and when she finished chanting as few as three scrolls, she turned to the West, pressed her palms together and prayed: “Now, out of these three scrolls, I dedicate the first one to my mother’s birth in the Pure Land. Now, through the merit of this one scroll, I and my mother will certainly be born on one and the same lotus.” And afterwards she recited the nenbutsu. Overwhelmed by her prayer, the samurai broke down in tears, his vision blurred and his will disappeared; he put down his sword and his senses reeled.

Scroll Two, Picture Eight: (fig.64)

The Samurai Bringing the Princess to Mount Hibari

Having reached the mountain, five samurai are returning to the capital with the empty palanquin, while one samurai is carrying the princess on his back to a steep cliff high in the mountains. Then, we see the princess sitting at the edge of the cliff, seven scrolls of the Pure Land-Paising Sutra are lying in front of her, and she is reciting the sutra. The samurai is standing behind her, his face is buried in his sleeves, and he is weeping.

Scroll Two, Text Nine: (fig.65)

姫君いまやとまちまつゆに、ものをふぶふしみけるは、「是をうしなひ奉りて、観賞にあつかればとて、千年の命をたもつべしと、たすけまいらせぬるとかによりて、いかなる罪にはおこなはるとも力およばざること成べし。いかにてもして岩根木の
もともかへしをきたすけ奉らん」とおもひければ、太刀をうちすて柴の庵を引むすびて、菓をひろひ薪をとり、紀伊の路におもむきては往来のひとにあはれをえて、衣食をいとなみまいらせて日数を送りけるに、或とき都にててよりくなく知音の物に行逢て、「わが妻のもとへこの有さまをつたへよ」といひければ、落のにぼりくは敷かたるに、やがて尋いたりて、夫婦もらもとにばかりことをめくらしはこくみたてまつる。さばかりたけき物のふも、今はいつしか引かへて、情あることにこそ。

しかるに、姬君十四歳の春、ものふが身におもき病をうけて、七日と申にはかなく成にける。姬君斜ならずなけさ賜ひけれど共ちから及ばず。庵のかたはらに執出して石につみこみ、ねんころに孝養し給けり。其後かの妻に仰けるは、「いかにもして紙を尋て得させよ。かきのこせる御経一千巻を成就して、汝が亡夫の後世をもとぶらひ、また我悲母の御為にも回向せん」とおほせければ、

此女さと出て帯をたつねてまいらせたりければ、是をこしらへ木の根岩ほを机として、書写の功終たまひなむとす。ありがたきことにぞ侍ける。みやこには姫君うせ給ぬと、上下はぎあげりけれど、おとふはなをさりにぞ過させ給ひける。

With the princess still waiting, the samurai thought: “If I kill her, the reward that I would receive would never last one thousand years. How can I commit the sin of putting her to the sword? Indeed, I will hide her deep in the woods.” He whipped out his sword, put together a hermitage of brushwood, gathered fruit, and collected firewood. Since he said “I must report these circumstances to my wife,” on the highway to Kii, he sold these items to people who were coming and going, in order to make a living. After some days had passed, one time in the capital he met a good friend and said, “Convey to my
wife the state of things," and that person went up to the capital and related everything to her in detail. Accordingly, she came inquiring, and together husband and wife raised the girl. Such a noble warrior – when could one find such now – to do such a compassionate thing.

But in the spring of the princess’s fourteenth year, a heavy illness befell the samurai, and within seven days he was dead. The princess was extremely grief-stricken, and she and the wife mourned for the samurai. They dug a hole in a corner of the hermitage, filled it with stones, and kindly discharged their filial duties. After that, she asked the wife: “Please get me some paper somehow. I want to copy one thousand scrolls of the Pure Land-Praising Sutra. I will dedicate them to your dead husband in the afterworld, as well as to my mother’s salvation.” The woman left for the village and acquired the paper. In order to copy the sutra [scrolls] well, she made a desk out of rocks and wood, and copied the sutra in order to accumulate merit. This was a very happy act. In the capital, people thought that the princess had vanished, high and low were in uproar altogether, and the Minister was upset most of all.

Scroll Two, Picture Nine: (fig.66)

[Chûjôhime and the Samurai’s Wife] Discharging Their Filial Duties, Acquiring Paper, and [Chûjôhime] Copying the Pure Land Sutra

This illustration consists of two different scenes. The first one depicts the samurai selling goods to travelers who are passing by on the road to Kii. The second one shows the princess and the samurai’s wife sitting in a simple mountain hermitage at a table where the princess is copying the Pure Land-Praising Sutra for the salvation of the dead samurai. In the yard, we see the grave of the samurai.
Scroll Three, Frontispiece: (fig. 67)

This *raigō* painting differs stylistically and iconographically from the previous ones regarding the location of the devotee, the direction of Amida’s descent, as well as the poses of Amida and his host of bodhisattvas.

On the left, we see the devotee sitting at a table and reading a sutra. An official, dressed in Chinese court attire, and a monk are sitting next to him and holding their hands in prayer. The presence of the monk in this scene is significant because he represents the religious specialist (*chishiki* 知識) with whom rested the ritual control of the final moment for the dying to reach the Pure Land. Furthermore, the *chishiki’s* authority in turn served to enhance the larger religious networks in which it was embedded, such as monastic associations, *nenbutsu* societies (*kessha* 結社), frequently including lay people, or the ties between lay people and monks who served their religious needs. As documented by Hōnen in his founding regulations of the *Society of Twenty-five Meditations* (*Nijūgo sanmai-e* 二十五三昧会) the dying and the *chishiki* are to be fellow monks, but later this rule extended to include monks serving as *chishiki* for lay people.

On the right, Amida and his host, consisting of only three bodhisattvas in this image which indicates that the believer belongs to the lower class, descend on clouds. In contrast to the *raigō* paintings of the first and second scrolls, which show Amida and his host standing, here all the figures are seated on lotus dais on clouds. As pointed out previously, the standing depiction of Amida and his host is characteristic of *raigō* images of the Jōdo Shinshū, which was founded by Shinran (1173-1262) 観鸛. Depictions of Amida and his accompanying bodhisattvas in seated pose is characteristic of images of the Jōdo Shū, which was founded by Hōnen (1133-1212) 法然. Therefore, this difference
regarding the poses of Amida and his host suggests that the artist who was in charge of this last raigō scene differed from the artist who painted the previous two raigō scenes in terms of religious affiliation. Furthermore, accounting for a different hand in this last scroll is also the reversal of the direction of Amida’s descent suggesting a Chinese influence because in China Amida’s Paradise is believed to be in the east and in Chinese raigō paintings Amida descends from the right. As I will show in my discussion of the calligraphers and artists involved in the production of the Taima-dera engi emaki, the first two scrolls were produced solely by the painter Tosa Mitsumochi 土佐光茂 (1496-1522), whereas the last scroll was influenced by the hand of the Buddhist painter Rinken 琳賢 (active 1530-1553), who was associated with both the Imperial Painting Bureaus at Tōdai-ji and Kōfuku-ji, and was trained in the Chinese tradition.65

This raigō painting depicts the third or lower class (gebon 下品) (fig.68), which is the class of the contemplation of the laity. It is reserved for those who have sinned greatly, but who have nevertheless been instructed in the Buddhist teachings and, even if only once, have chanted Amida’s name (nenbutsu 念仏) at the moment of their death. The degree of perfection of the devotee in this painting is Lower-class Upper-birth (gebon jōshō 下品上生) as stated in the inscription on the cartouche located in the top right-hand corner of the image and illustrated by Amida’s mudra characteristic of this specific grade of birth. Amida makes the mudra of Lower-class Upper-birth with his right hand pointing upward at shoulder level, his left hand pointing downward at hip level, both palms turned outward and the thumbs touching the ring fingers.66

In front of the residence of the devotee we see three men burning incense, which is a customary deathbed ritual as encountered previously in the illustration of the death of

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Chûjôhime’s mother, and a fisherman standing in a river and catching fish. Particularly the inclusion of the fisherman, who symbolizes the laity, is reminiscent of the depiction of the grade of Lower-class Lower-birth in the bottom horizontal row of the Taima mandala (fig.68) which shows people engaged in various everyday duties, such as selling goods, emphasizing that this is the class of the laity.

**Scroll Three, Text One: (fig.69)**

姫君十五歳の春のごろ、大臣の御内に侍る人、「わたくしの所領のうち、在田の郡に深山あり。南は熊野をさかひ、北は芳野にとなる。その間に人跡たてて翠煙なし。尤よきかりくらにて侯」と申けるに、大臣はもとより狩をこのまへば、やがてかの所へくだり、かりしけありき絵に、奥ふかきたよりはるかに香花のごほひしければ、あやしみつり分入て見絵に、草のいひとりかすかにして、箒の水のたえだかなる、世をすて人のすみかならんとみゆ、おもひかげずあはれにて、駒ひきよせ御覧しうるに、人こそにおどろきて姫君さしいで絵ぬ。大臣、「ふしぎかなかかる所は沙門のかくれかにや」とおもへば、さはなくして容色美類なる女のかたちの見ゆるこそ不審なれ、「これは山神木だまなとやうのものゝわが心をたふらかさんとおもむらにこそ、いださばこゝろみむ」と上矢のかふらをとりてうちつかひ、「いかなる化生のものにもあれ、豊成が矢さきをのがるべからず。名のらはたすけむだに物ぞ」とおほせけば、姫君おそろしさのあまりに、「私はこれ都にきこえ給ふ右大臣藤原朝臣豊成公の息女なり。継母のばかりことによりて、この山にて説せられべかりつるを、ものゝふにたすけられても、かひなき命なかからへぬるなり」との給すれば、大臣ころびおちてたがひに親子の縁ふかき事をぞよるこび給ける。すなはち都に具したてまつり絵へば、みかどきこしめし、

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Around spring, when the princess was fifteen years old, a person who served in the palace of the Minister said:

"In my domain, in the district of Arida, are remote mountains. The south borders on Kumano, and the north adjoins to Yoshino. In that space, human habitation ceases and there is no vegetation. It is just an outstanding natural hunting place."

And needless to say, the Minister since from before liked hunting. Shortly after he arrived at that place, hunting here and there, he noticed the fragrance of flowers and incense coming from the far distant mountains and, wondering if this could be real, he forced his way through to have a look. At a dim hermitage made from brushwood, water flowed out from a bamboo pipe, appearing like a man-made place. Might a person live here? While he was pondering, unexpected he saw a horse pulling up, was astonished to hear the voice of a human being, and then the princess appeared. The Minister thought: "How mysterious! Such a place must be the hiding place of a Buddhist monk." But this was not the case and upon seeing the shape of a beautiful woman he became indeed suspicious.

"This is the mountain god true spirit or something like it that certainly deceives my heart, and it is tempting my feelings." He picked up [his] arrow and since he said: "Whatever kind of creature you are, you cannot escape Toyonari's arrow; saying your name is the only thing that can save you," the princess, still in a state of fear, said:

"I am the daughter of the Fujiwara Minister of the Right, Lord Toyonari, who is well-known in the capital. Due to the plot of my stepmother, I was abandoned and left to be slain on this mountain, but a samurai rescued me, and despite of all this karma I am living
my worthless life.”

The Minister got down, and mutually fell into each other’s arms, and both parent and child were overjoyed about their reunification. Then, they returned together to the capital, word about this reached the Emperor, she took up residence again in the palace, and the emperor was overcome with joy.

Scroll Three, Picture One: (fig. 70)

*Lord Toyonari Hunting at Mount Hibari, Meeting the Princess, and Their Return to the Capital*

This painting shows the Fujiwara Minister of the Right, Lord Toyonari, and his guards – all of them being armed with bows and arrows and dressed in hunting clothes – traveling through the mountains on their hunting trip. Toyonari, who is leading the group of hunters, has stopped in front of a simple hermitage which is partially surrounded by a bamboo fence. Inside the fenced yard are standing the princess and the wife of the samurai, who are looking at Toyonari and his entourage and vice versa. Through the open bamboo doors, we see two unfinished scrolls and an ink stone placed on a table inside the hermitage, indicating that the princess was just in the act of copying the sutras when Toyonari appeared. Four scrolls, which have already been completed, are placed on another table that is pushed towards the back wall of the room.

Following this surprise encounter between parent and child, the princess is carried in a palanquin and accompanied by Toyonari and his entourage to the palace in the capital. Inside the palace precinct, through the pulled-up blinds we see the princess sitting in front of a table and laboriously copying sutras inside her room. Two female attendants are sitting next to her.
次の年、弟の少将十四歳にして、俄心地そこなびて、いまだ日かずもつもらざるにかくれ侍ぬ。御門もいとかなしねうし給ひければ、御歓の色あさからず。大臣のかなしみたとへんかたなし。中将姫の心のうちさこそおはしけめ、世中いとゝはかなき物にぞおぼしめくらしける。しかるに此年の夏の比、後にたち給ふべききこえありければ、姫君偏に無常の観念をわずれず、「今日は十善万乗の位にひととくすども、明日は三界六趣の巻にかへらん事うたがひなし。しかしこ鳳城のまじはりを厭んには」洛中を忍び出手当麻寺にいたり、ある坊にたちよりて剃髪せんことをこぶ。僧すがたをあやして、たやすくるるさず。姫君、「出家をとけざるはうらみなり」といへども、閑居にかくるゝをもってよろこびとして、一心に弥陀の願力をたのみ、多念に安養の浄剎をもとむ。薰修漸くかさなり信心尤ふかし。此年十六歳六月のごろより、称讃浄土経一千巻の書写あひのこるところ成就し、開題供養をとけて寺の経蔵に安置せられ。

The following year, when her brother the Lesser Captain was fourteen years old, he was struck by a sudden disease, though the number of days [of his life and career] had not yet piled up. Since the Emperor also loved him very much, his grief did not fade away. The Minister’s sadness did not compare[to anything else]. The [memory of her brother] continued to live on in Chûjôhime’s heart, and she recalled that in this world all things are transient. However, in the summer of this same year, when word came about that she should be elevated to the rank of Empress, the princess had not forgotten about the notion of the transient nature [of life] and said: “Even though today I
ascend to the throne of the ten virtues and the thousand powers, tomorrow I will sink to
the bottom of the Six Paths of the Three Realms. And yet, I am tired of life in the
palace.” And she snuck out from the capital, went to Taima-dera, stopped at a monk’s
quarter, and begged him to be ordained. The monk refused to ordain her because her
figure looked very suspicious. Even though the monk said:
“You can’t take the tonsure but you can seclude yourself at home,” the princess was
delighted to hide in solitude, and with a single steady heart she asked for the power of
Amida’s prayer, and requested to enter his Pure Land of Bliss. Through this practice her
faith became strong. Around the sixth month of this same year, at the age of sixteen, she
completed copying one thousand scrolls of the Pure Land-Praising Sutra, dedicated them
[to the temple] in the opening prayer of the memorial service, and enshrined them in the
temple’s sutra storage hall.

Scroll Three, Picture Two: (fig.72)

Dedicating the Pure Land-Praising Sutra [to the Temple] in the Opening Prayer of the
Memorial Service

An old woman supporting herself on a walking stick, two lay nuns, and two
samurai are making their way from the torii to the main gate of Taima-dera. Passing
through the gate, which is guarded by the Ni-ō on both sides, we see the princess and a
female attendant engaged in a conversation with the monk, representing the textual
passage where the princess is begging the monk to be ordained. Dressed in a formal
twelve-layer robe (jūnihitoe 十二単) and wearing her hair long, the princess displays all
external characteristics of a court lady. Her outer appearance clearly distinguishes her
from the attendant, the old woman, and the two lay nuns, which explains the monk's
hesitation to ordain her, as stated in the text.

The next scene depicts the memorial service at Taima-dera. On the right, we see a
tent from the outside, which provides shelter for the participants of the ceremony from
the sun, and the aureoles of three Buddhist sculptures from the back. In the back, we see a
large group of monks standing underneath a wooden roof. In the center, two performers,
dressed in ceremonial costumes, are performing a ritual dance on a wooden stage.

On the left, groups of lay women are seated on both the left and right side of the
veranda in front of the open temple hall. Inside the hall, we see two monks, one on the
left and one on the right, who are seated at a table on which are placed several Buddhist
ceremonial utensils. On the bottom left of the scene, through the open doors and raised
blinds of a side chamber, the princess, who is accompanied by a female attendant, is
sitting behind a screen and reciting prayers.

The next four textual and pictorial passages, which describe the miraculous
creation legend of the Taima mandala and the heroine's attainment of birth in Amida's
Pure Land, are identical to the narrative in the Taima mandala engi emaki and are
therefore not significant for my discussion of the expansion of Chûjôhime's story.
Following is the translation and analysis of the final passages of the Taima-dera engi
emaki.

Scroll Three, Text Seven: (fig. 73)

抑迎講の法事は、みなもと恵心の先徳、比叡山にしておこなひはじめ給ふ時、寛
印供奉常にこれを心にうけがひたまはずといへども、有時この行事まことしに奇瑞
あたらにして、虚空に香ふり異香薫して、来迎のよそほひあることをみて、現に
Well now the mukaekō Buddhist memorial service,\textsuperscript{69} even though it is said that [this ritual] always complied with the central characteristics set forth by its founder, the virtuous monk Eshin,\textsuperscript{70} when it was first performed on Mount Hiei, at one time this ritual was truly in the light of the good omen of the wonder-working gods; in the empty sky it rained flowers which were scented with different kinds of fragrances and, seeing this [good omen] which is the disguise of [Amida's] coming to welcome, is actually the reason for impressing upon the Buddhist faith. Today, the Dharma Association of this temple is the place where the replica of this Yokogawa Gedai-in [is located]. The magnificence of this [Buddhist] paradise can not be usually seen, and the court music and dance (bugaku 舞楽) of the defiled world is a sign of [the vision of this paradise] the dying should have at the moment of death; it is truly an expedient means of great compassion and good virtue.

However, this is the way in which Sākyamuni taught his great vow, namely that Amida attained birth in the Pure Land and is coming from his Pure Land in order to
welcome [the devotee at the moment of death]. He invites [the faithful] to that place, and here benevolent people indeed attain nirvana. Therefore, men and women who pay homage [to Amida] are converted and there is no doubt about them attaining birth in various ranks in this Buddhist paradise. This experience impresses upon the adoration of priests and laity, and this raigô performance reveres [Amida’s] written vow. Well, based on this, for the benefit of extending the merit [obtained] into the ten directions and spreading it throughout town and country, these three scrolls were produced, and it is a matter of state to encourage this faith of Buddhist salvation.

Scroll Three, Picture Seven: (fig. 74)

The Buddhist Ritual Performance of Amida’s Coming to Welcome

On the left, we see various monks, dressed in formal robes and seated cross-legged with two legs bent and the feet resting on the ground (yūga-za-zō 優雅座像), inside a roofed structure. While the monks are either holding a rosary or are having their hands in the prayer (Skt. Añjali, J. gasshō-in 合掌印) or in the meditation mudra (Skt. Dhyâna, J. jō-in 定印), the head monk, who is seated in the center of the front row on a pedestal, is holding up a sutra scroll and reciting it. In front of him, placed on a table, is a sculpture of a monk or nun seated in yūga-za with hands in prayer, symbolizing the devotee at the moment of death. Surrounding the roofed structure, in which the monks are seated and in front of which the sculpture of the devotee is placed, called the Hall of the Defiled World (shhabadô 娑婆堂), are lay men and lay women sitting on the ground and attending the mukaekô ceremony.

On the left, we see various monks sitting inside the main hall (mandaradô 曼茶羅
堂 or gokurakudō 極楽堂) and playing musical instruments, such as the koto, shō, flute, and drum. Outside, a large wooden sculpture of Amida making the raigō mudra of “upper-class upper-birth” and standing on a lotus dais is placed on the veranda in front of the hall. Rays of light radiate from his usnisa, and flower petals are falling down to the ground, symbolizing the rain of scented flower petals as mentioned in the text. In front of the mandarado are seated various lay nuns and monks, as well as samurai and high-ranking officials, who are witnessing the ceremony.

Descending from the mandarado to the shabado is a group of bodhisattvas led by Kannon, who is offering an empty lotus dais to the sculpture of the devotee on which he will carry the soul of the dead to the Pure Land; Seishi, who is having his hands in prayer; and Fugen, who is holding a canopy. The bodhisattvas make their way from the mandarado to the shabado in a dance-like fashion and play musical instruments, symbolizing the heavenly sound accompanying Amida’s descent. Two bodhisattvas resembling monks mark the end of the procession.

1.3 Investigation into the Production and Patronage of the Taima-dera engi emaki

The Taima-dera engi emaki marks an important point in the development of Chūjōhime’s legend from the Kamakura to the Muromachi period because it is the earliest extant textual and visual record which combines the heroine’s religious experiences at Taima-dera with an earlier narrative of her childhood. The newly added narrative concerning Chūjōhime’s childhood, as illustrated in the Taima-dera engi emaki, focuses on the death of Chūjōhime’s mother, her abuse at the hands of her wicked stepmother, both her and her brother’s abandonment on Mount Katsuragi, the children’s return to the capital and them entering the service of the
emperor, Chûjôhime’s abandonment and intended execution on Mount Hibari, her reunification with her father, and their return to the capital.

According to previous scholarship, the expansion of the narrative of Chûjôhime’s legend – particularly the addition of the heroine as an ill-treated stepchild – was largely influenced by Zeami’s 世阿弥 (1363-1443) noh plays *Taema* 当麻 and *Hibariyama* 雲雀山. In contrast to *Taema*, where the *kyōgen* includes the story of Chûjôhime’s abandonment on Mount Hibari due to the plot of her wicked stepmother but is otherwise identical to the Kamakura-period *Taima mandala engi emaki* version of her legend, *Hibariyama* lacks any references to Taima-dera and the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala, portraying Chûjôhime’s narrative as that of a child who lost her mother at an early age, was ill-treated by her wicked stepmother and abandoned on Mount Hibari, but in the end happily re-united with her father. The contents of these two noh plays circulated widely during the Muromachi period, particularly through the practice of story telling (*etoki* 絵解) by wandering monks (*hijiri* 聖) who traveled along the pilgrimage routes.

However, this interpretation of Zeami’s noh plays being considered the primary sources for the expansion of Chûjôhime’s legend is problematic because the *Taima-dera engi emaki* is an account of female salvation and, as I will show in my analysis below, served foremost the function of religious propagation of faith in Amida and the Taima mandala. Therefore, I suggest that the expansion of the narrative of Chûjôhime’s legend exceeded a purely entertaining purpose and was rather closely connected to certain doctrinal aspects illustrated in the Taima mandala.

This chapter situates the *Taima-dera engi emaki* within the socio-historical and
religious context of the Muromachi period. It aims to interpret the significance of the insertion of the newly added narrative of Chûjôhime’s childhood experiences for this Buddhist tale of female salvation. What were the sources, other than Zeami’s noh plays, that gave rise to the expansion of Chûjôhime’s legend in the Muromachi period? What is the relationship between the narrative of Chûjôhime’s childhood experiences and the teachings illustrated in the Taima mandala, and how does it emphasize gender as a central conditioning factor in the evolution of the texts and images that constitute Chûjôhime’s legend as a didactic Buddhist tale of female salvation?

I will argue that the expansion of Chûjôhime’s legend, particularly the insertion of the narrative of the heroine’s suffering as an ill-treated stepchild and her abandonment on Mount Hibari found in all versions of Chûjôhime’s story dating from the Muromachi period onward, originated from a religious commentary on the Taima mandala and is closely linked to the narrative of Queen Vaidehi. Since the Taima-dera engi emaki is an account of female salvation, and the stories of both Queen Vaidehi and Chûjôhime serve as didactic Buddhist sermons in order to popularize the Pure Land faith and to emphasize women’s capability of attaining enlightenment through faith in Amida, the source for this expanded and newly added narrative of Chûjôhime’s childhood experiences, as illustrated in the Taima-dera engi emaki, must be closely connected to the teachings visualized in the Taima mandala.

A.) Cultural Setting

The Muromachi period (1336-1573), also known as Ashikaga period after the ruling shogunate, received its name from the district in which its headquarters were
located in Kyoto after the third shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408),
established his residence in 1378. The early Muromachi period (1336-1392) is also
referred to as the Period of the Northern and Southern Court (Nanbokuchô 南北朝) in
which two imperial courts existed, the Southern court in Yoshino and the Northern court
in Kyoto, and the late Muromachi period (1467-1573) is also called The Warring States
Period (Sengoku jidai 戦国時代) because it was an era of long civil war.\textsuperscript{80}

The Muromachi bakufu was officially established in 1336 by the first Muromachi
shogun, Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358).\textsuperscript{81} In contrast to the Kamakura bakufu,
which had existed in equilibrium with the imperial court in Kyoto, the Muromachi bakufu
took over the remnants of the imperial government. However, the Muromachi bakufu did
not match the strength of the earlier Kamakura bakufu, and the country was in a constant
state of civil war. It was not until the rule of the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu that a
balance in power was established between the shogun and the daimyô, and Yoshimitsu
successfully reunited the Northern and Southern courts in 1392, with the Northern court
maintaining control over the throne thereafter.\textsuperscript{82} Following Yoshimitsu’s rule, the line of
shoguns weakened and lost power to the daimyô, and the Ashikaga family’s shogunal
succession problems as well as the succession dispute between the Hosokawa and
Yamana shugo houses, resulted in the Ônin War (1467-1477), which left Kyoto
devastated and ended the Ashikaga hegemony.\textsuperscript{83}

However, the Ônin War not only brought political instability and destruction, but
also gave rise to new structures that were to support a new centralized order. While
provincial daimyô, such as the Shimazu, Takeda, and Imagawa – having ruled their lands
under the authority of not only the Ashikaga shogunate but also under the preceding
Kamakura shogunate - established their own independent domains, other *daimyō*, such as the Hosokawa, Shiba, and Toki found their lands taken over by their own subjects and retainers, like the Oda and Saito Dosan, who became the new *sengoku daimyō*.\(^{84}\)

Furthermore, peasants throughout Japan united with monks of the Pure Land Buddhist sect to form sectarian resistance groups, called *ikkō ikki* 一向一揆, to revolt against the rule of the *daimyō*. It was particularly this Ikkō Buddhist sect, as the Jōdo Shinshū was then known, which gained popularity in the Muromachi period and in 1532 established their new headquarters at Ishiyama. From the battle of Tayagawara in 1481, through the battle of Tagaojo in 1488, to encounters in 1506 at Kuzuryugawa and Hanyano, and on to the later battle at Sendanno in 1536, *ikkō ikki* activities kept the provinces of Kaga, Etchu, Echizen and Echigo in uproar, adding to the already unstable country during The Warring States period.\(^{85}\)

However, in spite of all these hardships resulting from the Ōnin War and The Warring States period, the court remained a significant patron of the arts and poetry, which flourished under such figures as Sōgi 宗祇 (1421-1502), Sōchō 宗長 (1448-1532), and Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455-1537). Particularly after the Ōnin War, Emperor GoTsuchimikado 後土御門天皇 (r. 1464-1500) sponsored the production of copies of Japanese classics and held *ren*ga gatherings at court.\(^{86}\) This revival and preservation of Japanese classics, including tales and temple legends, played an important role for the production of the *Taima-dera engi emaki*.

The *Taima-dera engi emaki* was created because of the petition of the monk Shunzan Sōin 春山宗胤 (?-1547), as is stated in the postscript of the last scroll:

此絵巻者、本願宗胤法師勘発之処、絵所頒光茂豫称有霊夢、不受
This engi was created because of the vow of the temple solicitation master, the monk Sōin. The head of the Imperial Painting Bureau, [Tosa] Mitsumochi, because he had a divine revelation in a dream, did not accept the payment of gold coins and finished [painting] the pictures of the three scrolls immediately. Was it indeed [the power of] the expedient means of the Great Sage which served as a new motive for the production of the pictures, [like] the reflection of the moon in water, for an old and new heroic tale of praiseworthy deeds? Much more, however, the respectful words of the imperial letter attached [to this scroll] cannot deny [the fact] that this temple’s precious treasure throughout the ages has evoked curiosity beyond comparison in the whole country. This entry was written during the first ten days of the third month of winter of Kyōraku 4 (1531) by the old monk Gyōkū Shōyōin. Sōin, who was the head priest in charge of the temple solicitation campaigns (kanjin 勧進) at Taima-dera during the Kyōraku 享禄 (1528-1532) and Temmon 天文 (1532-1555) periods, played a central role in the restoration and revival of Taima-dera, which was left in ruins by the upheavals of the Sengoku period. In 1528, Sōin became the temple petitioner and he had a stone pagoda built next to the Mandala Hall in dedication to Amida. In the same year, he also commissioned the repair of the altar on which the shrine cabinet housing the Taima Mandala stood. However, his greatest achievement as head
monk of the temple solicitation campaign was his commission of the production of the
Taima-dera engi emaki, which was completed in 1531.\textsuperscript{91}

As pointed out in the previous chapter, Taima-dera was a branch temple of
Kôfuku-ji and therefore closely affiliated with Tôdai-ji.\textsuperscript{92} This affiliation is significant
regarding the production of the Taima-dera Engi Emaki because Yûzen 祐全 (?-1560),
who was the head priest in charge of the temple solicitation campaign at Tôdai-ji,
served as the intermediary between Sôin and Sanjônishi Sanetaka, and, as recorded in the
Diary of Sanjônishi Sanetaka, he also provided funding for the project through his
connection with Tôdai-ji. The Diary of Lord Sanetaka (Sanetaka kõki 実隆公記),
which Sanetaka kept from 1474-1535, is the longest and most detailed of all extant
Muromachi-period courtier kanbun diaries, and serves as an invaluable source for the
socio-historical, political, cultural, and artistic activities that took place during the
Sengoku period.\textsuperscript{93} Since Sanetaka was one of the calligraphers who wrote the textual
passages for the last scroll of the Taima-dera Engi Emaki, his diary is the only extant
document recording details regarding the production of the last scroll.\textsuperscript{94}

According to the diary entries, Sanetaka saw Taima-dera’s death registry, which
he was asked to copy, on the first day of the ninth month of 1530. Following an
inspection of Taima-dera’s precious treasures – including one of the thousand scrolls of
the Pure Land-Praising Sutra which Chûjôhime is said to have copied as mentioned in
the Taima-dera Engi Emaki, her nun’s stole, a lotus flower, and a rosary – on the
sixteenth day of the ninth month, he accepted an imperial command, and on the twentieth
day of the twelfth month he completed writing Taima-dera’s death registry. On the
seventeenth day of the fifth month of 1531 Yûzen ordered the production of the texts for
the first and last scrolls of the *Taima-dera Engi Emaki*. Between the seventeenth day of the sixth month and the seventh day of the eighth month, the texts and pictures for the last scroll were completed. On the fifteenth day of the first month of 1532 a final textual and pictorial section for the revival of the mukaekō was added, upon which the scroll painting was completed.

Based on these entries in the *Diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka*, Yūzen, acting as the intermediary between Sōin of Taima-dera and Sanetaka, played an important role in the production of the *Taima-dera engi emaki*. Sanetaka was likely singled out by Yūzen to spearhead the production of the *Taima-dera engi emaki* because of his reputation as a skilled poet and calligrapher, as well as his intimate relationship with the imperial court.⁹⁵

Sanetaka, who was the son of the third head of (Fujiwara) Sanjōnishi Kin’yasu 三条西公保 (1398-1460), was introduced to the imperial court through his uncle, the court poet Kanroji Chikanaga 甘露時親長 (1424-1500).⁹⁶ Following the end of the Ōnin War in 1473, Sanetaka received frequent commissions from Emperor GoTsuchimikado 後土御門天皇 (r. 1464-1500) to copy poetry anthologies, classic tales, and court literature; in 1474 he instructed GoTsuchimikado’s son, the future Emperor GoKashiwabara 後柏原天皇 (r. 1500-1526), in the classics; and he also served as a scribe for renga gatherings held at the imperial palace.⁹⁷ Sanetaka’s marriage to the daughter of the courtier and poet, Kajūji Norihide 勧修寺教秀 (1426-1496), strengthened his connections with the imperial court even more because Emperor GoTsuchimikado, as well as Emperor GoKashiwabara, married sisters of Sanetaka’s wife, and out of the marriage between Emperor GoKashiwabara and the sister of Sanetaka’s wife was born
the future Emperor GoNara 後奈良天皇 (r.1526-1557), who was also one of the calligraphers who participated in the production of the *Taima-dera Engi Emaki*.98

The participation of Emperor GoNara, the Imperial Princes Sonchin and Genin, high-ranking members of the Konoe and Sanjônishi families – Konoe Hisamichi and Taneie, Sanjônishi Sanetaka, and his sons Kôjun and Kin’eda – and the head of the Imperial Painting Bureau, Tosa Mitsumochi, in the production of the scroll painting is also recorded in detail in the postscripts attached to the end of each of the three scrolls of the *Taima-dera Engi Emaki*.99

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Taima-dera was founded in 612 by Emperor Yômei’s 用明天皇 (r.585-587) third son Prince Maroko.100 Taima-dera has prospered under Fujiwara patronage ever since its establishment, and it was especially after periods of war, as for example following the Jinshin Rebellion of 672, the Jôkyû Rebellion of 1221, and after the Ônin War (1467-77) – the time period of the production of the *Taima-dera Engi Emaki* – that the ruins of the temple were revived due to imperial patronage.101

Moreover, the connection between the Fujiwara and Taima-dera further lends authenticity to the episodes of the foundation legend of Taima-dera. The addition of the lengthy and detailed narrative of Taima-dera’s establishment, particularly the episodes of Prince Shôtoku’s visit to Manpôzô-in, Emperor Tenmu’s order to move the temple to a sacred place associated with En no Ozune following Prince Maroko’s auspicious dream, the rebellion of Prince Ôtomo, Emperor Tenmu’s flight to Mount Yoshino and his rescue and return to power, all of which are illustrated in the first scroll, function as historical records and add credibility to the miraculous creation story of the Taima
In addition to providing credence to the miraculous events surrounding the establishment of Taima-dera, faith in the Taima mandala and the teachings of the Pure Land sect also played an important role for the involvement of Emperor GoNara, the calligraphers, and the painter of the Taima-dera engi emaki. Records state that on the ninth day of the tenth month of 1491 the Taima mandala (kenpō mandala 健保曼荼羅), was shown to Emperor GoTsuchimikado. In 1503, the kenpō mandala was returned to Taima-dera and its copy, the bunki mandala 文亀曼荼羅, kept at Kōfuku-ji. In the same year, Emperor GoKashiwabara added a gold inscription to the bunki mandala for the salvation of his mother. Although the entries do not mention Emperor GoNara in conjunction with the Taima mandala, since he was also a Pure Land sect devotee, it can be assumed that he, like his ancestors, might have seen copies of the Taima mandala or heard sermons on the essential teachings of the Taima mandala. Moreover, all of the calligraphers who participated in the creation of the Taima-dera engi emaki, including Sanjōnishi Sanetaka himself, were Pure Land devotees, which might have also facilitated their involvement in the scroll production in terms of personal faith.

In conjunction with the revival of the Taima mandala and its miraculous origin story at Taima-dera, according to an entry recorded on the fifteenth day of the first month of 1532 in the Diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, following the completion of the three scrolls, it was decided by Yūzen and Kōjun that one more textual and one more pictorial section should be added to the last scroll in order to revive the mukaekō at Taima-dera. This addition of the mukaekō plays a central role in the expansion of the narrative of Chūjōhime’s legend because it is a Buddhist ritual performance characteristic of
Taima-dera which relates directly to Genshin’s teachings essential for birth in the Pure Land as stated in his Ōjōyōshū 往生要集, as well as to the doctrines illustrated in the Taima mandala, and – most important – the mukaekō is the re-enactment of Chūjōhime’s attainment of birth in Amida’s Pure Land, emphasizing the significance of the heroine’s devotion to Amida for this Buddhist tale of female salvation.

But what were the sources that gave rise to the addition of the expanded narrative of Chūjōhime’s mother’s death, her abuse at the hands of her wicked stepmother, her and her brother’s abandonment on Mount Katsuragi, her second abandonment and intended execution on Mount Hibari, and her reunification with her father to the miraculous origin legend of the Taima mandala as depicted in the Taima-dera engi emaki? How does this addition of the narrative of the heroine’s childhood experiences emphasize gender as a central conditioning factor for Chūjōhime’s legend as a Buddhist tale of female salvation?

