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## The True History of Shido Temple

### Abstract

The seven fourteenth-century *engi* 縁起 (“true histories”) associated with Shidoji 志度寺, at the northeast corner of Shikoku, relate the temple’s legendary origins and the story of successive, divinely inspired repairs. Five are translated below, with an introduction. The best known, *Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi* 讃州志度道場縁起, also raises issues related to the origins of the Fujiwara regents and to medieval Japanese sovereignty.

**Keywords:** *engi*—Fujiwara—Shidoji—noh

**S**HIDOJI 志度寺, a Shingon temple dedicated to Eleven-Headed Kannon 十一面観音, faces Shido Bay about fifteen kilometers east of Takamatsu 高松, at the northeast corner of Shikoku. It is the eighty-sixth station on the great pilgrimage circuit of eighty-eight temples sacred to Kannon, and it owns a remarkable body of fourteenth-century literature and art. The literature consists of seven *engi* 縁起 (“true histories”)<sup>1</sup> that narrate legends of the founding and repeated rebuilding of the temple. Six paintings of exceptionally high quality illustrate all but one of these *engi* (UMEZU 1955) and once served to support oral telling (*etoki* 絵解) of the legends that the *engi* writers recorded, or perhaps in some cases invented.

The first of these *engi* claims that Shidoji was founded in the reign of Empress Suiko (592–628). Another temple document mentions the year 693 and, in agreement with the second *engi*, associates the founding with the famous Gyōki Bosatsu 行基菩薩 (668–749); but the temple’s layout actually suggests a ninth-century origin. *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 (thirteenth century) mentions the Taira taking refuge there after their defeat at nearby Yashima 屋島 in 1185 (KAGAWA-KEN NO CHIMEI 1989, “Shidoji”). The temple seems then to have been a center for Shugendō 修験道 ascetic practice, since a devotional song included in *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄 (ca. 1190) cites it among seven of the most holy such places in Japan (HOSHINO 1979, 313). Clearly prosperous in the time of the *engi*, Shidoji continued to flourish in the fifteenth century under the patronage of the powerful Hosokawa 細川 line of warlords. After that, however, its fortunes varied.

No doubt maintenance costs could be high, and Shidoji, like many other temples, suffered now and again from major fires. The fire that destroyed it in 1479 was the sixth to have done so since its founding, according to a record dated 1482 (NISHINO 1991, 11). The purpose of the *etoki* performances just mentioned must therefore have been above all to raise funds for building and repair. Sure enough, four of the *engi* tell how a poor but devout man (different each time) died, went down to the underworld, and appeared before King Enma 閻魔王, the judge of the dead, only to be returned by Enma to the world with the mission of rebuilding Shidoji. Originally, the leader of the fund-raising drive (*kanjin*

*hijiri* 勸進聖) may even have represented himself as the man charged with this sacred mission and risen from the dead to accomplish it (WADA 1967, 221–22). In order to emphasize King Enma’s consuming interest in the temple’s welfare, the *engi* repeatedly state that Shidoji was none other than his own ancestral temple (*ujidera* 氏寺).

Five of the seven *engi* of Shidoji are translated below from the texts published in WADA 1967. The last two (omitted) repeat the “return from the underworld” motif (*meido sosei tan* 冥土蘇生譚), common in medieval times, that is prominent already in two earlier ones. The seven, each with its time setting, are as follows.

*Misogi no engi* 御衣木之縁起, “The True History of the Buddha-Tree” (reign of Suiko, 592–628).

*Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi* 讃州志度道場縁起, “The True History of Shido Temple in Sanuki Province” (late seventh century).

*Shiratsue Dōji engi* 白杖童子縁起, “The True History of the White-Staff Youth” (reign of Kanmu, 781–806, or just after).

*Tōgan Botō no engi* 當願暮當之縁起, “The True History of Tōgan and Botō” (immediately follows the *Shiratsue* story).

*Shōchiku Dōji engi* 松竹童子縁起, “The True History of the Pine-and-Bamboo Youth” (reign of Ichijō, 986–1011).

*Senzai Dōji sosei ki* 千歳童子蘇生記, “How the Thousand-Age Youth Returned to Life from the Underworld” (journey to the underworld in 1201). No painting for this *engi* survives.

*Aitsu sosei no engi* 阿一蘇生之縁起, “The True History of How Aitsu Returned to Life from the Underworld” (journey to the underworld in 1317).

Scholars agree that *Misogi no engi* is the earliest and that *Aitsu sosei no engi*, dated 1317, is the latest. The paintings can therefore be no earlier than 1317, and their latest possible date is 1343 (UMEZU 1955, 222).

These seven texts, written in three different styles, are clearly by several different hands. *Misogi*, *Shido Dōjō*, *Shiratsue*, and *Shōchiku* are in *kanbun*, the Japanese version of classical Chinese; *Tōgan Botō* is in standard classical Japanese; and *Senzai* and *Aitsu* are in a variant Japanese style loosely classifiable as *sōrōbun*. A note appended by one Dōjun 道順 to each scroll of the oldest set of copies now owned by Shidoji (roughly datable to the sixteenth century) identifies four authors, of whom two are at least chronologically possible. Dōjun attributed *Misogi*, *Tōgan Botō*, and *Senzai Dōji* to one Kenkū Shōnin 兼空上人, whose poems appear in several imperial anthologies, and who seems to have been a friend of the major poet Ton’ā 頓阿 (1289–1372) (KOKKA TAIKAN 1996).

For *Shido Dōjō*, Dōjun named Sagara Taketō 相良武任 (1498–1551), a retainer of the highly cultured warlord Ōuchi Yoshitaka 大内義隆 (1507–1551), and for *Shiratsue Dōji* Sesonji Yukifusa 世尊寺行房 (d. 1337), a calligrapher and anthologized poet in the service of Emperor Go-Daigo (r. 1318–1339). Finally, he attributed *Aitsu* to Sagara Masatō 相良正任, Taketō's father, a retainer of the warlord Ōuchi Masahiro 大内政弘 (1446–1495), and likewise a man with a taste for poetry. Dōjun left only *Shōchiku* anonymous. If Kenkū Shōnin and Sesonji Yukifusa at least *could* have written the *engi* associated with their names (though it is hard to believe that both *Misogi* and *Senzai* are by the same hand), Ōuchi Masatō and Taketō could only have copied them or perhaps commissioned the preparation of the scrolls. Still, this roster of attributions suggests widespread, high-level interest in Shidoji and its *engi* stories. Indeed, it is the brilliant Gozan 五山 Zen monk Genryū 彦竜 (1458–1491) who left the record of the Shidoji fire of 1479. The temple seems to have been of interest at the very center of the culture.

Both *Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi* and *Tōgan Botō no engi* inspired noh plays associated with the Konparu 金春 school of noh.<sup>2</sup> *Shido Dōjō* is the source of the often-performed *Ama* 海人, which the classic noh actor and playwright Zeami 世阿弥 (1363?–1443?) attributed to the mid-fourteenth century actor Konparu Gonnokami 権守.<sup>3</sup> The earliest mention and only performance record of the noh play *Tōgan Botō* dates from 1513, but strong evidence suggests that it is by Konparu Zenchiku 禅竹 (1405–1470). First published in 1915, *Tōgan Botō* attracted critical interest in 1919, and in 1979 Dōmoto Masaki 堂本正樹 championed its “modern” psychological insight (NISHINO 1991). The play was staged in 1991 at the National Noh Theater (KOKURITSU GEKIJŌ 1991) and again in 1997, in a different production, at the Umewaka Noh Theater in Tokyo (*Nōgaku Times* Sept. 1997).<sup>4</sup> Such attention has established its presence and its merit in the contemporary noh world.

