

Re-thinking Illness, Disability, and Bodily Difference in Early-Medieval *Emakimono*

By

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Dedication

To Eladio and Bruce, who graced me with their presence and love during my dissertation journey

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Note to the Reader

I have rendered Chinese names and terms according to the pin-yin system, and a modified Hepburn system for Japanese terms. Japanese authors writing in Japanese are cited in footnotes with family name first, while authors writing in English are cited personal name first. Chinese characters of Japanese and Chinese terms used in the dissertation are listed in the Glossary. Characters used in primary and secondary sources in Japanese are listed in the Bibliography.

All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

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Abstract

This dissertation explores four illustrated handscrolls that speak to the ways in which illness and disability were understood and visualized in early-medieval Japan. As the first such study, it focuses on representations of various types of abnormal bodies to situate them within the socio-historical context in which they were produced to provide insight into the various and complicated ways in which disability and “otherness” were defined, imagined, and conveyed by individuals and institutions through the medium of illustrated handscrolls. Additionally, it asks what depictions of abnormal bodies say about social ideals, power structures, and the ways in which bodies were classed in early-medieval Japanese society. Direct visual and textual analyses are given broader context through reference to studies on disability, the monstrous, literature, and religious beliefs and practices in order to more fully view “otherness” through those multiple lenses.

Underlying the discussion is the question of the significance of the body, in both the human and supernatural realms, within illustrated handscrolls and more broadly across Japanese culture. Human bodies are the primary focus of Chapter One, which explores *Yamai no sōshi* (*Illustrated Handscroll of Illness*, late twelfth century), and Chapter Two, which examines *Ippen hijiri-e* (*Illustrated Life of the Holy Man Ippen*, fourteenth century). Class and gender identities are taken up within broader discussions of stigmatization in both. The relationship between monstrous bodies, such as *oni* (demons) or illness-causing entities, and abnormal human bodies are taken up in Chapter Three on the *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* (*Illustrated Miracles of Kasuga Diety*, fourteenth century), and continue into Chapter Four on the *Fudō riyaku engi emaki* (*Illustrated Handscroll of the Miraculous Deeds of Fudō Myōō*, fourteenth century). The former contends with shared fears about and iconographic qualities of monstrous figures and the

mutable human body. The latter looks at how the iconography of monstrous beings, ill bodies, and different religious rituals were incorporated into handscrolls for promoting the healing powers of Buddhist figures, institutions, and icons.

Introduction

This study of early medieval *emaki*, or illustrated handscrolls, focuses on their visualization and conceptualization of illness or impairment and disability in early-medieval Japan. Each of the four main chapters centers on a specific *emaki*, which in order of appearance, are: *Yamai no sōshi* (*Illustrated Handscroll of Illness*, late twelfth century), *Ippen hijiri-e* (*Illustrated Life of the Holy Man Ippen*, fourteenth century), *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* (*Illustrated Miracles of Kasuga Diety*, fourteenth century), and *Fudō riyaku engi emaki* (*Illustrated Handscroll of the Miraculous Deeds of Fudō Myōō*, fourteenth century).¹ Other *emaki* and paintings in different formats as well as relevant literary and historical texts are drawn on to supplement and complicate the readings of the four main works throughout the dissertation.

The main *emaki* under study provide a variety of avenues for addressing the core questions that compel this dissertation. The questions are: In what ways can we expand our understanding of the significance of the body in early medieval Japanese art by focusing on images of ill and disabled people? How were illness and disability defined in the early medieval period in Japan, and what role did various religious beliefs and socio-cultural values play? Did a person's other identities, such as class or gender, impact stigmas attached to certain conditions? Did artists engage iconographical traditions, including those of monstrous figures, to signify the ill or disabled body in terms of otherness? What does it mean that the *emaki* include depictions of disabled people but not necessarily from the view of disabled people, and how much do these depictions reflect the premodern reality?

¹ The works will be discussed in detail in the body of the dissertation.

These questions are taken up in varying degrees within the four chapters since each *emaki* is unique. I address a diverse selection of handscrolls to explore the topic of the disabled body from a variety of angles as represented within a similar format. I begin by looking at the *Yamai no sōshi*, which is the only one that focuses on the topic of illness. In the chapter, I tease out different ways in which non-normative bodies were treated and how a person's other identities might prompt stigmatization. The second chapter examines the *Ippen hijiri-e* with special attention paid to scenes depicting outcasts and disabled people to consider how closely these paintings relate to the lived experiences of those communities. The relationship between Ippen Shōnin (1239-1289), the priest at the center of the *emaki*, and the outcast and disabled communities is taken up as well. The third chapter focuses on a scene from the *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* in which a red-bodied entity appears and considers its probable identity as an epidemic deity as well as its relationship to the rich iconographic traditions of the *oni* (demon) in Japanese culture. I further consider how the monstrous body of the epidemic entity and *oni* correlate to disability through a look at fears that surrounded the mutable human body. In the final chapter, I look closely at the fantastic forms of so-called illness-causing entities as well as the several healing rituals featured in *Fudō riyaku engi emaki*. This chapter delves into how religious institutions and individuals manipulated fears around disease and impairment as means of promoting their healing programs.

Body and Disability

My core questions were formed during my research into the depictions of bodies within medieval Japanese visual culture while I was also thinking more deeply about disability identity on a personal and professional level. One might ask why I focus on the body since there has been a tendency by scholars to downplay the significance of the corporeal body in early medieval

Japan.² This view is often assumed in discussions asserting that the East Asian view of the body-mind does not privilege the corporeal or in discussions about Buddhist philosophies on *muga* (no-self) in which the self is viewed as impermanent.³ In terms of art historical investigations, the absence of the nude body in court literature and visual imagery signaled that the physical body has not been given the same emphasis it has in the West.⁴

While none of these views are entirely inaccurate, they also tend to collapse the complexity of the numerous cultural bodies in early medieval Japan to a singular, unchanging entity. For one, these arguments largely ignore that the body was described in all aspects of material and physical activities, including sex, eating, and defecating, in *setsuwa* (religious anecdotes), or that even though bodies of the more elite classes are concealed in *emaki*, the bodies of commoners are frequently exposed. These views also deny the complexity of different

² This view is not just restricted to Japanese art but has been a consistent theme in research on Chinese art, especially in the absence of the nude. For more on this question and a series of essays tackling such perceptions, refer to Hung Wu and Katherine Tsiang, eds., *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005).

³ Social scientists often categorized Japanese sense of self as being socio-centric or bound by group in contrast to the Western lens of viewing self as autonomous. See Alan Roland, *In Search of Self in India and Japan: Toward a Cross-Cultural Psychology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). For summary and critique, see Nancy Rosenberger, ed., *Japanese Sense of Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). For essays that also engage these issues see, Willa Jane Tanabe, “The Persistence of Self as Body and Personality in Japanese Buddhist Art,” in *Self as Image in Asian Theory and Practice*, ed. Roger Ames, Thomas Kasulis, and Wimal Dissanayake (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), 406–20; Mara Miller, “Art and the Construction of Self and Subject in Japan,” in *Self as Image in Asian Theory and Practice*, ed. Roger Ames, Thomas Kasulis, and Wimal Dissanayake (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), 421–60.

⁴ This argument also ties into different ways in which the body was depicted in Japan and the West in terms of “realism.” Western artists focused on learning to draw human body in terms of contours and anatomy, wherein Japan the forms are largely flat and outlines. For more, see Timon Screech, *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700-1820*. (London: Reaktion, 2009), 105–12.

philosophical perspectives on the body that were prevalent in Japan, usually privileging certain Buddhist views over others and ignoring the evolution of beliefs that occurred over time.⁵

In recent years, however, scholars have done significant work in drawing out the fact that there was not a singular, stable body in early medieval Japan. That is, there were many different people whose bodies were endowed with various significance and whose capabilities to move and function in the world were dictated by their other identities of class and gender, which were informed by religious and cultural views. For instance, scholars have noted that in medieval Japan, the bodies of courtiers were not defined only through their physical appearance but also through attributes and skills, such as intelligence and creativity in visual and literary arts.⁶ Historians and literary scholars have also done a great deal of work on the ways in which power and status were communicated through certain visual cues, such as clothing or hairstyles, as well as their ability to move around their intimate spaces as well as more public ones.⁷

Moreover, as Willa Jane Tanabe and Charlotte Eubanks have noted, for all that Buddhism denies the body in doctrine, it is also central to the practice of Buddhism at this time.⁸ Scholars have brought into question notions that Buddhism functioned above material concerns with such

⁵ Thinking more broadly, such views are troubling in the sense that they seem to perpetuate the stereotypical view of Asia as unchanging and Japan as having more of a group self-identity versus individual identity. Roland, *In Search of Self*.

⁶ For instance, in her recent book, Rajyashree Pandey has noted the importance of hair and kimono as extensions of the body in court literature, and has argued that the body was not an object but an entity engaged in performance. Rajyashree Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair: Body, Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives*, 2016, 8.

⁷ Thomas Keirstead, “Outcastes before the Law: Pollution and Purification in Medieval Japan,” in *Currents in Medieval Japanese History: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey P. Mass*, ed. Gordon Mark Berger (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), 267–93; Kuroda Hideo, *Sugata to shigusa no chūseishi ezu to emaki no fūkei kara* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986); Terry Kawashima, *Itineraries of Power: Texts and Traversals in Heian and Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017).

⁸ In part, this view might be related to Buddhist concepts of *muga* (no-self), or the absence of a permanent self. See, Tanabe, “Persistence of Self as Body”; Miller, “Art and the Construction of Self.”

challenges as showing that material objects, including icons and ritual implements, were critical elements in multi-sensory religious practices; that sutras often took on embodied roles; and that debates about the ability of non-sentient material to become enlightened were common.⁹ Recent scholarship has also done considerable work in rethinking the primacy of Buddhism by addressing the importance of Onmyōdō (Yin-Yang) and Daoism in shaping the Heian court policies and ritual practices as well as contemporary understandings of the body.¹⁰ Research has also highlighted the way in which Japanese Buddhist sects adopted and adapted different beliefs and practices over time in the early-medieval period.¹¹ The nuanced and often fraught relationship between the various religious lineages as well as how those various lineages attended to the human body area significant threads that run through my dissertation chapters.

More recently, historians have problematized the center-periphery discourse that situates people and places on the basis of their proximity to the emperor, imperial court, and Heian

⁹ Fabio Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality: A Cultural History of Objects In Japanese Buddhism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); Charlotte D Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body: Buddhist Textual Culture and Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). In broader terms, this conversation also includes the work of Carolyn Bynum, a Western medieval scholar, who considers the role of matter and materiality within medieval Christian traditions as paradoxical yet critical. Bynum suggests that the prevalence of the body and senses in religious practices should indicate the possibility of the physical rather than its source of defilement. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books; Distributed by the MIT Press, 2001); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

¹⁰ David T. Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from the Chronicles of Japan to The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007); Michael Como, "Onmyōji, the Earth God and Ghosts in Ancient Japan," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 21 (2012): 43–62.

¹¹ One especially interesting study is on disease by Andrew Macomber, "Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease: Efficacy and Ritual Healing in Medieval Japanese Buddhism" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2019). Kim's work on Shinra Myōjin offers a compelling view on adoption of Korean gods into pantheon. Sujung Kim, *Shinra Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian "Mediterranean"* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020). Lomi's essay focuses on the varied components brought together in a specific ritual. Benedetta Lomi, "Dharanis, Talismans, and Straw-Dolls: Ritual Choreographies and Healing Strategies of the 'Rokujikyōhō' in Medieval Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41, no. 2 (2014): 255–304.

capital.¹² The discourse on center-periphery and its limits has been important in my research in a number of ways, including the way it reveals how authority and identity were constantly being constructed and maintained in medieval Japan. Aspects of David Bialock's work that address the intersections of literature, religion, and performance on shaping the imperial body and movement are especially relevant to my core question about the role of authority in depicting the ideal or abnormal body.¹³

Disability Studies

Scholarship in disability studies has significantly informed my dissertation in its grappling with the experience of having a physical body while also acknowledging that there is a social body and that both are contingent and changing. To date, disability studies focused on medieval Japan have been carried out by Susan Burns, Karen Nakamura, Yoshiko Okuyama, and Hirose Kōjirō, who have devoted attention to historical views on people with Hansen's disease (leprosy), people with hearing and visual impairments, as well as disabled gods and figures in folk tales. The work of these scholars, who range in field specialty from anthropology to history, has enriched our understanding of social attitudes toward individuals with those specific impairments.¹⁴

¹² Yoshihiko Amino, Alan S. Christy, and Hitomi Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan, 2012); Keirstead, "Outcastes before the Law"; Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto, eds., *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

¹³ Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*.

¹⁴ Susan Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick: A History of Leprosy and Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019); Karen Nakamura, *Deaf in Japan: Signing and the Politics of Identity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Yoshiko Okuyama, "Semiotics of Otherness in Japanese Mythology," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (2017), <https://dsq-sds.org/article/view/5380/4544>; Hirose Kōjirō, "Mōsō no image," *Rekishī hyoron*, no. 2 (1996); Hirose Kōjirō, *Shōgaisha No Shūkyō Minzokugaku* (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 1997).

Other studies of disease and impairment in medieval Japan have been primarily conducted by historians of medicine and religion. Their research includes surveys of medical history and general studies on illness, case studies of specific diseases, and examinations of historical figures with a disease. Scholarship on Japanese medical history has been expanding in recent decades and includes studies on the use of Chinese medical texts and practices in Japan, the familial lineages of physicians and their relationship to the elite, and identification of chronicled diseases in modern terms.¹⁵ Religious studies scholars have also contributed by pointing to the importance of religion in defining causes of illness, the role of religious practices as healing practices, and religious leaders as healers.¹⁶ In recent years, a number of scholars have turned to considerations of specific medical interventions, such as the medical and religious components of childbirth, as well as investigations into the lives of specific communities that come under the umbrella of disability, such as aged populations.¹⁷

Some of the research has engaged with visual images, including scenes discussed in this dissertation. Hattori Toshirō and Andrew Goble, for instance, have both considered the paintings of the *Yamai no sōshi* in their separate analyses.¹⁸ Shinmura Taku has taken a broad view of

¹⁵ Andrew Goble, *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan: Buddhist Healing, Chinese Knowledge, Islamic Formulas, and Wounds of War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016); Hattori Toshirō, *Heian jidai igaku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kagaku Shoin, 1980); Hattori Toshirō, *Kamakura jidai igaku shi no kenkyū*, 2007; Yū Fujikawa, *Japanese Medicine* (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1978).

¹⁶ Katja Triplett, *Buddhism and Medicine in Japan: A Topical Survey (500-1600 CE) of a Complex Relationship* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019); C Pierce Salguero, ed., *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020); Pamela D. Winfield, "Religion and Healing in Pre-Modern Japan," *Religion Compass* 6, no. 11 (2012): 467–79.

¹⁷ Yui Suzuki, "Twanging Bows and Throwing Rice: Warding Off Evil in Medieval Japanese Birth Scenes," *Artibus Asiae* 74, no. 1 (2014): 17–41; Anna Andreeva, "Childbirth in Aristocratic Households of Heian Japan," *Dynamis* 34, no. 2 (2014): 357–76; Edward Robertson Drott, *Buddhism and the Transformation of Old Age in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016).

¹⁸ Andrew Goble, "Images of Illness: Interpreting the Medieval Scrolls of Afflictions," in *Currents in Medieval Japanese History: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey P. Mass*, ed. Gordon Mark Berger and Jeffrey P. Mass (Los Angeles,

visual portrayals, arguing that there are about twelve different motifs relating to illness that appear across *emaki*.¹⁹ These motifs include: headbands; white masks covering face; medicine vessels nearby; white clothes; hand on their forehead; unusual face color; confinement to bed; leaning on armrest; top half being nude or exposed; epidemic deity; particular symptoms depicted; living in outdoor small hut. These visual tropes will be noted and discussed throughout the dissertation. Another relevant source is Mimi Yiengpruksawan's essay on the role of disease as a factor in the explosion of Heian-period sculpture production.²⁰ Yiengpruksawan underscores how sculptures were one way in which the wealthy engaged religion and artistic production as a means of protection or healing from an illness. I will address the work of these scholars more fully in the body of the dissertation.

Such current research has influenced my approaches to the four *emaki* and the core questions in varying ways. One question I take up in the *Yamai no sōshi* chapter, for instance, is whether or not medical diagnostics is the most fruitful approach to painted images. Many of the motifs that Shinmura discusses appear in the images that I explore as well, which raises the question of how much the images reflect reality and how much they were a visual shorthand. Finally, several recent essays are largely relevant to my questions on the role of religion in the depiction and treatment of disabled people. As will become clear in the chapters, a number of recent studies have been of significant help to my work.

CA: Figueroa Press, 2009), 163–216; Hattori Toshirō, “Yamai no sōshi no igaku-teki kaisetsu,” in *Jigoku zōshi. Gaki zōshi. Yamai zōshi*, vol. 6, *Nihon emakimono zenshū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1962).

¹⁹ Shinmura Taku, *Nihon bukkyō no iryōshi* (Tokyo: Hōseidaigakushuppanyoku, 2013), 151–74.

²⁰ Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, “The Visual Ideology of Buddhist Sculpture in the Late Heian Period as Configured by Epidemic and Disease,” in *Bukkyō Bijutsushi Kenkyū Ni Okeru “Zuzō” to “Yōshiki,”* 1995, 71.

My work stands out from that of medical and religious historians by approaching illness and disability as a physical experience while also acknowledging that disability is constructed and managed through socio-religious practices and influenced by issues of stigma and otherness. In this way, I draw on the social model of disability that distinguishes an impairment (physical or mental difference) from a disability, which happens when there are social obstructions that create barriers.²¹ Ellen Samuels states that the social model also “allows us to consider how physical and mental variation serves to reveal cultural anxieties about and investments in bodies understood as “ordinary” or “normal.”²² Such concerns drive much of my scholarship as well as that of others, such as Rosemarie Garland Thomson, Thomas Mitchell, and Sharon Snyder, who also consider representations of the disabled body as a means of defining the ideal or normal body and as a kind of master trope for otherness.²³

Disability studies scholars of the early and pre-modern periods have also been critical to my thinking about how disability studies can fit into discussions on early-medieval Japanese *emaki*. For one, as noted by Allison Hobgood and David Houston Wood, “disability is not anachronistic because human variation, though conceived of and responded to diversely, has always existed.”²⁴ Second, the issue of otherness, which is central to my dissertation and at the core of the representation of disabled figures, also ties into my research on the monstrous.

²¹ The social model developed in the 1980s in response to the medical approach that often focuses on the individual as requiring medical interventions and cure.

²² Ellen Samuels, *Fantasies of Identification: Disability, Gender, Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 21.

²³ Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Literature and Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis: Disability and the Dependencies of Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011).

²⁴ Allison Hobgood and David Woods, “Introduction: Ethical Starring: Disabling the English Renaissance,” in *Recovering Disability in Early Modern England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2013), 7.

Through my dissertation, I aim to add to the increasing scholarly interest in how we might re-examine the role of the “monster” as a multivalent sign of otherness in medieval societies as it relates to the nonnormative body and connections to disability.²⁵

Terminology

In this dissertation, I define disability broadly to include a range of physical and mental differences that reflect the socio-religious-legal concepts of the “normal” body in medieval Japan and that have an impact on people in terms of stigma and their ability to function in their environment.²⁶ This includes but is not limited to paralysis, blindness, deafness, missing limbs, aesthetic differences, mental variations, and certain types of illness.²⁷ My definition stands out from those of some scholars since I include illness under the umbrella of disability. Within the social model of disability studies, illness is viewed as problematic when conflated with disability because it implies that disabled people are sick.²⁸ However, critics have noted this division is somewhat simplistic since there are times when illness leads to disability and disability might

²⁵ Margrit Shildrick, *Embodying the Monster: Encounters with the Vulnerable Self* (London: SAGE, 2014); Edward Wheatley, “Monsters, Saints, and Sinners: Disability in Medieval Literature,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and Disability*, ed. Clare Barker and Stuart Murray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, n.d.), 17–31; Richard Godden and Asa Simon Mittman, *Monstrosity, Disability, and the Posthuman in the Medieval and Early Modern World* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

²⁶ Historical definitions of disability vary from modern ones, and modern definitions of disability range depending on framework (everyday, expert, systemic) as well as culture. For instance, in modern Japan, social welfare policies define disability with a focus on physical and intellectual impairments that have severe impact on functionality over a long period of time. In the U.S., the ADA legislation indicates that “disability encompasses physical, sensory, and mental impairments; illnesses; congenital and acquired differences thought of as disfigurements or deformities; psychological disabilities; stamina limitations due to disease or its treatment; developmental differences; and visible anomalies such as birthmarks, scarring, and marks of aging.” Brenda Jo Brueggemann, Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, and Sharon L. Snyder, *Disability Studies: Enabling the Humanities* (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2012), 1–2.

²⁷ Illness is a person’s experience of a disease or its effect on the person.

²⁸ This is in direct conflict with the social model’s differing views of impairment and disability that argue for changes in the environment rather than considerations of cure. Impairment, of course, also is problematic as it was developed by insurers after slavery and is based in racist and ableist evaluations of human life.

lead to a type of illness. In recent work, Tom Shakespeare has argued that there are times when illness and disability involve disfunction of the body that cannot be dealt with through accommodation (e.g., chronic pain).²⁹ In the case of early medieval Japan, whose medical approaches differ greatly from those of today, disease often led to chronic illness or disability, and these were often managed through isolation and restrictions due to concerns over defilement and, in some cases led to forced resettlement in outside communities.

At times, I use period-specific language that is problematic. Many of the terms used in the primary resources are now considered taboo, listed as *sabetsugo*, or discriminatory language.³⁰ I have chosen to use the historical terms to provide insight into the sentiments and views regarding different types of conditions. This is important if we want to move away from the medical approach and consider how disease and impairment were intimately constructed through socio-religious beliefs.

Legal and Social Means of Defining Disability

The four *emaki* that I focus on provide a broad view of conceptions of disease and disability along with their causes, natures, and cures but still far from a complete one. In order to better understand the larger whole within which my findings fit, it is necessary to look at what other types of evidence tells us. What follows is a series of brief overviews of the legal and socio-religious beliefs on illness, deformity, and impairment that play a significant role in my dissertation's chapters and deepen the exploration of how bodies that did not adhere to the "ideal" Japanese body were imagined and treated. Such an approach cannot fully grapple with all

²⁹ Tom Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs* (London: Routledge, 2006), 41.

³⁰ John Maher, *Metroethnicity, Naming and Mocknolect: New Horizons in Japanese Sociolinguistics*. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2021), 101.

the intricacies that were in play at the time, but more detail is teased out in the investigations of the *emaki* in each chapter. Moreover, this dissertation overall does not directly engage with the traditional Chinese medical views that stem from the *Ishinpō* or other medical texts circulating in Japan at the time.³¹ This is not an indication of a lack of knowledge about or disregard for their significance at the time, but rather, a reflection of my desire to move away from a strictly medical approach.