1.4 The Expansion of Chūjōhime’s Legend: Taema, Hibariyama, and the Taima mandala sho

In conjunction with the revival of Japanese classics and poetry, the Muromachi period also witnessed the emergence of another courtly art, the noh theatre. Under the patronage of the shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408; r. 1368-1394), who saw his first performance of sarugaku 猿楽 (an early form of the noh drama) performed by Kanami Kiyotsugu 観阿弥清次 (1333-1384) and his son Zeami Motokiyo 世阿弥元清 (1363-1443) at the Imakumano Shrine in Kyoto in 1374, noh flourished as an art form among the courtier and warrior elites.106 Entries in the Diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka record that Sanetaka and other members of his circle sought escape from the
harsh realities of life through a seemingly constant round of parties, noh performances, poetry gatherings, and other forms of courtly entertainment.  

Prior to the production of the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, two noh plays attributed to Zeami – *Taema* and *Hibariyama* – circulated. In *Taema*, a Pure Land sect monk makes a pilgrimage to Taima-dera. At the same time, an old nun, who is visiting the temple for a Buddhist service, tells the monk about the legend of Taima-dera and the story of Chūjōhime’s devotion to Amida which led to the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala. While the old nun tells the story to the monk, she changes into a manifestation of the bodhisattva Kannon and disappears. Then the princess herself appears and dances.

The fact that the narrative of Chūjōhime’s abandonment on Mount Hibari due to the slander of the wicked stepmother, her reunification with her father, and return to the Nara capital does not appear in the central plot, but only in the *kyōgen* indicates that the narrative of the princess as an ill-treated stepchild is a later addition to the core narrative of Chūjōhime’s devotion to Amida which facilitated the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala as found in Kamakura-period documents. The *kyōgen* is as follows:

**KYŌGEN**

```
mazu chuujouhime to maushitaru on-kata ha
ninou shijuushichidai haitai tennou no gyo-o
ni yokohagi no udaijin toyonari-kou to
maushitaru on-kata no on-sokujo nite goza
aritaru to mausu
```

First of all the lady called Princess Chūjō was the daughter of the Minister of the Right from Yokohagi, Lord Toyonari, who lived in the reign of Emperor Junnin.
For certain reasons she was sent away and abandoned on Mount Hibari. Most people would find it hard to live in the mountains like that, but she was a Buddha on Earth, she never complained and instead passed her days in the invocation of the Buddha’s name and in meditation. On one occasion her father Toyonari went out hunting and made his way to the Hibariyama mountains. He discovered there a beautiful lady, living in a brushwood hut she has built in a ravine.

When he asked who she was, the lady replied, “I am the daughter of Lord Toyonari, but I was abandoned here, through the designs of my stepmother, in these deep mountains.” When Lord Toyonari heard this, he was astonished; not even in his dreams had he imagined that such an outrage had happened.

“But I am your father! Please forgive me for everything.” He took her back to the
ni tomonai-tamahi sude ni kisaki ni sonoen to shitamafu tokoro ni 110 capital at Nara, and he was already planning to have her installed as Empress. 111

In contrast to Taema, the noh play Hibariyama does not mention Taima-dera, Chûjôhime’s devotion to Amida, or the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala at all. Instead, the plot focuses exclusively on the narrative of Chûjôhime’s abandonment on Mount Hibari caused by her wicked stepmother, the hardships endured by Chûjôhime’s loyal wetnurse who is taking care of her by selling plants to bypassing travelers but who in the end goes crazy out of worry for her young charge, Yokohagi hunting in the mountains, his encounter with his daughter, and their return home to the Nara capital:

WAKI -TSURE 112

kayau ni sourou mono ha nara no miyako The one before you thus is serving the Yokohagi Minister of the Right Lord Toyonari, of the Nara capital.
yokohagi no udajjin toyonari kou ni tsukahe That being said, he had one princess.
mausu mono nite sourafu Due to the slander of a certain person,
sate mo hime gimi wo ichi nin on mochi he ordered, “Bring her to Hibariyama,
sourofu wo saru hito no zansou ni yori which is located at the border of
yamato ki no kuni no sakahi naru Yamato and Kii, and kill her.”
hibari-yama nite ushinahi mause to no At that time, I accompanied her up to
ohose nite sourafu hodo ni here. “How could I possibly kill her?” I
kore made ontomo maushite sourahedomo
ikani shite ushinahi mausbeki to zonji
shiba no ihori wo musubi to kaku itahari
maushi sourafu.\textsuperscript{113}

bound together a hut of brushwood and
in that way I have been taking care of
her.\textsuperscript{114}

「中略」

NOCHI-WAKI \textsuperscript{115}

kore ha yokohagi no udaijin toyonari to
ha waga koto nari
sore kariba ha shiki no asobi nite
tokiworifushi no kyou wo masu

It is I who am the Yokohagi Minister of
the Right, Toyonari.
Well, this hunting place I enjoy it
season by season, and season by season
its charm increases.

「中略」

JI \textsuperscript{116}

okoshini nosemairasete onyorokobi no
kaeru sani nara no miyako no yahe
sakura saki kaeru michi zo medetaki
saki kaeru michi zo medetaki

Standing, they walk around and the joy
returned at last. In the Nara capital, eight
kinds of cherry blossoms return back to
bloom, making the journey indeed
enjoyable, making the journey indeed
enjoyable.

According to previous scholarship, Zeami’s noh plays \textit{Taema} and \textit{Hibariyama} are
believed to have served as the source for the narrative of Chûjôhime’s legend as
illustrated in the \textit{Taima-dera engi emaki}, which is the earliest extant textual and pictorial
record combining the story of Chûjôhime’s childhood experiences with her religious
experiences at Taima-dera.\textsuperscript{117} However, a comparison between the narrative of
Chûjôhime as an ill-treated stepchild in the two noh plays and in the Taima-dera engi reveals some significant differences challenging this theory. In contrast to Zeami’s noh plays, which mention Chûjôhime’s abandonment on Mount Hibari due to the stepmother’s slander, her father’s hunting trip to Mount Hibari, father and daughter’s reunification and return to the capital, and the father’s intention of making her an empress, the Taima-dera engi emaki also includes in addition a narrative of Chûjôhime and her younger brother being abandoned on Mount Katsuragi by the stepmother prior to these events. Therefore, I suggest that Zeami’s noh plays Taema and Hibariyama, although they might have contributed to the popularization of these two separate stories—Chûjôhime’s as an ill-treated stepchild and Chûjôhime as the instigator of the Taima mandala into one single narrative—were not the sources for the expanded narrative of Chûjôhime’s childhood experiences in the Taima-dera engi emaki.

Considering the fact that, in spite of the expansion of its narrative, Chûjôhime’s legend remained an account of female salvation throughout the course of its history, and that the foundation of this Buddhist tale is rooted in the Pure Land teachings as depicted in the Taima mandala, I argue that this expanded narrative of Chûjôhime’s childhood experiences in the Taima-dera engi emaki originated within the context of popularizing the teachings of the Taima mandala. Recent studies by Tokuda Kazuo and Hank Glassman have suggested that a fifteenth-century commentary on the Taima mandala, called the Taima mandala sho 当麻曼茶羅疏, existed prior to Zeami’s noh plays and most likely served as the origin for the combined narrative of Chûjôhime’s childhood experiences and her religious experiences at Taima-dera as illustrated in the Taima-dera engi emaki.
The Taima mandala, which was not well known during the Nara and Heian periods, was revived and popularized as a means of spreading the Pure Land teaching by Hōnen’s disciple and founder of the Seizan branch of the Pure Land sect, the monk Shōkū (1177-1247), during the thirteenth century. The Taima mandala, of which various copies smaller in size than the original mandala came into existence from the fourteenth century onward, was used as a visual aid for preaching. Buddhist preachers often added narrative elements to the doctrine in order to illustrate the difficult Buddhist tenets in a more comprehensible way accessible to all people, high and low.

Although no documents dating to the time of Shōkū’s teachings of the Taima mandala survive today, the *Taima mandala sho*, compiled in 1436 by the monk Yūjo Shōsō (1366-1440), who was the eighth patriarch of the Chinzei branch of the Pure Land sect, is the earliest extant record documenting the kind of commentaries and their contents used by Shōsō for the same practice of preaching the doctrine of the Taima mandala, serving as an example for what these earlier sermons by Shōkū might have looked like.

The *Taima mandala sho* consists of forty-eight scrolls, and is the earliest surviving textual version of the Buddhist tale known today as Chūjōhime’s legend in which all of the narrative key elements illustrated in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* take place. We find the name of Chūjōhime’s father, the location of the two mountains Katsuragi and Hibariyama, the wicked stepmother, the abandonment of Chūjōhime and her brother, Chūjōhime’s second abandonment on Mount Hibari, her reuunification with her father and their return to the Nara capital, and Chūjōhime entering the service of the Emperor.
Up until and including scroll six, the *Taima mandala sho* elaborates in detail on the teachings illustrated in the Taima mandala, particularly the nine grades of birth. Scroll seven, however, marks a drastic change in narrative content because it tells the story of the nobleman Toyonari’s wish to have a child, his wife’s pilgrimage to Hase-dera, the birth of Chûjôhime and, also later, her brother due to the mercy of Kannon:

然而、無子、歎嘆呼、一園中花月付無主、七月半盂蘭盆望在誰。

然間、夫婦共折天永神不得之送年月、有時北方長谷参詣致七日

七夜之懇念。「略」折念不浅満七日之夜、靈驗新告瑞夢揭焉住

歎善思不向之後、不計有有身意、月來日滿儲瑞有相之女子。

姫君三歳之時男子誕生。122

Well, however, he grieved about not having a child. The Lord was not attached to the flowers and the moon in the garden, but desired the *urabon* in the middle of the seventh month. However, even though both husband and wife spent the years and months praying to the gods wishing [for a child], their wish was not granted. At one time, the principal wife retired to Hase-dera for prayer for [a duration of] seven days and seven nights. […]

Because her prayers were not shallow,124 on the evening of the seventh day [her prayers were] answered. She had an auspicious dream, in which she received a divine oracle, shortly after she became pregnant, and the months and days passing a girl of good omen was born.125

Furthermore, the references to the wicked stepmother and the children’s abandonment on Mount Katsuragi as well as Chûjôhime’s second abandonment on Mount Hibari in the *Taima mandala sho* appear to be identical to the ones in the *Taima-dera engi emaki*.
The *Taima mandala sho* reads:

斯、継母悪心失。故又為計捨置紀州在田雲雀山。「略」委明日
可奉称場「曼荼羅」、事繁半留侯也。方今被讚喚称場極楽界会九
品曼荼羅聖容。昨日中将姫依継母悪心被捨置葛木地獄谷、依天地
感心還都、重而蒙帝御寵愛、姊被成中将姫内侍、弟為小将、重織
勝人建申畢。今日亦依一本緣起、重而被捨置雲雀山可明。

Thus, still the stepmother’s malicious heart did not cease. Consequently, she
[conceived] a plan to abandon [the princess] at Mount Hibari in Arida, Kii
Province. I will stop here, and tomorrow I will explain the details about this story
in admiration for the Taima mandala. As for this, it is in praise of the sacred teachings
of the Nine Grades illustrated in the Taima mandala. Yesterday, I explained about
Chûjôhime’s abandonment in the “Valley of Hell of the Dreadful Katsuragi
Mountain” because of the stepmother’s malicious heart. Due to the admiration of
heaven and earth, however, she returned [home] to the capital. [Although] she
received the affection of the emperor, she felt suffering [due to the impermanence of
life]. Since she became the [emperor’s] consort Chûjô no Naishi, and her brother [was
promoted] to [the rank of] Lesser Captain, the person’s plan backfired. Today, I will
explain another version of this origin legend: her abandonment on Mount Hibari.

Such preaching, as illustrated in these passages from the *Taima mandala sho*, was
essential to the creation and development of Chujohime’s legend and cult. Zeami, for
instance, almost certainly had as his source for Hibariyama the performances of itinerant
preachers lecturing on the Taima mandala. In the *Taima mandala sho* like in the *Taima-
dera engi emaki* the concrete reason for the stepmother’s cruelty is her jealousy over the
success of her predecessor’s children. When she hears that Chûjôhime will enter imperial service and that her younger brother may become a courtier or minister, she contrives to abandon the children in the wilds of Mount Katsuragi. It must be mentioned that out of all extant versions of Chûjôhime’s legend, the Taima-dera engi emaki is the only work which includes this double abandonment which is significant because the absence of the brother in later versions places more emphasis on the relationship between Chûjôhime and her stepmother; between the helpless girl and the cruel woman.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the thirteenth-century depiction of Chûjôhime’s legend in the Taima mandala engi emaki plays an important role regarding attitudes towards women and their capability of salvation within Pure Land Buddhism. According to Buddhist thought, women are considered impure and defiled due to the concepts of the “Five Obstructions” – the five states of being women cannot attain and the “Seven Sins” due to bleeding during menstruation and childbirth. These signs of women’s impediments and defilements are propagated in Buddhist scriptures as well as in Muju Ichien’s 無住一円 (1226-1312) Tsuma kagami 妻鏡 (Mirror for Women), a vernacular tract for the edification of women dated 1300.126

The inspiration for women’s faith in Amida and the Taima mandala, as well as for Chûjôhime serving as a role model in this Buddhist tale of female salvation, is the story of Queen Vaidehi in the Taima mandala. The left border “Prefatory Legend” (fig.23) illustrates the story of the Indian Queen Vaidehi, who had been imprisoned by her son, Prince Ajatasatru for the crime of conspiring to keep her husband, his father, alive by spreading a paste of flour and honey over her body to sustain the king when it was the prince’s intent to starve him to death. In her imprisonment, Vaidehi prays to
Sakyamuni, who appears and shows her various Buddhist paradises, and Vaidehi chooses to be born in Amida’s Pure Land.

Like Queen Vaidehi, Chūjōhime – through her devotion to Amida – is saved from her worldly suffering and is born in the Pure Land. However, there is one distinctive difference between the stories of Vaidehi and Chūjōhime that plays a crucial role in the development of Chūjōhime’s legend from the Muromachi period onward, as evident in Shōsō’s *Taima mandala sho*, Zeami’s noh plays *Taema* and *Hibariyama*, and the *Taima-dera engi emaki*. While the Taima mandala emphasizes Vaidehi’s worldly suffering – her imprisonment by her son – the *Taima mandala engi emaki* does not mention any suffering of Chūjōhime, as evident from the following passage:

[The father’s] thinking of her and waiting on her as [if she were] a flawless jewel, [...]. But her heart was not stained by the flowers of spring, nor did she long for the autumn moon. Searching deeply for the path of the Buddha, she sought for enlightenment in the Dharma.¹²⁷

However, in Muromachi-period versions of Chūjōhime’s legend, such as Zeami’s noh play, *Hibariyama*, we see a shift towards a greater emphasis on her worldly suffering:

That being said, he had one princess. Due to the slander of a certain person, he ordered: ‘Bring her to Hibariyama, which is located at the border of Yamato and Kii, and kill her.’¹²⁸

Chūjōhime’s father orders her abandonment and execution on Mount Hibari, but we are not told who this certain person is; there is no mention of the stepmother in *Hibariyama*. A similar pattern appears in the noh play, *Yoroboshi* 弱法師, which deals with a young boy’s abandonment in the mountains by his father due to the slander of a
certain person, but again the "certain person's" identity is unknown.

In contrast, the Taima mandala sho and the Taima-dera engi emaki clearly emphasize Chûjôhime's worldly suffering and -most important - identify that certain person as the stepmother. It is her relationship with her stepmother that is both the cause of her suffering and her religious awakening as stated in the following passage from the Taima-dera engi emaki:

The only reason why I encountered this misery is because of the stepmother's profound hatred. If I would be in the same world as my real mother, such a misery would hardly occur. Though in this present life my fate is painful suffering, in the afterworld I want to be born in a place where I can be free of suffering.129

As Margaret Childs has pointed out in her study of religious awakening stories in medieval Japan, the weakness of setsuwa and zange monogatari (Stories of Religious Awakening) is that they only provide us with information as to when and how a religious awakening occurs, but offer little insight as to its cause.130 It is precisely in this aspect that the Taima-dera engi emaki and its source, the Taima mandala sho, are unusual among accounts of religious awakening stories because we are informed at length about the heroine's life prior to the traumatic event - her abandonment on Mount Hibari due to the stepmother's slander - that causes her renunciation of the world.

Therefore, the expansion of Chûjôhime's legend, particularly the insertion of the narrative of her suffering as an ill-treated stepchild and her abandonment on Mount Hibari found in all versions of Chûjôhime's story from the Muromachi period onward, serves a religious purpose: for a complex Buddhist tale of female salvation to be used by
Buddhist preachers and to be reinterpreted in a more comprehensible way for the purpose of proselytizing faith in the Taima mandala. In this way, from a religious viewpoint, the primary function of the expanded narrative of Chûjôhime’s legend is to emphasize women’s capability of attaining enlightenment through faith in Amida.

However, in addition to solely emphasizing women’s capability of attaining enlightenment through faith in Amida and the Taima mandala, the expanded narrative of Chûjôhime legend—particularly the story of her as a mistreated stepchild—also emphasizes certain socio-cultural values related to the position of women within medieval Japanese society. The next chapter will situate the Taima-dera engi emaki within the literary genre of Muromachi-period stepchild stories—in order to shed light on the diffused boundaries between religious and social constructions of gender in this particular narrative.

Notes to Chapter Three

1 For a complete list of extant Kamakura-period versions of Chûjôhime’s legend pre-dating the Taima mandala engi emaki and extant Muromachi-period versions of Chûjôhime’s legend post-dating the Taima-dera engi emaki see Appendix A.

2 Although all extant versions of Chûjôhime’s legend from the Muromachi period onward also contain the narrative of the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala and Chûjôhime’s birth in Amida’s Pure Land, passages illustrating the heroine’s childhood experiences prior to these events are given greater emphasis. For example, in the Taima-dera engi emaki the narrative of Chûjôhime’s childhood experiences consists of eleven textual and eleven pictorial passages, and occupies the longest section of the scroll, measuring a total length of 2,783 centimeters. In contrast to this, the narrative of the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala and the heroine’s attainment of salvation consists of only five textual and five pictorial passages, and occupies the shortest section of the scroll, measuring a total length of 1,652 centimeters. This division of text and image in terms of length and primary emphasis, which is maintained in post-Muromachi-period versions of Chûjôhime’s legend, indicates that, as the story expands, the
miraculous creation of the Taima mandala becomes a holy backdrop for telling the story of Chujöhime.

3 Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Kanshû 奈良国立博物館監修, Shaji Eng-e 社寺縁起絵 (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1975), 119.

4 The swastika (J. manji 曼) is an ancient Indian auspicious sign meaning “all is well.” It is a cross with the extremities of each arm bent at right-angles, and often drawn on the chest, palms, or footprints of the Buddha. Louis Frederic, Buddhism: Flammarion Iconographic Guides (Paris: Mame Imprimeurs Tours, 1995), 76. Furthermore, the design of Taima-dera’s red seal, used to verify temple documents, is a swastika surrounded by flames. “Taima-dera/ Shigisan” 当麻寺・信貴山, Ko-ji wo yuku 古寺をゆく, 35 (2001): 2. The inscriptions on the outside of the cover binding read 当麻寺縁起上, 当麻寺縁起中, and 当麻寺縁起下 respectively.

5 In Japanese painting from the late Heian period onward, Amida is frequently depicted descending on clouds from the western direction, surrounded by a host of bodhisattvas and other celestial beings, in order to greet the devotee at the moment of death and to welcome the faithful into the Pure Land, a genre known as raigô-zu 来迎図. According to the Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life (Kanmuryôju-kyô 無量寿経), three classes of welcoming exist, each divided into three levels corresponding to the qualities of the devotee, and to each of these three levels Amida makes a corresponding mudra characteristic of the aspiring believer. Louis Frederic, Buddhism: Flammarion Iconographic Guides (Paris: Mame Imprimeurs Tours, 1995), 140. A detailed description of the iconography and classes of welcome depicted on the inside of each frontispiece follows in my discussion regarding the texts and images of the Taima-dera Engi Emaki in this chapter.

6 The usual height of shaji engi-e measures between 30.0 and 35.0 centimeters. For a detailed listing of shaji engi-e and their measurements see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan kanshû, Shaji engi-e, 13-16.

7 Although pre-twelfth-century written documents for shrines and temples founded in the early Heian period exist and may have been illustrated, today the oldest extant example of shaji engi-e is the Shigisan engi emaki 信貴山縁起絵巻 (The Miraculous Origin Legend of Mount Shigi) which dates to the late twelfth century. By the late fifteenth century, didactic religious narratives and temple histories from shaji engi-e were picked up in compilations of popular tales, called otogi zôshi 御伽草子, or were illustrated in booklets, called sasshi-bon 冊子本 or nara-ehon 奈良絵本, which were intended more for entertainment or edification rather than for propagation of a shrine, temple or Buddhist sect. Ibid., 11.

8 For the usage of the Taima Mandala engi emaki see Chapter Two pages 6-7.

9 This is a transcription of the original text of the Taima-dera engi emaki, which is photographically reproduced in Shinbò Kyô 真保, “Taima-dera engi (Kyôroku-bon)” 当麻寺縁起 (享禄本), in Nihon Bukkyô 日本仏教 (1963): 41-59. In order to provide readers with an easier and more accessible reading of the original text, I have modernized it by adding dakuten, odoriji and punctuation. The English translation is my own.
Mikaeshi-e 見返絵 are ornate paintings, usually executed in gold color (kondei 金泥) with cut gold (kirikane 切金) on dark blue paper (kongami 紺紙), which constitute the frontispieces of illustrated Buddhist sutras. Mikaeshi-e originated in T'ang-dynasty China. Although mikaeshi-e in Japan are believed to have been produced as early as the Tempyo period (729-749), the earliest extant mikaeshi-e date from the Heian period (794-1185) and are found on illustrated scriptures of the Lotus Sutra (Hokekyō 法華経), such as the Heike nōkyō 平家経 (1164). Mikaeshi-e depict a variety of Buddhist scenes and deities, such as Sakyamuni preaching, Miroku residing in his Tusitata Heaven, and Amida descending to the devotee. Nakamura Hajime 中村元 & Kuno Takeshi 久野健, Bukkyō Bijutsu Jiten 仏教美術事典 (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2002), 873.

The iconographical convention of depicting Amida with a host of musical bodhisattvas originated with Genshin’s 源信 (942-1017) passages in his treatise, The Essentials of Rebirth (Ôjōyōshū 往生要集) (985), describing Amida’s Pure Land as a place filled with gorgeous palaces, lotus ponds, and sound of heavenly music, and his “twenty-five meditations” (nijūgo sanmai 二五三昧). The earliest extant painting depicting Amida and his host of bodhisattvas descending in diagonal motion to the devote is the Descent of Amida with Divine Attendants on the south door of the Hōō-dō at the Byōdō-in at Uji which is dated to 1053. However, the number of musical bodhisattvas varies with different raigō paintings. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that raigō paintings of the Pure Land sect (jōdo-shū 净土宗) always depict Amida seated, whereas paintings of the True Pure Land sect (jōdo shin-shū 净土真宗) always depict Amida standing as is the case with the frontispiece images in the Taima-dera engi emaki. Okazaki Jōji, Pure Land Buddhist Painting (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1977), 102.

The three classes of welcome, Upper-class (jōbon 上品), Middle-class (chūbon 中品), and Lower-class (gebon 下品) correspond to the qualities of the devotee, who is received into the Pure Land by Amida. Each of these three classes is further subdivided into three levels which relate to the maturity and degree of perfection attained by the devotee; thus there are a total of nine grades (kuhon 九品) of perfection, among which the faithful are distributed, and each has its corresponding mudra. These nine grades are 1.) Upper-class Upper-birth (jōbon jōshō 上品中生), 2.) Upper-class Middle-birth (jōbon chūshō 上品中生), 3.) Upper-class Lower-birth (jōbon geshō 上品下生), 4.) Middle-class Upper-birth (chūbon jōshō 中品中生), 5.) Middle-class Middle-birth (chūbon chūshō 中品中生), 6.) Middle-class Lower-birth (chūbon geshō 中品下生), 7.) Lower-class Upper-birth (gebon jōshō 下品中生), 8.) Lower-class Middle-birth (gebon chūshō 下品中生), and 9.) Lower-class Lower birth (gebon geshō 下品下生). Ibid., 142.

In painting and sculpture, the ūrnā, which is one of the one hundred distinctive Buddha marks, is depicted as a round spot or a jewel in the center of the Buddha’s forehead, but it is actually meant to represent a tuft of hair. In this image the golden rays are painted. However, raigō paintings like these were often hung next to the beds of the dying devotees, who would hold golden threads attached to the paintings, particularly to Amida’s ūrnā as seen here, while they are reciting Amida’s name (nenbutsu 念仏) and
praying for their birth in the Pure Land. Ibid., 78.

16 Saihō 西方 is an abbreviation for saihō gokuraku jōdo 西方極楽浄土 which is Amida Buddha’s Pure Land Western Paradise. The term gyōgi 濃季 is an abbreviation for gyōgi mappō 濃季末末, which translates as the “Final Age of Decadence” and refers to the “Age of the Final Law.” Nakamura Hajime 中村元, Bukkyōgo Daijiten 仏教語大辞典 (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2001), 247. According to Buddhist thought, the time after the death of the historical Buddha, Sākyamuni, is divided into three ages. In the first age, called Age of the Perfect Law (shōhō 正法), people followed the teachings of the Buddha; in the second age, Age of the Degenerative Law (zōbō 像法), people failed to understand the true inner meaning of the Buddhist teachings; and in the Age of the Final Law (mappō 末法) practice of the Buddhist teachings cannot be carried out and salvation becomes increasingly difficult. Michele Marra, ‘The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan (I),’ in Japanese Journal of Religious Studies, vol. 15, no. 1 (1988), 25.

17 Meaning conjectural.

18 Giwaku 疑惑, meaning “doubt” (Skt. vicikitsā), refers to the unfaithful who do not believe in the Buddha’s teachings. Ibid., 221.

19 In the Taima mandala engi emaki discussed in the previous chapter, this woman was called keni 化尼 (mysterious nun), but here she is called kenjo 化女 (mysterious woman).

20 The Kanmuryōju-kyō 観無量寿経 (Contemplation Sutra) is one of the Three Pure Land Sutras and was interpreted by the third Pure Land patriarch in China, Shan-tao 善導 (613-681), in his Kan-gyō shichō-shō 観経思潮抄. The principal teaching of the Kanmuryōju-kyō is the series of sixteen meditations through which devotees can attain birth in Amida’s Pure Land. The last three meditations are divided into the nine grades (kuhon 九品), and the preface to this sutra is the story of the wicked Indian prince, Ajātasatru, who imprisoned his mother and father. Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, The Revival of the Taima Mandala in Medieval Japan (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), 31.

21 The Nine Grades (kuhon 九品) correspond to the nine possible degrees of birth in the Pure Land. See note 15.

22 Kuze Kannon 救世観音, also known as Kuze Kanzeon Bosatsu 救世観世音菩薩, is the bodhisattva who hears the people cries of suffering and bestows his mercy on them, relieving them from their suffering. Kuze Kannon’s association with sacred authority and the imperial family dates to the deity’s legendary connection with Prince Shōtoku 聖徳太子 (574-622) and images of Kuze Kannon are housed in various temples associated with Prince Shōtoku.

23 Shōhōmyō Buddha 正法明如来 is another name for Amida Buddha.

24 Godō 五道, also known as goakashu 五悪趣, refers to the five places of existence within the karmic cycle of rebirth (Skt. samsara, J. rinne 輪迴) in which beings are reborn based on the sins of their past life. These five places of existence are the 1.) realm of heavenly beings, 2.) realm of human beings, 3.) realm of animals, 4.) realm of hungry ghosts, and 5.) realm of hells. Ishida Mizumaro 石田瑞麿, Reibun Bukkyōgo Daijiten 例文仏教語大辞典 (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1997), 322.
Prince Shotoku (574-622) was the son of Emperor Yomei (r. 585-587) and Empress Anahobe Hashinohito, and he is also known as Umayado because his mother gave birth to him in front of the stable door. Shotoku served as regent under Empress Suiko (r. 592-628) but he is primarily remembered for the introduction and promotion of Buddhism in the Asuka period. Shotoku Taishi was considered an incarnation of the bodhisattva Kannon, and he became the guardian deity of masons and carpenters since he commissioned the first Buddhist edifices. In painting and sculpture, Shotoku Taishi is commonly depicted with his hair wound in coils. Frederic, *Buddhism*, 286.

En no Ozune, also known as En no Gyōja and En no Shōkaku, was a Buddhist mystic and mountain ascetic of the Nara period. He was credited with having magical powers and believed to have lived upon Mount Katsuragi in Yamato Province. He climbed mountains, which he dedicated to the Buddha, and he was the founder of Shugendo. Ibid., 287.

Prince Osakabe (r. 674-705), whose name is also found written as 忍坂部親王 and 忍壁親王, was the son of Emperor Temmu (r. 673-686) and Kajihime no Iratsume, who was the daughter of Shishihito no Ōmaro 小人麻呂. In addition to his military actions, such as his participation in the Jinshin Rebellion of 672, Osakabe also distinguished himself in terms of literary achievements. In 681, he participated in the compilation of the *Imperial Record* (Teiki 帝記) and *Records of Ancient Times* (Jōko shoji 上古諸事), which were ordered by Emperor Tenmu, as well as in the production of the *Chronicles of Japan* (Nihon shoki 日本書紀). Prince Osakabe is also credited for having been one of the influential figures along with Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等 (659-720) who issued the *Taihō Ritsuryō* 大宝律令, Japan’s first legal code, in 701. Nihonshi kojiten henshū i-inkai 日本史広辞典編集委員会, *Nihonshi kojiten* 日本史広辞典 (Tokyo: Yamagawa Shuppansha, 1997), 2255.

Prince Ōtomo 大友王子 (648-672), who is also known as Emperor Kōbun 弘文天皇 (r.671-672), was the eldest son of Emperor Tenji 天智天皇 (626-671) (r.668-671). Prince Ōtomo was defeated in the Jinshin Rebellion of 672 by his younger brother, Prince Oama, and committed suicide.

Kuzu is a mountain village in Yoshino-district, Nara Prefecture. *Daijō-e* 大嘗会, also called *daijō-sai* 大嘗際, is a Shinto festival where the newly crowned Emperor offers, for the first time in his reign, the first fruits to Amaterasu as well as other Shinto gods. This festival is celebrated at the beginning of a new reign. The Association of Shinto Shrines, *Basic Terms of Shinto* (Tokyo: Kokugakuin University, Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, 1958), 6.

Kuzu is both a place name and the title of a noh play. The noh play tells how Emperor Tenmu is rescued by a fisherman who gave him the carp. Upon presenting the carp as an offering to the gods, Emperor Tenmu was able to make his way to Mount Yoshino. Because of the fisherman’s assistance, his descendants have the surname “Kujo” [literally, “mouth help”].
Hachiman 八幡 is the Japanese Shinto god of war, and divine protector of Japan. An alternative name for Hachiman is Yawata 八幡 (God of the Eight Banderoles), and his symbolic messenger animal is the dove. Since ancient times Hachiman was worshipped by peasants as the god of agriculture and by fishermen who hoped he shall fill their nets with fish. In Shinto, he became identified by legend as the deified Emperor Ōjin 忍神 (270-310), son of Empress Jingū 神功天皇 (201-269), from the third century onward. Following the arrival of Buddhism in Japan, however, Hachiman became a syncretistic deity, and was enthroned as a god protector with the title “Great Bodhisattva” at Tōdai-ji in Nara. He is also the protector god (ujigami 氏神) of the Minamoto clan descended from the Emperor Seiwa 慶和天皇 (r.858-876). Nihonshi Kojiten Henshû I-inkai, *Nihonshi Kojiten*, 1751.

Taima no Kunimi was the grandson of Prince Maroko. He is most well known as a historical person through his meritorious deeds in the Jinshin Rebellion. Yamada Hideo 山田英雄, Hirano Kunio 平野邦雄 & Takeuchi Rizô 竹内理三, *Nihon Kodai Jinmei Jiten* 日本古代人名辞典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1958), 1036.

The Kiyomihara Palace, formally called Asuka Kiyomihara no Miya 飛鳥清見原の宮, was the place where Prince Oamu (the future Emperor Tenmu) established his residence after he had defeated Prince Ōtomo in the Jinshin Rebellion of 672. It was also at Kiyomihara Palace that his wife and successor, Empress Jito 持統天皇 (960-967), completed the legal code known as the Asuka Kiyomihara-Ryō 飛鳥清見原令. The Kiyomihara Palace included various administrative headquarters for different ministries and an imperial council hall (daigokuden 大極殿), and around the palace an urban zone developed and a government office (kyôshiki 京職) was established to regulate its affairs. Nihonshi Kojiten Henshû I-inkai, *Nihonshi Kojiten*, 628.

Kujaku Myō-ō (Skt. Mahāmāyūrī, Mayūrarāja) is a Buddhist deity, whose name is translated as ‘Queen of the Magic Knowledge of the Peacock’ and ‘Peacock Mother of the Buddhas’, is a feminine non-wrathful manifestation of Sakyamuni Buddha. According to the Japanese *Kujaku-kyō 孔雀経* the Buddha announced to his disciple Ananda the power enjoyed by Kujaku Myō-ō as protector against poisons. This deity represents the productive virtue of all the Buddhas, and this is the reason why in Japan she is also called Kujaku Butsumo. In painting and sculpture, Kujaku Myō-ō is presented with six arms holding a bow, arrow, pomegranate, a wheel, a lotus and a peacock feather, and shown seated on a peacock. In Japan, Kujaku Myō-ō used to be worshipped in official ceremonies to ward off national calamities such as wars, epidemics, typhoons and earthquakes, but today is no longer a primary object of veneration, except for some esoteric sects for whom she is a secret deity. Frederic, *Buddhism: Flammarion Iconographic Guides*, 230-231. Ichijotehan 一撰手半, meaning one and a half times the height of a hand, corresponds to roughly to 10 centimeters.

The *vajra* (J. kongō-sho 金剛杵) is a thunderbolt-sceptre, which can be single, two, three, four, five, and nine-pointed, and is employed by Tantric Buddhist sects in ritual ceremonies. The *vajra* symbolizes the victorious power of knowledge over ignorance and of the spirit over the passions. The three-pointed *vajra* is the most commonly used, and its three points represent the ‘Three Jewels of Buddhism’ (the Buddha, the Dharma, and
the Samgha), as well as the three mysteries of word, thought, and action. Frederic, *Buddhism*, 63.

38 Fudō Myō-ō (Skt. Acalanātha), whose name means ‘the eternal and immutable diamond’, is an esoteric deity and represents the protective aspect of Dainichi Nyorai, the firmness and determination to destroy evil. In the *Diamond World Mandala* he is situated in the north-east, from where he protects beings from evil influences, and he is commonly depicted holding a sword and a lasso. Ibid., 203.

39 In an eye-opening ceremony a Buddhist image is being shown to the public for the very first time.

40 The four guardian kings (Skt. Lokapalas, J. shitennō 四天王) are the guardians of the four cardinal points; they are the protectors of the world and of the Buddhist Law. They are thought to live on Mount Meru, and at the gates of the paradise of Indra, protector of Buddhism. They are usually found in groups, placed at the four corners of Buddhist altars reserved for major deities, or at the corners of mandalas. They are always shown standing, in martial positions, as befitting warriors whose attention must never falter, on rocks (symbolizing Mount Meru and their firmness), and treading on demons. Ibid., 241.