However, the modest reputation acquired lately by *Tōgan Botō* cannot compare with the centuries-old fame of *Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi*, or at least of the story the *engi* tells. In particular, *Shido Dōjō* is the most likely source of the enormously popular ballad-drama (*kōwakamai* 幸若舞) *Taishokan* 大織冠 (ASAHARA and KITAHARA 1994), the first known performance of which occurred in 1563 (TREDE 2003, 269).<sup>5</sup>

*Taishokan* tells an embellished version of the *Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi* story. However, it never mentions Shidoji.<sup>6</sup> The effect of this omission is to make *Taishokan* an *engi* not of Shidoji, but of the religious complex constituted by Kōfukuji 興福寺 and the Kasuga Shrine 春日大社 in Nara. Indeed *Shido Dōjō*, too, would be a Kōfukuji *engi* if stripped of its Shidoji emphasis. The contrast suggests either that *Shido Dōjō* is a Kōfukuji *engi* version localized to the benefit of Shidoji, or that *Taishokan* dropped Shidoji in order further to increase its appeal. Certainly, Kōfukuji was by far the more famous of the two temples.

Kōfukuji is the ancestral temple, as Kasuga is the ancestral shrine, of the

Fujiwara regents, whose role (seen from their perspective) was indivisible from that of the emperor himself. *Shido Dōjō* speaks of a pact “concluded for all time” between Tenshō Daijin 天照大神 (the sun deity Amaterasu, ancestor of the imperial line) and Amatsukoyane 天兒屋根 (also Amenokoyane, the divine ancestor of the Fujiwara). Other medieval writings similarly affirm this pact, which sanctions a pattern familiar to every student of Japanese history.

The first Fujiwara was Kamatari (614–669), whose “chastisement of the minister Soga Iruka” (mentioned near the beginning of *Shidō Dōjō*) was, at least in legend, the wellspring of Fujiwara prestige. Already *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 (ca. 1100), book 11, story no. 14, tells how Kamatari and the crown prince of the time prayed for success against the tyrannical Iruka by vowing to make a great image of Shaka 釈迦 (Shakyamuni). Like *Shidō Dōjō*, *Iruka* 入鹿, a companion ballad-drama to *Taishokan*, elaborately celebrates Kamatari’s deed and mentions the same Shaka, which became the divinity of the central Kondō 金堂 (Golden Hall) of Kōfukuji.

According to *Shido Dōjō* and other such accounts, a tiny silver Shaka that the pious Kamatari had always worn in his hair-knot was placed after his death between the greater Shaka’s eyebrows. *Konjaku monogatari shū* does not mention this silver Shaka, but apparently it was real. When Kōfukuji burned in 1181, the then regent Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207) lamented in his diary that its loss would mean the end of the Fujiwara; and he wrote a few days later that it had been found melted and formless, despite having come unscathed through the Kōfukuji fire of 1060 (TYLER 1992B, 171; KUJŌ 1984, v. 2, 466, 470: entries for Jishō 5.1.22, 5.1.29).

The silver Shaka that Kanezane considered vital to Fujiwara power then became conflated with an even more potent talisman: the priceless jewel wrested from the depths of the sea. This conflation, obvious in other documents as well, appears in *Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi*. Introducing Fuhito 不比等 (or Fubito, 659–720), Kamatari’s most important son, the *engi* tells how Fuhito made a great Shaka image and planned to place the small silver one inside it. The narrative then shifts directly to the story of the jewel recovered from the sea, which ends when Fuhito returns to Nara and “place[s] the jewel between the eyebrows of the sixteen-foot Shaka Nyorai.” This jewel, the *engi* says, “is the Wishing Jewel [*nyoi hōshu* 如意宝珠] on which the prosperity of the Fujiwara clan depends.”

Medieval Japan knew many stories about powerful treasures from the bottom of the sea. Some came from China and some, especially those in the sutras, from India. Others, including one discussed below, were indigenous as far as one can tell. However, the motif occurs worldwide. For example, the Gnostic *Hymn of the Pearl* tells how the King of Kings and the Mistress of the East made a “compact” with their son, the narrator (GRANT 1961, 119):

If thou goest down into Egypt,  
 And bringest the one pearl,  
 Which is in the midst of the sea  
 Hard by the loud-breathing serpent,  
 Then shalt thou put on thy bright robe...  
 ...And with thy Brother, our next in rank,  
 Thou shalt be heir in our kingdom.

Since “our next in rank” must be Christ, the narrator apparently represents the individual Christian, whom the Father calls to come before him in robes of glory, cleansed and bearing the hard-won gift of perfection. One can therefore draw a loose parallel between him and the Fujiwara regent, whose service to the sovereign, established by the deities’ pact of old and confirmed by Kamatari’s noble daring, is sealed by possession of the jewel wrested from the clutches of the dragon king. The son-narrator, the bearer of the pearl, shares in his father’s kingdom; and the regent, the jewel-bearer, shares similarly in the imperial dominion.

Indeed, the jewel so prominent in *Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi* has imperial significance as well. Myth and legend in Japan repeatedly link imperial sovereignty to a treasure brought up from the deep, as well as to a marriage between an earthly hero and a daughter of the sea deity—a marriage very like the one between Fuhito and the sea woman in the *engi*. An example is the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720) myth of Hikohohodemi, who travels to the bottom of the sea and marries the sea deity’s daughter. Their son, born on the shore like the child in the *engi*, becomes Emperor Jinmu 神武天皇, the earthly founder of the imperial line. Hikohohodemi also receives from the sea king the twin jewels that control the tides, which he uses to subdue his rival, his elder brother. This pair of jewels appears elsewhere in other guises, including that of the serpent-eye jewels of *Tōgan Botō no engi*. For the purposes of Buddhist preaching this *engi* draws on a common Japanese folktale pattern, in which a serpent-wife ends up giving both her eyes to her earthly husband (MATSUMAE 1977, 92), just as Tōgan does to his brother Botō. The *engi* then continues with an attenuated version of the *Shido Dōjō* story that not only illustrates the functional equivalence of the single jewel and the jewel pair but also highlights, by contrast, the weight of the *Shido Dōjō* narrative itself. Fusasaki 房前 (681–737), in the *engi* the son of Fuhito and the sea woman, is the founder of the line of Fujiwara regents. Thus he is the Fujiwara counterpart of Emperor Jinmu.

A document discussed by Abe Yasurō confirms the fusion of regental and imperial power that this parallel suggests (ABE 1986, 148–49). *Rinnō kanjō kuden* 輪王灌頂口伝, which is no later than the *Shidoji engi* texts themselves, explains the esoteric initiation given an emperor at his accession. It says that this rite, which “is practiced and passed on generation after generation in the house of the regents,”

confers sovereign freedom (*jizai* 自在) on the new emperor, and that the symbol of this freedom is the “Wishing Jewel” held by the regental house. As Abe observed, this jewel is therefore the foundation of imperial sovereignty (*ōken* 王権).

Such is the resonance of *Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi*, echoed by *Tōgan Botō no engi* and supported by the other *engi* of the temple. But why should a tale associated with the most potent arcana of the medieval Japanese world—arcana involving complexities that this brief introduction cannot begin to suggest—have been linked so successfully to a provincial temple on the coast of Shikoku? The answer probably has to do with political and economic factors now all but irretrievable, but one still wonders whether Fusasaki could really have been conceived on the shore of Shido Bay. Formal records identify his mother as a great-granddaughter of the powerful Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 (d. 626), but that might be a polite fiction. Alas, no one will ever know.

However, the name Fusasaki remains intriguing. The place (now read Fusazaki) mentioned in the *engi* is a shallow promontory that swells gently out into Shido Bay about two kilometers northwest of Shidoji. Nearby is Fusazaki station on the Kotoden ことでん railway line to the town of Shido. Because *fusa* 房 means “breast,” and *saki* means either “cape” 崎 or “before” 前 (先), the place name Fusasaki amounts to “Bubbe Point,” or perhaps “Cape Teton,” while the personal name means “At the Breast.” The *engi* jewel, too, is *fusasaki*, since Fusasaki’s father retrieves it from a cut beneath the sea woman’s breast, so that her son is equivalent to the jewel from the deep. These four syllables therefore sum up the whole story. How such a thing came to happen will remain forever unfathomable, but in medieval Japanese religion double meanings could carry great weight. *Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi* represents an all but miraculous play of word and story.

## TRANSLATIONS

### (1) The True History of the Buddha-Tree<sup>7</sup>

The divinity 本尊 of this temple is Eleven-Headed Kannon. From what tree was the image carved? On Miozaki mountain in Takashima county of Ōmi province there is, they say, a deep ravine named Byakurenge-dani 白蓮花谷 [White Lotus Ravine]. In this ravine there was a mightily recumbent tree that appeared to be endowed with spirit. It looked like a camphor tree. No one knew where it had come from. It gave off a pure light and an unearthly fragrance, and celestial beings kept coming down to it, bearing white lotus blossoms that they scattered over it. These blossoms stuck to the tree and became lotus flowers. Their color, too, was white. Thus the tree stood for many years in this ravine. That is why the ravine is now called Byakurenge-dani.