Legal and Political

The first historical records in Japan mentioning disabled people are from the *ritsuryō* codes, or early legal and administrative codes from around 701 CE.³² These included the imperial government's attempt at establishing a family registry system (*koseki*) that could account for all people and determine the levying of taxes. Under the *ritsuryō* system, disabled people were included within their household registry but were ranked according to their disabilities.³³ The ranks included: *zanshichi* (minor disability) such as being blind in one eye, having no thumb, or having only three toes; *haishichi* (moderate disability) such as being mute, a dwarf, without use of arm or leg, or mentally impaired; and *tokushichi* (severe disability) such as being blind in both eyes, lacking arms or legs, having a dangerous contagious illness, or being

³¹ Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*; Yasuyori Tanba, *The Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan: Yasuyori Tanba's Ishinpō* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

³² Karen Nakamura notes that these terms were used in *Asuka no Kiyomihara Ritsuryō*. That document is no longer in existence but thought to have been twenty-two volumes of administrative code that included the classification of people that was promulgated in 689. It is assumed that the Taihō code of 701 and Yōrō code of 718 include aspects of this earlier code. Nakamura, *Deaf in Japan*, 35; Delmer Brown, ed., *Cambridge History of Japan: Ancient Japan*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 231–33.

³³ Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 173.

mentally ill.³⁴ According to Amino, registered disabled people were not taxed and were assigned a caretaker.³⁵ Other ninth-century documents from this time have shown that people with serious illness, including Hansen’s disease, could be household leaders, village leaders, and own slaves and servants.³⁶ Family registries indicate that seriously ill or disabled people did hold office.³⁷

In the eighth century, the government established hospices for people with serious disease or disability, orphans, and adults with no family to care for them.³⁸ These facilities were set up in the capital and governmental outposts. By the end of the ninth century, the government was unable to financially support these endeavors, and smaller communities or guilds were established, or Buddhist temples absorbed them into their care. This shift was no doubt related to the decline of the *ritsuryō* as the imperial state lost centralized power and the provinces were largely left to determine their local government.³⁹

The state of religious institutions or guilds providing welfare to disabled and ill people continued into the Kamakura period. There are historical documents noting that the Kamakura period government, the *bakufu*, donated to religious institutions that built facilities to provide welfare to people in the city of Kamakura.⁴⁰ It would be a stretch to say that either the imperial

³⁴ Karen Nakamura, “Deaf Identities, Sign Languages, and Minority Social Movement Politics in Modern Japan (1868-2000)” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2001), 58.

³⁵ Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 173.

³⁶ Niunoya Tetsuichi, *Keibiishi: Chūsei no kegare to kenryoku* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986), 122–23.

³⁷ Akasaka Norio, “Kegare no seishinshi,” in *Nihon shishō* 2, vol. 16, Iwanami kōza/tōyō shisō (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1989), 105.

³⁸ Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 175–77.

³⁹ Bruce Batten, “Provincial Administration in Early Japan: From Ritsuryō Kokka to Ōchō Kokka,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no. 1 (1993): 103–34.

⁴⁰ Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 16–17.

government or the *bakufu* provided this support due to caring about the welfare of the poor, disabled, or ill. Rather, the *ritsuryō* codes seemed largely concerned with documenting all people for purposes of taxation and authority while the *bakufu*'s notices about the poor, the disabled, or dying being left on the streets indicate that their presence was becoming a public nuisance and thus that the increased interest in support facilities was of necessity.⁴¹

There is some speculation that children born with disabilities might have been abandoned at birth.⁴² This argument largely seems based on the idea that people would have felt encouraged to commit infanticide due to the mythical accounts of gods killing their disabled children.⁴³ The idea might also be supported by the understanding that when people were too sick or were close to dying, they often were abandoned along roads, mountainsides, or the riverside.⁴⁴ Due to a lack of evidence, it is difficult to say if this practice was common and if it impacted the number of disabled people documented at this time. Still, I think it is safe to assume that such stories would have impacted the view and treatment of disabled people.

Some disabled people came to be grouped into what is generally referred to as *hinin*, outcast communities, that were largely supervised and monitored by Buddhist temples and shrines. I take up the question of “why” and “who” was included in the *hinin* community more in

⁴¹ For English translation of notice, see Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 17.

⁴² Okuyama, “Semiotics of Otherness.”

⁴³ The sentiment is certainly reflected in the Hōhō Shikgetoki comment that if a child is conceived on an abstinence day they could be born “crippled.” Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 80.

⁴⁴ It has been debated whether this was an actual practice or one that merely appears in literary and visual culture. However, the notice by the Kamakura *bakufu* identifying an issue with people being left on the roadsides seems to point to its being an actual practice to some degree, at least at that point. There is also an entry in *Sanetaka kōki*, a Muromachi-period diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455-1537), about a dying servant being dismissed and abandoned at the Kamo river in Kyoto. Quoted in Yokoi Kiyoshi, *Chūsei minshū no seikatsu bunka* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai, 1981), 271; Michele Marra, *Representations of Power* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 63.

the *Ippen hijiri-e* chapter. However, here it is important to note that there is a paucity of direct evidence. The disabled people usually included among the *hinin* seem to have been those with more apparent or chronic conditions, those without family ties or resources to support them, and those who relied on begging.

Buddhist Views

Buddhist theories on disease and impairments were not monolithic or static but adapted over time as Buddhist priests and healers adopted different religious and cultural views and practices with which they were in contact.⁴⁵ In this section, I focus on Buddhist theories that are connected to belief in transmigration, the idea that people are stuck in *samsara* (the cycle of rebirth) through their *karma* (actions) until reaching enlightenment. Human existence is one of the *rokudō*, or six lower-levels of existence, and it is considered a state of suffering. Therefore, within Buddhism, disease, disfigurement, and impairment could be viewed as particularly acute cases or as general states of human suffering. For instance, loss of hearing, decline in visual acuity, or difficulties with ambulatory movement are common conditions that most humans have as we age; thus, they could be considered general aspects of human impermanence.

However, there are a number of Buddhist sutras and *setsuwa* that spend considerable time distinguishing between different types and causes of illness, impairments, and deformities. In general, the different types are divided into two groups based on their causes: karmic or otherwise.⁴⁶ Suffering not caused by *karma*, sometimes called “tentative” (*gonbyō*) is produced

⁴⁵ I am using past tense because my focus is on the medieval period and these views do not necessarily extend to contemporary Buddhism. I use present when basic doctrine is discussed.

⁴⁶ It is important to note that, although many sources translate these as “illness,” impairments, disfigurements, and disease are included. Zhiyi (Ch: Chih-i) *Makashikan* (Ch: *Mo-ho-chih-kuan*, En: *Great Concentration and Insight*) T1911:8:A-B:106-11c. Zhiyi writes that real illness is from *karma*/cause while opportunistic illness is from other source/effect. For an English translation of portion of the sutra see: Zhiyi and Paul L. Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight T'ien-t'ai Chih-i's Mo-Ho Chih-Kuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018).

by disruptions in internal bodily elements, such as worms, winds, and bugs; the four elements and five viscera; or external elements, such as cold or heat or bug bites.⁴⁷ Some sutras include illness caused by spirits in the category of suffering not caused by karma while other teachings place it in its own category.⁴⁸

The other cause of suffering, sometimes called “real” (*jitsubyō*), is understood as retribution for negative karmic deeds committed in previous lives (also known as *gōhō*) or in the present life (*genpō*).⁴⁹ Across sutras there are variations in which deeds are assigned to which outcomes, but according to a section of one influential sutra in Japan, the *Shōbōnenjōkyō* (*Sutra of Meditation on the True Law*), if one had enough good karma to be born as human but bad karma was still present, the person would be reborn as a dwarf, blind, deaf, impoverished, and always suffer from hunger and thirst.⁵⁰ *Genpō*, or punishment in this life, is often associated with speaking or acting out against Buddhist sutras. For example, the Lotus Sutra states that anyone who slanders it will be punished with “deafness, dumbness, blindness, poverty, destitution, and general decrepitude, their bodies stinky, scabby, and covered with boils.”⁵¹

⁴⁷ Attributed to Nagarjuna *Daichido-ron* (Sk: *Mahaprajnaparamita-sastra*, Ch: *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, En: *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise*) T1509: 8:119c. Paul Demieville and Mark Tatz, *Buddhism and Healing: Demieville’s Article “Byō” from Hōbōgirin* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985), 24.

⁴⁸ Examples of these types of illness in the *Shinnenjobon* include an internal spirit that causes demons to appear in dreams when it is out of sorts or a bone-eating bug that causes diarrhea, abdominal pain, and runny noses when it is activated, which Yamamoto tied to the *Yamai* (“man who has hallucinations of small priests”) and (“woman with *kakuran*”). *Shinnenjobon* (*Meditation on the Body*), seventh section of the *Shōbōnenjōkyō* (Ch: *Zhengfa nianchu jing*, Sk: *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthana* En: *Sutra of Meditation on the True Law*) T17 379a10. Yamamoto Satomi, “*Yamai no sōshi no tenkyo*,” in *Nihon bijutsushi no mori: Murashige Yasushi sensei Hoshiyama Shin’ya sensei koki kinen ronbunshū* (Tokyo: Chikurinsha, 2008), 169–92.

⁴⁹ The characters Winfield uses the term *gobyō* for karmic disease. Winfield, “Religion and Healing.”

⁵⁰ Yamamoto, “*Yamai no sōshi tenkyo*,” 185. For instance, Shinmura Taku argues that children born with congenital disabilities were assumed to have committed a crime in their previous lives. Shinmura Taku, *Shi to yamai to kango no shakaishi*, 2001, 70. This is from the *Gōdōkyō* (En: *The Way of Karma Sutra*), T 721:9:47c.

⁵¹ The Lotus Sutra, *Myōhō Renge Kyō* (Sk: *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*). In contrast, the Lotus Sutra promises that “it shall reward anyone who is able to encourage others to listen to its teaching with breath that never stinks, a

Variations in doctrinal details make it difficult to offer sweeping conclusions regarding whether or not there was a direct relationship between the type of action and the physical or mental condition that resulted.⁵² Moreover, the various sutras provide different pathologies for certain conditions.⁵³ It is clear, however, that illness, disfigurement, and impairments caused by karmic actions were understood differently from “opportunistic” illnesses.⁵⁴ For one, karmic-caused illness firmly implicates one’s transgressions—whether from a past life or in this life—as the direct cause of their present suffering. In other words, *gōhō* and *genpō* squarely place the blame for suffering on the shoulders of the afflicted while the opportunistic diseases might be seen as a type of misfortune that is part of being human. Moreover, the karmic-based afflictions seem to be largely focused on conditions that physically alter the person from birth, although there are some instances in which the body is modified later in life. In this respect, the karmically produced affliction can be connected to broader concepts of morality and immorality and can be viewed as perceivable markers of past sins. To be clear, even being born human is the result of karmic actions, but there are different levels of moral correlation assigned to certain conditions.

mouth and tongue never diseased, teeth ever straight and white, lips never scarred, a nose never out of joint, a full and round face, and a perfectly formed male member.” Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body*, 58–59.

⁵² In some instances, the person’s condition correlates to the type of action that led to it, such as a thief being reborn poor, but in other cases, the relationship is not so clear. The *Shōbōnenjokyō*, for example, explains that excessive eating leads to red, yellow, or black birthmarks. Yamamoto, “Yamai no sōshi tenkyo,” 177.

⁵³ For instance, the Chinese Tendai monk Zhiyi (Ch: Chih-i) wrote that human maladies correspond to karmic deeds in the following ways: 1) eye and liver conditions are due to murder; 2) mouth and heart issues are due to alcohol; 3) ears and genitals to sensuality; 4) tongue and spleen to lying; 5) nose and lungs to theft. Zhiyi, *Makashikan* T1911:8:A-B:106-11c. In contrast to eye and liver conditions, the *Shōbōnenjokyō* states that people who committed murder will have a short life. *Shōbōnenjokyō* T17 3b9-4b3. Another example of difference is the theft causing an impoverished life vs nose and lungs issues.

⁵⁴ I also include afflictions caused by illness divinities as discussed in Chapter Two and Chapter Three.

Defilement

Defilement is often discussed as impurity arising from touching or coming into contact (even indirectly via someone else) with death, sickness, and bodily fluid, especially blood, but it also encompasses things such as fire, meat-eating, and crime.⁵⁵ Defilement is often overlooked in discussions on disability in the early-medieval period, but it played a significant role in rituals and practices that impacted all levels of society, from the emperor to commoners. Concerns about defilement included beliefs derived from Shintō and Daoist philosophies. All of the beliefs were united by fears surrounding impurity, pollution, and the impact those had on the individual as well as the whole community.⁵⁶

Illnesses and impairments were believed to stem from touch defilement and transgressive defilement. Jayne Sun Kim has argued that it is important to differentiate the types of illness stemming from defilement in terms of temporal significance. In other words, temporary types of illness and more long-term or disabling types of illness were understood to arise from exposure to different forms of defilement. Temporary types, such as transferable but curable illness caused by epidemic, were often associated with touch defilements related to exposure to things like death, eating meat, and birth.⁵⁷ These illnesses were usually overcome through ritual practices of seclusion and/or purification, which allowed people to return to their normal status.

⁵⁵ Defilement is a complicated topic. I will only briefly cover some of these topics here because defilement and its impact on treatment of marginalized communities will be discussed in Chapter 4. Here I reference Jayne Kim, “A History of Filth: Defilement Discourse in Medieval Japan” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004), 224.

⁵⁶ Acknowledging that Shintō was not the defined set of beliefs or practices that it has often been presented as since the nineteenth century. For more information see: Mark MacWilliams and Michiaki Okuyama, *Defining Shintō: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2020).

⁵⁷ Epidemics were also caused by angry spirits and foreign deities, as will be discussed in Chapter Three.

In contrast, chronic or permanent conditions were more closely associated with moral transgressions and were considered highly dangerous in terms of defilement. Kim states that the perpetual conditions included unusual skin diseases such as goiters or nasal polyps, Hanson's disease (leprosy), and deformities.⁵⁸ Since perpetual diseases are not overcome easily, some people with these diseases were marginalized, stigmatized, and ostracized to specific locations so they would not pollute others. The role of defilement is intimately tied to the legal and social status of people, including the *hinin* communities noted above, and I address these issues more in depth in Chapter Two.

Illness-Causing Entities

Belief in malignant spirits as a source of illness, disease, defilement, and/or epidemics was firmly established in Japan by the early-medieval period. Accounts of illness-causing entities appear in historical records, personal diaries, and literature from as early as the eighth century. A wide and diverse range of entities had the ability to cause physical and mental anguish. This list includes but is not limited to *onyrō* and *goryō* (angry spirits of the deceased), *ekiki* (epidemic-causing demons), astral demons, supernatural spirit (*mononoke*), death bringers (*sanshi*), and deities (*kami*).⁵⁹ Some of these are distinctive entities that are defined within religious texts or have particular historical basis (i.e. astral demons or *onyrō*) while the others belong to a more general category of illness-causing deities (i.e. *ekiki*).

⁵⁸ Kim, "History of Filth," 228.

⁵⁹ The *sanshi* entities: Daoist concepts of souls, worms, and parasites that live within the human body and represent the *po* (material souls) that represent the negative yin and earthly forces. Of particular significance is the depiction of these spirits in the Tang period *Taishang chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing* (*En: Scripture of the Most High for the Protection of Life through the Elimination of the Three Corpses and Nine Worms*). Schipper estimates it is in the Five Dynasties period (907-960). Kristofer Marinus Schipper, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2019), 364–65. The three corpses (*sanshi*) are an interesting mix as well. One anthropomorphic like a male scholar; one a muscular human leg with a cow head; and one like a Chinese lion or perhaps raccoon dog.

Illness-causing entities do not tend to appear in the broader swaths of research on illness, disability, or medicine in early-medieval Japan. Instead, scholarly mentions of these entities are often found in broader discussions about a specific source, such as a section in the *Tale of Genji* dealing with spirit possessions.⁶⁰ Other studies focus on only one type of illness-causing entity, like the *gōryō*.⁶¹ The focus on individual types or cases rather than the phenomena as a whole is likely due to the fact that illness-causing entities most often appear in tales as one figure within a larger narrative, as in the case of the *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* discussed in Chapter Three. It might also be due to the diversity in types of entities and the socio-religious paradigms from which they stem. That is, scholarship might overlook connections when one type of illness-causing entity is associated with folk beliefs while another grouping is connected to a combination of Buddhist and Daoist traditions.

The reason that an illness-causing entity targets someone largely depends on the type of entity. In some situations, as in the case of *mononoke* or *onyrō*, the entity is a “spirit” of an individual living or dead and will likely focus on specific people who harmed or wronged them. The *onyrō* could also be the source of widespread disease or harm that impacts a large number of people in order to punish those in power. An entirely different set of ideas is contained in the *Shichiyō seishin betsugyō hō* (*Book of Diseases Caused by the Stars*), which details the astral, disease-causing demons of the twenty-eight constellations. It does not provide a reason one might be attacked, only noting that it is important to worship the demon on its particular day to

⁶⁰ Doris Bargaen, *A Woman's Weapon: Spirit Possession in the Tale of Genji* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997); Takeshi Watanabe, *Flowering Tales: Women Exorcising History in Heian Japan*, First edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2020).

⁶¹ Neil McMullin, “On Placating the Gods and Pacifying the Populace: The Case of the Gion Goryō Cult,” *History of Religions* 27, no. 3 (1992): 270–93; Sara Sumpter, “The Socio-Political Functions of Japanese ‘Vengeful Spirit’ Handscrolls, 1150-1230” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2016).

heal or avoid it.⁶² To judge from the contents of *emaki* and *setsuwa*, belief in astral beings had very little impact on representations of agency in disease.

Illness-causing entities were typically viewed as invisible to the human eye (or disguised) and made known through the afflicted person's physical manifestations or through rituals. For instance, *mononoke* are not featured directly in painted images, but rather through their impact on the physical and mental status of the afflicted person or the medium taking part in a healing ritual.⁶³ Astral demons or inner-body deities are primarily featured in illustrated medical manuscripts and exhibited through the physical and mental conditions of the affected person. Two examples of the illustrated manuals are extant versions of *Shichiyō seishin betsugyō hō* and *Denshibyō shu no koto (On the Variations of Corpse-Vector Disease)*, both Buddhist healing-ritual manuals which predate the *emaki* I examine in the dissertation.⁶⁴ In the former, the disease-demons include several *oni*-like figures, courtiers attired in Chinese dress, a mono-ped human, and a hybrid being a with dragon body and human head.⁶⁵ The five demons in the latter also include several animal-human hybrids as well as a cat demon and a demon that appears as a woman with long hair. *Ekiki* or certain *goryō* began to be visualized in a handful of illustrated

⁶² John Rosenfield, Fumiko Cranston, and Edwin Cranston, "Book of Diseases Caused by the Stars (Shichiyō Seishin Betsugyō Hō)," in *The Courty Tradition in Japanese Art and Literature: Selections from the Hofer and Hyde Collections* (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum, 1973), 102–3.

⁶³ Barga, *Woman's Weapon*. For more on mediums, see Lori Meeks, "The Disappearing Medium: Reassessing the Place of Miko in the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan," *History of Religions* 50, no. 3 (February 2011): 208–60. For more on mediums in possession scene, see Suzuki, "Twanging Bows and Throwing Rice."

⁶⁴ For more on the *Denshibyō* texts predecessors see Macomber, "Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease," 77, 100–101. For more on the works in reference to changes in the deities from *mushi* to *oni* appearing, refer to Knecht Peter et al., "Denshi 'Oni' to 'mushi': Kyōu shoya zō 'Denshibyō kanjin shō' ryakkai," in *Shōdō bungaku kenkyū*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 2008), 40–95. Knecht Peter, Hasegawa Masao, and Minobe Shigekatsu, "Oni to mushi kokoro no oni ron ni mukete," *Journal of the Nanzan Academic Society* 78 (2004): 245–86.

⁶⁵ Here I use *oni*-like to refer to entities that share iconographic similarities with the *oni* that populate hell imagery in Japan.

handscrolls and hanging scrolls from the early-medieval period on. Despite some variation, the majority of the entities that are depicted appear as monstrous in form: bodies are excessive or lacking; skin color is fantastic; and/or bodies have animalistic features.

Methods for Healing or Managing Disease and Impairment

The number of methods and rituals used to deal with disease in the early-medieval period is expansive. Prayers, commissioning of icons, reading of sutras, use or consumption of talismans, purifying rituals, acupuncture, moxibustion, and ingestion of herbs or medicines are just a few. Some methods are preventative while others are curative, and some accomplish both. There are unique rituals that focus on specific deities and on specific diseases, like the ones found in illustrated religious-medical texts mentioned above, while other ritual approaches can be used in a variety of situations.

It is important to make clear that many diseases could be approached using these various methods, but other conditions such as a physical deformity, certain physical or mental impairments, and some forms of chronic disease could not. As noted above, some of these conditions were viewed as having “deeper” causes, which we usually take to mean as arising from deeper karmic or pollutive origins. I speculate that some chronic conditions, including those that come with aging, might have been labeled as deep since they were unable to be “cured” and were therefore discussed and managed in a different way from the others.

Depending on the specific condition, people could be moved into specific communities as discussed above and/or assistive technologies might be offered. For instance, prosthetics such as wheelchairs or walking sticks could be used to improve mobility. Blind musicians often employed attendants to travel with them. In some cases, special head cloths could be worn to cover facial deformities. However, having these accommodations often depended on the class

and economic means of the person or if they were part of a guild. Others had to rely on the charity of priests and other people. In most cases, regardless of status, the primary means of managing more chronic or permanent conditions were to focus on the person's next life by offering prayers in an effort to improve karma.

Even this brief overview readily shows that each approach to understanding and dealing with disease or disability clearly had unique aspects. The sometimes conflicting ways in which disability was defined is not entirely dissimilar to the discourses surrounding disability today. While some approach the topic from concerns about origins or cure of the condition, others consider the implications for economic production or the larger community. Regardless, it is important to acknowledge that all of these views would have played a role in defining disability more broadly in society at this time. Of course, the relative importance of each would vary according to the specific community and the specific time.

Early-Medieval *Emaki*

The four *emaki* that are the focus of this dissertation date from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. I describe these *emaki* as falling into the early-medieval period. This categorization falls outside the traditional division of Japanese history that centers on political and governmental changes. Under that categorization, the *emaki* would range from the Heian period (794-1185) largely dominated by the imperial court (classical) to the Kamakura period (1185-1333) under warrior rule (medieval). Certainly there were major shifts in political, cultural, and religious realms, but the imperial family and Kyoto court officials remained politically and culturally relevant well into the fourteenth century and beyond despite the political shifting between imperial and shogunal powers.⁶⁶ Moreover, there were significant

⁶⁶ This of course relates to Kuroda Toshio's theory of *kenmon taisei* (system of ruling elites). Kuroda suggested that while military power did increase and there was a shift, nonetheless many of the elite groups from the previous

continuities in ideas, beliefs, and artistic practices that tie the late-Heian period to the medieval period.⁶⁷ In fact, the *emaki* format is one of the most prominent visual arts that spans these time periods.

While the *emaki* format had been imported from China in the eighth century, it was not until the early-medieval period that we see an explosion of *emaki* being produced in Japan. The intense interest in *emaki* at this time is often tied to the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192, r 1155-1158), but their production continued throughout the Kamakura period, sometimes called the “golden age” of *emaki*.⁶⁸ *Emaki* is a format that consists of sheets of paper or silk, typically measuring between twenty to thirty-five centimeters in height, mounted together as a long horizontal surface and rolled around a dowel. The length of an *emaki* is determined by the desires and resources of the one who commissions it, and then the silk or paper sheets are mounted.