41 Kichijōten 吉祥天 is the goddess of luck.

42 Hito-koto-nushi no myōjin, also called Katsuragi no Hito-koto-nushi no kami 葛木の一言主の神, is a deity who appeared on Mount Katsuragi, near the border of Yamato and Kawachi Provinces, and who could utter oracles of good and evil with the decisive speaking of a ‘single word’ (hito koto 一言). It is the central deity of the Hito-koto-nushi Shrine in Katsuragi, Katsurakami-gun, Nara Prefecture. According to the *Kojiki* 古事記 (compiled 677-712) when Emperor Yuryaku climbed Mount Katsuragi with his entourage, they encountered another troupe having identical appearance. Enraged, the emperor readied his arrow and asked for the names of the opposing group. The leader of the other group responded: “I am Hito-koto-nushi no kami of Katsuragi, who proclaims evil in a single word, good in a single word.” Upon hearing this, the emperor and his entourage removed their clothes and offered them to the deity. The Association of Shinto Shrines, *Basic Terms of Shinto*, 32.

43 Onamuchi no kami, also known as Ō-kuni-nushi no kami 大国主神 and Ō-mono-nushi no kami 大物主神, is considered as the god of abundance, agriculture, medicine, good sorcery, and happy marriages. According to the *Kojiki*, which describes the mythic origin of the Izumo Shrine where Ōnamuchi no kami is enshrined as the primary deity, Ōnamuchi no kami was developing the world of mortal man when Ninigi no Mikoto, the grandson of Amaterasu Ōmikami, descended to earth. Ōnamuchi no kami handed over temporal rule of the land to Ninigi no Mikoto in exchange for control over divine affairs. Amaterasu was so pleased by this gift to her grandson that she had a shrine erected for Ōnamuchi no kami at Izumo. The main text of the *Nihongi* describes Ōnamuchi as the child of Susanō, while the *Kojiki* states that he was Susanō’s sixth-generation descendant. Norman Havens & Inoue Nobutaka, *An Encyclopedia of Shinto* (Tokyo: Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University, 2000) 67.

44 Kumano Gongen 熊野権現 is the God enshrined at Kumano Shrine in Wakayama Prefecture. Originally, this deity was linked to *Shūgendō*, but later it also became associated with Shinto and Buddhism.
The main gate of a Buddhist temple is always guarded by this pair of guardian kings (Ni-ō 二王) consisting of Kongō Rikishi and Misshaku Rikishi.

Frederic, *Buddhism*, 142.

The Buddhist rosary (nenju 念誦) is used to count the recitations of Amida’s name (nembutsu 念仏) and consists of one hundred eight beads (oyadama 親玉) plus two separating beads for easier counting. The one hundred eight beads symbolize the one hundred eight human passions the bodhisattva Kannon assumed while telling the beads. Okazaki, *Pure Land Buddhist Painting*, 21.


Okazaki, *Pure Land Buddhist Painting*, 95.

Ksitigarbha’s name means “bodhisattva encompassing the earth” and, as stated by Genshin in the Ōjōyō-shū, he is also the master of the six worlds of desire and the six paths of rebirth (rokūdō 六道). In Japan, he is worshipped by both the Tendai and the Shingon sects, and he is popularly venerated as the protector deity of aborted fetuses and dead children. Ibid., 185-186. Nāgārjuna was an Indian Buddhist monk who lived in the late second century. He was one of the first propagators of Mahayana Buddhism and is considered as the founder of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy. In Japan, Nāgārjuna is called Ryūshō bosatsu and is primarily worshipped by the Pure Land and Shingon sects. Ibid., 284.

The *Kakuzen-shō* is a compendium of Buddhist iconography, containing also a summary of Buddhist rites and texts, and was compiled by Kakuzen 覚禅 (1143-1213), a monk of the Ono 小野 lineage of the Shingon sect during his retirement at Jōdō-in 浄土院 in Kanjū-ji 勝修寺 in Kyoto around 1200. Okazaki, *Pure Land Buddhist Painting*, 184.

Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701-756) was the son of Emperor Monmu 文武天皇 (r.697-707) and Fujiwara no Miyako. Shōmu received the throne from his aunt, Empress Genshō 元正天皇 (r.715-724), and he is mainly remembered for having commissioned the *Daibutsu 大仏* at Tōdai-ji in Nara.

In the Chinese Han Dynasty (206BCE - 24CE) the Imperial Palace was called the Phoenix Palace.

Hase-dera 滅瀬寺, also written as 長谷寺 and 初瀬寺 was founded as a Shingon temple in Nara. According to legend, in 711 the monk Tokudo (656-735) of Hase-dera in Nara prefecture commissioned two wooden sculptures of the Eleven-headed bodhisattva Kannon. One of these sculptures was dedicated to Hase-dera in Nara, the other was set adrift at sea shore so that Kannon can reach all beings in need of his mercy. In 736, this Kannon sculpture was washed ashore at Nagai, the other side of Kamakura on the Miura peninsula. The court noble, Fujiwara no Fusasaki (681-737) dedicated the sculpture to the present site of Hase-dera, a Pure Land sect temple in Kamakura, in 736. In the past as well as today, Hase-dera is popularly known as a fertility temple. Stories about the benefits and favors obtained through devotion to Kannon are abundant in the literature of the Heian, Kamakura, and Muromachi periods, particularly in *shūdō setsuwa* 嘗導説話 (Tales of Religious Propagation) as for example the *Hase-dera kannon genki* 長谷寺観音験記 (Miraculous Record of the Hase-dera Kannon), which includes stories such as Kannon curing devotees of illness and granting the desired birth of a child. Yoshiko K.
Kanzeon 觀世音 is another name for Kannon, the bodhisattva of mercy.

King Emma (Skt. Yama) is the judge of the underworld. Beings have to appear before him and are judged according to the karma of their previous life. On the way to King Emma’s court, beings must pass the dreaded Mount Shide and Sanzu River.

To recite the nenbutsu with a single steady heart is important for the dying devotee in order to facilitate his/her birth in Amida’s Pure Land. This steady mindfulness is reiterated in the Amida-kyō 阿弥陀経 which states that:

> If there is a good man or a good woman, who hears the name Amida spoken, and, if he holds that name with a whole mind undisturbed for one day, two days, three days, four days five days, six days, or seven days, as that person is approaching the end of life Amida with his hosts will appear before him.


The Taima-Katsuragi area is situated at the eastern foot of the Nijo-Katsuragi-Kongo Mountain Range, which is also known as twin mountains (Nijosan, Futakamiyama 二上山), so called because of the two mountain peaks measuring 517 meters and 472.2 meters above sea level. Many old shrines, such as the Hito-koto-no-nushi Shrine at the southern foot of Mount Katsuragi, and temples, such as Taima-dera, are found in this forested area. However, there is no actual place called ‘Valley of Hell of the Dreadful Katsuragi Mountain.’ Kadokawa nihon chimei daijiten i-inkai 角川日本地名大辞典委員会, Kadokawa nihon chimei daijiten 角川日本地名大辞典, vol. 29 (Tokyo: Kodakawa, 1990), 320.

According to Buddhist thought, in Japan women are considered inferior to men because they are unable to attain enlightenment in their female bodies because they are faced with the ‘Five Obstructions’ (itsutsu no swari, goshō 五障), which refer to the five states women are incapable to attain namely those of Brahma, Mara, Chakravartin, and the Buddha, but over the course of time the ‘Five Obstructions’ became associated with the defilement of women due bleeding during menstruation and childbirth. According to the key tenet of the Confucian social system, women were inferior to men because of their hierarchical subordination based on the ‘Three Obligations’(sanshō, sanjō 三章), which refer to women’s filial piety toward their fathers, husbands, and sons. Kazukiho Yoshida, “The Enlightenment of the Dragon King’s Daughter in the Lotus Sutra”, in Barbara Ruch, ed., Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan (AnnArbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2002), 310.
The Pure Land-Praising Sutra (Shōsan Jōdo kyō) is Xuanzang’s seventh-century translation of the smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha sutra. This sutra was popular during the Nara period due to its association with the Hosso sect and its founder Xuanzang. It was also the sutra that was copied eighteen hundred times by scribes of the Kokubun-ji and Kokubun ni-ji to commemorate the death of Empress Kōmyō in 760. Hank Glassman, “Show Me the Place Where My Mother Is!”, in Richard K. Payne & Kenneth K. Tanaka, eds., Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitabha (Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 158. For an English translation of this sutra see Inagaki Hisao, trans., The Sutra on Praise of the Pure Land and Protection by Buddhas at <http://www.net0726.or.jp/~horai/amida-sutra-b.htm>.

Honen is said to have acted as chishiki for the retired Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127-1192) (r.1155-1158). Jōdōshū shūten kankōkai 净土宗宗典刊行会, Jōdōshū zensho 净土宗全書 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1970-1972), 16:201b.

Nakamura, Bukkyō Bijutsu Jiten, 954. The Buddhist painter Rinken 林椚 belonged to the shibaza 芝座 school of the Imperial Painting Bureau of the southern capital (nanto edokoro 南都絵所) at Kōfuku-ji in Nara. The shibaza of Kōfuku-ji flourished in the Kamakura and Muromachi period, and in the late Muromachi period it became affiliated with the edokoro at Tōdai-ji. Ibid., 393.

Ibid., 143.

Arita 有田 is a city in the northern part of Wakayama Prefecture and home town of Tokushō-ji 得生寺, which is a temple of the Pure Land sect associated with Chūjōhime’s legend.

Rokushu 六趣, more commonly known as rokudō 六道, refers to the Six Paths of reincarnation, which are determined by a person’s karma. These Six Paths are 1.) Hells (jigoku 地獄), 2.) Hungry Ghosts (gaki 餓鬼), 3.) Animals (chikushō 畜生), 4.) Malevolent Spirits (ashura 阿修羅), 5.) Humans (nin 人), and 6.) Heavenly Beings (ten 天). These Six Paths of reincarnation are contained within the Three Realms (sangai 三界), which are in ascending order 1.) The Realm of Greed (yokukai 欲界), 2.) The Realm of Material Existence (shikikai 色界), and 3.) The Realm of Non-Material Existence (mujikikai 無色界). Iwamoto Yutaka 岩本裕, Nihon bukkyōgo jiten 日本仏教語辞典 (Tokyo: Kabushiki kaisha, 1988), 742.

The mukaekō 迎講 Buddhist ceremony, also known as oneri kuyo eshiki お練供養会式, translates as “Lecture of Welcoming” and is celebrated annually on the fourteenth day of May (in former times the fourteenth day of the fourth lunar month) at Taima-dera in Taima-chō, Nara Prefecture, and at Tokushō-ji in Arida, Wakayama Prefecture. The mukaekō, which originated with Genshin and is described in his Ōjōyōshū, honors Chūjōhime, the legendary heroine credited with the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala, and is a ritual re-enactment of Amida and his host of bodhisattvas descending and welcoming her into the Pure Land. For a detailed description of the mukaekō ritual see Gail Chin, “The Mukaekō of Taima-dera: A Case of Salvation Re-enacted,” in Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie 8 (1995): 325-334.

This is a reference to Amida’s eighteenth vow in which he promises to save all sentient beings who have faith in him.

The yûga-za-zô (Skt. Sattvaparyanka) is the ‘noble posture’ assumed by Buddhist monks and deities during meditation. Frederic, Buddhism: Flammarion Iconographic Guides, 55.

The gasshô-in, in which the two hands are joined vertically in front of the breast, is the mudra of offering and veneration. It also symbolizes the intimate union of the world of human beings (left hand) and the world of the Buddha (right hand). Ibid., 48. The jô-in, in which the hands are held at the level of the stomach with the right hand above the left, palms pointing upward, and fingers extended and thumbs touching at the tips, is the mudra of meditation, of concentration on the Good Law, and of the attainment of spiritual perfection (Skt. bodhi). Ibid., 44.

Since the figure is tonsured, it is not clear from the illustration if the image is that of a monk or of a nun. However, today at the annual performance of the mukaekō at Taimadera, this figure is a sculpture of Chûjôhime as a tonsured nun. Shibata Makoto 柴田實, “Taima-dera to raigôe:josetsu 当麻寺と来迎会 : 序説,” in Gangô-ji Bukkyô Minzoku Shiryô Kenkyûjo 元興寺仏教民俗資料研究所, ed., Taima-dera raigôe minzoku shiryô kenkyû chôsa hôkokusho 当麻寺来迎会民俗資料研究調査報告書 (Tokyo: Kokushô Kankôkai, 1975), 13.

The shabado is a small hut located in the eastern part of the temple precinct across from the main hall (mandarado 曼荼羅堂 or gokurakudô 極楽堂) located in the west. During the mukaekō, these two halls are connected by a wooden ramp, symbolizing the passageway on which Amida descends from the Pure Land Western Paradise to the devotee in order to welcome the faithful into the Pure Land. Today, the portrait sculpture of the tonsured nun, Chûjôhime, is placed inside the shabado prior to the mukaekō ritual but it is hidden from view during the ceremony, and the monks stand inside the shabado and recite the nenbutsu.

During the mukaekō ritual, the monks of Taima-dera as well as members of the community associated with the temple dress up as bodhisattvas and perform the descent. However, nobody dresses as Amida; Amida is only represented in form of a wooden sculpture placed in front of the main hall and does not actually descent.

Unlike in this illustration, the bodhisattvas in the mukaekō ritual performed today at Taima-dera descent along a wooden ramp, which is suspended from the mandarado to the shabado.


Taima-dera is one of the sites of worship located on the pilgrimage route to Kumano, which was the most popular pilgrimage route in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

81 In 1336, Ashikaga Takauji assumed the title of Acting Grand Counsellor (GoDainagon 後大納言) and began to rule the country. In 1338, Takauji assumed the title of shogun, shared administrative duties with his brother Ashikaga Tadayoshi 足利直義 (1306-1352), made civil, judicial, and economic decisions such as confirming land rights, issuing customs-barrier permits, and issuing regulatory codes for monasteries, and in 1342 he reopened trade with China. Ibid., 187-188.

82 In 1368, at the age of nine, Yoshimitsu assumes the title of shogun. In December 1392 the Northern court and the Southern court are reunited. The Imperial Regalia is returned to the Northern court, Emperor GoKameyama 後亀山天皇 (r.1383-1392) gives up any claim to the throne and Emperor GoKomatsu 後小松天皇 (r.1382-1412) becomes the sole emperor. Ibid., 216.

83 The term *shugo* 守護 translates as guardsmen or armed retainers, and refers to daimyo whose legitimacy was derived from the bakufu. The major *shugo* houses in the Muromachi period include the Yamana, Hosokawa, Isshiki, Akamatsu, and Kyōgoku. Ibid., 214.

84 Ibid., 226.


86 Ibid., 70.

87 Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Kanshū, *Shaji engi-e 社寺縁起*, 121.


91 Ibid., 182.

92 See Chapter One, 30.


94 The following is a summary of the entries in Sanetaka’s diary related to the production of the *Taima-dera engi emaki*. For the original diary entries and their translation see Appendix D.

95 Sources only mention that Yūzen requested Sanetaka to spearhead the production of the *Taima-dera engi emaki* but they do not mention any concrete reasons. However, based on the events which shaped Sanetaka’s life and career, as listed in his diary, his talent as a poet and calligrapher, his intimate relationship with the imperial court, and his
faith in Amida and the Pure Land sect must have influenced this choice. Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan kanshû, Shaji engi-e, 121.; Kawanaka Ichigaku 河中一学, Taima-dera shichûki 当麻寺私注記 (Tokyo: Yuzankaku Shuppan, 1999), 584. For a detailed summary of Sanetaka’s life and career see Horton, “Sanjöniishi Sanetaka,” 247-260.

97 Horton, “Sanjöniishi Sanetaka,” 248-249. For a comprehensive listing of all of Sanetaka’s works see Ichiko, Kokusho Jinmei Jiten, 389.
99 For the original postscript and translation appear in Appendix E.
100 Chapter One, 29-30.
101 Matsushima Ken, Taima-dera, 42.
102 Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado saw the kenpô mandala, which was at Kôfuku-ji from 1491-1503 for the purpose of copying. The copy of the kenpô mandala is referred to as the bunki mandala. According to the Taima mandala sho 当麻曼荼羅疏 (1436), written by the monk Yûjo Shôsô 四普聖縁 (1366-1440), the kenpô mandala was a copy of the original (konpon 根本) mandala and created in 1217, but another theory suggests that the presently known original mandala, which is housed at Taima-dera, is composed of fragments of the eighth-century tapestry weaving pasted over the kenpô mandala. Okazaki, Pure Land Buddhist Painting, 46.
103 Kawanaka, Taima-dera shichûki, 215.
105 See Appendix D.
106 John W. Hall et al., The Cambridge History of Japan, vol.3 (Medieval Japan) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 462. Kanami is credited with having transformed sarugaku (a form of rustic entertainment) into noh by incorporating the aspects of dance (kusemai 舞舞) and aesthetics (yûgen 幽玄), but it was his son, Zeami, who perfected noh to an elevated form of art. For a detailed discussion about Zeami and the noh theatre see Kobayashi Yasuharu 小林保治 & Morita Toshirô 森田拾史郎, Noh kyôgen zuten 能狂言図典 (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1999).
107 Miyakawa, Sanjöniishi Sanetaka to kotengaku, 121.
108 Taema is an alternative spelling for Taima. Taema belongs to the fourth category of noh plays (miscellaneous characters) and is performed by all five schools. Kobayashi & Morita, Noh kyôgen zuten, 211.
109 Kyôgen, literally meaning “wild words,” is an interval or a separate scene in a noh play, generally used as a device by which a “person of the vicinity” appears to provide the waki (the noh actor playing the part called “person at the side”) with the background information necessary to understand the story of the main character. Another form of kyôgen also evolved, which are independent skits of farcical nature presented on the same program with a noh performance, serving as a form of humorous entertainment. Ibid., 104.
109 The text used for this translation is found in Sanari Kentarô 佐成謙太郎, Yôkyoku taikan 謹曲大覧, vol.3 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1931), 1839-1855.

The roles in a noh play are not known by the names of the characters as in Western drama, but by the category of the role. The *waki-tsure*, literally meaning “person on the side,” is one category of the roles in noh. In this passage from *Hibariyama* the *waki-tsure* is the princess’s attendant.

The text used for this translation is found in Sanari Kentarō, *Yōkyoku taikan*, vol. 4, 2637-2650.

The English translation is my own. For a complete translation of *Hibariyama* see Appendix F.

The *nochi-waki* is the main role in the second part of a noh play. In this case the *nochi-waki* is Toyonari.

The *ji* is the chorus in a noh play.


The following selected passages from the *Taima Mandala Sho* are reproduced in Tokuda, *Otogizōshi Kenkyū*, 371.

*Urabon*, also called Bon-Festival or Feast of Lanterns, is held annually from July 13-15 in honor of the spirits of dead ancestors.

She recited prayers with a single-steady heart, expressing her deep faith.

The English translation is my own.


Chapter One, 11.

Sanari, *Yōkyoku Taikan* (4), 2638. The English translation is my own.

Chapter Two, 37.

CHAPTER FOUR

Pious Nun or Unfilial Daughter? Chûjôhime as Religious and Social Outcast in the
Taima-dera engi emaki – Conflicting Images and Politics

In the previous chapters, I have examined the historical, political, and
socio-cultural context of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods in which the Taima
mandala engi emaki and the Taima-dera engi emaki were created. My preceding
analysis of these two works has shown that Chûjôhime’s legend remained an account of
female salvation throughout its history, and that the expansion of her story resulted from
the infiltration of various medieval Japanese literary genres, such as origin legends,
religious sermons used in moralizing discourses, religious commentaries on the Taima
mandala, and noh plays.

This chapter situates the Taima-dera engi emaki within the literary genre of
Muromachi-period stepchild tales in order to shed light on the boundaries between the
religious and social constructions of gender predominant in this particular narrative. I
will investigate the ideological double-bind of Chûjôhime: as religious outcast – not
being able to attain enlightenment in her female body due to her sex – and as social
outcast – transgressing the bounds of her social role and neglecting her duty of filial
piety. The aim of my analysis is to show that Buddhist ambivalence toward women was
partially determined by social factors such as the patrilineal lineage into which women
were integrated as daughters, wives, and mothers.

Gender discrimination can, paradoxically, empower women in certain ways, which then in turn triggers other reactions and practices of gender discrimination. I propose that it was precisely because of this constant renegotiation of gender-power imbalance that Pure Land Buddhist ideology and social customs mutually influenced each other in casting transgressing women as religious and social outcasts in medieval Japanese society. Therefore, the significance of medieval Buddhist narratives such as the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, which combine stepchild stories with religious didactic tales, should not be read simply as entertaining accounts of female salvation, but also as a gender criticism and an index of the tensions generated by the patriarchal system.

A) Chapter Outline and Argument

Julia Kristeva states that “every text takes shape as a mosaic of citations, every text is the absorption and transformation of other texts.”¹ This statement is particularly true for the *Taima-dera engi emaki* as is evident from the development of Chūjōhime’s legend over the course of the Muromachi period. The focus of the narrative shifts from the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala to a family drama of Chūjōhime’s relationship to her dead mother, her stepmother, and her father, providing us with valuable information about the changing perceptions of motherhood, kinship, salvation,
marriage customs, and filial piety in medieval Japanese culture.

1.1 Locating the Taima-dera engi emaki within the Genre of Muromachi-period Stepchild Tales

The literary genre of “stepchild tales” is called *mamako-tan* 継子譚 or *mamako ijime* 継子いじめ in Japanese. Based on plot, stepchild tales can be categorized into four groups: 1) A couple prays for the birth of a child and, due to the mercy of a deity, a beautiful boy or girl is born. Shortly after, the mother dies and the father remarries. The stepmother’s feelings for the child turn into jealousy and she falsely accuses the child. In the end, the stepmother gets the father to tacitly consent to the child’s execution. The child escapes destruction by wandering to distant places in the course of which he/she is tested and made to suffer further. 2) The second group focuses on the stepmother’s attempt to have the child killed but the child is able to escape at the last moment. For example, in the *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 (Tales of Times Now Past) we find the story of a stepmother who orders a servant to take the young boy into the forest and to bury him alive. However, out of pity the servant spares the boy and, in the end, the child is reunited with his father. Chûjôhime’s narrative in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* comprises a combination of these two plots. Following the
mother’s prayers, Chûjôhime is miraculously conceived through the mercy of the bodhisattva Kannon. Shortly after, Chûjôhime’s mother dies and her father remarries. However, Chûjôhime's veneration for her dead mother as well as her prospects at court cause the stepmother to become jealous. She makes false accusations and orders a samurai to abandon Chûjôhime on Mount Hibari and to execute her. However, he has pity for the girl and hides her in a hermitage. On a hunting trip, Chûjôhime’s father discovers the whereabouts of his lost daughter, and parent and child are happily reunited. I propose that the combined usage of these two plots dramatizes the heroine’s pathos in the Taima-dera engi emaki – occurring exactly at the moment in the story when the Buddhist narrative takes center stage - and serves the primary purpose of proselytizing women’s salvation. In contrast to the majority of Heian-period stepchild tales, which emphasize marriage as the heroine’s rescue from her suffering, the Taima-dera engi emaki emphasizes tonsure not only as the heroine’s true escape from her suffering but also as an exemplary act of filial piety.

Group 3) consists of narratives which combine the figure of the stepmother with that of the grateful animal. A story in the Konjaku monogatari shû recounts that on a journey to Kyûshû the son of the government official Fujiwara no Yamakage went overboard. The child was miraculously rescued from drowning by a giant turtle. The
turtle tells the father that years ago he had set the animal free, and in gratitude he saved his son. The turtle then reveals to the father that it was the stepmother who threw the boy overboard. Lastly, group 4) is a variation on the stepmother tale which Marian Ury calls "the good stepmother story." As an example, she cites a tale from the *Hosshinshū* 発心集 (Collection of Tales of Religious Awakening) (1216) in which a mother's son and stepson are being accused of having killed a neighbor. Upon the judge's request to identify the guilty boy, the stepmother chooses her own son in order to spare her stepchild. The reason for her action is that she promised her husband on his deathbed that she would care for the stepchild as if he was her own son. Stepchild tales constituting groups 3) and 4) are quite rare in Japan. In contrast, stories of tortured stepchildren who survive the abuse at the hands of their wicked stepmothers constituting groups 1) and 2) are the most common and well-known representatives of Japanese stepchild stories and their roots can be traced back to specific Heian-period tales.

The earliest extant Heian-period stepchild tales include *Ochikubo monogatari* 落窟物語 (*Tale of the Sunken Room*, ca. 960), *Utsubo monogatari* 字津保物語 (*Tale of the Hollow Tree*, ca. 983), and *Sumiyoshi monogatari* 住吉物語 (*Tale of Sumiyoshi*, ca. 985). The plot of these early stepchild tales revolves around the Heian marriage
system of having multiple wives and the competition for economic and social status of these women. In these stories, the wicked stepmother is usually the second wife who favors her own children over the offspring of the deceased first wife. The stepmother’s hatred results from the stepchild being the daughter of another woman, but even more so because of the stepdaughter’s better marriage prospects, enraging the stepmother and slighting her daughters. In the end, the stepmother loses and the suffering stepchild is rewarded with marriage leading to a happy ending to the story.

In the Muromachi period, stepchild tales became a popular subgenre of *otogi-zōshi* 御伽草子, a collective term for Muromachi short stories. In 1730, the Osaka publisher and bookseller, Shibukawa Seiemon 渋川製衛門, published a woodblock-printed edition of twenty-three short stories — most of which were illustrated — under the title *Goshūgen Otogi Bunko* 御祝言御伽文庫 (*The Wedding Companion Library*). Over time, Shibukawa’s collection came to be known as *Otogi-zōshi* 御伽草子 (*Companion Stories*). In the years after 1867, a large corpus of other Muromachi short stories were discovered and also published under the title *otogi-zōshi*. Therefore, the literary genre called *otogi-zōshi* conventionally includes all short stories written in the Muromachi-period, and it is within this context that I am using the term *otogi-zōshi* in my discussion. Today, extant *otogi-zōshi* comprise some five hundred short prose
fictional narratives dating primarily to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{12}

*Otogi-zōshi* are characterized by a number of common features including their origin in an oral tradition, anonymous authorship, short text, emphasis on events rather than on complicated plots, and limited number of characters.\textsuperscript{13} However, the most important distinguishing characteristic of *otogi-zōshi* is the moral and religious lesson they convey. They conclude with references to the rewards of religious belief and moral conduct which are carefully woven into the fabric of tales deriving from oral tradition.

Muromachi-period versions of Chūjōhime’s legend, such as the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, exemplify this practice of borrowing stories from oral tradition and expanding their plots by adding religious and moral messages. The combination of Chūjōhime’s childhood narrative – losing her mother at an early age, suffering abuse at the hands of a wicked stepmother, being abandoned on Mount Hibari, escaping her execution, and being reunited with her father – with her religious experiences at Taima-dera – taking the tonsure, facilitating the creation of the Taima mandala, and seeing Amida Buddha in human form – adds a new twist to Chūjōhime’s legend. Furthermore, *otogi-zōshi* are strongly influenced by myth, legend, folklore, religious belief, and quasi-historical facts.

Their repertoire includes religious narrative traditions of Kamakura-period tales (*setsuwa* 說話), tales of the origins of deities (*honji mono* 本地物), hagiographies
Therefore, Muromachi-period *otogi-zōshi* share two common features with earlier Kamakura-period Buddhist tales – their oral tradition and their didactic purpose.

This synthesis of Heian-, Kamakura-, and Muromachi-period literary traditions in terms of their secular and religious subject matter is significant for the development of Muromachi stepchild tales, such as the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, which constitute a large portion of *otogi-zōshi*. A thorough investigation of the texts and images in Muromachi-period stepchild tales is beyond the scope of this chapter; the focus here is on those characteristics of stepchild tales relevant to the discussion of Chūjōhime’s story in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* in terms of how Buddhist and Confucian morals, as well as social factors, shaped images of women as daughters, wives, and mothers in the patriarchal system of medieval Japan. Therefore, in order to set the stage for my discussion, I have provided a comparative overview of the key narrative elements in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* and eleven Muromachi-period stepchild tales in Appendix F.

These eleven stepchild tales include *Hakone gongen engi* 箱根權現縁起 (*Miraculous Origin Legend of the Provisional Forms of Hakone*), *Tsukihi no honji* 月日の本地 (*Original Traces of the Moon and the Sun*), *Sumiyoshi monogatari* 住吉物語 (*Tale of Sumiyoshi*), *Ochikubo monogatari* 落窪物語 (*Tale of the Sunken Room*),
Iwaya no Sōshi (Story of the Grotto), Fuseya no monogatari (Tale of the Humble Cottage), Akizuki monogatari (Tale of the Autumn Moon), Hanayo no hime (Princess of the Flower Blossom), Hachikatsuki no sōshi (Story of the Bowl Girl), Shirakiku sōshi (Story of Shirakiku), and Asagao no Tsuyu (Princess of the Morning Glory). All these narratives and their variations are textually reproduced in Muromachi Jidai Monogatari Shū volumes II and III.14 Except for the Sumiyoshi and Ochikubo monogatari, which are descendants of Heian-period stepchild tales, all other narratives are considered to be Muromachi-period works. It should also be mentioned that Chūjōhime’s story does not appear in the Muromachi Jidai Monogatari Shū under the title Taima-dera engi Emaki but under the title of Chūjōhime monogatari 中将姫物語 even though the contents of the stepchild and mandala narrative are identical. The only difference between them is the lengthy historical origin legend of Taima-dera which is missing in the latter.15

The key narrative elements common to all the stepchild stories listed in Appendix F are 1) the death of the heroine’s mother, usually at a time when the heroine is still very young; the mother’s last plea to her husband not to show the daughter to anyone until she has reached adulthood; the mother’s funeral and 2) the father falling for the
stepmother’s slander and not interfering with his daughter’s misfortune. This similarity is not surprising considering the fact that these particular narrative elements are the descendants of Heian-period stepchild tales, such as the *Sumiyoshi* and *Ochikubo monogatari*, which were revived within the genre of *otogi-zōshi*. However, what is surprising and serves as an important point of departure for my discussion in this chapter is the drastic shift in focus of the key narrative elements when it comes to Muromachi-period stepchild tales.

Heian-period stepchild tales, which reflect the practice of having multiple wives of various ranks, address the heroine and her difficulties only to some limited extent. Instead the narratives place a greater emphasis on the physical and psychological struggles between adult women of different ranks living in the household of the heroine. Whereas the stepmother is usually a high-ranking principal wife (*kita no kata* 北方), the heroine’s mother, by contrast, is a lower-ranking secondary wife or mistress who, under the pressure and rivalry of the principal wife dies, leaving the heroine to suffer abuse by the stepmother. Since a child’s economic and social status is decided by the maternal relative, who raises and supports the child, the death of the mother leaves the child without a home even if the father is a powerful or high-ranking figure.

For example, in the *Ochikubo monogatari*, the heroine Lady Ochikubo is the
daughter of a high-ranking official and of a deceased wife of royal blood. Following her mother’s death, her father’s main wife keeps Lady Ochikubo in a kind of basement suite. Michiyori, the son of a high-ranking family, hears about Lady Ochikubo, visits her at night, and falls in love with her. When the stepmother discovers their relationship she becomes enraged with envy and makes false accusations against Lady Ochikubo, telling the father that his daughter had secret sexual relations with an old and low-ranking man. The father breaks with his daughter, who is locked up, but in the end Lady Ochikubo is freed by Michiyori, becomes his main wife, and the story culminates with a happy ending.16

In contrast, Muromachi-period stepchild tales focus almost exclusively on the abused heroine, highlighting the physical torment and emotional struggle she has to endure due to the stepmother’s slander. In the Taima-dera engi emaki the longest and most detailed textual and pictorial sections are devoted to episodes which explicitly emphasize the heroine’s suffering: the moment of the death of Chūjōhime’s mother, Chūjōhime’s double abandonment at “The Valley of the Dreadful Hell” (Jigokudani) and at Mount Hibari, her recitation of the Pure Land-Praising Sutra, her rescue by the samurai, her reunification with her father, and her taking the tonsure.17 The stepchild’s suffering reaches its climax when the noble heroine, falsely burdened with having
committed a transgression, is banished into exile and wanders in a lonely place.

Regarding this aspect, Chūjōhime’s double abandonment in the *Taima-dera engi* emaki— the first time at “The Valley of the Dreadful Hell;” the second time at Mount Hibari, a mountainous region far away from the capital where she escapes death by being saved through the mercy of a samurai and his wife — is of particular interest. Chūjōhime herself does not commit any transgression: her banishment into exile is solely the result of the jealous stepmother’s slander. Previous scholarship has suggested that it is precisely this addition and the greater emphasis on the innocent heroine overcoming these hardships that evoke pathos and make *otogi-zōshi* an appealing entertainment for women and children. I argue, however, that this is just one possible interpretation and marks the tip of the iceberg under which lurk more complex ways of reading and understanding these medieval Japanese stepchild tales in terms of the interplay between women, religion, society, and representations of power.

In addition to the narrative elements of 1) the mother’s death, her last request, her funeral and 2) the father falling for the stepmother’s slander, the *Taima-dera engi* emaki and other Muromachi-period tales listed in Appendix F such as the *Hakone gongen engi, Iwaya no sōshi* and *Fuseya monogatari* — just to name a few examples — elaborate in detail on 3) the father (stepmother) ordering a samurai to kill
the heroine, 4) the heroine being abandoned in the mountains with the intention of being executed, 5) the heroine reciting the nenbutsu a last time in honor of her dead mother, her father, and for her own salvation prior to her anticipated death, and 6) the heroine being saved and raised by a samurai and his wife instead of being killed. Based on these similarities, I propose that the unique character of medieval stepchild tales, although they retain some standard features found in Heian tales, is this family drama of the heroine’s relationship to her three parental figures – her dead mother, her stepmother, and her father – which is essentially the trigger for the heroine’s own initiative to end both her physical and emotional suffering. Moreover, unlike their Heian-period predecessors, most Muromachi-period stepchild tales do not end with the heroine’s prosperous and happy marriage but with the heroine taking the tonsure or becoming a deity. Furthermore, medieval stepchild tales are imbued with strong references to and undertones of Shinto, Buddhist, and Confucian ideals which is another significant and distinguishing characteristic. How can we account for these changes? Where do these new key narrative elements come from and how do they contribute to our reading and understanding of the Taima-dera engi emaki in terms of gender marginalization?

As mentioned previously, otogi-zōshi are a synthesis of religious tales (setsuwa), tales of the origin of deities (honji mono), and origin legends of temples and shrines
According to Barbara Ruch, in addition to noh plays and picture scrolls with Buddhist content, the most important primary source for *otogi-zōshi* is the *Shintoshū* (Collection of Stories Concerning the Way of the Gods). This text, which consists of three volumes, is dated ca. 1355 and attributed to Agui, who was a Tendai monk at Enryakuji. The *Shintoshū* is "an early anthology of fifty Buddhist narratives relating, in Chinese, the former Buddhist lives, expiatory agonies, and reincarnations as Shintō deities, of the divinities from many areas of Japan, together with histories of various shrines." A number of *otogi-zōshi* are secular embellishments of Buddhist narratives from this anthology. In particular, tales of deities and shrine legends in the *Shintoshū* are significant for the addition and emphasis of the above-mentioned key narrative elements. They are found primarily in narratives of stepchildren being sent into exile – as for example Chūjōhime in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* and Asagaohime in *Asagao no Tsuyu* – focusing on the physical and emotional struggles of the heroine, who, following her banishment into exile and wandering in remote lonely places, is rewarded with her attainment of salvation or deification at the end of the story.

Narratives of exile date back to the Japan’s earliest historical records – the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters), dated 712, and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀
(Chronicle of Japan), dated 720 – which trace the origins of the Yamato court back to
the “Age of the Gods.” In these early records, the theme of exile helped to trace the
genealogies of the gods and to align them with those of the ruling house, envisioning a
divine cosmos and establishing the order of society within it. During the Heian period,
the theme of exile appeared in conjunction with legends, poetry, monogatari, and the
legal practices of court rule. In this context, besides being simply a sanction by
the state, exile became a powerful trope through which the aristocracy imagined the
banishment of gods, legendary and literary characters, and historical figures, some of
which became transformed into deities.

