

JAPANESE VISUAL CULTURE

Volume 6

Managing Editor
John T. Carpenter

Hell-bent for Heaven in *Tateyama mandara*

Painting and Religious Practice
at a Japanese Mountain

BY
CAROLINE HIRASAWA



BRILL

Leiden – Boston
2013

Published by

BRILL
Plantijnstraat 2
2321 JC Leiden
The Netherlands
brill.com/jvc

Design

SPi, Tamilnadu, India
Studio Berry Slok, Amsterdam (cover)

Production

High Trade BV, Zwolle, The Netherlands
Printed in Hungary

BN 978-90-04-20335-8

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Irasawa, Caroline.

Hell-bent for heaven in Tateyama mandara: painting
and religious practice at a Japanese mountain / by Caroline
Irasawa.

pages cm. -- (Japanese visual culture ; volume 6)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-20335-8 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Tateyama Mountain (Japan)--In art. 2. Mountains--
Japan--Religious aspects. 3. Buddhism--Japan--Customs
and practices. I. Title.

ND1432.J3H57 2012

758'.152153--dc23

2012038883

Copyright 2013 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden,
The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the
imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC
Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be
reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or
transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic,
mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without
prior written permission from the publisher.

Brill has made all reasonable efforts to trace all right
holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In
cases where these efforts have not been successful the
publisher welcomes communications from copyright
holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgments can be
made in future editions, and to settle other permission
matters.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal
use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the
appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright
Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers,
MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

Subvention for the research and publication of this volume
was generously supplied by: the Japan Foundation, the
Metropolitan Center for Far Eastern Art Studies, Sophia
University's Institute of Comparative Culture (ICC), and
the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and
Technology in Japan (MEXT).

Cover image:

Detail of fig. 4. Daisenbō [A] *Tateyama mandara*. Four
hanging scrolls, colors on silk. Courtesy of Daisenbō.
Image reproduced with permission from the Tateyama
Museum.

To my family

Falling: Hell at Tateyama



DURING THE YEARS when Ashikuraji priests struggled with their counterparts at Iwakuraji over religious rights to the mountain, discussed in Chapter One, they established channels of income outside of the Tateyama region by cultivating parishioners concerned with the lives and afterlives of women. *Tateyama mandara*, pivotal in the success of these activities, incorporate new hells for women among traditional renderings of damnation in order to appeal to these constituencies.

Hell was an essential component of the Tateyama brand. It is portrayed in nearly every *Tateyama mandara* and occupies a large portion of most. Even map-like paintings and prints of the mountain that contain few narrative elements usually include a few bursts of infernal flame. The most detailed early descriptions of hell at Tateyama are found in Heian-period didactic story collections that predate development of the foundation legend, discussed in Chapter Two. A tale in the eleventh-century *Hokke genki*, for example, contains this vivid description:

At this mountain there is a hell field. Far off in the wide alpine valley are hundreds or thousands of hot springs. Water spurts forth from deep craters. Where covered by boulders, the springs surge up wildly and vigorously, and

the boulders shift and tremble from the force of the water. Hot steam pervades the area, preventing a closer look. In the recesses of that field there is a tremendous pillar of fire, constantly ignited and ablaze. ... Old legend tells us, "when the people of Japan commit sinful acts, many fall and wind up in Tachiyama's [sic] hell."⁴

Such characterizations of Tateyama turn up in medieval sources as well. *Hōbutsushū*, for example, hyperbolizes that, "Neither painting nor metaphor can convey even one portion of the myriad agonies [experienced in Tateyama's] hell."⁵ Early Tateyama foundation legends briefly mention hell too, even when it has little to do with the main narrative—as if it needs to be included somewhere. This is evident in *Iroha jiruishō*, which cursorily refers to Eight Great Hells and a total of 136 hells at the mountain.⁶

The passage from *Hokke genki* quoted above launches a story about the daughter of a sculptor of Buddhist images who has fallen into Tateyama's hell for selling objects dedicated to the Buddha in order to feed her destitute family. The bodhisattva Kannon takes pity on her because of a small act of devotion performed during her lifetime, and temporarily takes her place in hell so that she can seek assistance. The dead woman begs a practitioner at the mountain to visit her family and tell them of her plight. He goes to the address that she provides and instructs her parents on how to save her. Later, both father and practitioner dream that she has

Sculpture of King Shokō (123).

been reborn in a palace in Taishakuten's abode, Tōri heaven (S: Trāyastriṃśa).⁴ Her salvation depends on Kannon and the services of a compassionate professional.

A similar narrative pattern obtains in a story in *Konjaku monogatari* about a Buddhist practitioner named Enkō who climbs Tateyama. During the middle of the night he is approached by a ghost that "resembles a shadow." The apparition informs him that she died young and is suffering in hell, but that, due to having established a connection with Jizō (S: Kṣitigarbha) through once or twice attending a gathering to worship the bodhisattva at a temple, Jizō takes her place and sustains the three tortures she must endure each day. The ghost entreats Enkō to ask her parents and siblings to perform good works that will save her. Enkō does as she requests and the family commissions a sculpture of Jizō and three copies of *Fahua jing* on her behalf.⁵ This tale is extremely close to the narrative for the oldest surviving illustration of hell at Tateyama, in a handscroll of the miracle story



53 Tateyama's hell. Detail from *Jizō bosatsu reigenki*, ink and colors on paper. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1907.375a.

collection, *Jizō bosatsu reigenki*, thought to have been painted during the mid-thirteenth century and held at the Freer Gallery (fig. 53).⁶ The painting shows scenes from the story set against a generic landscape. The ghost of the woman speaks with Enkō in the upper right, endures a demon's beating while suspended upside-down in the foreground (in this version of the story, she must suffer one of the three daily punishments), watches Jizō climbing a mountain of swords in her stead on the upper left, and gratefully views Jizō roasting on a bed of flames in the center.⁷

Another story in *Konjaku monogatari* also describes communication with the dead at Tateyama and the unusual powers of a religious professional. The wife of a scribe dies. Her three children go to Tateyama to try and contact her one last time, touring Hell Valley with a priest-guide and calling out to their mother. At each hell, the priest shakes his staff and reads *Fahua jing*, seeming thereby to quell the fires of hell. At the most horrific hell they hear their mother's voice telling them that, due to

the sin of being uncharitable, her sufferings are immeasurable and incessant. The children learn that they must dedicate one thousand copies of *Fahua jing* in order to save her. They make the offering with the assistance of a local governor. The mother then appears to one son in a dream, reporting rebirth in Tōri heaven. The children later return to Tateyama, but never hear their mother's voice again, confirming that she is no longer in hell.⁸ Among the countless dead at Tateyama, the sons' profound connection to their mother enables contact with her alone, but an intermediary guides them to her and activates or interprets the communication.

Although these three narratives feature female ghosts at Tateyama, in the noh play *Uto'u* (written sometime before 1465), an itinerant monk on a meditation climb at Tateyama encounters a male ghost. In this telling, the specter was a hunter in life who captured young sea birds called *uto'u* (Rhinoceros Auklet; *Cerorhinca monocerata*) by imitating their parents' calls. At the end of the play, the dead man is described as crying out to the monk to save him, as the birds, now transformed into iron-beaked, copper-clawed demons, torment him. The play warns against the sin of killing and contrasts the hunter's lack of compassion for young *uto'u* with his tender love for his own child.⁹ The hunter's sins have come back to haunt him—or to hunt him. He gives the monk a sleeve from his robe as evidence to show his family that the encounter was real. They can, presumably, act to save him (fig. 54).

The hunter in *Uto'u* demonstrates equal opportunity for people of both sexes to fall into hell at Tateyama, but even in the earlier stories of female ghosts pleading for assistance, nothing suggests that their sex was a factor in causing their predicament. The common thread in these tales, rather, is the role of the religious professional. Whether salvation is achieved through Kannon, Jizō, or the efficacy of *Fahua jing*, this character is an essential conduit who can receive communications from the suffering dead, find out how to save them or how to ameliorate their misery, contact the family, and finally help to ascertain that salvation has been achieved.



54 Konparu Nobutaka as the ghost of a hunter in a performance of *Uto'u*. Courtesy of Konparu Yasuaki and the Yoshikoshi Studio. Photograph by Yoshikoshi Tatsuo.

Instances of monks encountering female ghosts from these stories were not commonly illustrated in *Tateyama mandara*,¹⁰ perhaps because the suffering of women in hell took on new shapes in the images, as we will see below. However, the motif of the hunter from *Uto'u* presenting a sleeve to a monk appears in numerous Ashikuraji *Tateyama mandara* (fig. 55), allowing Edo-period Ashikuraji priests to appropriate the implications and solutions contained in these old tales. The priests could place themselves between the dead and the living by virtue of their special relationship to the otherworldly space of Tateyama, they could assume the role of ventriloquist for the dead, and they could assist cult adherents in managing the afterlife. Their services were acts of mercy toward the dead,



55 Uto'u motif. Detail from the Sōshinbō [B]
Tateyama mandara (42). Photograph by author.

a means of protection and consolation for the living, as well as business ventures.

As the cult evolved, two narrative strains, that of Ariwaka-Ariyori's encounter with Amida, discussed in the last chapter, and examples of people falling into hell at the mountain, increasingly came together in teachings that brought Amida's Pure Land within striking distance of hell, and both strains also united in common endorsement of the authority and intercession of cult officers. Although there were "hells" elsewhere, none with comparable literary pedigree could be found along the pilgrimage-tourism routes of the late-Edo period.

We will now examine changing conceptions of the landscape—seen in various scriptures, legends, and images—that made the early-modern cult of hell at Tateyama possible, before we consider the addition of hells for women and how they functioned in cult imagery.

CONSTRUCTING AN ALPINE HELL

Tateyama was seen to contain the very hells described in canonical and apocryphal texts that were primarily produced in India, Central Asia, and China. Some of the earliest Buddhist texts to arrive in Japan describe hell. They were widely read and influenced native text production. During the

medieval period, new infusions from the continent further supplemented imaginations of the afterlife. These non-local interpretations of the universe were installed at Tateyama partly by identifying and claiming correlative descriptions in the literature.

Among divergent accounts of the geography of the hereafter in the Buddhist canon, hell is often described as subterranean. Early characterizations of hell were assembled in later works, such as the influential compendium *Apidamo dapiposha lun* (J: *Abidatsuma daibibasha ron*, hereafter abbreviated to *Dapiposha lun*), edited in roughly the third century C.E. In the first of three successive explanations of hell's location in this commentary, hell lies beneath the continent where humans live, Senbushū (S: Jambudvīpa).¹¹ From Senbushū to the bottom of the deepest of eight hells, Muken, is forty thousand *yuzenna* (S: *yojana*).¹² Muken is twenty thousand *yuzenna* in height and width. The remaining seven hells, listed from the bottom to the top as Gokunetsu, Netsu, Daigōkyō, Gōkyō, Shugō, Kokujō, and Tōkatsu,¹³ occupy the nineteen thousand *yuzenna* above Muken, and each measures ten-thousand *yuzenna* in width. The remaining thousand *yuzenna* directly below Senbushū are composed of white ground (the lower half) and mud (the upper half). The second variant location in *Dapiposha lun* also places hell below the world where we live, but provides slightly different, more detailed measurements. In this account, forty thousand *yuzenna* span the distance between our world and the top of Muken, which is twenty thousand in height and width, adding further depth to the entire schema. The seven hells above Muken each measure five thousand *yuzenna* in height and width, adding up to a total vertical measurement of thirty-five thousand *yuzenna*. Between hell and Senbushū are layers (measuring one thousand *yuzenna* each) of blue earth, yellow earth, red earth, white earth, white ground, and mud. In the third variant, Muken lies among the seven other hells like a castle surrounded by towns.¹⁴ This last description constructs the layout of hell horizontally. *Dapiposha lun* further arranges four gates around each of the great hells and four satellite hells at each gate.¹⁵

The total number of hells—the Eight Great Hells with a total of sixteen satellite hells attached to each—amounts to one hundred and thirty-six, a calculation that appears in many other canonical works as well, and that was picked up in *Iroha jiruishō* and other literature to describe hell at Tateyama.

Dapiposha lun additionally mentions hells called Hen jigoku (remote hell) and Doku jigoku (isolated hell), located in valleys, above mountains, on a barren plain, and floating in the sky.¹⁶ The fourth-to fifth-century compendium *Apidamo jushe lun* (J: *Abidatsuma kusha ron*; hereafter abbreviated as *Jushe lun*) contains a similar description of an isolated hell near a large river, a mountain, or a field—or alternatively places it below the earth, in the sky, or somewhere else.¹⁷ These remote or isolated hells are designated for individuals, two people, or groups of people.

Other early recorded conceptions of Buddhist hell also describe geographical relationships not at odds with a mountain hell. For instance, *Shiji jing* (J: *Seki kyō*), based on a text thought to date roughly to the second century B.C.E., locates the Eight Great Hells, each furnished with sixteen satellite hells (and an additional ten hells), at the very edge of the world, in between two tremendous ringed mountain ranges called Daikongōsen, one nesting within the other. The devastatingly fierce winds, raging fires, and deadly smells of these hells are contained by the immense mountains.¹⁸

As Buddhism spread to new locations these ideas joined with local conceptions and developed in new ways. In China we find the famous above-ground hells of the mountains Taishan (Shandong) and Fengdu (also called Luofeng; Sichuan). Records of human lifespans were thought to be kept at Taishan and various spirits reported to the mountain on the good and bad deeds committed by the living. These deeds were then evaluated to determine the length of each person's life. The mountain was personified by a magistrate called Taishan fujun (J: Taizan fukun) who also summoned human spirits to the mountain upon death. Fengdu may have been a Daoist response to Buddhist hells.

The cult associated with this mountain seems to have appeared during the Six Dynasties (220–589 C.E.) around the downstream areas of the river Changjiang, and later spread throughout China.¹⁹

Imported conceptions of hell combined with Japanese notions to form a basis for imagining it on the peaks of Tateyama. A tale in *Nihon ryōiki*, compiled during the first half of the ninth-century, takes geographical relationships in the Other World as horizontal; a jealous monk named Chikō walks west to the afterlife golden palace prepared for his rival Gyōki, ventures north to visit different hells, and then returns to life by the same route.²⁰ A tale in *Konjaku monogatari* neatly harmonizes two distinct conceptions of hell's location, at a mountain and underground. In the story, a monk named Jōshō becomes sick and dies. He is chased to the foothills of a black mountain. In the midst of the mountain is a large, dark hole. He falls a long distance to arrive at the court of Enma (S: Yama), judge of the dead, where he sees many sinners being punished.²¹ However high the altitude, the deceased still "falls" into hell, with the mountain's landscape serving as a kind of entranceway. Sometimes the use of imported rationales was explicit. For instance, following an explanation of the Eight Great Hells and other details about hell, *Hōbutsushū* mentions additional hells between fields near an ocean, citing *Jushe lun*, and declares that such a hell really does exist at Tateyama. This introduces a brief summary of a tale similar to the stories in *Hokke genki* and *Konjaku monogatari* examined above.²²

Of course, Tateyama's topography drove these associations. Numerous volcanic landscapes on the Japanese archipelago lent themselves to hellish interpretation. Little grows in these ghastly, steamy, crusty, ashen-white or sickeningly yellow "hell valleys" due to the minerals, acids, and gasses that bubble up and over the land. *Fuji no hitoana sōshi* describes six *kami* as magistrates of hell, each presiding over a location known for its volcanic landscape. The list of magistrates includes Etchū's Tateyama gongen.²³ The later *Wakan sansaizue* mentions the remote and isolated hells before noting that hells in Japan are in high mountains, such

as Unzen (Nagasaki), Fujisan, Tateyama, and Hakoneyama.²⁴ Once the idea of hell took hold in Japan, hells were seen at volcanic landscapes everywhere—and Tateyama's Hell Valley was particularly famous among them. Today, the poisonous gasses exhaled by the earth there are known to fell birds flying overhead. Human visitors who crouch or linger when the heavy gasses are particularly potent can suffer similar consequences. This phenomenon, coupled with early belief about mountains, added to the perception that Tateyama contained hell—and that the dead could be reached there.

Another thread connects hell with Tateyama's peaks. High upon and above Shumisen, the immense mountain at the center of the Buddhist cosmos, are a series of heavens. In didactic tales, people who have been saved often reincarnate in one of these, Tōri heaven, as we saw in the stories in *Hokke genki* and *Konjaku monogatari* described above. *Hokke genki* expounds the merits of *Fahua jing*, which contains a passage claiming that copying the sutra will ensure ascent to Tōri heaven upon death.²⁵ Inscriptions on the bronze sculpture of a Tateyama deity that was consecrated in 1230 (fig. 16) indicate that it was dedicated to sentient beings of the six realms, and that it originally encased six copies of *nyohō kyō*, which usually refers to *Fahua jing*. Unfortunately, the scriptures do not survive.²⁶ The image may have been worshipped at the mountaintop where its surface would have been eroded by volcanic vapors. Based on the sculpture's clothing, crown, the placement of its hands, and notches for now-lost attachments, some scholars take it to be Taishakuten, the lord of Tōri heaven.²⁷

Takase Shigeo posits that Taishakuten's connection with Tateyama may be explained by the following logic. Tateyama contains hell, placing Enma at the mountain. When Enma is conceived as a heavenly being that resides on Shumisen, he is ruled by Taishakuten. This locates Taishakuten at Tateyama as well. The story in *Hokke genki* confirms his presence with mention of a Taishaku peak at Tateyama where Taishakuten and other

bureaucrats of the dark world gather to judge the good and evil deeds of living beings.²⁸

The cult of Taishakuten at Tateyama did not vanish in subsequent eras. *Wakan sansai* mentions Taishakuten in connection with Bessan peak,²⁹ and there was a Taishaku hall at Ashikuraji into the Meiji period. Furthermore, adherents of the Kōshin cult may account for a swelling number of pilgrims to Tateyama, Fujisan, and Hakusan in 1680. It was thought that three worms (*sanshū*) in the body report to Taishakuten on the doings of human beings while they sleep on *kōshin* days, which occur at sixty-day intervals. Believers conducted rites to Taishakuten through the night on these occasions, and some probably visited Tateyama as Taishakuten's residence during *kōshin* years (thought to occur every sixty years, including 1680).³⁰ There is a Kōshin cult mound at Ashikuraji (fig. 56), supporting the connection between the Kōshin cult and Taishakuten at Tateyama, and the Kōshin cult may have been seen as particularly efficacious for women.³¹ Nevertheless, *Tateyama mandara* and most Tateyama foundation legends do not emphasize Taishakuten, and stories about rebirth in Tōri heaven are not usually illustrated in cult imagery.³² The late Iwakuraji text *Tateyama tebikigusa*, however, actively promotes Taishakuten at the mountain. Such associations contribute yet another layer to characterizations of Tateyama deities—



56 Kōshin cult mound at Ashikuraji, 1706. Photograph by author.

and the placement of Taishakuten (and Enma's heavenly aspect) at the mountain was another way of enlisting traditional Buddhist cosmologies to locate hell at the high-altitude Tateyama.

PAINTING THE DAMNED

The tension between local and non-local that is evidenced in many of the cult texts we have examined so far also characterizes the pictorial presentation of hell at Tateyama. The local landscape was retained in the overall layout of *Tateyama mandara*, but inserted into this were easily-identifiable portrayals of hell deriving from continental, centrally-produced images, and from other imagery that circulated widely. *Tateyama mandara* draw on a millennium of hell painting conventions that developed in Japan during the classical and medieval periods, and that were copied, recycled, and reinvented during the Edo period.

Although ancient Indian textual accounts of hell are numerous, imagery of these subjects does not survive.³³ Early extant Chinese depictions include illustrations of demons tormenting sinners incised on the bottom of a sculpture of the cosmological Buddha in the Freer Gallery of Art, thought to be from the Sui dynasty (581–619 C.E.), and a stone rubbing said to have been taken from an image at Gaohan si (Henan). While this imagery does not convey the intensity of voluminous textual descriptions of hell, we have accounts of elaborate hell paintings that adorned Chinese temples in the sixth century, and later generations of artists were celebrated for their skills in portraying hell.³⁴

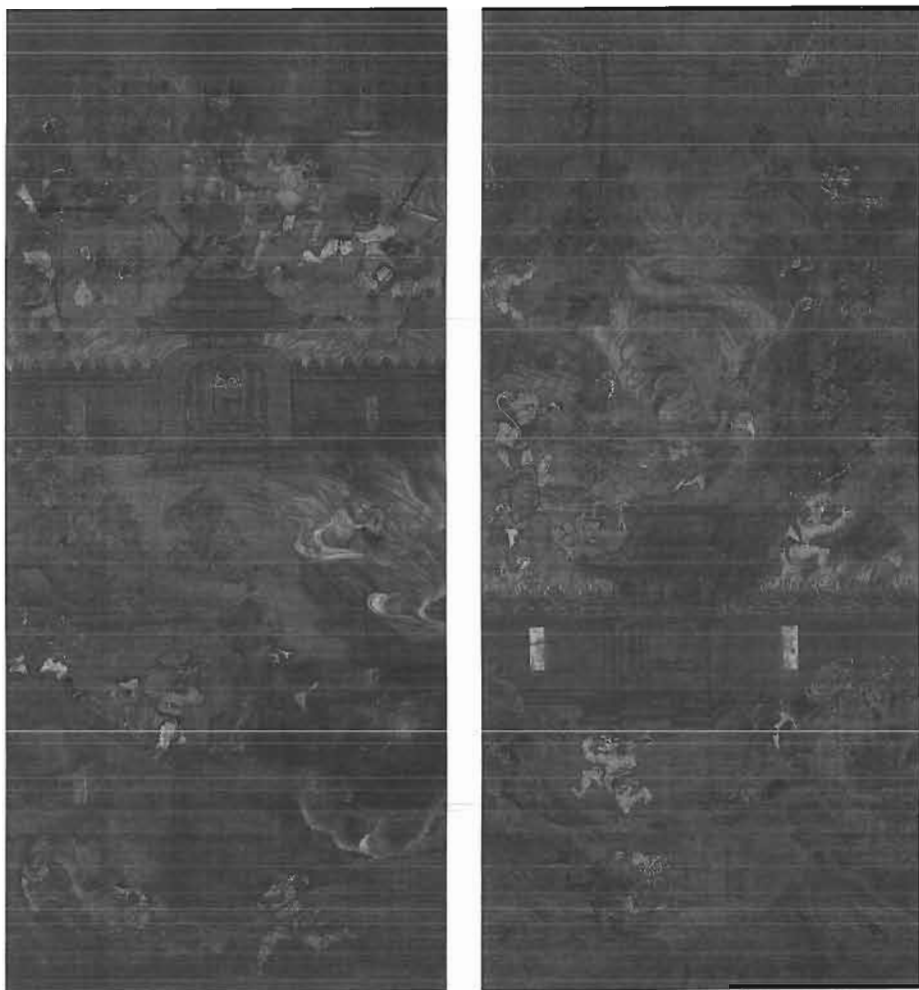
Images of hell arrived in Japan along with Buddhist texts. The oldest surviving Japanese example is engraved on the mandorla of a sculpture of Jūichimen Kannon (S. Ekādaśamukha) held at Tōdaiji's Nigatsudō, but extant paintings only date back as far as the twelfth century.³⁵ These include illustrated sutra frontispieces and painted handscrolls known as *jigoku zōshi*. As in China, the textual record of now-lost hell imagery is older. *Nihon ryōiki* from the first half of the ninth century

mentions a painting that included illustration of hell among other realms,³⁶ and, sometime after the late tenth century, a seven-paneled hell screen was used in conjunction with penance rites involving recitation of *Foshuo foming jing* (J: *Bussetsu butsumyō kyō*).³⁷ Hell imagery is also mentioned in numerous subsequent literary and historical sources.

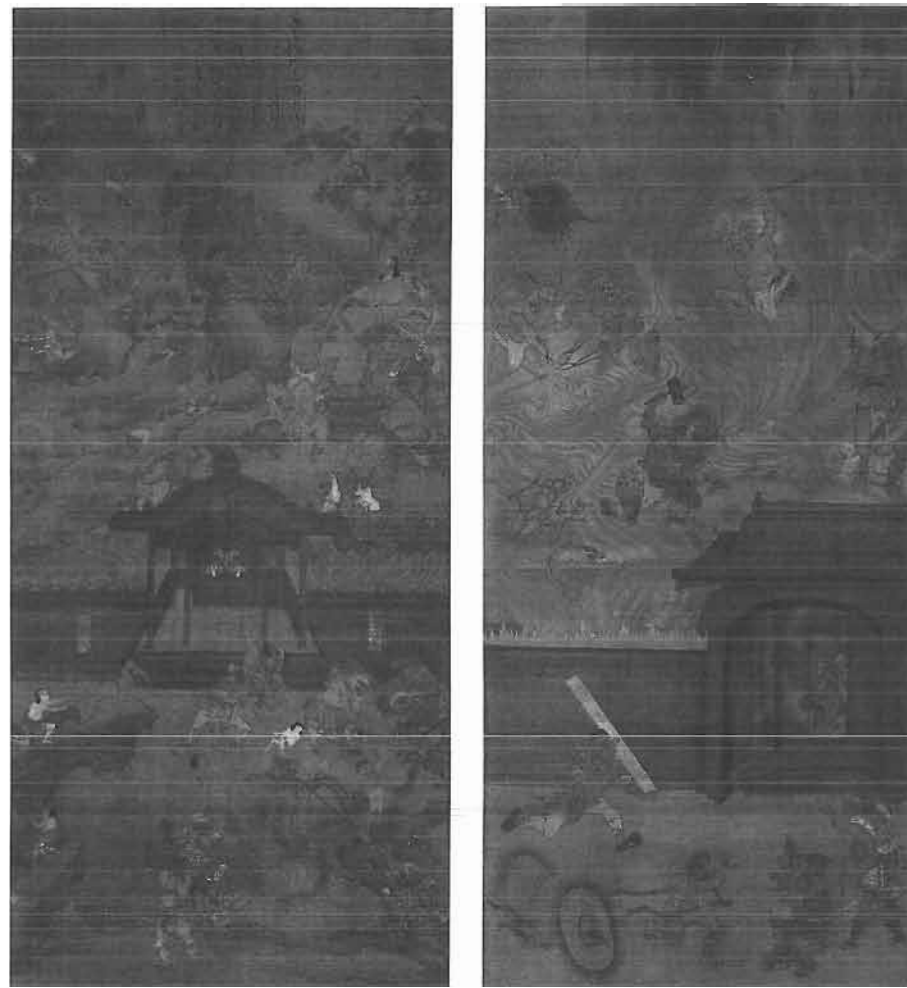
One important basis for Japanese pictorialization of hell was the Pure Land polemic *Ōjyōshū* by the Tendai monk Genshin. This text cites Buddhist sutras and commentaries about hell and the other realms.³⁸ The thirteenth-century *Rokudō-e*, a set of fifteen hanging scrolls belonging to Shōjuraigōji, includes four scrolls depicting hell (figs. 57a, b, c, and d).³⁹ Most of the scrolls cite Genshin's work in a colophon at the top and illustrate numerous passages. As temples throughout Japan used hell to reach out to larger numbers of people, motifs copied from the *Rokudō-e* and other pictorial interpretations of passages from *Ōjyōshū* came to appear in countless later paintings of hell.

In the thirteenth century and throughout the medieval period, hell painting in Japan also came under the influence of paintings of Ten Kings who evaluate the dead that were produced in workshops in the Ningbo area (Zhejiang) during the Song and Yuan dynasties. The kings were often portrayed in ten scrolls, sometimes with additional scrolls depicting Jizō or other variations. Each of the kings sits at a desk surrounded by record-keepers and other assistants, while the dead cover before them. Below each scene of judgment are illustrations of a few torments of hell. Japanese artists copied and modified this imagery and brought its components into new pictorial and narrative contexts.⁴⁰

Other paintings of hell from the thirteenth century, such as the *Rokudō jūō-zu* belonging to Gokurakuji (fig. 58a, b, and c), also evidence a merging of older motifs with notions of the Ten Kings to create fully realized fantasies of afterlife torment. The kings sit side by side across the top of the same painted surfaces, and the space below them is an immense conflagration containing vignettes of torture and salvation.



57 Depictions of hell. From left to right, (a) Tōkatsu jigoku, (b) Kokujō jigoku, (c) Shugō jigoku, and (d) Muken jigoku. *Rokudō-e*, four from a set of fifteen hanging scrolls, ink and colors on silk. Second half of the thirteenth century. National Treasure. Courtesy of Shōjuraigōji. Photographs provided by the Nara National Museum.





58 *Rokudō jūō-zu*. Three hanging scrolls, ink and colors on silk. Late thirteenth century. Important Cultural Property. Courtesy of Gokurakuji. Image reproduced with permission from Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed., *Jigoku yūran*, 33.

These compositions and motifs were copied and incorporated into countless late-medieval and early-modern paintings. By the Edo period, all manner of hell imagery was displayed in temples, shown on the streets, and available in affordable illustrated woodblock prints and books. The presence of hell in popular literature and imagery affirmed its existence and posited its inevitability, unless sinners or family members employed some kind of ritual intervention to avoid it.

Teachings about hell elicited a variety of popular interpretation and response. Increasingly, afterlife courts were conflated with the courts of this life, with their inequities, corruptions, and

miscarriages of justice. Widespread familiarity with hell and these kinds of comparisons with the world of the living gave rise to a great deal of parodic fun.

Despite hell's importance to the cult and its centrality in *Tateyama mandara*, its portrayal rarely overwhelms other components of the paintings. Stepping back from a typical Ashikuraji-type painting that focuses on hell, such as the *Sōshinbō* [B] *Tateyama mandara* (fig. 42), one immediately sees the arched mountain peaks silhouetted against the deep blue sky. The sun, moon, and various flying or floating figures occupy the top of the image. The mountains and foothills below, painted in shades of

green and tan, are punctuated by verdant trees and stylized, swirling, blue-grey clouds or horizontal strips of mist. Here and there, in the town areas in the foreground and along pilgrimage routes through sacred space, architectural structures are rendered in brown, white, blue, gold, and red, the scattered colors artfully brightening the landscape. Crimson and pink define the sun, the clouds enthroning the sun and moon, more clouds at the feet of Amida and his entourage, as well as articles of clothing, banners, and supernatural beings. While a preponderance of red pigment sings the left side of the image where the fires and lakes of hell are depicted (fig. 59), the general color scheme and

composition seem to assign other areas equal prominence. This balance would have accommodated oral performances that brought hell to the fore or set it aside, depending on turns in the narrative.

In Hell Valley within *Tateyama mandara*, the theater of punishment is orchestrated by a few representative demons and sinners, resembling a backyard construction project where some materials or puddles of oil caught on fire. A red demon with pliers extracts the tongue of a sinner bound to a pole. A blue demon tends to a heated cauldron containing three sinners. A fourth sinner falls headlong into the pot. Other sinners swim in what appear to be pools of fire, blood, or water.



59 Depiction of hell. Detail from the Sōshinbō [B] *Tateyama mandara* (42). Photograph by author.

Two demons pound an unfortunate sinner with a mallet and a pestle, as if preparing sticky rice. One demon above them slices a body on a cutting board, while his green-skinned coworker on the left nails a male form to a plank. Another green demon pulls a cart whose female passenger is engulfed in flames. This is one means of transporting sinners to hell. The woman's hands reach out of the flames helplessly, as if trying to stop the cart or to escape it, and her hair flies out behind her echoing the shape of the flames, suggesting a speedy transit. Amidst the mayhem, the bodhisattvas Jizō and Kannon keep watch over two scenes, and monks perform rites.

These and other motifs depicting hell or purgatory appear in many other *Tateyama mandara* as well, particularly in Ashikuraji-type paintings. Among the most frequently painted scenes are King Enma, seated behind a desk with his tools for evaluating and measuring sin, the Human-headed Stanchions (*ninzudō*), the Pristine Clear (*jōhari*) or Karma (*gō*) Mirror, and the Karma Scale. Also commonly portrayed are the deepest and most horrific of all hells, Abi or Muken, often symbolized by sinners falling upside-down into a cauldron; the Hell of the Needle Mountain (*Hari no yama*); the fire cart (*kasha*); the Buddha's disciple Mokuren (an abbreviation of *Maka Mokurenren*; S: *Mahāmaudgalyāyana*) encountering his mother who has been suffering in hell's cauldron; a rite for hungry ghosts (*segaki*); the bodhisattva Jizō with children who pile up stones on the Sai riverbank; and hells for or related to women—the Hell of the Blood Lake, the Hell of Two Women, and the Hell for Stone Women.⁴¹ The Eight Great Hells are not clearly indicated, although some are identifiable—or even labeled, as in the illustration of Muken hell in the Saeki-ke *Tateyama mandara* (fig. 60). This painting, however, simultaneously labels a separate strip of painted flames as Abi hell, technically the same place, explaining that this hell is “also called *Naraku*” (S: *naraka*, a generic term for hell). Parts of these labels appear to have been brushed in later, perhaps to account for the doubling of Abi/Muken. Other *Tateyama mandara*, such as the Tsuboi-ke [B] painting, are more typical, showing a number of

unlabeled, indistinct, scattered hells, along with a few recognizable scenes.

Tateyama mandara connected to both Ashikuraji and Iwakuraji employ similar iconography in portraying hell. Generally those paintings that cannot be associated with either town do not depict hell as energetically, as in the restrained portrayal seen in the Shōnenji [B] painting. Some Iwakuraji *Tateyama mandara* show only a few blasts of fire in Hell Valley, but others display hell more thoroughly, closely resembling Ashikuraji images, such as the Chūdōbō *Tateyama mandara*. The Shitaka-ke *Tateyama mandara*, painted in 1836—shortly after the disputes in the Kaga courts concluded—follows the composition of map-like, printed images of the mountain, but instead of the usual pared-down symbols for hell, the caldera brims densely with kinetic, gruesome scenes of oversized demons and the dead, that dwarf even the architectural motifs in the rest of the image (fig. 61). These portrayals, while skillful, also tend toward the cartoonish, as in a passage where two demons snash sinners with large mallets, and the eyes of one pop out of their sockets (fig. 62).

Such portrayals may seem deliberately or inadvertently comical, but they did not diminish what was folded into each pictorial marker: *Tateyama mandara* display samplings of imagery already familiar to viewers. Even the most ambitious attempts to render hell in paint cannot possibly convey the scale of the afterlife visions described in scripture. Pictorial shorthand was common. In some of the earliest surviving continental illustrations, for example, a cauldron tended by a single demon synopsized the entire realm of afterlife punishment. As hell imagery traveled east from India and western China, there were many creative and practical modifications, but visual codes arrived and thrived in Japan in recognizable forms.⁴² However mediated by intervening copies and interpretations, motifs for rendering hell in *Tateyama mandara* trace back to classical and medieval Japanese paintings that evidence continental influences.

The man bound to a stake while a demon extracts his tongue in *Tateyama mandara* stands in



60 Saeki-ke *Tateyama mandara*. Four hanging scrolls, ink and colors on paper. Private collection. Image reproduced with permission from the Tateyama Museum.

for Jumuhenku, a satellite hell of the Hell of Great Screams (*Daikyōkan jigoku*). This hell was well known in Japan through Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū*,⁴³ and was portrayed in the *Gokurakuji Rokudō jūō-zu* as well as in many other works. An exaggerated form of this torment also frequently appears in images. The *Abi* hell scroll of the *Shōjuraigōji Rokudō-e* set, for example, shows the tongue of one man stretched beyond recognition (fig. 57d, center right). Such depictions appear in Ningbo works, such as a set of Ten King paintings at Seiganji, revealing their continental origins. Recognizable templates also obtain in the fire cart that transports sinners to hell

in many *Tateyama mandara*. This same burning vehicle appears, for example, in the foreground of the *Abi* hell scroll in the *Shōjuraigōji* set and in the *Seiganji* set. Similarly, the scene of sinners pounded in a mortar by demons, as seen in the *Shitaka-ke Tateyama mandara* and the *Shōjuraigōji Shugō* hell scroll (fig. 57c, upper right), is a standard motif that collapses and contracts the essence of a particular hell, summoning its horrors with great economy.

King Enma was an important part of the presentation of hell at Tateyama. He originated in India, where he was called Yama and other names that reflect a range of characterizations in Indian



61 *Shitaka-ke Tateyama mandara*. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper. 1836. Private collection. Image reproduced with permission from the Tateyama Museum.



62 Depiction of hell. Detail from the Shitaka-ke Tateyama mandara (61). Photograph by author.

texts. Among them, he was the first human to die, the ruler of an afterlife paradise, a heavenly being that lives high up on the cosmic mountain Shumisen, and the lord of hell. He also came to personify an impartial, perfectly just process of judgment in the hereafter. While retaining many of these qualities, he took on additional attributes in China. In apocryphal scriptures produced during the Tang dynasty, such as *Yanluowang shouji jing* (J: *Enraō juki kyō*) and *Foshuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing* (J: *Bussetsu yoshu jūō shōshichi kyō*), Enma joined nine other magistrates to evaluate the sins and virtues of the dead, and to pass judgment. The kings and their courtiers were thought to measure sin precisely, with each portion of evidence inscribed in record books and verified by witnesses. Devices, such as a karma mirror that reflects crimes committed while alive and a karma scale that weighs sin, assisted in the assembly of irrefutable evidence that would wrest confessions from sinners and

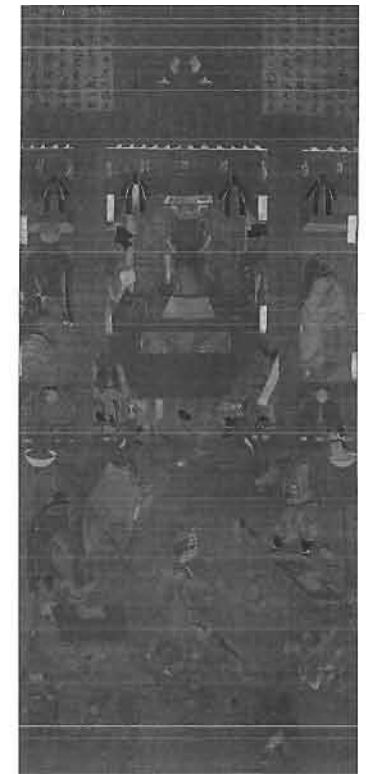
encourage penance. Surviving family members sponsored rites dedicated to the Ten Kings in order to intervene in the fate of the dead. These took place on a prescribed schedule of memorial days, starting with the seventh day following death and ending on the third-year anniversary. The living might also perform rites in preparation for their own deaths. Afterlife tribunals bureaucratized earlier, more spontaneous and internalized conceptions of the workings of karma—and conflated the bureaucracy of the afterlife, based on Chinese real-world models, with that of this world. Texts on the Ten Kings recommend appeals to the kings for leniency with gifts of scripture, Buddhist art, and architecture that resembled bribes for living, secular officials. The perception thus arose that the system could be manipulated to advantage.

Enma arrived in Japan in forms that preceded the cult of the Ten Kings. He appears as a heavenly

deva in esoteric Buddhist imagery, reflecting his Indian origins and their Chinese interpretations. A recension of Ten King scriptures called *Bussetsu jizō bosatsu hosshin innen jūō kyō* (hereafter abbreviated to *jizō jūō kyō*; possibly compiled in Japan before the mid-thirteenth century) became highly influential at the same time that images of the kings produced in Ningbo began streaming into Japan. In Kamakura period paintings, Enma came increasingly to appear with the other nine kings—but even when he appears alone, his aspect and attire often reflected Chinese Ten King iconography.⁴⁴

The Shōjuraigōji *Rokudō-e* absorbed this presentation of Enma into a painted environment largely influenced by *Ōjōyōshū* (fig. 63). The brief discussions of Enma in *Ōjōyōshū* predate the cult of the Ten Kings. Accordingly, the other nine kings are absent in the set of paintings, but Enma and members of his court wear Chinese apparel. Enma sits at a desk within a palatial structure overlooking a courtyard. His record-keepers, assistants, and wardens use an assortment of mechanisms to process the dead. Enma's face—including his eyes and teeth—is tinted a glowing red. He clenches his fists as he watches a scene of judgment, and opens his mouth as if pronouncing a verdict. In the courtyard, one of Enma's demonic agents seizes a sinner by the hair and forces him to look into the karma mirror. The head on the banner stanchion behind the mirror confirms the veracity of the reflection, where the man, wearing military garb, thrusts a spear into the back of a monk. Many sinners fearfully await their turn, plead with officials, or prepare for a sojourn in hell. A man in the foreground stares directly and forlornly out of the picture plane, breaking through the "fourth wall" of the painting to warn viewers of impending retribution. A man to the right of the mirror is fully clothed and unrestrained. As he bows humbly before a kindly scribe, the head on the banner stanchion on the right declares him innocent. Flower petals float down toward him from its mouth.

This resplendent portrayal of Enma's court influenced later hell imagery, as did other important



63 Enma's Court scroll, *Rokudō-e*. One of a set of fifteen hanging scrolls, ink and colors on silk. Second half of the thirteenth century. National Treasure. Courtesy of Shōjuraigōji. Photograph provided by the Kyōto National Museum.

medieval paintings, such as the Gokurakuji *Rokudō jūō-zu*. Many images intervened between such portrayals and *Tateyama mandara*, including an important genre of paintings referred to as *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* (Kumano mind-contemplation ten-world mandala; also called *Kumano kanjin jikkai-zu*) (fig. 64).⁴⁵ Common motifs in the two genres include the sun and the moon—and numerous abbreviated, hell-related motifs such as the



64 *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*. Ink and colors on paper. Seventeenth century. Courtesy of the Hyōgo Prefectural Museum of History.

fire cart, Enma, Tōyōrin, and Sword Mountain. In *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* Enma is usually portrayed without any other kings or assistants, and the karma mirror almost always depicts a soldier attacking a monk. Some versions omit Enma altogether.

Tateyama mandara similarly reduce the Chinese-style King Enma and his court to an outdoor desk, the mirror and scale, and a small group of representative sinners. This minimalist portrayal resembles the bare-bones imagery in Ten King scrolls from Dunhuang and that found in

many other images. As with other hell motifs, however, the simplified portrayal does not mean that Enma was unimportant to the cult. He does not appear consistently in Hell Valley in early *Tateyama mandara*. He cannot be identified there in the Raigōji *Tateyama mandara*, and only his tools—the scale, mirror, and banner stanchion—appear in the Tsuboi-ke [A] and Konzōin *Tateyama mandara*. As Ashikuraji imagery developed, Enma becomes a standard feature, fiercely grimacing with bulging eyes and terrorizing the dead who kneel before him. He generally has a few assistants and the karma mirror reflects various sins. Although such motifs in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* probably influenced motifs in *Tateyama mandara*, adoptions in the latter were not slavish imitations.

The appropriation of recognizable hell imagery to interpret Tateyama's Hell Valley lent the cult legitimacy. We might also expect features of the mountain's unique volcanic landscape to have played an important role in imagery produced by the cult, but despite Tateyama's long-standing literary associations with hell and an actual Hell Valley second to none, local priests did not equip *Tateyama mandara* with certain striking elements from their own infernal backyard, such as a tall, bright yellow, sulfuric pillar in Hell Valley called

Blacksmith's Hell (Kajiya jigoku). This natural formation has reached several meters in height. Periodically it breaks or is knocked down by the elements, only to build up again (fig. 65). Aside from the accurate location of Hell Valley in the images, only two recognizable landmarks appear in portrayals of hell. One is the jagged, exaggerated rendering of Tsurugidake, distinct from the gently shaped peaks around it. The other is a puddle of red paint demarcating the Blood Lake Hell, a rust-hued marsh uphill from Hell Valley that contains a preponderance of iron oxide (fig. 66). Both of these features were reformulated in *Tateyama mandara*, according to sutras, apocrypha, and images that originated far from the mountain.