In one of her books, Sano Midori states “the frieze-like format of *emaki* is suitable for representation of chronological progression and the movement of the plot through space.”⁶⁹ The content of *emaki* usually includes a mixture of text and image, which draws on literature, calligraphy and painting. Some *emaki* feature short, alternating segments of text and image but

Heian period continued to maintain continuity of power. Kuroda argued that governance was split among three main power blocs (*kenmon*): warriors, aristocrats, and religious centers of power. Kuroda Toshio, *Jisha seiryoku: mo hitotsu chūsei no shakai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980); Royall Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 13; Mikael Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 16.

⁶⁷ I draw on a number of scholars, especially William LaFleur and Charlotte Eubanks, who argue that we should consider continuances in ideas and practices that impact the arts during these times rather than restricting dating to shifts in politics. William LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 9; Charlotte Eubanks, “Rendering the Body Buddhist: Sermonizing in Medieval Japan” (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 2005), 36.

⁶⁸ Miya Tsugio, “Jobatsu kara mita engi to sōden emaki,” *Jissen joshidai bigaku bijutsu shigaku* 3 (1988): 7.

⁶⁹ Sano Midori, *Fūryū, Zōkei, Monogatari: Nihon Bijutsu No Kōzō to Yōtai* (Tokyo: Skydoor, 1997), 777.

most show varying degrees of length and continuity in their pictorial sections. The topics are quite varied, including courtly literature, military tales, hagiographies, and temple or shrine legends. During the fourteenth century, there was an increasing number of *emaki* being produced which were focused on legitimizing the sectarian claims of temples and shrines.⁷⁰

There is some debate on how *emaki* were viewed and conceptualized. Scholars often describe *emaki* as being an intimate viewing experience, that is for an individual or small group. This argument is based, in part, on the formal aspects of the scroll such as size and the procedure of unrolling *emaki*. Other scholars have complicated this notion by arguing that *emaki* were used by religious sects for didactic and proselytizing purposes.⁷¹ Certainly the content of many religious scrolls seems to support these functions, and there is evidence that some scrolls were used as such. However, the arguments presented rarely differentiate between *emaki* and *kakemono* (hanging scrolls), nor do they deal with the formal elements that do not necessarily lend themselves to viewing from afar or in a large group. More importantly, this view does not account for the many other scrolls that were viewed by people only on a handful of occasions.

As Melissa McCormick wrote, some *emaki* were treated as icons and enshrined as living embodiments of a deity.⁷² Miya Tsugio noted that many prologues or colophons in *emaki* mention *kechien*, or creating karmic connections, and ties this to the patron's desire to accrue

⁷⁰ In the traditional narrative about *emaki*, this begins to be the decline of the importance of *emaki* production but Melissa McCormick's research has challenged these views. Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

⁷¹ Robin Scribnick Stern, "The Yūzū Nembutsu Engi and the Pictorialization of Popular Buddhism in Japanese Narrative Scrolls" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1984), 153; Ikumi Kaminishi, *Explaining Pictures: Buddhist Propaganda and Etoji Storytelling in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

⁷² McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu*, 40–41.

karmic merits.⁷³ Taking up this point in her dissertation, Nakano Chieko has expanded the exploration of *emaki* as a means and site of *kechien*.⁷⁴ In part, the idea that there was an increase in *emaki* production and that they were created for religious merit is tied to the idea that people at the time thought they were living in *mappō* (age of dharma decline), where reaching enlightenment was almost impossible.⁷⁵ These lines of inquiry are significant in showing how *emaki* stand out from other texts in that they possess the power of an icon, which animates them in a way that other texts might not.⁷⁶

These views are helpful in situating the scrolls I consider in this dissertation. As will be taken up in the individual chapters, the *emaki* range in size and material and seem to have been created for a variety of different reasons. Some have well-documented histories and clearly defined intentions laid out within the text while others do not, and their function is much more speculative. However, regardless of stated intention, these *emaki* can and should be considered as functioning in a number of ways for different people, including those that commissioned, produced, shared, and viewed them.

For my purposes, I am interested in what the *emaki* might tell us about the historical and socio-cultural context of the body. *Emaki* are especially helpful investigating socio-cultural contexts since they often draw on literary, religious, and artistic themes that have significance

⁷³ Miya, “Jobatsu kara mita,” 7–24.

⁷⁴ Chieko Nakano, “‘Kechien’ as Religious Praxis in Medieval Japan: Picture Scrolls as the Means and Sites of Salvation.” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2009).

⁷⁵ Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body*, 100.

⁷⁶ Robert Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf, eds., *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Thomas Dale, *Pygmalion’s Power: Romanesque Sculpture, the Senses, and Religious Experience* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

outside the specific *emaki*. Throughout the dissertation, I rely on various types of texts to draw connections that support or complicate the readings of the *emaki*.⁷⁷ I often refer to literary texts, including court literature and *setsuwa*, religious manuals, and temple or shrine documents in an effort to situate the topic within a broader socio-cultural span. I am less concerned with legal documents since that would relegate this topic on disability to policy, and I am more interested in what representations of disability across other important cultural materials might tell us. In that vein, I do not necessarily engage with discourse about the “factual” nature of the texts I draw on but assume that they provide a unique lens through which we can see how different groups negotiated the questions at hand. This also means that I take care to not assume that the images reflect reality, but rather a certain part of society’s reality at that given moment in time.

Chapter Outline

I begin, in Chapter One, by examining the twelfth-century *Yamai no sōshi*, which is the earliest *emaki* under consideration. This *emaki* stands out from the others since it is the only one that focuses entirely on different types of “illness,” and therefore provides an opportunity to consider various types of conditions in relation to each other. After reviewing the current state of research on the *Yamai no sōshi*, I propose a new approach that shifts away from one that focuses solely on the religious function or the medicalized readings of the *emaki*. Instead, I ask what we might learn about the various conditions from a reading of the figural relationships within each of the twenty visual-verbal scenes as well as the work overall. I specifically look at the relationship between the ill or disabled figure and the non-afflicted figure in the paintings as a means of thinking about the social implications. In doing so, I argue that people with different

⁷⁷ I use the term texts here to describe both literature and historical documents in an attempt to avoid assigning one as fictional and one as factual.

types of conditions, usually those that were more apparent or chronic, were burdened with a higher level of stigma. Additionally, I discuss how the written texts supplement the paintings and provide an additional layer of meaning. One significant aspect that came out of the comparison of the visual-verbal aspects was that the afflicted figures' other identities, including social class and gender, played a role in the degree to which their condition was othering and disabling. Those issues take up the final portion of the chapter with emphasis being placed on the different ways in which conditions would have impacted the lives of women and men from different socio-economic groups.

In Chapter Two, I focus on the physical and social experience of people with disease and impairment as represented within the *Ippen hijiri-e*. The *emaki*, dedicated in 1299, focuses on the life of the itinerant monk Ippen as he traveled throughout Japan. The paintings are often lauded as realistically depicting the quotidian, especially those representing the *hinin*, or outcast, communities, of which disabled people are often said to have been part. I look closely at the scenes of *hinin* communities and others that feature disabled people to explore who is depicted as situated within the groups and where they are located within their built and social environments. I offer that the *hinin* communities, largely situated away from the other commoners, include only two types of disabled people, those with Hansen's disease (leprosy or *rai*) and those with mobility limitations. In contrast, the blind *biwa-hōshi* (itinerant musicians and storytellers) appear amongst the crowds and not with the *hinin*. I give attention to two groups, those with Hansen's disease and the blind *biwa-hōshi*, in order to tease out reasons how and why these groups were treated differently. I then address the larger issue of why *hinin* and disabled people were so prominently featured in the *Ippen hijiri-e* by comparing it to other *kōsōden* (biographies

of illustrious priests), including a comparison of Ippen's religious practices that focused on *hinin* communities to other priests' practices.

In Chapters Three and Four, I shift away from considerations of the ways in which disease or impairments were depicted and how those impacted the lives of early-medieval people to looking at representations of the supernatural sources of disease. These two chapters serve to give breadth and depth to our understanding of the representations and conceptions of disease and disability and serve to challenge the idea that Buddhist karma was the major paradigm through which people understood disease and impairment during this time. Moreover, the chapters provide a glimpse into how these external sources of disease and impairment were also often imagined as entities with abnormal bodies and how these were deployed in *emaki* for specific purposes of affect and of benefit to the patrons.

In Chapter Three, I take up a story in the fourteenth-century *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* about the salvific power of a Buddhist text that protects those that possess it from a widespread epidemic. Unlike the *Yamai no sōshi* chapter, the focus is not on the entire *emaki* but rather the one discrete visual-verbal tale that depicts a fantastic epidemic-causing entity as source of a specific epidemic and two men's physical suffering. I am particularly interested in tracing the development of the depiction of epidemic-causing entities as monstrous, and how that iconography draws on Chinese-derived rituals of demon expulsion as well as the *oni* (demon) figure that is well-established in Japan by the early-medieval period. I also consider the significance of *oni* iconography as it relates to the physical aspects of the mutable human body, focusing especially on the aging and dying body. I suggest that the visualization of an epidemic-entity as *oni* provides a link between people's fears of disease as well as their own vulnerable bodies.

In Chapter Four, I examine the fourteenth-century *Fudō riyaku engi emaki* in its entirety. The *Fudō riyaku* is often summarized as depicting three things: monstrous beings as sources of illness; a ritual that transferred the illness from one priest to another and conducted by the onmyōji (yin-yang) priest Abe no Seimei (915-1005); and the self-sacrifice of Fudō Myōō, a fierce divine protector of Buddhism, to heal the two priests. Through an analysis of the paintings and the text, I suggest that the *emaki* is a modification of a well-established tale with details, including a variety of visual cues pointing to various sources of illness and opportunities for healing, created specifically to benefit the temple lineage for whom it was created. In particular, I contend with the question of the identity of the illness-causing entities and their function in the scroll, and I propose that they were most likely added for affect in the telling of the story by tapping into the fears of an external entity causing disease. I also examine how Abe no Seimei and Fudō Myōō represent a religious-healing competition that was used ultimately to show the power of the temple's healing programs.

Through these four case studies, I aim to add significant nuance to the current discourse on the body, disability, and power in early-medieval Japan. I chose these four *emaki* due to their striking visual-verbal representations of, concerns about, and practices related to the disabled body from the late-Heian period to the early-fourteenth century. The very diversity of approaches seen in these works indicates the complexity of the topic. Therefore, I have avoided using reductive tactics in order to present a sense of continuity and cohesion in this dissertation. Still, there are some commonalities. Most importantly, I argue that in each of these *emaki*, the disabled body (human or supernatural) was manipulated to some degree by the patrons or artists as needed to serve the larger purposes of the *emaki* and to negotiate anxieties around the mutable body and communicate issues of socio-political and religious power.

Chapter One. Negotiating Identity and Bodily Difference in the *Yamai no sōshi*

Introduction

In one scene, a male-presenting figure lies sleeping in the middle of a modestly decorated room unaware of the two men sneaking in through the curtain in the doorway. Raising the sleeping figure's white kimono, the intruders wildly gesture and laugh at their discovery: the figure possesses both male and female genitalia (Figure 1-1). In a separate scene, an elderly woman assists an ill woman by holding a cloth to her forehead and keeping her balanced as she vomits and defecates off the edge of a veranda. Another woman approaches the pair carrying a bowl of water or perhaps another substance, while yet another woman prepares food or medicine inside the building (Figure 1-2).

These two seemingly disparate scenes are part of the twelfth-century *Yamai no sōshi* (*Illustrated Handscroll of Illness*), an *emaki* that focuses on various afflictions through image and text.⁷⁸ In what spirit is the viewer meant to take the *Yamai*, and how do we interpret the different ways in which the afflicted person is treated in the images presented above? A significant amount of scholarship has addressed these questions as well as the potentially related question of patronage without producing a clear consensus.⁷⁹ In part this is due to the scroll's

⁷⁸ For a reproduction of the *Yamai no sōshi*, see Tanaka Ichimatsu, *Yamai no sōshi*, vol. 6, *Nihon emakimono zenshū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1958); Komatsu Shigemitsu, *Gaki zōshi. Jigoku zōshi. Yamai zōshi. Kusōshi emaki* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1990); Kasuya Makoto and Yamamoto Satomi, eds., *Yamai no sōshi* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2017). Images of the segments cared for by Kyoto National Museums can be found at: “*Yamai no sōshi*,” e-Museum, accessed November 1, 2020, http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100995/000/000?mode=simple&d_lang=en&s_lang=en&word=Yamai&class=&title=&c_e=®ion=&era=¢ury=&cptype=&owner=&pos=1&num=1; Additional segments can be found at: “*Yamai no sōshi*,” Kyushu National Museum, accessed November 1, 2020, <https://collection.kyuhaku.jp/advanced/9369.html>

⁷⁹ Fukui Rikichirō, *Rokudō emaki kaisetsu* (Tokyo: Yamatoe Dōkōkai, 1931); Sano Midori, “*Yamai no sōshi kenkyū* (I),” *Kokka* 1039 (1981); Sano Midori, “*Yamai no sōshi kenkyū* (II),” *Kokka* 1040 (1981); John Tadao Teramoto,

unique subject matter and the fact that there are no extant twelfth-century documents that illuminate the circumstances surrounding the work's production. Nonetheless, the various arguments offer interesting possibilities for understanding the handscroll, including its relationship to religious beliefs and medical knowledge and its being a source of entertainment, but in most cases, the scholarship aims to identify the intention of the patrons and/or the source of the subject material. This chapter asks, instead, how a new reading of the *Yamai* might provide insight into more nuanced views of the understanding of disease and impairment during the early-medieval period and what the representations in the scroll scenes can tell us about cultural and social expectations of ideal and abnormal human bodies.

Looking partly through the lens of disability studies, I take the position that illness, disability, and bodily difference are largely socially constructed rather than natural, unchanging categories. Previous scholarship approaches the *Yamai*'s diverse scenes as being unproblematically united under a simple conceptual umbrella created by the treatment of “*yamai*” as a unified concept and supported by medicalized readings of the conditions represented. My work questions this assumption, instead pointing out that “*yamai*” had various meanings, which when read within the specific cultural context, shift away from the typical medicalized readings of the conditions depicted in the scroll scenes. I work to differentiate disease, visual deformities, and impairments as well as temporary and long-term conditions in order to highlight the nuanced ways in which these different conditions were viewed and treated in the early-medieval period. To achieve these goals, I perform an analysis of the *Yamai*'s twenty-one scenes, paying particular attention to the relationship between the onlookers and the

“The *Yamai No Sōshi*: A Critical Reevaluation of Its Importance to Japanese Secular Painting of the Twelfth Century” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1994).

person with disease/impairment, and an investigation of the various ways in which different bodies and diseases were understood through religious texts, cultural practices, and literary and artistic objects. Challenging assumptions about the meaning of “*yamai*” and about what types of conditions are (or are not) being depicted and focusing on the relationship between the “ill” and “healthy” bodies in the scenes lays the groundwork for a number of arguments that I make in the following order. First, I show that *Yamai* encompasses a broader set of conditions than can fit neatly into modern views on “illness” and that we should move away from medical terms and perspectives in order to better focus on the ways in which socio-religious beliefs constructed ideas of health and illness in this specific cultural context. Second, I argue that analyses of the figures and figural relationships in the pictures offer insight into how some figures’ bodies, particularly those with evident differences, were stigmatized while other bodies, those with temporary or less perceptible conditions, were treated with empathy. Third, I consider how religious views defined illness and disability within a framework of morality and how that framework informed notions of stigma and practices of othering. Fourth, I examine issues of class and gender to tease out ways in which different identities affected and informed the degree to which a person was stigmatized.

Throughout this chapter, I work from the assumption that the early-medieval Japanese “body” was not just a biological/physical unit but an entity defined through socio-religious beliefs and practices. The multiple bodies that populated Japan at this time were not equal; some counted more than others, some were more visible than others, and some were actively excluded. I propose that the *Yamai* is a curated display of bodies that can be read as a visual-verbal catalogue of people who vary in degree of deviation or violation of social norms that were

influenced by the moralizing tenor of Buddhism and concepts of defilement as well as social-class and gender identification.

The Scroll, State of Research, and Issues of Terminology and Approach

Yamai no sōshi is an apocryphal title assigned to a compilation of twenty-one scenes, each including an ink-and-color painting, which is believed to have originally formed a single *emaki* (Table 1).⁸⁰ Dated to the late-twelfth century, the *Yamai* scenes depict people with various diseases or conditions, ranging from vomiting and diarrhea to bad breath to dwarfism. All of the scenes include a brief textual account preceding the visual image, except for one titled “woman having her eyes pecked by a rooster.” In their current state, each visual-verbal scene is separately mounted into an individual hand or hanging scroll. They range in height from 25.2 to 26.4 cm and in length from 18.4 to 58.9 cm (Table 3). The scenes were assigned apocryphal titles as well; they are largely descriptive, based on the visual and textual content, but some use specific terms found within the text. Fifteen of the scenes, now separated into individual segments and held in different collections, were once an intact scroll owned by the Sekido family. Over time the Sekido family purchased two additional segments, and all together the group of seventeen scenes is referred to as the “Sekido scroll.”⁸¹ Based on similarities in style and form, scholars believe that at least four other detached segments made up part of the original twelfth-century *Yamai* scroll.⁸²

⁸⁰ Note that the title *Yamai no sōshi* is not original to the scroll, the Edo-period colophon (first mention of the scroll), nor in any early-medieval documents, Sano, “*Yamai no sōshi* (II),” 20.

⁸¹ The “dwarf” and “man with hunchback” scenes were added to the collection at a later date. For Sekido sections see Table 3.

⁸² There is some dispute over the Acupuncture scene and whether to include it in the twelfth-century *Yamai* scroll. The most recent research on the *Yamai* by Yamamoto and Kasuya did not include the Acupuncture scene. In addition to the Heian-period scroll, there are also scrolls and books dated to the Edo period and beyond. These later works will

Unfortunately, there are no extant twelfth-century documents that illuminate the circumstances surrounding the *Yamai*'s production. The earliest textual account discussing what is thought to be the Sekido scroll specifically is a colophon written by Tosa Mitsusada (1738-1806) in 1796, approximately 600 years after the work's proposed creation.⁸³ Mitsusada, at the time, the Director of the Court Painting Bureau (*edokoro azukari*), wrote:

A scroll of paintings of impairment (*haishitsu*) is owned by Ōdachi Takakado (1766-1839). There are sixteen types of incomplete people (*fuseijin*) in this scroll, which was completed by my twenty-fifth generation ancestor Vice Minister of Justice Yoshimitsu, and the writing was done by Yoshida Kenkō. One of them was given to me and I made a copy of it and of another fragment and presented the copies [back to Takakado] as a small token of gratitude. Although the painting stems from a passing amusement, it must be said to be a truly rare piece.⁸⁴

This brief account has provided scholars with valuable information regarding part of the history and transmission of the “Sekido scroll” despite some assertions, such as the painter attribution, being questioned. It also provides insight into Mitsusada's personal assessment of the work and its content. First, Mitsusada's use of the terms “*haishitsu-ga*” (painting of impairment) and “*fuseijin*” (incomplete people) gives some indication of Edo-period views of the people depicted within the scroll. The term “*haishitsu*” refers to an incurable bodily hindrance or difficulty, while “*fuseijin*” can refer to an adult without character and culture or someone who chose not to participate in the coming-of-age ceremony, which made them marginalized

not be examined in this chapter. For more information on the Edo period works, consult Goble, “Images of Illness”; Hayashi Yoshirō, “Ihon Yamai no sōshi no denhon ni tsuite,” *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 48, no. 1 (2002): 67–79.

⁸³ Teramoto, “Yamai No Sōshi,” 27.

⁸⁴ The first use of this term dates to 718, see *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Tokyo: Shogakkan): 935. As for *fuseijin* see, Okami, Masao, Atsuyoshi Sakakura, and Yukihiko Nakamura, *Kadokawa kogo daijiten* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten), 531. Regarding Takakado: He was a Nagoya merchant who studied with Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) and had interests in medicine and art, noted in Kasuya Makoto, “Souron ‘Yamai no sōshi,’” in *Yamai no sōshi*, ed. Kasuya Makoto and Yamamoto Satomi (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2017), 106–9. As for the colophon: The painting attribution to Yoshimitsu is not viewed as reliable, Teramoto, “Yamai No Sōshi,” 28.

people.⁸⁵ These points will be taken up more below but for now it is important to note the connection made between bodily differences and character. Second, the comment about ‘passing amusement’ implies that Mitsusada considered the handscroll’s function as pleasurable entertainment for the audience, a point that has been taken up by scholars who question the role of crude humor in the scroll.⁸⁶

In contrast to Mitsusada’s supposition about it being a peculiar diversion, more recent scholarship has largely focused on locating a source for the scroll’s subject matter in religious, literary, and medical sources as well as understanding the scroll’s patronage. The first major argument came in 1931, when the art historian Fukui Rikichirō proposed that the *Yamai* visualized Buddhist teachings on the suffering inherent in human existence.⁸⁷ Specifically, Fukui argues that the *Yamai*, along with the *Gaki zōshi* (*Scroll of Hungry Ghosts*) and the *Jigoku zōshi* (*Scroll of Hells*), form a set of scrolls focused on the Buddhist concept of *rokudō*, or the six paths of rebirth (Figures 1-3 and 1-4).⁸⁸

Fukui’s thesis has been a hotly debated topic that has preoccupied some later scholarship. One reason is that other sets of *rokudō-e* paintings present human existence as a continuous process of suffering. Suffering is represented through a variety of images, including ones of the body in physical decay after death, the cycle of a person’s life from birth to aging to death, the

⁸⁵ For information in English on children and coming of age, consult Irene Lin, “Traversing Boundaries: The Demonic Child in the Medieval Japanese Religious Imaginaire” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2001).

⁸⁶ Teramoto, chapter 8 discusses the category of *oko-e* or comical illustrations, Teramoto, “*Yamai No Sōshi*.” Miya Tsugio also discusses the relationship between suffering and the horror/entertained observer, and connects it back to it being didactic warning. He also connects the grinning secondary figures to the smiling demons in Hell scenes, Miya Tsugio, “*Rokudō-e*,” *Nihon no bijutsu* 271 (1988): 43–46.

⁸⁷ Fukui’s investigation included locating Kamakura and Muromachi period documents mentioning *rokudō-e*. One includes a set housed in Rengeō-in (discussed more below), Fukui, *Rokudō emaki kaisetsu*.

⁸⁸ Fukui also first to suggest Go-Shirakawa, see note 10.

poor and hungry, people saying good-bye to loved ones, and people at war.⁸⁹ Sickness is often a small component of the larger representation, usually of an ill man vomiting or reclining.

However, illness as defined more broadly can be seen in the images of an elderly man bent over a cane or an aging woman staring at her reflection. In this way, the *Yamai* is unique in its sole focus on various types of illness and impairment.⁹⁰

Shimomise Shizuichi argues that the *Yamai* should be considered separately, because it does not correlate to the Buddhist sutras in the way that the *Jigoku* and *Gaki* scrolls do.⁹¹ Umezu Jirō thinks the images are largely documentary.⁹² Okudaira Hideo notes that the scroll draws from and connects to *setsuwa*, such as tales in *Konjaku monogatari shū* (Tales of Times Present and Past).⁹³ In a different vein, medical and art historians argue that the scroll might have been based on medical texts and could have been originally connected to medical illustrations.⁹⁴ In

⁸⁹ Resources include: Izumi Takeo et al., *Kokuhō Rokudōe* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2008). Miriam Chusid, “Picturing the Afterlife: The Shojuraigoji Six Path Scrolls and Salvation in Medieval Japan” (PhD diss., Princeton, 2016). For more on the decaying bodies see Gail Chin, “The Gender of Buddhist Truth: The Female Corpse in a Group of Japanese Paintings,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 25, no. 3–4 (1998): 277–317; Fusae Kanda, “Behind the Sensationalism: Images of a Decaying Corpse in Japanese Buddhist Art,” *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 1 (March 2005): 24–49.