However, most important, exile also provides an environment by which those
removed from spheres of power narrated their own lives, strategically employing
images of the center and its margins to emphasize their marginalization. In the Heian
imagination of exile, the divide between history and fiction was blurred: historical
exiles served as informing images for the heroes of fictional tales, while both historical
and fictional characters provided patterns and strategies through which later figures
narrated their lives. Genres of literature and painting involving exile offered a wealth of
signifying possibilities, through which the socio-political order was continually revealed
and re-imagined.
Similar to the above-mentioned narrative elements in Heian-period stepchild tales, the theme of exile also appears as a frequently used trope in Muromachi-period otogi-zōshi. All the stepchild tales listed in Appendix G focus on the heroine's exile and the suffering she undergoes in isolation; in the end she is rescued from her worldly suffering by becoming a saint or a deity. To what extent does the theme of the "exiled, wandering, and suffering noble heroine" emphasize the boundaries between the religious and social constructions of gender in the Taima-dera engi emaki? How does Chūjōhime's exile in the Taima-dera engi emaki shed light on the Buddhist ambivalence towards women which was partially determined by social factors such as the patrilineal lineage into which women were integrated as daughters, wives, and mothers?

1.2 Reading Gender Marginalization through the Theme of the “Exiled and Wandering Noble” in the Taima-dera engi emaki

The theme of the “exiled and wandering noble” (kishu ryūritan 貴種流離譚) was first introduced in 1924 by the Japanese ethnologist, Origuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 (1887-1953), in his book Nihon Bungaku no Hassei 日本文学の発生 (The Emergence of Japanese Literature). According to Origuchi, the concept of the “exiled and wandering noble” provided an important link connecting the earliest stories of the gods
as found in the *Kojiki* with the growth of an indigenous Japanese literary tradition, linking mythology with historical and literary narratives:

Such sacred narratives, which in the beginning came down as the tales of reciters [*kataribe*] from a distant sacred place, came into contact with historical reality and then parted again, gradually growing heavy with sadness as tales of the human world [...] Threading along in this manner, one after another, a single lineage of *ryūritan* can be found.\(^{26}\)

Origuchi suggests that stories (*tan*) centering on the “exiled and wandering noble” all consist of three distinctive narrative elements: 1) a hero or heroine of high or even divine birth (*kishu*), 2) the theme of exile or wandering (*ryūri*), and 3) the remote location of this exile at the margins, tracing a movement of the protagonist from the center to the margin. Furthermore, Origuchi mentions the theme of transgression as an important prerequisite for the protagonist’s exile to occur:

The cause of the banishment (*ryūzan* 流纒) of the Shining Prince Genji to Suma was because he had committed a transgression (*okasu koto* 侵す事) [...] Even though the transgression was of a different type, Kaguyahime in the *Taketori monogatari*, too, just prior to her ascent to heaven, revealed to the old man that she was a heavenly being, but because she had committed
a minor offense (isasaka no okashi 些かの犯し), she had come to live
in the human world.\textsuperscript{27}

In addition, Origuchi states that the “exiled and wandering noble” narrative trope
“originated with Japanese myths – such as the exile of the Shinto deity
Susano-o-no-mikoto to Izumo described in the Kojiki – came into contact with historical
reality, then diverged again, and gradually grew heavy with sadness as stories of the
human world.”\textsuperscript{28} Therefore, Origuchi considers the trope of the “exiled and wandering
noble” a key element for the interpretation of stories narrating the sorrow of gods and
noble heroes who find themselves confined to the margins far away from the heavenly
or courtly centers.

Although all characteristic features of the “exiled and wandering noble” are present
in the Taima-dera engi emaki – a heroine of noble/divine birth, an actual locale, the
heroine’s transgression (even though a distorted one), her banishment from the capital to
exile in the remote mountains, and her suffering and sadness in the human world – they
fail to explain the ideological double-bind of Chûjôhime as religious and social outcast.
The problem with Origuchi’s theory is that he considers the discursive construction and
destruction of the categories of center and margin only in terms of space – the places
facilitating the protagonist’s centralization and marginalization – but not in terms of
ideology - the processes underlying the protagonist’s centralization and marginalization.

In her study on the textual construction of marginality in Heian and Kamakura-period Japan, Terry Kawashima argues that the construction of the categories of center and margin are “not so much an understanding of the nature of the center or the margin, but of the process of marginalization.” She asks:

What is a “margin”? How does one come to conceive of something or someone as “marginal”? In texts from the mid-Heian to the early Kamakura period (tenth through thirteenth centuries) in Japan, certain figures appear, at first glance, to be “marginal,” or removed from the “centers” of power. The question is: Why do we see these figures in this way? [...] Who is portraying whom as “marginal”? For what reason?

Thus, in analyzing Chûjôhime’s exile in order to shed light on the boundaries between the religious and social constructions of gender in the Taima-dera Engi Emaki, we need to focus on the specific processes through which center and margin are discursively redefined, and to investigate in Kawashima’s words “the relationship between textual representation and claims to power.” Moving beyond the static reproduction of the binary relation of the categories of center and margin, Kawashima
explains the importance of focusing on the process of centralization and marginalization as follows:

Perhaps it is more useful to think that the static categories “center” and “margin” do not exist as such. In other words, these two opposed, abstract, and metaphorical spaces are not themselves the most significant components in marginality. Only the process, marginalization, exists […] Marginalization is thus a specific act; no textual instance of marginalization proves the existence of a timeless or universal center and margin […] In this paradigm, then, there is no single center surrounded by a single margin; instead, different and fleeting instances of marginalization/marginalized relationships appear and reappear in a dynamic fashion.32

My discussion of Chûjôhime in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* attempts to put Kawashima’s theory into practice, investigating how narratives imagining exile asserted specific visions of both center and margin. This approach implies that existing constellations of power were always the subject of negotiation and contestation, and that new centers and margins could emerge as people continually reimagined and reconfigured their relation within the social order.
In the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, we can identify two different processes underlying Chūjōhime’s marginalization: first, the Buddhist attitude towards woman – not being able to attain enlightenment in her female body due to her sex – and in particular towards motherhood which it turned into a sin. Second, the power structure of the patriarchal system presenting Chūjōhime as a social outcast because she transgresses the bounds of her social role and neglects her duty of filial piety vis-à-vis her father.

The Buddhist theme of female salvation, particularly the salvation of mothers, in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* is emphasized by this family drama of the heroine’s relationship to her three parental figures – her dead mother, her stepmother, and her father. Shortly after Chūjōhime’s birth her mother dies, and her father remarries. Chūjōhime treats the stepmother as if she were her own flesh and blood, but at the same time she also continues to perform memorial services in honor of her dead mother. Enraged by jealousy over Chūjōhime’s deep veneration for her dead mother and the girl’s prospects at court, the stepmother banishes Chūjōhime from the capital. However, the stepmother’s plan to cut the ties between Chūjōhime and her deceased mother, her father, and the emperor backfires. Ironically, it is precisely Chūjōhime’s marginalization as the “exiled and wandering heroine” that results in her spiritual awakening (*hosshin 発心*), which strengthens the bond between her and her parents, especially between her
and her mother. Chūjōhime’s awakening is not the realization of her mother’s absence but her realization that all her suffering is caused by the stepmother’s slander as stated in the following passage from the Taima-dera engi emaki:

The princess thought carefully:

"The reason why I encountered this misery is because of my stepmother’s profound hatred. How sad! If I were in the same world as my real mother, such misery would hardly occur. Though in this present life my fate is painful suffering, how I wish that in the afterlife I could be born in a place where I will be free from suffering."33

As indicated by this passage, Chūjōhime’s awakening results from her own psychological crisis – her physical and emotional suffering at the hands of her evil stepmother – causing Chūjōhime’s longing for her mother, and her wish to be reunited with her mother in the afterworld.

Chūjōhime’s prolonged mourning for her dead mother – who resides in the “other world” – leads to great disorder and suffering. A similar story, where a child mourns and
longs for his dead mother in the “other world,” and is exiled as a consequence, is the banishment of the god Susano-o-no-mikoto 須佐之男命 in the Kojiki. Following the death of Izanami-no-mikoto 伊邪那美命, her husband, Izanagi-no-mikoto 伊邪那岐命, divides his rule among his children. The moon god assumes reign over the night, Susano-o-no-mikoto over the ocean, and the sun goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神 over the high heavenly plain.\(^{34}\)

In contrast to his brother and sister, Susano-o-no-mikoto rejects this order of succession and instead engages in deep mourning for his dead mother. Therefore, Amaterasu Ōmikami banishes Susano-o-no-mikoto – not only once but twice – from the heavenly plain. Not only does he ignore his sister’s first order of exile and challenges her authority as ruler, but he commits a series of transgressions which cause Amaterasu Ōmikami to hide in a cave taking the sunlight with her. In the end, Susano-o-no-mikoto is exiled to Izumo.\(^{35}\) Origuchi describes Susano-o-no-mikoto’s exile as follows:

His mother’s land \((haha ga kuni 母が国)\) Susano-o-no-mikoto cried longing for, turning green mountains barren, and from which Inahi-no-mikoto came riding along the wave tops, is the spiritual homeland that our ancestors longed for. Generations of storytellers have explained that it is called their mother’s land because [Susano-o-no-mikoto's mother] Izanami and [Inahi-no-mikoto’s
mother] Tamayorihime retired there, but the truth is that these stories narrate the longing felt by all people for their original land (mototsu kuni 本つ国). Origuchi’s use of the phrase “original land” (mototsu kuni) is a reference to the otherworldly realm (tokoyo 常世), re-presented as the eternal realm of the gods. Thus, this otherworldly realm provides an important context for the trope of the “exiled and wandering noble.” The theme of a child longing for his/her dead mother, inspired a vast body of stories that narrate the sorrow of the gods and noble heroes and heroines who find themselves far away from the heavenly or courtly center – such as Chûjôhime in the Taima-dera engi emaki. This aspect is significant regarding the popularity of Chûjôhime’s expanded narrative combining a stepchild story with a Buddhist account of female salvation, particularly the salvation of mothers.

The salvation of mothers by their sons is a traditional and well-known theme in East Asian Buddhism. Two of the most famous accounts of sons saving their mothers are the hagiographic narratives of the monk Genshin 源信 (942-1017) and the monk Mokuren 目連. Genshin arrives at his mother’s deathbed and chants the rinjû nenbutsu 臨終念仏 to facilitate his mother’s birth in Amida’s Pure Land. Unlike Genshin, Mokuren arrives too late; his mother has already passed away and fallen into hell. In order to save his mother, Mokuren visits her in hell and, through his virtue of
having become a monk and his recitation of the *Lotus Sutra*, he is able to save his mother. As the Confucian notion of filial piety penetrated Buddhism in medieval Japan, both parents were included in their children’s prayers. This aspect is illustrated in the accounts of Genshin and Mokuren, as well as in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* where Chûjôhime, prior to her intended execution, recites the *Pure Land-Praising Sutra* for the salvation of her mother, father, and herself. However, when it comes to the actual point of saving one’s parents from falling into hell, almost all stories tell of sons saving their mothers from hell, and we rarely encounter narratives in which sons save their fathers or daughters their mothers. This suggests the extent to which faith itself came to be gendered. The *Taima-dera engi emaki* is of interest because it is the only extant account where a daughter takes the tonsure at a very young age, leaves her family and therefore neglects her duty of filial piety towards her father in order to save her mother.

What is the significance of this gender reversal? How is this particular portrayal of Chûjôhime as pious nun and unfilial daughter vis-à-vis her father important for reading this Buddhist tale of female salvation in terms of gender marginalization? To what extent does the insertion of the wicked stepmother narrative trope into the *Taima-dera engi emaki* aid in communicating Buddhist values regarding women and salvation and Confucian values concerning women and filial piety?
The earliest textual reference to Chûjôhime’s quest for saving her mother in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* is the previously cited passage where she realizes that all her sufferings are due to the stepmother’s profound hatred, and that none of these hardships would have occurred if she were living in the same world as her real mother. It is with this realization that she— at the age of nine— asks a monk to ordain her.\(^{44}\) However, a closer examination of the pictorial sections in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* reveals that Chûjôhime’s religious devotion and desire to save her mother starts at a much earlier point in the narrative: the scene of her mother passing away. This particular episode is significant because it challenges the common notion of male and female gender roles in terms of kinship, filial piety, and Buddhist ideology in medieval Japanese culture.

According to medieval Japanese Buddhist ideology women are seen as impure based on the concept of the “Five Hindrances,” which came to be equated with women’s imagined inferiority and moral characteristics associated with women such as the “seven sins”— including deceit, greed, and impurity— as expounded in Muju Ichien’s *Tsuma kagami*. Works, as for example the *Kojiki* and the *Shintôshû*, exerted a great influence on medieval stepchild tales because the deities in these stories undergo the same suffering that human beings do, and since they become deities at the end of
their suffering, they understand and redeem human suffering as well.\textsuperscript{45} I propose that Chūjōhime in the \textit{Taima-dera engi emaki}, based on her extreme religious devotion and exemplary act of filial piety to her mother – all performed in the body of a young girl – is precisely one of these deities, namely a bodhisattva in the guise of seven-year-old girl.

The story of the Dragon King’s eight-year-old daughter attaining enlightenment in the “Devadatta” chapter of the \textit{Lotus Sutra} is frequently cited as exemplary proof that women can attain enlightenment once their female bodies have changed into male ones. Although this story was an inspiration for medieval female audiences in their quest for enlightenment, the story is problematic – in addition to the fact that it does not explain how this sex change occurs – because a male body is eventually acquired in the end.

In the sixth chapter of the \textit{Sutra on the Original Vow of the Bodhisattva Jizō (Jizō bosatsu hongankyō 地蔵菩薩本願経)}, we find a slightly different story related to women’s attainment of salvation. Śākyamuni Buddha promises all women a future free of female rebirth if they worship the bodhisattva Jizō:

\textbf{If there are women who detest the body of a woman, and who wholeheartedly make offerings to the image of Jizō, whether the image be a painting or made of stone, clay or metal, and if}
they do so day after day without fail, continually using flowers, incense, food, drink, clothing, colored silks, banners, money, jewels and other items as offerings, when the female bodies received as retribution in that particular life by those good women come to an end, for hundreds of thousands of aeons, they will never again be reborn in worlds where there are women, much less be born as one, unless it be through the strength of their compassionate vows to take on a woman’s body voluntarily in order to liberate human beings. By receiving the power resulting from these offerings to Jizō and the power of meritorious virtues, they will not undergo retribution in the bodies of women throughout hundreds and thousands of aeons.46

This passage also supports the henjō nanshi Buddhist concept that a woman’s body is the result of her past bad karma, should be reviled by her, and she should strive for rebirth in a male body. While the sutra is of male authorship and reflects the gender ideology of a patriarchal society, women were aware of such teachings. To many, the fate of having been born in a female body rather than in a male one, with its risks of
death in childbirth, or inferior position, or abuse at the hands of their husbands or their in-laws, as well as other hardships, may have seemed as the kind of karmic retribution clearly communicated through this passage.\textsuperscript{47}

However, what is new and striking about this passage is the fact that beings who enjoy their female bodies are promised by Jizō rebirth as a beautiful and noble lady. Therefore, the \textit{Sutra on the Original Vow of the Bodhisattva Jizō} has issues of gender and female sexuality as its basic doctrine, and seems – at a first glance – to contradict the Buddhist ideology of \textit{henjō nanshi}. Recalling the scene of Chūjōhime’s birth, the \textit{Taima-dera engi emaki} mentions in detail the beauty of the girl:

\begin{quote}
Since the child was conceived through Kannon’s blessing, the child’s face was more beautiful than any flower and she was purer than any jewel. [...] She will probably advance to the rank of a court lady or even that of a empress.\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

Do these two references to the beauty of a female body contradict the \textit{henjō nanshi} religious patriarchal construct? The \textit{Sutra on the Original Vow of the Bodhisattva Jizō} contains two stories of daughters who, through their sincere filial piety, save their mothers from hell. The first story tells about Jizō being a holy Brahman woman whose mother, upholding wrong views and ridiculing the Three Jewels before her death,
suffered in the uninterrupted hell. The filial daughter was empowered to go to hell and save her mother. The second story tells of Jizō being a woman called “Bright Eyes” whose mother fell into an evil path where she suffered greatly because she enjoyed eating fish, turtles, and the like and as a result took thousands of lives. The deceased mother was reborn as a maidservant’s son in Bright Eyes’ house and was punished by having a short lifespan. When Bright Eyes found out about this, she vowed to devote all her future lives to save other beings if her mother was released from this evil path.49

The lesson learned from these didactic tales is that after a parent’s death, a filial child’s good deeds are the only effective means to save one from suffering in the hells. In other words deceased people are completely powerless in terms of their fate, except for depending solely on their surviving relatives, especially their children.

The key to understanding why Chûjôhime in the Taima-dera engi emaki resembles a bodhisattva in human form is her age. We are told that she is seven years old at the point of her mother’s passing. In Japan, age plays an important role in women’s life cycles, the most important being the age of thirteen when girls are believed to enter puberty and become sexually mature women.50 According to Buddhist ideology, it is precisely because Chûjôhime has not reached puberty yet – as is also the case with the eight-year old daughter of the dragon king who attained enlightenment – that her body
has not turned into the defiled reproductive vessel of a woman. Therefore, Chūjōhime does not transgress religious norms because a bodhisattva is as genderless as a little girl who has not reached puberty yet, and is not challenging the *henjō nanshi* concept of gender marginalization. In fact, this emphasis on her “asexuality” as a bodhisattva enhances the Buddhist doctrine of *henjō nanshi* even more because it foreshadows her fate of being confined to her female sexuality and with this to the reproductive cycle of wives and mothers. Her only way of escape from this female body which— as evident from Chūjōhime’s mother’s last words— is the main obstruction for women’s attainment of salvation, is the transformation of her female body into that of a male; it is her only possibility of being reborn in Amida’s Pure Land.

1.3 Changing Images of Japanese Daughters and Mothers

The mother figure plays an important role in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* on three different levels: 1) Chūjōhime’s dead mother being the cause for her worship of Amida Buddha in order to save her mother, 2) Chūjōhime’s stepmother being the cause for her suffering, and 3) Chūjōhime’s sexuality— her transformation from daughter to sexually mature woman during the course of the narrative— being the cause for her social obligation of becoming a wife and mother.

Initially, mothers were highly respected in medieval Japan, and particularly the legal
codes of the Kamakura period paid more attention to the role of mothers than those of subsequent periods. For instance, Kujō no Kanezane (1149-1207) in his diary Gyokuyō 玉葉 (compiled between 1164-1200) states that women are superior to men because every woman is the true mother of the Buddhas of the Three Periods, whereas no man is their true father. This statement refers to the fact that the historical Buddha Sākyamuni himself was born from a woman, as was the Buddha of the past and as will be the Buddha of the future. In contrast to the well-known story of the monk Kūkai 空海 (774-835) and his mother – in which monasticism clearly separates mother and child – the accounts of Genshin, Mokuren, and Chūjōhime illustrate that monastic ordination did not always imply a break between mother and child, regardless of gender.

The Buddhist attitude toward motherhood was particularly ambivalent. On the one hand, Buddhism valued motherhood as is evident from hagiographies like those of Genshin, Mokuren, and Chūjōhime, who saved their mothers from hell. On the other hand, Buddhism turned motherhood into a sin. One of the major reasons for the inferior place assigned to women in Buddhist canonical writing was the identification of woman as the site of impurity and as the bearer of particular vices or sins. This is a theme that is regularly taken up in setsuwa collections. In Tsuma kagami (Mirror for Women), dated
1300, Muju Ichien quotes the founder of the Disciplinary Sect in China, Dao Xuan, to elaborate on the seven grave vices of women. First and foremost, women have no compunction about arousing sexual desire in men. They are particularly given to being of a jealous nature, and they are deceitful. They focus purely on themselves and expend their energies in self-adornment in order to seduce men. They are trapped in the sin of worldly attachment. Uncontrolled desire leads them to shamelessness and delusion. Lastly, their bodies are unclean with frequent menstrual discharges, pregnancy and childbirth.53

With the popularization of Pure Land Buddhism in the Kamakura period and its various schools, three distinct ideological elements came to be connected into a coherent discourse on women: 1) the ontological concept of the “Five Hindrances,” 2) the social concept of the “Three Obligations,” and 3) the biological concept of blood impurity related to women’s menstruation and childbirth.

Formerly, the concept of the “Five Hindrances” was simply a kind of juridical restriction. In Japan, it was only in the ninth century, a period characterized by significant changes in the perception of women, that the “Five Hindrances” came to be equated with women’s inferiority and negative female moral characteristics such as deceit, greed, impurity and – most important – the sin of worldly attachment. The
following passage from the *Taima-dera engi emaki* illustrates how this sin of attachment attributed to women posed a particular hindrance for mothers and their attainment of salvation:

However, when the princess was seven and the minister’s young prince five years old, their mother became sick. The doctor’s remedies were unsuccessful, and even the benevolence of Buddhist and Shinto deities could not cure her. One day, when her condition turned for the worst, the principal wife secretly called the minister to her side and said:

“This is the end. [We pledged] that we would walk together to the afterworld, into fire, and even to the bottom of the sea, so that neither of us would be left alone. If your feelings have not changed, take me to Mount Shide and the Sanzu River, and to King Emma’s court.” [...] After a short while she said:

“If there is one thing a person should never have it is a child. Now here I am trying to recite the *nenbutsu* with a single-steady heart to facilitate my birth in the Pure Land, but all I keep thinking about are my two children.”

The mother’s occupied thoughts about the well-being and future of her two children prevent her from concentrating on reciting the *nenbutsu*. The exhortation to the dying person is stated as follows in the “deathbed practice” (*rinjū gyōgi* 遺終行儀) section of
Genshin's Ōjōyōshū:

You should not visualize any form except the features of the Buddha. You should not hear any sounds except the Buddha's words of the Dharma. You should not speak of anything except the true teachings of the Buddha. You should not think of anything except birth in the Pure Land. \(^{55}\)

Therefore, while it is a woman's social obligation to be a wife and a mother, it is an obstacle for enlightenment because of the sin of attachment women are prone to. This form of a love for a child that clouds one's judgment and creates an attachment to the world that becomes an obstacle to salvation is called kokoro no yami 心闇 (darkness of the heart). Literary references to kokoro no yami appear in Heian-period waka poetry, as illustrated in the following poem by Fujiwara no Kanesuke 藤原兼輔 (877-933) from the Gosenshū 後撰集 (1103):

Hito no oya no Though the heart of a parent
Kokoro ha yami ni Is not darkness,
Arane domo I wander lost,
Ko wo omou michi ni Thinking of my child.
Madoinuru kana

In the Taima-dera engi emaki the kokoro no yami Buddhist metaphor for the inner turmoil resulting from attachment is manifested through Chūjōhime’s mother despising her female sexuality and role as mother because, instead of concentrating on chanting
the nenbutsu in order to attain rebirth in Amida’s Pure Land, her thoughts are distracted by her worries about her children. Buddhism heavily utilized this weakness of mothers’ attachment to their children as proof that women need to transform into men in order to attain Buddhahood, thereby diminishing the status of woman compared to that of man within the patriarchal system of Buddhism.

From a social perspective, mothers were also in the twilight of being valued and being degenerated at the same time. In the Gukanshō, Jien (1155-1225) focuses on the mother’s womb but emphasizes the maternal pain of childbirth: human birth is a process of being born after staying in the mother’s womb. The suffering of a mother is beyond description. Suffering thus, mothers give birth to human beings, and Jien presents this discussion to explain the reigns of ancient Japanese empresses, thereby glorifying the role of women – both as daughters and mothers:

The truth of the old saying that women provide the “finishing touches” (nyonin jugan) in this country was revealed by the appearance of [...] reigning Empresses. In trying to understand the basis for this in the Buddhist teachings, I conclude that the phrase “birth of the human world” clearly points to the meaning of the fact that people are all born from the wombs of women. The pain that a
mother suffers in childbirth is indescribable... So the principle that a person should try to take care of and revere his mother was followed. Reigning Empresses Jingū and Kōgyoku were placed on the throne because each was the wife of the previous Emperor and also the mother of the Crown Prince.\textsuperscript{57}

As evident in this statement, Jien justifies the existence and glorification of female rulers and the subsequent Fujiwara consorts based on the fact that they were “mothers of the country” (kokumo 国母), rather than by their biological capacities and own charisma. In other words, even though motherhood was highly honored – both in the religious and social arenas – and Heian aristocrats may have considered their consorts as “finishing touches,” in fact these women were mere instruments in the matrimonial strategies. This instrumental image of motherhood as a commodity in matters of kinship provides a very different view from that of mothers idealized by Buddhist monks. The medieval emphasis on motherhood can be seen paradoxically as a symptom of women’s loss of status, both in religion and society.

Therefore, Chūjōhime’s narrative in the Taima-dera engi emaki is not only of interest for the religious construction of women as mothers, but is equally significant for the social construction of women as daughters, wives, and mothers in early medieval
Japan, especially in terms of marriage politics. On the one hand, Chûjôhime's resistance towards marriage – she becomes the emperor's consort at the age of thirteen but, following her abandonment on Mount Hibari, at the age of fifteen she chooses to take the tonsure instead of continuing a glorious life at court – plays a key role for the salvation of her mother. On the other hand, Chûjôhime's transgression of her social role as a daughter by neglecting her duty of filial piety vis-à-vis her father in order to facilitate her mother's birth in the Pure Land, sheds light on the boundaries between the religious and social constructions of gender in the Taima-dera engi emaki.

The "relationship between textual representations and claims to power" in the Taima-dera engi emaki challenges notions of the status of women – not only in the Heian court society imagined in the text but also in the real world of the Sengoku period (1467-1573) in which this handscroll painting was made.\(^{58}\)

Chûjôhime’s strong resistance towards marriage is reminiscent of that of Kaguyahime かぐや姫 in the Tale of the Bamboo Cutter (Taketori monogatari 竹取物語), which is considered to be the oldest extant Japanese monogatari and is dated ca. 900.\(^{59}\) The story tells of an old and poor bamboo cutter who finds a tiny radiant child concealed within a stalk of bamboo. He takes her home and, together with his wife, raises her as if she were their own daughter. Meanwhile, on his daily trips to the forest
in search for bamboo, he finds gold inside the bamboo stalks and – through this accumulation of gold – becomes a wealthy man. Part of the bamboo cutter’s “cache” is the child, who in three months grows into a beautiful woman – who emits a kind of divine radiance – and becomes the object of male interest throughout the land.

However, Kaguyahime remains uninterested in marriage. When it comes down to five suitors whose efforts will not cease, the bamboo cutter tries to persuade Kaguyahime, explaining that even though she is a transformed being of divine nature, she still possesses a human form, and a female form at that. Therefore, she must think about her future when the old bamboo cutter is no longer alive; she must choose a husband. In response, out of her resistance to marriage, Kaguyahime assigns to the suitors impossible tasks which they fail to accomplish. As the suitors resort to lying and deceit, fashioning counterfeit versions of the tasks she assigned, the men are discovered, ridiculed and dismissed.

The extreme reluctance of both Chūjōhime and Kaguyahime to marry is striking for its mockery of patriarchal practices in Nara and Heian marriage politics, where women provided the “capital” through which families elevated and secured their social and political position. Such politics of intermarriage facilitated the rise to power of one aristocratic family in particular – the northern branch of the Fujiwara clan – who...
married their daughters into the imperial line as the Emperor's consorts, and thus managed to gain control in the selection of crown princes and future emperors.

Within this context, the strong resistance of Kaguyahime and Chûjôhime who, on the one hand, show affection to the parental figures who raised them but, on the other hand, when it comes to marriage, neglect their duty of filial piety and rather accept exile for disobedience than to serve as the emperor's consort at court, deserves closer attention.

In the mid Heian period the Fujiwara clan's rise to power ushered in the so-called regent (sekkan 撰閲) political system, in which the authority of the emperor was overshadowed by the Fujiwara regents who nominally acted as advisors to the emperor. Increasingly, with the marriage of their daughters into the imperial line, the Fujiwara clan rose to power because the regent was the maternal uncle, grandfather, or father-in-law of the emperor. Serving as both regent for a child emperor (sesshô 撰政) or regent for an emperor who had come of age (kanpaku 関白), the Fujiwara clan gained unparalleled power through offices outside the system originally included in the state's administrative codes.62

In the Tale of the Bamboo Cutter and the Taima-dera engi emaki, however, the power of the Fujiwara clan is nowhere to be found. Instead, the aristocratic nobility is
replaced by weak and unsuccessful suitors who fail to accomplish the tasks
Kaguyahime has given them, as well as by an emperor himself who is unable to order
Kaguyahime to his court as his consort or to prevent her return to the moon.⁶³ The story
introduces the emperor just after the failure of the last suitor. The emperor has become
curious about Kaguyahime who “refused to marry and vainly brought so many men to
ruin,” and he promises the bamboo cutter the potential of court rank if he can arrange a
meeting between him and Kaguyahime.⁶⁴ The emperor surprises Kaguyahime at
home, just long enough to get a glimpse of her otherworldly beauty. When the emperor
grabs her arm and attempts to drag her into his carriage, she disappears in a flash of
light. The emperor begs her to reappear, but in the end leaves defeated, feeling as
though “he has left his soul behind.”⁶⁵ Towards the end of the story, the emperor learns
from the bamboo cutter that Kaguyahime has told him that she is actually an immortal
from the moon and that she must return to the “other world” on the night of the full
moon of the eighth month. The emperor orders her not to return, and has guards
surrounding her house to prevent her from leaving, but in the end all his efforts fail.⁶⁶

The figure of a powerless emperor also appears in the Taima-dera engi emaki.

However, here the emperor is actively involved in the heroine’s childhood – he sends
his imperial messengers to return Chûjôhime and her brother to the capital following
their abandonment in the Valley of the Dreadful Hell — before she becomes his consort. The emperor also rejoices following Chūjōhime’s return to the court after she was abandoned by the stepmother on Mount Hibari. Though both heroines strongly oppose marriage, there is one distinctive difference between their escape from the social constraints imposed upon women as wives and mothers by the patriarchal system. Whereas Kaguyahime is taken back to the “other world” — the moon — by the moon king and his entourage, Chūjōhime turns away from the social expectations of her being a filial daughter vis-à-vis her father and a good wife to her husband out of her own initiative to go to the “other world” — Amida’s Pure Land — where she will be free of suffering and reunited with her mother:

As Hitomi Tonomura has shown, changes in marriage practice coincided with the gradual decline of property rights of women from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries. Until the fourteenth century, aristocratic women held some of the largest property and income in the country. In the Heian period, aristocratic women enjoyed a relatively high status when uxorilocal marriage and female property inheritance were prevalent, but the society itself was under patriarchal authority of the Fujiwara regents and the imperial line. During the Insei period, the emperor’s mother received the title of “mother of the country” (kokomo 国母), whereas an unmarried member of the
emperor's patrilineal family received the title of "associate mother" (junbo 崇母). In addition to these "mothers," emperors' wives as well possessed substantial property.\(^{69}\)

Wakita states that "from the fourteenth century onward, women completely lost the right not only to inherit but also to amass property."\(^{70}\) This was due to 1) the great financial distress of the aristocratic class and to 2) women's loss of control in religious ceremonies in villages, which had elevated them to a pivotal position in the local community and therefore had given them a say in property-related matters.\(^{71}\)

The Kamakura period was characterized by an efficient administration, and a long as this state of affairs endured it was safe to leave land property to women, who could appeal to respected authority for protection. In the Muromachi period, however, this situation changed drastically because of the breakdown of peace and order under the Ashikaga shogunate. As the central authority grew weak, military power became the only guarantee of safe possession. The Muromachi period can be considered as a turning point in medieval Japanese history because changes in marriage forms, as well as in inheritance structures, and consequently in family structure, led to the emergence of the feudal system. Thus, this period marked the deterioration of the position and status of women in terms of reduced economic dependence, subordination in the feudal hierarchy, and increasing subservience to their in-laws.
A woman's relationship to her own parents, husband, children, and even her own body had been formulated by the reality of physical transfer to the man's house.

According to Tonomura:

Within this transfer, the woman's body became a measurable entity, symbolically enumerated in the material objects that accompanied her. Marriage became a "performed-for-an-audience" social drama in which the woman's body was a trophy for the man's conquest, not for sexual pleasure but for such external purposes as political or military alliances.\(^7\)

As I have demonstrated in this chapter, the emphasis on motherhood did not reflect an improvement on the status of women, rather the identification of women with motherhood contributed to maintain women in a secondary status to men, both in the religious and social spheres. Therefore, it seems contradictory that this view would have been promoted by Buddhism. But we have noted the reluctance of the male-centered Buddhist tradition to accept women within its ranks. Yet, even if motherhood is usually co-opted by the dominant male ideology, it constitutes an important element of women's religious practice and their role in Buddhism. Therefore it should not simply be seen from a male viewpoint. As Susan Sered states: "The realities of motherhood lead women to diverse sorts of deities that fit the diversity of
mothering experiences. Motherhood is not a matter of absolutes, but of particular sorrows, joys, decisions and personalities. The same factors that encourage the development of immanent deities in women's religions discourage the development of either a male omnipotent god or a female great goddess. Grounded in the here and now, in particular relationships, the deities of women's religions tend to be as ambiguous as life itself.\textsuperscript{73}

Thus, one could argue that the ideology of motherhood, even if it played a part in the development of patriarchal society, forced Buddhism to hold its fundamentalist tendencies in check and to open itself to the various local religions. In a sense then women may have been able to use and subvert this male ideology. As illustrated through Chûjôhime's narrative in the \textit{Taima-dera engi emaki}, not every woman fell into the trap of patriarchal discourse and accepted her destiny as wife and mother. Regarding the Buddhist view of multiple lives, some realized that motherhood is merely one stage in a woman's life cycle, or one of the roles we women encounter in one life or another, as stated by the Buddha's aunt prior to her passing: "Formerly I was mother, son, father, brother, and grandmother... This is my last life."\textsuperscript{74} Buddhist attitudes towards mothers are very ambivalent, and this ambivalence turned out in the end as a productive double-bind.
As mentioned by Faure, motherhood should not be regarded as a simple concept, and Buddhists, by emphasizing – and at the same time denying – the uterine relationship, are far from facing the complex reality of mother-child relationships. Regardless of choice, affirming motherhood as limitation or denying it as repression, from a male perspective, one is confronted in both cases with a kind of repression. As I have shown in my analysis of the passage of Chūjōhime’s mother’s passing, her worry about ending up in hell because she is a woman and because she can’t concentrate on reciting the nenbutsu in order to be born in the Pure Land due to her attachment to her children, has shown that the ideology of motherhood can serve as well as to affirm the power of women as to entrap it.

The ideology of motherhood not only pitted some women against others within the patriarchal family, but also demarcated fertile women from others who rejected the procreative path. From this ideological viewpoint, which presents the mother as the ideal woman, both the nun and the courtesan are deviants. They may differ in their attitude toward sexuality, but they agree in their rejection of procreativity, and in that sense they both constitute challenges to the patrilineage. From a different perspective, however, all of them – wife, mother, and nun – accept patriarchal institutions, although different ones, the family and the monastery, respectively.
In the following final chapter, I will expand on the analysis of motherhood by investigating the validity of the Ajase complex—a psychoanalytic theory, which draws on the Buddhist legend of Ājatasatru in the Taima mandala. An examination of the maternally-focused storyline in both the narrative of Queen Vaidehi in the Taima mandala and that of Chūjōhime in the Taima-dera engi emaki will question the influence these Buddhist legends of female salvation exert on the religious and social construction of the maternal principle in the Japanese psyche.