Tsurugidake's portrayal serves as a good example of the coexistence of local conceptions with non-local redefinitions. Overlooking Hell Valley, the peak was rendered according to two commonly illustrated hells: Sword (or Needle) Mountain and Tōyōrin. At Sword Mountain, demons chase the dead up a perilously spiky hill. Tōyōrin, one of the sixteen satellite hells of Shugō hell, is a treacherous tree with razor-sharp leaves that male sinners climb of their own volition, driven by desire for the apparition of a beautiful woman who beckons to them from the top. When they finally arrive to embrace



65 Kajiya jigoku in Hell Valley at Tateyama. Photograph by author.



66 The Blood Lake Hell at Tateyama. Photograph by author.

her, their "bodies" shredded by the razor-leaves, she reappears below the tree, pleading with them to come down to her. The leaves again lacerate their bodies as they descend (fig. 67).⁴⁶ In *Tateyama mandara*, Tsurugidake is often portrayed as one or the other of these hells, and sometimes as a combination of both, as in the Tsuboi-ke [A] *Tateyama mandara* where a man climbs toward an apparitional woman on the left side of the peak, and a demon chases sinners up the right (fig. 68). The Hōsenbō and Kisshōbō *Tateyama mandara* separate Tōyōrin

from Tsurugidake, which is conceived as Sword Mountain. In the former painting, Tōyōrin neighbors Tsurugidake, but the Kisshōbō painting, otherwise a relatively faithful copy of the Hōsenbō painting, places Tōyōrin between Enma and some of his tools for measuring sin, a strange innovation or misunderstanding in an image executed so skillfully (fig. 69).⁴⁷

Alongside these interpretations of Tsurugidake as standard hells we find references to local lore. Most *Tateyama mandara* place a pagoda among the



67 Tōyōrin. Detail from the Shugō jigoku scroll (57c), *Rokudō-e*. Courtesy of Shōjuraigōji.



68 Tsurugidake as Tōyōrin. Detail from the Tsuboi-ke [A] *Tateyama mandara* (32). Photograph by author.



69 Tōyōrin. Detail from the Kisshōbō *Tateyama mandara* (126). Photograph by author.

sharp serrations of the peak. Tsurugidake could not, it was thought, be climbed by any living soul and no actual structures existed there. The pagoda appears in the woodblock print of 1722, which does not illustrate any demons or sinners on the peak.⁴⁸ In this print and in other images, the pagoda is labeled as a natural (unmodified) stone formation or as an apparition. This depiction may predate *Tateyama mandara*, but the pagoda continued to be a part of Tateyama's pictorialization, even as the tormented dead began climbing toward it. The Raigōji *Tateyama mandara* depicts a goddess on Tsurugidake and a shrine priest making an offering to her from the bottom of the peak (fig. 70). Hirose Makoto suggests that this may be the *kami* Izanami, who became associated with the afterlife due to a myth about her death, and posits that Tsurugidake was seen as the mountain of death. In the Daitokuji *Tateyama mandara* the woman looks

out compassionately over hell.⁴⁹ The Sōshinbō [A] *Tateyama mandara* follows the same suit, but other images, as we saw in the Tsuboi-ke [A] painting, transform the two figures into the female apparition and the climbing sinner of Tōyōrin. It is otherwise highly unusual to find the sinner in Tōyōrin attired in such beautiful clothing. (Adding another *kami* layer to conceptions of this peak, *Wakan sanzai* describes the hawk in the foundation legend as the *kami* Tachio tenjin of Tsurugi[dake].)⁵⁰

Thus we find competing and contradictory ideas about Tsurugidake in the same paintings. The peak was sacred space central to the cult during the classical period, and it resisted a complete makeover into hell in late Edo-period imagery. The accumulated tensions and textures that resulted from this kind of absorption and retention of multiple local and non-local interpretations were an essential component of the cult's appeal.



70 Tsurugidake with goddess and priest. Detail from the Raigōji *Tateyama mandara* (31). Photograph by author.

THE BODY IN SIX REALMS AND TEN WORLDS

Representatives from other realms join the denizens of hell on the left side of *Tateyama mandara*. In the Sōshinbō [B] *Tateyama mandara*, for example (fig. 42 and a detail at fig. 59), three male figures with distended bellies attempt to eat from bowls filled with rice that erupt into flames, four men wear medieval armor (in other paintings a demon beats a drum nearby), and three large animals gather on a hill. Their human-like faces suggest their previous lives. A bird attacks the eyes of one. Nearby, an ox head is supported by a human body wearing fancy red robes and holding a fan. These motifs combine to illustrate a portion of the six realms or paths (*rokudō*) of transmigration, consisting of hell (J: *jigokudō*; S: *naraka-gati*), the realm of hungry ghosts (J: *gaki-dō*; S: *preta-gati*), the realm of beasts (J: *chikushōdō*; S: *tiryagyoni-gati*), the realm of *shura* warriors (J: *shuradō*; S: *asura-gati*), the realm of humans (J: *nindō*; S: *mānasya-gati*), and the realm of heavenly beings (J: *tendō*; S: *deva-gati*). The second- or third-century compendium *Dazhidu lun* (J: *Daichido ron*) teaches that good and evil are distinguished by these realms, and structures them as a tiered hierarchy.⁵¹ One does not, however, ascend or descend through the six realms in ordered succession, but incarnates wherever the dictates of karma require. Among the litany of sins that explain the causes for rebirth in these realms, hungry ghosts suffer starvation for swindling or refusing food to people; beasts suffer being hunted or forced to perform hard labor for a previous life of ignorance, unrestrained passions, or, in the case of clergy, abuse of their authority; and warriors suffer continuous war-related fear and grief.⁵²

These portrayals and others in *Tateyama mandara* also resemble motifs in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* (fig. 64 and fig. 82). Building on previous studies, Ogurisu Kenji organized fifty-eight known examples of *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* into three types, determining that those that had been folded were used in picture recitation (*etoki*) performances by so-called Kumano nuns (Kumano

bikuni) who traveled around Japan soliciting donations and selling amulets.⁵³ He labels the paintings with fold marks as "standard" types, and surmised that the earliest surviving examples were probably painted in the seventeenth century. These comprise forty-two of the total number of paintings in his analysis. The remaining images, designated as "non-standard," include seven copies of standard types and nine variant or distinct images. By comparison with the heavy three or four hanging scrolls that comprise the majority of *Tateyama mandara*—requiring suspension in large interior spaces—the lightweight, foldable, standard *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* could be displayed anywhere, even out of doors.

Archiving over motifs of hell and other realms in most *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* is a motif called the hill of aging (*oi no saka*). To the right of the hill a woman has just given birth in a house. Her infant crawls through a *torii*, a red-lacquered wooden gateway that marks sacred space, and sets out over the hill. The child grows into adulthood with its counter-clockwise ascent over the arc. This is illustrated as a series of gradually maturing, alternating male and female figures. Trees around the edge of the hill indicate the stages of life, from the spring-like blossoms of childhood on the right to the ever-green summit and the winter of old age on the left. With the descent, the figures grow older and increasingly stooped. A child assists the female figure to walk. The male figure precedes his partner in death; a demon beside the hill drags him by the hair to hell. The woman becomes a nun who walks with a cane, which she rests against the *torii* at the bottom of the hill. She then waits for death while facing a graveyard.

An independent treatment of the hill of aging survives in a painting entitled *Oi no saka-zu* at the Tokyo National Museum that may trace back to the Muromachi period. Here too we find the house, trees indicating the seasons of life, and a child that grows into an adult, but it is an old man who becomes a monk at the descent, the path over the hill does not form a neat semicircle, there are no *torii*, there are no women on the hill, and there is no

graveyard—or other components from the bottom portion of *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*. The hill of aging also appears in paintings that show Kumano nuns preaching with images. Ogurisu sees these pictures within pictures as indicating the early development of standard *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*.⁵⁴ He posits an historical transition from imagery of a man aging as he climbs the hill, as seen in the Tokyo National Museum painting, to a father and son, to a couple (the alternating man and woman)—and concludes that these changes reflect a new emphasis on images of the family, and especially on women within the household. Gradually, the hill of aging united with images of hell and other realms, King Enma, and rites for hungry ghosts (*segaki*)—all arrayed around the character for heart-mind (J: *shin* or *kokoro*). One of the possible

precursors to *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* appears in *Sumiyoshi jinja sairei-zu byōbu*, a seventeenth-century painted screen in the Freer Gallery (fig. 71). Among festival entertainments at the shrine, a nun sits beside a bridge preaching to a group of predominantly women and children that has gathered around her. She uses a pointer to indicate the character for heart at the center of an image that contains many features of *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*. The sun and moon occupy familiar positions above the hill of aging, which bends over the character for heart. A sampling of hells (including hells for women), motifs of hungry ghosts, warriors, Enma with his tools for measuring sin, and a fire cart appear, but other essential components of standard *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* are missing, such as the *torii* and the rite for hungry ghosts.



71 Kumano nun preaching with a painting. Detail from the *Sumiyoshi jinja sairei-zu byōbu*. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1900.25.

The character for heart in this iconography shows the influence of diagrams that depict ten worlds, a conceptualization that adds four higher existences or worlds to the six realms. The additional worlds consist of two occupied by sages called *shōmon* (S: *śrāvaka*) and *enigaku* (S: *pratyekabuddha*), a bodhisattva world, and a buddha world. In roughly 1023 the Tiantai monk Zunshi (964–1032) conceived a geometric design for illustrating the ten worlds encircling the character for heart, called *Perfect Mind-contemplation Worlds of the Ten-directions Diagrams* (*Endon kanjin jippōkai-zu*), that would expound tenets of Tiantai (J: Tendai) doctrine taught by the Tiantai patriarch Zhiyi (538–597).⁵⁵ This design was copied and imported to Japan, and then further copied, reprinted, and adapted throughout the Edo period.⁵⁶ *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* are one reinterpretation. Red lines radiate from the character for heart toward the ten worlds (*jikkai*), but Zunshi's symmetrical, geometrical composition is abandoned to enlarge the human and hell worlds. Eight red *torii* serve as thresholds to the lower six realms. The human realm is marked by a total of three *torii*, including the two on either end of the hill of aging, and occupies a large portion of the top of the images. Hell fills up most of the lower section, marked by a *torii* in the lower center, and samplings of other realms are tucked inside the remaining five *torii*, distributed around the paintings.

Although the overall composition and pictorial program of *Tateyama mandara* little resembles *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, the close similarity of a large number of motifs and aspects of the conceptual framework suggest direct or indirect appropriation. There are, however, major distinctions between the two types of imagery. *Tateyama mandara* associate the realms of transmigration with particular physical locations, while *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* do not. Indeed, the Kumano region had no particular associations with hell. The relationship of *Tateyama mandara* to the landscape partly accounts for a non-diagrammatic layout of the ten realms in the images, but the realms can all be identified. The dead suffering in hell, hungry

ghosts, warriors, animals, and the two heavenly beings floating above the mountain peaks are obvious, and closely adhere to models established in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* and elsewhere. We also find human pilgrims in Murodō and on the peaks, Ariyori and other monks representing the two types of sage, Jizō, Kannon, and Amida's entourage representing the bodhisattva world, and Amida indicating the buddha world.

There is no need to see the concept of ten realms at Tateyama as originating in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*. Long before their development, the compilation *Keiran shūyōshū* by Kōshū (1276–1350), written in the first half of the fourteenth century, mapped the ten realms onto the Tateyama landscape in an entry entitled "Etchū's Tateyama is the peak of the ten realms." Referring to a foundation legend that we cannot trace, the text states that "The sinners of our land first fall into [Tateyama]'s hell and eventually can be reborn in the Pure Land of the mountain." The compiler or author then explains that Tateyama possesses the ten realms, with hell located in the foothills, peaks named after other realms, and the buddha realm manifested as an Amida peak in the center, further declared to be the Pure Land.⁵⁷ *Keiran shūyōshū* thus attempts to overlay a ten-fold cosmological system onto the geographical layout of Tateyama, renaming and reconstructing the mountain in order to do so, in ignorance or disregard of the actual landscape.

We can identify ten realms in *Tateyama mandara*, or read them that way, but *Tateyama mandara* are less driven by ten-fold, six-fold, or five-fold cosmologies than by emphasizing management of the lower realms and showcasing the means for salvation at the mountain. Some legends compress the cosmology to prioritize the two extremes of hell and paradise; after enumerating the hells at Tateyama and providing other descriptions of the mountain, the late Edo-period Sōshinbō *ryakuengi* states, "On the mountain peak appear the nine grades (*kuhon*) of the Pure Land; in the valley are 136 hells. This is the mountain that encourages the good and corrects the evil of all living beings."⁵⁸ This short passage focuses on hell,

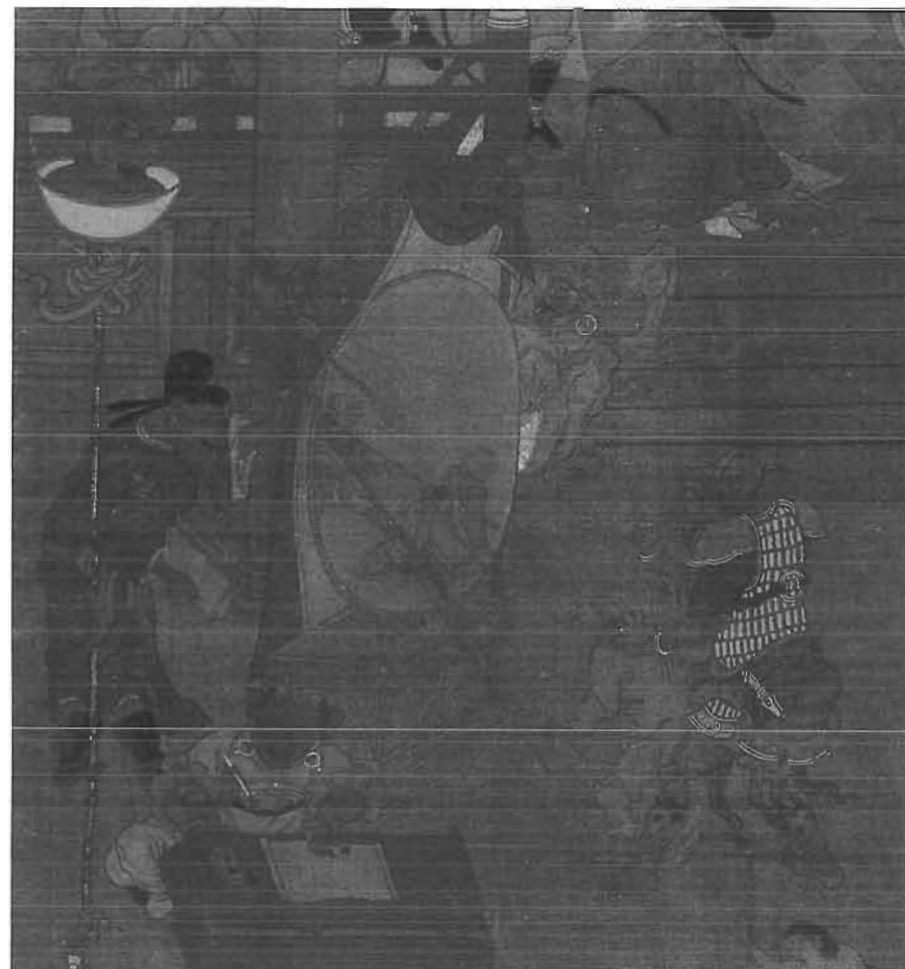
the most horrific place in the world of suffering and therefore the most forceful argument for seeking salvation, and on Amida's Pure Land, considered by many to be the only viable escape. Other realms do not vanish. They hold an important place in Tateyama narratives, but the tortures of hell—and teachings about hell—were seen as most effective in awakening people to the impermanence and suffering inherent to all of the realms of transmigration.

Transition between realms was often constructed as a linear, temporal process, as in Ten King scriptures, but sometimes realms blended or overlapped. The human realm might occupy the same spaces as the animal and hungry ghost realms, but the latter two realms might also be seen as hell. In the popular imagination, such divisions and conflations were secondary to the dictates of karmic redress. For instance, the motif of an ox head surmounting a human body wearing clerical robes, seen in most *Tateyama mandara*, illustrates a story from the medieval tract *Tsuma kagami* about a monk named Chimyōbō from a temple in Etchū who made his living by “greedily consuming the offerings of believers.” While he was guiding a group of lay-believers on a meditation pilgrimage up Tateyama, the group came across a chain suspended to assist climbers in scaling a cliff, recalling the chains at Ichi no tani. When the pilgrims arrived at the top of the cliff, they saw that their guide had transformed into an ox. His white pilgrimage jacket and black surplice had become a speckled pattern on the ox's coat. The animal wandered away from them. When they called out Chimyōbō's name, the only response was an ox lowing.⁵⁹

This story proclaims the magical truth-serum effects of Tateyama, and draws on a tradition of late classical and medieval didactic tales where corrupt monks or laymen affiliated with temples often reincarnate as cows or other animals. *Konjaku monogatari*, for example, contains an anecdote of a man who dies and a cow is born in his household a few months later. The beast bears a tattle-tale birthmark announcing that the man borrowed temple belongings, died without returning them,

and suffered a bovine rebirth to compensate.⁶⁰ Priests and others with access to temple property or the donations of believers risk humiliating karmic redress if they abuse their privileges.

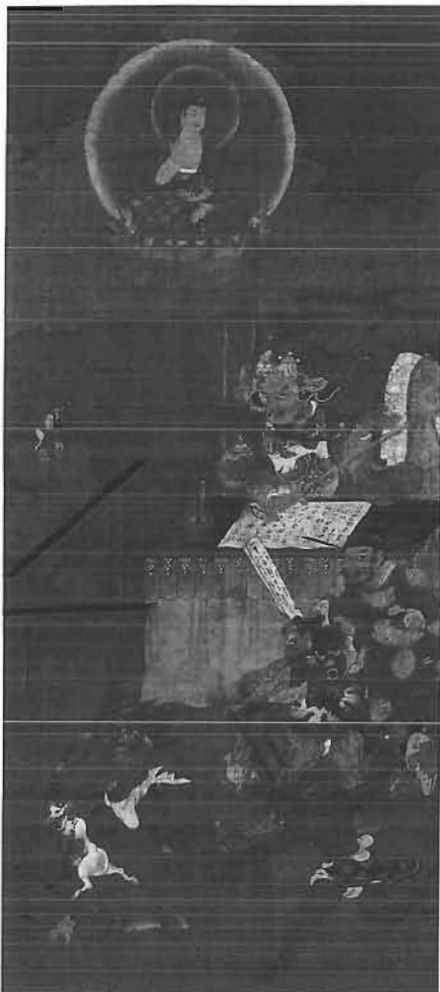
The assortment of half-beast and half-human creatures that mingle with fully animal forms in *Tateyama mandara* and *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* (as well as in many other Edo-period paintings of hell and the six realms) make formerly human identities clear, and warn would-be sinners of monstrous incarnations. The figures in these scenes appear relatively stable, but other paintings more vividly convey the bodily volatility that they imply. Returning briefly to the central scene in the Shōjuraigōji *Rokudō-e* scroll of Enma's court, where a sinner is forced to face his wicked deeds, we see reflected in Enma's mirror an instant replay of him killing a monk, one of the five most heinous sins in Buddhism—which should commit him to the deepest hell (fig. 72).⁶¹ The painting, however, indicates a fate elsewhere; the human sinner's afterlife head has begun to change shape, his nose extending forward, suggesting an incarnation as a dog-like creature. A set of fifteenth-century Ten King scrolls in the collection of Jōfukuji also illustrates this moment immediately after judgment. Sinners wearing cangues (portable wooden stocks locked onto their necks) cower in front of the seventh king Taizan's desk on the forty-ninth day after their deaths. The king's line of sight directs viewers to the lower, left-hand corner of the painting where two demonic henchmen usher three ex-humans into their next existences. One appears in human form, one in canine form, and a third is still in the process of transforming. Most of his body and face resemble that of a white dog or fox, but his hands and forearms are still human. He stands upright as if yanked up by the demonic hands wrapped around his head—or as if not yet adjusted to his brand new body's posture.⁶² Above this group destined for the realm of beasts, a virtuous woman floats away on a plume of clouds, fully dressed with elaborate headwear, her palms pressed together piously as she heads through a red *torii* to what is most likely the *deva* realm (fig. 73 and fig. 74).



72 Jōhari mirror. Detail from the Enma Court scroll (63), *Rokudō-e*. Courtesy of Shōjuraigōji.

These images and stories illustrate the general principle that afterlives are determined by moral imperatives; virtuous behavior is rewarded in the afterlife with a blessed body in a pleasant environment and evil behavior is punished with a body that

suffers in miserable surroundings. Such imaginings sweepingly presume continuity of identity, even if memory of past lives is obliterated. Without a sense that the individual persists through transmigrations, the threats and rewards of rebirth may have



73 *Meifu jūō no zu*. The seventh hanging scroll from a set of ten, ink and colors on silk. Fifteenth century. Important Cultural Property. Courtesy of Jōfukuji. Image reproduced with permission from *Jigoku yūran*, 52.

seemed moot. Anecdotes of visits to hell read like fantastic travelogues or vertiginous Alice in Wonderland-like adventures. In stories, when voyagers feel pain or heat, the nature of their bodies is not remarked upon; bodily sensation is taken for granted.⁶³ The implied audience is human and the human realm is presented as the locus of moral choices and soteriological action. In paintings of the afterlife, upon completing an incarnation in the human realm, the dead retain human shape until after judgment or throughout punishment in hell. When they embark upon new paths, they are often transported in new bodies appropriate to their future realms.

Chimyōbō's story illustrates conceptions of a morally determined body that resemble the increasingly grotesque painted double described in Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray*. Chimyōbō commits sins with seeming impunity, all the while preparing an unseen future body that inevitably claims him. The repercussions of invisible, sometimes unconscious past karma can take people by surprise, like hidden trap doors that open to plunge them into other regions or like curtains that pull away to reveal evil behavior. The transforming body betrays its inhabitant, broadcasting inner flaws, failings, and wrongdoings, squealing on the spirit. Undesirable physical transformation demonstrates that people are not what they appear, nor even what they think they are, and prepares them to seek salvation. Chimyōbō's hybrid body, other unstable bodies, and illustrations of various realms depicted in *Tateyama mandara* directed beholders to maintain and secure desirable, constant forms.

Although concerns about non-human salvation are an important part of the world view of such imaginings, heavenly *devas*, animals, hungry ghosts, and *shura* warriors are not illustrated facing judgment. Non-human realms are generally places to suffer or enjoy the consequences of human lives. Animals or animal-shaped demons attack sinners in hell imagery and texts, sometimes out of revenge, but their particular karma is not a subject of discussion. Animals also appear in court as witnesses against people who abused them or took their lives.



74 People transforming into animals. Detail from the seventh scroll of *Meifu jūō no zu* (73). Courtesy of Jōfukuji.

In many images, these mute creatures gather around Enma's mirror, sometimes carrying small rolled-up paper indictments in their mouths or beaks (fig. 75). They watch the sinner on trial in the mirror's reflection as he wrung their necks, hunted, or butchered them. This appears, for example, in the upper right corner of the middle scroll of the Gokurakuji *Rokudō jūō-zu* (fig. 58). Literary accounts describe similar scenes. *Konjaku monogatari* tells of a hunter who falls from his horse, dies, and appears in Enma's court to answer complaints by the creatures he has killed. Myriad animals appear in the courtyard to bear witness, but he is saved by an unfulfilled vow to copy *Huayan jing* (J: *Kegon kyo*).⁶⁴ Animals that have been rescued by humans also appear in the afterlife to defend them, returning the favor.

When stories describe animals achieving human rebirth, this improvement is often a collateral or direct effect of pious human action. We can see this in a tale from *Hokke genki* about a monk named Kairen who cannot memorize the last three chapters of *Fahua jing*, try as he may. He goes on an ascetic pilgrimage to sacred places, including Tateyama, and learns that in a former life he was a cricket that listened to a priest recite the first twenty-five chapters of the scripture, but was crushed to death when the priest leaned against a wall to rest before concluding.⁶⁵ Prior animal existences explain inequitable circumstances of human body, birth, and ability.

The female body, however, often played by different rules. It exhibited a particular tendency to serpentine hybridity or metamorphosis as well as



75 Animals holding petitions at the afterlife trial of a sinner. Detail from the third scroll of the six-scroll *Rokudō jū-zu*. Ink and colors on silk. Sixteenth century. Courtesy of the Idemitsu Museum of Arts. Image reproduced with permission from *Jigoku yūran*, 42.

certain immutable properties. These are most strikingly indicated by the hells specifically designated for women, to be addressed after a brief survey of some of the characterizations of women that fueled such imaginings.

ACCUSATIONS

Underlying an important aspect of Tateyama cult campaigns—and portrayals of damned women in *Tateyama mandara*—are centuries of imported and native teachings and customs that proclaimed

women as inherently polluted and sinful. This condemnation often went hand in hand with concern about how to bring about their salvation. In the paragraphs that follow, we will look at a few examples from a wide assortment of sometimes contradictory texts that influenced or indicate premodern Japanese social practices.

Texts containing passages that disparage women accompanied the introduction of Buddhism to Japan.⁶⁶ Buddhism's formation in ancient India reflected the mores of Hindu society, which fostered social structures that generally accorded men higher status than women and supported a strict caste system. Passages in the *The Laws of Manu* (*Manusmṛiti*), a Brahman legal text from between the second century B.C.E. and the second century C.E., assert the dependence and subordination of women to their fathers, husbands, and sons.⁶⁷ At that time women did not participate in sacred rites and there were restrictions to their owning or inheriting property.

Although early Buddhist teachings counsel against holding prejudices, they simultaneously reflect contemporary social hierarchies. In *Foshuo yuyenu jing* (J: *Bussetsu gyokuya'nyo kyō*), thought to be based on a text from the third-century B.C.E., for example, the Buddha admonishes and instructs the haughty daughter of a wealthy man. First he states that women are trouble to parents when they are young, trouble to husbands when they marry, and trouble to children when they age. Among other disadvantages related to women, he claims that the birth of daughters brings no joy to parents, raising girls is a thankless task, female children leave their parents, and women endure the difficulties of pregnancy and giving birth. The Buddha then likens good wives to mothers, subjects, sisters, slaves, and mistresses to their husbands. The virtues of good wives laid out in this text include going to sleep late and rising early to attend to household chores, not eating the best food, but offering it to in-laws, obeying husbands, uniting their hearts with those of their husbands, and taking good care of household guests. Such paragons are contrasted with bad wives who go to sleep early and do not

wake at sunrise, who respond to their husbands' anger with anger, eat delicious food and give bad food to the family, think about committing adultery and cheating others, neglect household responsibilities to enjoy themselves, criticize others, resent their family, and invite criticism.⁶⁸

Teachings for nuns similarly lay down rules intended to keep women in line, or at least to acknowledge the status quo. This can be seen in a story of the Buddha's aunt and adoptive mother Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī (P: Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī) requesting permission for formal ordination and admission to the religious order. Although Śākyamuni initially rejects the idea, after Ānanda pleads her case he relents, stipulating eight conditions that establish the authority of monks over nuns. Mahāprajāpatī agrees to the conditions and becomes a nun along with five hundred other women, but Śākyamuni predicts that this will reduce the golden age of the correct teachings from one thousand to five hundred years.⁶⁹

Some suggest that prejudicial passages about women developed with later pre-Mahāyāna thought or in response to the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and posit that they did not issue from the historical Buddha.⁷⁰ Since no contemporary documentation of Śākyamuni's original teachings survives, it is impossible to gauge his stance on women, but we can safely presume that later generations trusted the authenticity of scriptural accounts.

Other concerns drove early Indian Buddhist characterizations of women as well—and affected the inheritors of these traditions in other regions and later eras. Among strategies for upholding vows to celibacy, Buddhist monks were encouraged to contemplate corpses. Aims of this practice also included comprehending the ephemeral nature of human life and overcoming attachment to the body, but female corpses were seen as an effective means of achieving such insight, since they also revealed horrifying "truths" about the attractions of living female bodies—threats to monastic discipline and priorities. Texts advocate imaginations that contrast desirable women with disgusting corpses.⁷¹ Misogynistic preconceptions and male readership

inform early stories about female corpse contemplation. Such narratives show less concern for the dead women's lives or afterlives than for the men who studied their bodies as a means to higher understanding and as a method for controlling desire. They warn monks away from a source of temptation, women, but these ideas eventually came to affect populations not concerned with celibacy—and found their way into contexts of female reception in Japan. The influential Shōjuraigōji *Rokudō-e* scroll set contains an early surviving example of imagery referred to as *Kusō-zu* that depicts the putrefaction of a female body in nine stages. A still-beautiful corpse gradually bloats and bursts. It is torn apart by wild animals, devoured by maggots, and finally reduced to sun-bleached, scattered bones (fig. 76).⁷² The textual inspiration for this image, *Ōjōyōshū*, contains a meditation on the body that accords with the purposes and practices laid out in early Indian texts. *Ōjōyōshū* and the Shōjuraigōji image were instrumental in bringing these ideas before the eyes and ears of many ordinary women in Japan during the medieval and early-modern periods. The old woman who sits inside the *torii* to the exit of life at the bottom of the hill of aging in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* gazes upon a graveyard containing motifs rooted in such painted interpretations.

Over time, Mahāyāna Buddhist concepts thoroughly permeated Japanese society. The emphasis in this tradition on universal salvation raised new concerns about how to save women. Among the great variance seen in Mahāyāna texts, some display openness to the possibility of female enlightenment, but generally a conversion to maleness was a prerequisite, a solution that simultaneously delineated limitations of the inhabitants of female bodies. Two influential passages from *Fahua jing* lay an important foundation for the transformation of women into men (*henjō nanshi*). In the Daibadatta (S: Devadatta) chapter, Shaka's (S: Śākyamuni; also J: Shakamuni) disciples doubt that women can achieve buddhahood. Sharihotsu (S: Śāriputra) explains that there are five obstructions or obstacles (J: *goshō*; S: *pañcāvaraṇāni*)



76 Nindō fudō-sō scroll, *Rokudō-e*. One of a set of fifteen hanging scrolls, ink and colors on silk. Second half of the thirteenth century. National Treasure. Courtesy of Shōjuraigōji. Photograph provided by the Nara National Museum.

preventing women from becoming “first a Brahṃa god king, second the god Śakra, third king Māra, fourth a sage-king turning the wheel, fifth a Buddha body.” Notwithstanding, before a large assembly an eight-year-old dragon (S: *nāga*) girl achieves buddhahood (*ryūnyō jōbutsu*).⁷³ Although a serpent-like beast, the challenge she must overcome in this story is not her animality (although this is taken up by later commentaries), but her sex; she transforms from female to male in the process of becoming a buddha, and there is no description of her dragon features vanishing. Perhaps this is taken for granted, but female bodies are also presented as problematic in a chapter entitled “The Former Affairs of the Bodhisattva Medicine King” (J: Yakuō bosatsu; S: Bhaiṣajyarāja). There the scripture promises that a woman who hears, comprehends, and upholds the chapter, “shall put an end to her female body, and shall never again receive one.”⁷⁴

Pure Land scripture accorded with such teachings. Amida’s eighteenth vow, one of forty-eight listed in *Foshuo wuliangshou jing*, promises that all aspirants who have “ten thoughts” (*jūnen*) can enter his paradise.⁷⁵ The inclusiveness of the vow is unambiguous. Notwithstanding, Amida’s thirty-fifth vow further specifies that women who hear Amida’s name, yearn for enlightenment, and despise their female bodies will never again assume female bodies.⁷⁶ Elucidating how that happens, the Pure Land patriarch Shandao (613–681) explained that when women call on the buddha’s [Amida’s] name at the end of their lives, their female bodies transform, they receive a male body, and they can be reborn in Amida’s paradise.⁷⁷ The Pure Land was a genderless—or rather, a non-female—domain. Thus we can see that abiding female salvation in these characterizations depended upon abandoning female and adopting male bodies.

Scholars have sifted through Buddhist literature seeking examples of female enlightenment without the accompanying castigation.⁷⁸ They have pointed to texts such as *Foshuo zhuannushen jing* (J: *Bussetsu tennyoshin kyō*), which teaches that the daughter of a wealthy man from Rājagṛha is

actually a bodhisattva who has transformed into a woman, the better to save sentient beings.⁷⁹ Rather than illustrating the possibility of women becoming buddhas, this tale demonstrates that particularly virtuous women are not necessarily what they appear to be—and that a (male) bodhisattva can adopt a female body. A story in *Foshuo hailongwang jing* (J: *Bussetsu kairiyūō kyō*) comes closer to recognizing female enlightenment. A dragon king’s daughter named Hōkin determines to achieve perfect enlightenment, but the Buddha’s disciple Kashō (S: Mahākāśyapa) warns that enlightenment is impossible with a woman’s body. The dragon daughter responds that anyone who seeks enlightenment can achieve it, and that the heart seeking enlightenment is neither male nor female. The Buddha predicts that Hōkin will become a buddha in three hundred eons.⁸⁰ Here too we find a female aspirant confronted with the prejudices of one of the Buddha’s disciples.

As much as proving the possibility that women can become buddhas, these texts chide men who belittle their spiritual potential. *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (J: *Yuimakitsu shosetsu kyō*), thought to have been written between the turn of the millennium and the third century C.E., goes beyond describing disciples passively witnessing demonstrations that challenge their narrow-mindedness. In this text, a female *deva* with advanced spiritual powers temporarily transforms Śāriputra’s body into that of a female *deva* to make her point. She then uses the concept of emptiness to argue for no fundamental distinction between men and women.⁸¹ Such stories refute the need for women to become men, but often the protagonists change their sex or the women are exceptional. These tales do not treat practical concerns about the salvation of ordinary women.⁸²

Historical reception in Japan of the dragon-girl story from *Fahua jing* allows scholars to track the development of attitudes toward female enlightenment from numerous perspectives.⁸³ Among a wide range of lay interpretations, some were critical of women while others focused on female potential for salvation and spiritual achievement.⁸⁴ Buddhist

prejudices about women seem to have spread during the latter half of the ninth century. Taira Masayuki determined that prejudicial vocabulary was rare during the Nara period and increased during the Heian period. The words “five obstructions” (*goshō*), “transformation to male” (*henjō nanshi*), “the dragon girl’s realization of buddhahood” (*ryūnyō jōbutsu*), and the title of a text called *Zhuannu chengfo jing* (J: *Tennyō jōbutsu kyō*; *Sutra of Women Transforming and Achieving Buddhahood*)⁸⁵ show up in Japanese documents (particularly in dedicatory prayers and vows; *ganmon*) composed during the second half of the ninth century. These terms divulge the influence of *Fahua jing* and *Zhuannu chengfo jing* on formulations of female salvation among aristocratic laymen.⁸⁶

It appears that certain notions of female pollution took hold at roughly the same time. The early chronicles *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* do not describe birth pollution (*san’e*) or blood pollution (*ketsue*). Such conceptions may have arisen in the eighth century, but pollution taboos recorded in procedural codes (*shiki*) suggest the first half of the ninth century as an important turning point. The earliest administrative codes (*ryō*) contain no stipulations regarding parturition pollution. This is evident from the surviving Yōrō(-era) administrative codes composed in 718 (or later), that draw on the mostly lost Taihō administrative codes implemented in 701. According to quotations in other texts, the lost *Kōnin shiki* issued in 840 stipulated a seven-day observance of birth pollution taboos around festivals—and a thirty-day observance of death pollution taboos. These observances are repeated in later procedural codes, but quotations from the lost *Jōgan shiki* issued in 871 contain additional pollution taboos related to the menstruation of palace women. We cannot confirm whether these proscriptions were originally included in *Kōnin shiki*. The *Engi shiki* of 927 further describes regulations related to pollution contagion.⁸⁷ These rules pertain to imperial court rites, but the culture of the court spread to the provinces, and eventually commoner classes adopted similar conceptions of blood and birth pollution.⁸⁸ Some see these taboos

as mechanisms for promoting Chinese-influenced patriarchal social systems and ideas.⁸⁹ Taira proposes that parturition and menstrual taboos may have begun from a sense of uncleanness circumscribed to certain times and that women were not in themselves seen as polluted. The combination of these taboos with Buddhist ideas that women are intrinsically sinful (as implied by the five obstructions) resulted in the perception in Japan that women embodied pollution (*kegare*)—and that they should be excluded from certain sacred spaces.⁹⁰

Prohibitions against women climbing mountains also seem to trace back to the latter half of the ninth century, a time when the status of officially ordained nuns declined markedly.⁹¹ Influenced by Chinese temple complexes, many mountains in Japan had been transformed into Buddhist monasteries, enclosed and secluded by natural barriers. Ushiyama Yoshiyuki posits that barring women from certain temples and sacred mountains began as a strategy to support monastic vows to celibacy. The Rules for Monks and Nuns (*Sōni ryō*) included in the Yōrō administrative codes treated the two sexes more or less equally.⁹² Monasteries and nunneries may initially have been set up in mutual interdiction; men and women could not enter each other's territory. The balance of power between male and female Buddhist institutions shifted, however, when limits were set on the number of women who could become nuns and when many nunneries were converted to monasteries or dismantled—while zones forbidding female entry remained in place.⁹³

The composite portrait that emerges of the ninth century shows a decline in the status of aristocratic women, their ousting from *kami*-related and Buddhist rituals, increased investment in the idea of female pollution, particularly as related to parturition, and wide adoption of phrases from Buddhist texts that disparage women. Another reading of these circumstances might conclude that the exclusion of women from *kami*-related and Buddhist ritual situations had spread to new, broader contexts. Whether such changes were driven by

political or religious factors, or from a combination of both, it is clear that a vocabulary for excluding and declaring women inferior obtained a solid foothold in the culture during this time.

Conceptions of pollution related to women intensified from the end of the Heian into the Kamakura periods, and tendencies to view childbirth and menstruation as polluted continued throughout the medieval period.⁹⁴ For example, *Shosha kinki*, possibly an early Kamakura-period compilation, records the taboo regulations of twenty-one important shrines in the Kansai region. The length of time enjoined to avoid shrines after childbirth is thirty days at fourteen shrines, starting with Ise, and seventy or eighty days at Hie and a few other shrines.⁹⁵ Perceptions of the virulence of female pollution came to equal or surpass those of death pollution, although there may have been variance in private customs during the medieval era. An entry from 1347 in the aristocrat Tōin Kinkata's (1291–1360) diary *Entairyaku* mentions parturition taboos before those pertaining to death, and describes the length of time to avoid *kami* rites after a birth. While noting ongoing awareness that classical procedural codes stipulated seven days, the diary mentions extended thirty-day observances that spread after the emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127–1192) retired in 1158.⁹⁶ Aristocrats were aware of these shifts in custom.

In the mid- to late-medieval period, conceptions of pollution united with Buddhist ideas about women and teachings about hell, producing an especially potent condemnation that remained influential into the modern era.

THE BLOOD BOWL SUTRA

The most condemnatory conceptions of women congealed in the form of the Hell of the Blood Lake (Chi no ike jigoku; also Blood Bowl Lake Hell, Ketsubonchi jigoku), the oldest of the hells for women that united in late-medieval Japanese paintings. It is based on an apocryphal Chinese scripture called *Foshuo dazang zhengjiao xuepen jing* (J: *Bussetsu daizō shōkyō ketsubon kyō*; the Blood

Bowl Sutra; hereafter *Xuepen jing*; J: *Ketsubon kyō*) that began circulating in Japan sometime during the mid-medieval period.⁹⁷ Recensions of the short text claim that blood pollution—particularly that related to childbirth—plunged women into hell. The scripture describes how Mokuren saw many women in the Blood Bowl Lake. There, hell's wardens force them to drink blood three times per day for their sins. If the women resist, the wardens beat them with iron poles. Mokuren asks the ruler of hell why only women suffer this fate. He learns that the blood of childbirth pollutes the earth deities, that washing polluted clothing in rivers pollutes the waters, that people unwittingly use that water to brew tea offered to saints, and that this tea makes the saints unclean. Mokuren inquires how he can release his mother from the Blood Bowl Lake Hell and repay her for bearing him. The ruler of hell informs Mokuren that if he performs a Blood Bowl rite (Ketsubon-sai) for three years followed by a final rite (Ketsubon shō-e), and if he summons priests to intone the sutra (*Xuepen jing*), then a five-colored lotus flower will bloom in the Blood Bowl Lake and the suffering women will be reborn in a buddha land. The text continues with an explanation of the benefits of copying and possessing the sutra.

The protagonist Mokuren, one of the ten great disciples of Shaka (S: Śākyamuni) and, along with Sharihotsu (S: Śāriputra), one of the two considered most effective at promoting the Buddha's teachings, was born into a Brahman family in Magadha and is famous in Buddhist literature for his special powers (*jinzūriki*). Although an important figure in the early history of Buddhism, his fame in East Asia grew through the influence of a scripture entitled *Foshuo yulanpen jing* (J: *Bussetsu urabon kyō*; hereafter abbreviated as *Yulanpen jing*).⁹⁸ No original Sanskrit text survives and there are debates over the scripture's origins, but we will not enter into that discussion here, since we are primarily concerned with the work's later influence. The narrative of *Yulanpen jing* resembles that of *Xuepen jing*. Mokuren employs his spiritual powers to discover that his dead mother is suffering in the

realm of hungry ghosts. He tries to feed her rice, but the food turns to flames as she attempts to eat. He asks the Buddha how to save her, and is instructed to make an offering of food and other items to priests on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. This rite, he is told, will benefit parents, living or dead, and save other deceased family members. The scripture can be read as a Buddhist response to Confucian notions of filiality—which may, in part, account for its popularity in China—and in Japan. There are two main textual streams of the story of Mokuren and his mother: *Yulanpen jing* and recensions with stronger narrative qualities that further evolved after their transmission to Japan. In the first half of the sixteenth century, a popular story called *Mokuren no sōshi* focused on the close connection between mother and child.⁹⁹ The mother is portrayed with great sympathy; her sins derive from the love she has for her child.¹⁰⁰ Similarities between *Yulanpen jing* and *Xuepen jing* suggest a relationship between the two scriptural traditions—and determined a continued relationship.

Michel Soymié narrows down the likely era of the composition of *Xuepen jing* to the middle or the latter half of the twelfth century.¹⁰¹ He also compares the text with Daoist scriptures called *Xuehu jing* (J: *Kekko kyō*) that describe a similar hell. Since the term *pen* (J: *bon*) used in the title of the Buddhist *Xuepen jing* refers to a bowl used when killing animals, or to a washtub (C: *guan*; J: *kan* or *tara*) used during childbirth, objects not mentioned in the scripture, and since Daoist recensions use the term *hu* (J: *ko* or *mizuumi*) meaning lake, a more readily comprehensible character in the context of the narrative, he hypothesizes that Daoist recensions are revisions of the older Buddhist scripture.¹⁰² That the Buddhist text does not address certain moral issues included in Daoist versions further supports this chronology.