⁹⁰ If read as a set, the *Yamai*’s accompanying scroll *Gaki zoshi* depicts a birth scene and a cemetery scene with bodies decaying at various stages.

⁹¹ Art historian Shimomise Shizuichi argues the *Yamai* stands out from the other two scrolls since those were clearly drawn from sutras; that it does not focus on salvation; it seems to focus on individual rather than the idea of human suffering as a whole, Shimomise Shizuichi, “*Yamai no sōshi wa hatashite rokudō-e nari ya*,” *Yamatōe shi kenkyū*, 1944, 633–45.

⁹² Umezu Jirō, *Emakimono zanketsu no fu* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 32.

⁹³ He argued that these objects reflect increasing interest in common people’s lifestyles and customs. Criticism of Okudaira’s argument stems from the fact that there are no stories found in the *setsuwa* anthologies that exactly correlate with all of the *Yamai* sections, Okudaira Hideo, “*Yamai no zōshi shin kokuho yori*,” *Museum*, 1952, 23. Note in his dissertation Teramoto argues for the *Yamai* scenes should be considered as much related to *setsuwa* illustrations as *rokudō*, Teramoto, “*Yamai No Sōshi*,” 250–53, 289.

⁹⁴ In general, the argument is that the types of afflictions shown stemmed from medical texts, including the *Ishinpō* (*Essentials of Medicine*, 982), in circulation amongst medical professionals. Other scholars have noted that the scenes and stories in the *Yamai* cannot be traced directly to any extant medical texts. My own research has not

1981, art historian Sano Midori proposed the *Yamai* content was multidimensional, showing how the scroll incorporates the teachings of *rokudō* from Buddhist sutras, medical knowledge from the Heian period, and narrative aspects from *setsuwa* literature.⁹⁵

The most recent research presented by Kasuya Makoto and Yamamoto Satomi again makes the case that the scroll is part of a *rokudō-e* set connected to the emperor Go-Shirakawa.⁹⁶ In a 2017 essay, the art historian Kasuya traces mentions of *rokudō-e* in historical records associated with the emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192, r 1155-1158).⁹⁷ Kasuya notes, as did Fukui and Komatsu Shigemi, that the collection of objects at Go-Shirakawa's sponsored temple Rengeō-in included *rokudō-e*, and after his death and dispersal of the collection, it was likely that the Saionji family came to own the Rengeō-in version.⁹⁸ Go-Shirakawa's collection included a number of other *emaki*, such as *Nenjū gyōji emaki (Annual Rites and Ceremonies of Imperial Court)*, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba (Illustrated Tale of Grand Counselor Ban)*, and *Shigisan engi emaki (Legends of Mt. Shigi)*; all thought to represent the style of Tokiwa no Mitsunaga (dates unknown, active 12th century). Through comparison of technical elements in those scrolls and the

turned up such illustrations either. Hattori, "Yamai no sōshi," 65. Sano, "Yamai no sōshi (II)," 18; Teramoto, "Yamai No Sōshi." Chapter 6.

⁹⁵ Sano, "Yamai no sōshi (I)." Sano also did extensive visual analysis, not focused on here, but briefly: Sano focused mostly on linework in creating three categories, but also points to the variants in scene composition, some scenes include figures in detailed settings while others show larger figures against a simple or blank background, and modes of discourse, namely narrative and descriptive, as indicators of the use of various sources by the artists.

⁹⁶ Kasuya and Yamamoto, *Yamai no sōshi*.

⁹⁷ Kasuya, "Souron 'Yamai no sōshi,'" 95–101.

⁹⁸ Note that Fukui first located the records of *rokudō-e*, see note 10. Komatsu, *Gaki zōshi*, 129–35. Regarding Rengeō-in: the storehouse burnt down in 1249 and was rebuilt a few years later. It is now known as Sanjūsangendō, the Thirty-three bay hall.

Yamai, Kasuya concludes that the *Yamai* was produced by painters associated with Mitsunaga between 1171-1177.⁹⁹

Kasuya makes a further point (also made by Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan) that Go-Shirakawa's consort Kenshumon'in included an elaborate painting program juxtaposing images of hell, the *Lotus Sutra*, and pilgrimage portraits on the walls and sliding doors at the Saishōkōin (built 1173, later temple and residence for Kenshumonin and Go-Shirakawa).¹⁰⁰ Yiengpruksawan states that the painting schema, with works by Tokiwa no Mitsunaga and Fujiwara no Takanobu (1142-1205), was 'revolutionary' in its focus on painted imagery (vs sculptural) and that the juxtaposition of the subject matters of rebirth, hell, and everyday life was intriguing.¹⁰¹ To be clear, the connection being made is that the paintings display an interesting mix of religious and every-day life subjects that are found in the *Yamai* and in the scrolls known to have been made by Mitsunaga and that these connections point to the probability of Go-Shirakawa (or Kenshumon'in or someone in his intimate circle) being the patron. This is not a watertight argument, but even if the specific patron cannot be named, it seems certain that the patron was someone with means and a member of the upper echelons of society.

In an essay in the 2017 volume she co-edited with Kasuya, Yamamoto traces the original source material of the *Yamai* through a re-evaluation of Buddhist sutras associated with the

⁹⁹ Kasuya, "Souron 'Yamai no sōshi,'" 122–26.

¹⁰⁰ Kasuya, "Souron 'Yamai no sōshi,'" 95; Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, *Hiraizumi Buddhist Art and Regional Politics in Twelfth-Century Japan* (Cambridge: Brill, 1999), 93–94.

¹⁰¹ Yiengpruksawan, *Hiraizumi Buddhist Art*, 93. Information on collaboration of the two artists at Saishōkō-in is from the diary of Kujō Kanezane, *Gyokuyō* (v 1, Jōan 3/10/2, 325a). Kanezane Kujō, *Gyokuyō* (Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai, 1993).

Jigoku and *Gaki* scrolls.¹⁰² She demonstrates that each of the afflictions depicted in the *Yamai* are referenced, to some degree, in the seventh section in the *Shōbōnenjokyō* (*Sutra of Meditation on the True Law*) entitled *Shinnenjobon* (*Meditation on the Body*).¹⁰³ The *Shōbōnenjokyō* is a substantial sutra made up of over 70 scrolls with content covering “ethical practices, meditation, cosmology, karma theory, narratives, and didactic verses.”¹⁰⁴ It is perhaps less known now than *Ōjōyōshū* (*The Essentials on Birth in the Pure Land*, 985), but it would have been known at the time, at least among the higher classes and was even referenced in the *Hōbutsushū* (*Collection of Treasures*, compiled 12th century).¹⁰⁵

Yamamoto proposes that as a group, the *Jigoku* is the closest to the sutras and likely completed first while the *Gaki* is produced next and varies some from the sutras. She argues that the *Yamai* was the last of the three *rokudō-e* produced and was the most divergent from the Buddhist sutras; thereby accounting for its unique composition and subject matter.

Acknowledging that the *Yamai* sections rely on the sutra text to varying degrees, Yamamoto divides the scenes into three categories: those that most rely on the sutra (two scenes), those that diverge from the sutra but whose symptoms are mentioned in the sutra (twelve scenes), and those that are most different (three scenes). In assessments of degrees of reliance, the condition and/or

¹⁰² Other sutras include: *Kisekyō* (En: *Sutra on the Arising of Worlds*), T2850, 1300 and *Urabonkyō* (En: *Sutra on Offerings to the Dead*), T685 and 686.

¹⁰³ Yamamoto Satomi, “Shōbō Nenjokyō kara Yamai no sōshi e kyosetsu no hen’yo to emaki no seisei,” *Kokka* 1371 (2010): 5–15. Yamamoto, “Yamai no sōshi tenkyo.”

¹⁰⁴ Daniel Malinowski Stuart, “A Less Traveled Path: Meditation and Textual Practice in the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna(Sutra)” (PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 2012), 29–34. The Chinese translation of the sutra is broken into seven chapters; the first chapter is an introduction and overview of karma; chapters two-six correlate to five paths of rebirth (human, hell, hungry ghost, animal, deities); chapter seven is unique in several ways but its focus is on a meditation of the body. Chapter 2 is mostly about the human body in terms of meditation and what makes good karmic balance.

¹⁰⁵ Yamamoto Satomi, “Yamai no sōshi to keisetsu,” in *Yamai no sōshi*, ed. Kasuya Makoto and Yamamoto Satomi (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2017), 174–75. Chusid, “Picturing the Afterlife,” 27.

some aspect of the symptoms referenced in the *Yamai* text or image needed to be in the sutra. In some cases, these connections are more solid than others.¹⁰⁶

Scholarship on the *Yamai* has also focused on socio-political influences on the scroll's production and visual compositions, the role of gender and class within the figural representations, and issues surrounding the formation of the 'other' within the scene and scrolls. In a number of essays, Kasuya has connected representations and treatments of illness and the role of the patron in the particulars of the compositional content. Throughout his numerous contributions, Kasuya builds upon research about the "other" and the "gaze" and raises questions about whether the scroll's compositions reflect reality and whose reality they reflect.¹⁰⁷ Kasuya sees the *Yamai* paintings as a critical commentary on lower classes and their plebeian interests in part instigated by concerns for changing political and cultural dynamics. Other scholars propose that the images might also indicate Go-Shirakawa's sympathy for lower-class people, pointing to his close relationship with *imayō* entertainers.¹⁰⁸ Further critical discussions include Gail Chin's essay regarding gender and the female body in the *Yamai*¹⁰⁹ and Takeshi Watanabe's important

¹⁰⁶ For instance, there is the comparison of hair being cut off to get rid of pubic lice to a hair-eating bug that is activated by ill-will, Yamamoto, "Yamai no sōshi tenkyo," 175–76. Another example is *shiroko* (white person, albinism) cannot be located in the sutras, but Yamamoto connects this condition to one called "premature graying" in the sutras, Yamamoto Satomi, "Shiroko," in *Yamai no sōshi*, ed. Kasuya Makoto and Yamamoto Satomi (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2017), 32–33.

¹⁰⁷ Kasuya Makoto, "Yamai no sōshi o monogataru," in *Bijutsushi to tasha*, ed. Shimamoto Kan and Kasuya Makoto (Kyoto: Kōyō Shobō, 2000), 6–37.

¹⁰⁸ Yung-Hee Kim, *Songs to Make the Dust Dance: The Ryōjin Hishō of Twelfth-Century Japan* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1994); Gladys E. Nakahara, *A Translation of Ryōjinhishō, A Compendium of Japanese Folk Songs (Imayō) from the Heian Period, 794-1185* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003).

¹⁰⁹ Gail Chin, "Embodying Woman: Women in the Yamai No Sōshi," in *Across Time and Genre: Reading and Writing Women's Texts* (Alberta: Conference Proceedings University of Alberta, 2002), 73–77.

English-language essay which raises questions about illness as othering and issues of stigma.¹¹⁰ Andrew Goble’s essay is another work that tackles the *Yamai* and the *Ihon yamai no sōshi*, an Edo-period version, from a variety of angles; including how the scrolls can offer means for identifying diseases or impairments in addition to issues of care. Goble’s discussion about spectacle and the response to afflictions, and various issues with interpretations of the scroll are pertinent to my interests.¹¹¹

The newest research by Yamamoto makes a good case that the *Yamai* content is related to the Buddhist sutras to varying degrees. I also agree with Sano and others that the *Yamai*’s visual and textual narratives incorporated and played with a variety of sources and topics, which does not inherently disqualify it from being related to a Buddhist sutra or teachings. As discussed previously, it was common for *emaki* and other visual and literary arts to have complex threads of interwoven references and meanings. Thus, the references to religious, literary, medical, and social knowledge as well as references to visual schema present in other painting found within the *Yamai*’s visual-verbal texts would have been expected by the patron. That is even more likely if one assumes that Go-Shirakawa, Kenshunmon’in, or someone in their circle played a role in the work’s commission and takes into account their idiosyncratic patronage of a variety of arts and an intricate layering of the sacred and secular. The layered references in the images enhance the value of the text by providing complicated readings for the patron and guests to tease out. Certainly, the connections and discords created between the multifaceted spheres of references—

¹¹⁰ Takeshi Watanabe, “Reexamining the *Yamai No Sōshi*: Defining Illness, the Ill, and the Normal,” in *Yamai no sōshi*, ed. Makoto Kasuya and Satomi Yamamoto (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2017), 247–58.

¹¹¹ Goble’s essay does not deal with questions surrounding the scrolls’ connection to each other nor the gap in production. The essay does not address how views on afflictions might have changed over the 500 years between production, Goble, “Images of Illness.”

the religious, the medical, the socio-cultural—in the *Yamai* provide fodder for the many modern-day interpretations of the scroll.

Turning Away from Medicalized Approaches and Assumptions

It is precisely the complex and allusive nature of the images that has prompted me to question and re-examine the social, political, and religious views of illness and disability. In particular, I became interested in the fact that medicalized thinking about disease and impairment is fairly consistent across the current body of research, even within essays discussing the religious and literary sources of the *Yamai* content. This drew my attention because, even though many researchers point out that Heian-period medical knowledge is closely tied to religious beliefs and that impairments are understood in socio-religious terms, scholars still reveal their underlying assumptions about disease or impairments as biologically determined and universal. These assumptions can be inferred through the scholars' use of medical terminology, interest in disease identification, and the centering of other identities (class, gender) rather than on illness or disability as a form of identity. I first address issues of terminology and diagnostics, and then focus on issues of health and illness as forms of identity.

English translations of the *Yamai* title and individual scenes' titles tend to use modern, medical terminology.¹¹² For example, in his dissertation on the *Yamai*, John Teramoto uses terms such as fistula, halitosis, and narcolepsy.¹¹³ Japanese sources often use similar terms as well. In 2017, Yamamoto and Watanabe were the first to challenge the medicalized terms by using more common descriptions for some of the scenes. However, the authors still frequently focus on

¹¹² It should be noted again here that the title is apocryphal, but the content and theme of the scenes making up the scroll center on disease, impairment, and disfigurement.

¹¹³ Teramoto, pp 10-25. Thank you to Dr. Charo D'Etcheverry for pointing to my use of these terms and pushing me further to think about word choice in an early exploration of this topic in 2014.

medical identification in the scene summary, which I believe points to an underlying assumption of illness/disability as biological/universal.

The use of medical language can be problematic for a number of reasons. First, medical terms are not neutral but are temporally, culturally specific. That is, Western medical terms have a distinct history, much removed from the views on illness in medieval Japan, and the use of those terms has the potential to erase the significant role of folk beliefs, cultural expectations, and religious views that shaped medical and cultural views.

“*Yamai*” (病), for example, is most commonly translated into English as “illness” or “disease.” Entries in the *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* show that “*yamai*” often connoted “*byōki*” (illness), but that it also encompassed a wider range of meaning as well.¹¹⁴ Supplemental meanings from the pre-modern period include “*wazurai*” meaning worry, agony, vexation;¹¹⁵ a figure of speech meaning wound;¹¹⁶ things such as “*kurou*” meaning hardship, trouble, pains; “*shinpai*” meaning worry, concern, anxiety;¹¹⁷ and things that are strange or mysterious (*mono no ke*), a term that was used when dealing with spirits. Another spiritual connection might be noted in an alternate reading of the term, *yami*, that appears in the “Wakamurasaki” chapter of the *Tale of Genji*. There Genji is sent to a healer to cure his *warawa-yami* (child’s sickness) an illness that is often translated as malaria. Charo D’Etcheverry notes that it might also be

¹¹⁴ *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Tokyo: Shogakkan): 194-195.

¹¹⁵ Used since the eighth century.

¹¹⁶ Used in poems and letters since at least eleventh century.

¹¹⁷ Used in tenth century, in the *Takatori Monogatari*

understood as a spiritual ailment related to his inability to grow up and involving overwhelming guilt and obsessive tendencies.¹¹⁸

It is also important to consider that the title word “*yamai*” was assigned to the *emaki* in the late 19th century. This word seems to have been favored over the term “*haishitsu-ga*” (painting of impairment) used in the 1796 colophon, the earliest extant document on the Sekido scroll,¹¹⁹ as well as the “*ishitsu*” or “*kishitsu*” (strange ailments) terms used in Edo-period versions of the *Yamai*.¹²⁰ There is some justification for this in that “*yamai*” appears in the texts of four segments while “*haishitsu*” does not appear at all. However, a number of other terms appear as often as “*yamai*” including: *kurushii* (adjective: painful, difficult, tough, distressing, stressful) as well as its verb form *kurushimu* (to suffer or to be worried), *taegatai* (adjective: very tough), and *wazurai* (noun: worry, agony, vexation, or illness).

A term related to “*haishitsu*,” “*katawa*” appears once in the *Yamai*, in the text about the woman with a birthmark. *Katawa* has a number of meanings, including impaired, deformed, incomplete, and has been in use since the Heian period. In chapter 22 in the *Tale of Genji*, for instance, a wet nurse claims that the beautiful Tamakazura has an “いみじきかたわ” in order for her to avoid unwanted marriage proposals.¹²¹ According to *Tale of Genji* commentaries, the

¹¹⁸ Charo D’Etcheverry, *Love After The Tale of Genji: Rewriting the World of the Shining Prince* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 103–5.

¹¹⁹ The colophon was written by Tosa Mitsusada (1738-1806) about the Sekido portion (sixteen scenes) of the scroll which was later owned by the Odate clan. According to Teramoto, when the Odate family tried to sell it after his death in 1839, collectors were not interested because of its distasteful title and subject matter, Teramoto, “*Yamai No Sōshi*,” 29–30. The current term *haishitsu* is now outdated.

¹²⁰ According to Sano, there are at least eight later variations of the *Yamai*. Seven are dated to the Edo period (1615-1868) and one is dated to 1927, Sano, “*Yamai no sōshi* (II),” 7.

¹²¹ Murasaki Shikibu and Yamagishi Tokubei, *Genji monogatari*, vol. 15, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 333–34.

katawa (かたわ) in this sentence should be read as a *kekkan* meaning defect, fault, deformity, deficiency, and/or *fugu* meaning deformity, distortion, disability.¹²² An alternative reading is *fukanzen* or imperfect, incomplete, defective, unsightly.¹²³ These words point to ways in which to think about what it means to be a human within the social expectations of an expected body, and perhaps in the case of Tamakazura, what it means to be marriageable.

It is difficult to calculate the impact the title has had on the reception and research of the scroll, but it is important to remember that the decision was made by scholars and collectors not by the original artist or patron. Moreover, even a brief review points to the openness of the term “*yamai*,” which allows for physical, mental, emotional, and even spiritual connections.¹²⁴ It is also clear that “*yamai*” and additional terms such as, “*haishitsu*” and “*katawa*,” work in ways to class bodies in relation to expected norms. Clearly, the supplemental readings of “*yamai*” cannot fit neatly into the categories of illnesses as constructed in modern, medical discourse. Therefore, it is worthwhile to consider how disease or physical difference was imagined within the socio-historical context not just the bio-medical particulars.

The second reason medical terminology can be problematic is that it often carries the weight of diagnostic certainty. Diagnostics is one approach that people take when working on topics of illness or disability in visual culture, and it is not without merits. Hattori Toshio and Andrew Goble, for example, offer diagnostic explanations for different conditions within the

¹²² Murasaki and Yamagishi, *Genji monogatari*, 15:333n24-334n10; Murasaki Shikibu and Yanai Shigeshi, *Genji monogatari*, vol. 19, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 336n6.

¹²³ *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, Japan Knowledge website, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.web/japanknowledge>

¹²⁴ A more detailed exploration of period dictionaries and documents may reveal patterns or elucidate certain situations in which these terms were used, but that is out of the specific scope of this project.

Yamai while placing it in a historical and cultural context, which is helpful for medical historians, anthropologists, and more.¹²⁵ However, diagnostics is situated within the medical approach to thinking about illness and disability that tends to view biological sources as universal. While it is possible that some diseases can be identified, there are also many conditions that defy easy identification within modern, medical compendia. For instance, there is a scene that depicts a man with wind illness or *fūbyō*, which has alluded diagnostic certainty, being called either a neurological disorder or a cold (Figure 1-5).¹²⁶

The biological approach also situates the physical/biological condition as being inherently disabling. My approach moves away from diagnostics to consider *Yamai* within the specific socio-religious context of early-medieval Japan. One way to get at this is to explore how certain conditions, which might not be considered ‘disabling’ in modern culture, function much differently in medieval Japan. Another way is to consider how bodily status, including types of disease/impairment, was employed in othering people. These topics will be the focus of the following sections.

To counter the medicalized approach to *Yamai*, I will use alternative titles for the *Yamai* scenes. In Table 1, I have provided a list of the medicalized titles and my alternative titles, noting where my titles are the same as Yamamoto and Watanabe.¹²⁷ Moreover, throughout the

¹²⁵ Goble, “Images of Illness.”

¹²⁶ The term *fūbyō* is difficult to sum up in one word in English, but it translates as “wind illness.” According to the *Ishinpō*, there was a class of wind diseases that range from neurological afflictions like paralysis and cerebral hemorrhage which are caused by disturbances of *chi*, or the vital force which circulates through the body, Tanba Yasuyori, *The Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan: Yasuyori Tamba’s Ishinpō* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 16. Teramoto notes that the term can also encompass symptoms like the modern cold or flu, Teramoto, “*Yamai No Sōshi*,” 210–11. Hurst states that it was used for the cold and other sicknesses as well, Hurst GC, “*Michinaga’s Maladies: A Medical Report on Fujiwara No Michinaga*,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 34 (1979): 102.

¹²⁷ Note that some of these titles are similar to translations in Yamamoto Satomi and Watanabe Takeshi, “Translations of Text and Commentary,” in *Yamai no sōshi*, ed. Kasuya Makoto and Yamamoto Satomi (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron

remainder of the chapter, the term “illness” will be avoided as a general descriptor and condition and disability will be used with the knowledge that the terms have various significations. As noted in the Introduction, condition and impairment stands distinct from disability in that people may have a condition, but society creates disabling circumstances. The discussion below will highlight how certain conditions were disabling in early-medieval society.

Apparent Bodily Difference and Stigma: A New Analysis of the Scenes

Yamai scenes’ visual and verbal aspects are highly varied. There are variations in the types of conditions shown, in the socio-economic class of people depicted, in the locale, in the styles of writing, and in the brushwork.¹²⁸ Despite the variation, with only two exceptions, each *Yamai* scene prominently focuses on a figure with a condition who is accompanied by one or more other figures. Previous scholars have discussed these relationships in important ways: Kasuya notes the secondary figures function as a guide for the viewer’s gaze while Takagishi points out that the ill and healthy people within each scene are aligned in set compositional patterns to distance and create hierarchy between them.¹²⁹ The groupings can also be said to represent a reciprocal relationship in terms of defining the identities of each figure.¹³⁰ Put more clearly, the juxtaposition of the “afflicted” primary figure with “healthy” secondary figures

Bijutsu Shuppan, 2017), 225–46. They note that they prefer to use anecdotal over medical terms in certain titles. My approach differs in that I am intentionally calling out the problematics of using terms for reasons stated.