Notes to Chapter Four

2 The most commonly cited reasons for the stepmother’s hostility toward the stepchild are (1) the stepmother’s jealousy on behalf of her own children whom she would like to inherit all of the family property, (2) in case of the stepchild being a boy who has reached manhood, the stepmother might have made sexual overtures to him but was rejected, and (3) the stepmother’s jealousy results from no specific reason, except for her wicked nature. Marian Ury, “Stepmother Tales in Japan,” in Children’s Literature, vol. 9 (1981): 63.
3 Ibid., 63-66.
4 Ibid., 67.
5 Ibid., 67.
6 Ibid., 67.
7 Ibid., 68.
Ibid., 17.
12 For a list of extant *otogi-zōshi* see Matsumoto Ryūshin 松本隆信, *Otogi-zōshi Shū* お伽草子集 (Tokyo: Shinchōsa, 1980), 393-410. This list of 347 works does not include librettos for musical and recitational performances (*kōwaka-bukyoku* 幸若舞曲), which were frequently read as fictional narratives and therefore should be classified under the genre of *otogi-zōshi*.
13 Among the some five hundred extant *otogi-zōshi*, only one work – the *Tenpitsu wagō rakauchi fuku kai enman hitsuketsu no monogatari* 天筆和合楽地福皆円満筆結の物語 – has been identified in terms of authorship. It was written by the retired samurai, Ishii Yasunaga 石井康長, in 1480. Ichiko, *Chiisei Shōsetsu no Kenkyū*, 388-9. The length of *otogi-zōshi* averages between twenty to forty modern Japanese typeset pages, and none exceeds one hundred pages which was the maximum length of a story that had to be recited orally by story tellers in a single sitting. Chigusa Steven, “Hachikazuki: A Muromachi Short Story,” in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 32, no.3 (1977): 304.
15 Various Muromachi and Edo-period versions, which take the *Taima-dera engi emaki* as their basis, are entitled *Chūjōjime monogatari*. See appendix A for extant examples.
17 These events are illustrated in scroll two and three. The total length of textual and pictorial; passages depicting these narrative elements is 2783.00 centimeters.
18 See Hank Glassman, “Show me the Place where my Mother is!” in Richard K. Payne & Kenneth K. Tanaka, eds., *Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitābha* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004), 139. Originally, *otogi-zōshi* were considered entertainment for young children and women. Kenkyūsha’s 1954 edition of the *New Japanese-English Dictionary* lists *otogi-zōshi* as ‘fairy tales’, and the 1974 edition refers to the term as ‘stories for women and children.’ Steven, “Hachikazuki,” 303. However, based on the variety of themes – including homosexual love between a monk and his young disciples, and stories of revenge – it is clear that the audience for *otogi-zōshi* did not exclusively consist of women and children, but also to a large part included men. Ibid., 304.
20 Kondō, *Shintōshū*, 2. Both Kondo and Wakita point out that this attribution to the monk Agui is problematic because of the text’s strong Buddhist-Shintō syncreticism, which rather suggests the *Shintōshū* being a collaborate work.
23 Examples of exiled and wandering nobles in Heian-period literature include
historical figures such as Sugawara no Michizane 奈良道真 (845-903) in the Kitano tenjin engi 北野天神縁起 (The Origin Legend of the Kitano Deity) and Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825-880) in the Ise monogatari 伊勢物語 (Tales of Ise), as well as fictional characters such as Kaguyahime in the Taketori monogatari 竹取物語 (Tale of the Bamboo Cutter), and Prince Genji in the Genji monogatari 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji).

24 This is an adaptation of Origuchi Shinobu’s theme of the “exiled and wandering noble” (kishu ryūritan) which I will discuss in the following section. See also footnote 25 below.

25 Origuchi Shinobu, the most well-known scholar of Japanese ethnology (minzokugaku), held a prominent post at Kokugakuin University in Tokyo from 1922-1953. In search for the archaic origins of a uniquely Japanese cultural heritage, Origuchi developed the theme of the “exiled and wandering noble” (kishu ryūritan). This definition refers to old stories (tan) that narrate the exile and/or wandering (ryūri) of persons of high birth (kishu) to lowly and marginal places. Jonathan Stockdale, “Imagining Exile in Early Japan: Changing Visions of Power, Divinity, and Social Order” (Ph.D. Dissertation) (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), 3.


27 Origuchi, Origuchi Shinobu Zenshū, vol. 7: 244. The English translation is my own. I have included the Japanese terms in brackets for a literal reading of my translation.

28 Origuchi, Origuchi Shinobu Zenshū, vol. 4: 298.


30 Ibid., 1.

31 Ibid., 3.

32 Ibid., 12.

33 Chapter Three, 37.


35 Ibid., 76. At Izumo, Susano-o-no-mikoto’s lineage comes to include the Izumo kami, Okuninushi.

36 Origuchi, 20.

37 Between the eighth and fourteenth centuries, Shinto was almost completely absorbed by Buddhism, and known as dual Shinto (ryōbu Shinto 両神神道). From the early fifteenth century onward Shinto reemerged as the primary belief system, developed its own philosophy and scripture (based on Buddhist and Confucian canons), and became a nationalistic force.

38 Ibid., 20.


40 For the complete hagiography of Genshin see Miyazaki Enjun 宮崎遠順, “Genshin wajō no betsuden ni tsuite 源信和尚の別伝について,” in Miyazaki Enjun, Chūsei Bukkyō to Shomin Seikatsu (Tokyo: Shibunkaku, 1987).

41 For an English translation of Mokuren’s story see Hank Glassman, trans., “Mokuren no Sōshi,” in Buddhist Literature 1 (1999), 120-161.
42 For the English translation and interpretation of this particular scene in the Taima-dera engi emaki see Chapter Three page 44.

43 In addition to Chūjōhime’s story, the only other account I was able to find where a women saves her mothers is the story of Myōhō. However, unlike Chūjōhime who actually transgresses socio-cultural norms by neglecting her duty as a filial daughter, Myōhō’s act of piety towards her dead mother’s attainment of salvation is the dedication of a Jizō image. Glassman, “The Religious Construction of Motherhood in Medieval Japan,” 68.

44 Chapter Two pages 36-38.


46 Buddhist Text Translation Society, Sutra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva (Talmage, CA: Dharma Realm Buddhist University, 1982), 39.


48 For the Japanese text and the complete English translation of this passage see Chapter Two pages 26-27.

49 Buddhist Text Translation Society, Sutra of the Past Vows of the Earth Store Bodhisattva, 42-44.

50 At the age of thirteen Japanese girls take part in a ceremony called jusanmairi 十三参 which is most commonly translated as thirteen being defeated. It is a combination of Buddhist, Shinto, and folklore beliefs. For more on the relationship between young girls’ growth and religion see Saitō Toshiko 斉藤藤子, “The Background of Stepchild Tales: On the Subject of Girls’ Growth 継母譚の背景・小女成長の主題をめぎって,” in Otani Gakuho 大谷學報 (December 1984): 58.


52 The encounter between Kūkai and his mother indicates the relationship in Japanese Buddhism between menstruation, ritual impurity, and the exclusion of women from sacred places. Kūkai’s mother tried to climb Mount Kōya to visit her son. Kūkai stopped her at the foot of the mountain and warned her not to proceed further because of the blood taboo associated with women’s sex. Upon saying that she is eighty-three years old and did not have a period in forty years, she proceeds up the mountain. Kūkai spreads his monk’s robe and asks his mother to step on it. Immediately, drops of menstrual blood fall on the robe, the robe catches fire and flies away taking the mother with it. Bernard Faure, The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 228.


54 For the Japanese text see Chapter Three pages 29-30.

The term *nyonin jugan* 女入眼 literally translates as “women inserting the eyes”, which refers to women’s participation in eye-opening ceremonies for Buddhist images.


Although completed in 1531, the *Taima-dera engi emaki* refers to historical events from the Nara period, such as Empress Suiko 推古天皇 (592-628) building the Manpōzō-in which was the predecessor of Taima-dera, the rebellion involving Prince Ōtomo 大友王子 (648-672). It situates Chūjōhime’s narrative at the end of the Nara and the beginning of the Heian period. See Chapter Three pages 9-12 and 24-26.

Although the exact date and authorship of the *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* are unknown, the outermost dates for its compilation are given as ranging from 810 to 949. However, scholars believe that this narrative has been in circulation by 900 because the *Tale of Genji* refers back to the *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* as “the first ancestor of the monogatari” (物語の出で来はじめの親なる竹取の翁). See Royal Tyler, trans. *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Viking, 2001), 325. The *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* appears to be the work of a single author whose knowledge of Chinese is evident in the grammar throughout the text. Sakakura, Atsuyoshi, et al., eds. *Taketori monogatari, Ise monogatari, Yamato monogatari, NKBT9* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957), 5-18.


Some of the figures in the *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* are believed to represent actual Heian aristocrats. For example, Prince Kuramochi who is given the task of obtaining the branch from a tree on a mountain of immortality, has been seen as Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等 (659-720), a leading ancestor of the Fujiwara line; Nakatomi no Fusako, the emperor’s messenger who is sent to inspect the beauty of Kaguyahime but whom she refuses, is seen as Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804-872), who was a powerful regent during the time the *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* was composed. See Michele Marra, *The Aesthetics of Discontent: Politics and Reclusion in Medieval Japanese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1991), 28-33.

75 Ibid, 180.
CHAPTER FIVE

Buddhism, Motherhood, and the Japanese Psyche:
A Case Study of Queen Vaidehi in the Taima mandala and Chūjōhime in the Taima-dera engi emaki

For the archetype, as Jung conceived it, is a precondition and coexistent of life itself; its manifestations not only reach upwards to the spiritual heights of religion, art and metaphysics, but also down into the dark realms of organic and inorganic matter.¹

Archetypes, being “active living dispositions” have the capacity to initiate, control, and mediate the common behavioral patterns and experiences of our kind, even though we are, for the most part, unaware of them. For example, the mother archetype is universally characterized by the following features: as Mother Nature and Earth Mother she is goddess of fertility and dispenser of nourishment, as water or sea she represents the origins of life as well as a symbol of the unconscious, the source of psychic creativity; as Moon goddess she exemplifies the essential periodicity of womanhood. She also takes the form of divine animals, such as the bear, who is a jealous guardian of her children, and the celestial cow, who nourishes the earth with milky rain.²

Being a central aspect of the archetypal feminine, the Great Mother expresses her timeliness and superiority over everything mundane. Like all archetypes, “the Great Mother possesses both positive and negative attributes, and this ‘union of opposites’
within the same archetype is characteristic of all preconscious components which the ego has not yet divided into its antitheses.\(^3\)

In the previous chapters, my theoretical approach to the investigation of gender as a central conditioning factor at play in the evolution of the texts and images that constitute Kamakura- and Muromachi-period versions of Chûjôhime's legend has been a historical one. Through the use of gender as a tool for religious, cultural, social, and historical analysis, I questioned the circumstances under which patriarchal institutions both influenced and adapted to shifting terrain by creating a special soteriology for women. The analysis of this soteriology which, on the one hand, included women as idealized objects of salvation but, on the other hand, excluded women based on their sex – illustrated in both the *Taima mandala engi emaki* and the *Taima-dera engi emaki* – offers a significant contribution to the field of medieval Japanese Buddhist literature and women's history. As I have shown, the reflexive interplay of Buddhist ambivalence toward women was determined by the Japanese adaptation of religious concepts such as the "Five Obstructions." However, it was also determined by social factors such as the patrilineal lineage into which women were integrated as daughters, wives, and mothers, and women's ambivalence towards motherhood – exemplified by Chûjôhime's choice of tonsure over marriage in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* – out of
fear that the biological processes that made women mothers would be obstacles for salvation.

Considering the maternally-focused storyline in both the narrative of Queen Vaidehi in the Taima mandala and that of Chûjôhime in the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, which centers on the mother-child dyad relationship, I would like to further suggest that these Buddhist legends not only present the soteriological view of women as sacralized mothers and idealized objects of salvation, but also offer a psychoanalytical view of women's ambivalent experience of maternity and a mother-centered model of unconscious subjectivity.

Feminist historians are divided into two camps regarding the applicability of psychoanalytic theory to the study of pre-modern society. On the one hand, feminist scholars like Barbara Harris disregard the relevance of Freudian psychoanalysis in the critical work of scholars such as Nancy Chodorow for our understanding of the psychological effects of mothering on the development of the pre-Oedipal child and the consequences of these early experiences on how men and women view the opposite sex because they are based on the model of the "modern conjugal bourgeois family." On the other hand, feminist historians like Nancy Partner claim that a psychoanalytically informed approach is necessary to restore agency and individuality to medieval women.
who are in danger of being rendered mere automatons by a dehumanizing “social
constructivist” trend in historical practice. Partner labels the theories of those who argue
that gender is being socially produced as “dogmatic cultural relativism.” Although my
own research on medieval Japanese women’s history is grounded in the work of
feminist historian Joan Scott, my theoretical approach is eclectic in nature borrowing
from various disciplines, including psychoanalysis which has not been scrutinized in
terms of its validity for the field of medieval Japanese studies.

In the previous chapter, I examined Chûjôhime’s ambivalence toward
motherhood in the Taima-dera engi emaki within the religious and socio-cultural
context of medieval Japan. This chapter expands on my analysis by investigating the
validity of the Ajase complex – a psychoanalytic theory, which draws on the Buddhist
legend of Ajàtasatru and was developed by the Japanese psychoanalyst Kosawa Heisaku
and further modified by his student Okonogi Keigo – for the study of medieval Japanese
women’s history, particularly in terms of the construction of the maternal principle. In
the pages that follow, I will explore Kosawa’s and Okonogi’s interpretations of the
Ajase complex, which center exclusively on the mother-child dyad relationship, in order
to shed light on the religious-cultural specificity of motherhood and the applicability of
this theory for the case studies of Queen Vaidehi and Chûjôhime.
First I will provide a textual and visual analysis of the Buddhist legend of Prince Ajātāsatru as illustrated in the "Court of the Prefatory Legend" in the Taima mandala. Then I will introduce both Kosawa’s and Okonogi’s theories of the Ajase complex—a family romance which they contrast to the Oedipus complex—and examine how their distorted versions of this Buddhist tale purport to be uniquely suited to analyzing the Japanese psyche, especially the role of women as wives and mothers in the Japanese family. This chapter closes with a discussion as to what extent the strength of the maternal principle presented in Kosawa’s and Okonogi’s psychoanalytical theory is valid for the analysis of women in medieval Japanese history and Pure Land Buddhism.

1.1 The *Taima mandala* and Female Salvation: The Exemplary Stories of Queen Vaidehi and Chūjōhime

The Taima mandala (fig.22) is a visualization of Shantao’s commentary (Kangyō shichō-sho 観経四帖疏) on the *Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Infinite Life* (Kanmuryōju-kyo 観無量寿経), which focuses on the sixteen meditations by means of which the devotee attains birth in Amida’s Pure Land. Shantao’s commentary consists of four chapters, which are pictorialized as the “Court of the Central Doctrine” (gengibun 玄義分) in the center of the Taima mandala, the
"Court of the Prefatory Legend" (jobungi 序分義) in the left outer court, the "Court of Specific Contemplations" (jōzengi 定善義) in the right outer court, and the "Court of the Nine Grades" (sanzengi 散善義) in the horizontal court at the bottom of the mandala.  

The "Court of the Prefatory Legend" consists of eleven pictorial scenes, which have been classified by Shantao in his commentary into seven scenes and are illustrated as such in the Taima mandala. The story is as follows: Incited by the wicked monk Devadatta, Prince Ajātasaṭru (J. Ajase 阿闍世) imprisoned his father, King Bimbisāra (J. Binbashara 頻婆娑羅), and planned to starve him to death.  

Ajātasaṭru's mother, Queen Vaidehi (J. Idaike 偉提希), secretly smuggled food and drink to her husband, and when her action was discovered, Ajātasaṭru also imprisoned her. When Queen Vaidehi prayed to be born in a safe place free from suffering, Sākyamuni showed her various Buddha paradises, and Vaidehi chose Amida's Pure Land. Then, in reply to her question of how one can be born in Amida's paradise, Sākyamuni taught her a series of sixteen contemplations. A translation of the textual passages of the scenes and a description of the paintings as they unfold from bottom to top in the "Court of the Prefatory Legend" appear below.  

Prior to my analysis I would like to draw attention to a discrepancy regarding
the order of the episodes as they appear in the *Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Infinite Life* and in the "Court of the Prefatory Legend" in the Taima mandala. The opening passage of the sutra reads: "Thus it was heard by me: At one time the Buddha dwelt in Rājargha, on the mountain Grdhrakūta, with a large assembly of Bhikshus and with thirty-two thousands of Bodhisattvas; with Manjusri, Prince of the Law, at the head of the assembly." This passage, classified by Shantao as the "apparitional-prefatory-scene," is textually and visually illustrated in the "Court of the Prefatory Legend" as the last scene instead of the first one (fig.23). It depicts Sākyamuni Buddha sitting on a lotus throne, being surrounded by monks and bodhisattvas, and preaching his sermon at Mount Grdhrakūta. Grotenhuis has suggested that one starts reading the narrative with this "apparitional-prefatory-scene" in the top left corner and then drops down to the "imprisoning-the-father-scene" in the bottom left corner. However, this explanation not only contradicts the circumambulatory reading of the outer courts of the Taima mandala, but also ignores the significance of this scene in terms of location. Situated between the last scene of the "Court of the Prefatory Legend" where Sākyamuni shows Vaidehi an image of Amida in the distance, and the first scene of the "Court of Specific Contemplations" where Vaidehi practices the first of sixteen contemplations to visualize and internally realize
the glories of the Pure Land in order to be born there, this

"apparitional-prefatory-scene" exceeds its solely narrative function. Bridging the

legendary story of Queen Vaidehi, who escapes from her worldly suffering through faith

in Amida, with the sixteen meditations believers have to cultivate in order to be born in

the Pure Land, Sākyamuni actively conveys his presence to Vaidehi and instructs her in

the religious practice necessary for birth Amida's Pure Land. This scene was likely the

main impetus for women, especially mothers as Vaidehi was herself, to have faith in

Amida, worship the Taima mandala, and emulate the heroine's exemplary behavior.

Scene One (fig.75)
Text One

At that time, in the great city of Rājagrha there was a prince, the heir-apparent,

named Ajātadasatri. He listened to the wicked counsel of Devadatta and other friends and

forcibly arrested Bimbisāra his father, the king, and shut him up by himself in a room

with seven walls, proclaiming to all the courtiers that no one should approach [the

king]. The chief consort of the king, Vaidehi by name, was true and faithful to her

lord, the king. She supported him in this wise: having purified herself by bathing and

washing, she anointed her body with honey and ghee mixed with corn-flour, and she

concealed the juice of grapes in the various garlands she wore [in order to give him food
without being noticed by the warder. As she stole in and made an offering to him, he was able to eat the flour and to drink the juice of the grapes. Then he called for water and rinsed his mouth.] That done, the king stretched forth his folded hands towards Mount Grdhrakuta and worshipped duly and respectfully the World-Honoured One, who at that time abode there. [And he uttered the following prayer: “Mahāmaudgalyāyana is my friend and relative; let him, I pray, feel compassion towards me, and come and communicate to me the eight prohibitive precepts of Buddha.”] On this, Mahāmaudgalyāyana at once appeared before the king, [coming with a speed equal to the flight of a falcon or an eagle,] and communicated to him the eight precepts. The World-Honoured One sent also his worthy disciple Pūrṇa to preach the Law to the king. [Thus a period of three weeks passed by. The king showed by his countenance that he was happy and contented when he had an opportunity of hearing the Law as well as of enjoying the honey and flour.]¹⁶

Picture One

Our first view is that of a T'ang-dynasty Chinese-style palatial compound. Inside the gate seated in a palace room, we see Devadatta in the guise of a monk and Prince Ajātasatru facing each other and engaging in conversation.¹⁷ This is the moment when Devadatta incites Ajātasatru to imprison his father the king, who is depicted standing
outside the building. Then we see five warders guarding a walled-in compound, where
King Bimbisāra is imprisoned; he is shown kneeling on the ground and praying. The
next scene depicts Queen Vaidehi, who is accompanied by four female attendants,
visiting the imprisoned king in his room. She is opening her garment in order to provide
the king with nourishment that she smuggled to him. The last illustration of this
“imprisoning-the-father-scene” shows the two monks Mahāmaudgalyāṇa (J. Mokuren
日連) and Pūrṇa (J. Furuna 富楼那) sitting on five-colored clouds and descending from
the western direction down to the imprisoned King Bimbisāra. Queen Vaidehi is in
attendance witnessing the answer to her husband’s prayer.

**Scene Two (fig.76)**

At that time, Ajātasatru asked the warder of the gate whether his father was yet alive.

On this, the warder answered him: “O exalted king, the chief consort of thy father
brought food and presented it to him by anointing her body with honey and flour and
filling her garlands with the juice of grapes, and [the Sramanas,] Mahāmaudgalyāṇa
and Pūrṇa, approached the king through the sky in order to preach the Law to him. It is,
O king, impossible to prevent them from coming.” [When the prince heard this answer
his indignation arose against his mother: “My mother,” he cried, “is indeed a rebel, for
she was found in company with that rebel. Wicked people are those Sramanas, and it is their art of spells causing illusion and delusion that delayed the death of that wicked king for so many days.”] Instantly he brandished his sharp sword, intending to slay his mother. [At that moment, there intervened a minister named Kandraprabha, who was possessed of great wisdom and intelligence, and Giva a famous physician. They saluted the prince and remonstrated with him, saying:] “We ministers, O Great king, heard that since the beginning of the kalpas there had been several wicked kings, even to the number of eighteen thousand, who killed their own fathers, coveting the throne of their kingdoms, as mentioned in the Sutra of the discourse of the Veda. Yet, never have we heard of a man killing his mother, though he be void of virtue.[ Now, if thou, O king, shouldst dare to commit such a deadly sin, thou wouldst bring a stain upon the blood of the Kshatriyas. We cannot even bear to hear of it. Thou art indeed a Kandala; we shall not stay here with thee.” ] After this speech, the two great ministers retired stepping backward, each with his hand placed on his sword. [Ajātasatru was then frightened, and greatly afraid of them, and asked Giva: “Wilt thou not be friendly to me?” In reply Giva said to him: “Do not then, o Great king, by any means think of injuring your mother.” On hearing this, the prince repented and sought for mercy, and at once laid down his sword and did his mother no hurt. He finally ordered the officers of the inner chambers
to put the queen in a hidden palace and not to allow her to come out again.]

Picture Two

Prince Ajātasatru is depicted arriving on a horse at the gate of the compound where his father is imprisoned. A servant holding a canopy stands behind Ajātasatru while the guards are leading him to the gate. Inside the walled-in compound, we see the room where Queen Vaidehi is visiting King Bimbisāra at the moment of Ajātasatru's arrival.

The next scene unfolds inside the palace. Facing his mother in front of a crowd of ministers, Ajātasatru draws his sword and approaches her. Two of the ministers stand with their hands on their swords — as described in the sutra — remonstrating with the prince while the other attendants look on in shock.

Scene Three (fig.77)
Text Three

When Vaidehi was thus shut up in retirement she became afflicted by sorrow and distress. She began to do homage to Buddha from afar, looking towards Mount Grdhra-kūta. She uttered: "O Tathagata! World-Honoured One! [In former times thou hast constantly sent Ánanda to me for enquiry and consolation. I am now in sorrow and grief. Thou, O World-Honoured One, art majestic and exalted; in no way shall I be able to see thee. Wilt thou, I pray thee, command Mahāmaudgalyāyana and the honoured
disciple, Ânanda, to come and have an interview with me?” After this speech, she
grieved and wept, shedding tears like a shower of rain. Before she raised her head from
doing homage to the Buddha, the World-Honoured One knew what Vaidehi was wishing
in her mind, though he was on Mount Grdhra-kûta. Therefore, he instantly ordered
Mahâmaudgalyâyana and Ânanda to go to her through the sky. Buddha himself
disappeared from that mountain and appeared in the royal palace. When the queen
raised her head as she finished homage to Buddha, she saw before her the
World-Honoured Buddha Sâkyamuni, whose body was purple gold in colour, sitting on
a lotus flower which consists of a hundred jewels, with Mahâmaudgalyâyana attending
on his left, and with Ânanda on his right. Sakra, Brahman, and other gods that protect
the world were seen in the midst of the sky, everywhere showering heavenly flowers
with which they made offerings to the Buddha in their worship. Vaidehi, at the sight of
the Buddha the World-Honoured One, took of her garlands and prostrated herself on the
ground, crying, sobbing, and speaking to Buddha: “O World-Honoured One! What
former sin of mine has produced such a wicked son? And again, O exalted one, from
what cause and circumstances hast thou such an affinity with Devadatta?”

Picture Three

Vaidehi, accompanied by three female attendants, is sitting inside her room and holding
her hands in prayer. Mahāmaudgalyāyana and Ānanda, seated on five-colored clouds, are descending down to her from the western direction resembling the earlier scene of their appearance to King Bimbisāra. Then we see Sākyamuni seated on his jeweled lotus dais and flanked by his two standing disciples, Mahāmaudgalyāyana and Ānanda. Two attendants stand behind Queen Vaidehi who is kneeling in front of Sākyamuni and holding her hands in prayer. To her right, two other female attendants are bowing in front of Sākyamuni in worship. Unlike what is stated in the sutra, the illustrations in the Taima mandala show Vaidehi in the guise of a queen throughout the narrative.

Scene Four (fig.78)
Text Four

"My only prayer," she continued, is this: "O World-Honoured One, mayst thou preach to me in detail of all the places where there is no sorrow or trouble, and where I ought to go to be born anew. [I am not satisfied with this world of depravities, with Gambudvipa, which is full of hells, full of hungry spirits, and of the brute creation. In this world of depravities, there is many an assemblage of the wicked. May I not hear, I pray, the voice of the wicked in the future; and may I not see any wicked person. Now I throw my five limbs down to the ground before thee, and seek for thy mercy by confessing my sins. I pray for this only that the Sun-like Buddha may instruct me how to meditate on a world
wherein all actions are pure."] At that moment, the World-Honoured One flashed forth a golden ray from between his eyebrows. It extended to all the innumerable worlds of the ten quarters. [On its return the ray rested on the top of Buddha’s head and transformed itself into a golden pillar just like Mount Sumeru, wherein the pure and admirable countries of the Buddhas in the ten quarters appeared all at once illuminated. One was a country consisting of seven jewels, another was a country all full of lotus flowers; one was like the palace of Mahesvara Devi, another was like a mirror of crystal, with the countries in the ten quarters reflected therein. There were innumerable countries like these, resplendent, gorgeous, and delightful to look upon. All were meant for Vaidehi to see and choose from. Thereupon, Vaidehi spoke to Buddha: “O World-Honoured One, although all other Buddha countries are pure and radiant with light, I should, nevertheless, wish myself to be born in the realm of Buddha Amitābha, in the world of Highest Happiness.] Now, I simply pray thee, O World-Honoured One, to teach me how to concentrate my thought so as to obtain a right vision of that country.20

Picture Four

Sākyamuni is shown on the right seated on his lotus dais and flanked by two disciples in a mountainous landscape. Vaidehi is kneeling in front of Sākyamuni with hands in prayer while her attendant is standing behind her. The Buddha paradises, which are
referred to as “countries of the ten quarters” in the sutra are illustrated as six palaces floating on a three-pronged bank of clouds above Sākyamuni’s head. The paradise on the upper cloud, depicted larger in size than the other ones and with side galleries, represents the desirable Pure Land paradise of Amida.

Scene Five (fig.79)
Text Five

Thereupon the World-Honoured One gently smiled upon her, and rays of five colours issued forth out of his mouth, each ray shining as far as the head of King Bimbisāra. At that moment, the mental vision of that exalted king was perfectly clear though he was shut up in lonely retirement, and he could see the World-Honoured One from afar. As he paid homage with his head and face, he naturally increased and advanced in wisdom, whereby he attained to the fruition of an Anāgāmin the third of the four grades to nirvana.21

Picture Five

This scene shows Sākyamuni seated on his lotus dais to the left of the composition. Vaidehi and a monk – who represents King Bimbisāra - are kneeling in front of the Buddha with hands in prayer. A servant is standing behind Vaidehi and a monk is flanking Sākyamuni on the left.
Then the World-Honoured One said: "Now dost thou not know, O Vaidehi, that Buddha
Amitābha is not very far from here? Thou shouldst apply thy mind entirely to close
meditation upon those who have already perfected the pure actions necessary for that
Buddha country. [I now proceed to fully expound them for thee in my parables, and
thereby afford all ordinary persons of the future who wish to cultivate these pure actions
an opportunity of being born in the Land of Highest Happiness in the western quarter.
Those who wish to be born in that country of Buddha have to cultivate a threefold
goodness. Firstly, they should act filially towards their parents and support them; serve
and respect their teachers and elders; be of compassionate mind, abstain from doing any
injury, and cultivate the ten virtuous actions. Secondly, they should take and observe the
vow of seeking refuge with the Three Jewels, fulfill all moral precepts, and not lower
their dignity or neglect any ceremonial observance. Thirdly, they should give their
whole mind to the attainment of the Bodhi, deeply believe in cause and effect, study and
recite the Mahāyana doctrine, and persuade and encourage others who pursue the same
course as themselves. These three groups are called pure actions. O Vaidehi!" Buddha
continued, "dost thou not understand now? These three classes of actions are the
efficient cause of the pure actions taught by all the Buddhas of the past, present, and future.””

Picture Six

On the right, we see a Buddhist trinity seated on lotus dais on a rectangular platform and supported by clouds. This trinity represents Amida and his chief bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi, and is a visualization of the words Sâkyamuni’s spoke to Vaidehi in the sutra that Amida is not far away. The final scene depicts Sâkyamuni seated on his lotus dais, surrounded by monks and bodhisattvas, and preaching on Vulture Peak.

Based on the amount of space and attention to detail given to the key scenes of the prefatory legend depicted in the Taima mandala – Ajâtasatru imprisoning his father, Ajâtasatru imprisoning and attempting to kill his mother, Vaidehi desiring to be saved from her mistreatment at the hands of her son, and Vaidehi aspiring to birth in Amida’s Pure Land to escape her worldly suffering – previous scholars have analyzed this Buddhist narrative foremost as an account of female salvation, specifically an account of the salvation of mothers. Glassman states that:

Originally, the mandara was seen as a map of a place of purity and refuge offered to a mother (Vaidehi) suffering unspeakable mistreatment at the hands of her only son, an illustration of a sutra; in time it became a relic, a testament to the power of the faith manifested by a daughter
in dire straits who longs to meet her mother beyond the grave.23

As I have shown in my previous analysis of the *Taima mandala engi emaki* and the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, in addition to being read as a Buddhist tale of female salvation, the legend of Chûjôhime can also be read as a feminist critique of women’s agency and passivity within the patriarchal system. Considering the maternally-focused storyline in the narratives of Queen Vaidehi and Chûjôhime, which centers on the mother-child dyad object relationship, I propose that these Buddhist tales not only present the soteriological view of women as sacralized mothers and idealized objects of salvation, but also offer a psychoanalytical view of women’s ambivalent experience of maternity and mother-centered models of unconscious subjectivity. Since myths and legends describe worries and subjective feelings linked to basic human conflicts universally shared, they are of psychoanalytic interest.

In the next section, I will explore Kosawa’s and Okonogi’s interpretations of the Ajase complex, which focus exclusively on the mother-child dyad object relationship. By questioning the applicability of their psychoanalytic theories for the religious and social construction of the maternal principle in Japanese culture – using Chûjôhime’s narrative in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* as a case study – my analysis aims to deepen the understanding of the place of gender in medieval Japanese Buddhism and
1.2 The Ajase Complex as a Psychoanalytical Interpretation Regarding the Mother-Child Dyad in Japanese Culture

The Buddhist legend of Prince Ajātasatru appears in two Mahāyana sutras: the Contemplation Sutra discussed above and partially illustrated in the Taima mandala; and the Nirvana Sutra (Nehan-kyō 涅槃経). These scriptures render the story in two very different ways. The chapter of Worldly Desire Renouncement (bongyōbon 梵行品) in the Nirvana Sutra is paternally focused, emphasizing the relationship between Ajātasatru and his father, King Bimbisāra. It describes how Prince Ajātasatru imprisoned his father and starved him to death, committing patricide, which is one of the grave premeditated karmic sins, in order to take over the throne, being incited by Devadatta, a cousin and enemy of Sākyamuni. Out of fear that he will be reborn in hell, Ajātasatru is afflicted by foul, purulent sores caused by his feelings of guilt and repentance over the patricide. When not even his mother, Queen Vaidehi, is able to heal him, Ajātasatru’s ministers urge him to consult with Sākyamuni who not only heals him but also shows him the way to attain enlightenment. Although the Nirvana Sutra includes the scenes of Vaidehi’s imprisonment and intended execution by her son,
this scripture differs from the *Contemplation Sutra* in that it portrays Vaidehi in a negative light. The negative portrayal of Vaidehi includes her failure to save her husband from starving to death and to cure her son. Some versions of the *Nirvana Sutra* include the narrative of Vaidehi trying to kill her baby out of fear for her husband’s karmic fate:

> Queen Vaidehi took the baby to the top of a high tower and threw him down from it to kill the baby, in order to protect her husband, King Bimbisāra, from the karmic fate, as King Bimbisāra had murdered the innocent hermit when he had not been able to hunt a game. This version of the sutra also states that Ajātasatru’s life was saved miraculously with only breaking his little finger.\(^{27}\)

In contrast to the *Nirvana Sutra*, the *Contemplation Sutra* is maternally focused, shifting the emphasis of the narrative to Queen Vaidehi as illustrated in the Taima mandala. Vaidehi not only saves her husband from starving to death by supplying him with food, spreading a layer of honey and ghee mixed with corn flour over her body and concealing the juice of grapes in her garlands, but she saves herself through birth in Amida’s Pure Land. Furthermore, the story surrounding Ajātasatru’s birth is also rendered differently in the *Contemplation Sutra* stating that:
King Bimbisāra and Queen Vaidehi were not blessed with any children, even years after their marriage. As the king was anxious to have an heir, he sought out his wise men to advise him how he might be able to have a child. A soothsayer told him that there was a certain hermit practicing in the mountains, and that this hermit was to die three years later, and his spirit would live in the womb of the queen as their baby. The king was impatient and did not want to wait for three years. He sent a messenger to the mountains to asked the hermit to shorten his life. As the hermit refused, the king ordered to have the hermit killed. The hermit's last words were that he would kill the king in his next life, since the king killed him. Shortly after, the queen became pregnant and the king rejoiced, but he was also horrified to hear from the soothsayer that in the future the child would turn against his father and avenge the hermit on the king.28

These different renderings of the story of Ajātasatru, particularly the maternally focused one as described in the Contemplation Sutra and partially illustrated in Shantao's commentary in the Taima mandala, are important for the understanding of Kosawa's and Okonogi's theories of the Ajase complex.

Kosawa Heisaku 古沢平作 (1896-1968), a devout Buddhist of the Jōdo
Shinshu (浄土真宗) sect and one of the first psychoanalysts in Japan, developed the Ajase complex out of a hybrid narrative that used elements from the *Nirvana Sutra* and the *Contemplation Sutra*. According to his student, Okonogi Keigo (1930-2003), Kosawa created the theory of the Ajase complex in order to develop his own psychoanalytic theory to work with Japanese patients culturally competently and to integrate his Buddhist faith in his psychoanalytic practice:

> When psychoanalysis, a product of modern Western rationalism and individualism, was introduced to Japan – rooted in different cultural and thought patterns – Japanese psychiatrists were required to determine the kind of modification they should make in the technique and theory of psychoanalysis in order to adapt it to their patients.

Kosawa was asked to write an article on Buddhism and psychoanalysis for the journal *Gonryō* in 1931, related to the controversial topic of the anti-religion movement that was active in Japan at the time. The Japanese socialist intelligentsia perceived religion – particularly Buddhism – as a form of propaganda by the bourgeoisie to maintain the status quo of the social and economical hierarchy, as Buddhist were preaching that being poor is an opportunity given by the Buddha for pursuing peace, and that the poor should not envy the luxurious life style of the wealthy. Kosawa
initially rejected the request, but in the end he published his article "Zaiaku ishiki no nishu: Ajase konpurekkusu 罪悪意識の二種・阿闇世コンプレックス (Two Kinds of Guilt: The Ajase Complex)" in the 1931 edition of Gonryo, which was the first article addressing the interrelationship between Buddhism and psychoanalysis. In 1953, Kosawa revised his first version of the Ajase complex and published his second version "Ajaseô no monogatari ni tsuite" (About the Story of King Ajase) in Furuido Senshū フルイド選集 (Selection of Freud's Works).