Of old, in the eleventh year of Emperor Keitai [r. 507–531], the fifth generation successor of Hachimangū Emperor Ōjin,<sup>8</sup> there was violent thunder and lightning, and heavy rain caused a flood. The tree was washed out of the ravine and drifted to shore at Ōtsu<sup>9</sup> in Shiga county, where it lay for seventy years. The farmers there did not recognize the spirit of the tree and cut it up for their own use. Then throughout the surrounding area houses burned, malarial fevers arose, and other inauspicious signs occurred. Divination to discover why attributed these events to the curse of this tree. No one who heard this committed any further offense.

Then, in the reign of Emperor Sushun [r. 587–592], the tree drifted out of the lake and into the Uji River. It came to rest at the harbor of Yodo<sup>10</sup> in Yamashiro province, where it remained for three months, emitting a pure and brilliant light. Those who saw it were astonished and dared not touch it. They contemplated it in reverence and awe. Meanwhile, it floated out to sea from Yodo harbor and for several decades drifted on the waves, touching at the shore here and there, now emitting light, now causing disaster, and so terrifying everyone that they thrust it away to drift further on. At last, after many years and months, it washed ashore at Shido in Sanuki province. Although several hundred years old, the sacred tree showed no sign of decay and gave off an intense fragrance like the finest sandalwood.

In the thirty-third year of Empress Suiko's reign, [592–628], a nun by the lay name of Sonogo 園子 and the religious name of Chihō 智法 found the tree and was very pleased. Having made an earnest vow and prayed for years to accomplish it, she heartily saluted the tree with folded hands, picked it up, and took it away; and no evil befell her. She carried it into her grass hut, where she enshrined it. When, some weeks or months later, she sought a buddha-sculptor, there appeared a young man in his twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year, carrying a sculptor's tools. He came to her and said, "I am a sculptor of buddha-images. I have come to you now because I know of your vow. Please tell me what sacred image you desire, and I will make it in accordance with your wishes."

Sonogo replied that she wanted an image of Eleven-Headed Kannon. Thereupon, the man made a life-sized image of Eleven-Headed Kannon in a single day. Then he faced the image and seemed to chant an invocation. The sun was already sinking toward the west, and from sundown to the hour of the rat [midnight] he did not move. Sonogo became increasingly certain that he was no ordinary man. As he worshiped, a loud voice called twice from the heavens, asking, "Is Kannon from Fudaraku<sup>11</sup> here?" The voice impressed itself deeply on Sonogo's heart. The buddha-sculptor then vanished like a snuffed-out flame. By this she knew that a manifestation of Kannon had come to her from Mt. Fudaraku. Having no hope of ever seeing him again, she could not restrain her tears.

Sonogo now had the sacred image she had wished for, but she had no temple in which to enshrine it. Day and night, abed or awake, she sighed that she

would have to build a chapel one or two meters square. When she looked for a carpenter, a youth in his twentieth year appeared. "I am a carpenter," he said. "I came to you because I have heard of your vow. Hurry, give me lumber."

Sonogo was very happy. She immediately got the lumber together and gave it to the youth. In seven days he built her a hall two meters square. She had thought there was only one of him, but now he was collecting lumber, now shaping pillars and ridgepoles, now making beams and rafters, now laying on cypress-bark thatch, so that she could not tell how many youths there were. The youths were present and visible during the day, but not at night. They were divine manifestations. After working for seven days to build the hall, they disappeared.

Now the carpenter, named Haji no Kokuōmaru 土師黒王丸, was a transformation of Dharma King Enma 閻魔法王.<sup>12</sup> Sonogo was a transformation of Monjushiri Bosatsu.<sup>13</sup> All this was an expedient means devised by Daigon Satta 大権薩夕,<sup>14</sup> and a beneficent working of divine grace. All the front pillars of this great temple are all made of bush clover [*hagi* 萩].<sup>15</sup> It is our land's miracle temple, and the most wondrously spiritual place within the Four Seas. Indeed, the miraculous boons vouchsafed there are beyond counting. This account therefore covers only the bare outline of them.

## (2) The True History of Shido Temple in Sanuki Province

Now, in Emperor Sushun's reign [r. 587–592] this temple was blessed by the coming of the sacred tree, from which the temple's holy image was made in the thirty-third year of the reign of Empress Suiko [r. 592–628]. At first the temple was one span<sup>16</sup> square; later on it became five spans square. In the tenth year of Emperor Tenmu [r. 673–686], the Minister of the Right [Fujiwara no] Fuhito 不比等, dubbed Lord Tankai 淡海, enlarged it further. It is dedicated to Eleven-Headed Kannon and located on Fusasaki Shore 房前浦 in Sangawa County 寒河郡 of Sanuki province. Truly, it is a holy site where universal salvation is manifest, a place of worship where miraculous powers are attained. The Minister Fuhito was the son of Taishokan 大織冠 (Lord Kamatari 鎌足). Taishokan himself descended in the twenty-first generation from Amatsukoyane 天兒屋根.

Of old, Tenshō Daijin 天照大神 and Amatsukoyane-no-Mikoto were in the Celestial Palace. They stood upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven and concluded for all time a pact between them. Tenshō Daijin said: "We may now descend to Toyoashihara-naka-tsu-kuni 豊葦原中津国, to Yashima-mizuho-no-kuni 八洲水穗国,<sup>17</sup> where my descendants will succeed to sovereignty over the labors of the local rulers. Your descendants will assist with the governing of the realm."

Thereupon Kamago-no-muraji 鎌子連<sup>18</sup> was born. He was the son of Kashima Mikeko-ōmuraji 御食子大連, of the province of Hitachi, and his informal name 字 was Kamago. In the first year of Emperor Kōgyoku's reign [r.

642–645], the minister Soga Iruka 曾我入鹿, the son of Emiji 毛人, appropriated the dignity of chief minister 丞相 and irresponsibly lorded it over the realm. The Court then declined, and the ancestral shrines and mausolea fell into decay.

In the third year of the same reign, the crown prince (Emperor Tenji) and the subject Kamago united in a vow to make a sixteen-foot 丈六 image of Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来, together with two attendants and the Four Great Heavenly Kings 四大天王, in order to pray for the chastisement of the minister Soga Iruka.

In the first year of Emperor Kōtoku's reign [r. 645–654], on the twelfth day of the sixth month, the subject Kamago took the sickle that a fox had given him of old<sup>19</sup> and beheaded Iruka, then in his sixtieth year. The emperor was deeply grateful and immediately raised him to a high rank. In the second year of the same reign, Kamago, then in his thirty-first year, was appointed palace minister 内大臣.

In the first year of Emperor Tenji's reign [r. 661–671], Lord Kamago at last became chief minister 塩梅阿衡の臣. In the eighth year of the same, on the thirteenth day of the tenth month, he was appointed chancellor 太政大臣. He then changed his clan name 姓 from Nakatomi 中臣 to Fujiwara 藤原, which was bestowed upon him together with the title of Taishokan. On the sixteenth day of the same, Taishokan passed away in his residence at Yamashina 山科,<sup>20</sup> in his fifty-sixth year.

Fuhito was Taishokan's eldest son and heir. When Taishokan died he was only in his tenth year. Two springs and autumns later he wished to build a temple, so as piously to honor his father. Taishokan had placed a silver image of Shaka Nyorai, one inch high, in his hair-knot, and he had never in his life been parted from it. Fuhito made a new sixteen-foot Shaka and wished to place this one-inch silver image inside it.

Meanwhile, Taishokan had had a daughter, Fuhito's younger sister. Her beauty and grace were those of the peach or plum, and she was bashful in her loveliness. Emperor Gaozu of Tang 唐高祖 [r. 618–127] heard of her and was unable to restrain his ardor. From that great distance he sent Taishokan an imperial order, to the effect that he desired her hand. Taishokan did not fail to respond; he sent the lady to him. Overcome by gratitude, Gaozu treated her with the greatest affection and made her his empress.