¹²⁸ The scroll’s variations have led some to argue that it defies a unified reading, and scholars have taken up these differences a variety of ways to provide nuanced readings into particular aspects of the scroll. Goble noted the multiplicity—of the afflictions shown, the types of people portrayed, and the manner in which they are discussed—do not invite easy categorization or overarching conclusions, Goble, “Images of Illness,” 197.

¹²⁹ Takagishi Akira, “*Yamai no sōshi no kōzu*,” in *Yamai no sōshi*, ed. Kasuya Makoto and Yamamoto Satomi (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2017), 187–99.

¹³⁰ The exception might be the man and woman with pubic lice, as their story implies that the woman gave the lice to the man, and thus both are suffering.

defines the former as “abnormal” as compared to “normal.”¹³¹ Drawing on these ideas, I propose that within this identification process there are also nuanced readings of conditions that create layers of stigmatization. That is, certain conditions were viewed as more ‘othering,’ as illuminated by the harsh judgement or treatment of the figure by the accompanying figures. The following discussion will show how the scenes with secondary figures can be grouped into three general categories: (1) empathetic (2) curious (3) stigmatizing (refer to Table 2).¹³² In group one, secondary figures stand in as healthy counterparts to emphasize the status of the main figure as ill but offer empathy to that person. In group two, the “otherness” of the ill figure is heightened by the curiosity exhibited by the healthy figure(s), but the figure is not the subject of ridicule as the people in group three are. Analysis of these groups points to figures with apparent conditions being more stigmatized than others. Note that I use the term “apparent” rather than visible since it captures the reality that some of the conditions may not have been visible, but were perceptible through other senses or awareness.¹³³

In the scene of a woman suffering the effects of *kakuran* that was briefly presented above, there are three women that care for her (Figure 1-2).¹³⁴ The elderly woman holds her steady and wipes her brow while she vomits and defecates off the veranda. The two other female

¹³¹ Watanabe notes that “illness defines the abnormal, and hence the normal, socialized body.” Watanabe, “Reexamining the Yamai No Sōshi,” 257.

¹³² Note that two scenes do not have secondary figures.

¹³³ For more on the use of apparent consult, Margaret Price, *Mad at School: Rhetorics of Mental Disability and Academic Life* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014); Margaret Price et al., “Disclosure of Mental Disability by College and University Faculty: The Negotiation of Accommodations, Supports, and Barriers,” *Disability Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (2017).

¹³⁴ The text of the scene states “There is an illness called *kakuran*. It causes piercing pain in one’s belly. From the mouth one vomits water, from the rear one leaks diarrhea. Causing convulsions and the loss of one’s mind, it is truly insufferable.”

figures prepare water, medicine, and food. Clearly, the focus in the visual depiction of the scene is one of caring and assistance for the ill woman while she suffers from a temporary illness.¹³⁵ Similar intentions, whether performed by family or medical practitioners, seem to be at play in the scene of “man who has hallucinations of small priests” and “man with small tongue” (Figures 1-6 and 1-7). In the former, a sleeping man hallucinates that small priests are gathering around him while a nursing mother attends to him nearby. She holds a bunch of loquats, which were used as medicine for colds, and he wears a headband implying that he has a fever. Although he is not taken care of by family, the “man with small tongue” is being examined by a doctor while an assistant prepares moxibustion nearby as a treatment. These scenes of care constitute the empathetic category one.¹³⁶

In other scenes, an ill person becomes the focus of curious onlookers (category two). In the segment called “man receiving eye treatment,” a group of people inquisitively peer into the room as a doctor pierces the patient’s eye with a needle in an attempt to correct his declining vision (Figure 1-8).¹³⁷ The onlookers crowding though the sliding screen smile curiously while the woman peeking through a curtain seems concerned or frightened. Unfortunately, that woman may have been right to be fearful as, according to the text, the patient ended up blind and losing an eye. Other scenes that incorporate one or more onlookers that seem to express genuine curiosity—or at least a neutral stance of observation rather than care—include: “man with holes on rear” and “man with loose teeth.” In the former, the man squats to defecate while a woman

¹³⁵ Yamamoto has pointed out that this scene also represents the cycle of life with the infant, young woman, mother, and elderly woman, Yamamoto and Watanabe, “Translations,” 235.

¹³⁶ The distinction between care and cure is an important one, but an in-depth review is outside the scope of this chapter. It should be noted that some of the “empathetic” scenes exhibit nurturing while also seeking treatment (cure).

¹³⁷ Note that the house is nice but that there are signs of decay, such as the holes in the walls.

bends down to take a close look at his condition (Figure 1-9). The woman stares down so her facial expression is not fully visible to us, as the viewer, yet her posture and composure do not imply shock. Similarly, in the latter, the woman points towards the man while he checks his teeth with his finger, but she does not seem to offer assistance nor does her facial expression offer much emotion (Figure 1-10). Within the above scenes, the caregivers and onlookers invite their being read as the ideal, healthy subject as compared to the abnormal figures with disease.

These responses are strikingly different, however, from the reaction of onlookers to a person with apparent bodily differences (category three). For instance, in the first scene described in the introduction, the sleeping two-form person becomes the victim of the other two figures' ridiculing laughter and gaze (Figure 1-1). The two men's mouths are open wide exposing their teeth. Their large open smiles stand in contrast to the more stoic expressions in the caring scenes and even those of the curious onlookers in the eye treatment scene. The man wildly gesturing at the "white woman" also has an exaggerated smile while the staring woman's mouth is agape and the child points (Figure 1-11). Similar reactions are directed to the man in the "dwarf" street scene: two children dance, clap, and laugh in his direction, an adult points towards him, and a Buddhist monk measures the little man against his folded fan (Figure 1-12). A man laughs, mouth open wide, in "woman with obesity" as two assistants help her walk to the market (Figure 1-13). The "monk with bent back" and "man with hunchback" are mocked and stared at in the street as well (Figures 1-14 and 1-15).

Rather than a simple case of curiosity as with the "man with loose teeth" scene, the emphasis in these scenes seem to be placed on calling derisive attention to the figure with a condition, heightened through the actions of the accompanying figures. What distinguishes these scenes from the other ones is that each of the main figures has an apparent feature that

differentiates their body from those of other people in the scene.¹³⁸ Moreover, each of the conditions that is the focus of mocking seem to be long-term and likely not considered treatable.¹³⁹ In other words, the derisive attention is directed at figures who are not just temporarily unwell, but whose bodies are in a more chronic state of “difference.” This indicates that in early medieval Japan apparent and chronic conditions were seen as more deviant or “othering” and had a higher degree of stigma attached to them.¹⁴⁰

In an essay discussing the *Yamai*'s connection to *Shōbōnenjokyō*, Yamamoto states something similar when she notes that the deformed bodies of the figures in “dwarf,” “monk with bent back,” and “man with hunchback” would have been read as a more severe punishment due to karma.¹⁴¹ She indicates that the laughing and mocking secondary characters elucidate the negative views about karmic punishments. Although I agree with Yamamoto that Buddhist views on illness and impairment play a role in understanding stigma in the *Yamai*, as I discuss below, what is being shown is much more than a moral lesson related to karmic theory.

Verbal Components of the *Yamai* with Focus on Stigma Scenes

Despite the emphasis on mocking in the ten scenes of category three, the majority of the verbal components take a pragmatic tone, describing the conditions but not echoing the ridicule depicted nor the moral lessons offered by traditional Buddhist texts. This pattern closely aligns

¹³⁸ In the case of the two-form person, their bodily difference is noted in the text, which states “He looked like a man, but there were aspects that resembled a woman, it is said.” Yamamoto and Watanabe, “Translations,” 240.

¹³⁹ It is difficult to determine certainty as noted above. Here, I am making an assumption based on our current medical knowledge as well as knowledge about the medical and healing opportunities at the time.

¹⁴⁰ Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc, 1986), 48. Stigma can broadly be defined as the discredit of a person's worth or value based on any human variation but historically, stigma has been attached to perceptible or evident differences, such as stammers, missing limbs, leprosy. Heather Love, “Stigma,” in *Keywords for Disability Studies*, ed. Rachel Adams, Benjamin Reiss, and David Serlin (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 173–76.

¹⁴¹ Yamamoto, “*Yamai no sōshi tenkyō*,” 185.

with the pragmatic tone in all of the *Yamai* texts, which fall into two general categories: expository or descriptive presentations of the condition and its symptoms (eight scenes) or narrative presentations of a person with a condition (twelve scenes). The latter is implied with mentions of specific locations as well as the use of the inflection *keri*, which indicates hearsay or narration. In all scenes, the image and text supplement the other with additional information rather than being exact equivalents. Thus, the lack of mocking in the verbal accounts does not negate the reading of its presence in the visual images.

The pragmatic approach is evident in five of the stigmatized (category three) scenes despite the secondary figures that point or laugh. In “monk with bent back,” for instance, the text matter-of-factly describes how the priest’s neck grew stiff causing him to walk with his head facing down. Here, the text does not use the *keri*- inflection but it does indicate that the priest was in the capital in recent times, thus providing a sense of temporal and geographical specificity. The “white woman” text takes a more explanatory approach, describing the condition rather than focusing on the specific woman in the scene. It states: “There are such people called ‘white people.’ From childhood, everything is white, from their hair to their eyebrows. Even their eyes lack color. From past to present, again and again, they appear in this world.”¹⁴²

In only two scenes out of the twenty is mocking described in the text. These scenes, “dwarf” and “man with hunchback,” also depict mocking in the visual component. The text of the “dwarf” scene states:

¹⁴²しろこといふものありおさなくよりかみもまゆもみなしろくめにくろまなこもなしむかしよりいまにいたる待てままよにいてくることあり

Sometimes a dwarf is born. He walks through Kyoto begging for food. Children follow the dwarf and make fun of him. He turns back and angrily tells them off, but they laugh even more.¹⁴³

The text of the “man with hunchback” says:

There is a man with a back so long and curved that it resembles a coiled dragon. Since there is no way he could lead a life socializing with people, he shaved his head and wanders around the capital begging for food. Those who see him mock and scorn him.¹⁴⁴

The “dwarf” scene passage, which is reflected in the visual image, is also only one of two scenes that give insight into the primary figure’s feelings—here, he is angry at being mocked and shouts out. However, the text overall reads as a simple report, sympathizing with neither the man being mocked or the ones mocking. Similarly, in the “man with hunchback,” the text shares that the man had to become a beggar due to the social implications of his disfigurement. While the man’s condition forces him into a pitiful social position, the text presents the situation without comment.

Three of the verbal accounts for scenes of stigmatization (category three) stand out because they emphasize that loss or lack of ability to participate in society is the major source of suffering. For instance, the text in the scene of the “woman with birthmark” states (emphasis mine):

There is a woman who has a so-called birthmark on her face. It is said that she would worry over it day and night. Birthmarks are commonly found all over

¹⁴³

侏儒ときどきいてく食をこひて京都をありくわらはへしりにつきてわらひのるみかへりてはらたちいへともいよいよおこつきわらふ. For other English translations, see Teramoto, “Yamai No Sōshi,” 28; Yamamoto and Watanabe, “Translations,” 229.

¹⁴⁴

おせたかくてせ龍のわたかまりたるやうなるものありひとにましりてよにすくへきかたなくてかしらをそりてみやこにありきて乞食すみる人わらひあなつる. For other English translations, see Teramoto, “Yamai No Sōshi,” 24; Yamamoto and Watanabe, “Translations,” 228.

the body. In hidden spots, they cause no distress. *But on the face, they are a handicap, as they make socializing and going out very difficult.*¹⁴⁵

This scene is the other example of a text sharing the primary figure's feelings, but rather than expressing frustration at being mocked, as was the case for the "dwarf," this woman's focus is about her condition. In this case, the birthmark is identified as a handicap because it is socially debilitating, not because it is physically limiting. It might be recalled that the term used in the text is "*katawa*," which as noted above, can mean a deformity, an unsightliness, or marking an incompleteness about someone.¹⁴⁶

Similar concerns are laid out in the texts about the "woman with bad breath" and the "man who falls asleep." The former states that the woman is so beautiful that she is able to attend a lady and that men draw near her, but that her breath is so unbearable people run away or avoid her. The "man who falls asleep" text says his condition makes him doze off, which is awkward in social settings and that it must be some kind of illness.

What also stands out in these last three scenes is that the individuals with disabilities belong to a higher social class than those in the other scenes depicting stigmatization. Many of the figures in the stigma-scenes are commoners or marginal people, but these scenes include aristocrats, officials, or attendants. It seems likely that the emphasis on suffering in the verbal

¹⁴⁵

ある女かほにあさといふものありてあさゆふこれをなけきけりあさはうちまかせて人の身にあるものなれとも閑所はくるしみなしかほなとにつきぬれはかなふへくもなけれはまことにかたはなり。Yamamoto and Watanabe, "Translations," 231.

¹⁴⁶ Not insignificantly, the term was also used to describe the unsightly nose of Suetsumuhana, one of the female characters in the *Tale of Genji*. It is also interesting to note that an elderly woman looking in the mirror was included in the Shōjuraigōji *rokudō-e* scrolls. This repeated motif across literature and Buddhist paintings points to the layering and interconnectedness of pleasure and religious materials. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, <https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.web/jpanknowledge>. For more on the Shōjuraigōji, see Chusid, "Picturing the Afterlife," 86.

text is connected to the class identity the primary figures represent, hinting at the role social class can take in degrees of othering, as will be explored in a following section.

Intersections with Class, Aesthetics, and Gender

The woman's luxurious robes, the interior screen, and beautiful cosmetic box indicate that the "woman with birthmark" lives in a wealthy home. Although well off, this elite woman is not immune to judgement. In the visual account, it seems that her birthmark is the source of her companions' focus as one of them points to her and the other covers her mouth in laughter, shock, or pity (Figure 1-16).¹⁴⁷ The text, translated above, emphasizes the way in which the birthmark was a "handicap" because it impacted her socially.

This scene is one of a handful that cast courtiers or attendants as the suffering primary figure in the *Yamai* while the remainder of the scenes center on commoners or marginalized people. Other scholars explored the role of class to explain the ridiculing nature found in some of the *Yamai* scenes with emphasis on the idea that the figures were subject to the high-ranking patron's gaze and judgement.¹⁴⁸ Drawing on this work, I will be looking at variations in the conditions of the upper-class figures in relation to the lower-class people, and what kind of reactions their conditions elicited from the secondary figures. In doing so, I aim to tease out how

¹⁴⁷ Research on emotions is complicated since there are variations in how emotions are expressed and represented. Here I am drawing on idea from Barbara Rosenwein who argues that we can consider emotional standards based on emotional communities (i.e., that emotional standards are based on gender, age, class, and location, such as in public vs private). Barbara Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 821–45. In 1964, Ivan Morris first argued that standards of emotions and emotional expression of elites guided by aesthetic tastes, and that emotional sensitivity and restraint separated the higher classes, Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan* (New York: Vintage, 2013). In this specific scene, I believe the pointing calls direct attention to the person, which was likely too direct for the aesthetic tastes of the time. According to tales and diaries, the sleeve to face was often used to hide from someone else's gaze or when expressing emotions, such as grief. Since this is an intimate image, not likely that it was to hide gaze and does not seem like a moment of grieving.

¹⁴⁸ Kasuya, "Yamai no sōshi o monogatari"; Chin, "Embodying Woman." Others have pointed out that Go-Shirakawa had a particular interest and intimacy with people of lower-classes, including his female *imayō* instructor, and that might be his showing empathy.

class and gender played a role in various degrees of stigmatization exhibited in the scroll. I will consider standards of representation of the different classes in *emaki* and how physical abnormalities were employed in descriptions of characters and emotions

The mocking of a “man with *fūbyō*” by two women as they play *go* (a popular board game) inside an elegantly decorated room is another example of a more well-off figure that is suffering from a troublesome illness. In this case, the women poke fun at the man whose condition causes his eyes to shift and his body to shake “like a naked man in frigid cold” (Figure 1-5).¹⁴⁹ Two additional scenes, the “man who falls asleep” and the “woman with bad breath” feature conditions that are not visible but are readily perceptible to other people (Figures 1-17 and 1-18).¹⁵⁰ In both scenes, the accompanying figures point and laugh at the expense of the impaired figure. In “woman with bad breath,” one woman places her sleeve to cover her mouth to laugh and perhaps her nose from the smell, while the other woman points. In “man who falls asleep,” a woman laughs as the man remains sleeping, unaware of her waving a fan at him. As noted above, the text for both scenes highlight the impact of the conditions for limiting or disrupting positive social interactions.

When considering the question of figural relationships, what stands out is the secondary figures’ reactions to the aristocratic people seem less animated than those seen in the commoner scenes. It is possible that the more subtle form of judgement is a kind of respect given to the person because of their status. It is also possible that it might be a reflection of visual tropes used in *emaki* from the Heian and Kamakura periods. There was, in general, a particular way of

¹⁴⁹ The condition can be used to describe a neurological disorder that causes these types of symptoms, but it also has been used to describe typical cold symptoms. In this case, the text provides evidence indicating the neurological aspect that would have caused trembling.

¹⁵⁰ Goffman argued that stigma relied on perceptibility. Goffman, *Stigma*, 48.

depicting people of different classes centered on ideals of comportment and aesthetics.¹⁵¹ In the *Ban Dainagon ekotoba* and *Shigisan engi emaki*, both from the late-twelfth century, lower class citizens on the streets appear in highly animated form. In a climactic scene in *Ban Dainagon*, two boys and one of the fathers fight in the middle of the street while the other boy's father shouts (Figure 1-19). In the *Shigisan*, a group of commoners chase a beggar's bowl carrying a shed into the sky (Figure 1-20). In each scroll, the commoner-characters' facial features are unique, including wide-open mouths and grimacing, and their bodies are animated with lots of movement.¹⁵² These exaggerated and animated faces and bodies are similar to the laughing, mocking people we see in the *Yamai*.

These figures draw a sharp contrast to the stoic images of the elite in *emaki*, such as the *Tale of Genji*, though. In this *emaki*, and in others, upper class people were most often depicted with indistinguishably simple faces, featuring the *hikime kagibana* (line eyes, hook nose) technique.¹⁵³ Elites were also depicted as largely static, sitting or standing, with their bodies covered in voluminous layers of luxurious robes.¹⁵⁴ Emotions are often expressed subtly, at least

¹⁵¹ There were even dress codes that restricted fabrics, colors, patterns based on social rank. See, Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 233–36.

¹⁵² It would be interesting to further explore the connections between exaggerated movements and gesticulations as deformations of the body, as noted in Western Europe. Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La Raison Des Gestes Dans l'Occident Médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990).

¹⁵³ There are three main views on why the faces were depicted in this way. One is that these are all images of noble people, and individualization or detail would only detract from the sense of perfection. Second is that such people really should not be looked at anyway, so generic faces are symbolic masks. Third, generic faces made it easier for member of the court to project themselves onto the characters as they read and viewed.

¹⁵⁴ One can also look to the portraits of shoguns as a continued standard for stoic, generic images. These stand in contrast to the realism (exaggerated realism in some cases) of portrait statues of monks. For more on realism in portraiture, see John M. Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen: The Transformation of Buddhist Art in Early Medieval Japan*, Japanese Visual Culture, v. 1 (Boston: Brill, 2011). For more on body in Heian, medieval Japan, see Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*.

in physical movement terms, but are heightened through other elements in the images.¹⁵⁵ These modes of representation represent ideals of aristocratic people. For elite women, the ideal was to remain demure and restrained and to largely remain hidden from sight, except from their most intimate circle.¹⁵⁶ Aristocratic men were also expected to show emotional restraint.¹⁵⁷ Lower class men and women, however, were not expected to meet these ideals and were not necessarily restricted in the same ways. Thus, a form of monstrosity is associated with the uncontrolled, lower-class body.

Despite the ideals, many secondary figures in the upper-class scenes show emotion by reacting to the primary figure, albeit more subtly than the commoners do. The fact that it is mostly women reacting in these scenes is significant, and likely connects to beliefs that women were highly susceptible to emotions, especially jealousy and anguish.¹⁵⁸ The inability of women to maintain emotions or composure, whether displayed by having disheveled hair and/or robes or an outwardly emotional response, is often viewed as a character flaw and/or a moral shortcoming.¹⁵⁹ In literature and dramatic plays, a common theme is for women to be the source

¹⁵⁵ Information on the use of architectural elements can be found in Masako Watanabe, "Narrative Framing in the 'Tale of Genji Scroll': Interior Space in the Compartmentalized Emaki," *Artibus Asiae* 58, no. 1/2 (1998): 115. For parallels in gestures and emotions in medieval Europe, see Schmitt, *La Raison Des Gestes*; C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 111–16.

¹⁵⁶ Watanabe, *Flowering Tales*, 40. Many literary sources indicate that court women would often spend long stretches of time within their own quarters and even when they would travel, it was hidden inside a cart behind blinds and curtains.

¹⁵⁷ Men often would peek into women's quarters or visit lovers while dressed in different types of clothing to hide their identity.

¹⁵⁸ Note that in some cases the women are caretakers while others are more onlookers. It would be interesting to consider the role of women as caretakers and how that might correspond to the idea that women had the burden of attachments to this world as mothers.

¹⁵⁹ Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*, 40.

or victim of spirit possession or to become a possessing spirit due to their jealousy.¹⁶⁰ A visual example of several aristocratic women displaying explicit distress appears in *Ban Dainagon* when the counselor Tomo no Yoshio is sent to exile in (Figure 1-21). Their dramatic response is a pointed commentary on the character of the women in Tomo no Yoshio's home; that is their emotional overreaction reflects their shortcomings as much as the wealth, greed, and dishonesty of Tomo no Yoshio.¹⁶¹

It is also the case that none of the figures depicted in the *Yamai* represent the highest class in terms of class rank or socio-cultural standing. In late Heian Japan, social hierarchy was organized in terms of closeness to the emperor, who was the highest and most pure, followed by courtiers, aristocrats, commoners, servants/enslaved people, and outcasts. Concern with class rank is made clear in the “women who cannot sleep” and the “man who falls asleep” scenes. The home of “women who cannot sleep” is elegant, but it is located in a provincial area, Kataoka, Katsuragi county, Yamato province (Figure 1-22). The location physically distances the woman from Kyoto, the primary cultural center, while also implying that she is removed from the cultural significance of the aristocratic people that lived there.¹⁶² The text of “man who falls asleep” leaves no room for questions about the issue of class since it clearly states that he is of “so-so birth.” Yamamoto has also keenly pointed out that the man's pimply nose and bushy

¹⁶⁰ For instance, Lady Rokujō in the *Tale of Genji*. For more see, Nancy Barnes, “Lady Rokujō's Ghost: Spirit Possession, Buddhism, and Healing in Japanese Literature,” *Literature and Medicine* 8 (1989): 106–21.

¹⁶¹ Sumpter, “‘Vengeful Spirit’ Handscrolls,” 40–42.