The earliest identified mention of *Xuepen jing* in Japan appears in *Chōben shianshō*, a liturgical work by the monk Chōben of Jindaiji (in today's Tokyo) for a rite conducted in the second month of 1429.¹⁰³ Although *Xuepen jing* is also mentioned in other later fifteenth-century documents, we cannot be

sure that these works refer to the same recension described above, since there is much variation among extant examples of the text. Kōdate Naomi categorizes recension types according to whether women fall into the Blood Lake due to the blood of parturition or that of both parturition and menstruation, and according to whether the lord of hell or the Buddha provides instructions for saving them.¹⁰⁴ Chinese examples explain the reason for falling into the Blood Lake as the blood of childbirth and the teacher of the means of salvation as the lord of hell. Many Japanese recensions follow this pattern, including those that probably trace back to the medieval era,¹⁰⁵ leading early scholars of the text to conclude that variant recensions evolved in Japan during the Edo period, but some texts complicate this version of events. *Taishi-den* belonging to Kawayazzenji and copied in 1466, for example, explains menstruation as the only reason for falling into the Blood Bowl Hell.¹⁰⁶ Since *Xuepen jing* of this type circulated in Japan during the fifteenth century and since Chinese Daoist recensions also describe menstruation as a cause for falling into the Blood Lake,¹⁰⁷ Kōdate argues for the possibility that variant Chinese texts entered Japan, and calls for a reexamination of the scripture's historical development in Japan.¹⁰⁸ Notwithstanding, the most likely oldest recensions resemble *Xuepen jing*, which may be the oldest type to have entered Japan.

As teachings of the Hell of the Blood Lake gained traction in Japan, women were increasingly defined according to their relationships to men—and women seem increasingly to have accepted these characterizations. In documents from the latter half of the medieval period, the personal names of women are replaced by descriptions of their place in the household: mother or wife.¹⁰⁹ While initially men sponsored *Xuepen jing* rites to save their mothers, women gradually came to seek the prejudicial scripture's assistance in achieving their own salvation. Wooden tablets certifying donations (*kishin fuda*) confirm this transition; at first men used the term "five obstructions, three obeyances" (*goshō sanjū*) referring to women, but

women later internalized these ideas, themselves using the pejorative terminology.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, during the early-modern period, prohibitions on death pollution continued to lighten while those on birth pollution remained a primary concern. An example of this can be seen in the rules concerning pollution taboos laid out in a Suwa shrine text from 1698. These include observations of birth pollution taboos of fifty days for the mother (with no prescriptions for the father) and seven-day taboos for menstruation.¹¹¹ Ideas about the Blood Lake interacted with a wide range of regional, cultic, and class-related social customs.

It has been confirmed that *Xuepen jing* faith reached Tateyama by the beginning of the Edo period.¹¹² Differences in how Ashikuraji and Iwakuraji priests adapted and promoted teachings of the Blood Lake are evident from the texts and images that they employed. The cult produced single-page prints of the short *Xuepen jing* as well as other texts connected to its propagation, including explanations of the origins (*yurai*) of *Xuepen jing*-related activities at Tateyama. Some of these works graft declarations about Tateyama onto passages that probably originated elsewhere. In a few cases, the strong influence of particular texts is evident, such as *Nyonin jōbutsu Ketsubon kyō engi* associated with Shōsenji (formerly Hōshōji; Chiba), a Sōtō Zen temple that aggressively promoted *Xuepen jing*.¹¹³ A text issued by the Ashikuraji temple-lodge Jissōbō, for example, emphasizes spells for sundering the Hell of the Blood Lake, but also mentions Hōshōji.¹¹⁴

Passages in the Hōsenbō *Ketsubun* [sic] *kyō no yurai* (*Origins of the Blood Bowl Sutra*) seem directly to appropriate passages from Shōsenji texts.¹¹⁵ The text begins by describing the sins of women as profound, a claim legitimized by a remark that this is taught in many scriptures. Those who inhabit female bodies, the text continues, have polluted earth, water, and other deities, which inevitably results in a fall to the Blood Bowl Hell where three times daily women are forced to drink blood and are beaten with iron poles. Their suffering is immeasurable. People who believe in, recite, and copy *Xuepen jing* will, however, escape this hell and

achieve rebirth in heaven, as taught in *Hōon kyō* and other scriptures. Subsequent passages, nearly identical to passages in Shōsenji origin legends,¹¹⁶ describe the dimensions of the Blood Lake (eighty-four thousand *yōjana*) and explain the cause of menstrual blood.¹¹⁷ This "immensely evil and impure" liquid pollutes myriad *kami* and other deities when women attempt to discard it or to wash it from their clothing. Such details echo the content of *Xuepen jing*, and there is considerable repetition in these works. Women fall into the Blood Lake because their hearts are deeply jealous, their sins are profound, they do not have the merit to achieve enlightenment, they commit wicked acts of adultery, and they perform evil. Thus, this and other texts claim, after death women become "large poisonous snakes with sixteen horns on their heads and eighty-four thousand scales growing on their bodies who must endure the interminable sufferings of the night's three fevers."¹¹⁸ The text concludes with mention of Mokuren's efforts to save women, and with assurances that the scripture can eradicate the effects of even the worst sins to save sinners.

Inserted within these borrowed passages, *Ketsubun kyō no yurai* urges the donation of Blood Bowl Sutras at Tateyama and describes the mountain hyperbolically as the foremost sacred place in Buddhism and the unparalleled sacred mountain in Japan. Buddhas and bodhisattvas constantly appear at Tateyama. It is the Western Paradise Pure Land where (Amida) triads appear in welcoming formation. Myriad *kami* also continually remain there, protectively. These passages cover all bases; everything that can possibly be martialed to save (women) is assembled at Tateyama. The text also describes Tateyama's Hell Valley with its 136 hells and its Hell of the Blood Lake, as red as if vermilion had been poured into it. The text advises that people donate the sutra through temples at Ashikuraji, which is in the foothills of the mountain that contains heaven, earth, hell, and paradise. It reports that a triad of goddesses called On-Uba (Ubason) who provide clothing, food, and housing can be encountered in the foothills. The text also describes sutra dedication (*nōkyō*) rites conducted on the

fifteenth day of the seventh month to save women from the Blood Lake, and encourages men to save their mothers and sisters. These sutra dedication rites are illustrated in the Hōsenbō *Tateyama mandara* as taking place in the caldera, but at the time Ashikuraji priests conducted such rites in the foothills. We will return to these and other rites held at Tateyama in more detail in Chapter Four.

ILLUSTRATING FEMALE BLOOD POLLUTION AND SIN

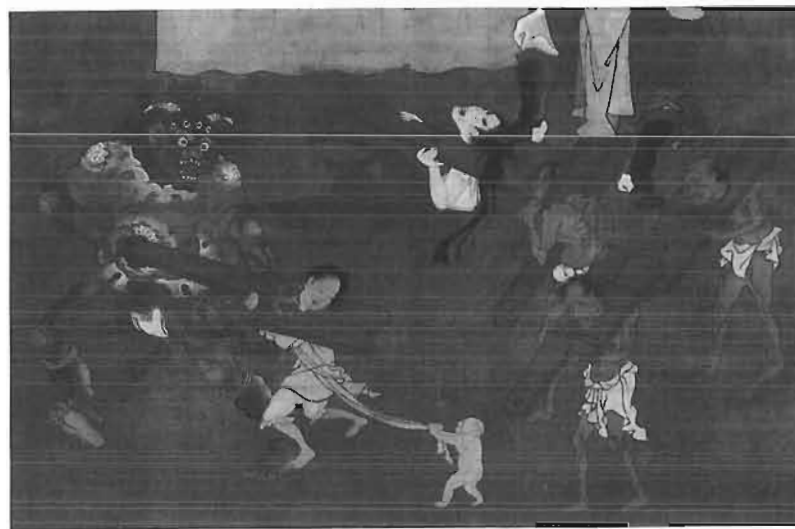
We have surveyed an assortment of texts produced in different cultural, linguistic, and temporal environments that came together in Japan to characterize women as polluted, morally suspect, and dangerous. Some of these accusations took shape in classical and medieval paintings, but the constellation of new hells for women that first united in Japanese paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and found their way into *Tateyama mandara* went further, creating new ways of conceiving women and of appealing to viewers. In illustrations, the Hell of the Blood Lake was accompanied by Sai no kawara (the Sai riverbank), a hell or purgatory for small children who died young (whether through miscarriage, neglect, accident, disease, starvation, abortion, or infanticide); Umazume jigoku (written with characters meaning the Hell for Women Who Cannot Bear Children or the Hell for Stone Women), a hell for women who do not bear or raise children (or enough children); and Futame jigoku (Hell of Two Women or Two Wives, also called Futame gurui jigoku, Hell of Insanity from Two Women or Wives), a hell related to jealousy. In combination, these hells cast the biological and phenomenological experience of women as hell in an ambiguous relationship to sinful behavior. Below, I will examine how the hells for women modified and accorded with traditional imagery, trace what is known about the genesis of each motif, and then assess how these motifs work in *Tateyama mandara*.

We return momentarily to the touchstone of classical and early medieval paintings where people

of both sexes suffer in recompense for their sins. Some hells solely implicate male viewers, monastic and lay, who were considered perilously liable to sins connected with sexual temptation. Imagery that addressed monks may be seen as warning them about the afterlife risks of breaking the precepts, but other imagery more broadly treated the afterlife consequences of male desire. A passage in a twelfth-century *jigoku-zōshi* handscroll, for instance, features the apparition of a woman who bursts into flames and devours men who try to embrace her,¹¹⁹ and the satellite hell, Tōyōrin, discussed above, appears in numerous works. Other pictorial motifs threaten male viewers for specific sexual transgressions and crimes. The Shōjuraigōji Shugō hell scroll displays the punishment meted out for such crimes outside of hell's gate. Illustrations of hells that would restrain male sexual behavior tend to adhere to two fundamental principles. First, they illustrate the object of desire, often presented as an illusion or nightmarish transformation—the agents

of torment sometimes take female shape. Second, they conform to an imagination that structures many types of hell, whereby sinful acts in life rebound on actors in the afterlife, inverting the roles of perpetrator and victim.

Classical and medieval Ten King Scrolls, *jigoku-zōshi*, and other paintings of hell depict female sinners suffering for sins that are indistinguishable from those committed by men, but one recurring pictorial theme differs: a motif of hell's warden leading a female sinner by a neck restraint as an infant trails behind. The oldest known example appears in paintings produced in Ningbo during the Song and Yuan dynasties, and the motif was frequently copied in Japan (fig. 77).¹²⁰ It appears in the foreground of the Enma scroll of the Shōjuraigōji set (fig. 63). The child is a plaintiff in the underworld courts, there to accuse its mother of abortion, infanticide, or neglect. In the Shōjuraigōji interpretation, the child holds a small rolled-up paper indictment, as do animals in other



77 Woman and child at an afterlife tribunal, *Meifu jūdō no zu*. Detail from the third scroll in a set of ten hanging scrolls, ink and colors on silk. Fifteenth century. Important Cultural Property. Courtesy of Jōfukuji. Image reproduced with permission from *jigoku yūran*, 50.

imagery. The mother's murderous actions have doomed her to a punishing incarnation, and her plight warns other women not to follow in her footsteps, a formulaic message of many paintings of hell. This motif is one of the relatively few examples in surviving early hell imagery that specifically attempts to discipline the female reproductive body.¹²¹

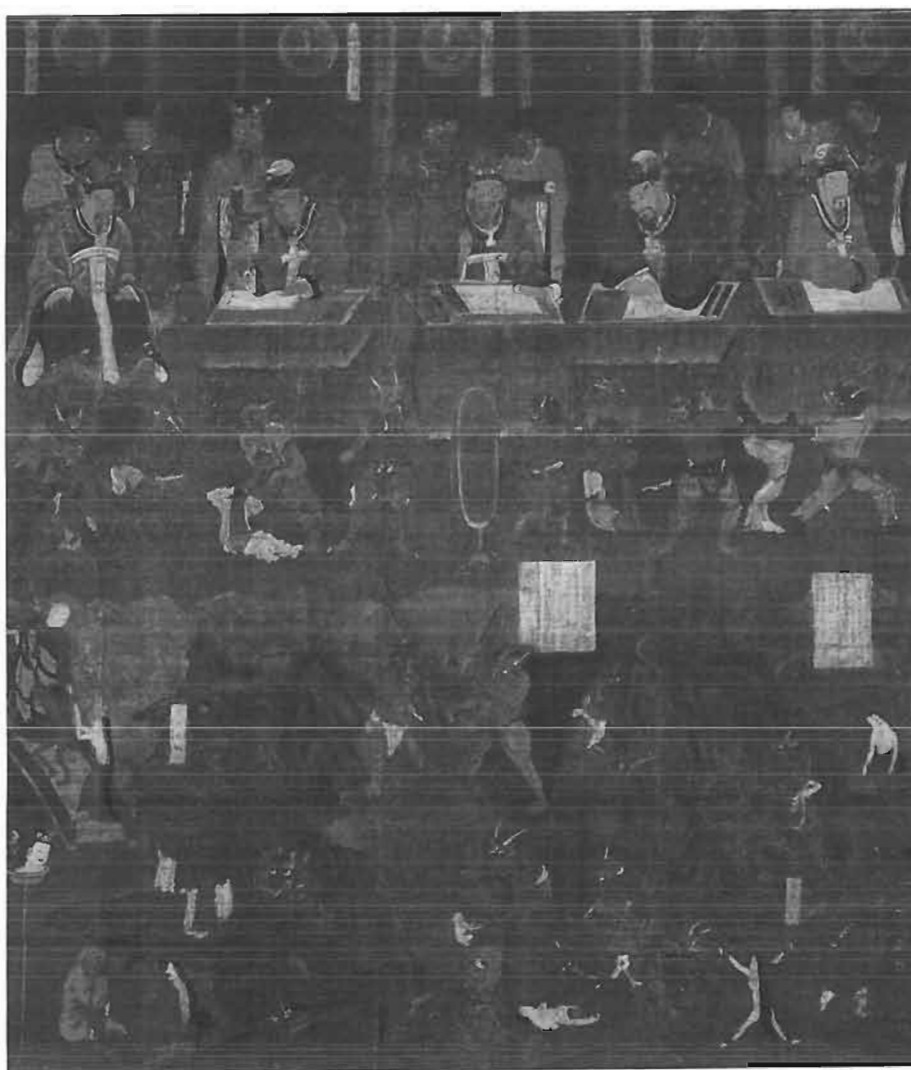
Late-medieval and early-modern hell paintings pick up all manner of available imagery, faithfully copying motifs, and creatively reinventing them. We find a tremendous variety of expression. Some works are intensely misogynistic and others take a more equal-opportunity approach, inverting the gender of the figures in imagery originally intended for male viewers and generally increasing the number of female sinners depicted in normative hells. Revisiting the portrayal of Tsurugidake, in the Saishōji *Tateyama mandara* from 1855, painted by a Tendai monk Shien, Tsurugidake takes the shape of two Tōyōrin-like mountain-trees hosting male and female apparitions that tempt sinners of the opposite sex to climb (fig. 78, upper left corner). The fourteenth-century pair of scrolls in the collection of the Idemitsu Museum, *Jūō jigoku-zu*, also shows a female sinner climbing after a male apparition (fig. 79, on the bottom where the two scrolls meet).

Female sinners become an important focus of later hell painting, not only in the new hells for women, but also in such refashioned traditional hells. The concentration on women is obvious from other scenes in the foreground of the Idemitsu set's left scroll; among other sinners a woman with long hair wearing a red slip endures various torments and is saved on the far left, led by Jizō over a bridge out of hell along with a male sinner. (A similar scene of salvation with Jizō's guidance was included on the left side of many *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*.) Conversions of male sinners to female can also be seen in, for example, the Konzōin *Tateyama mandara*, where the sinner suffering tongue-removal and the sinner viewing herself lighting a temple on fire in Enma's mirror are both female (see fig. 33).¹²²



78 Saishōji *Tateyama mandara*. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper. 1855. Courtesy of Saishōji. Image reproduced with permission from the Tateyama Museum.

Most of the new hells for women that emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries operate according to different rules from hells that addressed male (lack of) control over passions. Premodern viewers of hell imagery would not have seen male gender as automatically communicating inferiority. Today we can interpret imagery that threatens male sexual behavior with hell as recognizing certain weaknesses, but men were not considered innately sinful, nor were they punished for



79 *Jūō jigoku-zu*. Two hanging scrolls, ink and colors on silk. Fourteenth century. Important Cultural Property. Courtesy of the Idemitsu Museum of Arts. Image reproduced with permission from *Jigoku yūran*, 38–39.



essential or incidental bodily functions. The male body itself was not problematic—rather, sinful acts create a “body” that undergoes the tortures of hell. For men, achieving human maleness was already an accomplishment, and they would have had a stake in maintaining that status or aiming for higher rewards. By contrast, regardless of women’s actions and however they might cultivate virtuous inner lives or conduct their outer lives, female bodies insinuated interior shortcomings, impurities, and sin. As we have seen, salvation for women often involved a trading up of the female body for a male body. The women’s hells emphasized these points, while extending the problems of female salvation into the afterlife in ways that addressed the day-to-day lives and loves of ordinary living women.

The sixteenth-century Chōgakuji *Rokudō jūō-zu* is an early surviving example that puts the set of hells for women together (fig. 80), combining ideas about female pollution and sin with pressures to reproduce.¹³ Nine scrolls illustrate the passage after death over a mountain, a series of trials before the Ten Kings, lined up above the kingdom of hell, and salvation in Amida’s Pure Land. The work assembles imagery that originated in older paintings of hell, such as the motif of the mother and child quoted from Song-Yuan dynasty paintings of the Ten Kings, and combines it with the assembly of hells for women. The new hells, described in texts such as *Fuji no hitoana sōshi* and *Hirano yomigaeri no sōshi*, may first have come together in hell paintings like the Chōgakuji scroll set. They were then picked up and disseminated widely through *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*—and immediately became a standard set of motifs in early-modern hell painting.

A few images portray the Hell of the Blood Lake independently, such as *Chi no ike Kannon-zu* belonging to Manshōji (Aichi), possibly painted in the latter half of the sixteenth century (fig. 81), and *Nyoirin Kannon-zō* at Chōzenji (Kanagawa), thought to be roughly contemporaneous.¹⁴ In the foreground of the Manshōji painting we find a demon stirring the lake. Twenty-eight women suffer in the blood-waters and one sits upon a lotus flower that sprouts from the lake, her palms clasped



80 *Rokudō jūō-zu*. The third hanging scroll from a set of nine, ink and colors on paper. Sixteenth century. Courtesy of Chōgakuji. Image reproduced with permission from *Jigoku yūran*, 59.



81 *Chi no ike Nyoirin Kannon-zu*. Courtesy of Manshōji. Image reproduced with permission from Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan, ed., *Chūsei shomin shinkō no kaiga*, 59.

together indicating that she has been saved. Also raised up on a flower is a book—perhaps the text that saved the woman. Above the lake is a large depiction of Nyoirin Kannon (S: Cintāmanicakra), often the savior in images of this hell.¹⁵ Nyoirin

Kannon occupies the center of a printed recension of *Xuepen jing* that may have been produced on the Korean peninsula, leading to a suggestion that the connection between Nyoirin Kannon and the Hell of the Blood Lake was established in Korea or China.¹⁶ To date, we cannot confirm this theory, but future research may lend it more support. Nyoirin Kannon’s association with the Blood Lake Hell continued in Japan and seems to have been particularly important in the Tendai school.¹⁷

Images of the Blood Lake with Nyoirin Kannon appear in the lower right corner of most *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* as well (fig. 82 and fig. 83). Women in human form share the lake with those who have transformed into snakes with horns, suggesting the evil, serpentine natures that justifiably led to their damnation. One or two women sit on lotus flowers, gratefully pressing their palms together. Nyoirin Kannon usually appears, not in the lake as in the Manshōji painting, but sitting above it, handing a woman the document that will save her.¹⁸

Kannon also appears with the Blood Lake in the *Zenkōji sankei mandara* belonging to Koyama Zenkōji (Osaka). A large temple complex occupies the center of the image, according with conventions in the *sankei mandara* genre. This is flanked by illustrations of origin legends connected to Shinano Zenkōji (Nagano) that draw on illustrated biographies (*eden*) related to Zenkōji. In the lower left corner we find the empress Kōgyoku (594–661), Enma’s court, the Blood Lake, and Nyoirin Kannon. Medieval Zenkōji foundation legend describes the adventures of Honda Yoshimitsu, who endeavored to enshrine the Zenkōji icon (an Amida triad). When Yoshimitsu’s son Yoshisuke suddenly dies and goes to hell, he and his wife pray to the Zenkōji icon, which saves him. As Yoshisuke journeys back to the world of the living, he sees empress Kōgyoku who has been damned as a result of such sins as arrogance, jealousy, and polluting the throne as a woman. Yoshisuke sets into motion negotiations that enable her to return to life. The empress then gratefully assists with the establishment of Shinano Zenkōji—and rewards Yoshimitsu and Yoshisuke with governorships.¹⁹ The



82 *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*. Ink and colors on paper. Eighteenth century. Courtesy of Dairakuji. Image reproduced with permission from *Jigoku yûran*, 65.

Blood Lake is not mentioned in early Zenkōji legends and is not portrayed in other known illustrations of this story, but in this image the hell that empress Kōgyoku was released from became that of the Blood Lake. Paintings promoting pilgrimage that contain motifs of the Blood Lake and of foundation legends were employed by both the Zenkōji and Tateyama cults, yet another commonality between them.

The Hell of the Blood Lake is illustrated or labeled on the left side of most *Tateyama mandara*, among various other hells or above Hell Valley, as in the actual landscape. Depictions employ combinations of the following motifs: women suffering in the Blood Lake, a hall beside the lake, Nyoirin Kannon, and monks throwing sutras into the lake. Those featuring Nyoirin Kannon—mostly produced by or for the town Ashikuraji—show the bodhisattva sitting on a lotus flower in the lake, as seen in some *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*

versions. In the *Hōsenbō Tateyama mandara* five women appear in the lake, waist deep in blood. They face a golden Nyoirin Kannon, seated on a lotus blossom emerging from the lake. Blood streams down from the women's hands clasped in prayer, as if they have just raised them from the lake. Printed papers float on the lake's surface, dropped in by two priests standing on the shore. King Enma stands between the priests, observing the scene of salvation (fig. 84). This rite at the Blood Lake also appears in other cult imagery, such as the *Sōshinbō [A]*, *Senzōbō*, and *Kissbōbō Tateyama mandara*, but most paintings only show the women in the Blood Lake. In most *Tateyama mandara* and *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* this hell contains as few as two women, a mere sampling of the myriad sufferers imagined there. The 1855 Saishōji *Tateyama mandara* version is an exception, with roughly a dozen swimmers and two saved women rising up from the lake (fig. 78), a scale that compares to the



83 Detail of women's hells from *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* (82). Courtesy of Dairakuji.



84 Blood Lake Hell. Detail from the *Hōsenbō Tateyama mandara* (125). Photograph by Yonekura Michio.

Manshōji painting and to a painting entitled *Sangai rokudō-zu* at Seikyōji, which depicts twenty-eight swimmers in a river of blood that continues beyond the picture frame. As might be expected, the Blood Lake and other women's hells—as with hell in general—are less elaborate in many Iwakuraji *Tateyama mandara* versions, with the exception of those that follow the lead of Ashikuraji paintings. Even the Iwakuraji Shitaka-ke *Tateyama mandara*, which, as we have seen, features an elaborate rendering of hell, only depicts the Blood Lake as a tiny labeled puddle above the gruesome scenes in hell valley (fig. 61).

As we have seen, the stories of Mokuren with his mother (related to *Yulanpen jing* and other texts) and of *Xuepen jing* share a protagonist and follow a similar narrative. Pictorial motifs from both story traditions appear together, recognizing these commonalities. The twelfth-century *Gaki-zōshi* (Sōgenji-bon) contains two standard motifs illustrating *Yulanpen jing* that turn up in later works. In one scene, Mokuren attempts to feed his hungry-ghost mother, but the rice he offers bursts into flames. A sequential detail shows her sitting on the rice to avoid sharing it with other hungry ghosts, revealing her unrepentantly selfish nature. The motif of Mokuren and his mother as a hungry ghost attempting to eat rice appears near the Blood Lake in the foreground of the third scroll of Chōgakuji's sixteenth-century *Rokudō jū-zu* (fig. 80, lower right),¹³⁰ but, in a departure from descriptions in *Xuepen jing*, Mokuren does not encounter his mother at the Blood Lake.¹³¹

The hungry-ghost motif frequently drops away in favor of an illustration of one of hell's demons holding Mokuren's mother on the end of an iron implement, often held over hell's cauldron or thrust out of hell's gate, while Mokuren weeps.¹³² This portrayal originates in a version of the story of Mokuren and his mother called *Mulian jiumu jing* (J: *Mokuren gūmo kyō*).¹³³ When Mokuren's mother dies in this telling, she first lands in Abi hell. Mokuren's persistent efforts to save her result first in her rebirth as a dog and finally in her ascent to Tōri heaven. An early surviving illustration of this

tale is found in the foreground of the middle scroll of the Gokurakuji *Rokudō jū-zu* (fig. 58). A demon just inside the gate of Abi hell holds out Mokuren's burnt mother, who assumes her original form for a conversation with her son. On the right side of the heavily abraded left scroll in this set, Mokuren encounters his mother again as a white dog, consults the Buddha about how to save her, and sponsors rites. Takasu Jun sees the Chōgakuji *Rokudō jū-zu* as indicating an important turning point, influenced by *Mokuren no sōshi*. In the fourth scroll, instead of depicting Mokuren's mother in Abi hell, she is shown in Kokujō hell. The lighter sentence, he argues, shows a transition to portraying the "sin" of maternal love sympathetically and to increased identification with the mother.¹³⁴ Such imagery was incorporated in innumerable later paintings, such as the sixteenth-century, six-scroll *Rokudō jū-zu* in the Idemitsu museum's collection (fig. 85).

In standard *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, the rite advocated in *Yulanpen jing* is a central motif. A large *segaki* altar squarely faces viewers beneath the central character for heart-mind. Monks line up in front of the altar to perform the rite for feeding hungry ghosts. Mokuren appears in two places, in the lower center, overcome with grief as he greets his mother—who has been roasting in hell's cauldron—and to the right of the *segaki* altar questioning the Buddha about how to save her.¹³⁵ As in the Chōgakuji scroll, he does not appear beside the Blood Lake in the lower right corner. In these and many other late-medieval and early-modern works, the image of Mokuren's mother in Abi or Kokujō hell is accompanied by an independent illustration of the Blood Lake. Depicting the two motifs in the same pictorial frame, despite their close genealogical relationship, is not a problem. The older imagery of Mokuren with his mother was resituated alongside the hells for women because of the gender of the sinner. Rather than appearing as a contradiction or redundancy, the incorporation of traditional imagery validated reinventions, and each story and pictorial component reinforced the other.¹³⁶



85 Mokuren encountering his mother below Kokujō hell. Second scroll from the six-scroll *Rokudō jū-zu*. Sixteenth century. Ink and colors on silk. Courtesy of the Idemitsu Museum of Arts. Image reproduced with permission from *Jigoku yūran*, 42.

Tateyama mandara do not place as much emphasis on the *segaki* rite or on the story of Mokuren and his mother, although both the scene of Mokuren encountering his mother in hell and the *segaki* rite are included in many images (fig. 86). The *segaki* altar is smaller than that in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* and is compositionally decentered. Both Ashikuraji and Iwakuraji combined the *Xuepen jing* rite with *segaki* rites for feeding hungry ghosts (to be discussed in Chapter Four), and some

Tateyama mandara depict this rite with Nyōirin Kannon near the Hell of the Blood Lake, as seen in the *Hōsenbō* painting.¹³⁷ Moreover, the *Senzōbō Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi*, a description of the deity Ubason's origins compiled within *Tateyama daiengi*, explains that the mother of Jikō [Ariyori] fell into the Blood Lake Hell and a major rite was conducted to save her.¹³⁸ In the Saeki-ke *Tateyama mandara*, a label identifies the motif of the monk encountering his mother suffering in hell as both Mokuren with his mother and the founder who opened the mountain with his mother. This echoes a passage in the *Senzōbō* recension conflating Mokuren and Jikō. In Ashikuraji *Tateyama mandara*, a rite to Ubason is the more important venue for processing salvation, relegating the *segaki* ritual and the story of Mokuren and his mother to a more peripheral role.

The free-associating *Tateyama* cult brought together Hell Valley and the Blood Lake in the actual landscape, narrative and ritual elements from the scriptures *Yulanpen jing* and *Xuepen jing*, and a story of Ariyori saving his mother. Combinations of these motifs in *Tateyama mandara* shifted the location of the stories and the agents of salvation to *Tateyama*.

Xuepen jing recensions describe women as adulterous, jealous, and evil, but the women in the Blood Lake in *Tateyama mandara* do not engage with apparitions that incite and punish lust or with wronged entities that even the karmic balance. Instead, the women passively steep in the magnified issue of their own bodies. Their sins are implicit, but often unspecified. Illustrations of the Blood Lake convey the utterly repulsive situation of finding oneself drowning in bodily waste, drawing on pictorial vocabularies established in works such as an illustration in *Jigoku zōshi* of a hell of "hot excrement and urine sludge."¹³⁹ Here monstrous needle-mouthed maggots attack swimmers. Being thrown into a vast cesspool was not, apparently, sufficiently evocative without the addition of revolting flesh-eating creatures.¹⁴⁰ Such tormentors are also described in *Xuepen jing*-related texts, but in depictions of the Hell of the Blood Lake, the



86 Mokuren with his mother. Detail from the Hōsenbō Tateyama mandara (125). Photograph by author.

monstrous creatures depicted are usually the women themselves, transformed into serpents.

SERPENTINE PROCLIVITIES

Tateyama mandara did not appropriate imagery of women in the Blood Lake as horned snakes, seen in many *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*. Instead, another motif asserted the beastly inner natures or creaturely potential of women. In the Hell of Two Women, two hybrid serpent-women wind tightly around a helpless man who juggled them in life (see fig. 59, center, and fig. 90).¹⁴¹ Perhaps we cannot strictly see this as a hell for women, since the women torment a man, but his two-timing has resulted in their karmic entanglement and suffering—and their serpentine shapes would have been recognized as a warning against sins often associated with women: jealousy and attachment. These aspects, the hell's placement among other

hells for women, and its late-medieval emergence, allow us to see it, I contend, as one of the hells for women.

The correlation between snakes and women is long and intense. Passages in the Buddhist canon set the tone. In response to a query about how to overcome greed, for example, the third- or fourth-century *Chengshi lun* (S: *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*, J: *Jōjitsu ron*) explains, "Avarice always occurs in impurity. This is just like women. Women's bodies and minds are unclean, like a poisonous snake plastered with excrement that can bite and can defile."¹⁴² The cautionary connection between women and serpents was naturalized through repetition in countless texts—and upheld in narratives like that of the dragon girl in *Fahua jing* (there was a tendency to see dragons and serpents in the same category), even when they assert the possibility of salvation for women-serpent-dragons.¹⁴³

In late classical and medieval Japanese didactic literature, the same conceptions of the effects of

karma on the body that could transform venal priests into cows turned jealous women into snakes. One of the most famous stories to promote the danger of serpentine tendencies in women was compiled in *Hokke genki*. It tells of a handsome young monk on pilgrimage to Kumano who spends the night at the home of a widow. He attempts to evade her unwelcome advances by promising to come back after completing the pilgrimage, but instead returns without stopping at her home. When the widow learns of this, she furiously confines herself, transforms into a large snake, and pursues the monk. He flees to Dōjōji (Wakayama), where the monks hide him inside a bell. The snake arrives, incinerates the young monk with her heat and venom, and departs. An elderly monk at Dōjōji dreams of a snake who claims to be the young monk, and reports that he has become the female snake's husband. Unable to save himself because he was not far enough along in his Buddhist practice, he requests the assistance of the monk and of *Fahua jing*. The elderly monk awakens and sets about copying scripture and performing rites for the two snakes, with the assistance of other monks. That night, the old monk dreams that the young monk and the woman have been saved to different heavens.¹⁴⁴ In the version in *Konjaku monogatari-shū*, upon learning that the monk had dissembled, the woman dies of heartbreak. While her household is mourning, a large poisonous snake emerges from her room to track him down.¹⁴⁵ In the earlier *Hokke genki*, however, she spontaneously assumes a reptilian body. Either the death and reincarnation in *Hokke genki* are elided for dramatic effect or her human shape is simply overwhelmed by the intensity of her emotions. Such unclear distinctions strengthen the message: beware—transformation can occur at any time.

An illustrated handscroll entitled *Dōjōji engi*, thought to have been painted in the mid-sixteenth century, unites the dramatic chase scene with the woman's metamorphosis. Halfway through the pursuit, the woman's muscular, human legs lunge out ungracefully from under a disheveled kimono while her head takes the shape of a fire-breathing

dragon (fig. 87). After fully metamorphosing, she coils around a large bronze bell at the temple Dōjōji where the young monk has hidden. After she leaves, the monks of the temple lay the bell on its side to extract the blackened remains of the young monk. Later illustrations show a Dōjōji monk dreaming of the dragon-woman and monk reborn together as entwined snakes, and later dreaming of their rebirth in separate heavens.¹⁴⁶ As in the Hell of Two Women, the young monk is held accountable in the afterlife for the woman's snake metamorphosis.

A few other narratives about serpentine women further reveal the anxiety behind such imaginations. One from the thirteenth century tells of a snake fastening onto a lay priest's penis on the occasion of a visit to his lover. Unable to shake off the reptile, he cuts its mouth and kills it. The man becomes sick, and his intensely jealous wife takes ill and dies, revealing the snake's true identity.¹⁴⁷ In another tale from *Konjaku monogatari-shū*, a jealous wife appears to her husband in a dream while he cavorts with another woman. There are no snakes



87 Woman transforming into a serpent-dragon. Detail from *Dōjōji engi*. Ink and colors on paper. Latter half of the fifteenth century. Important Cultural Property. Courtesy of Dōjōji.

anywhere in the tale, but a postscript adds, "How profound are the sins of this original wife. Jealousy is deeply sinful. [Jealous people] always transform into snakes."¹⁴⁸

The cause for serpentine metamorphosis in many tales is attachment, not always related to romantic or sexual passion. *Konjaku monogatari* also contains the story of a girl who obsessively adores the red plum flowers in her garden. When she dies, she becomes a small snake under her favorite plum tree. Her parents recognize their daughter from the snake's behavior and call on a monk to perform the Eight Lectures on *Fahua jing* (Hokke hakkō). On the morning of the third day, when they perform the fifth lecture that includes the story of the dragon girl, the snake dies. The father then dreams of his daughter's salvation.¹⁴⁹ *Fahua jing* also figures in the story of a woman who requested to be buried with gold that she had received from the emperor. She becomes a snake in order to protect the riches in the grave. After she communicates a request that the money be used to copy *Fahua jing*, a rite is held and she is reborn in Tosotsu heaven (S: Tūṣita).¹⁵⁰ The type and size of snake reflect the gravity of sin—and the efficacy of *Fahua jing* in saving these serpent-women is telling.

Attachment is not an exclusively female trait and, indeed, monks also turn into snakes in stories,¹⁵¹ but women are innately susceptible to such changes of shape. As the object and subject of passion, they are dangerous both to themselves and to others. Stories of priestly and female transformation into animals, demonizing and punishing their subjects, can also be read as attempts to tame the dangerous powers of both populations—advising them to guard against menacing social behavior and cautioning the rest of us in our interactions with them.

It is difficult to discern exactly when the pictorial motif of the Hell of Two Women developed.¹⁵² A late sixteenth-century illustrated woodblock-printed edition of *Jizō jūdō kyō* suggests the existence of a possible precursor, even though this particular print postdates the earliest extant illustrations of

the Hell of Two Women. The text describes a sinner in hell whose body is wrung and torn apart by a group of snakes. The image shows a man trussed up by the rope-like bodies of two snakes. One of their heads is poised above his face, mouth wide open as if about to feast upon him. Enma, the text explains, informs him that lustful behavior (*jain*) put him there.¹⁵³ The snakes are not necessarily female, but the karmic cause and pictorial arrangement closely resemble the motif with the hybrid women. Images of the Hell of Two Wives appear, for example, in the third Chōgakuji scroll and in a woodblock-printed recension of *Fuji no hitoana sōshi* (fig. 88).¹⁵⁴



88 Illustration of the Hell of Two Wives. From *Fuji no hitoana sōshi*, woodblock-printed book. Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

A recension of *Fuji no hitoana sōshi* thought to date from the latter half of the Muromachi-period describes three poisonous snakes in hell. Two are female and they wrap around and attack the husband, who suffers for engaging with two women in his previous human life.¹⁵⁵ A recension from Keichō 8 (1603) describes the same scene in the realm of beasts, but here the two female snakes suck at the eyes and mouth of a male snake.¹⁵⁶ In a Kan'ei 4 (1627) woodblock print, the man is described in between two creatures with snake bodies and female heads. The snake-women, it specifies, flicker their bright, red tongues, fight over him, and try to swallow him.¹⁵⁷ In the illustration he is tightly bound by the thick, rope-like serpentine bodies of his two tormentors. Their human heads face each other, hair streaming wildly as if underwater, and horns sprout from their skulls. Although the man retains human form, the bodies of all three players may still be in transition to beast, shown midway for maximum impact. If, however, the hybrid states of the women are sustained, the situation may indicate not the animal kingdom, but hell, where animals one has killed transform into vicious monsters with iron beaks and claws bent on revenge, where other animal-shaped creatures materialize to attack sinners, and where demons with horse or ox heads manage the dead. Distinctions between hell and the realm of beasts were often blurred.

An undated illustrated woodblock edition of *Inga monogatari* may further clarify the whereabouts of the entwined threesome.¹⁵⁸ Among numerous other stories about people who transform into snakes is a tale about a man who leaves his wife to travel on business and takes up with another woman. When he heads for home and his mistress attempts to follow, he kills her while traveling by boat. Because of her intense attachment, she transforms into a snake, wraps around his waist, and taunts him. He flees to Kōyasan, where, once inside the sacred zone forbidden to women, she vanishes. After three years, he descends the mountain, but immediately finds himself in the same predicament, wearing the haranguing snake-woman like a belt. He decides to return home

anyway, but the snake drowns him while he attempts to cross a lake by boat.¹⁵⁹ An illustration shows the man flailing around on a boat with the snake at his waist wrapped into five neat coils (fig. 89). The woman forced him into the next world with her (as in the *Dōjōji* story), and his only escape from the hell that she became was monastic life. More than his amorous complications, the man's murderous act may have brought on this retribution, but however we interpret the workings of his fate, the story warns male readers not to incite more passion in women than they can handle, or not to incite passion in more women than they can handle. Thus the Hell of Two Women can be seen as an extension of romantic complications in this world.



89 Illustration of a man with a serpentine woman. From *Inga monogatari* (Hiragana-bon), woodblock-printed book. Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara helped to spread this image during the Muromachi and Edo periods. In most versions, snake-women in the Hell of Two Women and the Hell of the Blood Lake occupy the lower right corner, inside or neighboring the *torii* for the animal realm, a comment on the beastly nature of women. Snake women confuse categories of human and beast, thereby creating something defiled and repulsive. They are ambiguously both victims and aggressors.

Portrayal of the Hell of Two Women in *Tateyama mandara* is nearly identical to that in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, possibly due to the influence of the latter, but there may have been other impetuses behind the adoption of this motif. An early Edo-period manuscript of *Kūi zōtan* (*shū*) contains the story of a man who lives in a mountain village in Etchū and has two profoundly jealous wives that continually assail each other. The wives die and become snakes that attack their husband for six months, and eventually kill him. After his death, the snakes leave the village.¹⁶⁰ If this story circulated in the Tateyama region during the early Edo period, it is possible that images of the Hell of Two Women in *Tateyama mandara* were not simply copied from *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, but also had local imperatives or resonances.

The Hell of Two Women is the one motif in *Tateyama mandara* where women are usually shown as demonic snakes with horns. They suffer due to a specific (albeit female-coded) sin, jealousy. Love triangles may result in rage, jealousy, and guilt that drive participants to monstrous emotional disfiguration. Since snakes were code for jealousy, the transformation here is justified, but notwithstanding, we find examples in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* and *Tateyama mandara* of gentle women caught in a complicated relationship, their faces looking more worried or flirtatious than monstrous, as in the Daisenbō [B] and Tsuboi-ke [A] *Tateyama mandara*. Such downplayed imagery explains the situation in more sympathetic terms, and does not cast as much suspicion on the humanity of the women involved.

UNDYING REPRODUCTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES

The standard package of hells for or related to women that was adopted into *Tateyama mandara* also addressed women's duty to have and raise children. The message is clear in the Hell for Stone Women (Umazume jigoku) where sufferers tearfully attempt to dig up bamboo with their fingernails or with lamp wicks (fig. 90 and fig. 91). *Umazume*, sometimes written with the characters "not" and "bear," designates women who do not give birth, but the characters "stone" and "woman" (*shakunyo*) were frequently used for this hell as well, read with the same pronunciation, *umazume*.¹⁶¹ These Chinese characters, "stone woman," appear in numerous Buddhist texts to translate the Sanskrit *vandhyā* (also *bandhyā*) in a metaphor for something imaginary or impossible: a barren woman's child. This phrase is strung together, for example, with other impossible things, like a rabbit's horns or a turtle's hair. They are also used simply to indicate a barren or childless woman.¹⁶²



90 Hells for women. Detail from the Konzōin *Tateyama mandara* (33). Photograph by author.



91 Stone Woman Hell. Detail from the Hōsenbō *Tateyama mandara* (125). Photograph by Yonekura Michio.

An early pictorial rendering of the Hell for Stone Women appears in the sixteenth-century Chōgakuji scroll (see the upper right portion of fig. 80), but the hell is not found in contemporaneous works such as the Nara National Museum *Yata Jizō engi* handscroll, which features both the Hells of the Blood Lake and of Two Women (with the two tormentors still in full snake form).¹⁶³ This and other factors have led scholars to see the Hell for Stone Women as a later addition to the assembly of women's hells.¹⁶⁴ In *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, the Hell for Stone Women appears either to the left of the *segaki* altar near Enma's desk—far away from the other hells for women—or among them in the lower-right corner of the paintings, near the *torii* for the realm of beasts (for an example of each pattern, see fig. 64 and fig. 82, respectively). The instability of its location in the images suggests

some ambivalence in condemning barren women to hell.¹⁶⁵ A passage in *Fuji no hitoana sōshi* expounds on the profound sins of women who have not given birth to children or who have only given birth to one child. They are condemned to Muken jigoku—and women who do not menstruate are said to meet the same fate.¹⁶⁶ *Shikata banashi*, published in 1659, specifies that barren women must use lamp wicks (*tōshin*) to dig up bamboo roots.¹⁶⁷ Many illustrations contain this detail, but its origins are not clear. Some have remarked that bamboo or bamboo shoots (*takenoko*) symbolize flourishing life or human birth, thus insufficiently fertile women must dig at the roots of the source of life. Others have commented on the irony of performing a task related to infertility with a frustratingly limp tool—or have suggested that the material used for making lamp wicks was used in contraception or as an abortifacient.¹⁶⁸

Although we know less about the development of this iconography than about that of the Hell of Two Women, the objectives of this hell seem unambiguous. It characterizes the failure or refusal to produce children (or enough children) as a sin, and thus exhorted women to reproduce.