Awesome to tell, she took her place among the three thousand imperial ladies. In order to honor her father's memory, and in order also to contribute to her brother's building of the temple, she gave her brother various treasures and sent him various jewels. There was the Blossom Stone Chime 花原磬, which never stopped ringing once struck; to stop it, one touched a buddha-relic to it. There was the Four Shores Stone 四濱石: once struck, its ringing never died away, and to stop it one hung a Buddhist stole 袈裟 over it, whereupon its ringing would stop immediately.

There was also the Ever-Facing Jewel 真向珠, eight inches around. Inside

it was a Shaka Triad<sup>21</sup> without front or back, top or bottom. You saluted the Triad from wherever you were [without having to move to face it], which is why it was called the Ever-Facing Jewel. The jewel was Emperor Gaozu's greatest treasure, and he constantly held it in his hands. His empress wished to send it to this realm of ours, and there was nothing tepid about her desire to do so. However, the jewel was a treasure without peer in all the land, and the emperor had no wish to send it to Japan. At this the empress forgot to sleep or eat, and she remained confined to her bed. Puzzled, he asked her why. "My only desire," she replied, "concerns that jewel." The emperor therefore consulted his courtiers, who pronounced their opinion. In the end he bestowed the jewel on his empress. Finding her greatest desire met, she was overjoyed. Although she was in the land of Tang, her heart was always in the land of Japan.

Accordingly, she sent an envoy to present this treasure to Japan. The ship cast off and in due course approached our realm. Then a violent wind suddenly blew, and great waves rose high. There on the sea off Fusasaki Shore, in the province of Sanuki, they were about to capsize the vessel when those on board cast the box containing the jewel into the sea. Hairy, long-clawed hands reached up from beneath the waves to seize it. The Tang envoy was disgraced forever; it was as though he had lost his father and mother.

The envoy went on to the Capital and transmitted his emperor's accompanying message to Fuhito. On reading it, Fuhito saw that, although he had the message, there was no trace of the jewel. The envoy reported, in answer to his inquiry, that the jewel had been stolen by the Dragon God. Grief-stricken, Fuhito then set off for the place where the jewel had sunk. In the company of the Tang envoy, he sailed away immediately to Fusasaki Shore in Sanuki province.

"This is where the jewel sank," the Tang envoy explained. Fuhito cast his gaze out toward the very Island of the Immortals, but for all his scanning cloud billows and foaming waves, he could not make out where the jewel might be.

He chose and married the sea-girl Senrō 泉郎, the daughter of Kitae-okinaga 気堪息長. Straightaway he consummated the marriage vow and swiftly performed the nuptial rite; and although he then returned to Nara, the capital, he still missed Fusasaki Shore. Already in the third year she gave birth to a son, thus confirming their bond from the past.

At the time, Lord Fuhito lived officially at the consultant's 諫議 residence.<sup>22</sup> Disclosing his personal and clan names, he addressed the following request to the sea-woman: "In the Capital, I devote myself entirely to serving the emperor. For two people to take shelter beneath the same tree signifies a happy bond from past lives; for them to draw water from the same stream also suggests a fortunate bond from another life. How much happier then is our own bond, when these three years past we have had converse together as man and wife and conjoined as mandarin ducks do. We have even had a son. It is as though I had

actually received the jewel my younger sister sent from Great Tang.” So did he address her; and he continued: “That jewel is eight inches around, and inside it there is a standing Shaka Triad. Ever since the Dragon God of this shore stole it, I have thought and thought about how to get it back, but without success. Then enter the sea yourself, entrust yourself to the waves, and somehow accomplish this task.”

The sea-woman addressed him in reply. “People of high and low degree are different, but they are alike in performing the conjugal act. Although distinct from one another, the mighty and the humble still share the ties of man and wife. Day after day I saw and loved you, and I took comfort in you, but I have not yet confessed that all the while I was still ashamed of my humble condition. The ways of union, of giving oneself utterly—insignificant though I am, I, too, know them; and I feel these things all the more deeply now that spring and autumn have already come round three times and that, although unworthy, I am now bringing up your son. It would not trouble me to reduce my own body to ashes; I would not mind if my bones were ground to dust. There is between us a bond from past lives. How could I regret my own life? I do not fear losing it. Consider this carefully. As to retrieving the jewel, I know I will not survive the attempt. Be sure to pray for my enlightenment and assist me toward a good rebirth. I will give no weight to my own life; I will honor the bond between us, and meet the challenge. First, though, I must find where the jewel is. In other words, I must seek out the Dragon Palace. I do not know how far down it is. By day the sea bottom is bright with sunlight, but by night, despite the light of the stars, the depths of the waves are very dark. However, I have one wish. It will be satisfied, my husband and lord, if in exchange for giving you my life, you will elevate our son to be your heir. Such is the object of my attachment. My desire for it is very great.” With this she took the little boy on her lap, placed her nipple in his mouth, and wept bitterly.

The Lord Minister said: “The bond between us, life after life, is imperishable. My constant love for you runs very deep. How could I forget you, through all these lives and births? As to our son, what you ask goes without saying. I will not ignore it. Make no half-hearted attempt. Be sure to take it seriously. Do no less than your best. If you really do get the jewel, then for many lives, throughout future eons, your good deed will obtain for you birth in the Buddha’s land, in lives to come, enlightenment. Never doubt this, not even as much as the tip of an autumn hair.”

Because the sea-bottom would be dark, he gave her a night-glowing jewel. Then she plunged beneath the blue waves. Days later she emerged once more. “The towers of the Dragon Palace are many,” she said, “and its gates number in the thousands. In the middle there is a thirteen-storey crystal pagoda, thirty feet high. The jewel is enshrined in this pagoda. Dragon maidens offer flowers

and incense before it ceaselessly, day and night, surrounding the Dragon-Jewel before and behind, left and right. There is not the slightest gap between them to peer through.” The Lord Minister replied, “In this matter, I trust your judgment entirely. I cannot decide for you what you should do.” “Then how am I to get the jewel?” she said. “I cannot do so and live. Pray for my life to come!”

So they pledged devotion to each other. Then she tied a long rope around her waist and plunged into the sea. She was to enter the Dragon Palace, and if she got her hands on the jewel, she was to tug on the rope. This signal would let him know that she had it, and he was to draw her up quickly. Such was the compact between them. Then she girded on a knife and dove to the bottom of the sea.

The rope followed along as the boat moved. Time passed while the minister waited, and then came a tug on the rope. Enraged by the loss of the jewel, the Dragon King pursued her and cut off her four limbs. She died instantly. She was only a corpse when the minister pulled her up. Upon taking her ashore onto the island of Kojima 小嶋, he saw that she had no arms and legs; only her head and trunk remained.

The lord minister deeply lamented his failure to obtain the jewel, and his human loss as well, for he loved her very much. Weeping, he inspected her wounds and found, under her breast and to one side, a great cut. It was wide and deep, and she had inserted the jewel into it. How could he not rejoice at the sight? She had had skill and profound wisdom. It had been no mean feat for her to at last get the jewel. She could justly be called a reincarnation of the Dragon Girl. Now grieving, now rejoicing, he was caught between tears and smiles. The place where the jewel was found, formerly called Kojima [Little Island], was renamed Matama-shima 真珠島 [True Jewel Island]. This island lies toward the southwest. On a sand bar along its shore was a small chapel. The sea-woman’s body was buried there without delay.

That year, the tenth in the reign of Emperor Tenmu [r. 673–686], he built a temple over her grave and called it Shido Temple 死度道場. In due succession, he performed rites, litanies, and services for the repose and benefit of the deceased.

Respectfully bearing the jewel, the lord minister took the little boy with him back to Nara, the capital. There he placed the jewel between the eyebrows of the sixteen-foot Shaka Nyorai (the divinity of the Golden Hall of Kōfukuji), and lest it be discovered there later on, inserted it into the Buddha’s hair. It is the Wishing Jewel 如意宝珠, on the influence of which the prosperity of the Fujiwara clan depends. Deeply moved, the emperor dubbed him Lord Tankaikō 淡海公. Fusasaki, Tankaikō’s second son, was born of Senrō.