¹⁶² It was not uncommon for more provincial people, despite economic and cultural wealth, to be viewed as lesser in status. Mostly because the closeness to the courts and people allowed for more intimate accessibility and interactions.

eyebrow are likely physical representations indicating that he is of a lower status than others in the room (Figure 1-23).¹⁶³

During the late Heian period, a person's physical appearance as well as their robes, their calligraphic ability, their skill at writing poems and letters, and even creating incensed perfumes were indications of their standing and character. Thus, the particularities of the aristocrats' conditions place them outside the boundaries of aesthetic and behavioral expectations of their class. For instance, scent was one key element in the overall aesthetic evaluation of a person so the "woman with bad breath" would not have been viewed as an ideal court attendant. "Woman with birthmark" would not have been viewed as beautiful since the ideal Heian aristocratic and court woman was to have long, straight hair and a round, white face with plump lips, and to be demure and restrained.¹⁶⁴

What is clear even from this brief review is that the afflictions assigned to those in aristocratic circles in the *Yamai* are focused on limiting necessary social intercourse. There, aesthetics and comportment, as well as class rank, were of utmost importance and had far-reaching implications. Aristocrats placed great significance on being engaged with other courtiers, whether it be through correspondence with letters and poems or by attending events, and being isolated would have been devastating in terms of social capital and prosperity. As an attendant to a court lady, the "woman with bad breath" would have been vying against other attendants to be close to the lady and stay in her good graces so as to continue in her position; however, it seems likely that the woman's breath would be an obstacle to her achieving that

¹⁶³ Yamamoto Satomi, "A Man Who Dozes Off," in *Yamai no zōshi*, ed. Kasuya Makoto and Yamamoto Satomi (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2017), 28–29.

¹⁶⁴ They were also expected to remain hidden from sight, except from their most intimate circle, see Watanabe, *Flowering Tales*, 40. For more on body in Heian, medieval Japan, consult Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*, 35–43.

goal.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, her inability to attract a male partner could prevent her from bearing children, which was an opportunity for upward mobility for women and their families. Thus, in these scenes, the conditions were socially disabling as they kept the primary figure from fully engaging in the activities expected in their given social context.¹⁶⁶

The aristocrats' conditions—a birthmark, frequent sleeping, bad breath—are stigmatizing primarily because they violated the standards of beauty and behavior expected of their position. The commoners' conditions, on the other hand, include ones that were not only socially limiting but also ones that would have caused physical pain, like the back condition that forced the monk to walk face down, or were physically limiting, like the obese woman that required assistants to help her walk. There are numerous entries in courtier diaries that discuss people from the upper classes suffering from a disease or impairment.¹⁶⁷ There is also abundant evidence that emperors sought medical healing and patronized religious arts and ceremonies in hopes of curing their ailments.¹⁶⁸ Despite this reality, the artisan(s) of the scroll took particular care to depict aristocrats with less acute conditions than those of commoners and to depict courtiers that were not of the highest ranks. In essence, the aristocratic figures depicted were lower in status and

¹⁶⁵ In *Pillow Book*, Sei Shōnagon takes great pride in being closest attendant to the empress. It likely came with great benefit to the attendant in terms of access to places and events and material items. English translations includes, Sei Shōnagon and Ivan Morris, *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*, The Penguin Classics (Baltimore: Penguin, 1970), 218.

¹⁶⁶ In other words, the specific condition is not inherently a disability, but because it creates difficulties to function in a given situation, it is disabling for the person.

¹⁶⁷ This is discussed further above in the introduction. For more information on illness in upper class circles, Yiengpruksawan, "Visual Ideology of Buddhist Sculpture"; Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, "The Eyes of Michinaga in the Light of Pure Land Buddhism," in *The Presence of Light: Divine Radianance and Religious Experience*, ed. Matthew Kapstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹⁶⁸ Yiengpruksawan, "Visual Ideology of Buddhist Sculpture."

were impaired but not too impaired, likely for the comfort of the assumed elite patron of the *Yamai*.

In the perception of an elite viewer of the *Yamai*, a commoner would not have felt similarly severe social repercussions due to the same conditions. Commoners were often depicted in unflattering ways in *emaki* and were described in animalistic terms in literature. For instance, in the *Makura no sōshi* (*Pillow Book*, finished 1002), Sei Shōnagon describes commoners who sat in front her, saying “They looked like writhing maggots in rice as they crowded together in their hideous clothes, leaving hardly an inch of space between themselves and me.”¹⁶⁹ From this point of view, commoners were lowly and vulgar, even if they had material wealth, so they would not have perceived commoners’ falling asleep in public or having bad breath as significant afflictions.

Perhaps most significantly, some of the scenes showing stigmatization feature people that would have been identified as marginal by the elite viewer. Marginalized people, in the broadest sense, included those with certain diseases and physical impairments as well as beggars, travelers, entertainers, some shrine or temple attendants, gardeners, and people that handled the dead (I discuss the topic in more detail in the next chapter).¹⁷⁰ The incredible range of people almost defy categorization, but it is possible to say that marginal people were united by their

¹⁶⁹ Sei Shōnagon and Morris, *Pillow Book*, 254.

¹⁷⁰ In English, sources on marginalized groups include: Keirstead, “Outcastes before the Law”; Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*; Keiji Nagahara, “The Medieval Origins of the Eta-Hinin,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 5, no. 2 (1979): 385–403.

living, even if temporarily, outside the more sedentary, normative communities in late-Heian Japanese society.¹⁷¹

It is clear that there were degrees of difference and discrimination among those that were disabled and other marginal people.¹⁷² In the “monk with bent back,” for instance, the primary figure, the child mimicking the man’s deformity, the traveling woman with a large hat and white robes, and the man without an *eboshi* (tall black hat) all would have been viewed as marginal people (Figure 1-14).¹⁷³ Even though the secondary figures would have been perceived as marginal, they mock the main figure who has an apparent bodily difference. What is significant here is that the secondary figures are liminally marginal. That is, they are marginalized by their current state, but still have the potential to become part of the official socio-political community. The child may take part in the coming-of-age ceremony and be officially recognized as part of society, and the man could likely take on a normative occupation.¹⁷⁴ It is possible that the woman is only temporarily experiencing marginality due to her travels but will return to her normal state upon return.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, the mendicant priest’s back deformity is a chronic, apparent

¹⁷¹ Scholarly opinion is divided on how to view the marginalized people. Amino Yoshihiko argues that modern historians have viewed marginal people from the perspective of the elite’s socio-political hierarchy, but that in reality, many people in early-medieval Japan were very much part of the social fabric.

¹⁷² Amino notes that there are differences in class discrimination and discrimination against disabled people, but suggests that there are no political reasons for it, Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 172–75.

¹⁷³ Yamamoto describes the male without an *eboshi* as a medicine man, but Lin notes that cowherders did not wear *eboshi* and had a distinct small, pointed beard like the one depicted here, Lin, “Traversing Boundaries,” 172–73; Yamamoto and Watanabe, “Translations,” 234. Note that the child in the scene would have also been outside of the social order and seen as liminal beings until becoming an adult, Lin, “Traversing Boundaries,” 159; Yoshiharu Iijima, “Folk Culture and the Liminality of Children,” *Current Anthropology* 28, no. S4 (August 1987): 41–48.

¹⁷⁴ It might be that the man chose not to take the coming-of-age ceremony, Lin, “Traversing Boundaries,” 166.

¹⁷⁵ These outfits were common. Even aristocratic women used them but usually with a veil, long or short, covering their face. This woman does not have the covering, and her robes are open and slightly disheveled indicating that she is not an aristocrat though. Lady Nijō is an example of a court woman who traveled in such attire, see Caitilin J.

“abnormality” that further separates him from the other figures whose physical bodies are “normal” despite their marginalized identity.

The “white woman,” “the dwarf,” “two-form person” and “man with hunchback” comprise the other scenes with disabled, marginalized figures. Their apparent bodily differences would have made living among the normative social classes unlikely. In fact, in the case of the “man with hunchback,” the verbal account explains that his back disfigurement precluded him from participating in social life, so he had to beg for a living. The “dwarf” scene indicates that he begged for a living as well, but it was not uncommon for people with apparent conditions, like albinism or dwarfism, to have made their living as entertainers often displaying their bodies.¹⁷⁶ The “white woman” is carrying a drum indicating that she was an entertainer and/or a shaman, both transitory and marginal occupations. The “two-form person” scene also indicates that they are a practicing shaman.¹⁷⁷ It is significant to emphasize that in these cases, it seems the apparent bodily difference of these figures was the reason they were outcasts and that the marginalized occupations—begging, performing, shamanism—were taken up as a result. This contrasts with the marginal people that chose an itinerant lifestyle or were able to move in and out of the

Griffiths, *Tracing the Itinerant Path: Jishū Nuns of Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 33–36. For information on similar outfits, see Kuroda, *Sugata to shigusa*, 118–22.

¹⁷⁶ In *Shin Sarugaku ki (Record of New Sarugaku)*, the author Fujiwara no Akihara (989-1066) mentions “dwarf dancers” as one performance in large festivals, Fujiwara Akihira and Kawaguchi Hisao, *Shin sarugakuki* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1983), 3. In English, Benito Ortolani, *The Japanese Theatre: From Shamanistic Ritual to Contemporary Pluralism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 62. *Yasutomi-ki*, a court diary from the 15th documents a white nun (*shira bikuni*) claiming to be 200-years old and charging admission for people to see her. For more on the *shira bikuni*, see Tokuda Kazuo, “Ikei no Kanjin bikuni,” in *Chūsei henrekimin no sekai*, ed. Amino Yoshihiko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990), 102–19. For issues of displaying disabled bodies, see Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*; Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

¹⁷⁷ For more on this scene in English, see Yamamoto Satomi, “Futanari, Between and Beyond: From Male Shamans to Hermaphrodites in the Illustrated Scroll of Illness,” *Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University* 3 (2018): 77–85.

marginal status. Thus, the effects of being born with or acquiring certain bodily differences determined the socio-economic well-being, and discrimination, of many marginalized people.

These issues will be taken up more in the next chapter.

Conclusion

The *Yamai* provides an opportunity to explore different ways in which religion and social expectations informed the reception and representation of certain bodies and impairments. By centering on the conditions and the figural relationships, I have argued that the figures with apparent and chronic conditions were more highly stigmatized than others. Stigma surrounding conditions developed out of religious views as well as the aesthetic and social expectations of the time. Gender and class certainly played a role in the degree of othering, with the marginalized and lower-class people with perceptible conditions being more strongly ridiculed than aristocratic people and women being more scrutinized than men.

The topic of stigma and discrimination is continued into the next chapter, but with a focus on teasing out the impact on the lived experiences of disabled people in early-medieval Japan. There, I examine what representations of disabled people in the *Ippen Hijiri-e* might tell us about their lives and how that compares or contrasts with other marginal figures in society. I also consider how the selective nature of the disabled representations reflects their function in conveying a message in the larger narrative.

Chapter Two. Re-evaluating Disability and *Hinin* in the *Ippen Hijiri-e*

Introduction

A community of people gather at the small river running along an edge of the open Ichiya market in Kyoto. There are seventeen impoverished people, a few with disabilities, sitting either on the ground or on mats and inside or near lean-tos. The group is usually identified as a community of *hinin* (literally nonhumans), often translated as marginals or outcasts. Perhaps pointing to their status, the *hinin* sit away from the main action of the scene, which is a performance by the priest Ippen Shōnin (1239-1289) in a raised building in front of large gathering of people (Figure 2-1).

This scene is from the *Ippen hijiri-e* (*Illustrated Life of the Holy Man Ippen*), a set of twelve handscrolls commemorating the life of Ippen, an itinerant priest who travelled around Japan preaching about attaining salvation through a single recitation of a single *nenbutsu* (the invocation of Amida Buddha's name).¹⁷⁸ The *Ippen hijiri-e* is a rich visual-verbal record that has been studied from a variety of perspectives, including its robust use of various literary genres and painting styles. One area of particular interest has been the detailed representation of the everyday places and people, sacred locations, and architecture.

Of particular interest to this study is that the scene described above is in one of sixteen that depict *hinin* across the *Ippen's* forty-eight sections. The presence of *hinin* communities is mentioned in almost every study of the *Ippen hijiri-e*, and scholars have noted that their inclusion

¹⁷⁸ All of the scrolls of *Ippen Hijiri-e* were exhibited together for the first time since pre-WWII in 2019 at Kyoto National Museum. For images of the scroll, see Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, Asahi shinbunsha, and Jishu sohonzan, *Kokuhō Ippen hijirie to Jishū no meihō: tokubetsuten Jishū niso shōnin nanahyakunen goonki kinen* (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2019); Komatsu Shigemi, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, vol. 20, *Nihon no emakimono* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1987).

makes this work distinct from other *emaki* produced at that time.¹⁷⁹ Yet, the sixteen scenes that depict *hinin* have not been taken up as a subject on their own. In this chapter, I take up that task by offering an art historical analysis of the *hinin* scenes that will build on the current conversations largely being held by historians. It is my hope to be able to offer new insights into *hinin* communities, especially in relation to disabilities, within the *emaki*.

In many ways, the *Ippen hijiri-e* can be viewed as a subjective lens through which we can view the lives of those that did not leave their voices behind in tales and visual arts. However, as Laura Kaufman has noted, there has been “a tendency to regard the scrolls as a document or record of fact.”¹⁸⁰ Therefore, part of my contribution to the study of this *emaki* is to take a more careful look at who and what is being depicted and situating that information with the knowledge that this is not a neutral document but rather one that reflects a particular perspective and serves certain needs.

The chapter is divided into five distinct sections. First, I introduce the *Ippen hijiri-e* and the current state of research that is most relevant to my research. I then provide a brief introduction to the terms used to describe *hinin* and offer my reasons for using the term *hinin* in this chapter despite its limitations. In the third section, I present each of the sixteen segments from the *Ippen hijiri-e* that feature *hinin* with a focus on identifying the people in the image and where they are located. In the fourth section, I focus my attention on the three groups that are

¹⁷⁹ The majority of scholarship on the *hinin* elements in particular come from Japanese historians, Kuroda Hideo, Amino Yoshihiko, and Kanai Kiyomitsu. These scholars have different interests and take different approaches to the sections, but all, to various degrees, call attention to the different types of people in the communities, what they can tell us about the treatment of outcasts, and the significance of the outcasts in relation to Ippen. There has been little in English on the subject outside of a translation of Amino’s work. Kuroda Hideo, *Kyōkai no chūsei shōchō no chūsei* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1986); Kanai Kiyomitsu, *Chūsei no raisha to sabetsu* (Tokyo: Iwatashoin, 2003); Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*.

¹⁸⁰ Laura Kaufman, “Ippen Hijiri-e: Artistic and Literary Sources in a Buddhist Handscroll Painting of Thirteenth-Century Japan” (PhD diss., New York University, 1980), 20.

most prominently depicted: *kojiki* (beggars) including some ill and physically impaired, blind *biwa-hōshi*, and *raisha* (people with Hansen's disease). I conclude with an analysis of what the images might indicate about concepts of disability and otherness as represented in the *Ippen hijiri-e*, noting that various impairments are absent from the paintings. In the fifth section, I discuss the significance of the *hinin* within the scrolls, including Ippen's relationship with groups of *hinin* within the *emaki* and in his practices and life, and conclude with observations about how these elements might inform our understanding of the *Ippen hijiri-e* as unique from other types of *kōsōden*, or biographies of imminent monks.

What I will show is that the lives of *hinin* and disabled people were complex and deeply integrated into the socio-religious landscape in which Ippen lived and practiced, and that these complexities create an interesting tension within an exquisitely produced *emaki* that celebrates Ippen's humility and sacredness.

Overview of the *Ippen Hijiri-e* and Ippen's Life

This set of scrolls was dedicated on the ten-year anniversary of Ippen's death by his contemporaries, including Shōkai (1261-1323) a disciple and blood relative of Ippen and the founder of Rokujō Dōjō of Kankikōji in Kyoto. The *Ippen hijiri-e* has been preserved at the Kankikōji since that time. The twelve scrolls, averaging about fifteen inches in height and totaling about 421 feet in length, include text followed by elaborate paintings done in ink and color on a silk base. The scrolls contain forty-eight sections of image-text, which according to scroll twelve section three, correlates with the forty-eight vows of Amida Buddha. Each section opens with a brief record of the date, the place that Ippen travelled to, and the amount of time that he spent there.

The *Ippen hijiri-e* begins with Ippen's religious training at the age of 12 and continues documenting his religious development and career over the years. In general, Ippen believed that through the *nenbutsu* practice people could be reborn into Amida's Pure Land. Ippen's beliefs represent a part of the efforts of popular Pure Land that had been spread by itinerant ascetics in Japan since at least the time of Kūya (903-972).¹⁸¹ By the end of the twelfth century, Hōnen (1133-1212) and Shinran (1173-1262) had developed a doctrine in which the chanting of the *nenbutsu* was promoted as not just the most efficacious practice for achieving salvation, but the only way to achieve it. The priests and nuns that chanted Amida's name for salvation were generally called *jishū* and shared the salvific practice with commoners and elite alike.¹⁸²

Unlike some *jishū* who taught the continuous chanting of Amida's name, Ippen believed that a person had to say it only once to create a karmic connection (*ichinen*: one moment of thought, one utterance of Amida's name).¹⁸³ Ippen also produced and distributed *fuda*, wood-block-printed paper talismans bearing the six characters of "Namu Amida Butsu" as tangible proof of the karmic connection each person had made. Ippen was further known for popularizing the *odori nenbutsu*, a dance performed while reciting the *nenbutsu* that originated with Kūya.

Ippen's disciple Shōkai clearly names himself as the author of the *Ippen hijiri-e*, stating "with the encouragement of a certain person, I have created these paintings, and I have written

¹⁸¹ Pure Land School (*jōdo shū*). The teachings were not just popular but imbedded in established temples and sects. In the more elite temples, the *nenbutsu* was understood to be meditative practice. Vocalizing the *nenbutsu* was the easiest form. For more on Pure Land in Japan during the Heian period, see Robert Rhodes, *Genshin's Ōjōyōshū and the Construction of Pure Land Discourse in Heian Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017).

¹⁸² *Jishū* was a noun used to describe those that chanted the name without interruption six hours a day. After Ippen, some of the *jishū* decided to claim Ippen as the founder and over time all *jishū* came under the umbrella of the Ji-shū sect. Griffiths, *Tracing the Itinerant Path*, 3.

¹⁸³ Other versions developed over time, for instance, Ryōnin developed the *yūzū nenbutsu* as featured in the *Yūzū nenbutsu emaki* discussed in the following chapters.

Ippen's biography..."¹⁸⁴ Two other collaborators, Hōgen En'i and Lord Tsunetada, are named in segment three of Scroll Twelve. Lord Tsunetada is identified as the calligrapher of the section titles while Hōgen En'i is credited as the painter. It is known that Tsunetada belonged to the Sesonji lineage of court calligraphers, but his dates are uncertain.¹⁸⁵ It is believed that En'i was a priest, but his identity is otherwise unknown since a painter by that name does not appear in any other records.¹⁸⁶ As noted by Miya Tsugio, En'i might have been the supervisor of a team of painters.¹⁸⁷ Interestingly, the patron of this elaborate set of scrolls is only noted as a "certain person" in the passage above. Much research has been conducted in an attempt to identify the anonymous patron, but there is not a clear consensus.¹⁸⁸ Scholars do largely agree that that the person must have been wealthy and well-connected due to the costs of the materials and level of production required for such an extravagant project.

¹⁸⁴ The translation is in Komatsu, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, 20:326–28.

¹⁸⁵ He might have been born around 1247 and took tonsure in 1310. Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 424n3.

¹⁸⁶ *Hōgen*: In late medieval period and beyond, this was a title granted to major painters who were not monks per se. It may have been that they took some sort of partial vows or only shaved their heads as a sort of indication of being like monks. From *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, via Japan Knowledge, accessed October 1, 2021, <https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.web/japanknowledge> .

¹⁸⁷ There has been much scholarly debate on his identity as well as his role as painter and relationship to the anonymous patron. Laura Kaufman has reviewed the evidence laid out by previous scholars and argued that it En'i is most likely Hōin En'i of Onjōji, who was a Buddhist priest, a poet, and a member of the aristocracy. Kaufman notes that he was likely not the painter but rather the coordinator of the painting project that employed at least four painters. Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 320. She is drawing, in part, on Miya Tsugio's argument about three principal artists and one minor artist. Miya Tsugio, "Ippen hijiri-e to En'i," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 205 (July 1959): 51–74.

¹⁸⁸ There are two main figures that have been offered as the patron, including Kujō Tadanori and Takuma no Sōjō. Mochizuki Shinzei argues for Kujō Tadanori based on the *Kaisan Mia Shōnin Gyōjō*. Mochizuki Shinzei, "Ippen Shōnin eden kaisetsu," in *Ippen Hijiri-e: Rokujo engi*, ed. Asayama Enshō (Tokyo: Sankibo busshorin, 1940), 243–65. Other scholars, such as Kanai Kiyomitsu, have questioned the reliability of that text pointing out that it includes many inaccuracies such as incorrect era names and that Shōkai never took an *amigo* (Amida-associated name). Kanai Kiyomitsu, *Ippen to Ji-shu kyōdan* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1975), 446–48. Sasaki Kōzō offers Takuma no Sōjō as the patron pointing to the figure's conversion in the *Ippen hijiri-e* and then Ippen's blossoming acceptance/success following that. Sasaki Kōzō, "Kankikōjizō Ippen Hijiri-e no emaki kōsei ni kansuru sho mondai to sono seikakusha ni tsuite," *Kokka* 912 (March 1968): 17–19. Kaufman notes that this is entirely circumstantial. Kaufman has the most thorough summary on this issue. Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 305–9.

As Laura Kaufman notes in her dissertation, the *emaki* reflects courtly aesthetic tastes and incorporates a variety of features that point to someone with access to and knowledge of a wide range of visual objects and literary sources. In his research on the literary aspects of the *emaki*, James Foard has identified ten different “forms,” as he describes them, including: chronologies; *setsuwa* (explanatory stories) *engi* (origin stories); *waka* (classical Japanese poem); creeds; doctrines; decorative *michiyuki* (itineraries); quotations; Shōkai’s narrative; *hōgo* (sermon/sayings).¹⁸⁹ The majority of the *waka*, thirty-one syllable poems, in the *Ippen hijiri-e* are attributed to Ippen while the rest are oracles from deities or poems composed by others in conversation with Ippen.¹⁹⁰

The *Ippen hijiri-e* is also rich in its references to various themes, approaches to using space in the handscroll format, and to styles of painting in the early-medieval period. The *Ippen hijiri-e* calls upon a variety of well-established subjects that appear in other paintings and poetry, including *tsukinami-e* (twelve months), *shiki-e* (four seasons), and *meisho-e* (famous places).¹⁹¹ The style of the *Ippen hijiri-e* is often described as representative of the marrying of *Yamato-e*

¹⁸⁹ James Foard, “Prefiguration and Narrative in Medieval Hagiography: The Ippen Hijiri-e,” in *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, ed. James Sanford (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 80–86.

¹⁹⁰ A beautiful example is the following which Ippen wrote after his group was caught in a sudden downfall. “When it rains, they get soaked, When they get soaked they dry off. How short lived are people too, who dislike the rain upon their sleeves.” Getting caught in the rain and taking shelter and the notion of wet sleeves, usually from crying, are two common themes of court poetry, pointing to Ippen’s awareness of literary tropes. Overall, though, the Buddhist message is just as important. It highlights that life is fleeting in one moment to the other and that worries about momentary suffering are trivial. Dennis Hirota, *No Abode: The Record of Ippen* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997), 40; Kaufman, “Ippen Hijiri-e,” 353.