This goal was reinforced with the Sai riverbank,¹⁶⁹ a motif that also makes an early appearance in *Fuji no hitoana sōshi*. Recensions describe children seven or eight years old and toddlers two or three years old in this place because they caused their mothers to suffer during pregnancy and died before repaying the debt. On the riverbank, the children are burnt by flames until only bones remain. Demons then gather to strike the ground with black iron staffs and to say "revive, revive," which restores the children to life in order to resume their suffering.¹⁷⁰

The Kan'ei 4 (1627) woodblock print, while similar, lists the ages of the children as two or three, seven or eight, and twelve or thirteen, and describes them piling up stones until an evil wind undoes their efforts. In this recension the vehicle for reviving the children is altered from a demon to the bodhisattva Jizō, and the tears shed by the children's mothers form a Blood Lake.¹⁷¹ The earliest

pictorializations of this hell are found in such works as *Yata Jizō maitsumi nikki-e* and Kōgakuji's (Yamanashi) *Jūō-zu*.⁷² As with the hells for women, the Sai riverbank was widely promoted through inclusion in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*. Like the Blood Lake there is no physical connection asserted with the Kumano area, but an area designated as the Sai riverbank exists in the Tateyama mountain range.⁷³

The late Edo-period Hōsenbō *Tateyama mandara* presents a tender scene of thirteen children climbing, tumbling, crying, and playing around Jizō. They pile up stones, offer prayers before ancestral memorial stakes, and interact with two demonic wardens that resemble overgrown children bullying their smaller charges (fig. 92). This depiction accords with descriptions in a text called *Sai no kawara Jizō wasan*, thought to have been written in the first half of the seventeenth century, where demons merely wreck the piles of stones that children attempt to pile up for parents and siblings.⁷⁴ This text was adapted to the Tateyama context in later cult literature.⁷⁵ The more violent the imagination, the more dramatic the intended effect, but there were limits to what people would bear.



92 Sai riverbank. Detail from the Hōsenbō *Tateyama mandara* (125). Photograph by Yonekura Michio.

The gentler conception became more popular—and more popularly illustrated—perhaps as a correction to the overly cruel incineration of innocents in the earlier story.

There is one more scene related to deceased children that appears in *Tateyama mandara*. In the Hōsenbō *Tateyama mandara*, six adults gather around the *segaki* altar wearing white cloth around their hips and lotus leaves on their heads (fig. 93). In *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, a similarly equipped adult couple attends the *segaki* rite. These figures are most likely hungry ghosts, the usual beneficiaries of this rite.⁷⁶ The iconography here, however, is somewhat puzzling, since their stomachs are not distended and lotus leaves are not usually included in the portrayal of hungry ghosts. Moreover, the representatives of the realm of hungry ghosts that appear elsewhere in the same images are typical, with enlarged stomachs and uncovered heads. In other types of imagery, lotus leaves on the heads of fetuses indicate placentas. The figures at the altar may be preparing for their impending rebirth, thanks to the *segaki* rite. A few *Tateyama mandara* portray the figures attending the *segaki* rite as children—naked but for the lotus leaves on



93 *Segaki* rite. Detail from the Hōsenbō *Tateyama mandara* (125). Photograph by author.

their heads. The Sōshinbō [A], Saeki-ke, and Zendōbō *Tateyama mandara* also portray children on the Sai riverbank similarly, naked with lotus-leaf hats or a lotus leaf in their hands. These *Tateyama mandara* suggest that the *segaki* rite may have extended to miscarried or aborted infants (*mizuko*).⁷⁷ *Mizuko* are included among children who have died young in an 1809 woodblock illustration of the Sai riverbank by Utagawa Toyokuni I (1769–1825) in volume two of Santō Kyōden's (1761–1816) *Honchō suibodai zenden* (fig. 94).⁷⁸ The text explains that children can climb trees to pick flowers to offer to Jizō, but *mizuko* can only crawl to retrieve flowers that have fallen to the ground. In the illustration, fetuses crawl toward Jizō from the lower left, holding flowering twigs in their mouths. The lotus leaves on their heads have long stems that connect to their bellies, making the lotus-placenta conflation clear. That some *Tateyama mandara* absorbed this new application of fetal imagery evidences another way that the cult worked to appeal to women.

The Hell for Stone Women and the Sai riverbank also discouraged birth and population controls, including infanticide and abortion, collectively euphemized as *mabiki* ("weeding" or "pruning"). Edo-period temple records provide a wealth of demographic information, but the births of infants that did not live beyond early childhood often went unrecorded, making it difficult to ascertain the extent that particular communities or families practiced *mabiki*.⁷⁹ High infant mortality and low birth rates could be attributed to many factors, including epidemics (smallpox, measles, and, later, cholera), dysentery, famine, poor nutrition, long nursing terms, extended separation of couples due to migrant work, abstinence, and customs for containing menstrual blood pollution. There was much regional and temporal variation, as well. We can be certain, however, that local authorities were concerned about deliberate methods of family planning. Starting in 1685 and continuing until his death, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709) issued



94 Illustration of the Sai riverbank. From *Honchō suibodai zenden*, woodblock-printed book. Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

an idiosyncratic set of edicts collectively known as *Shōrui awaremi no rei* (edicts on compassion for living beings) mandating, among other things, the registration of pregnant women and children under three years of age, and promoting recognition of infants as living beings. Although these were not enforced for long, similar concerns are evident in the latter half of the eighteenth century when provincial governments, alarmed at population stagnation or decline in the agricultural class that affected tax revenues, responded by prohibiting the practice of *mabiki* and by other measures.¹⁸⁰

Illustrations of the Hell for Stone Women and Sai riverbank were not the first images to address

concerns about abortion and infanticide. As we saw above, numerous Japanese paintings took up the Song and Yuan dynasty motif of a demon leading a female sinner as an infant trails behind accusatorily. The Blood Lake Hell may also address abortion.¹⁸¹

Later imagery, called *Mabiki-zu* or “weeding pictures,” took these exhortations to extremes—and were unrestrained in their brutality toward women. Edo-period *kyōyusho* (“teaching-admonishing texts”) contained illustrations that show mothers or both parents smothering newborn children.¹⁸² Other *mabiki-zu*, such as *Juku-zu* (painted before 1810) belonging to Shirakawa’s

Jōsenji (Fukushima) or *Meifu-zu* (ca. 1814) belonging to Sōkeiin (Ehime),¹⁸³ explicitly illustrate the consequences of such actions in the afterlife. In *Juku-zu*, a mother strangles her child in a domestic environment. Below appears Enma’s court, where the now-dead mother is forced to view the murder scene in Enma’s mirror. Numerous dead infants carry paper indictments against their mothers, even as the women suffer the tortures of various hells. The inarticulate, once-powerless babies have become monsters—and *kami* and Buddhist deities look on from the top of the painting. These early-modern reinventions of hell imagery indicate a battle over maternity between private, community, and governmental interests.¹⁸⁴

The messages in the Hell for Stone Women and Sai riverbank were subtler and more open to interpretation. The infants’ pathetically futile attempts to build stupas for their parents may have inculcated the importance of having enough children to survive and look after one’s grave, but this twisting of heart strings would have been unnecessary for many. These hells also addressed the childless, those who experienced unintentionally terminated pregnancies, and parents who mourned children that died in spite of every effort to keep them alive.¹⁸⁵

Presumably a woman could not occupy two or more hells at once, leading us to wonder which hell a woman would fall into if, during the course of her lifetime, she had menstruated, miscarried, raised no children into adulthood, had no progeny to care

for her grave, and experienced jealousy. Although the “sins” that women were prone to—and their effects in the hereafter—overlap, there was no comparative or temporal priority assigned to these hells. When the hells for women were illustrated in combination with Ten King imagery and parceled out into separate scrolls, we can perhaps see a linear progression, but many Ten King paintings assemble the hells for women into a single scroll, as seen in the third Chōgakuji scroll, and chronological indications were not mapped out in either *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* or *Tateyama mandara*. These hells were intended to encompass all women collectively, living or dead.

No matter how virtuous and whether or not they had children, women would suffer in the afterlife without some form of mediation. Unlike hells directed at men, where the threat was often envisioned as external, but could be overcome by internal discipline, the hells directed at women position the threat within and the means of overcoming it beyond the individual’s control. The hells for women in *Tateyama mandara* characterized women with relative sympathy. At the same time, they exaggerated and prolonged female bodily functions (or failures to function), projecting reproductive responsibilities and other personal difficulties in this world into the hereafter. In many hells for women, the body is inescapable; the female body itself is hell. Women needed to be saved from themselves and from their bodies, and they could not do this on their own.

- (Senzōbō) *ST*, *jinja-hen* 34:126. He also paints buddha images, images of the nine levels of rebirth in the Pure Land, and a dual world mandala.
- 112 Nikkōbō was one of the few *shukubō* to remain active into the Shōwa period. See Saeki Taimasa, “Shōwa no Ashikuraji shukubō ni oite no taikenki,” 87.
- ### Chapter 3
- 1 *Hokke genki* 3:124, *NST* 7:209, 565.
 - 2 *Hōbutsushū*, *SNKT* 40:67.
 - 3 *Iroha jiruishō*, 484.
 - 4 *Hokke genki* 3:124, *NST* 7:208–10, 565–66; and Yoshiko K. Dykstra, trans., *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra from Ancient Japan*, 139–40. For a later recension, see *Konjaku monogatari* 14:7, *SNKT* 35:299–301. The reference to this tale in *Hōbutsushū* calls the man a *yamabushi* (*SNKT* 40:67).
 - 5 *Konjaku monogatari* 17:27, *SNKT* 36:49–51. This story may possibly derive from an earlier, now lost story collection, *jizō bosatsu reigenki*, edited by Jitsuei in the mid-eleventh century (not to be confused with an illustrated handscroll given the same title). Some scholars suggest, however, that *jizō bosatsu reigenki* is not the original source. On this story see for example Kubo Naofumi, *Etchū chūsei-shi no kenkyū*, 167–82; Yoshitani Hiroya, “Tales on Mt. Tateyama-Naraka”; and idem, *Hakusan, Tateyama no shūkyō bunka*, 61–123.
 - 6 See *jizō bosatsu reigenki*, 44–5.
 - 7 On early connections of Jizō to Tateyama, see Takase Shigeo, *Kodai sangaku shinkō no shiteki kōsatsu*, 361–85; and Hirano Jun, “Amida, Jizō, Kannon no sanzō-zō no seiritsu haikai ni tsuite.” There is a great deal written about Jizō. See, for example, Hank Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*.
 - 8 *Konjaku monogatari* 14:8, *SNKT* 35:301–5. For an English translation, see Robert Hopkins Brower, “The Konzyaku Monogatari,” 421–25.
 - 9 *Uto’u*, *SNKT* 57:168–73. On this story and others about ghosts and sleeves, see Tokue Gensei, “*Uto’u ron*”; and Tsutsumi Kunihiro, *Edo no kaiti-tan*, 108–36. On the clothing of the dead serving a similar verifying function in Western medieval tales, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan, 201–5.
 - 10 This scene appears in the following *Tateyama mandara* versions, generally near Midagahara: Yokata jinja, Sakaki-ke, and the Tateyama Museum [B].
 - 11 One of four continents in an ocean that surrounds seven mountain ranges (and dividing seas) that encircle Shumisen (S: Sumeru), the tremendous mountain at the center of the universe. On the structure of the universe and hell’s location in early Buddhist texts, see for example Sadakata Akira, *Shumisen to gokuraku*; idem, *Buddhist Cosmology*, trans. Gaynor Sekimori; and Ishida Mizumaro, *jigoku*, 58–65.
 - 12 Also called *yujun*. One *yuzenna* equals eight *kurusha*. *T* 27:702a. One *kurusha* is comparable to eight or nine hundred meters. Measurements differ in other texts.
 - 13 There are various Chinese translations for the names of the eight hells. For correspondences between Pali and Sanskrit names, and translations into Chinese that appear in a few important early Buddhist texts on hell, see Matsumura Takumi, “*Seki kyō jigoku-hon*, yakuchū,” 61. *Jushe lun*, for example, basically lists the same eight hells, but Gokunetsu is called Dainetsu, Netsu is called Ennetsu, and Daigōkyō is called Daikyō. See *T* 29:41a.
 - 14 *Dapiposha lun*, *T* 27:865c–66a.
 - 15 *Ibid.*, *T* 27:866ab.
 - 16 *Ibid.*, *T* 27:866c.
 - 17 Here Doku jigoku is called Ko jigoku. *Jushe lun*, *T* 29:59a.
 - 18 See *Shiji jing* compiled within *Chang ahan jing*, *T* 1:121c and 125bc. On this work see Matsumura, “*Seki kyō jigoku-hon*, yakuchū.” Similar descriptions may be found in *Daloutan jing* (J: *Dairōtan kyō*), *T* 1:283b, *Zengyi ahan jing* (J: *Zōichi agon kyō*), *T* 2:736a, and elsewhere, but in these texts the mountains are called Tetchisen.
 - 19 There is a great deal written on Chinese conceptions of hell. See, for example, Sawada Mizuho, *Shūtei jigokuhen*.
 - 20 *Nihon Ryōiki* 2:7, *SNKT* 30:69–73, 233–35; and Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition*, 167–71.
 - 21 *Konjaku monogatari* 17:19, *SNKT* 36:33–35. The first two scrolls of the sixteenth-century Chōgakuji *Rokudō jūō-zu* show a steep mountain at the entrance to hell. A man climbs over the summit, and then falls into the clutches of demons below. The scrolls then take viewers past the Ten Kings and hell to Amida’s Pure Land. For an analysis of this passage in the image, see Takasu Jun, “Meguri wataru akudō,” 52.
 - 22 *Hōbutsushū*, *SNKT* 40:66–67.
 - 23 *Hitoana sōshi*, 35; and *Fuji no hitoana no sōshi*, *MJMT* 11:436. Recensions of this work have different names, unified in the main text of the present volume to *Fuji no hitoana sōshi*. On these works, see Koyama Issei, *Fuji no hitoana sōshi*; R. Keller Kimbrough, “Tourists in Paradise”; and a translation of the Keichō 8 (1603) recension at idem, “The Tale of the Fuji Cave.”
 - 24 *Wakan sansaizue*, 1:619. This is in a separate section from the “Tateyama gongen” entry. On volcanic and other “hells” throughout Japan, see Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihonjin to jigoku*, 221–44.
 - 25 *Fahua jing*, *T* 9:61c.
 - 26 See Nishiharu Chōshi Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Nishiharu chōshi*, 502–3.
 - 27 See Sugisaki, “Tateyama shinzō’ saikō” and the introduction of this sculpture in Chapter One. Inscriptions also indicate that it was commissioned by a temple in Nūkawa district. The first character of the temple’s name and the name of the monk who raised funds to cast the image are partly indecipherable.
 - 28 See *Hokke genki*, *NST* 7:209 and 565; and Takase, *Kodai sangaku shinkō no shiteki kōsatsu*, 275–77. Also see Yamagishi Tomoni, “Taishakuten zen’aku kōka jumyō hantei-setsu to Tateyama shinkō.”
 - 29 See *Wakan sansaizue*, 2:841. Taishaku peak was the old name for Bessan—or possibly for Ōnanjiyama (Takase Shigeo et al., eds., *Toyama-ken no chimei*, 45–46).
 - 30 See Takase, *Tateyama shinkō no rekishi to bunka*, 94–98.
 - 31 See Shio Teruo, *Toyama-ken no rekishi: Etchū no kaidō to sekibutsu*, 209–13.
 - 32 The Daisenbō [C] *Tateyama mandara*, however, is unusual in its depiction of a figure said to be Taishakuten near the Hell of the Blood Lake.
 - 33 Texts suggest that hell imagery adorned Indian monasteries. See *Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pinaiye zashi* (J: *Konpon setsuissaiyū binaya zōji*), *T* 24:283ab, translated by Yijing into Chinese in 710.
 - 34 On the development of Chinese hell imagery, see Takata Osamu, *Bukkyō bijutsushi ronkō*, 289–302 (this includes a brief introduction to early Central Asian hell imagery); Stephen F. Teiser, “Having Once Died and Returned to Life”; and Yin Guangming, *Dunhuang bihua yishu yu yiwujing*, 260–349.
 - 35 On hell and hell imagery in Japan, see Miya Tsugio, *Rokudō-e*; Kajitani Ryōji, “Waga kuni ni okeru Bukkyō setsuwa-e no tenkai”; Kasuya Makoto, “Ōjōyoshū-e no seiritsu to tenkai”; and Hirasawa, “Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom.”
 - 36 See *Nihon ryōiki* 1:35, *SNKT* 30:52–3.
 - 37 See, *Poshuo foming jing*. Also see, for example, Takei Akio, “Nihon ni okeru Butsumyō-e no seikō.”
 - 38 There is a great deal of research on Genshin and on this work, completed in 985. See, for example, Obara Hitoshi, *Genshin*.
 - 39 On this work, see Izumi Takeo, Kasuya Makoto, and Yamamoto Satomi, *Kokuhō Rokudō-e*.
 - 40 On paintings of the Ten Kings see, for example, Kajitani Ryōji, “Nihon ni okeru jūō zu no seiritsu to tenkai”; and Miya Tsugio, “Jūō kyō-e shūi.”
 - 41 On hell in *Tateyama mandara*, see Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Tateyama mandara*, 177–91.
 - 42 On cauldrons consistently symbolizing hell and on the gradual process of generating new iconography, see Caroline Hirasawa, “Cracking Cauldrons and Babies on Blossoms” (forthcoming).
 - 43 See the description of Jumuhenu in *Ōjōyōshū*, *T* 84:34c (citing *Zhengfa nianchu jing*, thought to date from the second century C.E., *T* 17:53a).
 - 44 For more on the development of Enma and the cult of the Ten Kings, see, for example, Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*; and Hirasawa, “Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom,” esp. 11–16.
 - 45 There is a great deal written on these paintings. See, for example, Kuroda Hideo, “Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara no uchū”; idem, “The Kumano kanshin jikkai mandara and the Lives of the People in Early Modern Japan,” trans. Haruko Wakabayashi; R. Keller Kimbrough, “Preaching the Animal Realm in Late Medieval Japan”; Nei Kiyoshi and Yamamoto Shigeo, eds., *Kumano bikuni o etoku*; Etoki Kenkyūkai, ed., *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara o yomitoku*; and Ogurisu Kenji, *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*. Forty-two examples were listed in Ogurisu Kenji, “Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara no seiritsu to tenkai,” 132 (2004). Seven years later Ogurisu identified fifty-eight, and is still counting. See Ogurisu, *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, 154–55 (2011). On his categorizations and dating, see pages 174–96 and 223.
 - 46 This image illustrates *Ōjōyōshū*, *T* 84:34a, citing *Zhengfa nianchu jing*, *T* 17:32a.
 - 47 The Freer’s *jizō bosatsu reigenki* locates Sword Mountain in the upper left corner of the page, similar to its placement in *Tateyama mandara*, but other local geographical context is absent and no clear evidence connects the thirteenth-century image with cult paintings that emerged centuries later. A shadowy wash of ink, labeled Migawari Jizō, appears in the Hell Valley section of the Tateyama Museum [A] *Tateyama mandara*, perhaps referring to this story.
 - 48 *Etchū no kuni Tateyama zenjō narabi ni ryaku goengi meisho fuzu*, fig. 30.
 - 49 Hirose Makoto, “Tateyama no saijin o inegutte.” 300–302. She is crying in the Konzōin and Tsuboi-ke [A] *Tateyama mandara*.
 - 50 *Wakan sansaizue*, 2:840. In the woodblock-printed recension reproduced in this edition, the character for *tachi* (sword) in Tachio is written as *chikara* (strong or strength), but I have amended the reading for the sake of clarity, since the Tateyama *kami*’s name is Tachio. Little is known about the history of this edition of *Wakan sansaizue*, and the similarity of the characters *chikara* and *tachi* suggest an error. It is also possible that *chikara* derives from the name of the *kami* from classical mythology, Tajikarao, also mentioned in this passage. Conceptions connecting Tsurugidake with Tachio tenjin continued into the Meiji period, particularly at Iwakuraji. See Saeki Yukinaga, *Tateyama shinkō no genryū to hensetsu*, 28–40.
 - 51 *Dazhidu lun*, *T* 25:280a.
 - 52 See for example *Zhengfa nianchu jing* on hungry ghosts, *T* 17:91a–103b, and on the warrior realm, *T* 17:114a–124c.

- 53 On Kumano nuns and *etoki* see, for example, Hagiwara Tatsuo, *Miko to Bukkyōshi*, esp. 26–63, 102–23; Hayashi Masahiko, *Zōho Nihon no etoki*, 126–46; Barbara Ruch, “Woman to Woman”; and Nei Kiyoshi and Yamamoto Shigeo, *Kumano bikuni o etoku*.
- 54 On the development of *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* and this hypothesis about the hill of aging, see Ogurisu, *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, 217–24.
- 55 Such as *ichinen sanzen* (one thought, three thousand) or *jikkai gogu* (the ten worlds mutually contained). See, for example, *Mohe zhiguan* (J: *Maka shikan*), T 46:54a.
- 56 See Agio Naoko, “*Endon kanjin jippōkai-zu ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu*”; and Hirasawa, “Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom,” 30–31. Images called *Wheels of Rebirth* are the ancestors of these diagrams. The oldest surviving example is found at Ajāṇṭā, but there is debate about the original content of this severely damaged image. See Stephen F. Teiser, *Reinventing the Wheel*, 76–102.
- 57 *Keiran shūyōshū*, T 76:799ab.
- 58 *Tateyama ryakuengi* (Sōshinbō recension), TKSS 1:32.
- 59 *Tsuma kagami*, NKBT 83:169; and Robert E. Morrell, trans., “Mirror for Women,” 61. On Japanese notions of transformation into animals, see Nakamura Teiri, *Nihonjin no dōbutsu-kan*. In a version of this tale in *Wakan sansaizue* (2:841), Chimyōbō later retransforms into a mythical bird-like or hybrid bird-man creature called a *tengu*, a common fate for clerical arrogance or attachment in medieval lore. On monks and *tengu*, see Haruko Wakabayashi, *The Seven Tengu Scrolls*.
- 60 *Konjaku monogatari* 20:21, SNKT 36:270, based on *Nihon ryōiki* 2:9, SNKT 30:75–76. Also see tales 20:20, SNKT 36:268–69; and 20:22, SNKT 36:271–72.
- 61 As described earlier, the *gogyaku*, five rebellious or cardinal sins: killing one’s father, killing one’s mother, killing an arhat, causing a buddha’s body to bleed, and disturbing the harmony of the Buddhist community.
- 62 For an eighteenth-century variation on this theme in a set of hanging scrolls of Jizō and the Ten Kings belonging to Dairakuji, see Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed., *Jigoku yūran*, 48.
- 63 See, for example, the story of the monk Chikō’s experiences during a sojourn to hell, *Nihon ryōiki*, SNKT 30:69–73, 233–35.
- 64 See *Konjaku monogatari* 6:35, SNKT 34:71–73; and Marian Ury, trans. and ed., *Tales of Times Now Past*, 61–63. This story also appears in *Sanbao ganyōing yaolūelu* (J: *Sanbō kannō yōryaku roku*) 2:4, T 51:838a; and *Sangoku denki* 10:17, vol. 2, 197–98. On the relationship of *Sanbao ganyōing yaolūelu* and *Konjaku monogatari*, see, for example, Komine Kazuaki, *Konjaku monogatari* no keisei to kōzō, 19–42.
- 65 *Hokke genki* 3:89, NST 7:169–70, 552–53. The historical story collection *Ima kagami* (compiled ca. 1170) tells of an eleventh-century governor of Etchū, Kiyohara Sadatoshi, who dreams about previous lifetimes as a devotee of *Fahua jing* and as an ox that carried *Fahua jing* up a mountain. His services to the sutra improved the circumstances of his rebirth—and his ox lifetime explained the way that people treated him. See *Ima kagami*, 439–42. The story briefly appears in *Hōbutsushū*, without mention of *Fahua jing* (*Hōbutsushū*, SNKT 40:248). For discussions about the world view of similar stories, also see William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, 26–59; and Barbara Ruch, “Coping with Death.”
- 66 There is a great deal written on Indian Buddhist perceptions of women. See, for example, I. B. Horner, *Women under Primitive Buddhism*; Iwamoto Yutaka, *Bukkyō to josei*; Kajiyama Yūichi, “Women in Buddhism”; Diana Y. Paul, *Women in Buddhism*; Alan Sponberg, “Attitudes toward Women and the Feminine in Early Buddhism”; and Tagami Taishū, *Bukkyō to josei*.
- 67 Wendy Doniger and Brian K. Smith, trans., *The Laws of Manu*, 115.
- 68 *Foshuo yuyenu jing*, T 2:863c–865c.
- 69 See I. B. Horner, trans., *The Book of the Discipline* (*Vinaya-Pitaka*), vol. 5, *Cullavagga*, 352–59. For a reading of this story as indicating that women had the potential to become arhats, see Jonathan S. Walters, “A Voice from the Silence.” On the potential of women to become arhats, but not bodhisattvas or buddhas, see Naomi Appleton, “In the Footsteps of the Buddha?” On early nuns and nunneries see I. B. Horner, *Women under Primitive Buddhism*.
- 70 On the development and periodization of such passages, see Kajiyama Yūichi, “Women in Buddhism.” There are various estimations of the dates of Śākyamuni’s birth and death. Nakamura Hajime postulates that he lived between 463 B.C.E. and 383 B.C.E. See Nakamura Hajime, *Shakuson no shōgai*, 34–35.
- 71 On such methods for quelling lust, see Elizabeth Wilson, “The Female Body as a Source of Horror and Insight in Post-Ashokan Indian Buddhism”; and Liz Wilson, *Charming Cadavers*. On literature where nuns assist monks in their realizations about the female body, see idem, “Seeing through the Gendered ‘I.’”
- 72 See Genshin’s *Ōjōyōshū*, T 84:38bc. On Japanese *Kusō-zu*, see, for example, Gail Chin, “The Gender of Buddhist Truth”; Fusae Kanda, “Behind the Sensationalism”; and Yamamoto Satomi and Nishiyama Mika, *Kusō-zu shiryō shūsei*. The earliest surviving images of corpse contemplation are from Central Asia, the oldest confirmed from the sixth- and seventh-centuries. *Kusō-zu* iconography may have developed

- in Tang-dynasty China. See Yamamoto and Nishiyama, *Kusō-zu shiryō shūsei*, 198–99.
- 73 *Fahua jing*, T 9:35c; and Leon Hurvitz, trans., *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (*The Lotus Sutra*), 183–85 (the translation here is borrowed from Hurvitz, page 184). In the Sanskrit version her sexual organs vanish and male sexual organs appear, but such explicit detail is absent from Kumārajīva’s translation. See the passage translated from Sanskrit into English in Max F. Müller, ed. and H. Kern, trans., *The Saddharma-Pundarīka*, 253.
- 74 *Fahua jing*, T 9:54bc; and Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 275 (Hurvitz’s translation).
- 75 Use of the term *jānen* in Chinese texts is varied, and there are longstanding debates in China and Japan about its interpretation in this vow. Often it is seen as *ten nenbutsu*. On this topic see, for example, Mochizuki Shinkō, *Jōdokyō no kenkyū*, 219–33.
- 76 *Foshuo wuliangshou jing*, T 12:268a and c; and Luis O. Gómez, *Land of Bliss, The Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light*, 167 and 170. There is voluminous research on Pure Land Buddhism. On early scriptural variations concerning the problem of female rebirth in the Pure Land, see Paul Harrison, “Women in the Pure Land.”
- 77 See Shandao’s seventh-century *Guannian famen* (J: *Kannen hōmon*), T 47:27b.
- 78 See, for example, Masatoshi Ueki, *Gender Equality in Buddhism*; and idem, *Bukkyō no naka no danjo-kan*. Also see Nancy Schuster, “Changing the Female Body.” Others are highly critical of the misogyny in Buddhist texts and traditions. See, for example, Rita M. Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy*; and Minamoto Junko, *Bukkyō to sei*.
- 79 *Foshuo zhuannushen jing*, T 14:921a, translated by Dharmamitra (356–442).
- 80 *Foshuo hailongwang jing*, T 15:149b–150c, translated by Dharmarakṣa in 285.
- 81 See T 14:548bc; and Burton Watson, trans., *The Vimalakīrti Sutra*, 90–91.
- 82 On this subject, see Tagami, *Bukkyō to josei*, 201–7.
- 83 There is a tremendous amount of research on women and Buddhism in Japan. For lists of sources on the topic from the point of view of literature studies see Murata Noriko, “Josei to Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū sankō bunken mokuroku shō”; and Kim Im-jung, “Josei to Bukkyō kenkyū bunken mokuroku shō: Heisei 3 nen ikō.” In English, see Barbara Ruch, ed., *Engendering Faith*; and Bernard Faure, *The Power of Denial*.
- 84 The dragon girl story is an extremely important theme and was a topic of much historical debate. On this topic see, for example, Yoshida Kazuhiko, “The Enlightenment of the Dragon King’s Daughter in *The Lotus Sutra*”; Tanaka Takako, “Koten bungaku ni miru ryūnyō jōbutsu”; and Yamamoto Hiroko, *Henjōfu*, 225–88. For analyses of the views of women set out in *Fahua jing*, see Jan Nattier, “Gender and Hierarchy in the *Lotus Sutra*”; and Lucinda Joy Peach, “Social Responsibility, Sex Change and Salvation.” On interpretations of the dragon girl’s transformation in light of *sokushin jōbutsu* within Tendai thought, see Ōkubo Ryōshun, *Tendai kyōgaku to hongaku shisō*, esp. 107–182 and 198–224; and Paul Groner, “Shortening the Path.”
- 85 *Zhuannu chengfo jing* was previously thought an alternative title for *Foshuo zhuannushen jing*, but a manuscript entitled *Zhuannu chengfo jing*, possibly from the twelfth century, surfaced with different content, and this may be the text indicated in ninth-century citations. *Zhuannu chengfo jing* may have been written in Japan. See Nishiguchi Junko, “*Tennyōshin kyō to Tennyō jōbutsu kyō*”; and idem, “*Tennyō jōbutsu kyō kō*.”
- 86 See Taira Masayuki, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō*, 408–10.
- 87 For the quotations from the *Kōnin shiki* and the *Jōgan shiki*, see Torao Toshiya, *Kōnin shiki, Jōgan shiki itsubun shūsei*, 12–13. For the passages in the *Engi shiki* (book 3), see *ST, Kōten-hen* 11:100–101.
- 88 On this historical development, see Narikiyo Hirokazu, *Josei to kegare no rekishi*, 61–111. Nishiyama Ryōhei sees nuns and other women as increasingly excluded from official functions and rites in and around the capital during the ninth century. Nishiyama, “Ōchō toshi to ‘josei to kegare.’” This roughly coincides with the spread of ideas that women are polluted, a fall in women’s status, and the establishment of patrilineal households, but it is difficult to determine what came first.
- 89 See, for example, Narikiyo, *Josei to kegare no rekishi*, 97. Taira also addresses this possibility in *Nihon chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō*, 411.
- 90 Taira, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō*, 413.
- 91 See Ushiyama Yoshiyuki, *Kodai chūsei jin soshiki no kenkyū*, 44–82; and Paul Groner, “Vicissitudes in the Ordination of Japanese ‘Nuns’ during the Eighth through the Tenth Centuries.”
- 92 *Yōrō ryō*, NST 3:219. We know that that the *Sōni ryō* was also compiled in the *Taihō ryō*.
- 93 Ushiyama Yoshiyuki, “*Nyonin kinsei*’ sairon,” 5–6.
- 94 On the increased definition of women as mothers during the medieval period, seen through and driven by Buddhist mortuary practices, see Hank Glassman, “Chinese Buddhist Death Ritual and the Transformation of Japanese Kinship.”
- 95 *Shōsha kinki*, ZGR 3b:706. One of the fourteen shrines is recorded as requiring pollution observances of thirty-three days.
- 96 The entry is from the fifteenth day of the sixth month of 1347. See *Entaiyaku*, vol. 2, 194–96. There is much research on these topics. For a nuanced look at the history of Japanese customs related to parturition and

- birth pollution—and a consideration of female and scholarly reception of these customs—see Hitomi Tonomura, “Rewriting the *Ubiyū* (Parturition Hut).”
- 97 The recension of *Xuepen jing* that is transcribed in *Dai Nihon zoku zōkyō* (and reprinted in vol. 87 of *Wan xuzangjing*) has frequently been cited by scholars, but the publication provides no information about the original text. Michel Soymié analyzed a woodblock-printed recension, published in China in 1741 with roughly the same content, alongside other Chinese recensions from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to create a composite text (“Ketsubon kyō no shiryōteki kenkyū,” 112). Maekawa Tōru amended these results in consultation with three additional recensions (“Chūgoku ni okeru Ketsubon kyō rui no shosō,” 334–33 [also numbered as 15–16]), creating the most reliable standard reference to date. The text referred to above as *Xuepen jing* refers to this work or to recensions with similar content. Sawada Mizuho described a recension in the Tenri University Library with a publication date of 1437 (*Shūtei jigokuhen*, 32), but Maekawa was unable to locate the text (“Chūgoku ni okeru Ketsubon kyō rui no shosō,” 310). If it still exists, it would be the oldest known recension. For an English translation of most of the scripture and a comparison of recensions, see Takemi Momoko, “Menstruation Sutra Belief in Japan.” Also see the full translation and discussion in Alan Cole, *Mothers and Sons in Chinese Buddhism*, esp. 199–206.
- 98 T 16:779a–779c.
- 99 There is a great deal of research on stories of Mokuren saving his mother. For overviews, see Iwamoto Yutaka, *Jigoku meguri no bungaku*; and Alan Cole, *Mothers and Sons in Chinese Buddhism*. Some say that *Yulanpen jing* was composed or revised in India, others say China. Estimated dates range from the beginning of the fourth century to the end of the fifth century. On *Yulanpen jing*, see Ogawa Kan’ichi, *Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, 157–89; Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (with an English translation on pages 49–54); and Kominami Ichirō, “*Urabon kyō* kara Mokuren henbun e.”
- 100 For transcriptions, see *Mokuren no sōshi*; and Iwamoto Yutaka, *Jigoku meguri no bungaku*, 81–134 (annotated). For an English translation and introduction, see Hank Glassman, trans., “Mokuren no sōshi.” On Japanese stories and illustrations about Mokuren, see Miya Tsugio, “Mokuren gūmo setsuwa to sono kaiga”; Takasu Jun, “Mokuren gūmo setsuwa zuzō to rokudō jūō-zu”; and Watari Kōichi, “Kushizashi no haha,” esp. 193–214.
- 101 Soymié notes that *Xuepen jing* does not appear among Dunhuang manuscripts and that a text from 1137 called *Taishang ganying pian* (J: *Taijō kannō hen*) does not verify that *Xuepen jing* was known at that time, but the title appears in the 1194 *Rurujushi sanjiao daquan yulu* (J: *Nyonyokoji sankyō taizen goroku*), thereby narrowing down the general era of the text’s composition. See Soymié, “Ketsubon kyō no shiryōteki kenkyū”; *Taishang ganying pian*, 193–95; and *Rurujushi sanjiao daquan yulu* (the fifty-sixth photograph uploaded). Yanbing’s *Rurujushi* views of women were strongly influenced by *Xuepen jing*. See Nagai Masashi, “Nan-Sō ni okeru ichikoji no seishin seikatsu,” 217.
- 102 Moreover, the Daoist *hu* refers to a larger body of water than the Buddhist *chi* (J: *chi* or *ike*), also suggesting the one-upmanship of a later work. Maekawa compared a wide range of texts mentioning the Blood Lake. He concluded that Daoist ritual texts describing *kekko* hell arose when Daoist texts related to *segaki* (rites for hungry ghosts) were influenced by *Xuepen jing*. Maekawa Tōru, “Kekko giten shōkō”; and idem, “Chūgoku ni okeru Ketsubon kyō rui no shosō.” New sources may yet surface enabling a more precise calculation of the scripture’s origins and development.
- 103 *Chōben shiānshō*, ZGR 28b:125. There are also records from the latter half of the fifteenth century. On these texts, see Kōdate Naomi, “Ketsubon kyō to nyōnin kyūsai,” 124. For the example of the aristocrat Kanroji Chikanaga (1424–1500) copying *Xuepen jing* for his deceased mother in 1491, see Katsuura Noriko, *Onna no shinjin*, 226–32.
- 104 In Makino Kazuo and Kōdate Naomi, “Ketsubon kyō no juyō to tenkai,” 86. In that essay she identified four categories, but later discerned six. See Kōdate, “Aspects of Ketsubonkyō Belief,” 124–25. For other categorizations see, for example, Matsuoka Hideaki, “Waga kuni ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu.”
- 105 Such as the Gangōji Gokurakubō recension and the Shiranesan *kokera kyō* recension (written on narrow strips of wood).
- 106 See Makino Kazuo, *Chūsei no setsuwa to gakumon*, 110–11.
- 107 See, for example, *Yuanshi tianzun jidū xuehu zhenjing* (J: *Genshi tenson saido kekko shin kyō*), 618.
- 108 Kōdate in Makino and Kōdate, “Ketsubon kyō no juyō to tenkai,” 84–86.
- 109 Iinuma Kenji, “Joseime kara mita chūsei no jōsei no shakaiteki ichi.”
- 110 See Nomura Ikuyo, *Bukkyō to onna no seishinshi*, 153. *Goshō*, discussed above, combined with *sanjū*, referring to “three obeyances”: of parents in childhood, husbands in youth, and sons in old age. This counsel had its origins in Indian and Chinese non-Buddhist texts, and became part of Buddhist mainstream thought through such compilations as *Dazhidū lun* (see T 25:748b). On the three obeyances or obligations see, for example, Nagata Mizu, “Transitions in Attitudes toward Women in the Buddhist Canon,” esp. 279–80. On the salvation of mothers and the development of the *Xuepen jing* cult

- in Japan, see Hank Glassman, “At the Crossroads of Birth and Death.”
- 111 *Shinshū Shimotsuwa bukkiryō*, ST, *Jinja-hen* 30:263.
- 112 Hironaka (Kōdate) Naomi, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 4.
- 113 The oldest known Shōsenji origin legend promoting *Xuepen jing* is from 1736. For a transcription, see Nakano Yūshin, “Sōtō-shū ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō,” 126. On *Xuepen jing* propagation in the Sōtō Zen tradition and on extant recensions of Shōsenji origin legends, see Nakano, “Sōtō-shū ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō,” esp. 127–28; and Duncan Ryūken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen*, 50–58. For a transcription of a Shōsenji recension from 1841, see Sugano Noriko, “*Nyōnin jōbutsu Ketsubon kyō engi*.” For an English translation of a similar recension from 1857, see Williams, *The Other Side of Zen*, 125–28. It is possible that the 1736 recension is missing original additional content, but judging from what survives, Tateyama texts picked up elements from later recensions.
- 114 For a transcription, see Fukue, *Edojō Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 455–57.
- 115 The text is undated. It is transcribed in Fukue Mitsuru, *Kinsei Tateyama shinkō no tenkai*, 406–8. This text accompanies a *ryakuengi* and a *Tateyama mandara*. Fukue suggests that the texts may tell us something about narration performances with the painting. Fukue, *Edojō Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 462.
- 116 On the similarities, see Fukue, *Kinsei Tateyama shinkō no tenkai*, 408–10.
- 117 The text explains that an eight-petal lotus flower in the chests of women appears and opens because of delusion, and secretes five colors of blood, the red being menstrual blood. This is based on the idea that lotus flowers in the hearts of men are upright while those in the hearts of women face downwards. On this subject—and on the redirection of women’s lotuses coinciding with their becoming men—see Yamamoto Hiroko, *Henjōfu*, 261–63.
- 118 *Sannetsu*, also written *sangen*, are the three sufferings that dragons endure. They are burnt by hot winds and sand, evil winds remove their garments causing their bodies pain, and they are attacked by *konjichō*, mythical beasts also called *garuda*. See, for example, *Chang ahan jing*, T 1:117a. *Ōjōyōshū* also mentions dragons in the realm of beasts suffering day and night from the three fevers, T 84:37c. On dragons and women, see Yamamoto Hiroko, *Henjōfu*, 227–88. She discusses the three fevers on p. 228.
- 119 This image survives in a copy held at the Tokyo National Museum of a no longer extant original thought to be from the late twelfth century.
- 120 It is found, for example, in the scroll of King Henjō in a Song- or Yuan-dynasty Jizō and Ten King scroll-set at Eigenji inscribed with the name Lu Xinzhong; the scroll of King Shinkō in the Kamakura-period set at Seiganji; and the scroll of King Shokō in the fifteenth-century Nison’in Ten King set. On this subject, see Takasu Jun, “Akudō no oyako,” 309–17.
- 121 Also addressing childbirth and motherhood is a type of hungry ghost that gives birth five times per day, but is so ravaged by hunger that she eats her children. This figure appears in the Shōjuraigōji *Rokudō-e* scroll of the realm of hungry ghosts and elsewhere, but was not a frequent subject of illustration. She is described in *Ōjōyōshū* (T 84:37b), without an explanation of the sins that result in this horrific predicament. Genshin cites *Dacheng liqu liuboluomiduo jing* (J: *Daijō rishu rokuharamita kyō*; T 8:876c), but other sources describing this hungry ghost cite the influential *Jushe lun* (T 29:44a). See Kasuya Makoto’s notes on the Shōjuraigōji motif in Izumi Takeo, Kasuya Makoto, and Yamamoto Satomi, *Kokuho Rokudō-e*, 284–85. *Fuji no hitoana sōshi* explains a similar fate as punishment for selling or abandoning children. See *Hitoana sōshi*, 41; *Fuji no hitoana no sōshi*, MJMT 11, 445; and Kimbrough, “The Tale of the Fuji Cave,” 17.
- 122 Chimyōbō, in this image and in the Chūdōbō *Tateyama mandara*, is paired with a pretty white mare with a human head, suggesting that his abuse of authority included affairs with women.
- 123 This dating is based on Takasu Jun’s estimation in Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed., *Jigoku yūran*, 88–89.
- 124 On pictorialization of the Hell of the Blood Lake, see for example Kōdate, “Chi no ike jigoku no esō o meguru oboegaki.” On the Chōgakuji *Rokudō jūō-zu*, see Takasu Jun, “Meguri wataru rokudō.” On images of Nyōirin Kannon, see Inoue Kazutoshi, *Nyōirin Kannon zō*, *Batō Kannon zō*.
- 125 We know from an inscription on the back that the Manshōji painting was dedicated by the monk Shōzen of Kyoto’s Rokkakudō to the monk Jakugen of Manshōji. On the relationship of Rokkakudō to *Xuepen jing* faith, see Kōdate Naomi, “Chi no ike Nyōirin Kannon saikō.” Kōdate notes that the bodhisattva Jizō appears near the Blood Lake in the bandscroll *Yata jizō maitsuki nikki-e* at the Nara National Museum (thought to date from the late medieval or the beginning of the early-modern period) and in the three-scroll Shōsenji *Ketsubon kyō engi-e* (thought to be from the latter Edo period), but neither image depicts Jizō as the savior of the Blood Lake as clearly and definitively as paintings that contain Kannon. See Kōdate, “Chi no ike jigoku no esō o meguru oboegaki,” 669–70. On Nyōirin Kannon and women, also see Inoue, *Nyōirin Kannon zō*, *Batō Kannon zō*, 53; and Iyanaga Nobumi, *Kannon hen’yō-tan* 551–604.