The Dragon King who had taken the jewel—his name was Zendatsu 善達—wanted it so badly that he swore to be its protector deity for all future time. He therefore moved to Sarusawa Pond 猿沢池, in front of Kōfukuji.

Once Lord Fusasaki had grown up, he asked his father the minister about his mother, and his father told him the whole story.

In Empress Jitō's [r. 686–697] seventh year, the Lord Minister Fusasaki, then only in his thirteenth year, went to Fusasaki Shore in the province of Sanuki in the company of Gyōki Bosatsu 行基菩薩 [668–749],<sup>23</sup> then in his twenty-sixth year; and there he sought out that spot on the shore. He found a temple there, and as he roamed about, there came a chanting voice from the depths of the earth. "Thirteen years have passed since my spirit departed for the afterworld," the voice said. "The road of death is blacker than night, and there is no one to comfort me. My son, if you wish to honor your mother, help me in the eternal darkness!"<sup>24</sup>

Lord Fusasaki knew when he heard this that he had come to his mother's grave, and longing for her consumed him. Tears of compassionate grief welled from his eyes. Weeping, he faced the grave and said: "After I was parted from you as a little boy, I missed you every morning and grieved for you every evening. Now it is my greatest joy to have come on pilgrimage to your grave. But I cannot tell which of the Six Realms you are in, nor do I know in what form you are rising or falling among the Four Births, or how you are getting on. Henceforth I will devote myself to good works on your behalf, so as to requite the debt of gratitude I owe you."

Therefore he built a temple on this spot and had the Eight Lectures on the Lotus<sup>25</sup> performed there. On the anniversary of his mother's death he copied the ten scrolls of the Lotus Sutra. He buried them one *chō* from the temple, toward the southeast. Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩<sup>26</sup> and the Ten Rasetsumyo 十羅刹女<sup>27</sup> appeared there, for which reason it is called the Place of the Offering 奉納所, or the Place of the Ten Raksasas. He also erected one thousand stone stupas behind the temple, facing the shore. These were for the sea-woman, his mother. The shadows of the stupas fall across the waves, conferring blessings on the fish of the deep. Their purpose is to soothe the Dragon God's suffering and calm his wrath.

Lord Fusasaki was a consultant 參議 of the third rank, upper grade; commander of the guards 衛大將, and minister of civil affairs 民部卿. He holds posthumously the title of chancellor, of the first rank, upper grade. From Amatsukoyane-no-mikoto to the minister Fusasaki there were twenty-three generations.

Such in outline is the true history of Shido Temple.

Gyōki's poem:

<i>shio michite</i>	Where the rising tide
<i>shima no kazu sou</i>	further multiplies the islands,
<i>fusasaki no</i>	here at Fusasaki,
<i>irie irie no</i>	ah, round every bight and inlet
<i>matsu no muradachi</i>	stand tall groves of pines!

## (3) The True History of the White-Staff Youth

*How Shiratsue Dōji [the White-Staff Youth], a resident of Yodo harbor, and the daughter of the chief magistrate of Sanuki province, received instruction from King Enma, returned from the land of the dead to this world, and had this temple rebuilt.*

Downstream from Toba 鳥羽, to the south of the blossoming Capital, lies a river port named Yodo 淀. This is the terminus for tribute goods arriving by ship from the west, and a key route for goods being transported by cart to the Capital. In the Enryaku era, during Emperor Kanmu's reign [r. 781–806], there lived at Yodo a packhorse driver named Shiratsue Dōji, so poor that he lacked food and clothing. Unmarried, he had neither sons nor daughters; his horse was his only support through the troubles of life. The pittance he received for having the horse carry loads provided his livelihood. Back and forth he went between town and country, roaming the margin between water and land.

Seeing how impermanence took his companions, Shiratsue Dōji understood the precariousness of his own life, and in his heart he therefore conceived a great vow. He wished all on his own, in secret, to build a grass chapel three spans square. But although he stored up enough good conduct, in accordance with the precepts, for a lifetime or two, it did him no good; all he had was his vow. The years passed for him in gloomy care, and he spent his days in lamentation.

Swiftly the time sped by. Suddenly, off he went for the land of the dead. All at once, he traveled the dark road. Ox-headed or horse-headed demons surrounded him front and back; hell-fiends and devils flanked him left and right. Soon they dragged him to Enma's court, where his sins were to be weighed. Then the record of his Companion Deities 俱生神<sup>28</sup> revealed his vow to build a chapel. King Enma was moved and impressed. "Shido Temple in the province of Sanuki, my own clan temple, is sacred to Kannon. You have made a great vow 本願. You shall build that temple."

The youth hearkened to King Enma's words. On his way back to the human realm 閻浮, he met on the road a very beautiful young woman. He was very sorry to see her driven along by evil demons in wrathful forms. Unable to turn his thoughts from her, he obeyed her call and returned with her to Enma.

"Why have you come back to me?" the King Enma asked. Shiratsue knelt before him. "I will be profoundly grateful if you will release this woman and return her to the land of the living, so that I may accomplish my long-standing vow. I will make her strength mine to that end. I returned here to ask this of you." Enma replied, "I would release her even if she were the worst of sinners, since my doing so will help you fulfill your vow. You shall return together to the world and proceed with what you are to build."

The two wept and pressed their hands to their foreheads for joy. Then they

started out together toward their homes. As they parted, each to return to a separate province, the woman asked, "What district are you from, and where do you live?" The youth replied, "I am from noble Yamashiro." She said, "I am the daughter of the chief magistrate of Sanuki province. I may have been born into the wealthiest family in the province, but it is extremely difficult to return to the human world once you have gone to the land of the dead. How could I have escaped that suffering, if not thanks to the power of your vow? Please come to my province. I will repay my debt to you." The youth said: "I will come looking for you the year after next," the youth answered. She then spoke this poem:

<i>obotsukana</i>	One just never knows
<i>itsu wo tanoman</i>	what the future may bring:
<i>mitose to wa</i>	the length of three years <sup>29</sup>
<i>uguisu no koe</i>	lasts the time a warbler sings,
<i>shika no hatsune ka</i>	a stag utters his first cry.

He replied:

<i>yomo no yama</i>	The mountains around us,
<i>kasumeru sora wa</i>	the heavens, veiled with mist--
<i>ika naramu</i>	what lies ahead for them?
<i>ogi no uwakaze</i>	Wind blowing across the reeds,
<i>hagi no shitatsuyu</i>	dew on low bush-clover fronds.

After this exchange of poems, he awoke from his dream. Many women now wanted to marry him and thought of him fondly. However, he had no wish to consent. Secretly, he looked forward only to the marriage he had promised in the land of the dead. It was difficult to oppose his parents' wishes, however, so he went through the motions of accepting this sort of courtship. Because of his situation, however, he kept delaying any consummation.

Shiratsue prepared to go and find the young woman, as he had promised to do. He filled a mother-of-pearl box with all sorts of precious things. The conclusion of the three years would be the greatest moment in his life. When the count of years was over and the third one came, he set out in the seventh month, and he found her.

The young woman then spoke to her father and mother. She told them all about the sorrows of the "intermediate state"<sup>30</sup> in the land of the dead, about the ways of King Enma's court, about the origin of Shiratsue's great vow, and about how she had returned to life. Weeping, she told them all the thoughts that she had withheld so long. Deeply moved, her parents rejoiced with many tears. The young woman requited her debt to Shiratsue, and because of the long-standing bond between them, they performed the rite of man and wife.

Shiratsue immediately set about planning what he had vowed to do, and two or three years later he achieved the great merit of finishing it. A suitable day was chosen according to the stars, and the dedication was performed. The rites and ceremonies that day, and the adornment of the entire temple, resembled in magnificence the Tusita Heaven<sup>31</sup> itself. In excellence the offerings were like Sudatta's<sup>32</sup> own. The ten dedications, the five-colored altar adornments, the effulgence of the gold and jewels, the fragrance of the incense, the beauty of the flowers, the harmony of the music, the dances, the liturgical chanting, the ringing of the *shakujō*:<sup>33</sup> all delighted the eyes, astonished the ears, aroused faith, and uplifted the heart. The gods of heaven and earth vouchsafed the wonder of their manifestation, the Tathagatas and Bodhisattvas bestowed the mood of perfect joy. Men and women, both high and low, flocked to the temple by the tens of thousands; those who came to hear the Dharma, young and old, crowded in like clouds and mists. After the dedication and praise were over, the couple left the world and at last satisfied their deep longing for rebirth in paradise.