¹⁹¹ The continuous travels of Ippen through many years and across Japan meant that he would have experienced the different seasons and been to numerous locations. However, the use of seasonal imagery throughout the scroll to suggest emotion points to the strategic use of these themes as well. For instance, there are a number of scenes in which the text and painted elements point to the emotional or mental state of Ippen or other characters. One example is when Shōkai has to leave Ippen on his journey. In the text, Shōkai describes a great sense of sorrow, and in the painting, the cherry blossoms are falling to the ground. The motif of cherry blossoms falling is one that can relay feelings of sadness and impermanence.

(Japanese) and *kara-e* (Chinese) elements.¹⁹² The use of space in the *Ippen hijiri-e* also stands out from other *emaki* with its mostly consistent vantage point and its conspicuous representation of small figures in large-scale landscapes. The figures are about one sixth or one tenth to the total height of the scroll while the landscapes fill up the remainder of the space.¹⁹³ Kaufman, in her dissertation, and Chelsea Foxwell, in a recent article, connect some of these characteristics, including the use of space, in *Ippen hijiri-e* to Five Dynasties (907-960), Northern Song (960-1107), and Southern Song (1126-1279) paintings.¹⁹⁴

The unique characteristics that tie the *Ippen Hijiri-e* to a patron and artists with deep understanding of the major areas of visual-verbal arts at this time are significant to my discussion. For one, the patron and artists must have been part of, or at least closely connected to, the elite during this time. Thus, the interest in showcasing outcasts so prevalently is a bit puzzling. However, as I will explore in the remainder of this chapter, this type of incongruity is not only present throughout the *Ippen hijiri-e* but is representative of the life and practices of Ippen himself. More specifically, there seems to be a kind of tension exhibited in the scroll which features Ippen's life as a *hijiri* dependent on charity while also engaging the visual-verbal arts that were part of the elite background from which he came.

¹⁹² *Yamato-e* painting is defined as a native Japanese style as compared to the *kara-e*, continental or Chinese-styles, and is characterized by its emotive qualities expressing Japanese sensibilities; focus on Japanese subjects; depiction of gentle, rolling hill landscapes; use of blues and greens and soft black lines; use of high perspective and some depth, which is often achieved with the use bands of mist or clouds. The term is used frequently in Japanese art history but is actually difficult to define. Some claim that *yamato-e* refers to subject matter while for others it is a style and for others they have noted the historical use usually paired the term with large screen paintings. Yan Yang recently wrote about the issues of *yamato-e* providing an in-depth look into how it came to be and the problems with using it as a category. Yan Yang, "The Tōji Screen and the Historiography of Yamato-e" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2015).

¹⁹³ Foxwell provides a chart with relative dimensions. Chelsea Foxwell, "The Pulled Back View: The Illustrated Life of Ippen and the Visibility of Karma in Medieval Japan," *Archives of Asian Art* 65, no. 1–2 (2015): 28.

¹⁹⁴ Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 212–13; Foxwell, "Pulled Back View," 32–37.

In addition to discussions on *hinin*, the key themes in current research on the *Ippen hijiri-e* that impact my research are the use of diminished figures in a large landscape and the question of realism. The general argument is that the diminished figures communicate a lack of hierarchy of importance in the scene. One effect is that Ippen, the key figure of the scroll, is often lost amongst the landscapes or in the crowds, which stands in contrast to other priest's biographies that highlight their status.¹⁹⁵ Kaufman argues that this conveys that Ippen is an ordinary person.¹⁹⁶ Foxwell argues that this is significant in relation to Ippen's teachings that people should focus on the *nenbutsu* and that this signifies his role as being a small part of the "karmic network."¹⁹⁷

Shajitsu (realism) is another aspect of research on the *Ippen hijiri-e* that has been consistently raised since the 1960s. Noting that many of the natural elements and built environments are depicted in exquisite detail, scholars have argued that the *Ippen hijiri-e* reflects an unprecedented level of fidelity to "nature."¹⁹⁸ The fact that Shōkai situates himself as an eye-witness of most of Ippen's travels adds to the perception that these images are faithful to reality. As Kaufman explores in her dissertation, however, maps, paintings, and historical documents of sites from this time indicate that there are varying degrees of inaccuracy in the *Ippen hijiri-e*.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ There are examples of a similar approach in portions of other *emaki*, but as noted by Chelsea Foxwell, the *Ippen hijiri-e* stands out for its consistent use throughout. There are suggestions that the overall emphasis on landscapes point to a courtly interest in landscape paintings, the idea of Japan as a divine land, or the painting as a means of virtual pilgrimage since it has a map-like quality. Foxwell, "Pulled Back View," 26.

¹⁹⁶ Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 16.

¹⁹⁷ Foxwell, "Pulled Back View," 51.

¹⁹⁸ Foxwell, "Pulled Back View," 30–31; Mizuno Ryoko, "'Ippen hijiri-e' no seisaku haikai ni kansuru ichi kosatsu," *Bijutsushi* 51, no. 2 (March 2002): 263–81; Kanai, *Ippen to Ji-shu; Ippen Hijiri-e*, vol. 10, *Nihon emakimono zenshū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1960); Sasaki, "Kankikōjizō Ippen Hijiri-e."

¹⁹⁹ Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 121–22.

In the following sections, I engage with these themes in varying ways. I focus on how these elements impact the current reading of the *hinin* communities within the *Ippen hijiri-e* as a kind of record of fact and by considering how the relationship between Ippen and the *hinin* communities as well as the possible function of the scroll complicates that story. Before moving forward, however, it is important to briefly discuss the terminology used at the time that the *Ippen hijiri-e* was produced, to identify the people modern scholars typically call *hinin*.

Terminology

Modern scholars often use the term *hinin* to describe a broad category of people that are often described as being “outcast” or “marginal.”²⁰⁰ However, there is a wide range of people, identified through various other terms, subsumed under the *hinin* umbrella, including people who were entertainers, people with a serious disease or disfigurement, people living in poverty, people with itinerant lives, and/or those that held a variety of jobs dealing with impurity. The following terms used in the Heian and Kamakura periods in relation to marginals highlight the diversity of groups: *hinin* (nonhumans), *eta* (defiled), *kawaramono* (people of riverbanks), *sakanomono* (people of the hills), *katai* (“lepers” or people suffering from skin disease and/or disfigurements), *kojiki* (beggars, sometimes *kojiki-hinin*), *sanjo* (scattered places), *kiyome* (purifiers), and *shōmonji* (magico-religious performers).²⁰¹

The earliest documents noting the existence of *kawarabito* (thought to be the same as *kawaramono*) that disposed of animal carcasses and *hinin* that lived at the bottom of the *saka*

²⁰⁰ The topic of *hinin* has been studied by a number of people. Some of the key Japanese sources I looked at are: Amino Yoshihiko, *Chūsei no hinin to yujo* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1994); Niunoya, *Keibiishi*; Hosokawa Ryoichi, *Chūsei no mibunsei to hinin* (Tokyo: Nihon editaa sukuru, 1994); Yokoi, *Chūsei minshū*.

²⁰¹ Some of these terms are now considered discriminatory language. Please note that *sanjo* refers to both the place that they lived and the people that lived there.

(hill) are dated to the eleventh century.²⁰² The location of the *hinin* at the *saka* in this document might also connect this group to the *sakanomono*. The term *eta* shows up in the *Tengu zōshi*, an *emaki* dated to 1296, in a section featuring an *eta* eating a *tengu* (human-bird hybrid supernatural entity) outside a hut with animal hides drying near the riverbanks.²⁰³ The location near the riverside and the presence of animal hides nearby seems to connect this figure to the *kawaramono* as well. These documents and images point to one of the major issues for modern scholars when thinking about these terms: their significant overlap.

Interestingly, the thirteenth-century encyclopedia *Chiribukuro* (*Bag of Dust*) states, “the *hinin*, *katai*, *eta*, etc. are all alike in that they are shunned by humans.”²⁰⁴ In other words, the primary source seems to indicate that, while specific terms might be used to signify different types of people, there was an acceptance that these groups partially overlapped and held a similar place within the broader social milieu. Thus, in the remainder of this chapter, I am using the term *hinin* when speaking broadly about marginal groups in the *Ippen hijiri-e* with the understanding that there were various communities and hierarchies that complicate a simple reading of the

²⁰² The reference to *kawarabito* is in the journal of Minamoto no Tsuneyori (985-1039), *Saieki*, entry in 1016. The reference to *sakamono* is in Fujiwara Sanesuke’s *Shoyuki* 1031. Cited in Yokoi Kiyoshi, “Chūsei,” in *Buraku kaihoshi netsu to hikari o*, vol. 1 (Osaka: Buraku kaiho kenkyūjo, 1989), 76; Ōyama Kyōhei, *Nihon chūsei nōsonshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1978), 405. For full translation of the *Saieki* passage in English, see Benedetta Lomi, “Ox Bezoars and the Materiality of Heian-Period Therapeutics,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 45, no. 2 (2018): 251.

²⁰³ For more on the scroll, see Haruko Wakabayashi, *The Seven Tengu Scrolls: Evil and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy in Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012).

²⁰⁴ “Hinjin, katai, eta nado, hitomajiro mo senu onajisama no mono.” I use “encyclopedia” for the *Chiribukuro* but it is a kind of compendium of things or people that were grouped by category. Masamune Atsuo, *Chiribukuro* (Tokyo: Nihon Koten Zenshū Kankōkai, 1934), 366–67. Cited in Keirstead, “Outcastes before the Law,” 274; Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, “A Conceptual Model for the Historical Relationship Between the Self and the Internal and External Others: The Agrarian Japanese, The Ainu, and The Special Status People,” in *Making Majorities: Constituting the Nation in Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey, and the United States*, ed. Dru Gladney (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 40.

term. I will use more specific terminology when discussing specific groups in relation to the broader concept of *hinin*.

Scenes with *Hinin*

In this section, I present a brief overview of each of the *Ippen hijiri-e* segments depicting *hinin* and/or disabled people. Since a significant portion of this chapter is contending with the role of *hinin* and disabled people within the *emaki*, I will provide minimal context for the various other components of the scenes as needed. After presenting the scenes, I provide a brief summary before turning my attention to an examination of three main groups depicted, and an analysis of what we might learn from these visual images.

Scroll One, Segment Three

Zenkōji in Shinano

This scene depicts Ippen's pilgrimage to Zenkōji in the spring of 1271 (Figure 2-2). According to the *emaki* text, Zenkōji was considered one of the most sacred locations in Japan since it guaranteed rebirth in Amida's Pure Land. Home to the famous Amida triad sculpture, Zenkōji was a major pilgrimage site as noted by the various types of pilgrims arriving at the main gates of the temple at the right.

In the lower area of the painting, coming into a gate on the outer wall of the temple are three figures, including one that appears to be an *etoki-hōshi*, or itinerant picture storyteller.²⁰⁵ The white scroll tied up under the man's black umbrella is the visual clue to identifying him. Further left in the segment, approaching the back wall of Zenkōji, is one of the *biwa-hōshi*, who are generally defined as itinerant musicians that have a visual impairment and appear as monks

²⁰⁵ For more on *etoki*, see Kaminishi, *Explaining Pictures*.

(shaven heads and simple robes).²⁰⁶ He carries the white-colored *biwa* (short-necked lute) of his profession and a walking stick, likely used in the same way as the white canes of today are. The *biwa-hōshi* is accompanied by a young attendant.

Etoki-hōshi and *biwa-hōshi* led largely itinerant lives as highlighted by their presence in a number of scenes in the *Ippen hijiri-e*. Both types were performers using visual and vocal means to communicate tales for paying audiences. It is possible that these *etoki-hōshi* and *biwa-hōshi* were loosely affiliated with Zenkōji as performers who presented the *engi* and other stories about the temple and its icons to different communities. The role of *hijiri*, such as Ippen, and others in spreading the miracles of Zenkōji are well established.²⁰⁷ It is also possible that they were traveling there to perform for the pilgrims that came to Zenkōji.

While not listed in the *hinin* category above, both groups were considered marginal people, at least from the perspective of the state, due to their itinerant lifestyles and that they did not pay taxes.²⁰⁸ Their presence on the outside of Zenkōji walls and away from the main scene seems indicative of their status, but it is also noted by a number of other visual cues. For instance, the *etoki-hōshi*'s short shorn hair and beard were not the traditional hairstyles for men in Japanese traditional society.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Terms for blind included *mekura* (eyes dark) and *meshii* (faulty eyes), but these are discriminatory today. Today, we see the use of *mōjin* or *mōmoku no hito*, but they are pretty blunt terms, so *shikaku shougaisha* (person with visual impairment) is preferred. See Gerald Groemer, *Goze: Women, Musical Performance, and Visual Disability in Traditional Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), xix; Hugh de Ferranti, *The Last Biwa Singer: A Blind Musician in History, Imagination, and Performance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 21.

²⁰⁷ Donald McCallum, *Zenkōji and Its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

²⁰⁸ The topic of performers is complicated. Some view them as being *hinin*, while others argue that they were private officials. Most agree that they were itinerant but with privilege due to their occupation. See Amino, *Chūsei no hinin*; Ōyama, *Nihon chūsei nōsonshi*, 390–92, 421–22.

²⁰⁹ For more on *eboshi* and hair, see Fujiwara Yoshiaki, “Ippen hijiri-e: Nihon chūsei kenkyū,” in *Ippen hijiri no shosō: kenkyū happyō zadankai*, ed. Hiroshi Kōzen (Kyoto: Bukkyō bijutsu kenkyū, 2003), 1–3.

Scroll Two, Segment Three

Shitennōji, present-day Osaka, 1274

Ippen is preaching at the West Gate of Shitennōji, a temple complex tied to Shaka Buddha (Historical Buddha) and the historical figure known as Shōtoku Taishi (574-622). The temple was located along a major roadway connecting the sea and the Kumano temple complex. The road, which runs along the south wall of the Shitennōji complex, appears at the bottom of the scroll in this section (Figure 2-3).

Two groups of wooden huts line the major road along the outside the temple in what appears to be a *hinin* community.²¹⁰ The first group includes huts on two sides of the road and several people linger there, including one person with a leg wrapped around a pole (Figure 2-3a).²¹¹ Ippen is situated north of the first group of huts, but closer to the top of the scroll edge and surrounded by a group of temple visitors as he hands out *fuda* (Figure 2-3b).²¹² The second group includes only two huts on wheels with one male figure huddled inside. These two wooden huts are near a building at the south-west corner of the temple, where visitors are approaching either to purchase goods or to give alms.²¹³ A little further up in the scene, two figures, one almost nude, are sitting on reed mats with bowls outside the *torii* gate (Figure 2-3c).

It is important to note that Shitennōji was a particularly important site for *hinin*, including those that were disabled, in spiritual and practical terms. In spiritual matters, Shitennōji was

²¹⁰ Marra, *Representations of Power*, 69. Komatsu Shigemi calls them *kojiki*. He calls one in the hut an elderly *kojiki*. Komatsu, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, 20:51–52.

²¹¹ Komatsu suggests this is a child playing with a stick horse. Komatsu, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, 20:50.

²¹² It seems that Ippen was handing out some kind of *fuda* before he had his supernatural encounter with Kumano gongen and decided to have them printed.

²¹³ Giving alms per Komatsu, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, 20:50–52.

believed to be the eastern gate of Amida's Pure Land, so it provided a potent ritual space for all believers to achieve rebirth. Although not depicted here, the temple grounds also included several buildings that were focused on giving aid; the Hiden'in assisted orphans and elderly persons, Seyaku-in provided medicinal herbs, and Ryōbyō-in offered aid to the poor.²¹⁴

Scroll Four, Segment Three, Four, and Five

Fukuoka Market, Kyūshū, winter of 1278

Ippen is in the middle of a busy market in Fukuoka (Figure 2-4). The market consists of several roofed shelters with open sides. Inside the market buildings, there are people selling fish, birds, rice, fabrics or clothes, large jars, and footwear. In the building located in the middle of the painting, there are people gathered inside and outside, where a man plays a *biwa*. This man appears to be wearing an *eboshi*, which indicates that he is at least of commoner status. Behind him stand two figures who are likely *hinin* to judge from their short-cropped hair, beards, and minimal clothing: one is standing and wearing a grass-like skirt and the other is kneeling with a white cloth wrapped around his waist. The hands of the kneeling figure rest on *geta* (sandals), and he kneels on some sort of object. Often referred to as *izari* (crippled), figures using *geta* on their hands are presumed to have an impairment that limits their ability to walk so they instead crawl or scoot along the ground.²¹⁵ The *geta* would provide some protection to their hands. In his study of wheelchairs in premodern Japan, Kosaka Kenji has noted that the object underneath this

²¹⁴ *Prince Shotoku and Shitenno-Ji Temple, the Seventeen Article Constitution* (Osaka: Hosan-kai of Shitenno-ji Temple, 1970), 9–10.

²¹⁵ *Izari* is a discriminatory word now. It means someone who cannot walk and has to crawl on the ground.

figure might be a primitive type of cart that allowed the figure to propel forward.²¹⁶

Unfortunately, the painting is not detailed enough for me to confirm this suggestion.

Inabadō, Kyoto, spring of 1279

When he arrived in Kyoto, Ippen attempted to lodge at the Inabadō, but was told that since he was a *nenbutsu shugyōja* (the *nenbutsu*-practicing ascetic), he was not allowed to sleep inside the temple (Figure 2-5). That night, Kakubun, the steward of the temple, had a dream oracle from the temple's sandalwood icon of Yakushi Nyorai (Medicine Master or Healing Buddha) in which the deity said "I have received an important guest. You should treat him cordially." Kakubun immediately woke Ippen and brought him inside the temple.

In the painting, Ippen is shown sitting outside on the veranda speaking to Kakubun inside (figure 2-5a).²¹⁷ A temple servant holds a candle nearby indicating that it is the middle of the night. Two other temple monks appear to be readying a bed for Ippen inside.²¹⁸ On the veranda, but around the corner from Ippen, a person with short black hair sleeps under a reed mat with a black and red bowl nearby. Under the veranda, two humans sleep on the ground on one side of the stairs leading up to the veranda while a dog and her puppies lay on the other side. The two human figures appear to be male, one with short cropped black hair and the other bald. One sleeps under rush mats, his head resting on a roll, while the other uses what seems to be a black robe to cover his nude upper body.

²¹⁶ Kosaka Kenji, "Izari-kuruma to so no shuhen," *Sugiyama Jogakuen Daigaku ronshu* 35 (2004): 51.

²¹⁷ Ippen's and Kakubun's names are written on the painting making it clear where they are located.

²¹⁸ On the left side of the image, the steward Kakubun is depicted again, walking with two figures, one holding candles to light the way. Kaufman discusses this reversal of the events as a device meant to allow the temple layout to be faithful to reality. Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 56.

It is difficult to know the exact identity of these figures, but Komatsu Shigemi refers to them as *kojiki*.²¹⁹ The figures' nudity and meager personal possessions visually imply that they are *hinin*. Nothing in the text or image directly indicates that any of these figures are disabled, but since the main icon of Inabadō is Yakushi, these men might also be suffering from an illness, even a debilitating one, and are at the temple to pray for healing.

It is worth noting that Ippen is initially received as someone who was not allowed inside the temple, but whose sanctity is confirmed by the icon at the temple. Similar occurrences happen throughout the *emaki* and will be noted if they appear in the sections discussed.

Banno market, Shinano province, end of year 1279

This segment includes two distinct scenes: Ippen's end-of-year *nenbutsu* service at a marketplace, where purple clouds appear, and another service at the house of a warrior in which he performs the *odori nenbutsu* for the first time (Figure 2-6). The painting combines the two situations in a way that challenges the ordering of the text. For instance, Ippen is shown in conversation with someone and with a large group of figures under buildings with thatched roofs. The rough-style buildings similar to the ones at Fukuoka market and the people looking upward to the sky with hands in prayer because of the appearance of purple clouds indicate that this is the market service. However, the person facing him is a priest from Enrakyuji named Chōgō, who, in the text of the segment, challenges Ippen about the sanctity of the *odori nenbutsu*, despite the event not occurring until the warrior's home further left in the painting.

The market buildings are empty except for Ippen's group and a lone figure, several dogs, and numerous crows in a building further north. Like the desolate building, an almost-nude male is isolated, sitting on a mat with food bowls, and holding his hand high in the air, perhaps yelling

²¹⁹ Komatsu, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, 20:103–5.

at the dogs and crows to stay away. This figure is likely a *kojiki* to judge from his appearance and his living situation.

At the bottom right-hand edge of the painting, there is a group of seven figures, their heads visible above the mist, approaching Ippen's group at the market. Some have short-cropped hair while others are bald, and some carry mats. The figure in the front of this group stands out from the rest since he is wearing a white facial covering. This head covering is significant since it was typically worn by *raisha*, people with leprosy or Hansen's disease.²²⁰

It is important to note that in medieval Japan, *rai* meant a variety of disorders that affected the face, torso, and limbs, not just those that developed from Hansen's disease. According to Andrew Goble, the "symptoms included a variety of sores, hair loss, scaly skin, and loss of fingers and toes."²²¹ Moreover, while *rai* is often cited as a major concern, other skin conditions were also considered highly unsightly.²²²

In addition to the white cloths that cover the top of their heads and wrap around their faces, *raisha* are typically identified in *emaki* by their persimmon-colored robes.²²³ The specific color of persimmon has been said to represent the color of the scabs or boils that often cover the body of a person with leprosy.²²⁴ The white cloth has also been understood to be a way to cover lesions or facial deformities that come from leprosy, such as the loss of nasal tissue.

²²⁰ Hansen's disease (*hansenbyō*) is the preferred term. *Rai* and *raibyō* are considered discriminatory. Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick*, 16–17.

²²¹ Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 67.

²²² Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 67.

²²³ According to Kawada Mitsuo, light blue robes were also signs of otherness. See Kanai, *Chūsei no raisha to sabetsu*, 86–88. Blue-grey, according to Shimosaka Mamoru, "Chūseiteki kanjin no henshitsu katei: Kiyomizudera di okeru hon," *Komonjo Kenkyū*, 1991, 39–60.

²²⁴ Kuroda, *Kyōkai no chūsei*, 254–55.

Scroll Five, Segment Three

Kamakura, spring 1282

This scene is one of the more dramatic ones in the *Ippen hijiri-e* due to the situations described in the story and the action depicted in the painting. Ippen was attempting to enter the city of Kamakura, which was the effective administrative capital at the time, and was met by an official who notified him that the city was closed to *hinin* and commoner traffic. In the painting, Ippen and his followers, a group that has grown considerably in size, are shown confronting the official, who sits astride a dappled horse (2-7).

Further to the left, another official (labeled *kotoneri*) chases a group of figures that appear to be *hinin* (2-7a-b). There are ten *hinin* separated into two groups; several carry mats indicating that they are itinerant, a few wear the white facial covering of *raisha* while others wear headbands or large hats; some wear simple robes but a few are largely nude. Several of the figures have tan skin color but there are also a few figures with dark brown skin, including one being trampled as they flee from the official.