- 126 See Makino Kazuo and Kōdate Naomi, "Ketsubon kyō no juyō to tenkai," 89–93.
- 127 Ibid.
- 128 Most scholars presume that the document is *Xuepen jing*. See, for example, Kuroda Hideo, "The *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*," 114. Barbara Ruch argues that it may be *Bore xin jing* (J: *Hannya shingyō*). See Ruch, "Woman to Woman," 573–74. There are variations in Kannon's portrayal. Kannon sometimes rises up from the lake on a lotus flower or rides on a cloud to greet women (as in the Rokudō Chinnōji *jikkai no zu*, fig. 102).
- 129 See the story in the oldest complete foundation legend recension (from between 1394 and 1428) at *Zenkōji engi*, ZGR 28a:173–78. Older fragments of the legend survive, so we know that this story existed as far back as the thirteenth century—and it may be older. There are at least sixty examples of *Zenkōji nyorai eden*, including eight that trace back to the medieval era. Nishiyama Masaru suggests that the inclusion of iconography of female salvation from hell in the Koyama *Zenkōji* painting may relate to an early-modern revival of *Zenkōji* and the involvement of a nun named Chikei who was head of the Jōdo-sect Daihongan of *Zenkōji*. See Nishiyama, *Seichi no sōzōryoku*, 103–46. There is voluminous research on *Zenkōji*. On the legend, see McCallum, *Zenkōji and Its Icon*, 38–62. On illustrations, also see Yoshihara Hiroto, "Sōsetsu: *Zenkōji nyorai eden*." On empress Kōgyoku's fall to hell, see Yoshihara Hiroto, "Kōgyoku tennō no dajigoku-tan." On female salvation in connection with the cult at *Zenkōji*, see Ushiyama Yoshiyuki, "Zenkōji shinkō to nyōnin kyūsai"; Yoshihara Hiroto, "Zenkōji engi ni okeru nyōnin kyūsai no shōshō"; and Nagano Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Onna-tachi to Zenkōji*.
- 130 On Mokuren's appearance in this painting and on the work as illustrating themes from *Mokuren no sōshi*, see Takasu Jun, "Mokuren gumo setsuwa zuzō to rokudō jūdō-zu."
- 131 Among exceptions are the eighteenth-century *Ketsubon-kyō engi-e* belonging to Shōsenji, which illustrates the scripture's narrative rather than just distilling the imagery of the Blood Lake.
- 132 On this imagery and textual inspirations, see Watari Kōichi, "Kushizashi no haha."
- 133 *Mulian jiumu jing* is transcribed in Miya Tsugio, "Mokuren gumo setsuwa to sono kaiga." This story spread in Japan through its abbreviated inclusion in *Sangoku denki* 9:1, vol. 2, 122–29. The description of Mokuren seeing his mother in hell is on 125–27. *Gumo* (saving mother) in the title of this text can also be pronounced *gubo* or *kyūbo*.
- 134 Other early examples of the motif of Mokuren's mother in Abi hell appear in such works as the Zenrinji

- jikkai-zu* and the second scroll of the Idemitsu Museum's six-scroll sixteenth-century *Rokudō jūdō-zu*. On such imagery, see Takasu, "Akudō no oyako," 300–309; and Watari, "Kushizashi no haha." Watari observes various patterns in this imagery. *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* and *Tateyama mandara*, he notes, usually do not show the mother's face, suggesting that the viewer is not encouraged to identify with her.
- 135 On the *segaki* rite and images of Mokuren in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* see Ishiguro Kumiko, "Kumano kanjin jikkai-zu ni okeru monogatari hyōgen to gamen kōsei"; and Watari Kōichi, "Kumano kanjin jikkai-zu to 'haha no kyūsai'."
- 136 In some texts, such as *Mokuren-ki*, the two stories recombined. On this work, see *Mokuren-ki*; Iwamoto, *Jigoku meguri no bungaku*, 135–46; and Watari, "Kushizashi no haha," 200–203.
- 137 *Tateyama mandara* also omit the motif of Mokuren consulting the Buddha, and the monks are positioned differently. In *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* they line up in front of the altar, but in *Tateyama mandara* they tend to assemble around and behind it.
- 138 *Ashikura chūgi on-Ubasen engi*, in *Tateyama daiengi*, ST, *Jinja-hen* 34:128–30. Also see Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 20–21.
- 139 Shifun jigoku, based on a passage in *Qishi jing* (J: *Kise kyō*) at T 1:321ab. The image is in the Hara-ke *Jigoku zōshi* at the Nara National Museum.
- 140 There are also hells of blood in traditional imagery, such as a river of molten copper and other metals mixed with hot blood that is portrayed in the *Jigoku zōshi* held at the Tokyo National Museum. Sinners in this hell got travelers drunk in order to steal their belongings. See the reproduction in *Nihon no Emaki* 7, 48–49; and the description of this hell in *Zhengfa nianchū jing* (T 17:43ab). The hell may differ from the Blood Lake, but the portrayal of sinners drowning in blood-red paint is similar.
- 141 On this hell see, for example, Tsutsumi Kunihiko, *Kinsei Bukkyō setsuwa no kenkyū*, 178–207.
- 142 *Chengshi lun*, T 32:310b.
- 143 On women and serpents see, for example, Tanaka Takako, *Akujo densetsu no himitsu*, 159–226; Tsutsumi Kunihiko, *Nyōnin jatai*; and Bernard Faure, *Power of Denial*, 91–99 and 316–23. Tanaka observes that the conflation of women with snakes in Japan developed from the end of the Heian period into the Kamakura period, when women began to be seen as impure and sinful. While once men and women were both seen as having snake-like true natures—or as having snakes residing inside their bodies—later the perception formed that snakes represented the true,

evil nature of women. Tanaka, *Akujo densetsu no himitsu*, 184.

- 144 *Hokke genki*, NST 7:217–19, 568–69. Here the name of the monk does not appear, but later versions describe him as Anchin. His name appears, for example, in *Genkō shakusho*, KST 31:284–85.
- 145 See *Konjaku monogatari* 14:3, SNKT 35:286–90.
- 146 The prototype for this handscroll may date back to the early Muromachi period. See *Dōjōji engi*, 24. There is a great deal of research on this scroll and on later illustrations of the legend. See, for example, Hayashi Masahiko, "Dōjōji engi no kotoba to kaiga"; Tokuda Kazuo, "Dōjōji engi emaki no saisei"; and the introduction and translation at Virginia Skord Waters, "Sex, Lies, and the Illustrated Scroll." There were many interpretations of this tale in later literature, illustrated handscrolls, and theater. On the Noh play in comparison with other renditions of the story, along with an analysis of the place of snake-women in these stories, see Susan Blakeley Klein, "When the Moon Strikes the Bell"; and *ibid.*, "Woman as Serpent."
- 147 *Kokon chomōjū* 20, NKBT 84:538–39.
- 148 *Konjaku monogatari* 31:10, SNKT 37:459–61.
- 149 *Ibid.*, 13:43, SNKT 35:273–75.
- 150 *Ibid.*, 14:4, SNKT 35:290–93.
- 151 In story 20:23 of *Konjaku monogatari*, for example, a pious monk reincarnates as a small snake due to the distraction of wondering, while reciting the *nenbutsu* on his deathbed, who will inherit his small, white vinegar jar (SNKT 36:272–75). In the next tale a monk incarnates as a large snake in order to protect money he has greedily hoarded (20:24, SNKT 36:275–76; the story originates in *Nihon ryōiki* 2, SNKT 30:117–18).
- 152 On this development, see Tsutsumi Kunihiko, "Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara kanken," 96–101.
- 153 On this illustration, see Hashimoto Naoki, "Bussetsu jizō bosatsu hosshin innen jūdō kyō no kanpon ni suite," 142.
- 154 The reproduction here is from a woodblock-print edition in the collection of Waseda University's Library. The printed sections do not contain publication information. Although the last page contains a hand-written note that this is the Kan'ei 9 (1632) edition, based on the textual content and illustrations, it is probably a Keian 3 (1650) edition.
- 155 *Hitoana sōshi*, 37.
- 156 *Fuji no hitoana no sōshi*, MJMT 11:438.
- 157 *Fuji no hitoana sōshi*, MJMT 11:463. In a later parodic variation, two snake men taunt a third man. See *Wankyū nise no monogatari*, 98–99.
- 158 The oldest dated extant version of this text is the Katakana edition of 1661. Although the illustrated recensions are undated, the Hiragana edition may

derive from an earlier print, revised from an original that more closely resembled the Katakana edition.

- 159 See *Inga monogatari* (Hiragana-bon), 203–4.
- 160 *Kū zōtan (shū)*, 127–9.
- 161 On *Umazume jigoku* see Saitō Ken'ichi, *Kodomo no chūsei-shi*, 196–214. The oldest extant recension of *Hirano yomigaeri no sōshi*, copied in 1513 and held at Chōhōji, describes the women as falling into this hell along with people who committed sins related to anger. From this contextual incongruity, Saitō suggests that *umazume* may have been added to the text later. See *Hirano yomigaeri no sōshi*, MJMT 9:359; and Saitō, *Kodomo no chūsei-shi*, 199.
- 162 See, for example, *Zengyū ahan jing* (J: *Zōichi agon kyō*), T 2:976c; and *Ru Lenggjie jing* (J: *Nyū Ryoōga kyō*), T 16:534b.
- 163 For a reproduction, see Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan zōhin zuhan mokuroku*, Bukkyō kaiga-hen, 132–33.
- 164 Saitō, *Kodomo no chūsei-shi*, 199–202.
- 165 For an analysis of the appearance in two locations in variant images, see Ishiguro Kumiko, "Kumano kanjin jikkai-zu o meguru josei hyōshō no kinō," esp. 27–31.
- 166 *Hitoana sōshi*, 40–41.
- 167 *Shikata banashi*, 287.
- 168 Saitō, *Kodomo no chūsei-shi*, 212–13, and the note on page 257.
- 169 On the Sai riverbank see, for example, Manabe Kōsai, "Sai no kawara jizō wasan seiritsu kō"; Watari Kōichi, "'Sai no kawara' no denshō"; *idem.*, "Osanaki mōja-tachi no sekai"; Saitō, *Kodomo no chūsei-shi*, 156–95; and Watari Kōichi, *O-jizōsan no sekai*, 93–138.
- 170 *Hitoana sōshi*, 35–36. Also see a similar passage in the Keichō 8 (1603) recension of *Fuji no hitoana no sōshi*, MJMT 11:436. The reviving to enable the sufferings of hell to repeat appears, for example, in *Ōjōyōshū*, T 84:33a.
- 171 *Fuji no hitoana sōshi*, MJMT 11:460–61.
- 172 See Watari, "Osanaki mōja-tachi no sekai," 207–17.
- 173 At the intersection of Raichō and Jōdo streams. *Tateyama Sai no kawara jizō wasan* mentions *Tateyama* in the title and text, but its content is too similar to other widely circulated writings to suggest local origins. See Saeki Yukinaga, *Tateyama shinkō no genryū to hensen*, 334–35; and Hayashi, *Zōho Nihon no etoki*, 223–24.
- 174 On the dating see Manabe, "Sai no kawara jizō wasan seiritsu kō." Modern conceptions of the Sai riverbank as more purgatorial than hellish probably derive from the characterizations in this later text.
- 175 Such as *Tateyama jigoku-dani Karasen jizō daibosatsu*, which contains a dedication by Gyokurinbō in 1827; and *Tateyama Sai no kawara jizō wasan*.

- 176 See Kuroda, "Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara no uchū," 270.
- 177 See Saitō, *Kodomo no chūsei-shi*, 183–86, and note 28 on page 251.
- 178 *Honchō suibodai zenden*, 212–13. Also see Inoue Keiji, *Kyōden kōshōgaku to yomihon no kenkyū*, 304–34.
- 179 For introductions to debates on the pervasiveness of *mabiki*, see Chiba Tokuji and Ōtsu Tadao, *Mabiki to mizuko*; Susan B. Hanley and Kozo Yamamura, *Economic and Demographic Change in Preindustrial Japan*; Thomas C. Smith, *Nakahara*; Ann Bowman Jannetta, "Famine Mortality in Nineteenth-Century Japan"; William R. LaFleur, *Liquid Life*, 89–102; Saitō Osamu, "Infanticide, Fertility, and 'Population Stagnation'"; Laurel L. Cornell, "Infanticide in Early Modern Japan?"; and Ochiai Emiko, "The Reproductive Revolution at the End of the Tokugawa Period."
- 180 See Sawayama Mikako, *Shussan toshintai no kinsei*, 158–59.
- 181 See, for example, *Shume no hōgan Morihisa*, 487, where the playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724) describes a passage in a nun's *etoki* that seems to connect the two. The play was performed between the tenth month of 1686 and the first month of 1687. Also see Kōdate, "Aspects of Ketsubon kyō Belief," trans. Formanek, 130. On this play, see Hosokawa Kumiko, "Chikamatsu jōruri *Shume no hōgan Morihisa* ni egakareta Kumano bikuni no etoki."
- 182 On *Mabiki-zu*, see, for example, Hisano Toshihiko, "Mabiki-zu ni miru kogoroshi no hōhō." Sawayama Mikako criticizes Hisano and others for taking these images at face value, as evidence that women were killing children, instead of exploring their impact on female viewers. Sawayama, *Shussan toshintai no kinsei*, 188–218.
- 183 On *Fuku-zu* and *Meifu-zu*, see Kōdate Naomi and Matsuoka Hideaki, "Shirakawa Jōsenji *Fuku-zu* o megutte."
- 184 Ibid. Infanticide may often have been a family or community decision. See, for example, Ochiai, "The Reproductive Revolution at the End of the Tokugawa Period," 209–10.
- 185 Edo families frequently endured the unforeseen deaths of family members of all ages. There are a few examples of patents recording profound grief over the loss of children, some that are all the more poignant for their reticence. See, for example, Harold Bolitho, *Bereavement and Consolation*, esp. 1–30 and 103–161.

Chapter 4

- 1 On Iwakuraji rites at the Blood Lake Hell, see Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 12. A document listing the town's annual rites describes the *segaki* rite, but not the Blood Lake Hell or *Xuepen*

- jing*. See Tateyama *chōshi*, vol. 1, 837. Compared to the abundance of Ashikuraji documents available to scholars, few Iwakuraji documents have been published, hindering research on the town. A collection of records have recently surfaced, opening up new possibilities.
- 2 *Massha innen kakiagechō*.
- 3 See ETKM, 222, and Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 5–6.
- 4 On this image, see Nagashima Katsumasa, *Toyama no bijutsu to bunka*, 9–11; and Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, *Shinzō, Butsuzō wa kataru*, 53.
- 5 *Sangaku kikō*, 23.
- 6 *Mitsu no yama meguri*, 108. Also see Fukue, *Edojō Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 445–47.
- 7 Saeki Ryūkō, *Tateyama shidan*, 85; and Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 11–12. Saeki says there was a rite for throwing sutras into the Blood Lake on the fifteenth day, reading the names of women one by one, but he provides no documentation, and the 1621 *Massha innen kakiagechō* only says that sutras were kept in the hall at the lake.
- 8 Such as the Hōsenbō, Kishshōbō, and Tsutsui-ke versions.
- 9 See Fukue, *Edojō Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 416–18.
- 10 Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 12–14.
- 11 See *Shodō tsutomekata tō nenjūgyōji, hoka sūken*, ETKK 4:11. The rite consisted of Honzon-hiku (worship of the honzon), Kōmyō-ku (a rite related to the Kōmyō shingon), Shoten-zan (praise of *deva*), Jōgyō zanmai (intonation of the *nenbutsu* while circumambulating within a hall), Bussan (praise of the buddha), Jiga-ge (recitation of verse from the Nyorai juryō chapter of *Fahua jing*), Kōmyō shingon (intonation of the Kōmyō *dharani*), Zuigu darani (recitation of a *dharani* stating the vows of the bodhisattva Zuigu), Endonshō (a recitation used in the Tendai school that consists of Guanding's introduction to *Mohe zhiguan* [J: *Maka shikan*], sometimes along with a passage from Zhanran's *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue*), and two types of Ekō (dedications of the merit accrued by the cycle of rites). Also see Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 11–12.
- 12 On these records, see Fukue, *Kinsei Tateyama shinkō no tenkai*, 411–16.
- 13 Some paid 654, 972, or 412 *mon*.
- 14 Fukue, *Edojō Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 426–28.
- 15 For recent research on these various amulets and certificates, see Fukue, *Edojō Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 429–39. According to a communication on April of 2012 with the owner of the receipt reproduced here, this was kept by his family along with similar items connected to other confraternities (such as Fujisan and Konpirasan). The same households and communities subscribed to

- numerous cults. On Tateyama belief in Aichi prefecture (the parish area of Jissōbō), see Tsuda Toyohiko, "Chita chihō no Tateyama shinkō."
- 16 Fukue, *Edojō Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 426–28.
- 17 Ibid., 457.
- 18 See Saeki Yukinaga, *Tateyama shinkō no genryū to henshen*, 367; and Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 25. Another source claims that temple-lodges gave people two copies of *Xuepen jing* before they climbed Tateyama. One copy was for placing in the Blood Lake Hell and the other was for bringing home. When a woman in the pilgrim's household died, it was to be placed in the coffin. See Masahashi Kōji, "Tateyama to josei no tozan oboegaki," 116.
- 19 Published in Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed., *Tateyama shinkō*, 27. Recently other *kechimyaku* wrappers have surfaced. On these wrappers, the characters Busso (buddha patriarch) are to the right of the words *kechimyaku*, and Shōden (proper transmission) are to the left. On the back we find *bakku yoraku* (removing suffering and obtaining ease) printed in the center on a lotus platform, *hōnō Endon daikai* (dedication of the Endon great precepts) on the right, and *denkai shami Minkū* (priest transmitting the precepts, Minkū) on the left. The inner amulet resembles that described above. Three certificates have surfaced that contain Minkū's name.
- 20 On the performativity of gender, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*.
- 21 For the Yuishin-ge, see *Huayan jing*, T 9:466a (sixty-volume recension); and T 10:102ab (eighty-volume recension). Also see Watari Koichi, "Kegon kyo hajigoku-ge o megutte." On *hajigoku* see Hirasawa, "The Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom of Retribution," 26–31.
- 22 There is a great deal of research on the Kōmyō shingon. See, for example, the overview of its development in Tanaka Kaiō, *Kōmyō shingon shūsei*. On its use in Japan, also see Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to Bukkyō*, 165–202; Taira Masayuki, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō*, 401–8; and Mark Unno, *Shingon Refractions*.
- 23 Translated by Bodhiruci (C: Putiliuzhi; 572?–727). See T 20:227.
- 24 Based on excerpts from the earlier text by Amoghavajra (C: Bukong; 705–774).
- 25 Transcribed in Tanaka, *Kōmyō shingon shūsei*, 32–41. On the dating of this text, see Hayami, *Heian kizoku shakai to Bukkyō*, 181–82.
- 26 T 20:385c.
- 27 See Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to Bukkyō*, 178–83.
- 28 See Tanaka, *Kōmyō shingon shūsei*, 36.
- 29 On diagrams of the Kōmyō shingon, see Saitō Hikomatsu, "Hajigoku mandara no kenkyū."

- 30 See, for example, Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Gakkai, ed., *Bonji taikan*, 783–84. In Shingon-school funerary rites, a paper with this design on it is placed on the forehead of a corpse.
- 31 See ETKK 4:11; and Kōdate, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 11–12.
- 32 See Kōdate Naomi, "Ketsubon kyō shinkō reijō to shite no Tateyama," 80.
- 33 Faure, *Power of Denial*, 113.
- 34 There are many classical and medieval examples of nuns and laywomen getting around prejudicial teachings. On how women may have perceived Buddhist conceptions of women, see Nomura Ikuyo, *Bukkyō to onna no seishinshi*, 98–133; Nishiguchi Junko, "Nihonshijō no josei to Bukkyō"; Edward Kamens, "Dragon-Girl, Maidenflower, Buddha"; R. Keller Kimbrough, *Preachers, Poets, Women, and the Way*, 102–23; and Lori Meeks, *Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monastic Orders in Premodern Japan*, 250–300. There were also healthy parodic responses to these ideas during the Edo period.
- 35 Both scrolls treat parables about the benefits of the *nenbutsu* that Genshin incorporated into *Ōjōyōshū*. For more on these two scrolls, see Hirasawa, "Cracking Cauldrons and Babies on Blossoms."
- 36 On this focus in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, see Kuroda, "Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara no uchū"; idem, "The *Kumano kanshin jikkai mandara* and the Lives of the People in Early Modern Japan"; and Oguris, *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, 219–20.
- 37 On this motif, see Kōdate Naomi, "Kanjin jikkaizu no shijūku mochi ni tsuite."
- 38 *Nihon kyūhō shugyō nikki*, NSSS 2:159–60. On vocationally specific aspects of older hell painting traditions, see Kuroda Hideo, *Zōho Sugata to shigusa no chūsei*, 258–63.
- 39 The Hōsenbō and Kishshōbō *Tateyama mandara* depict an unusual example of a woman facing Enma's mirror. The reflection shows her beating a child while she was alive, suggesting the Tateyama cult's testing and fine-tuning of new strategies related to women's work.
- 40 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 115–29.
- 41 Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez, 3.
- 42 Paul Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, trans. Emerson Buchanan, 31.
- 43 See, for example, Job 20:1–29; and Peter Lewis Allen, *The Wages of Sin*, 61–77.
- 44 In the Seikyōji painting the women do not have horns or snake bodies. The image can be seen on the temple's website. Early hell imagery in Japan also rendered disgusting hells. Shifun jigoku, for example, a ferid place where needle-mouthed maggots attack sinners,

Spaces of Salvation

TATEYAMA MANDARA organize invisible and familiar worlds into a cosmological structure—and fold that into the landscape. Salvation in this mountainous universe generally entailed the transformation from one state of being to another, driven by journeys through the landscape and by ritual. Together, Ashikuraji and Iwakuraji accommodated all manner of interaction with Tateyama, but the asymmetrical division of the mountain's spaces and religious rights gave each town's teachings a distinct character. This spatial allotment corresponded, to some extent, to the gender of the supernatural entities that each town promoted and echoed divergent notions of male and female salvation.

We turn now to ritual pivots depicted in *Tateyama mandara* that knit together themes we have explored in previous chapters. Documents pertaining to rites held at the mountain allow us to see exactly what ritual transformation Tateyama priests offered. Teachings about hell and various means of saving men and women were available elsewhere. Here we will consider what Tateyama's two towns provided that was unique.

SAVING WOMEN

Among the means of rescuing women indicated in *Tateyama mandara* are Nyoirin Kannon, a rite held at or near the Blood Lake Hell in Tateyama's

caldera, and rites conducted in the foothills. These motifs appear most frequently in imagery connected to Ashikuraji, reflecting the town's emphasis on preaching to and about women, but Iwakuraji also promoted the salvation of women.

For the summer Bon festival Iwakuraji priests conducted *segaki* rites on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the seventh month, and a rite to save women from the Blood Lake Hell that centered on Kannon on the seventeenth day.¹ An Iwakuraji document dated 1621 records that copies of *Xuepen jing* were installed within a hall at the Blood Lake.² As we saw in Chapter Three, the scripture taught that this hell was comprised of "polluted" menstrual and parturition blood. A small structure dedicated to Nyoirin (Kannon) appears beside the Blood Lake in Iwakuraji paintings (such as the Tōgenji, Itō-ke, and Chūdōbō *Tateyama mandara*) (fig. 95), in the earliest Ashikuraji paintings, and in a few others (such as the Taikōji *Tateyama mandara*). There would have been some central object of worship in this hall, but the acidic gasses exuded by Hell Valley are hard on objects and nothing survives today that can clearly be connected with the structure. The best information we have is an Iwakuraji document that mentions the dedication of a sculpture of Nyoirin Kannon by a man named Rokubē from the city of Edo.³ We do not know, however, if this was treated as the main object of worship in the hall.

Enryūji (Toyama city) holds a small gilt-bronze sculpture of Nyoirin Kannon that dates back to the Kamakura period (fig. 96), long preceding introduction of the *Xuepen jing* cult to Tateyama.

The Cloth Bridge at Ashikuraji today. Photograph by author.



95 Nyoirin Kannon by the Blood Lake Hell. Detail from the Chūdōbō Tateyama mandara (39). Photograph by author.



96 Bronze sculpture of Nyoirin Kannon. Courtesy of Enryūji. Photograph provided by the Tateyama Museum.

According to the temple's foundation legend, it was found on the mountain during the Kanbun era (1661–1673). The image was worshipped by women in the local pleasure quarters for its efficacy in curing sexually-transmitted diseases.⁴ Iwakuraji priests were active in the area and may have promoted this independent development of the cult in relation to *Xuepen jing* belief and their management of the hall at the Blood Lake.

People who climbed the mountain could themselves deposit copies of *Xuepen jing* into the Blood Lake Hell. The painter Ike no Taiga (1723–1776) kept a travel diary that records having lunch in 1760 with two companions at Iwakuraji's Enmeiin. There they purchased an illustrated print (*ezu*), perhaps of the mountain's layout, and acquired a copy of *Xuepen jing* for 48 *mon*. Returning from the peaks, they stopped at the Gonkyōbō in Ashikuraji, where they bought another copy of *Xuepen jing* and a snack for 36 *mon* each.⁵ The 1823 travel diary of a warrior from Owari domain also describes stopping at Iwakuraji for lunch, and records that scriptures to be placed into the Blood Lake Hell were sold for 3 *mon* and diagrams of the mountain (*yama no zu*) were also available.⁶ If pilgrims could perform their own sutra dedications for a nominal fee, rites for women do not seem to have been an essential component of the Iwakuraji economy.

Before the Kaga-domain determination of 1711—when the Nyoirin hall came under exclusive Iwakuraji management—Ashikuraji priests may also have performed *Xuepen jing*-related rites at the Blood Lake Hell,⁷ throwing the single-sheet scripture directly into the marsh as is portrayed in some Tateyama mandara.⁸ During the middle of the Edo period the town shifted the location of these rites down to the Cloth Bridge. Only the Tsuboi-ke [B] Tateyama mandara illustrates them taking place in the foothills.⁹ Other Ashikuraji imagery continued to promote sutra dedications in the caldera, offering those services to people who could not climb the mountain, without depicting the Nyoirin hall managed by Iwakuraji.

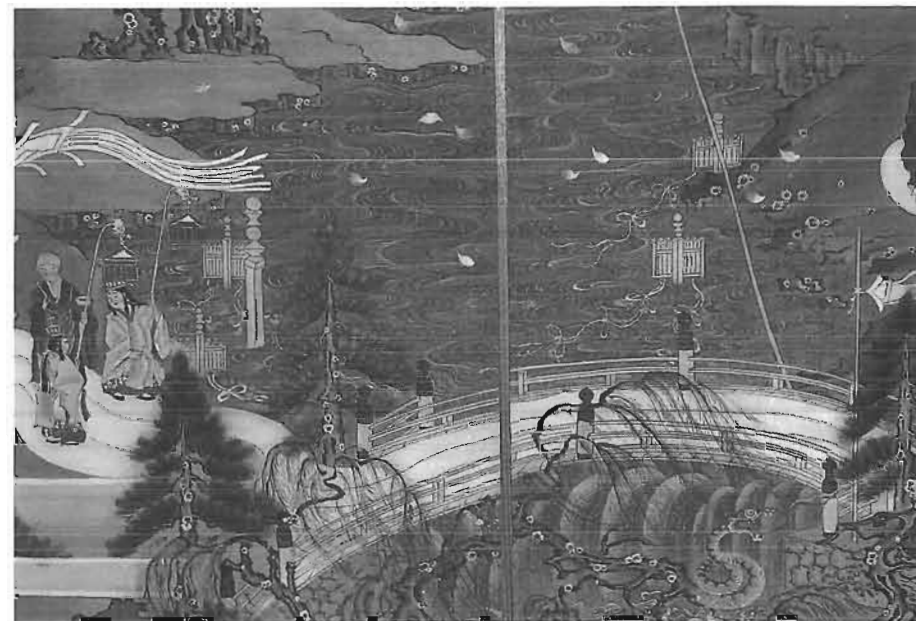
Ashikuraji also conducted another rite for women at the Cloth Bridge, called a flowing consecration (*nagare kanjō*). This involved placing

memorial stakes for women who had died in childbirth into the river beneath the bridge until the currents washed off the writing. At that point, the women were thought to have been released from hell. These stakes appear, for example, just upstream of the bridge in the Hōsenbō Tateyama mandara (fig. 97).¹⁰

The precise content of the *Xuepen jing* ritual performed by Ashikuraji priests at the Cloth Bridge is difficult to ascertain. A liturgical manual dated to 1842 describes a combined *segaki* and *Xuepen jing* rite with clear Tendai components that was performed on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, two days before the rite conducted by Iwakuraji priests in the caldera.¹¹ At the ritual's conclusion, *Xuepen jing* were dedicated under the Cloth Bridge.

Recent research has unearthed considerable information about who commissioned these sutra dedications, what other services people paid for,

and how much they paid for each product or service. For instance, *Xuepen jing* dedication records that were kept by the Ashikuraji temple-lodge Hōsenbō during the mid-nineteenth century list the names and addresses of the head of each donating household, the names of the people for whom the scripture was dedicated, and the dates of dedications. Beneficiary names are listed by their posthumous Buddhist names (*kaimyō*) or prefixed by their status in the family (wife, mother, or daughter). Donors in the city of Edo came from all classes. They included *daimyō*, various ranks of vassals, merchants, artisans, and people affiliated with temples or shrines.¹² Most individual households paid 136 or 272 *mon* to dedicate *Xuepen jing*.¹³ From the amounts recorded, Fukue deduced that one scripture cost 136 *mon* and that some clients commissioned multiple copies. The price may derive from the standard number of 136 hells. It is



97 Nagare kanjō. Detail from the Hōsenbō Tateyama mandara (125). Photograph by author.

difficult to come up with equivalences, but calculating one *mon* in the nineteenth century as roughly twenty yen in today's money, 136 *mon* would have been worth about 2,720 yen. People were encouraged to purchase seven years' worth of dedications, which was seen to add up to the "thousand" copies of the sutra deemed efficacious in saving a woman from the Blood Lake Hell and establishing her connection to the lineage (*kechimyaku*). As Ashikuraji priests made their rounds of parishes, they kept track of each parishioner's sutra dedications, marking off the completion of a seven-year cycle and the issuing of a *kechimyaku* certificate.¹⁴

Surviving amulets, sutras, and certificates are undated and many have strayed far from their original contexts, making them difficult to analyze, but they tell us a great deal about the character of rites conducted at the mountain and about interactions with parishioners. The cult produced *Xuepen jing*, payment receipts for *Xuepen jing* dedications (consisting of inner documents and their outer wrapping papers or envelopes) (fig. 98), *kechimyaku* and other certificates (also consisting of inner documents and outer wrappers), and amulets that ensured purification from menstruation pollution.¹⁵

Ashikuraji priests stored these and other items with wealthy parishioners in between visits. Documents of what they left in the care of these parishioners indicate that they prepared numerous receipts for *Xuepen jing* dedications and only a few *kechimyaku* certificates.¹⁶ Obtaining a *kechimyaku* certificate required more sustained engagement with the cult—and was more expensive.

Xuepen jing alone secured many benefits for their possessors, as we saw in Chapter Three. A text connected to the temple-lodge Jissōbō recommends placing the scripture into the graves of deceased mothers and sisters. Men were also urged to copy it for female family members, living and dead.¹⁷ Cult sources implied that there would be anxiety even after preemptive measures had been taken. One describes women desperately pleading with daughters and daughters-in-law that, "When I die, if all else be forgotten, remember to put [*Xuepen jing*] between my palms or on my chest so that I am holding it firmly when placed in my coffin."¹⁸

Kechimyaku certificates guaranteed enhanced protection and transformation. A few lineage certification amulets, wrappers, or woodblocks for

printing them survive that are related to *Xuepen jing* rites (Ketsubon kyō-e). On the front of the wrapping paper of one *kechimyaku* set (fig. 99), a large sheet of printed paper that was folded around a printed paper amulet, we find the characters *kechimyaku* in the center; "dedication of the recitation of one thousand *Xuepen jing* scriptures" (*hōdokuju Ketsubon kyō issenkan*) on the right; and "Endon precept hell-sundering secret rite" (Endonkai hajigoku hihō) on the left.¹⁹ The Endonkai refers to the Mahāyāna precepts employed in the Tendai school. The amulets ritually appointed their possessors as buddha disciples and promised to help them avoid suffering and pain. We will return to the term *hajigoku* (hell-sundering) below. Printed on the back of the same wrapper are the words "transformation of women into men" (*henryo tennan*) mounted on a lotus platform in the center; "master of the *Xuepen jing* rite" (*Ketsubon kyō-e daidōshi*) on the right; and "transmission master, Gyōkan" (*dentō ajari Gyōkan*) on the left. The terms of female salvation enabled women to transcend sex ritually and performatively, while simultaneously constructing the male state as purer.²⁰ The amulet folded into this wrapper has an

eight-petal lotus flower printed on the top—with each petal containing a Sanskrit seed syllable (*shuji*) for buddhas and bodhisattvas of the Chūdai hachiyōin, the central hall of the Taizōkai esoteric mandala. Below this flower are Sanskrit charms. The certificates suggest that the cult regarded the Taizōkai Dainichi as a protective divinity for women.

Another two *kechimyaku* certificates have recently surfaced along with their wrappers, confirming that other extant wrappers and certificates, although found independently, were once part of a set. One of the wrappers is hand-brushed (fig. 100 and fig. 101) and the other is printed. Both include the name of the Ashikuraji temple-lodge that issued them, the Jissōbō. On one side, we find the words "women of faith" (*shinjin no nyōnin*). On the other side, these wrappers certify the installment of one thousand copies of *Xuepen jing*, and contain the words "Hell-sundering mandala rite" (*Hajigoku mandara-hō*). The inner documents—the actual certificates—are both printed. These are similar to others issued by Ashikuraji, but they contain the name of the Jissōbō. The text describes *Xuepen jing* as a scripture effective in sundering the Blood



98 *Xuepen jing* receipt.
Collection of Narita Sadao.
Photograph by Fukue Mitsuru.



99 *Xuepen jing kechimyaku*
certificate outer wrappers.
Courtesy of the Tateyama
Museum.



100 Xuepen jing kechimyaku certificate, inner amulet from a set issued by the Jissōbō. Author's collection.



101 Xuepen jing kechimyaku certificate outer wrapper from a set issued by the Jissōbō. Author's collection.

Bowl Hell, in escaping reincarnation, and in eradicating heavy sin. The document further mentions two Tateyama *kami* from the foundation legend, Yakusei and Jichō, and contains an endorsement by the cult founder Jikō. He assures recipients that Xuepen jing dedications sunder hell, cause the Pure Land to appear, and enable people immediately to receive a body on a lotus flower. The certificates also guarantee a safe, pleasant current life and the realization of prayers.

The term *hajigoku* refers to words, phrases, mudras, and rituals that were widely held to have the power to sunder hell, a concept that encompassed all means of escaping hell, most properly by eradicating evil karma. Many methods for sundering hell were taught in Buddhist sutras and commentaries. Among them are the last four lines from a verse in *Huayan jing* (J: *Kegon kyō*) called the Hajigoku-ge (hell-tearing verse) or the Yuishin-ge, as well as the Kōmyō shingon (light mantra).¹⁰ The Jissōbō *kechimyaku* certificates are crowned by an emblem consisting of the Sanskrit Kōmyō shingon circling the Sanskrit seed syllable for Dainichi of the Taizōkai.¹¹ Because these *kechimyaku* certificates and wrappers were issued as sets, we know

that this emblem is the "hell-sundering mandala" described on the wrappers.

The Kōmyō shingon was a spell thought to eliminate all sin and obstructions. There are variations and adaptations in both the Sanskrit used and in its pronunciation in Japanese, but a common reading is "On abokya-beiroshanō makabodara mani-handoma-jinbara harabaritaya un" (S: Om amogha-vairocana mahāmudra maṇi-padma-jvala pravartaya hūṃ). This mantra was used in rites that are described in the twenty-eighth fascicle of *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* (J: *Fukū kenjaku jinben shingon kyō*),¹² in *Bukong juansuo Piluzhe'nafo daguandeng guang zhenyan* (J: *Fukū kenjaku Birushanabutsu daikanyō kō shingon*), which circulated in Japan,¹³ and in *Birushanabusetsu kongōchōgyō kōmyō shingon giki*, thought to have been written in Japan sometime around the first half or the middle of the eleventh century.¹⁴ *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* describes scattering sand infused with this mantra over corpses or graves to remove the effects of sin and to save the dead from the evil realms, including hell. The dead would thereby immediately be reborn in the Western Paradise (of Amida) on a lotus flower.¹⁵

The oldest known mention of the Kōmyō shingon in Japan appears in the latter half of the ninth century. Its use developed during the latter half of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century, when it became an important component of rites performed for the aristocratic dead. Such practices became increasingly central within the Tendai and Shingon schools during the mid- and late-eleventh century.¹⁶ Because the textual foundations for this spell describe its efficacy in ensuring rebirth in the Western Paradise, it became firmly associated with Amidist belief and was incorporated in *nenbutsu* deathbed practices. *Birushanabusetsu kongōchōgyō kōmyō shingon giki* makes the connection to Amida more explicit, declaring that the Kōmyō shingon is in the hearts of the buddhas Birushana (Dainichi) and Muryōju (Amida). There are different designations for the main deity of these rites—Dainichi, Amida, or both buddhas—but both names appear in the text.

This Japanese text also explains the mantra's special benefits for women. If a woman dislikes her female body and wishes for a male body, and if she continually chants the Kōmyō shingon, she can become male or can become a Great Brahmā god king (J: Daibonten'ō). If a woman is ugly and recites this spell ten-thousand times, she can become beautiful.¹⁸ According to the prescriptions laid out in this work, it is much easier to save a person from hell—by reciting the Kōmyō shingon forty-nine times—than to transform a woman.

It is not clear exactly when the spell came to be written in a circle around the seed syllable for the main deity. This design, given names such as the Kōmyō shingon *hajigoku mandara*, was influenced by a type of esoteric mandala composed entirely of Sanskrit seed syllables,¹⁹ and was used as a *kechimyaku* for the dead. It continues to be used for that purpose today.²⁰

Among various means of sundering hell available in the wider culture and used by the Tateyama cult, the Kōmyō shingon was ideally suited to Tateyama teachings. It had the power to change women into men, an effect explicitly promised on Tateyama's *kechimyaku* certificate wrappers, and it tied together esoteric Buddhist ideas with conceptions of Amida, a conflation that was emphasized on many Tateyama amulets and wrappers, as well as in numerous other cult materials. The Kōmyō shingon was also recited during *Xuepen jing* rites.²¹ Ashikuraji priests recommended that women carry their *kechimyaku* certificates with them at all times. The amulets, evidence of the protection extended by the mountain, permitted women to worship *kami* and buddhas even while menstruating, guaranteed hell-sundering and sex change, and ensured swift passage to the Pure Land.²²

We find an arsenal of ritual means to save women in the rites performed by Ashikuraji priests at the Cloth Bridge and in the amulets and certificates that they issued. These formulae work on many different levels, guaranteeing transcendence of sin and of the female body.

Cult superintendents partook of the manipulative mechanisms of *Xuepen jing*, a scripture that

doomed women with malignant descriptions of female pollution and its consequences while simultaneously protecting them. Bernard Faure observed about such rhetorical strategies that, "The more despicable and guilty the women were, the more dramatic was the catharsis of salvation. Discrimination allowed salvation and salvation presupposed discrimination."³³ Ashikuraji preachers turned their lowland-bound handicap (discussed in Chapter One) to advantage by appealing to women under similar constraints, and packaged hells for women and travel insurance for the afterlife in order to garner a reliable income.

If we only look at economic or political incentives on the supply side of this equation, however, we miss important information about cult reception. Some women probably internalized pejorative teachings about women and some men probably agreed with them, but others surely made their own creative way through the spaces provided in stories and images—recreating or resisting notions that did not suit them.³⁴ Ashikuraji priests were not in a position to force their ideas onto anyone. Operating in communities far from home, they had to appeal to local authorities, parishioners, and potential visitors to the mountain who had other options. The priests developed their teachings and images in reciprocal interaction with customers. The enduring success of the Tateyama cult is evidence that many supporters thought it worth their time and money. We should not view cult preaching activities as purely predatory or cult supporters as mere prey.

A closer examination of images of women in hell allows us to see something of what female constituents would have gained from forums that featured this imagery. Illustrations of damnation often promoted moral improvement, encouraged modification of behavior, and assuaged or consoled viewers with assurances of salvation (both for self and other). The implied viewers are therefore apparent in the message.

There was a gradual shift during the medieval period in how women were portrayed in hell imagery. This reflected increased promotion of

hell to all classes—and to larger numbers of women. Returning momentarily to the Shōjuraigōji *Rokudō-e* scroll set, we find a variation on the theme of a monk saving his mother from hell in one scroll and an illustration of a tale about a wife who saves her husband in another scroll.³⁵ The scroll of Enma's court in the set depicts couples that are headed for hell together (fig. 63). One pair kneels to the right of the central scene at the mirror, sobbing. Another pair bows and scrapes ingratiatingly before a scribe below the mirror, and, just beneath them, a man and a woman wearing large wooden stocks exchange looks in realization of their miserable predicament. Lastly, there is the family of three at the bottom of the scroll, discussed in the last chapter: a woman, the infant she did not raise to adulthood, and what appears to be the child's father. Other medieval imagery, such as the Idemitsu museum's fourteenth-century *Jūō jigoku-zu*, also features couples (fig. 79). A man and a woman stand serenely and fully clothed before King Godōtenrin. The king and his assistant hold their palms together respectfully as the two newly-dead souls hold the objects that saved them, a scroll and a book. On the far left, Jizō leads another couple out of hell.

Where these images encourage husbands and wives to look after each other and to keep an eye out for what might happen in the hereafter, late-medieval imagery takes familial relationships as a main theme. Numerous couples and their children appear throughout *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*.³⁶ At the entrance to the hill of aging we find a couple and their newborn child. A similar threesome kneels inside the *torii* for the human realm under the hill. The alternating men and women that walk over the hill also seem to be couples—or the same couple aging. At the final descent the old women, bereft of her companion, faces old age and death alone. Couples also occupy various hells and are led by Jizō over the bridge out of hell, as in the Idemitsu *Jūō jigoku-zu*. One motif of a woman wearing a neck restraint standing with her child resembles the motif we have examined in earlier hell imagery, but here the child is older. This is thought to illustrate

a metaphor that the attachment of parents and children is a restraint that binds them through all time. Beside Mokuren at the *torii* to hell, a widow performs a rite to save her husband. As nails are driven into pieces of sticky rice piled into a large bowl, they are removed from her husband in hell.³⁷ Thus Mokuren's effort to save his mother, an example for male viewers, is matched by an example for female viewers of a woman saving her husband. These motifs—portrayed alongside traditional hells, the new hells for women, the rite to save hungry ghosts, and the Sai riverbank—send a consistent message: the family and the responsibilities of family members to look after one another straddle this life and the afterlife.