Kosawa’s first version, "Zaiaku ishiki no nishu: Ajase konpurekkusu," closely resembles the story in the Nirvana Sutra and introduces the concepts of repentance as a kind of guilt and the Ajase complex. The story is as follows:

Incited by Devadatta, Ajātasatru imprisoned his father and usurped the throne. He also tried to kill his mother upon hearing that she was helping her imprisoned husband, but upon the intervention of his minister, he spared his mother and imprisoned her. After his father’s death, Ajātasatru repented his misdeed and became afflicted by sores. Ajātasatru was encouraged by the voice of his deceased father and his minister to consult with Sākyamuni, who cured him of his disease. Kosawa focuses on Ajātasatru’s repentance which results from his feeling of guilt for having killed his father, who expressed his compassion to him. Ajātasatru also comes to have repentance
with his faith when Sākyamuni rescues him out of mercy. Kosawa’s restructuring of the story emphasizes Ajātasatru’s feeling of repentance (zanki 慢鬼), which arises when he is relieved by Sākyamuni’s compassion. This is a significant change from the story in the *Nirvana Sutra* where Ajātasatru felt repentant before he was rescued by Sākyamuni. In the *Nirvana Sutra*, Sākyamuni’s enlightenment made Ajātasatru realize his faith and not repentance. Therefore, Kosawa’s version emphasizes the interpersonal conflict in Ajātasatru’s feeling of repentance over being forgiven.

In the same article, Kosawa distorts the story of Ajātasatru’s conception in the *Contemplation Sutra* to suggest that the matricidal impulses in relation to oral sadism arise in the mother-son dyad object relations in the specific interpersonal context. In contrast to the *Contemplation Sutra*, which states that King Bimbisāra killed the hermit in the mountains in order to avoid having to wait three years for an heir, Kosawa’s version explicitly states that it was Queen Vaidehi who wanted to have a child because she feared the loss of her husband’s love as her beauty was fading, and it was Vaidehi who ordered to have the hermit killed because she did not want to wait for three years to have a child. Thus, Kosawa changed the main theme of the narrative from patricide to matricide. By emphasizing that it was Vaidehi who wanted the child for her own sake, in order to cling onto her husband’s love as her physical beauty was fading.
with age, Kosawa implies the specific mother situation as a woman and wife in the Japanese social and cultural context, where a woman’s value is evaluated in a particular way. Thus, Kosawa’s concept of Ajātasatru’s destructive impulses towards the mother seems not only related to the death instinct, but also culturally and socially bound and has its root in the specific character of Japanese society.

On the one hand, Kosawa’s emphasis on the mother wanting the child for her own sake distorts the original story in the sutras. On the other hand, it presents a patriarchal soteriology created for women, that hinged on the construction of mothers both in the religious and social spheres of medieval Japan. As my analysis in Chapter Four regarding the expansion of Chūjōhime’s story in the Taima-dera engi emaki has shown, even when Buddhism seems to show respect for motherhood — as it did in medieval Japan — this does not mean that the status of women had improved. On the contrary, the sphere of action for women diminished in the patriarchal system of Muromachi-period Japan, and their value gradually became limited to their reproductive function. Especially the Sengoku period marks a turning point in terms of marriage customs, inheritance practices, and family structures which signaled the degradation of the position of women in terms of economic dependence, subordination in the feudal hierarchy, and subservience to their in laws. As illustrated in the Taima-dera engi
emaki, women were caught in a vicious circle: on the one hand, their salvation was
dependent on their offspring whereas, on the other hand, they were condemned based on
their sexual biology that circumscribed them as mothers.

The other key element in Kosawa's Ajase complex and his reconstruction of
the Buddhist story in the sutras is the “religious personality” – which is opposite to the
“murderous personality”- as the ultimate idealized personality. Since Kosawa was asked
to write his “Zaiaki ishiki no nishu” at the time of active anti-religion movement in
Japan, Kosawa, being a devout Shin Buddhist, seemed eager to emphasize the
importance of Buddhist faith as part of his religious background and personality.

Kosawa's second article on the Ajase complex, “Ajaseô no monogatari ni
tsuite,” changes his previous story even more:

There was a fervent believer of Shaka called King Binbishara. His queen
was named Idaike. The queen feared the king’s affections were waning,
as her beauty had faded and she was childless. However, according to a
soothsayer the queen consulted, a hermit living in the mountains behind
the kingdom would die in three years, to be reincarnated in her womb as
a splendid prince. Nonetheless, the aging queen, frustrated by the three-year
delay, could not wait. Incited by illusions she killed the hermit to receive her
worldly desires. As he was dying, the hermit declared: “The child I become
in your womb will one day kill his father.” The hermit’s prophecy came true.

The queen became pregnant and bore a son, the Prince Ajase. He was beloved
by both his parents. By the age of 16 or 17, he was well versed in both literary
and martial arts, and subdued the neighboring kingdoms. The prince was
continually depressed, however, and passed his days in low spirits. At this time,
Shaka’s following had reached maturity and required reform. The envious
Devadatta planned to usurp Shaka’s following and incited Ajase by saying:

“Your past history is thus…” Seduced in this way, Ajase discovered the origins
of his depression. He immediately imprisoned the king. Idaike, however, filled
a jeweled necklace with honey and secretly sent it to her husband. On Ajase’s
visit to the prison a week later, the king was therefore still alive. Calling his
mother a traitor and the consort of traitors, Ajase seized his sword to kill her.
However, a minister stopped him, saying, “If you kill your mother you have
no future as king.” At this, the prince trembled all over, then developed
sores and suffered anxiety attacks. But he was saved by Shaka.39

Unlike in his first article, in this version Kosawa completely omits Ajātasatru’s feeling
of repentance and focuses exclusively on his matricidal attempt. This new emphasis on
the mother-child dyad relationship, which Kosawa calls *hahaoya kōsoku* 母親拘束 (mother binding) is further elaborated in Okonogi’s versions of the story of Ajatasatru.40

Prior to evaluating the applicability of the Ajase complex based on Kosawa’s restructured versions of the Buddhist legend of Prince Ajatasatru as a psychoanalytic approach to the construction of motherhood in the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, I would like to draw attention to some conflicting issues significant for my examination regarding the tenability of the Ajase complex. Although the stories of Prince Ajatasatru in Kosawa’s “Zaiaki ishiki no nishu” and “Ajaseō monogatari ni suite” and the narrative of Chūjōhime in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* constitute repentance and mourning for a mother as the central theme of a family drama, they differ significantly in the following aspects. Kosawa (and Okonogi as well, as I will describe in the next section) focuses exclusively on the conflict between a male child and his mother, whereas Chūjōhime’s story centers exclusively on the conflict between a female child and her deceased mother.41 To what extent does this sex difference of the child limit the applicability of the psychoanalytic interpretation of the Ajase complex? Furthermore, while Ajatasatru has a rage against his mother due to the circumstances of his conception, Chūjōhime lacks this kind of feeling because she was conceived through
the mercy of the bodhisattva Kannon. Lastly, Ajātassatru only repents regarding his mother who saves him, whereas Chūjōhime goes beyond mourning her mother and saves her in order to be reunited with her in Amida’s Pure Land.

As described in the passages above, Kosawa suggests that guilt consciousness arises in a child not only for his sin as indicated by Ajātassatru being afflicted with sores, but also as a result of being forgiven for his sin as indicated by Ajātassatru being cured from his suffering by Sākyamuni.42 For Kosawa, the Ajase complex consists of three fundamental components: 1) unification with the idealized mother, 2) betrayal by the mother, and 3) mutual understanding of forgiveness that surpasses resentment.43 In terms of religious dimensions, Kosawa’s theory implies 1) an attitude which is tenaciously aware of one’s own sin and fears its punishment, and 2) an attitude of guilt because one’s own sin has been forgiven.44

To what extent are these concepts of interpersonal conflict applicable to Chūjōhime’s narrative in the Taima-dera engi emaki? The unification with the idealized mother, called ittai kan 一体感 in Japanese, refers to a mother-child object relationship where infant and mother convey meaning to each other, put themselves in each other’s positions, and adjust their words and actions to accommodate each other’s wishes.45 On her deathbed, Chūjōhime’s mother urges her daughter (actually both her daughter
and son) to recite Amida’s name (nenbutsu 念仏) in order for them to meet again in the
next life in Amida’s Pure Land:

There are people with all kinds of karma. However, it breaks my heart

that you both are losing your mother at such a young age. So, in order

for us to meet again, recite the nenbutsu after I have passed away.\textsuperscript{46}

Chûjôhime accommodates her mother’s wish by not only reciting the nenbutsu but also
holding memorial services for her mother, visiting her grave, and copying the Pure
Land Praising Sutra to save her mother from falling into hell and to facilitate her
mother’s birth in the Pure Land. However, both the physical and spiritual
separation from her mother causes Chûjôhime a great deal of suffering, and she
experiences a feeling of guilt and resentment due to her inability to properly care for her
deceased mother:

I have only visited my mother’s grave once in fourteen years, and after

this one visit I have not returned to this place. Even though I wanted to
take care of my mother’s grave, it seems that this place is too far away
from the capital. This matter touches my heart, which has already
endured so much suffering. When I was nine years old, I was abandoned
in the ‘Valley of the Dreadful Hell of Mount Katsuragi.’ This was my
These two passages are almost reversals of each other: mother facing death suffers being separated from her children and not being able to fulfill her maternal duty of raising and caring for them; daughter suffers because she is not able to properly care for her dead mother and to facilitate her mother’s birth in the Pure Land. Similar to her mother, who was unable to concentrate on reciting the nenbutsu to facilitate her birth in the Pure Land out of worries for her two children at the moment of death, Chūjōhime, when she is about to be executed by the samurai, is unable to chant the nenbutsu in order to facilitate her own birth in Amida’s Pure Land; all she can think of is copying and reciting the sutras out of worry for her mother’s salvation:

Even if you kill me for no particular reason, you are just following my father’s orders. […] But for the sake of my mother, I want to copy one thousand scrolls of the Pure Land Praising Sutra and dedicate them to my mother as an offering. Please let me have this last wish. If I should be put to the sword, I want to say these last words. I shall dedicate this sutra to the burial place of my mother. […] From the time when I was nine, every day I recited each of the six scrolls of the Pure Land Praising Sutra for my dead mother, and I prayed for
her salvation, but I have not yet recited it today. Please give me some
time to recite the sutra. 

As shown in the passages above, Kosawa’s psychoanalytic concept of ittaikan, which
emphasizes the strong mother binding, is applicable to the mother-child dyad object
relationship of Chūjōhime and her deceased mother. In contrast, Kosawa’s second
concept “betrayal of the mother” is more problematic. In the case of Ajātasatru, the
betrayal involves his birth mother, Vaidehi, smuggling food and drink to her imprisoned
husband in order to keep him alive, which Ajātasatru sees as a conspiracy by the mother
against him. In contrast, Chūjōhime’s case is a different one. Here, it is not her real
mother who betrays her but her stepmother, who plots to have the princess abandoned
and executed on Mount Hibari. Unlike Ajātasatru, who attempts to kill his mother upon
finding out about her betrayal, Chūjōhime only laments her suffering but does not take
any actions against her mistreatment at the hand of the wicked stepmother.

Kosawa’s third concept “mutual understanding of forgiveness that surpasses
resentment” is also difficult to locate within the mother-child dyad relationship in the
Taima-dera engi emaki. Since no interpersonal mother-child conflict such as Ajātasatru
forgiving his mother for betraying him and his mother forgiving Ajātasatru for
attempting to kill her exists between either Chūjōhime and her deceased mother or
Chûjôhime and her stepmother, one needs to question again the tenability of Kosawa’s emphasis on the maternal principle regarding the interpersonal conflict between a mother and a female child, as we find in Chûjôhime’s narrative in the *Taima-dera engi emaki*.

In the case of Vaidehi, Kosawa’s implication that awareness of one’s sin results in fear of punishment, refers to her killing the hermit out of her egocentric desire to have a child. However, it is really because of her husband, whose affection for Vaidehi rests on her beauty that is fading with age, that she commits the crime. In the case of Chûjôhime’s mother, who makes a pilgrimage to Hase-dera and shortly after conceives a child through the benevolence of the bodhisattva Kannon, it is also not the woman’s choice but that of her husband. At the moment of her death, Chûjôhime’s mother falls prey to her egocentric desire because she fears that she will fall into hell since she is unable to recite the *nenbutsu* out of worry for her offspring. She is overcome by guilt and curses ever having had a child:

> If there is one thing a person should never have it is a child. Now here I am trying to recite the *nenbutsu* with a single steady heart to facilitate my birth in the Pure Land, but all I keep thinking about are my two children.⁴⁹
As evident from these passages, not only Ajātasatru’s and Chûjôhime’s ambivalence towards their mothers, but also Vaidehi’s and Chûjôhime’s mother’s ambivalence towards maternal experiences vary greatly. Anne-Louise Shapiro points out two problems regarding the application of theory to the discipline of history. She names the first problem as “bringing theory to bear in a discipline that has traditionally defined itself as largely empirical,” and the second as “much of the theoretical apparatus used by feminists has emerged outside the discipline of history, raising questions about boundary crossing and translation.”

Shapiro further states that:

Problems that are of interest to feminists across disciplines are the complexities of relations among women as well as between women and men; the problem of adequately theorizing the implications of different kinds of difference; the ways that gender is used to construct, preserve, and subvert relations of power; the significance of cross-national and cross-cultural investigations; and the articulation of gender along multiple axes, including those of race, ethnicity, nationality, class, and sexuality.

It is particularly Shapiro’s first point – the relations between women – such as the mother-daughter relationship, that Kosawa’s psychoanalytic theory fails to address.

In order to understand Chûjôhime’s idealized unity with her deceased mother, her
efforts to save her mother on which she places greater importance than her own life in this world - marrying the Emperor and securing her father's social status - we need to examine the religious and social meaning written over women in medieval Japan.

Therefore, we need to keep in mind that both the Ajase complex and medieval Japanese Pure Land Buddhist soteriology for women were developed by men within the sole interest of the patriarchal institutions at the time.

Okonogi Keigo revised and developed Kosawa's theory of the Ajase complex. In contrast to Kosawa's theory of interpersonal conflict in the Buddhist legend of Ajatasatru, Okonogi's theory presented in his earliest work, "Nihonjin no Ajase Konpurekkusu" (The Ajase Complex of the Japanese), focuses on the intrapsychic model of the mother-child dyad object relationship. Focusing his attention exclusively on the maternal role, Okonogi adds the episode of Vaidehi trying to kill her baby by giving birth to him from a high tower, which is omitted by Kosawa, and does not mention the episode of Ajatasatru killing his father, which is strongly emphasized by Kosawa:

Many years ago, at the time of the Buddha, there lived a king named Binbishara. His wife, Idaike, fearing the loss of her husband's love as her beauty faded, longed to have a son with which to secure the king's
love for as long as she lived. Hearing of her wish, a soothsayer told
her that within three years a hermit living in the mountains would die and
start his life afresh to become her son. However, the queen, who
so deeply feared the loss of her husband’s love, killed the hermit before
the three years had passed. Shortly after, she conceived a son as the soothsayer
had said. However, during her pregnancy, she had been beset with fear
of being cursed by the hermit she had killed and tried to kill the baby
first by inducing a miscarriage and then by giving birth to him from
a high tower. Although Ajase’s birth had sprung out of such a fatality, he
spent a happy youth, with his parents’ love centered upon him, knowing
nothing of the secret of his conception. One day after having reached
manhood, during a bout of melancholy, he was approached by Buddha’s
enemy Debadatta, who revealed to Ajase the secret of his birth, saying:
“The cause of your melancholy is your mother’s evil deed.” Thereupon,
Ajase imprisoned his father feeling sympathy for his mother’s agony
over his father’s love. When Ajase learned that his mother was feeding
his imprisoned father with honey which she had rubbed onto her
body and which saved him from starvation, Ajase became angry
with his mother because she tried to save his enemy – the father – and attempted to kill her. However, he was dissuaded from slaying his mother by a minister who counseled that, while there were sons who tried to kill their fathers, there was none who had ever attempted to kill their mothers. At that moment, Ajase was attacked by severe guilt and became afflicted by a terrible illness called *ruchu* – a severe skin disease characterized by so offensive an odor that no one dared to approach him. Only his mother stood by and cared for him. Thanks to the mother’s compassionate nursing, Ajase recovered from the illness and was forgiven by the mother he had intended to murder. As a result, he was awakened to a real love for his mother, discarding his grudge against her. His mother was able to develop a natural maternal affection for her son beyond her original self-centered attachment to him, and both mother and son are reunited in mutual harmony.\(^55\)

Okonogi’s distortion of the story which describes Ajase imprisoning his father because he feels sympathy for his mother’s agony over his father’s love and anger against his father who had so distressed his mother, is completely different from Kosawa’s versions. Furthermore, instead of following the part of the narrative that it was
Sakyamuni who cured Ajātassatru from his illness, Okonogi changes the story by stating that it was Vaidehi who was the person able to approach Ajātassatru and to cure him through her motherly compassionate nature. Lastly, Ajātassatru’s awakening to real love for his mother – instead of awakening to Buddhist enlightenment due to Sakyamuni’s mercy – and Vaidehi being able to develop a natural maternal affection for her son beyond her self-centered attachment to him, are also unique to Okonogi’s first version of the Ajase complex.⁵⁶

The factors in the distortions of the Buddhist legend of Ajātassatru by both Kosawa and Okonogi are extremely strong indicators of the strength of the mother principle. This is especially evident in Okonogi’s theory where the savior has been changed from Sakyamuni to Vaidehi. In a similar way, although not completely replacing a Buddhist deity, Chūjōhime becomes the savior for her mother. What is the significance of elevating these two women in their roles as saviors? To what extent does this psychoanalytical viewpoint offer insight into mother-centered models of unconscious subjectivity in accordance with Kozawa’s and Okonogi’s theories of the maternal principle?

The Buddhist attitude towards motherhood is particularly ambivalent because, although valued to some extent, Buddhism turned it into a sin. The opening
passage of the Mahāyāna scripture, *Abhisamayālamkāra*, pays homage to the perfection of wisdom (Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*) as the mother of various spiritually elevated beings: “I bow down to the Mother of the hosts of disciples, bodhisattvas and buddhas.”

Here the mother principle refers to three types of knowledge – her manifestation as scripture, as path, and as result – that lead the various aspirants to their spiritual goals. However, whether viewed as scripture, path to enlightenment, or enlightenment, the perfection of wisdom is being identified not only as a feminine entity but, specifically, as a mother.

Why does Buddhism choose the mother principle as a characterization of wisdom? Since the mother is one of the two principal causes of a child, in a similar way is wisdom one of the two principal causes of enlightenment. In order to emphasize that wisdom is what nurtures the adept on the path, it is characterized as their mother. Like a mother, who has to bear the child in her womb for nine months, “wisdom has to nurture the adept along the path of enlightenment” – from the early stages of the bodhisattva path to the final ‘birth’ of buddhahood. However, ironically, it is precisely this biological aspect of the mother as nurturer – the religious impurity due to women’s menstrual and childbirth blood – that pathologizes female sexuality in Buddhism, linking defilement with female gender.
Though mothers are elevated by patriarchal religious institutions based on such statements that “the Buddha himself was born from a women” and “all mothers are the true mothers of the Buddhas of the three periods,” they should not be misconstrued as feminist statements.61 The Buddha is male, but the mother principle operates at the basis of salvation by Buddha, and Kosawa might have consciously perceived this point by changing the theme of the story to killing the father rather than the mother.62

Kawai states that “the rewriting effected by Kosawa and Okonogi appears to be largely unconscious. If, according to psychoanalysis, unconscious changes in memory bring to light a complex, then the changes made by Kosawa and Okonogi [...] reflect the strength of the maternal principle.”63 Unconscious revisions to Buddhist myth that highlight the conflict between mother and child strongly support evidence for such a complex.64

Okonogi puts forth the theory of the “peculiarity of the Japanese” (nihonjinron) by stating that “the psychological peculiarity of the Japanese is evidenced by the acceptance of oral dependency towards the mother and the repression of the hatred and resentment of the mother which accompanies this tendency, and guilt feelings over being forgiven, which are developed from the feelings of being aggressive and yet being forgiven.”65 He argues that “the theory of Ajase explains not only the oral dependency
of the Japanese toward their mothers, but also the process of how the Japanese attain separation and autonomy from their mothers. Okonogi emphasizes the interpersonal aspect in his theory, which differs from Melanie Klein’s theory of intrapsychic orientation, even though he admits some overlap as to the paranoid-schizoid position and guilt feelings in the melancholic position. In contrast to Klein, who draws attention to the infantile phantasy affected by the intrapsychic mother, Okonogi focuses on the interpersonal aspects with the external mother. In Okonogi’s version, Ajatasatru was forgiven by his mother, while in Kleinian theory, the child becomes able to integrate his or her split-off bad object and good object in his or her phantasy as the child’s ego develops. Okonogi focuses on the interpersonal aspect because he argues that this specific mothering attitude towards the child, which he describes in his first version of the Ajase complex, is a unique feature of Japanese culture and society.

In addition, Okonogi uses the term “bad mother” when referring to the mother’s karmic sin – killing the hermit in order to impregnate herself in order to maintain her husband’s love – and the term “good mother” when referring to the mother’s compassion of nurturing and curing her son, and forgiving his matricidal attempt. While Klein’s theory emphasizes infantile unconscious phantasies,
Okonogi’s approach stresses that the bad mother is the person who pursues her own needs, and the good mother is the person who takes care of her son benevolently, focusing exclusively on the real interpersonal relationship between mother and child.

Based on his “Nihonjin no Ajase Konpurekkusu,” Okonogi suggests that this mother-child dyad object relationship is the origin of Japanese masochism. Vaidehi’s masochistically taking care of Ajatasatru, even though he tried to kill her, results from her feelings of guilt over her egoistic interests – having killed the hermit in order to have a child so that she would not lose her husband’s love as her beauty was fading.  

Okonogi suggests that the unique way of mothering is grounded in Japanese masochism, implying the effect of certain social and cultural aspects within the context of Japanese masochism. In addition to defining the roles of woman and mother in a particular way that corresponds to the ideology of Japanese society, he also implied that being masochistic is a constituent of the good mother and that in the course of development, the child identifies with the masochistic mother. According to Okonogi, masochism not only becomes part of the self, but Japanese society perceives masochism as an essential quality of the mature adult, and he identifies the sense of unity with others as a constituent of Japanese masochism. On the one hand, the child’s identification with the masochistic mother frees the child from his “illusional
fusion,” but, on the other hand, the child ends up with another kind of “fusion” which does not allow the child to be separated as an individual. This is evident in the Taima-dera Engi Emaki where Chûjôhime’s encounter with impermanence – her mother’s death and her abandonment in the mountains – frees her from illusional fusions. But at the same time, Chûjôhime is unable to live a life without constantly being worried about and caring for her mother’s salvation. Chûjôhime and her mother have fused into one. Based on Okonogi’s theory, masochism is exploited in order to control the subordinate, as the Buddhist institutions did and society did with women.

Okonogi’s second version of the Ajase complex, published in his book Ajase Konpurekkusu 阿闍世コンプレックス (The Ajase Complex), also lacks the narrative of Ajâtasatru killing his father and Sâkyamuni curing him; the sole focus is on Ajâtasatru’s matricidal attempt. However, in contrast to his earlier version, Okonogi in his Ajase Konpurekkusu describes Vaidehi as seeking help from Sâkyamuni because she is unable to cure her son’s disease. Sâkyamuni aids Vaidehi by teaching her how to contemplate her inner conflict between her role as a woman who wanted to secure her husband’s love by having his son and a mother who wants to take care of her son. In the end, it is with Sâkyamuni’s help that Vaidehi is able to cure Ajâtasatru from his disease.

This change of narrative in Okonogi’s second version emphasizes the
mother-son dyadic object relationship to a greater extent than either Kosawa’s or Okonogi’s earlier versions of the Ajase complex. While Okonogi’s version in “Nihonjin no Ajase Konpurekkusu” focused on the mother’s masochistic, self-sacrificing nurturing role, his version in Ajase Konpurekkusu shifts the focus to the intrapsychic processes in that Vaidehi in her role as loyal wife and nurturing mother overcomes her feeling of guilt by being enlightened by Sākyamuni. According to Okonogi “Sākyamuni represents the forgiving superego which supports the mother’s maturity of her own ego, which in return helps her son’s ego to mature.”

The family drama of the Ajase complex differs greatly from those of the West, the most well-known being the Oedipus complex. The Japanese family dramas centering on the mother-child object relationship between Ajātasatru and Vaidehi, and Chūjōhime and her mother are resolved by salvation. The mothers in both stories aspire to be born in Amida’s Pure Land; in the Taima mandala it is Sākyamuni who leads Vaidehi to this goal, whereas in the Taima-dera engi emaki it is Chūjōhime herself, resembling a bodhisattva in her meritorious deeds, who leads her mother to salvation. Therefore, the principle of salvation is based on the mother principle.
1.3 The Applicability of Kosawa's and Okonogi's Ajase Complex Theories as a Psychoanalytic Approach to the Study of Japanese Women's History, Particularly the Construction of the Maternal Principle

As shown in my analysis, while Kosawa and Okonogi claim that their theories were developed based on the story of Ajātatasrutu in the sutras, their versions are reconstructed and distorted presentations of this Buddhist tale, combining narrative elements from the Nirvana Sutra and the Contemplation Sutra of the Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhist traditions respectively. Even though Okonogi admitted that Kosawa changed the theme of the story of Ajātatasrutu in the sutras from patricide to matricide, and that he himself further edited the story in order to present his psychoanalytical theory on the mother-child dyad relationship, Okonogi claimed that the mother-child dyad relationship described in his Ajase complex represents the true “psychological peculiarity of the Japanese.”

While it is true that the versions of the Buddhist tale of Ajātatasrutu differ in the Nirvana Sutra and the Contemplation Sutra, the changes made by Kosawa and Okonogi do not bear much resemblance to the original. As Inoue states:

Kosawa and Okonogi were forced to compose their versions of the story because of the fact that the original stories in the Nirvana Sutra and the Contemplation Sutra are inapplicable to their
psychoanalytical theories. Even though Kosawa and Okonogi tried to draw their psychoanalytical concepts from the Buddhist scriptures, they came to recognize the difficulty in eliciting evidence for their theories from the original stories. This is why they needed to change and distort the original story to substantiate their theories.\(^79\)

This suggests that Kosawa and Okonogi likely developed their own theories before analyzing the tale of Ajātasatru in the Buddhist scriptures. As Inoue puts it:

Their approach seems to be as if an analyst changed the story of the analysand's dream, in order to substantiate the analyst's fixed clinical interpretations, instead of analyzing the dream and eliciting the meanings of the dream presented by the analysand.\(^80\)

Hence, when looking at textual and pictorial Buddhist narratives, one likewise needs to be cautious of whether they are prescriptive or descriptive in nature – that is whether they project an idealized view of religious life or present observations of actual religious practice. In my discussion of the Taima mandala engi emaki as an account of salvation for women, I have shown the extent to which patriarchal institutions created a
soteriology for women that, on the one hand, included them in Amida’s promise of universal salvation but, on the other hand excluded them because of their sex. This view of women as impure and defiled due to blood in childbirth and menstruation, which provide obstacles for women’s salvation, was popularized through the Devadatta chapter in the *Lotus Sutra*, which centers on the “Five Obstructions.” Originally, the “Five Obstructions” referred to the five states of being women are unable to attain, but it took on a different meaning in Japan than it initially had in the sutra. Rather than the very specific and limited sense that there are five existences women could not attain, the “Five Obstructions” came to mean all transgressions, passions, wrongdoing, or negative karma that are inherent to women in particular.

Another example is the *Taima-dera engi emaki*, which focuses on the diffused boundaries between the religious and social construction of women – a construction created by men - in medieval Japan. Chûjôhime’s story represents an ideological double-bind of women as religious outcasts – not being able to attain enlightenment in their female bodies due to their sex – and as social outcasts – transgressing bounds of social roles and neglecting their duties of filial piety. This Buddhist ambivalence toward women was determined by religious, social, and cultural factors controlled by the patriarchy. Similar to the case of Buddhism and Buddhist ambivalence toward
women, especially mothers – a construction created to fit the needs of the male clergy – Kosawa and Okonogi constructed their own versions of the Ajātāsatru story because the phylogenetic significance of the stories in the sutras cannot be applied to the "psychological peculiarity of the Japanese."

Furthermore, it is questionable to utilize the Buddhist tale of Prince Ajātāsatru as a phylogenetic foundation for the Japanese psyche because 1) Buddhism is not the indigenous religion of the Japanese; Shintō is the traditional belief system and the origin of Japanese imperial rule, and 2) the characters in the Buddhist tale of Prince Ajātāsatru are all of Indian and not of Japanese origin. The reason why Kosawa decided to use the stories of Ajātāsatru in the Nirvana Sutra and Contemplation Sutra seems to have been his intention to combine psychoanalysis with Buddhism. Thus, Kosawa's choice resulted from his subjective faith in Pure Land Buddhism, and was not based on a phylogenetic rationale for Japanese culture and society.

In conclusion, the reflexive interplay of Buddhist ambivalence towards women – on the one hand, elevating them in terms of the mother principal of perfect wisdom but, on the other hand, diminishing them in terms of the Japanese adaptation of the Buddhist concept of the "Five Obstructions" – greatly influenced aspects of female sexuality in the Japanese psyche, as found in Kosawa's and Okonogi's Ajase complex theories. Both
the Buddhist construction of female sexuality, which served to aid the male clergy as a
means to popularizing and gaining authority for their religious doctrines, and the
psychoanalytical construction of female sexuality, which served to validate Kosawa’s
and Okonogi’s psychoanalytical theories, need to be questioned in terms of writing
women into religious histories. Especially, since both the Taima mandala and the
_Taima-dera engi emaki_ explicitly glorify the female heroines – which contradicts
the place ascribed to women in medieval Japanese soteriology and in the Ajase complex
theory – we start to realize that Buddhism not only covers a number of doctrines,
ideologies, and practices which seem to invite ‘otherness’ on their margins, but also
includes various institutional and ideological discourses that have questionable
autonomy and dynamics.

Notes to Chapter Five

1 Anthony Stevens, *Archetype: A Natural History of the Self* (London: Routledge &
2 Ibid., 89.
3 Ibid., 90.
4 Barbara J. Harris, “Property, Power, and Personal Relations: Elite Mothers and Sons
5 Nancy Partner, “No Sex, No Gender,” in Nancy Partner (ed.), *Studying Medieval
Women* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, Speculum, 1993), 141.
6 Hereafter, I will refer to the _Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Infinite Life_ as
_Contemplation Sutra._
7 See Chapter One pages 54-56 for a detailed description and explanation of the
iconography of each of these sections depicted in the Taima mandala. When reading the
Taima mandala visually, the viewer begins at the lower part of the “Court of the
Prefatory Legend”, moves up to the top of the court, skips over to the top of the “Court of Specific Contemplations”; reads down to the right-hand corner to the beginning of the “Court of the Nine Grades”, which is then read from right to left across; and arrives back at the initial starting point. This ritual circumambulation before focusing on the central image of Amida’s Pure Land, depicted in the “Court of the Central Doctrine,” corresponds to the teachings as they unfold sequentially in the Contemplation Sutra and as described in Shantao’s commentary.


9 Throughout my discussion I will refer to the characters by their Sanskrit names rather than by their Japanese names.

10 Thirteen of these sixteen meditations are described and illustrated in the “Court of Specific Contemplations” on the right and the last three, which are further subdivided into the nine grades of birth (kuhon 九品), are presented in the “Court of the Nine Grades” on the bottom of the Taima mandala.

11 The translation of the inscription bordering the eleven scenes in the “Court of the Prefatory Legend” is based on Takakusa Junjirô’s translation of the Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Infinite Life (Kannmuryô-kyô) in Max Müller, The Sacred Books of the East, vol.49 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), 161-201. I am including Müller’s complete translation of each scene as found in the Chinese version of this sutra. However, since the Chinese inscriptions surrounding the paintings of the “Court of the Prefatory Legend” in the Taima mandala are only abbreviated key passages from the Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Infinite Life, brackets indicate the words that are omitted in the Taima mandala but are included in the sutra. A more recent and literary translation of this sutra appears in Hisao Inagaki, The Three Pure Land Sutras (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1995), 317-350.

12 Takakusa, Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Infinite Life, 161.

13 Vulture Peak.


15 This phrase in the Taima mandala literally reads: “Mahâmaudgalyâyana came flying to the king,” emphasizing the speedy descend of the two monks on clouds characteristic of haya raigô-zu (早来迎図).

16 Takakusa, Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Infinite Life, 161-162.

17 Devadatta was the son of King Suppabuddha and his wife Pamita, who was an aunt of the Buddha. Together with Ânanda and other princes of the Sâkya clan, he entered the order of monks in the early years of the Buddha’s life and teachings. Unable to attain sainthood, Devadatta’s jealousy towards the Buddha increased and he became his greatest enemy. His chief supporter was Prince Ajâtasatru, with whom he discussed his anger and plots for revenge.

Ibid., 164-165.

Ibid., 165-166.

Ibid., 166-167.

Ibid., 167-168.


 Versions of the legend of Prince Ajātassattva are described in both Mahāyana and Theravada Buddhist sources. For a discussion of these versions see Sadaka Akira, *Ajase no sukui: bukkyō ni okeru tsumi to kyūsai* (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 1984). Since this dissertation examines the story of Ajātassattva within the context of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism, my discussion focuses on the two Mahāyana scriptures only. The *Nirvana Sutra* is hard to comprehend by lay Buddhists and, therefore, Shinran’s *Kyōgyō shinshō* (Record of Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Realization) has been read more commonly by lay Buddhists in Japan than the original sutra. Matsumoto S. & R. Tabrah, *Ajatasatru: The Story of Who We Are. A New Century Sutra from Shinran’s “Kyōgyō shinshō”* (Honolulu: Hawai’i Buddhist Study Center Press, 1988), 2.


The story in the *Nirvana Sutra* also includes the scene of Ajātassattva imprisoning and attempting to kill his mother, but it does not describe Vaidehi’s encounter with Sākyamuni, her vision of the Pure Land, and her practice of the sixteen meditations in order to attain birth in Amida’s Pure Land. These scenes are only described in detail in the *Contemplation Sutra*.

Originally, the *Nirvana Sutra* was a slim volume comprising ten chapters. Over the centuries, the contents of the sutra expanded, and the latest version of the *Nirvana Sutra* comprises forty chapters. Matsumoto & Tabrah, *Ajatasatru: The Story of Who We Are. A New Century Sutra from Shinran’s “Kyōgyō shinshō,”* 5. In Sanskrit, the name Ajātassattva means “enemy yet to be born” and it originated from the circumstances of the prince’s birth. According to the *Nirvana Sutra*, one day King Bimbisāra went hunting in the mountains, but could not find any game. When he found a hermit living in the mountains, the king blamed him for the lack of game and ordered his attendants to execute the hermit. At the moment of death, the hermit cursed that in his next life, he would kill the king with his will and mouth, just as the king killed him. When Vaidehi conceived, she feared the curse of the hermit and tried to kill her son by throwing the baby from a high tower. Ibid., 35.

Amitabha Buddhist Society of USA, “The Contemplation Sutra,” in *Sutras*. Retrieved December 18, 2005, from http://www.amitabha.com/sutras/contemp_sutra/contemp_summary.html. In contrast to the *Nirvana Sutra*, which emphasizes Vaidehi’s urge to kill the baby, the *Contemplation Sutra* states that the king told the queen to give birth to the baby on the roof of a tower and let the baby fall to the ground. Other sources say that both the king and queen plotted to throw the baby from a tower in order to kill it.

Kosawa studied at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute under Sigmund Freud. However, Kosawa objected Freud’s theory and stated in his article “Two Kinds of Guilt:
The Ajase Complex” that not only the Oedipus complex but also the Ajase complex are significant for the understanding of the human psyche. Kozawa’s theory of the Ajase complex was ignored by Freud and other European psychoanalysis, whereas Kosawa’s theory attracted attention in Japan. Kawai Hayao, “A Perspective on Archetypes and the Japanese Consciousness: The Elder, Youth, Male, and Female Archetypes,” in Japan Review 9 (1997): 7.


34 While it seems that Kosawa follows the story in the later version of the Nirvana Sutra, he uses the narrative passage of his mother’s imprisonment from the Contemplation Sutra.