Two hunters were there on the day of the dedication, one named Tōgan and the other Botō. Now, when Tōgan heard the Dharma, he conceived evil attachment and became a great serpent. Botō became his Dharma-friend out of pity and compassion, and Tōgan therefore gave him jewels that Botō offered to the emperor, thus gaining great favor. He became very wealthy. That story is told separately.

#### (4) The True History of Tōgan and Botō

Shido Temple, in the province of Sanuki, came into being at the divine wish of Great King Enma and was built by the nun Sonogo. All that appears in detail in the true history. However, over the years its buildings fell into disrepair. Then, in the Enryaku era of Emperor Kanmu's reign [781–806], one Shiratsue Dōji received King Enma's command in the underworld, returned immediately to life, restored Shido Temple, and held the rite of dedication. That true history, too, is set down elsewhere.

Now, there were at that place two hunters, Tōgan and Botō. In perfect harmony of mind and body they took wild beasts in moor and mountain, and birds on the wing amid the thorny brakes. Their labors nourished their wives and children and gave them a livelihood.

For the sake of his future enlightenment, Tōgan went to the temple for the dedication. He knew as though the scene were before his very eyes that Botō was that day hunting in the mountains, and he regretted that his friend was not with him; but he never forgot his wish to see the Buddha and hearken to the Law. Eloquent preaching sped the time by until the last, dedicatory verse was over, and the assembly of clerics and laymen, gathered there like clouds and mists, had dispersed once more. Then Tōgan's consciousness suddenly dwindled to

nothing. Having no idea any longer what was what, he forgot about going home and sat where he was until dusk, unable to rise.

Botō was so worried about Tōgan that he went to the temple to look for him. When he found him, he asked him why he had not gone home. Tōgan just sat there before him, blank and bereft of speech. The astonished Botō approached for a closer look. Tōgan was growing longer, his body burned and writhed, his breath was agonizingly labored, and he was giving off an increasingly foul odor. Botō realized that something strange was going on. Upon loosening Tōgan's belt and clothing, he found that from the head down he had become a serpent with brightly colored scales.

Horrified and amazed, Botō rushed to inform Tōgan's wife and children, who ran to see him. They were too revolted to come anywhere near him, nor did the serpent show any sign of wanting them to do so. They asked him what he wished them to do, and he said, "Just take me to deep water and put me in." Accordingly they led him to Mannō Pond,<sup>34</sup> in that same province, and put him in it.

The serpent then rose to the surface of the water, tears streaming from his eyes. "The sinful karma of my life is very heavy," he said. "Despite joining for once an assembly of the faithful, deep in my heart I failed to take refuge in the Three Treasures, and that is why, in my own living body, I abruptly became a serpent. I have lost all claim both to my wife's conjugal faith and to the filial devotion of my children and grandchildren. You are human, while I am an animal. The Four Births' ocean of suffering now stretches between us, and the shadows of the Six Realms are suddenly darker, but I have no cause for complaint. However, throughout eons of past lives Botō has had a deep connection with the Teaching. Let him come regularly to the edge of this pond to see how I am getting on." Then he dove to the bottom. His wife, his children, the members of his household, Botō himself, and the village elders and women could hardly believe their eyes and ears. This truly was a wonder unknown in ages past, and it became the talk of the whole land.

A few days later, Botō went to the edge of the pond and spoke. Amid waves the serpent rose to the surface and said: "To repay my debt to you, I will remove one of my eyes: it is yours. It is a wishing jewel. Take it and treasure it."

Botō said: "They say that someone whose six senses are incomplete cannot attain buddhahood. Is that true?"

The serpent replied, "You are quite wrong. Do you not know, then, how the Medicine King (Yakuō 藥王) gave himself to his foe, how the Snow Mountain Youth<sup>35</sup> abandoned his body to a demon, the Buddha-to-Be offered his body to a tiger,<sup>36</sup> and all nonetheless achieved enlightenment?" That instant he removed his left eye and gave it to Botō. "Make wine," he said, "wash this eye in it, and place the eye in a jar. Not a word to anyone! Say nothing of this to your friends, your wife, or your children. Before long the wine will be perfectly pure, and however

much you dip from the jar, there will always be more.” Then he vanished into the depths of the water.

The astonished Botō returned home and did as he had been told. Seven days later, exactly as promised, he found the jar filled with incomparable wine. He immediately announced a party. People hurried to it from far and wide, and all praised the wine. Not only did it bring joy and forever banish care, but it also helped to delay old age and prolong life. Botō therefore became wealthier day by day and year by year, until he lacked none of the Seven Precious Substances or the Ten Thousand Treasures.

It then happened that Botō traveled to another province. While he was away his wife reflected, “This jar is always full of wine, no matter how much you draw from it. That is strange, and I would really like to know why.” She dipped wine from the jar so as to get a look at the bottom, but the jar remained full as before. So she called her household together and turned the jar upside down. The wine flowed like a river. At the bottom of the jar she found a jewel, and she realized that that was what was doing it.

When the local magistrate heard of the jewel, he stole it and offered it to the governor of the province. The governor then presented it to the emperor, who, upon inspecting it, convened an assembly of all his court to discuss the matter. His wisest counselors advised him that the jewel was surely one of a pair, and they suggested that he have the other brought to him as well and make both an imperial treasure.

The emperor then had the governor send a constable for Botō. “You are to surrender the other jewel,” the emperor announced with dire menaces. Botō made up all sorts of stories, but an imperial order thrice repeated brooks no denial. He therefore begged for a leave of three times seven days, in order to go down to his home province and visit the place the jewel had come from. Granted permission to do so, he rushed down to Sanuki and, in tears, spoke to his wife. “If I do not surrender the other jewel,” he said, “I will be cruelly punished. What am I to do?” His wife replied, “Do not worry. Go to Mannō Pond and ask the serpent for his other eye.”

Botō faced the pond, told the whole story from beginning to end, and explained, weeping, that an imperial order was impossible to disobey. “That is not a problem,” the serpent replied. “I would give my very life to help you, and how much more so merely an eye!” He removed the eye as before and gave it to Botō, who, as you can imagine, was indescribably relieved.

Botō hastened to the palace and presented the jewel. Extremely pleased, the emperor offered him all sorts of rewards. Botō, however, said, “I am a humble man, and considering the blessings the buddhas and gods have already bestowed upon me, no court office or imperial emolument could be of any benefit to me”;

and he declined them all and went away, no one knew where. This was because he had such a deep bond with the serpent.

Meanwhile, Great Bodhisattva Hachiman at Usa<sup>37</sup> gave this oracle through a woman medium: “I gather that the emperor has recently obtained certain wishing jewels. I desire him to surrender these for my divine inspection.” The assembled shrine priests therefore recorded the oracle’s content and reported it to the emperor. The emperor, greatly astonished, issued this decree: “It would be a very great privilege to entrust these jewels to the divinity’s inspection, but no treasure in the human world could possibly compare with them. May the divinity be pleased to return them after examining them. Thereafter I will present them to him once every three years.” He then dispatched the imperial guardsman I no Shirō as his envoy to deliver the two jewels. So attentive is His Majesty’s concern that the provinces obey him with alacrity.

The guardsman had cast off his moorings, and the wind in his sails was speeding him toward his goal when, at a place called Misojima 味噌嶋, he heard a courtesan named Kanju 貫主 plucking the strings aboard the ship, while her song rang out across the waves. Finding her attractive, he shared food and drink with her and enjoyed the pleasures of her company. Days passed while neither could bear the thought of parting from the other.

Meanwhile, the ship reached Kamado-no-seki 竈戸関 in the province of Suō. Kanju said pleadingly, “There is something that my heart deeply desires, and now that we have come this far, I will confess it. I long for just one look at the jewels, so that I may remember them always.” The guardsman did not comply, which was natural enough given the gravity of the matter. However, when Kanju insisted that she would give her life for a look at the jewels, he was unable to refuse. He undid the jewels’ luxurious brocade wrapping and took them out. While the delighted Kanju contemplated them, unspeakable black hands reached up from the sea, seized the jewels, and withdrew into the deep. The flabbergasted guardsman thought he was dreaming and remained speechless. He gazed upward toward the heavens, he rolled upon the deck, but his astonished lamentations had no effect.