Through the looking glass of standard hell imagery, the routine tasks of fish handlers, hunters, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other professionals are reversed; the actor in life is acted upon in the hereafter. Many painted hells thereby dissuade viewers from certain behavior—threatening monks who kill and eat meat with skinning, mincing, and boiling; attempting to deter would-be criminals from harming others; or warning of extreme penalties for stinginess or swindling. Other hells, however, betray different aims. Among the infernal attractions at Tateyama, as recorded in the diary of an early nineteenth-century pilgrim, were hells for people who produce a fermenting agent, hells for dyers, blacksmiths, metal casters, sake brewers, and farmers.³⁸ The Saeki-ke and Shōmyōan *Tateyama mandara* label many hells as connected to such professions. Certain vocational sins were well known. Farming, for example, entailed the incidental killing of insects or other vermin. For other trades, the sins that warranted descent to hell are not as obvious. Many people—inheriting their trades or plying them out of necessity—would have had little say in choosing their livelihood. Imagery of most vocational hells was less about preventing acts associated with making a living than about emphasizing (and creating) the need for salvation.

Motherhood was similarly "professionalized" in hell imagery. Paintings both discouraged women

from shirking their vocational responsibilities to bear and raise children, and condemned them no matter what they did.³⁹ Without ritual intervention women could, at best, determine what hell they headed for. Birth, then, could determine the afterlife fate of artisans, farmers, and women alike, but the hells for women differ in their conceptualization of the female body as both the cause for a fall to hell and the inevitable punishment. As we saw in Chapter Three, motifs of women in hell archive the female reproductive body and its attendant concerns, and the biological particularities and transient perils of the female body stubbornly persist in the afterlife. Being female entailed an extra burden of karmic debt that resisted disposal in death and that transcended realms, creating what amounted to a "realm of women" that overlapped with other realms of transmigration.

Places of torment for women escalate a sense of horror at the female body, partly by suggesting that women were susceptible to serpentine metamorphosis—to a loss of emotional and bodily control—and partly by assigning to the body indestructible metaphysical properties. The female tendency to monstrosity (usually due to jealousy or attachment) made mothers, daughters, wives, and mistresses uncanny and frightening. The quantity of menstrual or parturition blood imagined to be awaiting women in the afterlife heightened awareness of that blood, making it utterly revolting. Mary Douglas wrote of the ambiguous status of bodily excretions.⁴⁰ They are part of us and not part of us, alive and dead, inside and outside. According to Julia Kristeva, pus, blood, sweat, and excrement confront us with our own mortality and decay. Our disgust for these wastes, she argued, comes from the intuition that their expulsion enables us to live.⁴¹ The Blood Lake Hell quite literally emblemized the border of life and death in childbirth. The vast accumulations of menstrual and parturition blood that comprise the Blood Lake Hell define women by what they have expelled—by what is abject to them—coercing rejection not only of the body's refuse, but of the female body itself.

Perceptions of the karmic causes of a female incarnation justified a woman's misfortunes in hell. Blaming the victim is not unique to Buddhist-inflected conceptions. Paul Ricoeur writes, "The bond between defilement and suffering, experienced in fear and trembling, has been all the more tenacious because for a long time it furnished a scheme of rationalization, a first sketch of causality. If you suffer, if you are ill, if you fail, if you die, it is because you have sinned."⁴¹ As Job was harshly judged by his neighbors and as medieval Europeans thought that victims of Bubonic plague had been struck down because of their sins,⁴² women fell into the Blood Lake Hell because they were evil. In some recensions of the older story of Mokuren and his mother, she was so wicked as to require not only her son's persistent efforts to neutralize her karma, but also the assistance of myriad buddhas and bodhisattvas. Each concerted attempt to save her only achieved a small measure of the effect intended. Overcoming her evil karma, the story demonstrates, was nearly impossible. She deserved to suffer—and yet the point of the story is also that salvation is within reach, even for the profoundly sinful.

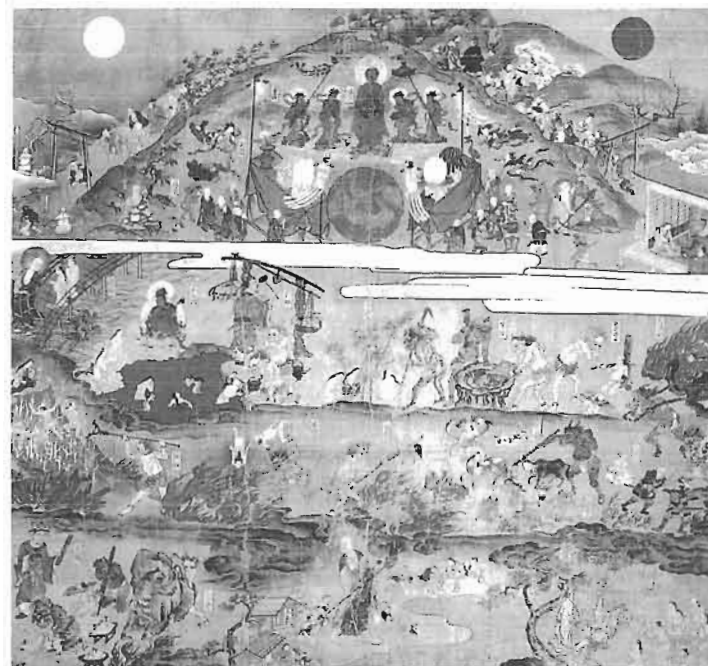
The most sadistic portrayals of hells for women compare instructively to *Tateyama mandara*. Generally, the vicious tone of descriptions in *Xuepen jing* does not find its way into images, but there were exceptions. Rokudō Chinnōji's (Kyoto) *Kumano kanjin jikkai-zu* (possibly painted at the beginning of the Edo period), for example, illustrates a demon clutching the hair of a sinner knee deep in blood and forcing her to swallow blood from a pail (fig. 102 and fig. 103). Seikyōji's (Hyōgo) sixteen-scroll *Sangai rokudō-zu* (from the beginning of the eighteenth century) is similarly disturbing. A large blue demon holding a club over his head has just chased two women into the lake. They dive into the blood to avoid being dlobbered. Two other women, their white shifts and legs stained red, stand on the shore. One vomits a thick stream of blood.⁴⁴ As we saw in Chapter Three with portrayals of the Sai riverbank, this brutal imagery may have exceeded the boundaries of acceptability with certain viewers.

It does not appear in *Tateyama mandara*. Despite the damning rhetoric from *Xuepen jing* that was adopted into *Tateyama* cult literature, none of the women in the Blood Lake Hell of *Tateyama mandara* that have been identified so far have serpentine bodies or horns that make their sinful natures visible, and demons do not contribute to their torments.⁴⁵

Rites for the dead comfort the living. In many cultures, ritual treatment of the physical and metaphysical remains of the dead aims to restore balance—putting the dead in their place, transforming them into protective entities, preventing pollution, and reincorporating mourners into ordinary social life.⁴⁶ *Tateyama mandara* conceived of the mountain as enshrining and transfiguring the dead in a specific geographical location. The specificity of this placement allowed *Tateyama*'s vast natural environment to absorb the rupture and mystery of death in a way that other hell painting could not. The distance of *Tateyama* from preaching venues echoed the distance the bereaved felt from the dead, and yet the mountain was within reach.

Many premises of the cult of *Tateyama* no longer hold sway, but the services it provided answer to familiar emotional needs. There is considerable anecdotal evidence, for example, about the anger that can arise in the wake of death. Mourners, according to certain analyses, reproach the dead for leaving them behind, and when it is inappropriate or impossible to direct fury at the deceased or elsewhere, they can turn on themselves, becoming melancholic, self-loathing, or expecting punishment.⁴⁷ Reproaching or making amends with the dead are seen as integral to the "work" of mourning. For Edo-period Japanese, the living could directly affect the circumstances of the dead. The world view that included visions of the dead in hell may have helped to channel or preempt rage at the dead. If the deceased already suffer helplessly, anything that survivors do for them is compassionate. The living can thereby respond productively to bereavement.

Individual encounters with *Tateyama mandara* were also shared encounters. Grieving specialists



102 *Kumano kanjin jikkai-zu*. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper. Courtesy of Rokudō Chinnōji.



103 Blood Lake Hell. Detail of *Kumano kanjin jikkai-zu* (102). Courtesy of Rokudō Chinnōji.

refer to a "dialogue of mourning" that enables us to approach private grief through the public grief of others, something they bemoan as lost in modern society.⁴⁸ The use of images and rites in visits to parishes gave form to both personal and vicarious experiences, creating an opportunity for communities to take stock of the year's births, deaths, and other important events.

Moreover, the ease of acquiring release from the Blood Lake Hell and from an obstinately female body indicates recognition of the unjust condemnation of women both in society and the afterlife. This seems particularly true if hell's horrors were perceived as gratuitously cruel and unfair. Conceptions of injustice in the afterlife are certainly not unique to Japan.⁴⁹ The *Aeneid* describes the unbaptized desperately trying to cross the River Styx, but the ferryman Charon leaves them stranded,⁵⁰ and Dante explains that sinless unbaptized pagans and children wind up in Limbo, in the first circle of hell or in ante-purgatory.⁵¹ While promoting burial or baptism, unjust condemnation can also elicit special corrective measures. Dante's Christ leaves Homer, Horace, Ovid, Socrates, and Plato in Limbo, but saves the Old Testament patriarchs Noah, David, and Abraham. Such attempts to ameliorate the fate of doomed innocents reveal inadequacies in the afterlife justice system—that are often related to worldly prejudices. It is easy to imagine that Edo-period women and their families appreciated the risks involved in pregnancy and wished to ensure a positive outcome—as well as to secure peaceful rest for women whose pregnancies went terribly wrong.⁵² Some people would not have seen these women as particularly deserving of a fall to hell. The women in the Blood Lake Hell in *Tateyama mandara* are pitiful, childlike, fully-human victims of their bodies and situations. Since punishment of these women is out of proportion to the severity of their sins, an amulet, a sutra dedication, or participation in a ceremony enabled easy escape from hell and ensured entry to the Pure Land. Tickets to salvation were available to the deeply sinful as well, but the implications for these women stand out.

There is still no comprehensive, satisfying explanation as to why the standard set of hells for women and children took hold in imagery of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As we saw in the previous chapter, these hells did not start out as a set; each of the new hells for women has a distinct origin and historical development. Their routine combination in imagery, however, was a late-medieval development. Perhaps the new hells can be explained by reactions to the devastations of the violent Sengoku era,⁵³ or by increased expectations and pressures on women related to medieval developments of the household (*ie*) system.⁵⁴ In reinforcing nuclear-familial ties and encouraging women to reproduce, this imagery fosters the continuation of a household's lineage; the future of the family, the household, and the community depends on the birth of children.

Wakita Haruko argues that the exclusion of aristocratic women from public life during the late-classical and early-medieval periods coincided with increased veneration for motherhood, that medieval women were increasingly regarded according to their ability to produce children, and that they came to see themselves by the same standards. While women retained the responsibility for motherhood and for the household lineage during the early-modern period, she contends, these responsibilities were no longer accorded respect.⁵⁵ The history of illustrating women in hell reflects these developments and *Tateyama mandara* borrow heavily from contemporary hell imagery.

Instead of the linear process depicted in imagery of the Ten Kings or the cyclical transits suggested by *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, however, *Tateyama mandara* set out compositional pathways to salvation that include ritual means of permanently escaping the female body and adopting a male body. They also posit another conceptual framework for female salvation that we will explore below.

BRIDGING WORLDS

We have arrived at what was arguably the most important rite at Ashikuraji, the Cloth Bridge

Consecration. It was held annually during the autumn equinox and figured prominently in imagery associated with the town. Past scholarship has interpreted this event as effecting women's salvation—and it was promoted as having such effects. It was, however distinct from the *Xuepen jing* rites discussed above, and even though the main deity of the rite, Ubason, contributed depth and complexity to Ashikuraji's appeals to women, based on the ritual content, women do not seem to have been a primary focus. Although a dearth of surviving documentation leaves many questions unanswered about the rite's origins and development, recent scholarship has begun to provide us with a better picture of its content and its participants.⁵⁶

This rite is usually featured in the foreground of *Tateyama mandara* connected to Ashikuraji (fig. 104, fig. 105, and fig. 106).⁵⁷ In most examples, pilgrims and priests emerge from the Enma hall and walk along a path lined with strips of white cloth. The path crosses the Cloth Bridge arching over a river and ends at the Uba hall. In some paintings the white ribbons of cloth are partly obscured by crowds of participants and officiants at the rite; in others the officiants face

each other from the banks of the river on either side of the bridge, joined by a few representative participants. When the ritual stage of the bridge is empty, it seems to invite participants. In some images participants are shrouded in white mortuary garments and broad straw hats, making it difficult to determine their gender. In others we can clearly distinguish only women, both men and women, or (rarely) only men.⁵⁸ The Nikkōbō [A] *Tateyama mandara* depicts only the Cloth Bridge Consecration and nearby structures, omitting most other iconographical staples of *Tateyama mandara*, except for Jōdōsan with Amida and his company arriving on swirling pale purple clouds.⁵⁹

The bridge (and the Uba hall) existed by the end of the medieval period. According to a local document dated 1674, in 1590—while Kaga domain was under the control of Maeda Toshiie—there was an order to repair the Chūgū Uba hall, the bridge in front of it, and other structures at Ashikuraji.⁶⁰ Another document states that in the eighth month of 1614 Toshiie's wife Hōshun'in (Matsu, 1547–1617) (fig. 107) and the wife of Toshiie's son Toshinaga, Gyokusen'in (Oda Nobunaga's fourth daughter, Ei, 1574–1623), walked across the bridge—covered with



104 Cloth Bridge Consecration. Detail from the Hōsenbō *Tateyama mandara* (125). Photograph by author.



105 Cloth Bridge Consecration reenactment, 2005. Photograph by author.

white cloth—and participated in some kind of rite.⁶¹ At the time, Toshinaga had just died (in the fifth month) and Hōshun'in had just returned from serving as a hostage of the Bakufu for fourteen years. We do not know anything about the content of the ritual or whether it had been performed previously. This was a time of great political instability, with the last battle between Tokugawa Ieyasu and the Toyotomi just months away. The rite would have been performed in gratitude for Matsu's safe return, to pray for Toshinaga's repose, and to secure a safe afterlife for participants.⁶² No subsequent documentation about the Cloth Bridge Consecration survives until *Wakan sansaizue*, which notes that Jikō (Ariyori) made a statue of his mother, that he held her funeral on the

middle day of the autumn equinox in the eighth month of 704, and that this rite still continues.⁶³ Whether or not this was an early form of the Cloth Bridge Consecration, the description suggests some kind of rite for the dead (*tsuizen kuyō*).

The name of the bridge reflects changes to the rite over time. It was often referred to simply as the bridge in front of the Uba hall. It was also called the Floating Bridge of Heaven (*Ama no ukihashi*), referring to a mythical bridge between heaven and earth that appears in the ancient chronicles.⁶⁴ In *Nihon shoki*, for example, the two *kami* Izanaki and Izanami first create land by standing on the Floating Bridge of Heaven and dipping a spear into the ocean from which drops fall and harden to form



106 Participants in the Cloth Bridge Consecration Reenactment, 2005. Photograph by author.

the island Onogoro.⁶⁵ The bridge next appears in this text when the heavenly grandchild descends to earth. Amaterasu's son Oshihomimi first attempts the descent, but changes his mind when he looks down from the Floating Bridge of Heaven and sees an unpacified, ugly land.⁶⁶ After other *kami* subdue the earth, Amaterasu's grandchild Ninigi goes down to the area of Takachiho no mine, a peak in Hyūga (Miyazaki), and then crosses the Floating Bridge of Heaven to flat land on Ukishima.⁶⁷ Scholars have debated whether the bridge that connects heaven and earth in this myth is a vertical, ladder-like structure or a horizontal, floating pontoon bridge. Whatever its shape, it is not a vehicle used

by just any *kami*, but is used exclusively by imperial ancestral *kami* to create land, to descend to earth, or to view earth from on high.⁶⁸

Mircea Eliade saw the ritual reenactment of deeds first performed by a god or ancestor as a means of regenerating the community through a restoration of mythical, sacred time and space.⁶⁹ Although *kami* from ancient mythology do not descend over the bridge during the Cloth Bridge Consecration, adopting the name of this legendary bridge for a structure at Ashikuraji brought to Tateyama the conduit to heaven as well as important *kami* connected to creation myths. The present was collapsed into the time of the initial creation of



107 Portrait of Hōshun'in, Maeda Toshiie's wife. Detail from hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. Edo period. Important Cultural Property. Courtesy of Sōjiji.

land. The legend's association with Izanami also brought overlays of a myth about the land of the dead.

Use of the name Ama no ukihashi for the bridge continued into the 1820s. The term Cloth Bridge initially referred to the ritual held at the bridge, but a petition in 1760 by an Ashikuraji monk named Chidō to the temple and shrine magistrate requests that repairs be made to the damaged stone wall of the "Nunobashi" (Cloth Bridge), the oldest documented mention of this name for the bridge itself.⁷⁰ Transition to regular use of the name Cloth Bridge seems to have coincided with reconstruction of the bridge in 1820, and from the 1830s Cloth Bridge appears frequently, perhaps reflecting a shift from shrine-related to more Buddhist identification.⁷¹

During the Cloth Bridge Consecration, Amida—the *honji* (Buddhist identity) of the Tateyama

gongen—descended toward participants, making the rite a kind of *mukaekō* (or *raigō-e*), an enactment of the welcoming of Amida and twenty-five bodhisattvas, also described in Tateyama foundation legends.⁷² Stories tell us that Genshin initiated *mukaekō*, but their origins are not clear.⁷³ They seem to have been performed widely during the twelfth century and they survive today, most famously in the Nerikuyō at Taimadera (Nara) conducted on May fourteenth. At Taimadera, a long temporary bridge is constructed between two halls, the Mandaradō and the Shabadō. At the ritual's climax, people wearing bodhisattva masks and robes perform the roles of Amida's retinue, crossing over the bridge that connects paradise to this world and then returning to paradise (fig. 108).

A record from 1842 detailing Ashikuraji's annual rites contains a description of the Cloth Bridge Consecration and a diagram of the staging of its officiants. Here we find the names of the twenty-five bodhisattvas on the Uba-hall side of the bridge.⁷⁴ Amida's name is not included. The current *mukaekō* at Taimadera does not include Amida in the procession either, but Amida is included at other present-day *mukaekō* and it is thought that Amida is always present in one form or another during such rites.⁷⁵ At Tateyama, the mountain may stand in for Amida since Jōdōsan is within view of the Uba hall. *Tateyama mandara* that depict welcoming retinues descending toward the bridge also suggest this possibility.

Mukaekō were performed at Ama no hashidate (Miyazu, Kyoto), a sand bar joining two shores that was famous throughout the Edo period for being one of the three most beautiful sites in Japan.⁷⁶ This natural bridge was also conflated with the legendary Floating Bridge of Heaven. According to *Konjaku monogatari* a holy man initiated the rite.⁷⁷ He is identified in *Kojidan* as a mid-Heian Tendai monk named Kan'in.⁷⁸ *Tango no kuni fudoki*, a text that survives only as quotations within other texts, contains a legend about the origins of Ama no hashidate. Izanaki attempted to descend from heaven by building a bridge, but it collapsed while he slept and became the bank of sand.⁷⁹ The words



108 Taimadera Nerikuyō. Photograph by author.

Ama no hashidate do not appear in *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki*, but *Shaku nihongi*, a latter Kamakura-period annotation of *Nihon shoki*, inquires whether the Floating Bridge of Heaven (Ama no ukihashi) and Ama no hashidate were identical.⁸⁰ The Tendai monk Shunshō's (?–1335) *Jukkaishō* explicitly records that Kan'in established the *raigō* rite at Ama no hashidate.⁸¹

Many scholars think that *mukaekō* developed as *gishi saisei* rites—ritual enactments of death and rebirth intended to expiate sin, ensure good health, and guarantee a peaceful afterlife—and that sometime around the fourteenth century they evolved into rites performed for the dead.⁸² There is, however, much variation in *mukaekō* held at different locations and in different eras. At Taimadera a shift

from Shingon to Pure Land influence during the early-Muromachi period prompted a Pure Land revival of the temple that seems to have coincided with the shift from a *gishi saisei* to a *raigō-e* (welcoming rite). This amended rite may have been modeled on the well-known *mukaekō* in Tango.⁸³

We do not know what the ceremony at the bridge near the Uba hall was like before the Edo period. No documentation reveals whether Jōdo or Tendai components informed it and no records pinpoint the time of its inception. The *Wakan sansaizue* entry suggests that aspects of the rite involved dedications to the dead, but there may also have been preemptive elements for the living at that time that came to be emphasized later.

Soon after the appearance of *Wakan sansaizue*, the autumn equinox rite was expanded. These changes coincide with Ashikuraji's struggles to adjust to the redefined parameters of its religious jurisdiction. A record from 1722 indicates that a rite held at the Uba hall during the autumn equinox in the eighth month cost more than double the funds spent on the "Tateyama daisairei," ostensibly the most important rite at Chügūji (Ashikuraji).⁸⁴ The content of the autumn-equinox rite is not described, but judging by the expense it must have been the largest ceremony performed at the temple—and its timing matches that of the later Cloth Bridge Consecration. It was only eleven years earlier that the magistrate of justice issued its decision to protect Ashikuraji's Japan-wide parish-cultivation and amulet-distribution activities, but prohibited the town from using the title "Tateyama honji bettō" and stripped it of various religious rights to the mountain. A document from 1747 describes 136 rolls of white cloth stretching from the Enma hall to the Uba hall. Since the bridge had collapsed at that time, rites were conducted from the riverbanks. The document mentions plans to rebuild the bridge the following year.⁸⁵ As with the price of *Xuepen jing*, the number of cloth rolls most likely derives from the standard total number of hells. Records from 1805 and 1820 describe an increase to 360 rolls of cloth laid across the bridge.⁸⁶

Major modifications to the rite seem to have taken place between 1818 and 1830, and the Cloth Bridge was rebuilt in 1820, along with other structures at Ashikuraji. Quickly reviewing some of the history between the two towns around this time, it was in 1810 that Iwakuraji complained about Ashikuraji's sutra dedication books, and in 1814 that Iwakuraji objected to Ashikuraji's use of a banner containing the words "Tateyama gongen" and to use of the title "Ashikuraji bettōsho" on sutra dedication books. Another threat to Ashikuraji's livelihood arrived in the fifth month of 1814 when Kaga domain completed construction on a new road to the Tateyama hot springs. This enabled pilgrims to reach the hot springs easily and from there to follow traditional paths to the top of the mountain,

circumventing the route through Ashikuraji and the services provided there.⁸⁷ In 1816 the domain's magistrate of justice reaffirmed Ashikuraji's rights to non-local parish cultivation and amulet distribution, but forbade the town from referring to itself as the main shrine of the Tateyama daigongen. This determination severed Ashikuraji's relationship with Mine Honsha and dispossessed it of any connection to the Tateyama gongen. Further compounding the insult and injury, beginning in 1819 Iwakuraji priests repeatedly performed treasure expositions (*degaichō*) outside Kaga domain, in direct competition with Ashikuraji and in violation of domain directives, imperiling one of the few sources of income left to Ashikuraji. Rights to perform the Cloth Bridge Consecration and to worship Ubason were uncontested; it makes sense that Ashikuraji would have refurbished this event.

Three events stand out among the various documents that survive to us concerning the rite: conferring the *samayakai* precepts at the Enma hall,⁸⁸ proceeding over the bridge, and conferring lineage certificates at the Uba hall. A document dated 1829 describes how offerings were made to the sculptural triad of the main deity and how sticky-rice was placed before images on the side.⁸⁹ This probably refers to the three main Ubason sculptures and other images enshrined in the Uba hall. Then officials gathered at another structure to confirm the roles that each would perform during the ritual and went to the Enma hall. Officers next delivered ten *nenbutsu*, read sutras, performed a hymn, and led a procession. Based on later documents, we can assume that this procession led to the Uba hall. The second in command at Ashikuraji, the Inju, acted as Indōshi, the officer who ritually led participants from this world and sent them off to the next. The Ashikuraji abbot (Bettō) performed the role of Raigōshi, the officer who ritually welcomed participants to the Other World. After 1832 the Inju and Bettō switched responsibilities so that the Inju, whom the town usually charged with bestowing *kechimyaku*, welcomed participants in the Uba hall. This shifted the emphasis in the rite from leading

to welcoming.⁹⁰ A document from 1842 provides more detail.⁹¹ The Indōshi entered the Enma hall and bestowed penance precepts (*Sangekaimon*) on the participants assembled inside. Then recitation commenced of the *samayakai* precepts (*Samayakaimon*), Shichi-san (a hymn to the four wisdoms of the Kongōkai Dainichi), *Fahua jing*, and various mantras. The *samayakai* were precepts taken before esoteric consecration in the Tendai and Shingon schools.⁹²

The procession on the bridge was called a Yukiwatari (or Yukiwatashi) rite. The Indōshi (Bettō) led a group of officiants from the Enma-hall side of the bridge while the Raigōshi (Inju) led another group of officiants from the Uba-hall side. These priests lined up along both sides of the bridge to guide participants from this world into the afterlife. Among the rites that took place in the "inner hall" (*naidōjo*, the Uba hall) were offerings to the main deity (Ubason), recitation of the purpose of the ritual (Hyōbyaku), performance of the Shika hōyō,⁹³ recitation of a verse calling for the preservation of Buddhism (*taiyō*), intonation of a worship recitation (*shōrei*), and recitation of the *Hongakusan* (verses in praise of original enlightenment).⁹⁴ These sources outline a highly developed ritual at the three structures.

What was the purpose of this rite? Gorai Shigeru classified Tateyama's Cloth Bridge Consecration as a *gishi saisei*, a preemptive enactment of one's own death.⁹⁵ He saw a diverse assortment of rituals as sharing similar components.⁹⁶ Each of the examples he raises involves some kind of initiation, secret transmission, or secret ritual. He argued that all are rooted in Japanese folk beliefs that combined with Buddhist notions about the mechanics of salvation.⁹⁷ This approach enabled useful comparative structural analyses of various rites. Closer examination of the Cloth Bridge Consecration in light of other rites reveals commonalities as well as important differences.

Many of the rites that Gorai treats fall into a category of Buddhist rituals called *gyakushu* (or *yoshu*) that garner merit for the afterlife while the subject still lives. The collection of scriptures

Foshuo guandīng jing (J: *Bussetsu kanjō kyō*), thought to have been edited in the fifth century, explains that performing a *gyakushu* for twenty-one days before one's life ends enables the attainment of unlimited happiness.⁹⁸ and *Dizang pusa benyuan jing* (J: *jizō bosatsu hongan kyō*) claims that when people perform rites for the dead, only one seventh of the merit accumulated goes to the dead. The remaining six sevenths accrues to the living sponsors of the rite.⁹⁹ It is likely that both of these works were edited or written in China, and that *gyakushu* originated in China as well, developing from an assembly of practices and beliefs that took shape during the Tang dynasty. What began as purification practices of lay believers developed into rites performed for a total of ten days over the course of each month. The latter then came to accommodate the idea that there was an intermediary state in the afterlife when the dead have a chance to be reborn. Gradually this developed into *shōshichisai*, a series of *gyakushu* rites conducted ten times from the seventh day after a person's death until the third year anniversary. *Shōshichisai* then joined with belief in the Ten Kings who judge the dead during these three years. Recensions of *Shiwang jing* were fundamental vehicles for spreading the Ten King cult in China. Kominami Ichirō contends that this text evolved from a core of *shōshichisai* traditions that later merged with rites to comfort and save the dead, referred to as *shichishichisai*.¹⁰⁰ Hence preemptive *gyakushu* practices evolved into rites performed by the living for the dead in the development of the cult of the Ten Kings.

In considering the Cloth Bridge Consecration as an initiation involving ritual enactment of death and rebirth, we start with the lineage certificates conferred by the Raigōshi at the Uba hall. Generally such certificates are received upon consecration. Examples include those issued at *denpō kanjō* rites, certifying a lineage of dharma transmission from Dainichi down to the newly consecrated, and claiming them as buddha disciples. There were other types of lineage certificates issued by the Tateyama cult as well, such as those connected with the *Xuepen jing* rites described

above. Although cult documents mention the distribution of lineage certificates at the Cloth Bridge Consecration, they only refer to generic rituals and provide no evidence of difficult ascetic practices or secret rites that are components of the other *gishi saisei* that figure in Gorai's analysis.

Such aspects may not have been completely absent from the Cloth Bridge Consecration. In 1936, a local scholar described the rite based on his recollection of a conversation with an elderly man when he visited Ashikuraji in 1929. According to this account, entering the Uba hall was called Jōdo iri (entering the Pure Land), the doors to the Uba hall were shut tight, making the interior completely dark, and male and female participants from various schools were crammed into the building. Sutras were read, participants beat on the doors or on drums, chanted the Daimoku (*Namu Myōhō renge kyō*, praising the title of *Fahua jing*—a practice of Nichiren-school followers), or chanted the *nen-butsu* (a practice performed by aspirants to the Pure Land from various schools). The doors on four sides were then thrown open at once, allowing bright light to stream into the structure. Participants felt as though they had arrived in the Pure Land.¹⁰¹ If this description is accurate, the effect of crowding people uncomfortably into a dark, confined space, and then giving them an experience of sudden release into light may have been an important part of the rite. Perhaps we can see this programmed release as an approximation of ascetic practice, analogous to rites such as the Nanban ibushi, part of Haguro *shugen* Mine-iri rites, which involves confining participants inside a hall, throwing red peppers and rice hulls onto braziers until the smoke makes the ascetics inside extremely uncomfortable, and then clearing the air.¹⁰²

Fukue determined, however, that the structure of the Uba hall and the arrangement of the objects inside would not have been conducive to such a ritual. Achieving complete darkness would have been difficult and, even with doors on all four sides of the hall open, sculptures would have obstructed the light and the view of the mountains in the distance.¹⁰³ Without earlier records, we cannot

determine whether the Cloth Bridge Consecration concluded with this dramatic flourish during the Edo period. A visitor to Ashikuraji in the sixth month of 1844 did not witness the Cloth Bridge Consecration, but he described the inside of the Uba hall. He wrote that it was hung with curtains so that, "Even in daylight it was as dark as night. A candle was lit and the [shrine containing the main deities] was opened. Priests preached the foundation legend. It was extremely long and difficult to listen to."¹⁰⁴ Perhaps this gives us some sense of the atmosphere during the rite and of the relief participants felt at its end.

The term Jōdo-iri, used to describe entering the Uba hall, recalls a ritual component of the Ōkagura at Oku mikawa (in the vicinity of northeastern Aichi) that was established during the late-medieval period, performed for a few days once every few years (or every few decades), and last performed in 1856.¹⁰⁵ The Ōkagura included strong *shugen* elements, an eclectic combination of esoteric Buddhist and other components, and a ritual passage through death and rebirth. The climax of the festival was a rite called the Shirayama gyōji that enacted important events in life: birth was ritualized as the Umarego, passage to adulthood as the Kiyomari, and turning sixty years old (completing a full cycle in the Chinese zodiac) as the Jōdo-iri.¹⁰⁶ Participants, called Kago, spread white cotton cloth and Buddhist texts on a bridge called the Mummyō no hashi (bridge of ignorance; also Kyōmon no hashi, bridge of sutras). They crossed the bridge and entered a temporary structure called the Shirayama. Although its design does not survive, from a few records we know that it was square and had no roof, that it was surrounded by freshly cut brushwood, that a canopy was suspended above the center, and that below the canopy rose a *boden*,¹⁰⁷ a pole with a dragon and cloth arranged around it. Participants in the Jōdo-iri wore white mortuary clothing, as if embarking on the journey of death. When they entered the Shirayama, they carried umbrellas and adamantite (*vajra*) staffs. White cloth brightened the interior, where a mandala may have been suspended as the main object of worship (*honzon*).

Priests then read a text called *Shime no hokai* (or *honkai*), participants were guided to rebirth in the Pure Land,¹⁰⁸ and there was some form of esoteric Buddhist consecration.¹⁰⁹ The Ōkagura's Shirayama rite seems to have been a *shugen*-type *gishi saisei* ritual, incorporating a syncretic blend of Pure Land and esoteric Buddhist practices with local practices.¹¹⁰ Fundamentally, the Ōkagura Shirayama rite enacted cardinal experiences of the stages of life. Participants in the Jōdo-iri ritual component previewed their inevitable, ultimate embarkation to the afterlife with practices simulating leading the dead to the Pure Land.

Aspects of leading the dead may have figured in the Cloth Bridge Consecration as well. In some portrayals of the procession over the bridge in *Tateyama mandara*, such as the Zendōbō and Saeki-ke versions, participants carry a "rope of virtue" (*zen no tsuna*) that resembles ropes attached to the

coffins of women or children in funeral processions. On the Uba-hall shore of the Cloth Bridge there is a graveyard. When participants in the Cloth Bridge Consecration, wearing mortuary clothing, crossed over the bridge into this graveyard—also imagined as sacred mountain space—they were ritually dead. As one crosses the reconstructed bridge there today, the grave markers gradually come into view (fig. 109).¹¹¹

Presently no lineage certificates have surfaced that were actually issued to participants upon completion of the Cloth Bridge Consecration, but a few envelopes and woodblocks to print them that are clearly linked to the rite are preserved at the Tateyama Museum. One small woodblock contains the Sanskrit seed syllable for the Taizōkai Dainichi and the characters *kechimyaku* in the center, "Tateyama on-Ubadō" on the left, and "Nunobashi daikanjō" on the right. Another woodblock is nearly identical,



109 View from the center of the Cloth Bridge. Photograph by author.

but omits the Sanskrit (fig. 110). A third woodblock is headed by the Sanskrit seed syllable for the Kongōkai Dainichi couched in a semi-circle of five other seed syllables (fig. 111).¹¹² Text below this design advises taking refuge in the Ubason triad and lists the triad's Buddhist identities as Amida, Shaka, and Dainichi. The woodblock also recommends accepting the Principle and Wisdom Consecration (Richi kanjō), informs that crossing the pristine bridge is a *samaya-gyō* procession, and asserts that this rite enables rebirth in paradise.¹¹³ The reverse side of the woodblock bears the date 1826 and the monk Ryūen's name, but the writing is cut off and characters are missing, making it difficult to read.¹¹⁴ Although we can presume that amulets printed from these woodblocks were related to the Cloth

Bridge Consecration, it is not clear whether they would have been inserted into lineage certificate wrappers and given to participants at the Uba hall.

In addition to helping Ashikuraji with its legal difficulties, the monk Ryūen may have supervised modifications to the Cloth Bridge Consecration. Ashikuraji priests were not affiliated with a main temple (*honzan*), but they identified as Tendai monks and their liturgy and rites were based in Tendai tradition. Although Ryūen had Shingon affiliation, both the Tendai and Shingon schools took esoteric Buddhism as a main pillar of teaching and practice. A source from 1747—long before Ryūen's influence—names the bridge "Kontai ryōbu mandara tenchiwagō Ama no ukihashi,"¹¹⁵ asserting its conflation with the Taizōkai and Kongōkai



110 Woodblocks for printing Cloth Bridge Consecration *kechimyaku* certificate wrappers and recent prints from those blocks. Courtesy of the Tateyama Museum.



111 Woodblock used to print Cloth Bridge Consecration certificates and a recent print from that block. Courtesy of the Tateyama Museum.

mandalas and with the mythical Floating Bridge of Heaven. Such syncretic buddha-kami formulae with an esoteric cast are typical of Tateyama literature. Ryūen may have advised the town to strengthen esoteric ritual elements common to both traditions, utilizing his expertise, but he was also working with the town's heritage.

The words that conclude the text of the woodblock that contains Ryūen's name, *shinjin seshu* (donor of faith), differ from those found at the end of lineage certificates connected with *Xuepen jing* rites, *shinjin no nyōnin* (woman of faith). This woodblock and other sources that have surfaced so far tell us that lineage certificates printed for the Cloth Bridge Consecration were not made especially for women. They would have been distributed to both male and female participants in the rite.¹¹⁶ No amulets or wrappers related to the Cloth Bridge Consecration that have surfaced so far contain assurances that women can transform into men and the structure of the ritual does not single out women as particular objects of salvation.¹¹⁷

Nevertheless, Ashikuraji priests clearly promoted the buddhahood of women as a benefit of the Cloth Bridge Consecration. An 1820 document explains that after women crossed the bridge they would take the *samayakai* precepts and that this prevented them from falling into the evil realms.¹¹⁸ An 1827 record that calls this rite the "Nunobashi

daikanjō," using the esoteric term for consecration, emphasizes its efficacy in helping women to attain buddhahood.¹¹⁹ A contributions record for the rite from 1831 addresses women directly, "Although your bodies are female, your inner hearts are buddha bodies." This text also promises that women can become buddhas and can be reborn in Tosotsu Pure Land, seated beside the many buddhas and bodhisattvas.¹²⁰ In light of such promotional material, it is possible that priests provided something specifically for female participants at the conclusion of the Cloth Bridge Consecration, such as copies of *Xuepen jing* or lineage certificates connected to that scripture.¹²¹

The centrality of the Cloth Bridge Consecration in *Tateyama mandara* and the expense involved in its performance unmistakably convey its importance to the cult. In many ways Ashikuraji defined itself by this ceremony and by its location, seen as a point of passage between worlds. The main deity of the rite supported these liminal associations. This deity also played a part in establishing divergent male and female interactions with the mountain.

UBASON AND HER IDENTITIES

Ashikuraji *Tateyama mandara* construct supernatural female presence at the mountain while

excluding—and also subsuming—living women. This balancing act was made possible, in part, through an assembly of legends, customs, and practices related to Ubason, the deity worshipped at the Uba hall and celebrated at the Cloth Bridge Consecration.¹¹²

During the Edo period, three main sculptures of Ubason were enshrined at the Uba hall (fig. 112, fig. 113, and fig. 114). The Enma hall currently owns the oldest example (housed at the Tateyama Museum), inscribed with the date 1375. This sculpture

predates documentary evidence of the Ubason cult at Ashikuraji. The oldest reference to the Uba hall is in a 1466 donation document from the acting constable Jinbo Naganobu. He provided resources to reconstruct the hall, along with the Enma hall and a Jizō hall.¹¹³ Much later documents give us more information about the hall and its sculptures during the Edo period. According to a visitor to Ashikuraji in 1840, for example, the three sculptures were placed inside a shrine on a platform in back of the hall, and flanked on each side by thirty-three



112 Sculpture of Ubason dated 1375. Toyama-prefecture Designated Cultural Property. Courtesy of Ashikuraji's Enma hall. Image reproduced with permission from Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed., *Onbasama*, 2.



113 Sculpture of Ubason. Toyama-prefecture Designated Cultural Property. Courtesy of Ashikuraji's Enma hall. Image reproduced with permission from *Onbasama*, 4.

other images of the deity.¹¹⁴ Foundation legends about Ubason describe these sixty-six additional sculptures and explain that the number corresponds to the number of provinces (*kuni*) in Japan.¹¹⁵ We do not know if there actually were that many sculptures and no *Tateyama mandara* depict all sixty-nine. A few patterns obtain in their painted portrayals in the Uba hall. In some *Tateyama mandara* the sculptures are not shown—they are hidden by a screen or curtain, enhancing perception of their august sacrality. In others, we see one or three. When there are more than three, sometimes the main sculptures are distinctly larger than the others. At other times we only see a crowd of repeated forms.

Each sculpture sits with one knee raised and the other leg crossed under its body, a pose also assumed by female *kami* sculptures (*shinzō*), images of a deity called Datsueba, and portrayals of

Nyoirin Kannon. The three main images have bulging crystal eyes, traces of white under-painting, and cloth undergarments carved around their hips. They are partly charred, leading scholars to believe that they survived a fire at the Uba hall in 1782.¹¹⁶ During the early Meiji-period transitions, most of the sculptures in the Uba hall were scattered. Currently only fourteen examples survive at Ashikuraji, some kept in the Tateyama Museum and others in the Enma hall.¹¹⁷ The eleven non-central images are thought to have been carved after the fire to replace those that were lost. Some are skillfully rendered. Others are roughly hewn. Where the deity's teeth are bared, she sometimes appears menacing and sometimes jovial. The variance of style suggests that they were donated by parishioners.¹¹⁸ The faces of the three main images exhibit frightening, even grotesque, expressions, perhaps partly a result of the fire and



114 Sculpture of Ubason.
Toyama-prefecture Designated
Cultural Property. Courtesy of
the Tateyama Museum. Image
reproduced with permission
from *Onbasama*, 4.

wear, but some of the newer images are equally unsettling.

Since we do not know much about the early character of Ubason at Tateyama, we look to other cults for hints. Worship of an old woman *kami* (*ubagami*) took place throughout Japan and produced similar images. These sculptures take on different meanings in their respective contexts, making generalizations difficult, but Tateyama's Ubason shares many of their characteristics; figures from other cults also typically have frightening faces, the fronts of their kimono open to reveal bare chests or they wear no clothing on their upper bodies, and they assume the same seated pose.

Folklore studies take this type of *kami* image as representing the mountain goddess (*yama no kami*) or old woman of the mountain (*yamanba*).¹¹⁹ Among regional variations—and with many exceptions—

the *yama no kami* was seen as having the following attributes: she is usually female (although sometimes male or a couple), she is ugly, violent, and has many children. When the *yama no kami* is beautiful, she brings good luck, but in such cases she is usually an *ubagami* connected to the bearing and raising of children. Some *yama no kami* are associated with fertility. In certain regions she likes red cloth, red paper, or blood—and as a protector of birth and hunting, she probably did not see blood as polluting.¹²⁰ If the pre-Edo-period Ubason had similar powers related to fertility and children, and if she did not abhor blood, then her early-modern adaptation as a *kami* that protected women would have had an organic rationale.

There were also, however, aspects of the *yama no kami* that made it dangerous for women to come into contact with her. One reason given

for not admitting women to sacred mountains was that they invited the *kami*'s jealousy and that this detrimentally affected the occupations of men. If early worship practices at Tateyama included these aspects, then Ubason may initially have been a kind of enemy of women.

Before the Edo period, there is no clear evidence in Tateyama foundation legends or other documentation that Ubason protected women in particular. It was when Ashikuraji transformed itself into a provider of special services for women, discussed in Chapter One, that foundation legends indicate a shift in cult teachings. Assuming that the Issankai recension of *Tateyama daiengi* reflects an original or earlier text, most of the changes made to the *Senzōbō Tateyama daiengi* concern Ubason. These edits, perhaps made by Ryūen, begin with the title of one of the three texts compiled within *Tateyama daiengi*; where the title of the Issankai recension, *Ashikura chūgūji ubadō daiengi*, focuses on the origins of the Uba hall, the title of the *Senzōbō* recension, *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi*, focuses on Ubason. Both texts describe Jikō-Ariyori's mother in the Blood Lake Hell, conflating Ariyori with Mokuren. Both claim that Ubason provides all things that grow, from the five grains and clothing (flax) to the bodies of all living things. Both assert that the leaf of the *ashi* plant (from the name of the town) takes the shape of Japan and that the foothills are a sacred location for women to achieve buddhahood. Lastly, both describe sixty-six statues of Ubason in the hall as well as images of Taishaku, the four guardian kings, and Enma.