35 This part is identical with the story in the Nirvana Sutra.


38 Kosawa, 罪悪意識の二種・阿闍世コンプレックス, 170.


40 Kosawa uses the term hahaoya kōsoku to imply that it is not easy for a child to grow out of the dyadic object relationship with the mother. For a detailed discussion of Kosawa’s theory of hahaoya kōsoku and its importance for satisfying pregenital sexual impulses and ego instinctual needs see Kosawa Heisaku, 阿闍世王の物語について, in Okonogi Keigo (ed.), 現代のエスプリ 148 (1979): 174-5.

41 In the case of the Taima-dera engi emaki we actually have a double-conflict between Chūjōhime and her dead mother, and Chūjōhime and her stepmother. In addition, there is the conflict between Chūjōhime and her father which results from her quest to save her dead mother and to be reunited with her.

42 In contrast to Kosawa, Freud in his Oedipus complex argues that the human feeling of guilt can be regarded as emerging on the basis of patricide by the child and the ensuing guilt. Kawai, “A Perspective on Archetypes and the Japanese Consciousness: The Elder, Youth, Male, and Female Archetypes,” 8.

43 Ibid., 8.

44 Ibid., 8.

45 Okonogi, “Nihonjin no Ajase konpurekkusu,” 94.

46 Chapter Three, p.117.

47 Ibid., 130.

48 Ibid., 130-1.

49 Chapter Three, p.130.
However, this is not unique to Kosawa; Freud's Oedipus Complex does not deal with daughters either.

In contrast to Kosawa, Okonogi did not go abroad but received all his psychoanalytic training in Japan.

Okonogi, "Japanese Psychoanalysis and the Ajase Complex (Kosawa)," 353-4.

In the Nirvana Sutra, Śākyamuni was the only one who was able to enlighten Ajātasatru, while the condition of his sores became even worse when his mother put medicine on him. In the Contemplation Sutra, Śākyamuni was the one who enlightened Vaidehi after being imprisoned by her son.


The manifestation of the mother principle as the perfection of wisdom as scripture refers to the Prajñāpāramitā Sutras; the path refers to a series of states that lead to enlightenment through perfect wisdom, and the result refers to enlightenment itself.

Ibid., 185.


Okonogi, "Japanese Psychoanalysis and the Ajase Complex (Kosawa)," 352-3.


Inoue, 70.

Ibid., 71.

Okonogi Keigo, "The Ajase Complex of the Japanese (1): The Depth Psychology of

76 This description corresponds to the original passage in the *Nirvana Sutra* which states that in spite of his mother’s care Ajātasatru did not get well. However, Okonogi’s episode of Vaidihi seeking help from Sākyamuni differs from the story in the *Contemplation Sutra* where she seeks the Buddha’s help because she is afflicted by sorrow and distress due to her imprisonment, not because she worries about her son’s condition.

77 Okonogi, *Ajase konpurekkusu*, 47.
80 Ibid., 80.
CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

Women are the servants of hell; they stamp out the seeds of the Buddha. On the outside they are as bodhisattvas, while on the inside they are as devils.¹

The mountain peak of the Great Vehicle, where the clouds of the “Five Obstructions” do not gather. The valley of the Single Truth is deep, the rivers of the “Three Obediences” do not flow here.²

As my analysis in Chapter Two of Chûjôhime’s legend in the Taima mandala engi emaki has shown, according to Pure Land Buddhist doctrine in early-medieval Japan, women’s capability to attain salvation was limited due to the “Five Obstructions” and the “Three Obligations.” Eliding morality with physiology rendered women’s religious imperfection inescapable due to their sex.

Chapter Three, in which I examined the religious significance regarding the expanded narrative of Chûjôhime’s legend in the Taima-dera engi emaki, revealed an overall intensification of attempts to disempower certain aspects of constructed femininity. The Buddhist view of women as ‘ritually impure’ appears to have greatly influenced the socio-cultural perception of women as ‘impure’ – in Chûjôhime’s case referring to being unfilial vis-à-vis her father – as illustrated in the combination of the “exiled and wandering heroine” with the evil stepmother trope in the Taima-dera engi
As I have shown in Chapter Four, to portray Buddhism as a timeless, homogenous and unchanging oppressor of women neglects the intricate ways in which different configurations of specific religious, socio-cultural, and historical discourses empower or marginalize ascribed gender characteristics. Through this analysis Chûjôhime emerges as an exemplary figure. On the one hand, she is the heroine of the didactic Buddhist tale in the Taima mandala engi emaki, facilitating the miraculous creation of the Taima mandala and her own attainment of salvation through her devotion to Amida Buddha. On the other hand, she is even more heroic in her trials imposed by the wicked stepmother, which she is only able to escape through her sincere faith and strong urge to facilitate her mother’s birth in the Pure Land.

However, while Pure Land Buddhism promised women salvation – illustrated by Chûjôhime’s exemplary heroic religious conduct which turned her into a role model of female salvation for women in medieval Japan – at the same time it did not offer salvation for women in the true sense. Since women can only enter the Pure Land once they have changed their bodies into a man, Buddhism’s practice of ‘inclusive exclusion’ simply placed women in an inferior position where men could look down from a higher plane of existence and take pity on them.
Men and male-dominated society have replaced women's biological differences with cultural differences – assigning women to nature as opposed to culture – as my discussion of Kosawa's and Okonogi's Ajase complex theory in Chapter Four has shown.

Views of women's salvation in Japanese Buddhism have always been closely connected to views of women's sins and an ideologically prejudiced view of motherhood as clearly evident in the Taima-dera engi emaki and in Kosawa and Okonogi's Ajase complex theories. In medieval Japan the Blood Pool Sutra (Ketsubonkyō) became a scripture for women's attainment of Buddhahood and women's salvation because women believed that it could exempt them from the sin of blood defilement. However, the Pure Land sect took advantage of this to glorify motherhood, while at the same time shunning the most integral aspects of birth and menstruation as polluting – an ingenious way to praise women on the one hand while denigrating them on the other. Faith in this sutra was a construction of femininity and women's salvation postulated from the position of patriarchal authority.

Discrimination and distorted perceptions of motherhood in Japanese Buddhism did not emerge from canonical Buddhist doctrine, and it is apparent that other factors, including common understanding and generally accepted ideas in society, the state
structure, and the values of religious leaders all contribute to this misogyny. A
philosophy glorifying and overemphasizing female salvation and motherhood – as we
find it in Chûjôhime's legend – was planted in the scriptures in the form of general
understanding and amplified in the perceptions of women and motherhood by
patriarchal institutions that proselytize his philosophy. Under further influence of social
customs and varying trends in thought – for example the mutual influences exerted by
Buddhism, Shinto, and Confucianism in early medieval Japan – it eventually became
confused with doctrine, a doctrine which is further disseminated through proselytizing
faith to the populace as. The transmission of faith in Amida Buddha to female audiences
through lectures on the Taima mandala or popularizing Chûjôhime's legend along the
pilgrimage roads caused social and ideological perceptions of women's impure sex and
motherhood to perpetuate throughout society in the form of sexual discrimination.

Therefore, when writing women into religious histories, we need to take a closer look at
1.) whose histories are they? 2) who wrote these histories under what kind of
conditions? and 3) to what extent is our reading of history distorted by perceptions
about gender?

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, an effective approach to
writing women into religious histories is to bridge various disciplines and to place
representations in the context of pictorial exegesis, and thereby elucidating the power of images of women and salvation created and exploited by Japanese Pure Land Buddhism.

Notes to Chapter Six


______. “Genshin’s Deathbed Nembutsu Ritual in Pure Land Buddhism,” in


http://www.net0726.or.jp/~horai/amida-sutra-b.htm


Okonogi, Keigo 小此木啓吾, 日本人の阿闇世コンプレックス, in 中央公論 93 (1978): 90-123.


Yoshida Kazuhiko 吉田一彦, “Ryûjo no jôbutsu 流女の成仏,” in Josei to Bukkyô 女性と仏教 (2), 60-68.

### APPENDIX A

Extant Records of Chūjōhime’s Legend*

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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>1191</td>
<td>緣起</td>
<td>(校刊 美術史料・寺院 篇上巻)</td>
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<td>1223</td>
<td>注釈</td>
<td>(大日本仏教全書・第六三)</td>
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<td>当麻寺流記 (九条家本) (Taima-dera ryūki (Kujōke-bon))</td>
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<td>緣起</td>
<td>(図書寮刊諸寺縁起集)</td>
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<td>1235</td>
<td>緣起</td>
<td>「諸寺縁起集」</td>
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<tr>
<td>上宮太子拾遺記 (Jōgū taishi shūi-ki)</td>
<td>1237</td>
<td>緣起</td>
<td>(大日本仏教全書・第一一二)</td>
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<td>類型</td>
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<td>1253</td>
<td>縁起</td>
<td>（奈良国立文化財研究年表・一九五九）</td>
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<td>1254</td>
<td>縁起</td>
<td>巻第二・釈教（有朋堂文庫・六七等）</td>
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<td>当麻曼陀羅縁起（私衆百因縁衆）Taima mandala engi（Shiju hyaku-in enshu version）</td>
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<td>縁起</td>
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<td>当麻曼陀羅縁起絵巻（光明寺本）Taima mandala engi emaki（Kômyô-ji-bon）</td>
<td>Latter half of the 13th century 1256-1262</td>
<td>縁起</td>
<td>（日本の絵巻・第二十）</td>
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<td>一遍聖絵 Ippen hijiri-e</td>
<td>1299</td>
<td>縁起</td>
<td>（新修日本絵巻物全集・第十一巻）</td>
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| 元亨釈書  
Genko shakusho | 1322 | 緣起 | (大日本仏教全書・一〇一) |
| 当麻曼陀羅疏  
Taima mandala sho | 1436 | 注釈 | (浄土宗全集・第十三) |
| 当麻  
Taema | mid 15th C | 能 | (日本古典全書、謡曲集・下) |
| 雲雀山  
Hibariyama | mid 15th C | 能 | (日本古典全書、謡曲集・下) |
| 当麻曼陀羅註記  
明秀抄  
Taima mandala chûki  
meishû-shô | 1482 | 注釈 | (西山全書・巻第二) |
| 当麻寺緣起  
(享緑本)  
Taima-dera engi  
emaki  
(Kyôroku-bon) | 1531 | 緣起 | (日本仏教・第十五号) |
| 当麻曼陀羅縁起  
(掛幅本)  
Taima mandala engi  
(Keifuku-bon) | mid 16th C | 緣起 | (日本絵巻物大成・第二四) |
| 中将姫物語  
Chūjōhime monogatari | 16th C | 絵伝 | (碧沖洞書、第六集・説話資料集・第三冊) |
|---------------------|--------|-------|---------------------------------------|
| 中しょうひめ  
Chūjōhime | 16th C | お伽草子 | (室町時代物語集・四) |
| 当麻曼陀羅白記  
Taima mandala  
hakuki | 1614 | 注釈 | (中将姫説話の調査研究報告書 1983) |
| 中将姫  
Chūjōhime | early Edo period | 御伽草子 | (慶応義塾大学蔵) |
| 当麻寺縁起  
(Taima-dera engi  
(Kan’ei-bon)) | 1633 | 縁起 | (奈良・畳斗勝一氏蔵) |
| 中将姫本地  
Chūjōhime no honji | 1651 | 仮名草子 | (室町時代物語集・四 広島学) |
| 当麻曼陀羅事  
Taima mandala no koto | 1656 | 伝記 | (大日本仏教全書・第一四八) |
| 中将姫之御本地  
Chūjōhime no go honji | 1669 | 済瑠璃 | (古浄瑠璃正本集・第五) |
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<td>歌舞伎 狂言</td>
<td>(歌舞伎事典)</td>
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<td>1691</td>
<td>縁起</td>
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<td>注釈</td>
<td>(中将姫説話の調査研究報告 1983)</td>
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<td>縁起</td>
<td>(和歌山・得生寺蔵)</td>
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<td>歌舞伎狂言</td>
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| 中将姫古跡の松 | 1697 | 歌舞伎狂言 | (名作歌舞伎全集・第六) |
| Chûjôhime koseki no matsu | | | |

| 当麻中将姫二代記 | 1699 | 歌舞伎狂言 | (上方狂言本・三・古典文庫、近世演劇集・近世篇第七) |
| Taima Chûjôhime nidai-ki | | | |

| 中将姫本地 | 17th C | お伽草子 | (九州大学蔵) |
| (九州大学本) | | | |
| Chûjôhime no honji | | | |
| (Kyûshû daigaku-bon) | | | |

| 蒲雪今中将姫 | 1701 | 浮世草子 | (東京芸術大学附属図書館) |
| Usuyukiima Chûjôhime | | | |

| 曼陀羅供略和讃 | 1703 | 歌謡 | (日本歌謡集成・第四巻) |
| Mandala tomoryaku wazan | | | |

| 当麻曼陀羅述論記 | 1704 | 談義 | (当麻曼陀羅述論記箋考・巻四) |
| Taïma mandala jusshôki | | | |

<p>| 中将姫三車 | 1706 | 歌舞伎狂言 | (歌舞伎年表・劇代集) |
| Chûjôhime mitsu no kuruma | | | |</p>
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<td>(元禄歌舞伎傑作集・上)</td>
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<td>(東北大学狩野文庫蔵)</td>
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<td>藤中将姫蓮糸織 To Chûjôhime hasu mandala</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>合巻</td>
<td>(東里山人作・勝川春扇画)</td>
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<td>中将姫行状記 Chûjôhime gyôjôki</td>
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<td>中将姫号法如和讃 Chûjôhime hôno wasan</td>
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<td>歌謡</td>
<td>(日本歌謡集成・第四巻)</td>
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<td>中将姫思子宝 Chûjôhime omoi no kodakara</td>
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<td>歌舞伎狂言</td>
<td>(京阪歌舞伎年表)</td>
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<td>Hibariyama hime sutematsu</td>
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<td>浄続璃</td>
<td>(昭和版帝国文庫・第十篇、浄続璃集)</td>
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| 中将姫物語  
Chûjôhime monogatari | 1780 | | 国会図書館蔵 |
| 当麻寺仏曼陀羅
緒起
Taima-dera hei mandala engi | 1795 | 緒起 | 碧沖洞書・第六六輯、説話資料集・第三冊 |
| 中将姫  
Chûjôhime | 18th C | 絵本 | 室町物語集・第三 |
| 増補中将姫
Zôho Chûjôhime | Edo period | 絵本 | 東京・都立中央図書館 |
| 中将姫一代記
Chûjôhime ichidai-ki | 1800 | 青本 | 阪口弘之氏蔵 |
| 藤中将姫寓糸遊
To Chûjôhime guitoasobi | 1816 | 合巻 | 国会図書館蔵 |
| 雲雀山後日曄
Hibariyama gojitsu no saezuri | 1817 | 合巻 | 雲雀山刊生台 |
| 中将姫法語
Chûjôhime hôgo | 1820 | 法語 | 中将姫説話の調査研究報告 1983 |
| 中将姫法如御一代
画伝
Chûjôhime hûno on ichidai eden | 1830 | 絵伝 | 和歌山・得生寺蔵 |
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*All the records of Chujohime’s legend compiled in this appendix comprise either the narrative of the creation of the Taima mandala and Chujohime’s attainment of birth in Amida Buddha’s Pure Land; the death of Chujohime’s mother, her abandonment on Mount Hibari due to the stepmother’s slander, and her reunion with her father or; a combination of both of these narratives.

In addition to the narratives included in this chart, Chujohime appears in the Rakuyô Seiganji engi 落葉清顕寺縁起, where one of the priest Zannebô Shôkû’s disciples has a mysterious encounter with Izumi Shikibu and Chujohime at Seigan-ji on the very night of Shôku’s lecture on the Taima mandala. See Randall Keller Kimbrough, *Preachers, Poets, Women & the Way: Izumi Shikibu and the Buddhist Literature of Medieval Japan* (forthcoming). Furthermore, in the Muromachi-period otogizoshi, Asagao no tsuyu 朝顔の露, Chujohime appears from the dead to the young girl Asagao no Tsuyu, after she has been abandoned in the
## APPENDIX B

**Comparative Overview of Selected Versions of the Taima Mandala Origin Story**

Pre-dating the *Taima Mandala Engi Emaki (Komyōji-bon)*

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<th>出所</th>
<th>地方</th>
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<th>B-1 二</th>
<th>C-1 三</th>
<th>D-1 四</th>
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<td>熊本國</td>
<td>熊本</td>
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<td>二月四日</td>
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*Note: The table continues with more versions and details.*
<table>
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<th>染寺僧尼と泉の名</th>
<th>化形または、道数を案じ、蓮を念めると</th>
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<td>鳳興行の名</td>
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<tr>
<td>皆興行の名</td>
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すばる（印）

（法華：中日に一人毎）

（共通：皆日に一人比）

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APPENDIX C

Annotated Translation of Selected Passages from Sanjōnishi Sanetaka’s Diary

Kyôroku 3 (1530), Ninth Month, First Day
Yûzen brought Taima-dera’s death registry

Kyôroku 3 (1530), Ninth Month, Sixteenth Day
Inspected Taima-dera’s precious treasure, inspection completed on the same day, at the arrival of dusk looked at and worshipped [the treasure] in the temple hall, accepted the Imperial command, all day today silent sutra reading

Kyôroku 4 (1531), Second Month, Thirteenth Day
Yûzen brought Chûjôhime’s rosary.
Second Month, Fifteenth Day
The emperor’s personal inspection of Chûjôhime’s rosary was completed, today wrote the inventory list of that precious treasure was completed.

Second Month, Sixteenth Day
Yûzen came carrying a jar; a trophy from the imperial family; returned Chûjôhime’s rosary; donated the compiled inventory list.

Fourth Month, Twenty-third Day
Yûzen and others came; Taima-dera’s head priest, Sôin, also called Eshû; wrote the preface and other parts for the recent death registry.

Fifth Month, Seventeenth Day
Yûzen came [...] ordered the text for the first and last scrolls of the Taima engi,¹ the second scroll unexplored because words and other things must still be submitted.¹²

Intercalary Fifth Month, Third Day
Pictures for the first scroll of the Taima engi arrived, all pictures were beautiful, valued highly.
Sixth Month, Seventeenth Day
Yûzen came [and] brought paper for the pictures and texts of the last scroll.

Sixth Month, Twenty-fourth Day
Yûzen advanced barrels for the leading [people of the production]; [monks] from Nishimuro and other temples; the pictures of the last scroll were completed; therefore, the writing of the text was requested.

Eighth Month, Seventh Day
Began [writing] the text for the last scroll of the Taima engi; finished writing both passages today; after that [the scribe from] Nishimuro wrote

Eighth Month, Tenth Day
Yûzen came; donated one tray of shingles to Taima-dera; today, completion of the texts explaining the pictures; proofreading extended into the night; tomorrow [I] must hand it over to the priest

Eighth Month, Twelfth Day
Yûzen came; brought along a jar; pictures and text donated to Taima-dera
Eighth Month, Twenty-second Day
Yûzen wrote inscriptions underneath the picture; rollers, the cover binding and other things arrived; inspected them; beautiful and valued highly.

Kyôroku 5 (1532), First Month, Fifteenth Day
On the request of the temple, added one textual passage and one pictorial section for the revival of the mukaeko; completed on the same day.
21 Ibid., 251.
22 Ibid., 254.
23 Refers to the cartouche located in the upper right-hand corner of the pictures in the *Taima-dera engi emaki*.
24 Miyakawa states that "a thousand-link *renge* party (*senku renga gokai* 千句連歌御会) was held at the Imperial Palace on this day, at which the beautiful cover of the *Taima-dera engi emaki* was completed." Miyakawa, *Sanjōnishi sanetaka to kotengaku*, 344.
25 Takahashi, 295.
26 The reason for this late addition of textual and pictorial passages describing the *mukaekō* was that this Buddhist ritual performance has been a characteristic feature of *Taima-dera* since the Heian period and, therefore, enhances temple solicitation.
APPENDIX D

Postscript to the Three Scrolls of the Taima-dera engi emaki

Scroll One

Text:
Imperial Autograph (passages 1 & 2)¹
Priest of Shôren-in, Imperial Prince Sonchin (passages 3, 4 & 5)²
Priest of Kajii, Imperial Prince Genin (passages 6 & 7)³

Pictures:
Head of the Imperial Painting Bureau, Officer of the Third Rank of the Imperial Guards of the Left (sakon' e no shôgen 左近将監) Fujiwara no Mitsumochi (paintings of all three scrolls)⁴
Scroll Two

文

陽明太閤
准三宮第一二三段

陽明
関白左大臣第四五六段

聖護院
法印道増第七八九段

絵
左近将監光茂

Text
Jusangu, Imperial Advisor Yōmei (passages 1, 2 & 3)$^5$
Regent, Minister of the Left (passages 4, 5 & 6)$^6$
Priest of Shōgo-in, Dōzō (passages 7, 8 & 9)$^7$

Pictures
Officer of the Third Rank of the Imperial Guards of the Left, Mitsumochi

Scroll Three

文

道遠院
入道前内大臣第一六段

三条西
帥大納言公条第五段第四段奧

東大寺西室
得業公順第二三四段但奧帥大納言
The imperial autograph refers to Emperor Go-Nara (r. 1526-1557) (1496-1557) who was the second son of Emperor Go-Kashiwabara (r. 1500-1526) (1464-1526). The title of the work, written on the outer cover of each of the three scrolls, is also written by him. Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan kanshu, Shaji engi-e.

The Imperial Prince Sonchin was the third son of Emperor Go-Kashiwabara and Tyokumon-in Kyoko. He was a distinguished calligrapher and the founder of the Sonchin school of calligraphy. In 1512, Sonchin studied with a Buddhist priest at Shoren-in in 1515 he received the imperial proclamation, in 1519 he became a lay priest, in 1523 he resigned to a secluded life at Shoren-in, and in 1542 he became the superintendent and Tendai head priest of Shitenno-ji.

The Imperial Prince Genin was the son of Emperor Go-Kashiwabara and a monk at Kajii temple. Kajii, also known as Sanzen-in 三千院, is one of the five imperial temples (monzeki) of the Tendai school in Kyoto, the other four being Shoren-in 青蓮院, Myohin-in 玄法院, Manshu-in 曼殊院, and Bishamondo 毘沙門堂. Amida Buddha is the central icon of worship at these temples.

Tosa Mitsumochi土佐光茂 (1496-1569) succeeded his father, Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (1436-1522) as the head of the Imperial Painting Bureau (edokoro azukari) in 1523. Mitsumochi painted handscrolls, folding screens, portraits and Buddhist images for the court and the shogunate. His most well-known works include the Kuwanomi-dera engi emaki, Taima-dera engi emaki, Zendō daishi ekotoba, Jizō-dō zōshi, Hachimangu engi emaki, and Naka Murato Ryōkai emaki. Although the postscript only mentions Tosa Mitsumochi as the sole painter of the Taima-dera engi emaki, previous studies have shown that the pictures of the mukaekō in the last scroll, as well as the three frontispieces inside the covers, were painted by the Buddhist painter Rinken. Rinken, who was trained in the Chinese tradition, was a painter at the Imperial Painting Bureau of the Southern Capital (nanto edokoro 南都絵所). He was affiliated with the shibaza 芝屋, which was one of the two schools at Kōfu-ji in Nara that flourished in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. In the late Muromachi period, the shibaza became affiliated with the edokoro at Tōdai-ji which plays an important role for Rinken's participation as painter in the Taima-dera engi emaki because it was due to the request of Yūzen, Tōdai-ji's solicitation head monk, and Sanjōnishi Kōjun, the head monk of Nishimuro temple affiliated with Tōdaiji, that Rinken took part in the planning and execution of some of the paintings. Matsushima Ken, Taima-dera, 182.
Junsangu is the title of the official rank of imperial advisor, and here it refers to Konoe Hisamichi (1472-1544) who was a renga poet. His most well-known works include the *Nihongi wakachū* 日本紀和歌注, *Hokekyō waka* 法華経和歌, and the *Diary of Hisamichi* 尚通公記. During his career, Hisamichi held various official ranks such as Third Rank Officer 三品 (1469), Gon-Dainagon 槓大納言 (1486), Udaijin 大臣 (1490), Kanpaku 開白 and head of the Konoe clan (1493), First Rank Officer 徒一位 (1497), Taiko Daijin 太関大臣 (1514), and Junsangu (1519). In 1534 he took the tonsure. Ichiko et al., *Kokusho jinmei jiten*, vol.2, 275.

This entry refers to Konoe Taneie 近衛植家 (1503-1566) who was the younger brother of Konoe Hisamichi. In 1525, Taneie became head of the Konoe clan and received the title Kanpaku, in 1527 he advanced to Junior First Rank (ju ichi 従一位) which is the highest level of the courtier ranking system, and in 1535 he received the title Junsangu before taking the tonsure at Köfuku-ji. A distinguished renga poet, he copied Japanese classics and wrote commentaries on them, such as the *Ise Monogatari shū* 伊勢物語抄. Ibid., 274.

5 Shōgo-in is the main temple of the Hōzan shūgen-shū, which was founded 1200 years ago by En no Gyōja and was revived in the Heian period by Saichō 最澄 (814-891). The temple’s main icon of worship is Fudō Myō-ō. Kanaoka Shūyū 金岡秀友, *Bukkyō shūrō jiten* 仏教宗流辞典 (Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan, 1974), 227.

This is a reference to Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, who held the official rank of Palace Minister (naidaijin 内大臣) prior to his entry into the priesthood at Shōren-in. Ichiko et al., *Kokusho jinmei jiten*, 389.

Sanetaka’s second son, Sanjōnishi Kin'eda 三条西公条 (1487-1563) became Sanetaka’s heir and literary successor. He advanced to the rank of Major Councillor (dainagon 大納言) and, like his father, served as a distinguished poet at the imperial court. For a detailed listing of his works see Ibid., 388.

Sanjōnishi Kōjun 三条西公順 (1484-?), later Kōyu 公瑜, was Sanetaka’s eldest son. In 1495, Kōjun was sent to Nishimuro 西室, which is a temple affiliated with Tōdai-ji. Horton, “Portrait of a Medieval Japanese Marriage: The Domestic Life of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka and His Wife,” 138-139.
APPENDIX E

Annotated Translation of Zeami’s Noh Play Hibariyama

This is an English translation of the Japanese type-set version in Sanari Kentarō 佐成謙太郎, Yōkyoku Taikan 謡曲大覧 (第四巻), 東京: 明治書院, 1955, pp. 2637-2650.

Hibariyama

Performed by all five schools of noh: Kanze, Hōshō, Konparu, Kongō, and Kita.

Explanation

Noh Category: fourth category: plays of a miscellaneous or contemporary character (genzaimono), noh play in two acts

Characters

Kokata: Chūjōhime
Waki-tsure: the princess’s attendant
Mae-jite: the wetnurse Jijū
Nochi-waki: The Yokohagi Minister of the Right Lord Toyonari
Waki-tsure: attendants (2 people)
Kyōgen: hunters (3 people)
Nochi-jite: the wetnurse Jijū (madwoman)

Location

The border region between the Yamato and Kii Provinces, Hibariyama

Time

Nara period, Summer (Fourth Month)

2 The roles in a noh play are not known by the names of the characters as in drama, but by the category of the role. The categories are 1.) kokata (child part, a variety of tsure), 2.) tsure (companion part), 3.) shite (protagonist part), 4.) waki (person at the side part), and 5.) kyōgen (rustics or menials). Yasuharu Kobayashi 保治小林 & Toshirō Morita 拾史郎森田, Noh Kyōgen Zuten 能狂言図典 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), 65.
Author

Both the Noh honsakusha chûmon and entry number 210 in the Noh chant index cite Hibariyama as a work by Zeami. The fact that Awadaguchi performed the part of Chûjôhime on the fourteenth day of the fourth month of Eishô 2 (1506) is recorded in the Kanjin sarugaku ki, however, Hibariyama is not an original composition but probably derived from the noh play Taema.

Plot Summary

The Yokohagi Minister of the Right Lord Toyonari, based on a slander, orders that his daughter, Chûjôhime, be killed on Mount Hibari. But the servant in charge of this duty does not have the heart to kill the princess. He builds a hermitage in the mountains where he hides the princess and leaves her behind. The wetnurse Jijû sells flowers to the people in the village and in this way she raises the princess. One day, the princess’s father, Toyonari, comes to the mountain for hunting. He meets the wetnurse, who has gone mad thinking about the princess. Regretting his past sin of having ordered the princess’s killing, he asks the wetnurse to bring him to the princess’s home. Both father and child meet and return happily to the Nara capital.

Source

Hibariyama is not an original composition of the yûkyoku author because, prior to this yûkyoku, Chûjôhime’s legend had already circulated. Scholars believe that Hibariyama has partially emerged from this tradition, but it appears that such records cannot be found.

General Comments

This is one play in the category of madwoman plays, but the Jijû’s madness is not due to yearning for a spouse, grieving for an abandoned child, or grieving for being separated from an adopted princess. The only cause of her madness is the emaciating hardship she has to endure in order to support and to raise the young princess. As for madness, there are no other examples, which are based on such a cause. This unusual cause of madness is an appropriate characteristic for someone who displays various kinds of bravery and dignity, and these are the characteristics of the original composition. Seen in terms of family tragedies, there is the noh play Yoroboshi which has similarities to Hibariyama. In Yoroboshi, a child is abandoned because of the father’s hasty misconception; that child becomes blind out of excessive grief, but because the child in Hibariyama [Chûjôhime] was adopted by the loyal wetnurse, the degree of pathos is small. In the case of the child in Yoroboshi, the father considers his child as inconvenient and retires to a temple on the seventeenth day, but the father of the child in Hibariyama [Chûjôhime], until he meets the wetnurse, is absorbed in the hunting game and cannot see the passion for his child. In conclusion, the presence of a happy family and the affection between father and child in the Hibariyama noh plot is only a minor issue, the real focus is the unique characteristic of madness as mentioned above.
[The stage assistant suspends a piece of cloth over a hermitage, places the hermitage on the right side of the stage, and lowers the piece of cloth immediately. The kokata playing Chûjôhime, wearing a mask, a wig, a wig-band, an underkimono with gold and silver patterns (surihaku), and a Chinese fabric brocade outer kimono (karaori kinagashi), appears and enters the hermitage. Chûjôhime’s servant, the waki-tsure, dressed in an informal plain solid color kimono (muji noshime), a garment with top jacket and bottom skirt (suo), carrying a fan, and a sword (kogatana) comes out to the name-saying seat (noriza) and introduces himself.]

WAKI-TSURE

kayau ni saurafu mono ha
nara no miyako
yokohagi no udaijin
toyonari kou
ni tsukahe mausu mono nite saurafu
sate mo hime-gimi wo ichinin
on mochi saurafu wo
saru hito no zansou ni yori

The one before you thus is serving the Yokohagi Minister of the Right Lord Toyonari of the Nara capital.

That being said, he had one princess. Due to the slander of a certain person, he ordered:

3 The noriza is the place on the noh stage where the waki introduces himself and explains why he has come to this location. The waki's first appearance is called nori.

4 Yokohagi no udaijin toyonari kou - in the Teiô hennen ki (Imperial Chronicle), dated 1364-1380, it is stated that “The Junior First Rank Minister of the Right, Fujiwara no Toyonari, died on the twenty-seventh day of the eleventh month of the year of Tempyô Shingô (765.1.7-767.8.16) at the age of sixty-two. He was the eldest son of Tankai, and had one son called Bujimaro, the future generation Nanpa Minister. The Yokohagi Minister is another name under which he was known. Chûjôhime was the daughter of this Minister and she wove the Taima Mandala when she was a temple petitioner.”
yamato ki no kuni no sakahi naru  "Take her to Hibariyama, hibariyama⁶ nite ushinahi maune to no located at the border of Yamato ohose nite saurafu hodo ni and Kii, and kill her." kore made ontomo maushite At that time, I accompanied her saurahedomo ikani shite ushinahi here. "How could I possibly kill mausubeki to zonji shiba no ihori wo her?" I thought and I bound together a musubi to kaku itahari maushi saurafu hut of brushwood and in this way I have been taking care of her. saru hodo ni jijuu⁷ to mausu menoto Meanwhile, the wetnurse called Jijû haru ha kigi no hana wo tawori picks the flowers of the trees in spring aki ha sau kuwa wo torite sato ni ide and gathers flowering plants in the yuki ki no hito ni kore wo shiro nashi⁸ autumn, and goes to the village to sell them to those who come and go, kano hime gimi wo sugoshi maushi in exchange for food. saurafu kefu mo jijuu wo yobi idashi Today, I also intend to call upon Jijû sato he kudasa baya to zonji saurafu to send her to the village. [and saying this, he goes to the first pine of the bridge-passageway (hashigakari)⁹ and

⁵ Saru hito – A certain person. Fearing the stepmother. ⁶ Hibariyama – There are two places known as Hibariyama: Tokushô-ji in the village of Itoga in Arita-gun in Kii, and Seiren-ji in the village of Ugashi in Uda-gun in Yamato. Both temples have relicts of Chûjôhime, but their authenticity is uncertain. ⁷ Jijû – It is probably a sobriquet. ⁸ Shiro – Selling flowers in exchange for rice money (food). ⁹ The hashigakari is the bridge-passageway between the mirror room and the main noh stage, along which the first, second and third pines are located.
faces the curtain]

(2)

**WAKI-TSURE**

ikani mausubeki koto no saurafu I have something to say.

[The *shite*, the wetnurse Jijù, wears a plain white mask, a wig, a wig-band, a light blue collar (*eri-asagi*), an underkimono with gold and silver patterns, a white Chinese fabric brocade outer kimono, and comes out to the third pine.]

**SHITE**

nani goto nite saurafu zo What can I do for you?

**WAKI-TSURE**

kefu mo mata sato he Today, please leave again for

onnide saurahe the village.

**SHITE**

saraba hime gimi ni If that is the case,

on-nitoma wo maushi I must take my leave

saurafubeshi of the princess.

**WAKI-TSURE**

yagate on-nitoma wo maushi Then, take your leave right away
sato he onnide saurahe and go to the village.

[The *shite* and the *waki-tsure* change places. The *waki-tsure* enters the curtain, the *shite* enters the stage dancing (*bu-ura*), opens the door of the hermitage, gets down in the center in front of it and remains seated on the ground.]

**SHITE**

ikani mausubeki koto no saurafu I have something to tell you.
kefu mo sato he idete Today, too, I will leave for the
yagate kaheri saurafubeshi village and I shall return right away.

**KOKATA (sashi)**

geniya kansau ni kemuri taete Indeed, at the quiet window the
haru no hi itodo kurashigatau smoke dies out and, in these days
of spring, life becomes increasingly
difficult.

**SHITE**

heijitsu ni tomoshibi kiete In my humble home the smoke from
aki no yo naho nagashi the cooking fire goes out, and the

---

10 Recitative style.
11 The entire phrase "geniya kansau ni kemuri taete haru no hi itodo kurashigatau heijitsu ni tomoshibi kiete aki no yo naho nagashi" looks like it is from a Chinese verse but the source is unknown. In the Muromachi-period *ko-uta-shū Kanginshibi* the verse [tsuyu itsu made no mi naramashi] appears in poem 89. In that poem, the words 'a quiet window' ('*kansau*') are written as 'a cold stove' (*kansau*) [げにや寒竈に煙絶](ge-ni-yana-sana-no-ya-ten-sue).
autumn nights seem even longer and longer.

ihehin nishite ha shinchi sukunaku When the house is poor, friends are few.

iyashiki mi ni ha kojin utoshi When one is humble, former friends are distant, since even intimate friends are estranged.

shitashiki dani mo utoku nareba

JI (sageuta)
yosobito ha ikade tofu beki Why should complete strangers visit us?

JI (ageuta)
sanaki dani sebaki yo ni It is a narrow world the poor man lives in.
sanaki dani sebaki yo ni It is a narrow world the poor man lives in.

えて – Indeed, smoke no longer rises from the cold stove.] For this line, I have followed the Kotei-bon.

12 *Ihehin nishite ha* – in the Honcho monzui 本朝文粹 (1058-1065) in a long poem by Tachibana no Aritsura 橘在列 about the deep feelings in an autumn night, the verse 家貧親知少、身賤放人砾 “When the house is poor, friends are few; when one is humble, former friends are distant.” appears.