Kanju plunged that instant to the bottom of the sea. Once more the guardsman was lost in amazement. Then she rose again to the surface and came back on board. “The jewels are in the Dragon Palace,” she said. “I could easily retrieve them for you, but today the evil dragons guarding them prevent me from doing so. The Dragon King due to guard them tomorrow is gentle of heart. I will await my chance and get them back.” Her words reassured the guardsman somewhat. He asked what the Dragon Palace looked like. “It is exactly as described in the *Ryūchiku-kyō* 龍畜經,”<sup>38</sup> Kanju replied. All this was very strange.

The next day came. “Tie a rope around my waist,” Kanju said. “Pull me up right away when I tug on it from the bottom of the sea.” Then in she went. A

good while later she pulled on the rope, and as promised the guardsman and the others there pulled her up. She really did have the two jewels, which she tossed into the ship. Then she said, “The enraged Dragon King is about to raise great waves and capsize the ship. Hurry to shore! The sea monsters have eaten me from the waist down, and I am dying.” Then she spoke these poems:

<i>ware yue ni</i>	Of my own will
<i>mi wa ukikumo no</i>	I have come to grief and drift
<i>tabi no sora</i>	as clouds do in the sky:
<i>kuma naku terase</i>	ah, illumine now the heavens,
<i>ariake no tsuki</i>	moon aloft at dawn!
<i>tarachime wa</i>	Could my mother, then,
<i>urami ya suran</i>	possibly be angry with them?—
<i>akigiri no</i>	the wild geese whose shapes
<i>taema ni mieshi</i>	I glimpsed through rents
<i>kari no sugata wo</i>	torn in the mists of morning?
<i>omoiki ya</i>	I never imagined
<i>tomo ni nagameshi</i>	wandering such darkness
<i>tsukikage wo</i>	as I never knew before,
<i>mada minu yami ni</i>	when we two together
<i>mayoubeshi to wa</i>	gazed upon the moon.

Then she breathed her last. This wonder before his very eyes convinced the guardsman that he must be dreaming. He felt desperately sorry for her and grasped for the first time the truth that all who meet must part. He spoke this poem:

<i>yomichi ni wa</i>	What wind can it be,
<i>ika naru kaze no</i>	blowing as this one does
<i>fuku yaran</i>	down the ways of night,
<i>kakaru koto no ha</i>	that it should scatter abroad
<i>chirinu to omoeba</i>	leaves of speech like these?

Then the wind blew, and waves rose like mountains. How could the guardsman not fear the Dragon King’s wrath? He almost fainted with terror. Keeping the jewels on his own person, he hastened to dry land and proceeded unerringly with them, on foot, to Usa. After that it was decided to abandon such travel by sea and to transport imperial baggage by post-station pack horse. And since an imperial envoy could not afford polluting contact with death, others did what had to be done for the body.

At this time, three temples were built in the province of Suō:

Shōryūji 生龍寺. This temple was built by imperial order, with resources from the province's own coffers. Its purpose was to soothe the wrath of the Dragon King.

Hannyaji 般若寺. Kanju's mother built this temple, which was so named because it is dedicated to copying the *Daihannya-kyō* 大般若經. Kanju's grave is there.

Kongōji 金剛寺. Kanju's mother built this temple, too. It is said to have cost 500 gold ryō.

This is the outline of the sacred history. The three temples are still there, and the story appears clearly also in the records of the Usa Shrine.

(5) The True History of the Pine-and-Bamboo Youth  
An account of how Shōchiku Dōji returned to life

*A record of how Shōchiku Dōji, of Kyoto, entered the gates of death and went to the land of the dead 冥途; of how he received a decree from King Enma; and of how he returned to the world, rebuilt Shido Temple in Sanuki province, and achieved rebirth in paradise 往生.*

They say that in Ichijōno-in's reign [986–1011] there lived at Sanjō Higashi-no-Tōin, in the Ninefold Blossoming Capital, a woman who divined by the stars. Her name was Zenzai 善哉. She can have had no natural parents; no, they say she was a spontaneous manifestation 自然化来.

Now, ever since her seventh year she had lamented having a body afflicted with the five defilements and three obediences.<sup>39</sup> Day and night she went on pilgrimage to holy temples and shrines; morning and evening she prayed for enlightenment in her next life. Then in her twentieth year she had a dream visitation and suddenly become pregnant, although no one but she knew. In secret she lamented her condition. Then she went on pilgrimage to Hasedera 長谷寺,<sup>40</sup> and when she had prayed to Kannon thrice for seven days, Kannon appeared to her. "You must leave here quickly and give birth," Kannon said, "Do not be sad." Then she awoke.

As she left she felt the birth approaching. She therefore turned off the path and went some two or three dozen yards into a grove of pine and bamboo, where she gave birth. The child was a boy. Having borne him among pine and bamboo, she called him Shōchiku-maru [Pine-and-Bamboo].

The boy's mother raised her child alone, and the years and months passed until Shōchiku Dōji entered his twenty-fifth year. At the hour of the Rat [ca. midnight] on Chōtoku 1.3.5 [995] he fell ill, and on the sixteenth day of the month, at the hour of the Tiger [ca. 4 am], he entered the gates of death. His mother sank into lamentation and wept tears of bitter grief.

A monk then came up to her. "I am a messenger from Kannon," he said.

“You must not mourn Shōchiku-maru’s early death. He has gone to the land of the dead for a certain reason connected with a plan devised by Taka Ōkami 高大神.<sup>41</sup> He is to receive a message from Jizō Bosatsu 地藏菩薩.<sup>42</sup> Do not touch him until the eighteenth day, at the hour of the Hare [ca. 6 am]. Just wait.” This was the monk’s message. Then he vanished like a lightning flash.

The mother maintained her vigil, as the monk had told her to do, and on the eighteenth day her son came back to life. For three days Shōchiku-maru said nothing, but some days after that he spoke. “It is difficult for someone who has gone to the land of the dead to return to the human world,” he said, “but I have done so because I have made a great vow. Why? Because a monk who called himself a messenger of Kannon came with Jizō Bosatsu to King Enma’s palace. As they approached, the ox-headed demons, the horse-headed demons, and the Ahōrasetsu hell-fiends kept well away from them, front and rear. I saw that King Enma bore the visage of Eleven-Head Kannon on his treasure-crown. Jizō Bosatsu then stood beside King Enma and seemed to converse with him. The Great Deities of the Five Ways 五道大神,<sup>43</sup> and the dark minions and followers 冥宦冥衆 surrounded him front and rear, left and right, recording the lightness or weight of the sinners’ deeds.”

“I then knelt before the court of judgment and suddenly remembered my every deed during my life. ‘The compassion of all the Buddhas of the Three Worlds is summed up in Kannon alone,’ I intoned. ‘Hail to Jizō Bosatsu! If I can go back to my old home in the world, my return will assuage my mother’s grief.’ That is what I said, with many tears. King Enma then placed before me the Mirror of Judgment 淨玻璃の鏡 and instructed me, saying: ‘Today is not your appointed time to die. You have come here at the urging of Taka Ōkami. If you wish to return to the human world, will you make a great vow, or will you not?’ Shōchiku-maru was very happy and swore to obey Enma’s command. King Enma then spoke again. ‘Shido Temple in Sanuki province, in the land of Japan on Jambudvīpa,<sup>44</sup> is my ancestral temple. You are to hasten back to the human world and rebuild it.’ I then received the King’s leave to go, and so I did.”

His mother wept with joy. “But how is a pauper, a stranger to the buddhas 無縁, to accomplish so a great vow? Besides, I understand that Shido Temple is far away across the sea. The difficult journey through wind and wave will be hard to bear.”

“There is no need to worry,” Shōchiku-maru replied. I place my trust in the decree of Kannon and King Enma, and I must now make ready to travel there. I must accomplish my great vow.”