It is apparent from this cursory comparison that the two recensions are quite close. Generally, the *Senzōbō* recension makes corrections or adds explanations, but it also emphasizes Ubason's efficacy for women, claims that Tateyama is a popular pilgrimage destination, and refines certain Tendai doctrinal associations. The Issankai recension describes other sculptures flanking the main triad, while the *Senzōbō* recension describes them as placed in front of the triad—the hall may have been rearranged in connection with improvements to the Cloth Bridge Consecration.

Shifting gears for a moment, Ubason was also identified with the cult founder's mother. The oldest reference to Jikō-Ariyori's mother appears in *Wakan sansaizue* (as mentioned above), which also notes that Ariyori made a sculpture of his mother.¹²¹ A visitor in 1812 noted that the sculpture in the Uba hall was carved by Ariyori of his mother.¹²² Both the Issankai and *Senzōbō* recensions of the origin legend describe Jikō's mother falling into the Blood Lake, but after Jikō performs a rite to save her, she transforms into the main deity (Ubason) in the earlier recension, and into Nyoirin Kannon in the rewrite.¹²³ This change seems to support Ashikuraji's reinventions of Ubason at the time by removing one layer of identity in order to emphasize another set of conflations, to be discussed below.

The late nineteenth-century Iwakuraji legend *Tateyama tebikigusa* tells a different story.¹²⁴ There Ariyori's mother does not fall into the Blood Lake, but acquires far more personality and significance.¹²⁵ On the advice of people of the capital, her husband and son leave her behind in Shiga when they travel to Tateyama at the behest of the central government. As they begin their work in Etchū, she waits impatiently to hear from them and begins to resent their abandonment of her. The mother complains that, although all women have difficulty in pregnancy, she endured an especially difficult term with Ariyori—one hundred times more difficult than that of other women—and that his unfiliality must prove the profundity of her sins. Although once beautiful, she grows increasingly decrepit: her hair becomes ragged, her eyes sink into their sockets, and her teeth fall out. Wondering how long she can exist in such a wretched state, Ariyori's mother longs for death. At this point in the story, Kannon appears to her and advises her not to harbor anger against her husband and son. The bodhisattva explains that this separation from her family was Kannon's doing—a means of helping her to seek enlightenment and rebirth in the Pure Land. Kannon preaches and then vanishes into the sky. Ariyori's mother dies peacefully at the age of thirty-four, just as Ariyori and

Ariwakazaemon (the father's name in this story) are about to call for her.¹³⁶

This poignant family tale brings a sympathetic woman's biography to the foundation legend and is among other passages in this text that clearly indicate Iwakuraji's attempts to draw in women. At the outset, the text explains that four scrolls combine to create a large painting intended to save women.¹³⁷ Although Iwakuraji upheld the bans on women entering sacred mountain territory, *Tateyama tebikigusa* takes pains to explain that these are not due to a hatred of women.¹³⁸ This story of Ariyori's mother competes with Ashikuraji's appeals to women, while disregarding any possible connection with Ubason.

The location and function of the Uba hall and of Ubason can also be seen in relation to another set of stories. *Wakan sansaizue*'s Tateyama entry contains a tale about a woman and a girl who accompany a nun named Tōro no ama (Tōroni) as she climbs inside the sacred area off-limits to women. First the woman turns into a cedar, called the Beautiful Woman Cedar (Bijo sugi).¹³⁹ *Tateyama tebikigusa* elaborates on this Ovidian metamorphosis. When the girl also finds her legs and arms becoming useless, she makes a vow to wait as a tree for the future buddha Miroku. Her hair strays wildly in the eight directions during the transformation.¹⁴⁰ *Tateyama mandara* depict the legend as forlorn human faces crowning the trunks of trees surrounded by hair-like branches and leaves (fig. 115).

Wakan sansaizue then follows the nun further up the mountain, as she and the young girl reach a slope called "cutting off sin" (Danzaizaka). The girl is reluctant to continue and the nun urinates—creating a deep crevice in the landscape that is later named Shikaribari after the event. *Wakan sansaizue* couches these tales among descriptions of assorted landmarks and treasures held by the cult. After touching on a few other places on the route up the mountain that are unrelated to the story of these women, *Wakan sansaizue* returns to the nun, who sprouts two horns and becomes an "old woman stone" (*uba ishi*).¹⁴¹ Again *Tateyama tebikigusa* provides more detail—and a confession of sorts;

before the nun petrifies, she remarks on the deep sins and hindrances of women and throws a mirror that she describes as the "true body of the *kami*" (*kami no mishōtai*). The mirror also turns to stone, and is called the "mirror stone" (*kagami ishi*).¹⁴²

Wakan sansaizue also mentions lumber cut and put aside to build a women's hall that overnight turned to stone, revealing that the mountain refused a woman's hall there. In *Tateyama tebikigusa*, these trees were felled to build various shrine and temple structures. The text blames their petrification on the women's trespass, part of the mountain's containment of their pollution in gender-neutral mineral and plant metamorphosis.¹⁴³ These stories demonstrate Tateyama's transformative powers as well as its ability to protect itself from defilement. The mountain responds immediately when living female bodies cross into its sacred zone.

This legend and others like it hail partly from the strategies discussed in Chapter Three for preventing women from interfering with cloistered men on mountains. Successive stories in *Konjaku monogatari* describe Kūkai founding the temple Kongōbuji on Kōyasan and Saichō founding the temple Enryakuji on Hieizan. Both tales briefly declare that women do not climb the mountains—and this claim in the latter is followed directly by the naming of Enryakuji.¹⁴⁴ The monastery's establishment seems predicated on the exclusion of women. Proscriptions against women climbing mountains continued beyond the classical period and spread during the medieval and early-modern periods. They obtained at Kōyasan and Hieizan, as well as at other sacred mountains that were the focus of *shugen* activity, such as Ōminesan, Hagurosan, Fujisan, and Togakushiyama. Bans against women entering sacred territory came to be referred to as *nyōnin kinsei* or *nyōnin kekkai*.¹⁴⁵

Stories support the maintenance of male monastic enclaves by warning of women whose attempts to climb sacred mountains were rebuffed by storms and earthquakes—or resulted in petrification, as at Tateyama. An early version, appearing in a compilation by Ōe no Masafusa (952–1012),

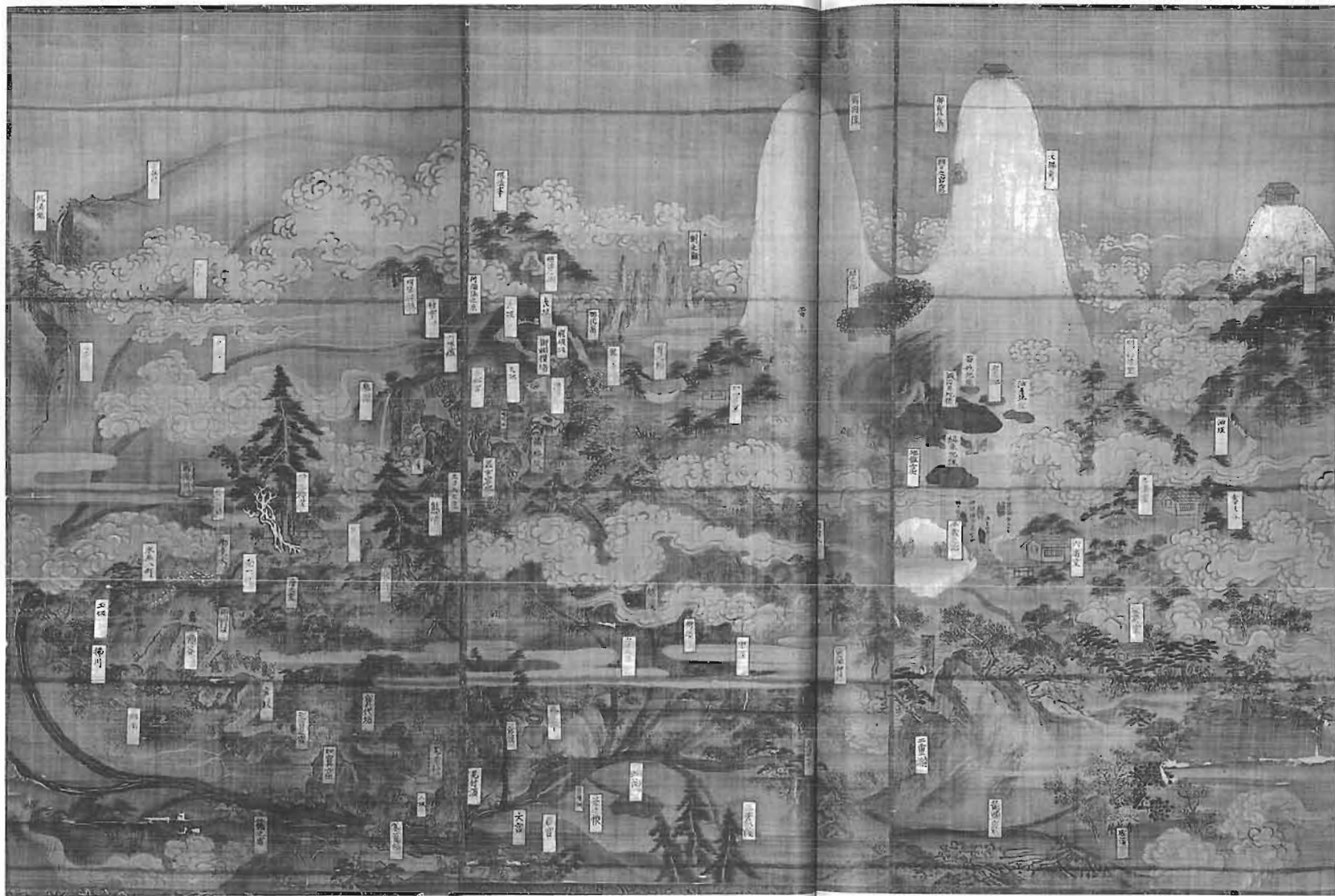


115 Beautiful Woman Cedar area. Detail from the Daisenbō [B] *Tateyama mandara* (35). Photograph by author.

explains what happened when an old nun Toranni who lived in the foothills of Yoshino attempted to climb the nearby mountain. Protecting the mountain for the future buddha Miroku, the deity Kongōzaō produced violent storms that prevented her from ascending. Toranni's staff turned into a large tree, her path sank down to become springs, and the marks of her fingernail still remain.¹⁴⁶ Yanagita Kunio suggested that the names of the nuns in this and related stories, usually variations of Toranni, indicate ancient shamanesses (*miko*) who

communicated with and interpreted for mountain deities just outside the boundaries of sacred mountain territory.¹⁴⁷

Paintings of the mountain Hakusan also contain motifs that reference these stories of old women or nuns and mountains.¹⁴⁸ One example, *Kenpon chakushoku Hakusan mandara-zu* belonging to Nomi city (Ishikawa) and bearing a dedication date of 1789, is composed of three hanging scrolls that are suspended together to form the landscape (fig. 116). This painting has much in common with



116 *Kenpon chakushoku Hakusan mandara-zu*. Three hanging scrolls dated 1789, ink and colors on silk. Ishikawa-prefecture Designated Cultural Property. Courtesy of Ishikawa-ken Nomi-shi.

Tateyama mandara. It shows Amida descending over a peak, hell below the peaks, and pilgrims navigating the landscape. The hell section is not very elaborate, but it similarly contains a Blacksmith's Hell and a Blood Lake Hell.¹⁴⁹

Hakusan, known as Shirayama in ancient times, is a sacred mountain that straddles the old provinces Kaga (Ishikawa), Echizen (Fukui), and Mino (Gifu).¹⁵⁰ Its Buddhist and *kami* combinatory character began maturing during the mid-Heian period, and shrines and temples developed at each of three approaches to the peaks, one in each province. On the Kaga side, the shrine Hakusan hongū (Shirayamahime jinja) was the *ichi no miya* of the province, and its patrons and worshippers included Kaga domain's ruling Maeda family. Place names and legends at Hakusan are highly similar to those at Tateyama.¹⁵¹ Consulting the colophons in the Nomi-city painting,¹⁵² at the top of the mountain we find the peaks Ōgozen, Onaijin (usually called Ōnanji), and Bessan. Behind them is a peak called Tsurugi no mine. Descending the mountain paths, we encounter Bijo iwasaka and Ubaidaira.

An ink painting entitled *Hakusan mandara-zu* in the collection of Natadera has similar outlines as the Nomi-city painting, but contains additional explanatory text. From this work we know that a stone near Ubaidaira is called an Old-woman Stone (*ubaishi*), and that Bijo iwasaka and the Old-woman Stone originate in an old woman who sold alcohol, and who brought a beautiful woman with her to climb the mountain, incurring the anger of the *kami* who petrified them both. This legend also appears in *Gashū Hakusan no ezu* of 1755. A similar story in *Hakusan yūran zuki*, based on a record by Kaneko Kakuson (1759–1840) of a climb up Hakusan in 1785, describes the old woman as a nun named Tōru no ama, resembling Tateyama's Tōro no aua.¹⁵³

The two cults also arrange the borders of their sacred territory similarly. Tateyama's Chūgūji (Ashikuraji) welcomed women while simultaneously prohibiting them from certain areas. The Hakusan cult text *Shirayama no ki* claims that on the Kaga side women could climb as far as the

shrine Chūgū, roughly halfway between Hongū and the peaks, but that Hakusan forbade the trespass of women beyond that point.¹⁵⁴ These and other parallels between the two cults call for additional research into the channels of influence between them. For the purposes of this study, however, we confine ourselves to this brief comparison and continue our discussion of female trespassers.

In *Wakan sansaizue* the nun who transforms into stone at Tateyama is from Wakasa Obama. Yanagita noted that this referenced stories about a nun named Happyaku (also Yao) bikuni who ate mermaid meat and lived for eight hundred years. There are many variations of this tale all over Japan, but most are connected to Wakasa. The nun or *miko* in these stories often travels, doing good works.¹⁵⁵

Many folklore scholars saw these myths as reflecting a wrestling and repackaging of sacred power from female superintendents when Buddhism was introduced to sacred mountains. Significantly, cedars and stones are traditional descending places of deities—and the nun at Tateyama possesses an object of great cultic value, the mirror. These are not ordinary women. While claiming male religious prerogatives and theaters for practice, these stories divulge that mountains are inscribed with magical female presence and power.

Wakan sansaizue can also be read as indicating that previously women were permitted to climb Tateyama as far as Zaimokuzaka, but that the border was later lowered to the Fuji bridge. These old legends contributed another ambiguous layer to the elaborate storied landscape—and played a role in setting apart the female quick from the dead.¹⁵⁶ If living women were warned away from the landscape, spectral women (and men) were inexorably drawn toward it.

At many sacred mountains, halls for women (*nyonindō*) were established just outside the areas forbidden to women—or near mausoleums or monuments to the mothers of school or cult patriarchs. There are, for example, *nyonindō* related to Kūkai's mother at Kōyasan and to En no gyōja's

mother at Ushiroyama.¹⁵⁷ Women went to these places to pray for children, male heirs, safe childbirth, and assistance with other health-related concerns.¹⁵⁸ In some ways the Uba hall at Tateyama functioned as a *nyonindō*—and conflation of Ariyori's mother with the mountain deity supports this parallel.

According to *Wakan sansaizue*, the Tateyama festival was held on the eighth day of the fourth month, coinciding with *kanbutsu-e*, rites for celebrating the Buddha's birthday. *Tateyama Tebikigusa* does not connect this rite to women, but immediately after mentioning it, the text describes women going to the shrine.¹⁵⁹ This can perhaps be seen in light of a story of Saichō's mother attempting to visit him on Hieiizan. He comes down to see her at a spot where Enchin (814–891) later (supposedly) built a hall dedicated to Saichō's mother. This structure, called the Hana-tsumi (flower-picking) shrine or hall, was located some distance up the mountain from Sakamoto. Women could go there on the Buddha's birthday to make offerings of flowers gathered on the mountain.¹⁶⁰ One early scholar of Tateyama further connects the Tateyama festival with practices conducted on the same day at other locations throughout Japan: coming-of-age rites for young women that included climbing mountains.¹⁶¹

The white cloth carpeting the path across the bridge was dedicated to Ubason—and to yet another of her doubles, the female demon Datsueba who resides on the shore of the Sanzu river and removes the clothing of the dead as they arrive for judgment.¹⁶² In the *Zendōbō Tateyama mandara*, an oversized Datsueba and a tree draped with cloth dwarf crying male and female figures (see fig. 127). In other paintings as well, the newly dead plead with the deity to remain clothed or tearfully offer her their garments.

What we know of Datsueba comes from another trove of stories. *Hokke genki*, for example, tells of a priest named Renshū who dies, travels a long distance over mountains, and encounters a female demon living under a large tree on the bank of a

great river. She tells him, "This [place] is the Sanzu river and I am the old woman of the Sanzu river. Take off your clothes, give them to me, and cross the river." Four heavenly children appear and ask why she is taking his clothes. He was, they explain, a devotee of *Fahua jing* and is protected by Kannon. The demon puts her palms together respectfully and he is able to return to life.¹⁶³

Datsueba's popularity in Japan was boosted by her presence in *Jizō jūō kyō*. Most souls must cross the river at one of three places (thus the name Sanzu or "three ford" river). The virtuous pass over a bridge, less pure individuals wade through a shallow mountain stream, and sinners plunge into a watery abyss, a presage of the perils that lie ahead in hell. *Jizō jūō kyō* describes Datsueba with another demon named Ken'eō. He places the garments she has seized onto a tree that measures the sins of their former wearers, another of the many technologies for calculating sin and fairly pronouncing judgment in the afterlife.¹⁶⁴ *Shiju hyakuinnenshū* explicitly warns that, "If there is no clothing, [the couple at the Sanzu river will] strip skin from the body."¹⁶⁵ The Datsueba cult became extremely popular around the An'ei era (1772–1781)—to the extent that there were efforts to suppress it in *Kaei 2* (1849).¹⁶⁶ This Datsueba fad coincides with development of the Ubason-Datsueba cult at Tateyama.

Ideas from this literature were picked up and adapted to the cult. For example, the Issankai recension of *Jinbun* (compiled within *Tateyama daiengi*) describes the three crossings at the bridge by the Uba hall, where Amida also descends. Only virtuous people can cross the bridge. For them, it is made of gold, silver, and lapis lazuli. For others, the bridge is made of stone that can become as thin as thread, depending on the severity of the crosser's sins; the bridge breaks and causes the deeply sinful to fall.¹⁶⁷

Aligning Ubason with Datsueba created an ambiguous deity that provided the essentials for life and took everything back after death. The symmetry of this bestowal and reclamation is clear in an

Ashikuraji document. When sinners arrive in Enma's court they are greeted by a woman who sits by the Sanzu river. She tells them, "When you were born into the world you borrowed your bones and skin from your parents, and I gave you the skin of your body, the fabric of the placenta." She reminds impenitent souls of their debts in life—of their greed, lack of faith, and failure to worship the buddhas and *kami* properly—before stripping them of what she has lent. Then a male demon skins sinners with a sword, from head to foot.¹⁶⁸

The male demon only appears in a few *Tateyama mandara*, such as the Tagabō and Zendōbō versions (fig. 117, lower right). In spite of these gruesome threats, *Tateyama mandara* usually show Datsueba's tree festooned with clothing, not skins. Only the Konzōin *Tateyama mandara* depicts Datsueba skinning a woman. The demon holds down one leg with her left hand and rips off a piece of bloodied skin from the woman's thigh with her right hand. Two bloody skins are draped over the branch of the tree behind her (fig. 118).¹⁶⁹

For most sinners portrayed in paint the encounter with Datsueba amounted to an excruciating loss of dignity. Early depictions of hell in Japan, such as *jigoku zōshi* and *Kitano tenjin engi*, show sinners completely naked, and later images show them wearing loin cloths or other undergarments. Kuroda Hideo has observed that men in hell are bereft of headwear—at a time when men slept wearing *eboshi* caps and were not considered part of society without them. Likewise, women who wear red slip-like *hakama* in hell paintings are aristocrats for whom such attire would have been utterly humiliating in public.¹⁷⁰ Virtuous souls or those who made preemptive arrangements were entitled to modesty while sinners were treated like criminals, without the marks of status that distinguished them in the world. Families equipped the dead with walking sticks, straw sandals, or amulets, but such preparation was futile for people without enough merit or protection to defend themselves from Datsueba's claims.

Ashikuraji priests made grave clothes from cloth used during the Cloth Bridge Consecration.

Instructions on the measurements and manufacture of sutra-printed grave clothes are given in a formerly secret text belonging to Ashikuraji's temple-lodge Zendōbō, dated to 1849 (fig. 119).¹⁷¹ The garments (*kyōkatabira*) were printed with sutras, Sanskrit charms, mantras, hell-sundering spells, and images (fig. 120). The priests used ink ground with water from a mountain lake to print the garments. In places they may have applied medicinally enhanced ink (combined with *kuma-no-i* [bear gall bladder] and *goō*), assuring both benefits in the afterlife and protection from disease. A foundation legend claims, "Those who receive *kyōkatabira* printed with spells and sutras using dharma water will not contract evil illnesses and will not be plagued by evil spirits. Because of this, countless people of high and low birth compete to obtain these *kyōkatabira*."¹⁷² It was also thought that wearing these garments protected the dead from having their clothing or skin removed by Datsueba; she would not strip women of what had already been donated to her ritually.¹⁷³

A rite to change the garments worn by the Ubason sculptures began on the eighth day of the first month. Seven local women over sixty years of age, seen as transitioning to the Other World, entered the Uba hall to spin thread and make the cloth. They finished by the fifth day of the second month. On the ninth day, monks and shrine priests covered the hall with cloth and two officers were chosen to perform rites for seven days. The abbot of the Uba hall managed these events, but was not involved in the clothes-changing rite. The women who made the cloth did not actually dress the deity either, a custom that may derive from her *yama no kami* identity—from a sense that she disliked direct contact with women. That the rites conducted by men began on the ninth day of the second month suggests that Ubason was seen as the *yama no kami*; on that day, festivals are held for the *yama no kami* at various locations throughout the Hokuriku region. After the rites, the people involved gathered at the abbot's home to celebrate. Ubason's old clothing was made into pouches for believers.¹⁷⁴

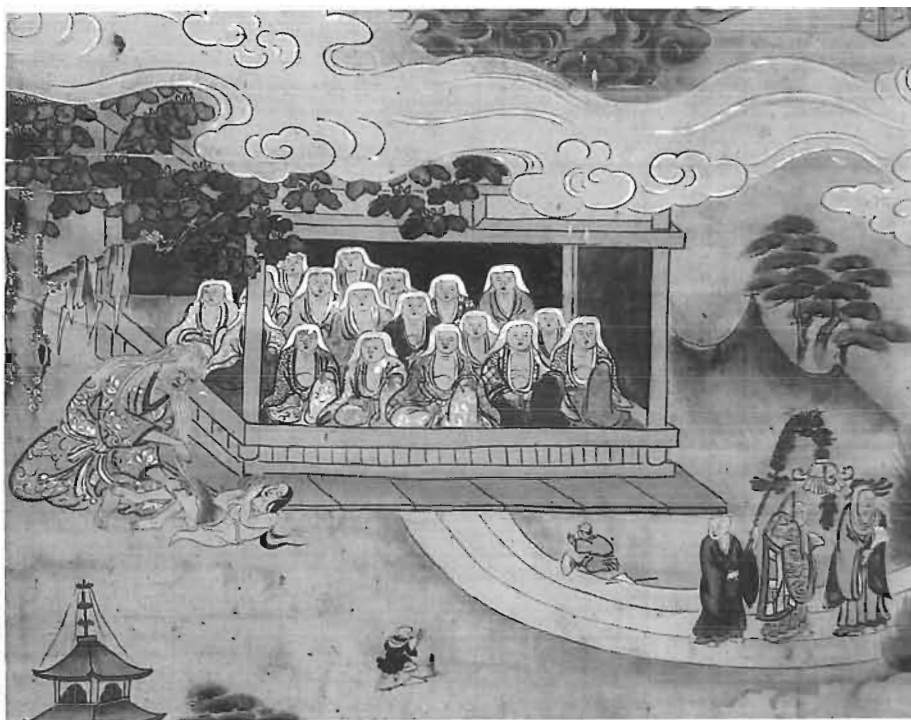


117 Tagabō *Tateyama mandara*. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper. Courtesy of Tagabō. Image reproduced with permission from the Tateyama Museum.

We have examined many of the local characteristics of Ubason as well as various overlays brought to the mountain through Buddhist-affiliated texts. We will now consider Ubason's relationship to Amida and the Tateyama gongen—and an entirely

different tier of identities. These take us back to the division of rights between the two towns.

Iwakuraji disputed some of Ashikuraji's claims for Ubason. *Tateyama tebikigusa* states that the deity is at the Sanzu river and strips the skin of those



118 Datsueba and the tree beside the Uba hall. Detail from the Konzōin Tateyama mandara (33). Photograph by author.

headed for the three evil realms. The text adds that some take her to be the mother of the Tateyama gongen, but that this is a falsehood.¹⁷⁵ This comment may refer to a statement in the Issankai *Ashikura chūgūji ubadō daiengi* describing Ubason as the parent of the Tateyama shrine. The Senzōbō recension tones down this claim, perhaps at Ryūen's direction, asserting that Ubason is the Tateyama gongen's true teacher.¹⁷⁶ The writer of *Tateyama tebikigusa* aimed to circumscribe Ubason's powers, particularly in relationship to the Tateyama gongen, but Ashikuraji had other conceptual means of elevating Ubason as well.

If we see the Cloth Bridge Consecration as a *mukaekō*, and consider this alongside Tateyama

foundation legends and *Tateyama mandara*, which describe Amida as a triad or with twenty-five bodhisattvas appearing in welcoming formation at the bridge, it might seem natural that participants in the Cloth Bridge Consecration formed a bond with Amida, the *honji* of the Tateyama gongen. A woodblock pertaining to the Cloth Bridge Consecration, however, specifies that the main object of worship at the Uba hall was an Ubason triad whose *honji* are Amida, Shaka, and Dainichi (see fig. 111).¹⁷⁷ These three buddhas are confirmed as *honji* for Ubason in the Senzōbō *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi*.¹⁷⁸ The woodblock's next characters read *richi kanjō*, invoking the dual aspects of Dainichi, pairing the principle (*ri*) of the Taizōkai with the wisdom (*chi*) of the



119 Pages from *Tateyama hiden onkatabira tō chōhō sōkō* with instructions on making *kyōkatabira*. Courtesy of the Tateyama Museum.



120 *Kyōkatabira* reproduction. Courtesy of the Tateyama Museum.

Kongōkai. The Issankai *Ashikura chūgūji ubadō daiengi* records the *honji* for the three Uba images as Fudō, the Kongōkai Dainichi, and the Taizōkai Dainichi.¹⁷⁹ In esoteric Buddhist thought, Fudō is a ferocious appearance of Dainichi that is assumed

for the sake of sentient beings that are difficult to teach. Thus all three *honji* are forms of Dainichi. The first group of *honji*, Amida, Shaka, and Dainichi, are also seen as the "three bodies" (*sanjin*) of a buddha fundamental to Tendai doctrine. Although there are arguments for the equal importance of the three bodies, Tendai esoteric doctrine tends to regard the *hosshin* Dainichi most highly.¹⁸⁰

The era of the conflation of Ubason and Dainichi is not clear. A document dated 1584 that is related to a donation by Sassa Narimasa praises the Uba hall and advises Ashikuraji priests to faithfully worship Dainichi.¹⁸¹ The concise wording leaves some questions, but syncretic ideas were common at the time and we can, perhaps, read these passages as suggesting that Ubason's *honji* was Dainichi as early as the late sixteenth century. The conflation is also apparent in objects, such as bells currently at Honkyōji and Nenpōji that were once suspended in the Uba hall's campanile (fig. 121). They are cast with the characters "Namu On-Uba Dainichi nyorai" in high relief above a lotus throne. The original bell, cast in 1653, no longer survives, but it may have contained the same lettering uniting Ubason with Dainichi.¹⁸²



121 Former Chūgūji bell. Courtesy of Nenpōji. Photograph by author.

With Dainichi's significance in the Tendai school and the neat correspondence between the Ubason triad and the *sarjin*, it makes sense that Ashikuraji would embrace Dainichi, but Kagadomain verdicts may also have been a contributing factor. When the town was prohibited from making claims related to the Tateyama daigongen, Ubason was the only local deity they had left to manage. Where Iwakuraji was free to promote the Tateyama gongen, which had a *honji suijaku* correlation with Amida, Ashikuraji may have adopted a *honji* for Ubason that could be construed as having higher standing than Amida. Moreover, esoteric overlay

and the doctrine of the three bodies connected Amida to Dainichi. Although not clearly identified with Ubason or the Cloth Bridge Consecration, some receipts for *Xuepen jing* dedications include the Sanskrit for the Taizōkai Dainichi and others contain the Sanskrit for an Amida triad. That the cult at Ashikuraji did not distinguish between these buddhas as the savior of *Xuepen jing* rites supports this analysis of Ubason's buddha identities.

Although Ubason's conflation with Dainichi is clear from foundation legends and objects, Dainichi is not portrayed in any *Tateyama mandara*. Perhaps Ubason's doubling as Dainichi was achieved in

Ashikuraji paintings through the presence of Amida—or through Fudō. While Iwakuraji legends, such as *Tateyama tebikigusa*, follow the four-fold *kami* identity seen in *Wakan sansaizue*—Tajikarao, Tachio tenjin, the hawk, and Fudō—Fudō rarely appears in Iwakuraji *Tateyama mandara*.¹⁸³ At Ashikuraji, Tachio tenjin's connection with Fudō was not emphasized, perhaps in order to accommodate the conjunction with Dainichi-Ubason.

Ubason had still another layer of identities. Foundation legends such as the Senzōbō *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi* describe Ubason descending from the heavens while holding the five grains in her left hand and flax seeds in her right, characterizing her as a kind of earth goddess bestowing the blessings of the land. The Ubason triad is also identified with three female deities from among the Tenjin shichidai (seven generations of heavenly *kami*) of Japanese mythology: Suhijini, Ōtomabe, and Kashikone.¹⁸⁴ *Issan kyūki hikae* states that Ubason corresponds to Izanaki, Izanami, and either Emperor Monmu or Ninigi.¹⁸⁵ Such designations accord with statements that Tateyama is the mausoleum of Izanaki and Izanami and that Ubason is the true teacher of the Tateyama daigongen,¹⁸⁶ ratcheting up Ubason's importance to equal or surpass that of the Tateyama gongen.

The relationship between Ubason and *kami* from Japanese mythology is not an orthodox one-to-one correspondence between Buddhist entities and *kami*, but perhaps these alternate *kami* identities can be seen as a kind of *honji suijaku*, too. Further layered with Dainichi, Amida, and Shaka, we find a double *honji suijaku* structure in the cult of Ubason—the local folk deity is the manifestation of both mythological *kami* and buddhas. Each conceptual union worked to enhance Ubason's authority.

Early-modern foundation legends about other sacred sites also frequently incorporate story motifs from *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki*, often evidencing no organic connections to local faith. In many ways this is also true of the Tateyama cult, but there is simultaneously other logic behind seeing Ubason as Izanami. Izanami chases her husband Izanaki after

he catches sight of her decaying corpse. He throws objects behind him to delay her pursuit and enable his escape. This story resembles folk tales about the old woman of the mountain, *yamanba*, a demonic force similarly escaped through ingenuity and magic. Although the tales of Izanami and *yamanba* originated in different ages, they share a similar narrative structure.¹⁸⁷ The correspondence between Izanami and Ubason may have originated in or have been strengthened by such folk narratives and notions.

This collage of identities sometimes extended beyond a neat match to Ubason, creating links to other deities and divinities. A few of Ubason's doubles had alternate doubles or correspondences. Datsueba, for example, was connected with Enma. We know that the Enma hall at Ashikuraji existed by 1466.¹⁸⁸ The sculpture of Enma currently housed in the hall was repaired in 1798, and is thought to have been carved during the Nanbokuchō period (fig. 122). Sculptures of two other kings and record keepers held there, carved around the same time, suggest that a full set of the Ten Kings once existed (fig. 123). Many sculptures of Enma and the other kings were carved and enshrined throughout Japan, the oldest examples dating back to the Kamakura period.¹⁸⁹ Often such sets include an image of Datsueba.

The sculpture of Enma and the Enma hall at Ashikuraji may initially have been dedicated in connection with the cult of the Ten Kings. As their relationship to the Cloth Bridge Consecration and to Ubason-Datsueba developed, their use seems to have changed. Fukue suggests that the Cloth Bridge Consecration originally prioritized the procession across the bridge, rather than events at either the Uba or Enma halls. In the Raigōji and Konzōin *Tateyama mandara* the Enma hall is small and unconnected to the rite at the bridge. In the repainting of the Tsuboi-ke [A] *Tateyama mandara*, however, the Enma hall seems to have been moved—and to have been connected to the Cloth Bridge Consecration by cloth runners and by people participating in the rite. Gradually rites at the Uba hall took on increased significance.¹⁹⁰ Changes made to



122 Sculpture of King Enma.
Toyama-prefecture Designated
Cultural Property. Courtesy of
Ashikuraji's Enma hall.
Photograph by author.

the Tsuboi-ke [A] painting also seem consistent with changes made to the Senzōbō *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi*.

At the risk of straying too far from Ubason, there is another double of her double in Jizō, who was widely regarded as the *honji* of Enma.¹⁹¹ Jizō appears in Ashikuraji *Tateyama mandara* in two places: at the Sai riverbank and again in sculptural form

outside the Enma hall. The bronze statue portrayed in the images, thought to have been cast in 1825, was moved from Ashikuraji to Kannonji in Oyabe city (Toyama) during the Meiji period (fig. 124). The lotus pedestal of this image is inscribed with the names of parishioners in Nagano who donated it to the Ashikuraji temple-lodge Kyōzōbō.¹⁹² This and other large bronze sculptures of Jizō commissioned



123 Sculpture of King Shokō.
Toyama-prefecture Designated
Cultural Property. Courtesy of
Ashikuraji's Enma hall.
Photograph provided by the
Tateyama Museum.

by believers and given to the cult attest to the great expense and trouble undertaken by parishioners in support of the cult, and to the vibrancy of Jizō worship at Tateyama.¹⁹³ As we saw in Chapter Three, Jizō's association with Tateyama goes back to *Jizō bosatsu reigenki*. It is difficult to connect classical notions of Jizō at Tateyama with those of the Edo period, partly because we have very little information about the medieval period, but there was ongoing awareness of the old story. Jizō is described in Ashikuraji texts as involved with the Cloth Bridge Consecration, but his connection with Enma—or with Ubason—is not made explicit. Iwakuraji presentations of Jizō at Tateyama seem to have focused on actual visits to the Sai riverbank and to Hell Valley. *Tateyama tebikigusa*, for example, describes pilgrims viewing a Jizō image at Hell

Valley.¹⁹⁴ Jizō also appears in a text connected to Iwakuraji treasure expositions.¹⁹⁵

Returning to Ubason, it seems prudent not to overemphasize her appeal to women lest we misunderstand her nature and meaning. Ubason must be seen in the context of her many other identities and in relation to other aspects of the cult—particularly to the main divinity associated with Tateyama: Amida. Although Ubason's gender seems to strengthen the case that the Cloth Bridge Consecration was primarily a ritual to protect women, she was long the main deity at Ashikuraji and, as a mountain goddess worshipped by hunters, she was not particularly associated with women. Furthermore, men may have participated in the Cloth Bridge Consecration from the rite's formulation through to its last premodern performances.



124 Bronze sculpture of Jizō, formerly at the Enma hall. Courtesy of Kannonji. Photograph by author.

The three sculptures of Ubason would have had to receive men and women equally.

Ashikuraji managed worship of a local goddess trinity to whom humanity owes the food we eat and the clothing we wear. She was presented as a universal mother whose Buddhist correspondences were supreme and all-encompassing and whose *kami* identities were instrumental in the formation of the world. Participants in the Cloth Bridge Consecration experienced a ritual death, partook in the fruitful powers of the local mountain goddess, and established a karmic bond with Dainichi. The gradual accretion of identities to Ubason, the layers of meaning given to the bridge, and the development of a complex liturgy resulted in a multifaceted, highly original ritual of salvation for men and women alike. Nevertheless, Ubason's identities and

placement necessitated that men and women interacted with her differently.

DIVISIONS AND DIMENSIONS

Today, *Tateyama mandara* continue to reflect the social practices that whirled around them during the mid and latter Edo period. They developed in a highly interactive environment. As the cult swiftly adapted to new times, opportunities, and constituencies, and as it made use of parishioner-commissioned imagery, we can discern marks that consumers left on the paintings.

Tateyama mandara carve the mountain landscape into overlapping male and female zones that correspond to the division of religious rights between Ashikuraji and Iwakuraji. Men and women

followed separate trajectories toward salvation in the images. Iwakuraji saw itself as the main entrance to the mountain. With its large *torii* in the bottom left corner of many paintings and with Ariyori setting out with the hawk from the same corner, a pictorial journey began with passage through the town. Iwakuraji also managed the mundane and mysterious encounters that could be had by pilgrims who scaled the mountain. The foundation legend was preached by priests from both towns, but Iwakuraji regarded Ariyori's archetypal climb from secular to sacred territory as an actual route for guiding male pilgrims. Priests from the town led men to the peaks, passing by the planted and anchored shapes of female trespassers at the entry to restricted male territory. If pilgrims thought of the mountain as Amida's body, they could walk along his contours and perceive his twelve aspects of light. Some were fortunate to witness a *raigō*-like Brocken specter. On pilgrimage, men had the opportunity to develop bonds with supernatural beings, to experience initiation and ritual rebirth, and to encounter the dead.

Both towns welcomed women to the foothills, but the livelihood of the geographically and legally handicapped priests at Ashikuraji depended on women. In order to court female customers and their male family members, Ashikuraji priests conflated circulations through the actual mountain spaces with circulations through *Tateyama mandara*, brought the paintings out to circulate around Japan, and, by proxy, introduced the venerable sacred site itself into new spaces. The images gave female viewers a sense of free mobility through Tateyama's metaphysical landscape, while simultaneously delineating their physical restrictions.

The female body was halted with roots clutching the earth where legs would walk, weighted down in stone, imprisoned in bloody refuse, or suspended in hells connected to reproductive function. This systematic thwarting of female movement could be overcome by ritual transformation and projection into the Pure Land, the only

permanently stable, safe place suggested in *Tateyama mandara*. Ashikuraji priests also invited women to interact directly with Ubason, a female deity that may have developed in contexts of male worship.

Ashikuraji saw itself as a border between the world of human activity and the sacred world of the mountain. Throughout Japan, rivers, wells, crossroads, graveyards, bridges, and shrine-temples were seen as entranceways to the Other World. Ashikuraji displays an abundance of these symbolic features. Nestled in the foothills, it contains a tributary that runs through a deep ravine and flows into the nearby Jōganji river. Ubason's placement suggests the deity's early development in connection to this waterway, which was later seen as the Sanzu river. It is a short distance from Ashikuraji to the Fuji bridge where pilgrims performed ablutions before entering sacred mountain territory.¹⁹⁶ Ascent from there quickly led to the petrified nun, a barrier protecting the mountain's inner spaces from women, but also, perhaps, an ancient point of contact with the mountain *kami*. Moreover, the various deities assembled in the Uba-hall area—which included a graveyard—were seen as guardians of the threshold to the Other World; Ubason was associated with birth, and Enma, Taishaku, Datsueba, and Jizō with death.

Halls dedicated to Enma mark thresholds between this world and the next in other cultic contexts as well. Famous examples include the Rokuhara Enma hall at the southeast border of the old capital (Kyoto), near a charnel ground called Toribeno, and the Senbon Enma hall (Injōji) in the northwest area of the city, which possesses a large sculpture of Enma dated to 1488. The Enma sculpture currently held at Rokuharamitsuji, dating from the Kamakura period, is thought to be the image once enshrined near Toribeno. It was believed that a well at the nearby Rokudō Chinnōji was a conduit to the Dark World used by the Heian-period aristocrat Ono no Takamura. Stories tell us that this courtier commuted back and forth through the well in order to serve in the imperial court by day and in

Enma's court by night.¹⁹⁷ Closer to conceptions at Tateyama, halls to Enma and Datsueba existed at other sacred sites and were portrayed in various *sankei mandara*. They appear, for example, at the Outer Shrine (Gekū) of Ise Jingū in *Ise sankei mandara* and we know that an Enma hall actually existed near the shrine.¹⁹⁸

In Ashikuraji *Tateyama mandara*, supernatural entities at the mountain's heights are mirrored in the foothills. King Enma, for example, often appears twice, once in Hell Valley and again as a sculpture in the Enma hall. The actual sculpture was used in rites of penance during the Cloth Bridge Consecration, giving participants the sensation of an actual encounter with Enma that accesses the "real" Enma in the caldera.

As we have seen, neither Ubason nor Datsueba have corresponding presences in the sacred mountain area in *Tateyama mandara*. Perhaps this is because the two deities doubled for each other and also because they both belong at Ashikuraji. Datsueba, taking her post at the banks of the Sanzu river, was decidedly associated with the border—and it is possible that Ubason originally descended not from Tateyama's highest peaks, but from hills closer by. Ubason's double may have been the entire mountain or, in another pairing, Ubason symbolized the bounty of this world in the foothills and Amida the rewards of the next world at the peaks.

Turning to the gendered spatial divisions of the upper portions of *Tateyama mandara*, we can construe the areas where Amida is revealed as male, and the hells for women as female. Hell Valley and the Blood Lake are the only places in the caldera or near the peaks where women appear. *Xuepen jing* rites posthumously transformed these women into men, allowing them to proceed directly from hell to the Pure Land, a passage that occurs entirely within territory forbidden to living women. The hells for women, however, also defined living women by sparking recognition of cardinal moments in the female social and bodily experience. In this sense, hell was the starting point for female viewers making their way through *Tateyama mandara*. If they

were then directed to the Cloth Bridge Consecration—a miniature ritual pilgrimage that replicated aspects of male pilgrimage—and if explanations of this rite resolved in salvation in the Pure Land, then the arc of female reception through the paintings curled just inside the route taken by Ariyori.¹⁹⁹

Blood circulates through the painted landscape. Red pigment stains paper and silk in illustrating the Blood Lake Hell, a revelation of the indelible moral stain on women. There are a few examples of the Blood Lake Hell appearing in *sankei mandara* associated with other sites, but no devotional paintings of other sacred mountains in Japan are marked with as much blood. Amida's bear blood stains the ground at the center of *Tateyama mandara* and the buddha bleeds in the cave at the top. Blood enables recognition of the bear-buddha's double identity. It is central to Ariyori's conversion and to transforming the mountain into a site of Buddhist worship. If Amida bleeds, the mountain bleeds. If we interpret Amida's injury as a bodily sacrifice to save the bear or to save Ariyori, then Tateyama becomes a mountain of sacrifice. Tateyama—personified as Amida and as the *yama no kami* (Ubason)—accepts blood. This includes the polluted blood of women. When Ashikuraji priests completed their expositions of *Tateyama mandara* they offered various ritual means of securing salvation. Then they rolled up the paintings and carried them away, symbolically removing the stain of pollution from viewers.

The Cloth Bridge Consecration gave women another possibility for salvation that did not, perhaps, necessitate escape from the female body or rejection of its blood pollution. Some of Ubason's identities completely transcended gender, but she also embodied idealized notions of the female principle. This exalted goddess meant one thing to men who interacted with the mountain *kami* in spaces devoid of living women. Extending the protection of Ubason to women had different implications; Ubason affirmed their reproductive and maternal functions, lending them transcendent cosmological significance. Seen from another

perspective, however, these associations sent a similar message as the hells for women. Ultimately, they also defined women according to their biological productivity.