13 *Shitashiki dani mo utoku* – in a deeply emotional poem in the Monzen 今日 by Jigaoen 字顔遠 [a person of wealth and honor, a person of low rank and poverty]

14 *Sageuta* are two or three composite 7-5 verses chanted in a middle and a lower tone, ending in a lower tone. Performed by the chorus (ji).

15 *Ageuta* are 5-syllable verses spoken in a high tone.

16 *Sanaki dani sebaki yo ni* – Even if one does not live in the deep mountains, the poor person feels the world to be narrow.
If one does live in the deep mountains, hidden away, as for one of humble status, the world feels narrow.

I live like the dew on the wayside grasses that cover a narrow path, wondering how much longer...

In this way, the smoke, too, dies out.

In the sad space of the light, I, too, shall die. [shite standing]

Pulling the grass door, I leave for the village again. [closing the door of the hermitage]

I leave for the village again.

[and a quiet pause]

---

17 *Tada michi sebaki mumore gusa* – On the wayside grasses that cover a narrow path. The path is completely covered by summer grasses up to the point that it becomes narrow. This phrase illustrates the poor person’s feelings of the world to be narrow, a preface (jō) for dew.

18 *Hikari no kage mo woshiki mani* – Because the fire dies out, dies out, the light does not stay for even a moment.

19 *Kusa no toboso* – The door of a humble house.
[At the sound of the shidai\(^{20}\) of the hayashi,\(^{21}\) the waki, the Yokohagi Minister of the Right, appears wearing a formal court hat (kaza-ore eboshi), a brocade underkimono (atsuitd), hunting clothes, a white broad divided noh skirt (shiro oguchi), and a waistband, and holding a fan and bow and arrow. The waki-tsure (tachishû),\(^{22}\) two attendants, wearing informal plain solid color kimono, a garment consisting of a matching jacket on the top and skirt on the bottom (suō), a fan, and a small sword (one person is carrying a long sword [tachi]) appear and enter the stage facing each other.]

**WAKI AND TACHISHÛ (shidai)**

katamuku mine no hibari-yama\(^{23}\) The peak of Hibariyama, where

katamuku mine no hibari-yama

the sun sets. The peak of Hibariyama,

where the sun sets.

agaru ya kumoji naruran\(^{24}\) Let us climb Hibariyama like the

birds that rise in the paths through

the clouds..

[During the jidori\(^{25}\) the waki faces the stage front]

**WAKI**

\(^{20}\) Entrance song and music.

\(^{21}\) The noh ensemble consisting of the flute and large and small hand drums (daishô).

\(^{22}\) Tsure who enter the stage in a group.

\(^{23}\) Katamuku mine no - The sun (hi) is a kakekotoba for cloud (hi) in Hibariyama. It includes the meaning of having been absorbed in hunting until the sun sets.

\(^{24}\) Agaru ya - The pattern of skylark birds rising in the cloudways is compared to that of people climbing up a mountain in a line.

\(^{25}\) After the shidai is sung by the entering noh actors, the chorus repeats the verse except for the third and fourth lines in a non-congruent rhythm style in a lower key. This version is called jidori.
kore ha yokohagi no udajin toyonari
It is I who am the Yokohagi Minister

to ha waga koto nari
of the Right, Toyonari.

sore kariba ha shiki no asobi nite
Well, I enjoy this hunting place

tokiwarifushi no kyou wo masu
season by season, and season by

season its charm increases.

[and he faces the waki-tsure]

WAKI AND TACHISHŪ (ageuta)

adzusa no mayumi haru kureba
Like a true bow of catalpa

adzusa no mayumi haru kureba
being drawn when spring visits.

Like a true bow of catalpa being
drawn when spring visits.

kasumu toyama no

While hunting cherry blossoms

sakuragari ame ha furikinu onajiku ha
in the misty foothills of the near

26 Adzusa no mayumi – "Catalpa bow" (adzusa no mayumi) is a pillow word for spring (haru 春), which is based on the homophony with the word (haru 張る) meaning “to draw” or “tauten.”

27 Kasumu toyama no – the foothills of mountains near inhabited places (toyama) are contrasted with the foothills of mountains in remote areas (okuyama). Composed while bearing in mind Ōe no Masafusa’s (1041-1111) poem in the Go shū waka shū (Spring 1, poem 120). Yamagishi Tokuhei 山岸 徳平, Go shū waka shū 後拾遺和歌集, in Hachidaishū sho 八代集抄 第一巻 (Tokyo: Junkudō, 1961), 688. [高砂の尾上の桜咲きにけり外山の霰立ちずもあらぬむ – Above the lower slopes of the high mountains, the cherries have blossomed. Oh mist of the near mountains, how I wish you would not rise.] The editor suggests the poem by Masafusa as an inter-text. The translation and interpretation is taken from Joshua Mostow, Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996), 111.

28 Sakuragari ame ha furikinu onajiku ha – A poem by an unknown author in the Shūi waka shū (Spring, poem 50). Yamagishi Tokuhei 山岸 徳平, Shūi Waka Shū 后拾遺和歌集, in Hachidaishū sho 八代集抄 第一巻(Tokyo: Junkudō, 1961), 427. [桜狩雨は降りきぬなおじくは満るとも花の影に隠れむ – While hunting cherry blossoms, the rain has started to fall. Since it is all the same that we get wet by the rain, let us hide in the shade of the blossoms.]
nureru to mo hana no kokage
ni yadoran

sate mata tsuki ha yo wo nokosu

yuki ni ha akuru katano no mino
kinya ni tsudzuku ama no kawa

sora ni zo kari no kowe ha iru
sora ni zo kari no kowe ha iru.

[The waki (when saying That being the case, the moon, too, remains from the night, making it feel like day even though it is night) faces stage front, goes out to the edge, and

mountains, the rain has started to fall. Since it is all the same that we get wet by the rain, let us hide in the shade of the blossoms.

As for the time when the moon is still hanging in the sky at dawn so that it seems to be night even though it has dawned.

The Heavenly River that flows along the Forbidden Field - the Imperial Field of Katano - where the snow is so bright at night that it seems like day.

In the sky, the voices of the wild geese. In the sky, the voices of the wild geese.

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29 Tsuki ha yo wo nokosu - The moon is hanging in the sky at dawn so that it seems to be night even though it has dawned.
30 Yuki ni ha akuru - When the snow falls, the snow is so bright that it seems to be dawn even though it is midnight.
31 Katano no mino - The imperial hunting grounds in the district of Katano-gun in Kawachi Province, which later came to be called Kita-Kawachi.
32 Kin'ya - A place forbidden for general private hunting. The major section of the pasture land in Kita-Kawachi was given the name Forbidden Field.
33 Ama no kawa - The name of the river which runs along the edge of the Forbidden Field. This Heavenly River flows along the Forbidden Field and is associated with the Heavenly River in the sky (Milky Way).
returns again. The *ageuta* ends and they go in front of the *ji-utaiza.* The *waki* sits on a camp stool, the *tachishū* remain on the ground during the *shidai.*]

*(Intermission)*

*[The kyōgen consists of three hunters wearing plain solid color informal kimono, a garment consisting of a jacket on top and a skirt on bottom, Japanese trousers (*hakama*), a fan, and a small sword. The *omo*, pretending to be a hawk, holds an *eboshi*; the *inuhiki*, pretending to be a dog, holds a rope and a whip; and the *seko*, holding a staff, appear and enter the stage.]*

**OMO**

hou taka hou taka

Hawk, hawk.

(imitating the sound of a hawk)

**SEKO**

hou taka hou taka

Hawk, hawk.

are ni kiji ga iru

There’s a pheasant there.

madzu inu wo yarashime

First, let us send the dog.

**INUHIKI**

kokoroeta yatsutona

I understand. It is done.

---

34 The area where the chorus sits on the noh stage, at stage left.
35 The most comical character in a *kyōgen.*
36 Beater in a hunt.
[and the dog handler throws the rope]

OMO
ei yatsutona
It is well done.

[and he throws the eboshi]

SEKO
nanto toreta ka nanto toreta ka
Did we catch it? Did we catch it?

OMO
manma to totta
We caught it good!
madzu maru wo kumau
First we shall form a circle.
kochira he watarashime
Come cross over here, come cross over here.
kochira he watarashime

INUHIKI AND SEKO
kokoroeta kokoroeta.
We understand, we understand.

(4)

[At the first sound of the hayashi, the nochi-jite, Jijû, appears wearing the same}
clothes as in her previous appearance. The Chinese brocade has come off on her right shoulder\textsuperscript{37}, she has a fan in the cleavage of her kimono, carries a flower arrangement on her shoulders (sashibana), and stands at the first pine of the hashigakari.]

**NOCHI-JITE (sashi)**

\begin{align*}
\text{satsuki matsu hanatachibana} & \quad \text{When I breathe the fragrance of} \\
\text{no ka wo kageba mukashi no} & \quad \text{the mandarin orange blossoms} \\
\text{hito no sode no ka zo suru\textsuperscript{38}} & \quad \text{that await the Fifth Month, it} \\
\text{geniya mukashi mo kimi no} & \quad \text{certainly brings back the} \\
\text{tame yue aru ko no mi wo} & \quad \text{scented sleeves of one I loved} \\
\text{atsumetsutsu\textsuperscript{39}} & \quad \text{long ago.}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{37} A characteristic feature of madwomen in noh plays is that part of their clothing has become detached and disarranged; disarranged clothes symbolize the disturbed mind of the madwoman.


\textsuperscript{39} *Yue aru ko no mi* – The *Suinin ki* 垂仁紀 (Record of Emperor Suinin) states the ancient legend of Tadima Mori 田邇開守 (he is mentioned in one of the many ancient legends in the *Kojiki*) who, based on imperial command, crossed over to the immortal realm and brought back the fruits of the *tachibana* flower. This passage in the *Kojiki* reads as follows “Also the emperor dispatched Tadima Mori, the ancestor of the Murazi of the Miyakê, to the land of Tōkō-yō (a Chinese-type fairyland) to seek the fruit of the seasonless fragrant tree.” The *Manyōshū* XVIII, 4111-12 includes a poem by Ōtomo no Yakamochi praising the wild orange tree, in which the same word is used and Tadima-Mori’s legend is repeated. “Then Tadima-Mori at last arrived in that country and plucked the fruit of the tree, eight leafy branches and eight leafless branches. But as he was..."
and went as far as the Land of the Immortals.

I, too, have been continuously picking colorful flowers for my mistress.

[She lowers the flowers and looks at them.]

The princess’s body is like the dew resting on the tip of the leaf. The grasses of remembering are various.

[and carrying the flower arrangement on her shoulders she enters dancing]

(kakeri) (showing the soul of the madwoman)

SHITE

The iris, the flowering fence.

bringing them, the emperor died. Dividing the branches, Tadima-Mori presented four leafy branches and four leafless branches to the empress and four leafy branches and four leafless branches at the tomb of the emperor. Holding up the fruit, he shouted and wept: ‘I have brought the fruit of the seasonless fragrant tree from the land of Tōkō-yō!’ At last, while shouting and weeping he died. The seasonless fragrant tree is the Tachibana of today.” This translation is adopted from Donald L. Philippi, Kojiki (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968), 226-7.

40 Hazuwe ni musubu tsuyu no onmi wo – This body is like the dew which rests on the tip of the leaf. In connection with the flower it leaves the leaf tips, suggesting that just like the dew is transient and at the point of falling off at the leaf tips, this body is also close to falling off (dying).

41 Omohi-gusa – the name of a plant. Omohi-gusa (remembering grasses) pivots on omohi (thinking), it means a variety of plants, and it evokes the next verse. Just as the leaf tips preserve the life of the dew, the various remembering grasses, which she sells in order to make a living, preserve her own and the princess’ life.

42 A noh dance with a dynamic feeling used in warrior plays and in madwoman plays. A short and simple dance accompanied by the music of the large hand drum.
kakitsubata

JI

murasaki somuru yamakusa no The mountain grasses that are stained by the purple

[going towards the front of the stage]

SHITE

iro ka ni medete hana mesare saurahe. Admire it for its charm and please buy this flower.

[and she holds out the flower]

JI (ageuta)

tsuki ha min tsuki ni ha mieji I look for the moon.
nagarahete tsuki ni ha mieji I will not be seen by the moon.
nagarahete

[looking out over the scene]

uki-yo wo meguru kage mo As I live on even the light that

---

43 Kakitsubata - This flower is also called the “Fence Flower of the East”.
44 Abbreviation for jiutai, the chorus consisting of six to twelve members seated in two rows on the left side of the noh stage. Designates a passage sung by the chorus.
45 Murasaki somuru yamakusa - The mountain grasses that are stained (by the) purple. As indicated by the following poem in the Kokin Waka Shū “murasaki no hitomoto yue ni musashino no kusa ha minagara aware to zo miru – A single stalk of royal purple upon the Moor of Musashi makes me love all the other wild grasses all the more.” See Rodd, 298.
hadzukashi no mori no shitakusa
saki ni keri hana nagara karite
urau yo⁴⁶

moves around this sad world, is
embarrassing. The grasses of the
Hazukashi in bloom. While there
are flowers I shall cut and sell them.

[coming out to the front]

hi goro hete matsu hi ha kikazu⁴⁷
hototogisu.

The days pass and the day I
wait for, I do not hear its voice,
oh Hototogisu.

[turning around to the left]

Nihoi chitomete tadzune kuru.
Hana tachibana ya mesaruru, hana
tachibana ya mesaruru.

But he comes in search of
perfume:
Tachibana flower, buy the
Tachibana flower.

[standing in the regular position]

[The tomo (sword bearer), who is holding a long sword, stands opposite from the shite]

TOMO

⁴⁶ Tsuki ha min tsuki ni ha mieji nagarahete uki yo wo meguru kage mo hadzukashi— Origin unknown. This poem appears also in the play Kusanagi no tsurugi. Hadzukashi no mori—A place in Kun-gun, Yamashiro Province.
⁴⁷ Hi goro hete matsu hi ha kikazu—Although it refers to a poem from the Enkyoku Shū “The day, which awaits, does not listen is compared with the night which listens carefully,” its origin is unknown.
ikani tadzune mausubeki koto no saurafu 
sono hana wo ba nani no tame ni 
mochi tamahite saurafu zo

How should one inquire about this matter? For what purpose do you hold that flower?

SHITE

san saurafu kore ha yue aru hito ni 
mawirasen tame ni mochite saurafu 
idzure nite mo saurahe iro ka ni 
medete mesare saurahe.

Yes, as a matter of fact the reason for having this flower is to give it to a person in somewhat special circumstances. In either case, both the color and scent are lovely, so please buy it.

hana kanzen ni wende kowe imada kikazu

tori rinka ni naite nandatsuki 

ga tashi genimo tsukinu ha hana no 
tane 
iro iro nare ya kurenai ha 
idzure fukayuri fukami gusa

The flower laughs in front of the railing, but I have not yet heard its laughing voice.

Birds cry in the middle of the forest, but I have not yet seen their tears.

Truly what is inexhaustible are the various flowers of

\[48\] Hana kanzen ni wende— in the Hyakuren shōkai shū the poem “In front of the railing I still hear the voice of the laughing flower, and in the undergrowth I see the birds crying hard” appears.

\[47\] Idzure fukayuri— The crimson gives the plant its deep red color. Deep lily refers to the plant’s deep red root.

\[48\] Fukami gusa - Another name for peony.
on-kokoro yose ni\textsuperscript{49} mesare saurahe to yo the peony and lily. Please
the peony and lily. Please

buy this flower for your pleasure.

buy this flower for your pleasure.

TOMO

geni omoshiroki urimono ka na

Truly, this is a charming item

sate sono hana wo uru koto ha

for sale. Well then, why are

wakite ihare no aru ya ran

you selling that flower?

SHITE

ara mutsukashi to o tadzune aru ya

Indeed, you are someone who

mesare majiku ha o kokoro zo\textsuperscript{50} to yo inquires about a troublesome

Indeed, you are someone who

matter. Certainly, if you do not

inquires about a troublesome

want to buy it, it is up to you.

want to buy it, it is up to you.

JI

iro iro no iro iro no hito no kokoro ha

People’s hearts are various, various,

shira tsuyu no\textsuperscript{51} eda ni shimo ha oku tomo like the white dew drops.

The frost which lays on the

naho toshahanare ya tachibana no branches is long-lasting, and the

mezamashigusa\textsuperscript{52} no tahamure sonata no

\textsuperscript{49} On kokoro yose ni - In one annotation it is written as [meaning to be suitable for the

heart]. In another commentary it is written as [approaching the heart taking in pursuit of

worldly pleasure].

\textsuperscript{50} O kokoro zo – One’s own will.

\textsuperscript{51} Hito no kokoro ha shira tsuyu no – Peoples’ hearts are as various as the different shades

of white dew drops.

\textsuperscript{52} Mezamashigusa– a variant name for tea, the pine, and bush clover. The sprout of the Mandarin orange

tomato blossoms amuses the eye.
Mandarin orange blossom soothes the eye. Surely, you have no reason to long for the past, still, everyone must be nostalgic for the past. Please, buy these [flowering reminders of the past].

[and she shows the flowers to the tomo]

**SHITE**

asamo yoi\(^{55}\)  

**JI**

asamo yoi ki no sekimori ga tatsuken yumi \(^{56}\)  

irusaka kaherusaka\(^{57}\) idzure nite mo mashimase

---

\(^{53}\) Koshita nare ya – remembering a person from the past.  
\(^{54}\) Shinobu gusa – flowering reminders of the past.  
\(^{55}\) Asamo yoi – a pillow word for Ki.  
\(^{56}\) Ki no sekimori ga tatsuken yumi – From the *Ima Kagami* [Asamo yoi ki no sekimori ga tatsuken yumi yurusu toki naku madzu wemeru kimi – There is no time when the barrier guard of Ki – of the good hemp skirt – lets go of his hand-gripped bow – my lord who smiled first].
nado ya hana ha mesarenu
ara hana sukazu no hitobito ya hana sukanu
hito zo wo kashiki.

Why don’t you buy some flowers?
Are you someone who does not like flowers? One who does not like flowers is strange indeed.

[and she goes closer to the waki]

TOMO

saraba kono hana wo kahitori
sourou beshi.

If that is the case, I should buy this flower.

[ he comes to the front and receives the flower]
mata onmi no koshikata wo nengoro
ni onmonogatari sourouhe

And then, please tell me in detail your personal story about a loved one from the past.

[and saying that he returns to his original position; the shite takes a fan out of her pocket and holds it in her hand]

(6)

SHITE

harugasumi tatsu wo misutete yuku
kari ha

The wild geese depart, ignoring the arrival of the springtime haze
[and at the sound of the daishō going to the front]

JI

hana naki sato ni sumi ya naraheru to\textsuperscript{57} is it because they dwell in realms
kokoro sora naru utagai ka na\textsuperscript{58} where flowers never bloom? Still,
for the one who loves flowers,
doubts arise.

SHITE

(sashi)

kuwandou ayamatsute boshun no kaze The goodwill winter rose is
ni hokorobi \textsuperscript{59} mistaken to bud in the late-spring
ni hokorobi 59 breeze.

JI

mata tesachoku ha yaiu no hito no\textsuperscript{60} Again, night wanderers pick the
ori wo ete odoroku haru no yume azalea and, surprised in the dream

\textsuperscript{57} Harugasumi tatsu wo misutete yuku kari ha hana naki sato ni sumi ya naraheru to --
The wild geese depart ignoring the arrival of the springtime haze -- is it because they
dwell in realms where flowers never bloom? Poem 31 in the \textit{Kokin waka shū} by Lady Ise.

\textsuperscript{58} Kokoro sora naru -- There is nothing in the heart, no reason. The connection between
the poem of the wild geese and this phrase is the word \textit{sora}. In the poem, it refers to the
empty sky into which the geese ascend, in this phrase it refers to one's empty heart.

\textsuperscript{59} Kuwandou ayamatsute -- from an anonymous poem in the \textit{Wakan Rōe 'shū}
"Daubing them with yellow ocher, heaven is quite right, the knock on winter is
wrong to bud in the late-spring breeze." The "goodwill winter" is the yellow rose.
Because it is written with the character for winter, it is assumed to bloom in the
winter.

\textsuperscript{60} Tekachoku ha yaru -- from a poem about the azalea by Minamoto no Shitagō
in the \textit{Wakan Rōe 'shū} "Night wanderers will seek them out to use as torches, cold food
festival families must be surprised to pluck them." The azalea is colored in such a bright
crimson that it resembles fire. Night wanderers think that they are fire torches and use
them to illuminate the way.
no uchi kotefu no asobi iroka ni
medeshi mo mina kore kokoro no
hana narazu ya.

of spring. The butterfly plays
among the flowers admiring its
color and scent. Are these not all
the heart’s flower?

SHITE

geni omoshiroki iukuwa no tomo

Indeed charming. Flower-viewing
friends.

JI

haru no kokoro ya oshimuran.

Ah, spring? Does one not regret its
passing?

[The shite dances to the shidai (kuse dance)]

JI

(kuse)

omohe sakura iro ni someshi tamoto
no oshikereba komorokahe uki kefu
ni zo arikera

Because I cherish the sleeves which
are dyed in the color of the cherry
blossoms, the thought about the
seasonal change of clothes makes
me sad indeed on this day.

Sore no mi ka itsu shika ni
haru wo hedatsuru kakitsubata

Not only that, but more over seeing
the iris that divides summer from

---

61 *Sakura iro ni someshi* – a poem by Minamoto no Shigeyuki in the
*Shui shu* “Because I cherish the sleeves which are dyed in the color of the cherry
blossoms, thinking about seasonal change of clothes makes me very sad indeed on
this day” but the first and last part of the verse vary slightly.

62 *Haru wo hedatsuru kakitsubata* – The iris blooms both in spring and summer.
karakoromo\textsuperscript{63} harubaru no omokage nokoru
kahoyo dori\textsuperscript{64} naki utsuru kowe made mi no
ueni kiku aware sayo kakute zo hana ni mede\textsuperscript{65}
spring like the poem on the Chinese
robe, far away. Her beautiful face
remains with me, and when I hear
the charming song of the Kahoyo-bird,
I feel the same sadness.
tori wo urayamu hitogokoro omohi no tsuyu
mo fukamigusa no shigemi no hanagoromo.
no wo wake yama ni ide ire domo sarani hito
ha shiratama no\textsuperscript{66} omohi ha uchini aredo\textsuperscript{67} iro ni
nado ya arawarenu
My cares are as thick as the dew of
the deep-sought peonies – the
flourishing of a flower-robe, which
like the fields I have crossed, and
entering the mountain, I am unnoticed
by anyone, like the white-jeweled dew.
As is said: “While there are thoughts
inside, their colors are not revealed
without.”

The iris is also called “separating fence.”
\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Issu karakoromono} – A reference to the iris. A poem by Ariwara no Narihira about the
iris in the \textit{Kokin Waka Shū} and the \textit{Ise monogatari} “Karagoromo kitsutsu narenishi tsuma shi areba
harubaru kimuru tabi wo shi zo omou - I have a beloved wife, familiar as
the skirt of a well-worn robe, and so this distant journeying fills my heart with grief.” McCullough, Helen

\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Kahoyo dori} – Refers to the image of a beautiful face; another name for the iris is
“beautiful face flower,” also called face bird. Kahoyo-dori means both a beautiful bird that sings in the
spring, as well as male pheasant. Taking “face/ vestige” (omokage), it means “a beautiful face (kaho);” this
is then related to the fact that a variant name for the iris is “beautiful – faced flower” (kahoyo-hana), which
ten leads to \textit{kahoyo-dori}.

\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Hana ni mede tori wo urayamu} – in the preface to the \textit{Kokin Waka Shū} it
appears as “ poets praised blossoms, admired birds, felt emotion at the sight of haze,
and grieved over dew.” Rodd, \textit{Kokinshū}, 36.

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Hitto ha shiratama no} – An unknown person is called a white jewel. Thinking about a
string of jewels.

\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Omohi ha uchini aredo} – Mencius to Confucius “As for the inside, there are
thoughts, as for the outside, they do not appear.”
Yet even one experiences this at one point or another.

Now, in the old hills of Nara, there grows the child’s-hand cypress, with leaves double-faced, no matter which way I turn.

The old village has become distant like the peak of the Takama mountain in Katsuragi.

Here, at the border of the road of Ki, she resides hidden at Hibariyama.

Hanging in the net of haze, even the

---

68 *Nara saka ya* – Refers to something from the past. From a poem by Sena Gyômon in the *Manyoshû* (p.227) [奈良山の児の手柏の二面ともかくにも倣人の友 – In the hills of Nara, there grows the child’s-hand cypress with leaves double-faced. On either side of me I see a swarm of rascals]. The above verse [ともかくにも] is a preface. As pointed out in the notes to the *Manyoshû* poem (p.227), the poem permits another construction according to which the last two lines may be rendered to read as: 1.) Double-faced rascals I see everywhere, 2.) No matter which way I turn.

69 *Yosome ni narite* – From a poem of an unknown author in the *Shin kokin waka shû* [よそのにみ見てや止みなん葛城や高聞の山の峯の白雲 – Only from a distance, I want to see the white clouds over the peak of the Takama mountain in Katsuragi]. The Takama mountain is one of the high mountains in Katsuragi.

70 *Mejhi mo naki* – A narrow range of vision, a place seen through the range of vision of human eyes.
Ochi kochi ni.

[Chū no mai] 72

SHITE

Ochi kochi no.

JI

This way, that way.

In the mountains, not knowing which way to go, how forlorn is a bird’s call?

Indeed, might it be waiting at Hibariyama?

Tadzuki mo shiranu yama naka ni

Obotsu ka naku mo yobu kodori no 73

Hibariyama ni ya machi tamauran

Za ya kaeran iza ya kaeran.

Valley ridge is out of sight. The body must be in the shrike’s nest forming as dew and being hit by the rain. Like this, the body disappears and its ending is indeed pitiful.

JI

Mozu no kusa guki 71 – In the Sōchū-shō, it refers to the shrike hiding in the grasses; in the Mumyō-shō, it refers to the shrike’s early gifts (such as catching worms and depositing them on tree branches as food). Here, because it is based on a poem by Minamoto no Toshiyori (1055-1129) “Certainly visiting, on the leaf of a sacred paper-decked sasakibanchan offering the body settles, even though the shrike’s nest is out of sight,” it follows the meaning in the Sōchū-shō.

72 A noh dance performed in moderate tempo. It is formally performed in five, and informally in three movements.

73 A poem by an unknown author in the Kokin Waka Shū “Deep in the mountains, where travelers cannot tell which way might be best, how forlorn is the sound of a questing bird’s sad call.”
Now then I must return, now then I must return.

WAKI TO THE SHITE

yaa ikani okoto wa menoto no 
Ah look here, are you not the

jiju nite ha naki ka 
Jijû?

Toyonari wo ba miwasurete 
Do you seem to have forgotten

aru ka 
Toyonari?

sate mo wa ga hime yoshi 
Well, for no reason my princess

naki mono no zansou ni yori 
was killed due to the slander of a

ushinai ka domo toga naki 
certain person and, although I

yoshi wo kiki koukuwaisure 
hear that she was not guilty and

domo kanawazu 
repent, I can’t bear it.

makoto ya o koto ga 
Truly, although I hear that

hakarai toshite kono 
through his good office, the

hibariyama no tanikage ni 
attendant made a hermitage

shiba no ihori wo musubi 
out of brushwood and left her

kakushi okitaru to ha kikishi 
there hidden in the valley

ka domo makoto shika ranu 
shadow of Hibariyama, is this

tokoro ni 
really the truth?

ima okoto wo mite koso sate 
Now that I see you, I think that

ha to omohe 
it is true indeed.

hime wa idzuku ni aru zo 
Please tell me where the princess
tsutsumazu moushi sourouhe. is hidden.

[The shite, seeming to remember Toyonari, returns back to the stage and kneels down in front of the daishō]

SHITE

kore ha ohose tomo oboenu mono
ka na
hito no kagoto wo gomochii ariite
ushinai tamaishi Chūjouhime74 no
nami shini kono yo ni mashimasu
beki ikani o tazune ari tote mo

Even though I think about it, I don’t remember it.
People use false charges, but
Chūjōhime was killed. Why
should she still be in this world?
Why do you even look for her?

JI

ima ha onmi mo natsu kusa no75
shigemi ni majiru himeyuri no76
shirarenu omni nari nani wo ka
tadzune tama ru ran

Now, even the body of the Princess Lily, which mingles
with the summer grasses in the bushes, is an unknown body.
What might you be looking for?

WAKI

genigeni sore wa saru koto nare domo
Indeed, indeed although this is a true fact, a father’s heart regrets its past
senpi wo kuyuru chichi ga kokoro

74 Chūjouhime – Toyonari’s princess. The noh play Taema tells the story of that person.
75 Natsu kusa no – Refers to a non-existing body.
76 Shirerenu omni nari nani wo ka – Not being able to see the Princess Lily which is hidden among the summer flowers. The princess resembles the Princess Lily, and the white color of the princess lily is a reference to something being unknown.
namida no iro nimo miyuran mono wo
haya aridokoro wo mousu beshi

sin. No doubt, you can even see it in
the color of the tears. Quickly, you
must tell me her whereabouts.

SHITE

makoto sa yauni oboshimesu ka

Ah, indeed I remember clearly.

WAKI

nakanaka sho ten ujihi no shin mo⁷⁷
masani shoran aru beki nari

A miracle, even the goods of the
various heavenly clans must just
be shining.

SHITE

saraba konatahe onnide are to

If that is the case, please come
this way.

(standing up)

soko tomo shiranu hibariyama no

There, even though the
path to Hibariyama is
unknown,

(going to the hermitage)

kusaki wo wakete tanikage no
shiori wo michi ni ⁷⁸ashibiki no⁷⁹

the valley ridge divides the
vegetation and marks the path
across the mountain

⁷⁷ Sho ten – All the gods of heaven.
⁷⁸ Shiori wo michi ni – Breaking tree branches and using them as guideposts.
⁷⁹ Ashibiki – A pillow word for mountain. It pivots on dragging one’s leg.
[The waki and the shite stand up at the same time and go to the opposite side. The shite opens the door of the hermitage, the kokata comes out, and sits down in front of it. The sound of the daishō is in a lower tone than previously. The three people sit in the shape of a triangle.]

JI

yamabu tokoro no utsuhogi ni
kusa wo musubi kusa wo shikite
shito no negura\(^{80}\) ni oya to ko no
omowazu kaeraii nagara
tamai ni miwasurete tada naku
no mi no kokoro ka na

Tying and spreading the flowers in the empty trees in the mountain, parent and child in the nest of the shito, not knowing each other while meeting again, mutually failing to recognize each other, only their hearts are crying.

[pointing at the three people]

geni ya yo no naka wa sadame naki
koso sadame nare\(^{81}\) yume naraba samenu
mani haya toku toku to arishi ka ba

Indeed in this world nothing is fixed, nothing is fixed. If this is a dream, I don’t want to wake up soon. Quickly, quickly if it is real.

[The shite looks down into the waki’s face]

---

\(^{80}\) Shito no negura – The shito is a bird, which splits from its parents early on in life. This phrase comes from the Sashiie monogatari “The four young birds of Mount Kanzan span their wings and part from their mother.”

\(^{81}\) Sadame naki koso sadame nare - As for this world, it is a fact that things are evanescent.
menoto onte wo hiki tatete

Jijū joins her hands and stands up.

[The kokata is also made to stand up]

okoshini nosemairasete onyorokobi

Standing, they walk around

no kaeru sani nara no miyako no yahe

and the joy returns at last. In

sakura ⑧ saki kaeru michi zo medetaki saki

the Nara capital, eight kinds of

kaeru michi zo medetaki

cherry blossoms return back to

bloom, making the journey indeed

enjoyable, return back to bloom,

making the journey indeed

enjoyable.

[Standing, they walk around, both shite and kokata smile and go to their original position. The kokata gradually enters the curtain. After the kokata, the waki also enters, and the shite looks on smiling (the journey is indeed enjoyable) and proceeds in accord with the rhythm.]

⑧ Nara no miyako no yahe sakura – This refers to their journey back home. This line is from a poem by Ise no Taifu in the Shikashū “The eight cherry blossoms of the old Nara capital, today, doesn’t the fragrance seem to be of nine different kinds?” It means that the joy of returning back to the capital is like the cherry blossoms returning back to bloom.
Appendix F

The genealogy of the key narrative elements in the *Taima-dera engi emaki* and other Muromachi-period stepchild tales

Legend:  • identical  ○ similar  ☐ partially similar

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<td>Princess yearning for a mother</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father remarries, princess welcomes the stepmother as if she were her own flesh and blood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stepmother tells the father lies about the princess</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Father falls for the</td>
<td>stepmother’s slander</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father (stepmother)</td>
<td>order a samurai to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kill the princess</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess is abandoned</td>
<td>in remote mountains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Princess is supposed</td>
<td>to be killed</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Princess recites the</td>
<td><em>nembutsu</em> a last time</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in honor of her dead</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother, her father,</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and herself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samurai saves the</td>
<td>Princess</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess lives with</td>
<td>the samurai and his</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wife in the mountains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father goes hunting</td>
<td>discovers that the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>princess is still alive;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reunification between</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parent and child</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 *Taima mandala engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Picture One). Mid-thirteenth century. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Kamakura, Kōmyō-ji. Ibid., 2.
5  *Taima mandala engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Text Two). Mid-thirteenth century. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Kamakura, Kômyô-ji. Ibid., 2.

6  *Taima mandala engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Picture Two). Mid-thirteenth century. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Kamakura, Kômyô-ji. Ibid., 2.


11 *Taima mandala engi emaki*, scroll 2 (Detail: Text Two). Mid-thirteenth century.
Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Kamakura, Kōmyō-ji. Ibid., 5.

13 *Tai*ma *mandala* *engi* *emaki*, scroll 2 (Detail: Text Three). Mid-thirteenth century. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Kamakura, Kōmyō-ji. Ibid., 6.

14 *Tai*ma *mandala* *engi* *emaki*, scroll 2 (Detail: Picture Three). Mid-thirteenth century. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Kamakura, Kōmyō-ji. Ibid., 6.

Shrine housing the Taima mandala (Detail: Names Inscribed on the Left Door Panel). Kamakura period. Lacquer, color and gold pigments on wood. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera, Ibid., 11.


30 *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Text One). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.
31 *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Picture One). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.

32 *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Text Two). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.
33 *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Picture Two). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.

34 *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Text Three). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.

36  *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Text Four). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.


42 *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Text Seven). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chô, Taima-dera, Ibid.
43  *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 1 (Detail: Picture Seven). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.


51  *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 2 (Detail: Text Two). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera, Ibid.

53 Taima-dera engi emaki, scroll 2 (Detail: Text Three). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.

54 Taima-dera engi emaki, scroll 2 (Detail: Picture Three). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.


60  *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 2 (Detail: Picture Six). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.
61 Taima-dera engi emaki, scroll 2 (Detail: Text Seven). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.

62 Taima-dera engi emaki, scroll 2 (Detail: Picture Seven). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.

64 *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 2 (Detail: Picture Eight). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-cho, Taima-dera, Ibid.


70 *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 3 (Detail: Picture One). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera, Ibid.
Taima-dera engi emaki, scroll 3 (Detail: Text Two). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.

Taima-dera engi emaki, scroll 3 (Detail: Picture Two). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera. Ibid.
73  *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 3 (Detail: Text Seven). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera, Ibid.

74  *Taima-dera engi emaki*, scroll 3 (Detail: Picture Seven). 1531. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Nara Prefecture, Taima-chō, Taima-dera, Ibid.

76  Court of the Prefatory Legend. (Detail: Scene Two) Fourteenth-century copy. Hanging scroll, colors on silk. Nara, Nara National Museum. Ibid., 47.
77  Court of the Prefatory Legend. (Detail: Scene Three) Fourteenth-century copy.
    Hanging scroll, colors on silk. Nara, Nara National Museum. Ibid., 47.

78  Court of the Prefatory Legend. (Detail: Scene Four) Fourteenth-century copy.
    Hanging scroll, colors on silk. Nara, Nara National Museum. Ibid., 47.
79  *Court of the Prefatory Legend.* (Detail: Scene Five) Fourteenth-century copy.

80  *Court of the Prefatory Legend.* (Detail: Scene Six) Fourteenth-century copy.