On the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of that year, mother and son together shaved their heads, became disciples of the Buddha, and donned religious garb. The mother took the name Zen’a 善阿, while Shōchiku-maru took

the name Rengeju 蓮華寿. Those who witnessed the event shed tears of joy, and men and women alike were filled with feelings of veneration.

In the Capital that year they solicited donations from people everywhere. Aristocrats and humble folk, high and low, promised their aid, cooperation, and material support in accordance with Shōchiku-maru's vow. The gathering of donors was like a tumultuous sea. Early in the second month of Chōtoku 2 [996] they left Sanjō Higashi-no-Tōin and set out for the southern coast and Shikoku. This parting drew tears of sorrow from laymen and clergy, high and low in their Kyoto neighborhood. From the harbor of Shido in Sanuki province, they went straight on to the temple and noted a smaller hall among the others there.<sup>45</sup> A monk came to them. "The divinity of this temple is Eleven-Head Kannon," he said, "but the temple is also the ancestral temple of King Enma, as the story 縁起 of the first building of the temple explains." He had the story narrated to them. More than ever impressed by King Enma's command, they wet their sleeves with tears of heartfelt joy.

They immediately put together a hut near this hall and devoted themselves to gathering aid from the temple's supporters. Three years later they built a worship hall 禮堂 five spans square. High and low, crowded in numbers beyond counting, to the dedication ceremony.

Later on the mother, the nun Zen'a, achieved rebirth in paradise, as she had so longed to do. She was in her sixty-second year. In the seventy-first year of Rengeju, her son, a purple cloud arose and wondrous music resounded, astonishing the eyes and ears of all. Then, while Rengeju sat in perfect posture with folded hands, the Heavenly Host came down to greet him; and so his wish to be reborn in paradise was met. His relics 舍利 were placed in a stone pagoda 多宝塔, which was erected to the west of the temple's front. Zenzai, his mother, was a transformation of Kannon, while he was a transformation of Jizō Bosatsu. Their story has therefore been set down here.

#### NOTES

1. The term *engi*, which in Sino-Japanese Buddhist texts translates the Sanskrit *pratītya-samutpāda* ("co-dependent origination"), designates a genre of temple history that from a modern standpoint amounts largely to pious legend (although some contain verifiable information), but that was meant to be taken by the believer as true. For that reason I have adopted the translation, academically ironic but devotionally correct, of "true history." One might also understand *engi* in this sense to mean "the way it really happened."

2. Much of the material in this paragraph is from NISHINO 1991.

3. Translated in TYLER 1992A. Nishino Haruo accepted Konparu Gonnokami's authorship (NISHINO 1991, 11). Itō Masayoshi took Zeami's remark as proving only that Gonnokami wrote the music for it, but he did not reject the possibility of authorship (Itō 1983, 399). At one point, the text of *Ama* actually quotes the *engi* verbatim.

4. The 1991 production used a script (expanded to accommodate the needs of actual performance) by the noh scholar Nishino Haruo; Yokomichi Mario wrote the music, and the *shite* role was taken by Kanze Tetsunojō. The script for the 1997 production was by Dōmoto Masaki; Umewaka Rokurō 梅若六郎 wrote the music and performed the *shite* role.

5. Melanie TREDE, who translated and annotated *Taishokan* in her study of the large body of Edo-period art associated with the work (2003, 27–52), also discussed the materials that lie diffusely in its background. *Kōwakamai* died out long ago, except for a still-maintained annual performance in a village in Kyūshū (TREDE 2003, 56).

6. This omission prompted Abe Yasurō to assert that *Sanshū Shido Dōjō engi* is not the source of *Taishokan* (ABE 1986, 117). Another difference, striking but less important, is that in *Taishokan* the hero is Fujiwara no Kamatari (“*Taishokan*” is Kamatari’s title) rather than his son Fuhito, as in *Shido Dōjō*. Simple dramatic convenience may explain this change.

7. A *misogi* 御衣木 is a tree the outer wood of which “clothes” 衣 the Buddha-image hidden within it, and which it is the sculptor’s task to make visible.

8. Shadōy as a historical figure, Ōjin looms large in the lineage of the Japanese emperors. He is identified with the extremely important Shinto deity Hachiman.

9. On the shore of Lake Biwa in the province of Ōmi (Shiga-ken).

10. The Uji River drains Lake Biwa and runs down to Osaka Bay. The river port Yodo was just south of Kyoto.

11. Potalaka, Kannon’s paradise.

12. Yama, the sovereign magistrate of the underworld and the judge of the dead.

13. The Bodhisattva Monju (Manjusri),

14. Perhaps Daigon (Shuri) Bosatsu 大権(修利)菩薩, an originally Chinese temple guardian deity particularly favored in Sōtō Zen.

15. A botanically absurd idea that may be intended to emphasize the temple’s miraculous nature.

16. The standard space between two structural pillars, roughly two meters.

17. Both these epically noble names refer to the land of Japan.

18. The childhood name of the future Fujiwara no Kamatari.

19. This sickle (*kama*), its handle wrapped in wisteria bark, was given the infant Kamatari by a magic fox that foretold at the same time his future rise. This story underlies the Shingon version (the other version, with a different foundation story, is Tendai) of the esoteric initiation rite given a new emperor by the Fujiwara regent.

20. A locality just across the hills southeast of Kyoto.

21. The Buddha Shakyamuni attended by two bodhisattvas, often but not always Monju (Manjusri) and Fugen (Samantabhadra).

22. It is not clear who this “consultant” may be.

23. A seminal figure in the popularization of Buddhism in Japan.

24. This passage appears verbatim in the Noh play *Ama*, except for two lines apparently added by the playwright.

25. *Hokke hakkō* 法華八講, a solemn, four-day ceremony during which eight monks expounded the complete *Lotus Sutra*.

26. Samantabhadra, the bodhisattva who represents the Buddha’s teaching.

27. Ten half-divine, half-demon women said to protect those who uphold the *Lotus Sutra*.

28. Kushōjin, a pair of deities, one male and one female, who sit on a person’s shoulders from birth and record the person’s good and bad deeds.

29. Not 3 x 12 months, but at least one day of one year by the lunar calendar, all of the

next year, and at least one day of the following one. As a result “three years” could mean only a little more than a single full year.

30. *Bardo* 中有, the period of forty-nine days after death, after which the spirit is reborn in one form or another.

31. Tosotsu-ten, the heaven in which the future Buddha awaits birth into this world.

32. Shudatsu, the charitable benefactor from whom the Buddha Shakyamuni received the Jetavana Vihara, where he then taught.

33. A staff tipped with jingling brass rings, prominent in some Buddhist rituals.

34. Mannō no ike 満濃池, a large irrigation pond built in the early ninth century, in present Kagawa Prefecture, by Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774–835).

35. Sessen Dōji 雪山童子, a previous incarnation of the Buddha Shakyamuni, during which he practiced austerities in the Himalayas (Snow Mountains).

36. This famous moment occurred during yet another earlier incarnation of Shakyamuni.

37. Hachiman 八幡, the immensely important deity of the Usa Shrine in Kyūshū, was the first native Japanese deity to assume also, in the eighth century, the Buddhist title of Bosatsu (Bodhisattva).

38. A Buddhist text (“The sutra of dragons and beasts”), apparently imaginary, mentioned in *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 and therefore famous in medieval Buddhist lore.

39. She regretted being a woman and subject as such to the “five defilements” defined by Buddhist teaching, as well as to the “three obediences” (to husband, parents, son) required by social ethics.

40. A temple in the mountains southeast of Nara, sacred to Eleven-Headed Kannon. It was a major pilgrimage center.

41. Abe Yasurō, who could not identify this deity, suggested that it might be Taga Daimyōjin 多賀大明神 (ABE 1991, 66).

42. Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva, who saves souls from hell.

43. The “Five Ways” are the five realms of reincarnation (hell, starving ghosts, beasts, humans, devas [heavenly beings]); hence they sum up the mortal world of birth and death. It is unclear whether “great deities” is properly singular or plural. The divinity or divinities involved presumably belong to King Enma’s bureaucracy of afterworld magistrates.

44. In Japanese, Enbudai 閻浮提; in Buddhist lore the continent to the south of the central Mt. Sumeru, and the one inhabited by humans.

45. The Enma-dō 閻魔堂 (Enma Hall); the temple still has one.

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