This study of the Tateyama cult and its images has revealed the long history of religious, political,

and economic imperatives that drove the construction of Tateyama's sacred geography. The complex overlays and ambiguities that resulted gave premodern men and women many ways of projecting their fears and hopes onto the mountain, and of seeking salvation in Tateyama's spaces.

- 176 See Kuroda, "Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara no uchū," 270.
- 177 See Saitō, *Kodomo no chūsei-shi*, 183–86, and note 28 on page 251.
- 178 *Honchō suibodai zenden*, 212–13. Also see Inoue Keiji, *Kyōden kōshōgaku to yomihon no kenkyū*, 304–34.
- 179 For introductions to debates on the pervasiveness of *mabiki*, see Chiba Tokuji and Ōtsu Tadao, *Mabiki to mizuko*; Susan B. Hanley and Kozo Yamamura, *Economic and Demographic Change in Preindustrial Japan*; Thomas C. Smith, *Nakahara*; Ann Bowman Jannetta, "Famine Mortality in Nineteenth-Century Japan"; William R. LaFleur, *Liquid Life*, 89–102; Saitō Osamu, "Infanticide, Fertility, and 'Population Stagnation'"; Laurel L. Cornell, "Infanticide in Early Modern Japan"; and Ochiai Emiko, "The Reproductive Revolution at the End of the Tokugawa Period."
- 180 See Sawayama Mikako, *Shussan toshintai no kinsei*, 158–59.
- 181 See, for example, *Shume no hōgan Morihisa*, 487, where the playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724) describes a passage in a nun's *etoki* that seems to connect the two. The play was performed between the tenth month of 1686 and the first month of 1687. Also see Kōdate, "Aspects of Ketsubon kyō Belief," trans. Formanek, 130. On this play, see Hosokawa Kumiko, "Chikamatsu jōruri *Shume no hōgan Morihisa* ni egakareta Kumano bikuni no etoki."
- 182 On *Mabiki-zu*, see, for example, Hisano Toshihiko, "Mabiki-zu ni miru kogoroshi no hōhō." Sawayama Mikako criticizes Hisano and others for taking these images at face value, as evidence that women were killing children, instead of exploring their impact on female viewers. Sawayama, *Shussan toshintai no kinsei*, 188–218.
- 183 On *Juku-zu* and *Meifu-zu*, see Kōdate Naomi and Matsuoka Hideaki, "Shirakawa Jōsenji *Juku-zu* o megutte."
- 184 Ibid. Infanticide may often have been a family or community decision. See, for example, Ochiai, "The Reproductive Revolution at the End of the Tokugawa Period," 209–10.
- 185 Edo families frequently endured the unforeseen deaths of family members of all ages. There are a few examples of parents recording profound grief over the loss of children, some that are all the more poignant for their reticence. See, for example, Harold Bolitho, *Bereavement and Consolation*, esp. 1–30 and 103–161.

Chapter 4

- 1 On Iwakuraji rites at the Blood Lake Hell, see Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 12. A document listing the town's annual rites describes the *segaki* rite, but not the Blood Lake Hell or *Xuepen*

- jing*. See *Tateyama chōshi*, vol. 1, 837. Compared to the abundance of Ashikuraji documents available to scholars, few Iwakuraji documents have been published, hindering research on the town. A collection of records have recently surfaced, opening up new possibilities.
- 2 *Massha innen kakiagechō*.
- 3 See *ETKM*, 222, and Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 5–6.
- 4 On this image, see Nagashima Katsumasa, *Toyama no bijutsu to bunka*, 9–11; and Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, *Shinzō, Butsuzō wa kataru*, 53.
- 5 *Sangaku kikō*, 23.
- 6 *Mitsu no yama meguri*, 108. Also see Fukue, *Edojo Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 445–47.
- 7 Saeki Ryūkō, *Tateyama shidan*, 85; and Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 11–12. Saeki says there was a rite for throwing sutras into the Blood Lake on the fifteenth day, reading the names of women one by one, but he provides no documentation, and the 1621 *Massha innen kakiagechō* only says that sutras were kept in the hall at the lake.
- 8 Such as the Hōsenbō, Kisshōbō, and Tsutsui-ke versions.
- 9 See Fukue, *Edojo Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 416–18.
- 10 Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 12–14.
- 11 See *Shōdō tsutomekata tō nenjūgyōji, hoka sūken, ETKK* 4:11. The rite consisted of Honzon-hiku (worship of the honzon), Kōmyō-ku (a rite related to the Kōmyō shingon), Shoten-zan (praise of *deva*), Jōgyō zanmai (intonation of the *nenbutsu* while circumambulating within a hall), Bussan (praise of the buddha), Jiga-ge (recitation of verse from the Nyorai juryō chapter of *Fahua jing*), Kōmyō shingon (intonation of the Kōmyō *dhāraṇī*), Zuigu darani (recitation of a *dhāraṇī* stating the vows of the bodhisattva Zuigu), Endonshō (a recitation used in the Tendai school that consists of Guanding's introduction to *Mohe zhiguan* [J: *Maka shikan*], sometimes along with a passage from Zhanran's *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue*), and two types of Ekō (dedications of the merit accrued by the cycle of rites). Also see Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 11–12.
- 12 On these records, see Fukue, *Kinsei Tateyama shinkō no tenkai*, 411–16.
- 13 Some paid 654, 972, or 412 *mon*.
- 14 Fukue, *Edojo Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 426–28.
- 15 For recent research on these various amulets and certificates, see Fukue, *Edojo Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 429–39. According to a communication on April of 2012 with the owner of the receipt reproduced here, this was kept by his family along with similar items connected to other confraternities (such as Fujisan and Konpirasan). The same households and communities subscribed to

numerous cults. On Tateyama belief in Aichi prefecture (the parish area of Jissōbō), see Tsuda Toyohiko, "Chita chibō no Tateyama shinkō."

- 16 Fukue, *Edojo Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 426–28.
- 17 Ibid., 457.
- 18 See Saeki Yukinaga, *Tateyama shinkō no genryū to henssen*, 367; and Hironaka, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 25. Another source claims that temple-lodges gave people two copies of *Xuepen jing* before they climbed Tateyama. One copy was for placing in the Blood Lake Hell and the other was for bringing home. When a woman in the pilgrim's household died, it was to be placed in the coffin. See Masahashi Kōji, "Tateyama to josei no tozan oboegaki," 116.
- 19 Published in Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed., *Tateyama shinkō*, 27. Recently other *kechimyaku* wrappers have surfaced. On these wrappers, the characters Busso (buddha patriarch) are to the right of the words *kechimyaku*, and Shōden (proper transmission) are to the left. On the back we find *bakku yoraku* (removing suffering and obtaining ease) printed in the center on a lotus platform, *hōnō Endon daikai* (dedication of the Endon great precepts) on the right, and *denkai shami Minkū* (priest transmitting the precepts, Minkū) on the left. The inner amulet resembles that described above. Three certificates have surfaced that contain Minkū's name.
- 20 On the performativity of gender, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*.
- 21 For the Yuishin-ge, see *Huayan jing*, T 9:466a (sixty-volume recension); and T 10:102ab (eighty-volume recension). Also see Watari Kōichi, "Kegon kyō hajigoku-ge o megutte." On *hajigoku* see Hirasawa, "The Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom of Retribution," 26–31.
- 22 There is a great deal of research on the Kōmyō shingon. See, for example, the overview of its development in Tanaka Kaiō, *Kōmyō shingon shūsei*. On its use in Japan, also see Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to Bukkyō*, 165–202; Taira Masayuki, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō*, 401–8; and Mark Unno, *Shingon Refractions*.
- 23 Translated by Bodhiruci (C: Putiliuzhi; 572?–727). See T 20:227.
- 24 Based on excerpts from the earlier text by Amoghavajra (C: Bukong; 705–774).
- 25 Transcribed in Tanaka, *Kōmyō shingon shūsei*, 32–41. On the dating of this text, see Hayami, *Heian kizoku shakai to Bukkyō*, 181–82.
- 26 T 20:385c.
- 27 See Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to Bukkyō*, 178–83.
- 28 See Tanaka, *Kōmyō shingon shūsei*, 36.
- 29 On diagrams of the Kōmyō shingon, see Saitō Hikomatsu, "Hajigoku mandara no kenkyū."
- 30 See, for example, Shuchin Daigaku Mikkyō Gakkai, ed., *Bonji taikan*, 783–84. In Shingon-school funerary rites, a paper with this design on it is placed on the forehead of a corpse.
- 31 See *ETKK* 4:11; and Kōdate, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 11–12.
- 32 See Kōdate Naomi, "Ketsubon kyō shinkō reijō to shite no Tateyama," 80.
- 33 Faure, *Power of Denial*, 113.
- 34 There are many classical and medieval examples of nuns and laywomen getting around prejudicial teachings. On how women may have perceived Buddhist conceptions of women, see Nomura Ikuyo, *Bukkyō to onna no seishinshi*, 98–133; Nishiguchi Junko, "Nihonshijō no josei to Bukkyō"; Edward Kamens, "Dragon-Girl, Maidenflower, Buddha"; R. Keller Kimbrough, *Preachers, Poets, Women, and the Way*, 102–23; and Lori Meeks, *Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monastic Orders in Premodern Japan*, 250–300. There were also healthy parodic responses to these ideas during the Edo period.
- 35 Both scrolls treat parables about the benefits of the *nenbutsu* that Genshin incorporated into *Ōjōyōshū*. For more on these two scrolls, see Hirasawa, "Cracking Cauldrons and Babies on Blossoms."
- 36 On this focus in *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, see Kuroda, "Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara no uchū"; idem, "The *Kumano kanshin jikkai mandara* and the Lives of the People in Early Modern Japan"; and Ogurisu, *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, 219–20.
- 37 On this motif, see Kōdate Naomi, "Kanjin jikkaizu no shijūku mochi ni tsuite."
- 38 *Nihon kyūhō shugyō nikki*, NSSS 2:159–60. On vocationally specific aspects of older hell painting traditions, see Kuroda Hideo, *Zōho Sugata to shigusa no chūseishi*, 258–63.
- 39 The Hōsenbō and Kisshōbō *Tateyama mandara* depict an unusual example of a woman facing Enma's mirror. The reflection shows her beating a child while she was alive, suggesting the Tateyama cult's testing and fine-tuning of new strategies related to women's work.
- 40 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 115–29.
- 41 Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez, 3.
- 42 Paul Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, trans. Emerson Buchanan, 31.
- 43 See, for example, Job 20:1–29; and Peter Lewis Allen, *The Wages of Sin*, 61–77.
- 44 In the Seikyōji painting the women do not have horns or snake bodies. The image can be seen on the temple's website. Early hell imagery in Japan also rendered disgusting hells. Shifun jigoku, for example, a fetid place where needle-mouthed maggots attack sinners,

- is illustrated in the Hara-ke *Jigoku zōshi* in the Nara National Museum. This image is based on a passage in *Qishi jing*, T 1:321ab describing a small hell of “hot excrement and urine sludge.”
- 45 There are two possible exceptions. The Iwakuraji-related Gyokurinbō *Tateyama mandara* depicts a demon holding a woman by the hair and forcing her to consume a red liquid, but the Blood Lake Hell is on the other side of Hell Valley with no demons. The Ashikuraji Daisenbō [C] *Tateyama mandara*—not technically a *Tateyama mandara* since it depicts only the Blood Lake Hell—includes a scene of demons rough-handling two women. Even in this painting, however, none of the fourteen women portrayed are snake-like or forced to drink blood.
- 46 The vengeful dead were a major fear in Japan during the classical era, but such ideas about the dead are certainly not confined to Japan. For instance, Berawan (Indonesia) customs involve the bereaved voluntarily suffering so as not to incur the jealousy and malice of the dead. See Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death*, 77. Also see, for example, Nishiguchi, *Where the Bones Go*, 431–32.
- 47 For an early formulation of these ideas, see Sigmund Freud, “Mourning and Melancholia,” trans. James Strachey et al.
- 48 See Darian Leader, *The New Black*, 76–91; and George A. Bonanno, *The Other Side of Sadness*, 164–67. Philippe Ariès noted a late-nineteenth-century shift in France from community sharing in the moment of death to it becoming a private event, as well as many other changing attitudes toward death. Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver, esp. 18–19 and 559–601.
- 49 On purgatory in the West making conceptions of the afterlife more just, see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, 209–29.
- 50 L. R. Lind, trans., *The Aeneid*, by Publius Vergilius Maro, 113.
- 51 See John Ciardi, trans., *The Divine Comedy*, by Dante Alighieri, 39–43 and 339. The Jesuit *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* (the Nagasaki version), published in 1603 with additions published in 1604) translated *Sai no kawara* as “lūmbo,” recognizing the similarity of these conceptualizations. See Doi Tadao, Morita Takeshi, and Chōnan Minoru, ed., *Hōyaku Nippoisho*, 550–51.
- 52 Hank Glassman observes that the violent deaths of women in childbirth help us to understand the violence of *Xuepen jing* teachings. See Glassman, “At the Crossroads of Birth and Death,” 180.
- 53 Resembling rapid changes in mourning customs wrought by heavy war casualties and collective efforts to make sense of loss that were seen in the United States after the Civil War or in Europe after the First World War. See, for example, Geoffrey Gorer, *Death, Grief, and Mourning*, esp. xv–xxiv; and Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*.
- 54 On evolving notions about the role of women in the household see, for example, Wakita Haruko, *Women in Medieval Japan*, trans. Alison Tokita, esp. 12–45. There is a great deal written on women during Japan’s early-modern period. See, for example, Ōguchi Yūjirō, *Josei no iru kinsei*; and Sawayama Mikako, *Shussan to shintai no kinsei*. Sawayama’s ongoing research focuses on perceptions of women as reproductive bodies. Also on conceptions of the bodies of women and fetuses, see Shinmura Taku, *Shussan to seishoku-kan no rekishi*. In the interest of concentrating on women in Buddhist contexts, I have not fully examined the development of ideas about women’s bodies here, a topic put aside for another occasion.
- 55 See Wakita, *Women in Medieval Japan*, 48–70.
- 56 The next few paragraphs reflect some of the findings in, for example, Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*; and idem, *Edojo Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*.
- 57 It does not appear in any images connected to Iwakuraji.
- 58 For an analysis of this motif, see Fukue, “Tateyama mandara no zuzō byōsha ni tai suru kisoteki kenkyū,” 30–37.
- 59 A painted handscroll entitled *Nunobashi kanjō-e emaki* (private collection) also focuses exclusively on the procession. An Amida triad descends over the bridge in a shower of flower petals. The handscroll was on display at the Tateyama Museum in the fall of 2009 but was not reproduced in the accompanying exhibition catalogue, *Tateyama no jiboshin*. The Inazawa-ke *Tateyama mandara* portrays the entire mountain, but edits out all details of the foothills except for the Cloth Bridge Consecration, which is centered in the foreground. The Tagabō *Tateyama mandara* is similar, but it includes more of Ashikuraji.
- 60 *Issan kyōki hikae*, ETKK 1:27.
- 61 *Jisha raireki*, in *Kaga-han shiryō*, vol. 2, 235–36. A document dated 1857 compiled in *Shodō tsutomekata tō nenjūgyōji* (ETKK 4:38) describes the same event and adds that the women accepted lineage certificates. Written well over two hundred years after the rite described, this document probably reflects later ritual content.
- 62 Fukue, *Tateyama mandara*, 106–7.
- 63 *Wakan sansaizue*, 2:841. Satō Gessō’s (7–1818) 1798 record of a visit to Tateyama also mentions a rite related to Jikō’s mother conducted during the autumn equinox, but Satō visited Ashikuraji in the latter half of the sixth month and would not actually have seen the rite. Moreover, his wording recalls passages in *Wakan sansaizue*, suggesting its citation rather than firsthand experience. *Tateyama kikō*, 397–98.

- 64 See, for example, a document from 1747 transcribed in Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 178–79. The name can also be pronounced Ame no ukihashi.
- 65 *Nihon shoki* (Jindai 1, section four, main book), SNKZ 2:24–25; and Aston, *Nihongi*, 9–12. For similar passages in *Kojiki*, see *Kojiki*, SNKZ 1:30–31; and Philippi, *Kojiki*, SNKZ 1:49.
- 66 *Nihon shoki* (Jindai 2, section nine, first variant book), SNKZ 2:126–28; and Aston, *Nihongi*, 76. *Nihon shoki* is composed of successive passages of a main text followed by variations. Distinctions between the main text and recensions are important, but not a concern here. Also see *Kojiki*, 99; and Philippi, *Kojiki*, 120–21.
- 67 *Nihon shoki* (Jindai 2, section nine, main book), SNKZ 2:120–21; and Aston, *Nihongi*, 70.
- 68 There a great deal written on the cultural meaning of bridges. See, for example, Sano Kenji, “Hashi no shōchōsei”; Hirabayashi Akihiro, *Hashi to asobi no bunkashi*; and Nishiyama, *Seichi no sōzōryoku*, 3–37. On the Floating Bridge of Heaven in ancient myths, see, for example, Kanai Seiichi, “Hashi, hashi, hashira soshite hashi”; and Kōnoshi Takamitsu, “Ama no ukihashi” o megutte.” Kōnoshi argues that the different world views of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* must be taken into account when considering how the Floating Bridge of Heaven functions in each work. Here, however, we are only interested in the connection with Tateyama foundation legends.
- 69 See Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans., Willard R. Trask, 20–21, 85–86, and elsewhere. I will not treat recent reappraisals of Eliade’s thought here.
- 70 The document is transcribed in Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Tateyama mandara*, 76, n. 7.
- 71 See Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 143–45.
- 72 See, for example, *Jinbun* within *Tateyama daiengi* (Issankai), ETKK 3:9; and *Jinbun* (Senzōbō), ST, *Jinja-hen* 34:134. The Issankai recension describes the “bridge of Amida’s welcoming descent,” and later Amida and the twenty-five bodhisattvas on purple clouds. The descent near the bridge is shown in only a few Ashikuraji *Tateyama mandara*, such as the Hōsenbō and Kisshōbō versions. In the Nikkōbō [A] *Tateyama mandara*, we see all twenty-five bodhisattvas at the Cloth Bridge Consecration. Many images only depict the welcoming descent above or along the peaks, but the group can also be seen as descending toward the bridge. The idiosyncratic Saishōji version shows an Amida triad on the bridge.
- 73 See, for example, *Hokke genki*, NST 7:160 and 549. On *mukaekō* see Itō Shintetsu, “Mukaekō no ichi kōsatsu”; Suda Masahito, “Taimadera no mukaekō”; Obara Hitoshi, *Genshin*, 178–88; Sarah Johanna Horton, *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan*, 49–70; and idem, “Mukaekō.”
- 74 See *Shodō tsutomekata tō nenjūgyōji*, ETKK 4:13–14.
- 75 Seki Nobuko, “Mukaekō Amida-zō” kō 2.”
- 76 The other two are Matsushima (Miyagi) and Miyajima (Hiroshima).
- 77 *Konjaku monogatari* 15:23, SNKT 35:410–12.
- 78 *Kojidan* 3:27, SNKT 4:1281.
- 79 *Tango no kuni fudoki* (itsubun), in NKBT 2:470; and *Shaku nihongi*, ST, *Koten chūshaku-hen* 5:107.
- 80 *Shaku nihongi*, ST, *Koten chūshaku-hen* 5:107.
- 81 *Jukkaishō*, 107.
- 82 See, for example, Itō Shintetsu, “Mukaekō no ichi kōsatsu.”
- 83 Kan’in’s biographies changed around the same time. Nothing among sources that have surfaced so far connects Kan’in with the *mukaekō* until the thirteenth-century *Kojidan*. See Koyama Mototaka, “Kan’in to Tango no mukaekō.”
- 84 *Sadame*, 87–88. Also see Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 148.
- 85 See the transcription in Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 178–79. Each roll of cloth is the amount needed for a single adult-sized garment.
- 86 *Tateyama on-Ubason shogun sesshu-chō* and *Tateyama on-Ubason bettō hōgachō*, respectively. See the transcriptions in Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 181 and 183–84.
- 87 Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Tateyama mandara*, 19.
- 88 Tendai pronunciation is “*samayakai*”; Shingon is “*sanmayakai*.”
- 89 See Tōzan kohōdōri shoji *tsutomekata kyōki*, ETKK 1:46–47. On development of the rite, see Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 147–61.
- 90 Ibid., ETKK 1:36.
- 91 *Shodō tsutomekata tō nenjūgyōji*, ETKK 4:11–14.
- 92 It is possible that Ashikuraji’s Tendai and Shugen connections to Onjōji informed the development of this aspect of the rite. Due to conflict and intense competition between Onjōji and Hieizan, the *samayakai* became increasingly important at Onjōji, to the extent that the temple attempted to create an independent *samayaka* precept platform. On this history, see Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihonjin-shi no kenkyū: Chūsei, Kinsei-hen*, 167–227; and Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shisō kenkyū*, 145–96.
- 93 Consisting of four intonations: *bai*, *sange*, *bonnon*, and *shakujō*.
- 94 On *Hongaku-san* see Mizukami Fumiyoshi, *Taimitsu shisō keisei no kenkyū*, 199–220. For an English translation, see Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, 27.

- 95 Gorai Shigeru, "Nunobashi daikanjō to Shirayama gyōji."
- 96 Such as the Kaidan meguri at Zenkōji, the *denpō* in the Yūzū nenbutsu tradition, the Gojū sōden of the Pure Land school, the Kikyō shiki of Jōdo-shin tradition, and esoteric Buddhist lineage consecrations (*kechien kanjō*).
- 97 Gorai Shigeru, *Shōmin shinkō to Nihon bunka*, 335–71.
- 98 *Foshuo guanding jing*, T 21:530c.
- 99 *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T 13:784b.
- 100 Kominami Ichirō, "Jūō kyō no keisei to Zui Tō no minshū shinkō," 239–40.
- 101 See Kusano Kanshō, "Tateyama ubadō no gyōji kō," 30–31, and the note on 33. Fukue questions the historical accuracy of this account in *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 97–98 and 108.
- 102 See H. Byron Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō*, 122–23.
- 103 Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 101–3. He questions the accuracy of certain reconstructions, including a drawing of the combinatory arrangement inside the Uba hall in Uruma Motomi, *Shinpan shūzoku Toyama saijiki*, 85. In the reconstruction, an interior shrine with three closed doors houses the Ubason triad against the back wall. The mountain landscape can be seen behind the interior shrine, as if the doors of the structure are open. Various Uba statues sit against a side wall that is hung with an esoteric mandala, and an esoteric altar occupies the center of the room, in front of the interior shrine.
- 104 Kaneko Banka, *Tateyama yūki*, 21.
- 105 The Hanamatsuri that developed from it continues to this day.
- 106 In between the Kiyomari and Jōdo-iri, an additional rite called the Ōgigasa was sometimes performed.
- 107 This can also be read as *bonden* or *bonten*.
- 108 On Ōkagura or Hanamatsuri, see the important monograph by Hayakawa Kōtarō, *Hayakawa Kōtarō zenshū*, vols. 1 and 2; and more recent research updating his findings, such as Yamamoto Hiroko, *Henjōfu*, 95–224. Also see William Lee, "Entering the Pure Land." The ritual program described above is based on Yamamoto's reconstruction of rites older than those described by Hayakawa.
- 109 Suggested by words that appear in *Shime no hokai*. Yamamoto Hiroko noted that the term *kechien kanjō* may refer to a *kami*-related consecration. See Yamamoto, *Henjōfu*, 199–203.
- 110 Gorai Shigeru and other scholars surmised that both the Shirayama gyōji and Cloth Bridge Consecration derive from *shugen* rites at Hakusan, but this has been disputed. See Gorai, "Nunobashi daikanjō to Shirayama gyōji." For a summary of the arguments for and against the connection see Kikuchi Takeshi, *Waga kuni no gishū saisei girei to Tateyama Nunobashi daikanjō-e*, vol. 1, 20. Iwahana Michiaki, disagreeing with Gorai, argues that, since Mikawa was a parish of Tateyama priests, Hanamatsuri was probably influenced by the Cloth Bridge Consecration. See Iwahana, "Etchū Tateyama nyōnin kyūsai girei saikō," 22. The parishes cultivated by Nikkōbō and Zendōbō were in Mikawa's Shitara-gun. It is also possible that Mikawa practices furthered development of the Cloth Bridge Consecration.
- 111 Fukue suggests that the motif of an old woman who participates in the Cloth Bridge Consecration procession in *Tateyama mandara* may be borrowed from *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, overlaying the figure of an old woman facing the threshold of death (at the exit of the hill of aging) onto the rite at Tateyama. See Fukue Mitsuru, "Tateyama mandara no zuzō byōsha ni taisuru kisoteki kenkyū," 32–35.
- 112 Yamamoto Hiroko proposes that a Taizōkai mandala may have been included in the ritual program of the Shirayama of Ōkagura—participants who entered the Shirayama-womb, she suggests, emerged transformed by ritual rebirth. See Yamamoto, *Henjōfu*, 198–99. Perhaps the Uba hall functioned similarly during the Cloth Bridge Consecration.
- 113 See reproductions in Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed., *Tateyama shinkō: Inori to negai*, 13, 25, and 27.
- 114 See the transcription in Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Tateyama mandara*, 81, n. 17.
- 115 See the transcription in Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 178–79.
- 116 They were also sold to parishioners who never visited Ashikuraji. See Fukue, *Edojo Ōoku to Tateyama shinkō*, 426 and 441.
- 117 See Kōdate Naomi, *Etchū Tateyama ni okeru Ketsubon kyō shinkō*, vol. 2, 23–25.
- 118 *Tateyama on-Ubason bettō hōgachō*, 183.
- 119 *Hokkoku Tateyama on-ubadō bettō hōgachō*, transcribed in Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Tateyama mandara*, 77. The oldest known occurrence of the term *kanjō* appearing in connection with the rite at the bridge is from 1805. See Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 150.
- 120 *Tateyama on-Ubason nunobashi daikanjō kanjinki*, transcribed in Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 186–87.
- 121 Saeki Yukinaga writes that female participants in the Cloth Bridge Consecration were given copies of *Xuepen jing* to take home. Unfortunately, he does not provide any information about his sources. Saeki Yukinaga, *Tateyama shinkō no genryū to hensen*, 368.
- 122 She was popularly called Onbasama at Tateyama, but the present volume uses the pronunciation Ubason for the sake of clarity. Her name is written with various characters pronounced Uba, Ubason, Onbasan, Onba,

- etc. Often the radical for woman is paired with the component for aging, but at Tateyama they combined the radical for woman with three components meaning rice paddy (*ta* or *den*), a unique character developed by the cult. There is a suggestion that the character originally consisted of the radical for woman with three components meaning mother (*haha* or *bo*), but there is no clear evidence of this to date. On the unusual character, see Hirose, *Tateyama Kurobe Okuyama no rekishi to denshō*, 34–37 and 44; and Kimoto Hideki, *Etchū kodai shakai no kenkyū*, 255–65. For research on Ubason, see Ishihara Yosaku, "Tateyama chūgūji Ubagami no seikaku"; Inui Minako, "Tateyama Ubason kō"; Nakano Yūko, "'Nyōnin kyūsai no kōzō'; idem, "'Nyōnin kyūsai' to Ketsue-kan"; Yonehara Hiroshi, "Ashikuraji Ubason no seikaku to Ubason-zō zōryū no haikai"; and Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 46–52. For recent developments also see Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed. *Tateyama no jiboshin*.
- 123 *Ashikuraji monjo*, no. 4, ETKK, 2.
- 124 See Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 104. The Uba hall also contained a three-dimensional rendering of the karma mirror from Enma's court.
- 125 See *Ashikura chūgūji ubadō daiengi*, ETKK 3:6; and *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi*, ST, Jinja-hen 34:128.
- 126 See *Jitakoku hōmotsu narabini hōdan negai kyūki*. There is also a document claiming that the Uba hall was burned in 1785. See *Ashikuraji monjo*, no. 108, ETKK 50. Another report states that the Uba hall was burned by Hideyoshi in 1585. See Saeki Yukinaga, *Tateyama fudoki no oka*, 36–37.
- 127 Until recently there were only thirteen sculptures. According to a personal communication by Fukue Mitsuru in March 2012, the fourteenth image was only recently returned to Ashikuraji. It surfaced in a private collection in Toyama city, where it had been held since the Meiji-period disruptions.
- 128 Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 60.
- 129 There is abundant research on the *yama no kami* and *yamanba*. On *yama no kami* see, for example, Chiba Tokuji, *Nyōbō to yama no kami*; and Hotta Yoshio, *Yama no kami shinkō no kenkyū*, esp. 44–54. On *yamanba*, see Yoshida Atsuhiko, *Mukashi banashi no kōkōgaku*; Saitō Taisuke, *Yamanba no kioku*; Kawamura Kunimitsu, "Datsueba/ubagami kō"; and idem, "Kintarō no haha to megami." There are *uba* cults all over Japan. For studies of sculptural examples in Tōhoku see Ishida Akio, *Onbasama*.
- 130 Hotta, *Yama no kami shinkō no kenkyū*, 60.
- 131 *Wakan sansaizue*, 2:841. As we saw above, this is also mentioned in *Tateyama kikō* (1798) by Satō Gessō, 397–98.
- 132 Nozaki Masaaki, *Tateyama no ki*, 387.
- 133 *Ashikura chūgūji ubadō daiengi* (Issankai), ETKK 3:7; and *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi* (Senzōbō), ST, Jinja-hen 34:131, respectively.
- 134 An Ashikuraji document from 1842 clearly indicates that the two towns held different ideas about Jikō's mother. See ETKK 3:111 and 113.
- 135 On the Blood Lake Hell without Ariyori's mother, see *Tateyama tebikigusa*, 79.
- 136 *Tateyama tebikigusa*, 52–56. The locals present Ariwakazemon with a consort from the Itō family who dreams that she swallows a jewel, and later bears a child whom they name Tamawaka (jewel youth). It is not clear how Tamawaka functions in this story. The local wife for Ariwaka and their child strengthen local connections (and may relate to a particular family's claims), but the child is not Ariyori and does not figure in the foundation legend.
- 137 *Tateyama tebikigusa*, 51. Some characters are missing, but other passages confirm Iwakuraji's strong appeal to women at the time.
- 138 *Tateyama tebikigusa*, 63.
- 139 *Wakan sansaizue*, 2:841.
- 140 *Tateyama tebikigusa*, 62. Also see Daphne's transformation into a laurel tree in Mary M. Innes, trans., *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*, 41–44. Although the circumstances differ, the de-gendering is similar.
- 141 *Wakan sansaizue*, 2:841.
- 142 *Tateyama tebikigusa*, 63.
- 143 *Wakan sansaizue*, 2:841; and *Tateyama tebikigusa*, 61.
- 144 *Konjaku monogatari* 11:25 and 11:26, SNKT 35:73–74.
- 145 On *nyōnin kinsei* see, for example, Ushiyama, "Nyōnin kinsei sairon"; Abe Yasurō, *Yuya no kōgō*, 65–148; Susan Maisoff, "Barred from Paradise?"; Suzuki Masataka, *Nyōnin kinsei*; Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 219–49; and Gaynor Sekimori, "Sacralizing the Border." The oldest use of the term *nyōnin kinsei* that Ushiyama was able to identify is from 1475; the oldest use of *nyōnin kekka* is from the beginning of the Edo period. See Ushiyama, "Kamakura jidai no nyōnin kinsei monjo ni tsuite no kōsatsu," 38 and 55–56, n. 6. On challenges, exceptions, and disregard of the ban at Fujisan during the Edo period, see Miyazaki Fumiko, "Female Pilgrims and Mt. Fuji."
- 146 Ōe no Masafusa, *Honchō shinsenden*, NST 7:260, 581.
- 147 See Yanagita Kunio, "Rōjo kaseki tan" (1916) in *Imo [Imoto] no chikara*, 366–79; and "Bijo no ki no yurai," in *Josei to minkan denshō*, 116–17. Kawamura Kunimitsu criticizes Yanagita for not paying closer attention to the darker, destructive aspects of this composite deity or to Buddhist influences. Kawamura Kunimitsu "Datsueba/Ubagami kō," 159.
- 148 On *Hakusan mandara* see, for example, Kobayashi Kazushige, "Hakusan mandara to seichi"; Kuroda

- Akihiro, "Hakusan sankei mandara to etoki"; and Kozaka Yutaka, "Hakusan mandara-zu kara mita Kaga zenjōdō."
- 149 Hell at Hakusan is mentioned in such works as *Shirayama no ki* (ST, *Jinja-hen* 33:344) and *Fuji no hitoana sōshi* (Hitoana sōshi, 35; and *Fuji no hitoana sōshi*, MJMT 11, 436 and 460).
- 150 On the cult of Hakusan, see Takase Shigeru, ed., *Hakusan, Tateyama to Hokuriku Shugendō*; and Shimode Sekiyo, ed., *Hakusan shinkō*.
- 151 For a comparison, see Hirose Makoto, *Tateyama to Hakusan*.
- 152 Some place names differ at each approach to the mountain.
- 153 For a transcription of the text in the Natadera painting, see Kozaka, "Hakusan mandara-zu kara mita Kaga zenjōdō," 14. For that of *Gashū Hakusan no ezu*, see ibid., 12–13. Also see *Hakusan yūran zuki*, 33.
- 154 *Shirayama no ki*, ST, *Jinja-hen* 33:47. The Echizen and Mino sides of the mountain had their own respective borders for women. See Ishikawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Hakusan*, 74.
- 155 On these stories, see Fujie Hisashi, "Happayaku [Yao] bikuni densetsu no seiritsu to henryō."
- 156 The transformations seem to offer a loophole for women to escape the six realms and femaleness—and it is tempting to imagine forests of women-trees and petrified nuns—but these stories warn against transgression and are not presented as options for ordinary women.
- 157 There are also stories about the Hakusan cult-founder Taichō's mother at the border of sacred space. See Kozaka, "Hakusan mandara-zu kara mita Kaga zenjōdō," 306–8. A Muromachi-period story adds ideas about blood pollution to the story archetype. Kūkai's mother sets out to see her son on Kōyasan, but even though in her eighties she begins menstruating as she attempts to enter the area forbidden to women. This proves that the blood of women is more a symptom of female pollution than its cause. See *Karukaya*, 87–89.
- 158 For a comprehensive introduction to *nyoninōdō*, see Suzuki Masataka, *Nyōnin kinsei*, 82–120.
- 159 *Tateyama Tebikigusa*, 60.
- 160 *Sanmon meissho kyūseki-ki*, 217.
- 161 Takasaki Masahide, "Tateyama o meguru minzoku shinkō," 419.
- 162 On images of Datsueba, see Marui Kiyoshi, "Datsueba no keitai ni tsuite." On the connection between Datsueba and the *ubagami*, see Kawamura Kunimitsu "Datsueba/Ubagami kō"; and Kōdate Naomi, "Datsueba shōkō."
- 163 *Hokke genki* 2:70, SNKT 7:138–39 and 542. A variation of this tale appears in *Konjaku monogatari-shū* 16:36, SNKT 35:563–65.
- 164 See *Jizō Jūō kyō*, 770. Datsueba and Ken'eō are described as husband and wife in *Shiju hyakuinnensha*, 62.
- 165 *Shiju hyakuinnensha*, 62.
- 166 As noted by Yanagita Kunio. See "Shōzuka no baba," in *Imo* [Imōto] no *chikara* 397.
- 167 See *Jinbun*, ETKK 3:9.
- 168 See *Ashikura chūgūji ubadō daiengi*, ETKK 3:7; and *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi*, ST, *Jinja-hen* 34:130.
- 169 Although Datsueba appears by the Sanzu river in many *Kumano karjin jikkai mandara* and although some renderings of this motif are similar in *Tateyama mandara*, the former tend to show only the demon beneath the tree with a few male and female souls and there are few variations. *Tateyama mandara* adopted many themes from *Kumano karjin jikkai mandara*, but depictions of Datsueba draw on other sources of inspiration.
- 170 See Kuroda, *Zōho Sugata to shigusa no chūseishi*, 249–56.
- 171 On this text, *Tateyama hiden onkatabira tō chōhō sōkō* written by a priest named Ryūtai, see Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Tateyama mandara*, 252–55. Also see Saeki Taimasa's description of making amulets and *kyōkatabira* with his family (of the Ashikuraji temple-lodge Nikkōbō) in "Shōwa no Ashikuraji shukubō ni oite no taikenki," 88–89.
- 172 See the Hōsenbō *Tateyama ryakuengi*, transcribed in Fukue, "Tateyama ryakuengi to Tateyama mandara," 148.
- 173 Fukue also proposed this among other possible meanings for a rite called the Omeshikae gyōji involving changing the clothing of the Ubason sculptures. See Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 71–72.
- 174 On the dressing rite, see Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 61–78. Today Ubason's clothing is changed by women. They are members of a women's association and a seniors' group in Ashikuraji. The rites are performed by Daisenbō and the Tendai temple Enryūji (Toyama city).
- 175 *Tateyama tebikigusa*, 60.
- 176 Issankai *Ashikura chūgūji ubadō daiengi*, ETKK 3:6–7; and *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi*, ST, *Jinja-hen* 34:128, respectively.
- 177 Toyama-ken *Tateyama Hakubutsukan*, ed., *Tateyama shinkō*: Inori to negai, 27.
- 178 *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi* in *Tateyama daiengi*, ST, *Jinja-hen* 34:127–32. The Senzōbō recension adds that the Ubason triad is the *hoppōdō* descending and appearing at Ashikuraji. Both this woodblock and the Senzōbō recension are connected with Ryūen, so their consistency may be related.
- 179 *Ashikura chūgūji ubadō daiengi* in *Tateyama daiengi*, ETKK 3:6.

- 180 The *hosshin* (dharma body) is assigned to Dainichi, the ultimate truth. The *hōjin* (reward or recompense body) achieves enlightenment and becomes a buddha after lengthy practice; Amida is an example. Lastly, the *ōjin* (accommodative or manifested body) appears in this world with the beings that it wishes to save, like Shaka. In Tendai thought, these three bodies are intertwined and all three are found in any buddha. Ubason's *honji* relationship with Dainichi at Ashikuraji may partly be explained by Dainichidake, a peak close to Ashikuraji. On the relationship between Dainichidake and Ubason, posited as an early form of the Ashikuraji cult, see for example Hirose, *Tateyama Kurobe Okuyama no rekishi to denshō*, 40–41; and Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 52–55. As we saw in Chapter One, a Heian period staff finial discovered on the peak reveals its early importance to the Tateyama cult, but connecting this with the *honji suijaku* thought that developed later is another matter.
- 181 *Ashikuraji monjo*, no. 24, ETKM, 13.
- 182 The Honkyōji bell is the third generation bell used at the Uba hall, cast in 1775. The Nenpōji bell is the fourth, possibly cast in 1822. The fourth and final bell was suspended at Zendoōbō, probably until the third was sold to a Jōdo-shin temple in 1824. It is likely that the fourth bell was used at the Uba hall until the separation campaigns of Meiji. Dedications on the surviving bells differ, but both contain the characters "Namu On-Uba Dainichi nyorai" and Sanskrit charms. See Katō Motoki, "Ubadō ni atta kane no meibun o yomu."
- 183 An exception among Iwakuraji images is the Tateyama Museum [A] painting.
- 184 *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi*, ST, *Jinja-hen* 34:127. The characters Otomabe in this *engi* do not derive from *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki*, but turn up frequently in medieval texts. The Japanese mythology adopted here is not ancient, but is filtered through medieval characterizations.
- 185 ETKK 1:26. Tachibana Mitsuyoshi's travel diary from a visit to Tateyama in 1696 contains a drawing with the names of the three mythological *kami* Izanaki, Izanami, and Ninigi inscribed on a small shrine at the top of Tateyama. Tachibana, *Ichino miya junkeiki*, 523.
- 186 In the Senzōbō *Tateyama hōgū wakō daigongen engi* (ST, *Jinja-hen* 34:123); and the Senzōbō *Ashikura chūgū on-Ubason engi* (ST, *Jinja-hen* 34:128), respectively.
- 187 See Yoshida, *Mukashi banashi no kōkōgaku*, 57–82.
- 188 From the donation document to reconstruct it along with the Uba and Jizō halls, also mentioned above. See *Ashikuraji monjo*, no. 4, ETKM, 2.
- 189 Such early works are found at Byakugōji (Nara), Ennōji (Kanagawa), and elsewhere. See Tanaka Yoshiyasu, "Meifu no chōzō no korei"; and Sugisaki

- Takahide, "Nihon chūsei ni okeru meifu chōzō to sono ba o meguru jorōn-teki oboegaki," parts one and two.
- 190 On these transitions during the mid-Edo period, see Fukue, *Tateyama shinkō to Nunobashi daikanjō hōe*, 113–95.
- 191 On this relationship, see Hirasawa, "Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom of Retribution," 19–27.
- 192 See Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed., *Shinzō, Butsuzō wa kataru*, 53.
- 193 On these cast-bronze images, also see Saitō Yoshio, *Toyama, Ishikawa bonshō kō*, 27–44.
- 194 *Tateyama tebikigusa*, 60.
- 195 See *Tateyama kaichō reibutsu ryakuengi*.
- 196 *Tateyama Tebikigusa*, 61.
- 197 On Enma at these borders, see, for example, Yamano Masahiko, "Nichijō keikan no naka no kyōfu no bashō," 40–41 and 44. On early legends about Ono no Takamura see, for example, Haruko Wakabayashi, "Officials of the Afterworld," esp. 325–26.
- 198 For reproductions see, for example, Ōsaka Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Shaji sankei mandara*, pls. 42, 44, and 45. See Nishiyama, *Seichi no sōzōryoku*, 156.
- 199 The confinement in the Uba hall may perhaps be seen as corresponding to confinement in the Tamadono cave, a place of regeneration, sacralization, and rebirth; Ariyori, the bear, and the hawk all emerge from it transformed. For a theory that both confinements enact returning to the womb and being reborn—and that everyone who participated in the Cloth Bridge Consecration became Ubason in the hall—see Miwa Shūzō, "Enma tōjō," 78–80.

Epilogue

- 1 Tachibana, *Ichino miya junkeiki*, 523–24.
- 2 He first visited in 1748. See his 1760 *Sangaku kikō*, transcribed in Suganuma Teizō, "Taiga no Sangaku kikō," 15–27 and plate 8. On his travels to sacred mountains, see Melinda Takeuchi, *Taiga's True Views*, 37–41. Also see Takase, *Tateyama shinkō no rekishi to bunka*, 90–92 and 189–205.
- 3 Tsumura Sōan, *Tankai*, 175.
- 4 See, for example, Satō Gessō, *Tateyama kikō*, written in 1798 about a six day trip to Tateyama roughly ten years earlier; Nozaki Masaaki, *Tateyama no ki* of 1812, remarking on local legend and history during a five day trip; Ōtsuka Keigyō (1819–1874), *Toryūzanki* (alternately pronounced *Tateyama ni noboru ki*) of 1840, 179–85; and *Sanzan dōchūki* of 1823 recording travel to Hakusan, Tateyama, and Fuji, and some of the prices paid along the way. A photograph of the original is published in Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan, ed., *Reizan junkei*, 26–27, with a transcription on 48–49. For a useful collection of Edo-period travel diaries about Tateyama, see Hashimoto Tatsuya, ed., *Eichō kikō*