The text notes that before hitting Ippen, the official (*kotoneri*) beat *jishū* and chased after them. In the pictorial scene, there are three groups of people, one standing near Ippen and the two groups of *hinin* being run off. The text would seem to imply that the two groups of *hinin* might be part of a *jishū* group, but in the painting of the encampment scene at the end, the figures in the two *hinin* groups does not appear (2-7c).²²⁵

²²⁵ Shows Ippen and his group receiving alms. This group is about the same size as the one shown with Ippen while he is speaking to the official and does not include the *hinin* figures that were depicted being run off.

Scroll Six, Segment Three and Four

*Near Katase Third month of 1282*²²⁶

Ippen held services at several locations in Katase, a beach area on the outskirts of Kamakura (Figure 2-8). The painting shows two services that Ippen held, one at Ōjōin and one at Jizōdō on the beach (Figure 2-8 and 2-8c). In between these two scenes, there is a roadway that runs diagonally from the bottom near Ōjōin to the top closer to Jizōdō (Figure 2-8a). At the bottom of that roadway, running along the bottom edge of the painting is a community made up of two lines of wooden and thatch huts facing each other. There are plates and bowls of rice on the top of six of the roofs. It might be an indication that people, such as the nun and monk passing through the community, could give rice or other alms.

Inside the first hut closest to the road, an emaciated person with a gray-tone body lies on a mat. Right behind this hut are two people yelling at and chasing the crows away in an attempt to stop them from eating the rice on the emaciated figure's roof. Next door, two figures, one largely hidden, sit around a fire. The figure that can be seen is hunched over in an awkward position. In the lean-to to this man's left, a group of three figures, one in a light blue robe, an infant, and a nearly nude man eat rice. In the last hut, two male figures appear to be making something: one is braiding two ropes that are hooked on his toe. It is possible this person is making sandals, which was considered an occupation that *hinin* were involved in.²²⁷ Although the viewer cannot see into the other row of buildings closest to the bottom of the *emaki*, we can

²²⁶ This section of the scroll has been highly altered. The Katase text and image used to be the first in this scroll, followed by a view of Enoshima. The Enoshima scene was separated and made into a hanging scroll. Then the Katase painting was moved to the third segment; thus, the original segments two and three are now segment one and two. Per, Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 67–78.

²²⁷ For more on sandal making as a *hinin* occupation, see Teraki Nobuaki, Midori Kurokawa, and Ian Neary, *A History of Discriminated Buraku Communities in Japan* (Folkestone: Renaissance Books, 2019), 28.

see a man with a white facial covering of *raisha* speaking to a man with darkly tanned skin and short black hair and a beard. A little further down is a man with a bald head and light blue robe.

Approaching the crowds gathered at the Jizōdō is a *biwa-hōshi* wearing orangish color robes, carrying a white-color biwa, and holding a walking stick (Figure 2-8b). A young assistant in blue follows behind. Slightly further up in the crowd, there is a figure holding a black umbrella with a white scroll tied under it (Figure 2-8c). This particular *etoki-hōshi* appears to be a female wearing a head covering similar to that of a nun and with a small scroll tied up under her black umbrella, so it is more appropriate to call her an *etoki-bikuni* (itinerant picture storytelling nun).

Jimokuji in Owari Province 1283

According to the text, Ippen's group was suffering as a result of receiving a minimal number of alms. However, two nearby patrons were visited in their dreams by the Bishamonten icon enshrined at *Jimokuji* wherein he requested the patrons provide Ippen and his group alms. On the righthand side of the painting, there is a large bamboo hedge thought to be part of a compound, perhaps home to one of the wealthy patrons. Next to the hedge stands a man wearing persimmon-colored robes and a white facial covering and holding a staff (Figure 2-9). The man looks back at four figures and an infant standing next to the hedge behind him. It is possible that these are *hinin* waiting to receive the alms that are being delivered in large containers.

Amino has argued that a group of five (a man, a woman carrying an infant, and two others) that appear past the gate and heading toward the temple might be *hinin* (Figure 2-9a). The man and woman wear formal clothing and are accompanied by two servants carrying a variety of goods.²²⁸ Their attire and goods imply that they are wealthy, but, as Amino has noted, the man in

²²⁸ Komatsu, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, 20:169.

the front wears his hair down in a low ponytail, wears no *eboshi*, and wears high *geta*, indicating that he is likely *hinin*.²²⁹ Amino proposes that while he might be some type of outcast, he is wealthy and could even be the donor that offered Ippen and his followers food in this scene. This is a significant point since social rank and economic means did not necessarily coincide. For example, *hinin* or others of outcast status could be tied to occupations that actually produced a degree of wealth.²³⁰

It should be noted that this scene may have originally looked different. Kaufman believes the Scroll Eight *Taimadera* painting might have originally been created to be used here but was switched out.²³¹ One piece of evidence Kaufman considers is the contrast of this scene to a later *emaki* of Ippen's life that very clearly depicts him receiving alms and then having others distributing them out to those in need. In the Tokyo National Museum's *Ippen shōnin eden* (also called *Yugyō shōnin den emaki*, dated to the fourteenth century), Ippen is depicted inside a temple receiving alms and outside the temple are three circles of people receiving alms.²³²

Scroll Seven, Segments One, Two, Three, Four

Sekidera, Ōmi province

Outside of Sekidera gates, there is a community of *hinin* gathered in two lines of temporary shelters that face each other (Figure 2-10).²³³ One of the lines backs up to the temple

²²⁹ Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 207–11.

²³⁰ For more on wealthy *hinin*, see Nagahara Keiji, *Nihon chūsei shakai kōzō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakōbunkan, 2007), 280–83.

²³¹ Kaufman, “Ippen Hijiri-e,” 91–97.

²³² For high quality images, visit the E-Museum website, accessed November 1, 2021.
https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=ja&webView=&content_base_id=100328&content_part_id=0&content_pi ct_id=0

²³³ This is a temple attached to Onjōji that no longer exists.

wall while the other backs up to a major roadway. These *hinin* shelters appear temporary since they are merely lean-tos made up of wood and grass mats. At the top of the community appears four figures, two on one side of the row and two on the other. These four figures are wearing the white facial covering of *raisha*, but rather than the persimmon color robes they wear light blue ones. One wears his robe down around his waist, exposing his upper body and legs that appear to have specks on them.

Further down from the *raisha* group are a range of *hinin*-type figures. One man eats rice while wearing a grass skirt, a broken umbrella open behind him. He is speaking to a group of three people, perhaps a family since it is a man, woman, and infant. There is a fire in between them indicating that they are cooking the alms received. It is significant that the four *raisha* figures appear to be separated from the rest of the community even if by only a small distance. This point is discussed more in the following chapter section.

Shakadō, Shijō-Kyōgoku, Kyoto 1284

This scene includes Ippen's well-attended service at a Shakadō near the Kamo river in the eastern part of Kyoto (Figure 2-11).²³⁴ Of particular interest is the portion of the scene that depicts the Kamo River and the Shijō bridge. Above the bridge closer to the top of the emaki, there are two simple wooden houses partially hidden among the cloud formations. Between the houses and the Kamo river, three square-shaped objects appear to be pieces of leather staked to the ground and drying in the sun. The visual cues indicate that these might be depictions of *kawaramono* dwellings. *Kawaramono*, as noted above, are believed to have been in charge of skinning and processing animal carcasses on the banks of the river.

²³⁴ A Shakadō is a hall at a temple built to house a sculptural icon of Shakyamuni. There is an important icon at a Shakadō at Seiryōji. It is unclear what temple the Ippen Hijiri-e is referring to, but it is located in the eastern part of Kyoto and Seiryōji is in the west.

Across the bridge in the Shakadō temple area, the crowd is lively and chaotic. The inclusion of a number of ox carts provides an opportunity to consider the status of ox herders, who are numerous in this painted scene. They are not depicted with the top knot or *eboshi* worn by adult males of the common class and above, but rather had their hair in a long ponytail like children.²³⁵ Indicative of their status as non-adults, ox herders were often described as children and had the child suffix “maru” attached to their names.²³⁶ However, since they often worked for wealthy patrons that could afford the carts, they were frequently represented wearing nice quality robes.

The textual account in this segment conveys that Ippen stayed at a few other places in this area. Of particular interest is the fact that he stayed for one day at the Sanjō Hiden-in, which was a facility to care for the poor and elderly.²³⁷ Unfortunately, none of the numerous buildings in the painting are labeled to indicate whether or not the Sanjō Hiden-in is depicted or if it is only a textual detail.

Ichiya Market, Kyoto

Ippen’s presence at the Ichiya market was significant since that is also where the priest Kūya, mentioned above as inspiring Ippen’s *odori nenbutsu*, had preached years before (2-11). In this scene, Ippen is performing the *odori nenbutsu* in the temporary plank building while crowds of people clamor to get close and climb onto structures to see him.

A lone *hinin* sits with a begging bowl on a grass mat below in the largely open space below the building. Mixed in the bustling crowd in front of the building is a *biwa-hōshi*, who

²³⁵ In emaki they often were often also shown with a distinct small, pointed beard. Lin, “Traversing Boundaries,” 172–73; Fujiwara, “Ippen hijiri-e.”

²³⁶ Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 190–94.

²³⁷ Text in Komatsu, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, 20:182.

appears to have something over his head like a white, open-net basket, but it is difficult to discern what it is. There is a child figure in front of him, but again, it is difficult to know if the child is his assistant or just one of the many in the crowd.

Further left in the scene, there is the large community of *hinin* next to the river that I alluded to in the opening of this chapter (Figure 2-1). This community is situated apart from the others in the scene, where two rows face each other. Rather the people gather along the river and its offshoot in a c-shape. The groups of people at the bottom and moving up to the middle of the painting appear to be the *hinin* or *kojiki* figures that have been in other scenes. In the corner of the bottom part of the C-shape, there might be an *etoki-hōshi*, since there appears to be a scroll under his umbrella.

The groups at the top are more complex in terms of their identities. Two *raisha*-type figures have their robes down exposing their bodies. They are separated by a reed mat from a man that is lying down and staring off at the sky. Near him is a wooden box, but it is unclear what it might be. On the other side of this man gather a man, infant, and a person with a blue robe and odd-shaped head. Next to them are two *izari*, or men that move by crawling with geta on their hands and knees.

Katsura, 5th month of 1284

According to the text, Ippen spent the majority of his summer in Katsura, which is located outside of Kyoto (Figure 2-12). According to Kaufman, Katsura was a spot people traveled to in the summer to beat the heat of the city which is hinted at by the people swimming in the river and the pilgrims along the busy road.²³⁸

²³⁸ Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 85.

Between the river and a wide, busy road, there are fields and a temple in which Ippen is preaching. South of the temple and off the road, there is also a small community of *hinin*. The community is separated from the temple and the fields by hedges. Some of the travelers stop to offer aid to the *hinin* begging for rice near the entrance of the community. Near the end of the community, there is a squatting male figure with a bowl in front of him. Behind him is another figure attending to a man wearing a white headband and lying down.

Scroll Eight, Segments Three and Five

Ichinomiya Shrine of Mimisaka

The text states that Ippen was asked to build his *odori nenbutsu* hall outside the gate since he was believed to have defiled (*kegare*) people with him (Figure 2-13).²³⁹ After one of the priests had a dream oracle from a deity, Ippen was invited back, and he and the *jishū* were allowed to enter, but the *hinin* had to remain outside.

Right outside the temple gate, there are wooden buildings set up on each side of road. These buildings seem more permanent than some of those used by other communities made of mostly grass mats, but they are also not like the ones depicted at Shitennōji. In the group that is north of the temple gate, there are six people, some nude or almost nude, huddle inside and near the huts. There is also one very dark-skinned figure and another man who appears to have a disfigured back, but it could also be that he is emaciated and his bones merely more visible. It is unclear if these are the specific defiled figures that Ippen is with according to the text or if these are communities of *hinin* that live around the temple already. It is possible that the other figures sitting on the edge of the temple gate, who also appear to be *hinin*, are representative of the group with Ippen.

²³⁹ Komatsu, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, 20:213–14.

In between the temple gate and the temple, a *biwa-hōshi* in tan color robes walks by himself. He carries the *biwa* and a walking stick but is not with an attendant. He does not appear to be connected to the *hinin* in the scene.

Taimadera

Along the roads leading up to the Taimadera temple, a group of people are carrying a large container of food (Figure 2-14). Ippen is seen inside the temple talking to a man while his fellow *jishū* are eating the donated rice and other goods. At the bottom of the painting along a hedge and distanced from the temple, there is a *hinin* wearing a grass mat and eating a bowl of rice received from the Ippen and *jishū* group.²⁴⁰

Scroll Nine, Segment One

Iwashimizu Shrine, Yamashiro province, winter of 1286

This painting segment, which is largely made up of pastoral scenery, includes Ippen performing *odori nenbutsu* near Hachimangu Shrine at the top half of the painting (Figure 2-15). Directly left of Ippen and right of a roadway, there is a small group of *hinin* gathered in three shelters. Two largely nude figures in a lean-to talk while one with dark brown skin eats rice. One man lies alone under the shelter of the building. Further right, a person wearing a black hat is feeding a *hinin* man with a white head band.

Scroll Eleven, Segment Two and Four

Tenjin shrine at Shizuki on Awaji

When Ippen arrived at the Tenjin shrine, the priests did not allow him in since he was Buddhist practitioner (Figure 2-16). Later that night, a mysterious letter appeared inside the

²⁴⁰ Kaufman believes that this painting was originally intended to represent the wealthy patrons donating goods after Bishamonten made his supernatural appeal at Jimokuji (Scroll Six, Segment Four), Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e," 93–97. 7

shrine chastising the ban and noting that Ippen helped all people in the defiled world and removed obstacles at death. The ban was lifted after that.

The *hinin* community is much like the others with lean-to type structures lined up along the fence. There are two figures with the *raisha*-type clothing sitting right inside the *torii* with bowls out for alms. Others remain in their lean-to area. It is hard to see details of the figures outside the group of three at the bottom that sit around a cooking vessel and near an open black umbrella.

Kannon-dō, in Hyōgo (modern Kōbe)

At Kannon-dō, Ippen began to prepare for his nearing death. In the painting, there is a large community of *hinin* located near a large rectangular pond in the temple courtyard (Figure 2-17). There are six shelters or lean-tos. A couple of the shacks have crests on top, but as noted by Kanai Kiyomitsu, these were warrior crests and likely just mean that the wood used here were scraps from a warrior's house.²⁴¹ There are sixteen people, including some people sitting on the ground with bowls. Another group of three is interesting since the man is depicted at profile with a large nose, a large white fan, and something tied at his waist. He seems to be accompanied by a woman and baby with the backpack nearby. Towards the bottom, three figures with the *raisha*-type clothing stand by shacks with the wooden planks on top.

Scroll Twelve, Segment Three

Kannon-dō

This is the scene where Ippen dies inside the Kannon-dō. There is a huge crowd of people from all walks of life gathering around to see him and pay their respects (Figure 2-18). In the crowd towards the bottom, three figures with the persimmon robes and white facial covering

²⁴¹ Kanai, *Chūsei no raisha to sabetsu*, 53.

appear. It has been suggested that these are the same three figures from the previous scene near the pond. Up in the crowd to the right of the *raisha*-type figures is a *biwa-hōshi*. Walking towards the temple from the bottom right, is another group who are also likely *hinin* to judge from their clothing and hair. The group includes one *etoki-hōshi*. Despite the appearance of a woman and infant and a man with a backpack, however, this does not appear to be the same group as noted in the previous scene with the man with the prominent nose.

Further left in the painting, we witness several people drowning themselves in order to follow Ippen into the Pure Land. One of note is a person with the *raisha* facial covering (Figure 2-18a). This scene has been discussed by Amino as revealing that Ippen had many *hinin* followers, a point I come back to below.

Summary

Overall, my review of *Ippen hijiri-e* has pointed out the presence of a variety of *hinin*, including many beggars, three physically impaired figures, several people wearing the apparel associated with Hansen's disease, people that were itinerant performers, and ox-herders.²⁴² These figures appear consistently throughout the *emaki*, showing up in urban and rural areas across Japan. Some are depicted in communities of other *hinin* while some walk or work among other populations of people.

These observations support recent work by historians that trouble the ways in which *hinin* had previously been described as being a sort of monolithic outcast class outside a set social

²⁴² Of course, it should be noted that my identifications largely rely upon our knowledge of known visible signs of status during that time. In some cases, the visible sign is clear, but who the person is, what the person might have done for occupation, or why they were understood to be outcast are not. In the case of the group of five (a man, woman carrying an infant, and two others) in the scene at Jimokuji, for instance, their *hinin* status is communicated through their hairstyle and clothing, but their occupations or reason for being visually coded as such is still not fully understood. Thus, it is possible that among the *Ippen hijiri-e* there are other *hinin* that I did not identify.

order. That is not to say that *hinin* were not discriminated against or viewed in a negative light, but that it is more complex than viewing them all as outcasts in the sense of total alienation from the rest of society. In order to tease out these complexities further, I will next explore three main groups of *hinin* depicted in the *Ippen hijiri-e*: the poor, ill, and disabled, the *raisha*, and the *biwa-hōshi*. I suggest that this examination will show some shared visual vocabulary used to emphasize otherness of these groups of people while also pointing out how the different groups were defined and treated in general.

Representations of the Poor, Ill, and Disabled

The majority of the *hinin* depicted within the communities might best be described as falling into the category of *kojiki*, or beggars. Looking closely at the images of the *kojiki*, including representations of the people as well as their placement within the scenes and landscapes, I will tease out how the *kojiki* fit into conversations and perceptions of disability, not necessarily by a physical impairment but by social implications and limitations.

The figures appear to be mostly male with short black hair or bald; in possession of a straw mat, which they are carrying, wearing, or lying on; and with a small bowl or plate nearby. Some wear simple robes, but there are a large number that are almost nude. The majority of these *kojiki-hinin* figures are quite thin and many have darkened skin, which likely points to the hardships of their difficult lives.

The figures' minimal clothing, exaggerated bodies, and darkened skin can also be read as poignant visual motifs indicating their otherness. The darkened skin connotes the trials of living outside and exposed to the elements, and contrasts with the white skin that was the ideal for the elite since it indicated a life lived comfortably inside. Similarly, the thin bodies likely point to the absence of consistent access to food for *kojiki*, but it is also significant visually as a comparison

to the preferred rounded face for elite women. Even when poverty did not lead to physical disability, it inevitably led the marks of physical otherness, even greater social disability, and heightened stigmatization.

The nude or partially body of the majority of the *kojiki* is also significant. As noted in the introduction and Chapter One, the role of clothing, or lack of, as well as hairstyle are key elements in determining a person's social standing. In the case of the *kojiki*, they do not wear the traditional *eboshi* and their hair is cut short, which implies that they are not considered full-fledged human beings, i.e., adult males. Kuroda Hideo notes that becoming a recognized human in medieval Japan was a process that involved meeting certain age requirements and passages of rituals.²⁴³ At age fifteen, one could take the coming-of-age ceremony and become an adult, but as noted in the last chapter, some people were not allowed or chose not to. Thus, they were not considered human within the larger social body.

The nude or partially nude body is also one of the motifs of illness that Shinmura Taku has identified.²⁴⁴ This is not to say that all nude *kojiki* should be read as ill but rather that we might consider that there is a shared visual language to signify that these figures are aberrant in their lack of the social normative body. The issue of the shared visual language means that it is difficult at times to rely on those motifs for identification purposes. For instance, as I pointed out above, there are figures whose bodies appear to be disfigured within some of *kojiki* communities. Two examples include the extremely emaciated *hinin* with his ribs exposed and the figure with a misshapen head near the *izari* that might be understood as having a physical deformity.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Kuroda, *Kyōkai no chūsei*, 185–230.

²⁴⁴ Shinmura, *Nihon bukkyō no iryōshi*, 151–74.

²⁴⁵ Kanai only mentions the man but does not offer how this would be connected to *rai*. Kanai, *Chūsei no raisha to sabetsu*, 40.

Unfortunately, as with other aspects within the *Ippen hijiri-e*, it is difficult to determine with certainty what the abnormal body forms indicated outside of its aberrant status.

In other cases, additional tropes clearly indicate that among the *kojiki* there are a number of people that appear ill and/or are dying. For one, there are at least two scenes (Scroll Seven Segment Four and Scroll Nine Segment One) in which white headbands appear, signaling that someone is ill. In Scroll Seven Scene Four, the figure is situated away from others except those who are tending to him; thus, it is possible that this person is feared to be dying and placed away from the groups to avoid further pollution.

It is also significant to note that the only figures in the *Ippen hijiri-e* that have physical impairments are part of *kojiki-hinin* communities. These three figures are the *izari* who are also largely nude and use *geta* on their hands to crawl or scoot along the ground.

The shelters or lean-tos in which many of these figures resided might also be analyzed in respect to what they can tell us about their lives. In many cases, the shelters did not appear to be permanent but rather haphazardly erected portable mats. In other cases, the communities seem to occupy, at least temporarily, spaces that were reserved for other uses, such as market stalls. In either case, the conditions of the shelters did not provide much protection from the elements.

The Shitennōji shelters are quite different from those of the other *hinin* communities.²⁴⁶ The shelters consist of roofs, sides, and perhaps flooring, that are constructed of wooden planks that appear in fairly good condition. These stand out due to their quality but also because there are a number that include four wheels. The inclusion of wheels on the shelters have led to some speculation regarding the use of a portable hut, including its benefit its being higher off the

²⁴⁶ There were seven *hinin* settlements located not far from Shitennō-ji's southern gate according to Marra. It is not clear that these are meant to represent those settlements though. Marra, *Representations of Power*, 69.

ground from the elements, the need to move shelters easily if requested, and its use by people with mobility impairments.²⁴⁷

There is evidence that during the Edo period (1615-1868), wheeled huts were used by religious pilgrims who were elderly or physically impaired.²⁴⁸ However, it is difficult to rely on Edo-period evidence since it comes much later in time. Moreover, as noted, the wheeled huts at Shitennōji would be quite nice compared to the other prosthetic options available to the physically impaired during the medieval period. Kosaka Kenji has argued that carts depicted in the twelfth-century *Gaki zōshi* (*Scroll of Hungry Ghosts*) and fourteenth-century *Genjō sanzō-e* (*Illustrated Handscroll of the Monk Zuanzang*) might not have been built as rudimentary “wheel chairs,” but rather were carts for moving dirt, and people paid to be pulled in them if a need arose.²⁴⁹ Certainly, the more common form of prosthetics available to people were the *geta*.

It seems significant that *kojiki* were portrayed close to the ground, either sitting or lying on the earth or atop of a reed mat. Their position on the ground might be considered as representative of their status as lowly people, not far above the birds and dogs that often appear in images near the *hinin*.²⁵⁰ This is clearly evident in the Scroll Four, Segment Four, where the *hinin* sleep under the temple veranda like the dogs. In the case of the *izari*, their position of leaning on all fours most clearly draws visual similarities to postures of four-legged animals.

²⁴⁷ Kosaka, “Izari-kuruma,” 51.

²⁴⁸ Kosaka Kenji has noted these are quite nice in terms of shelters, including the fact that being off the ground would have provided protection from the cold and wet elements and suggests that rather than their being for a disabled or poor person, we might need to reconsider who was using such shelters. Kosaka, “Izari-kuruma,” 51–52.

²⁴⁹ Rachel Mary Saunders, “Xuanzang’s Journey to the East: Picto-Textual Efficacy in the Genjō Sanzō Emaki” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2015); Komatsu, *Gaki zōshi*.

²⁵⁰ Karen M. Gerhart, “Medieval Scavengers: Dogs in Japanese Handscrolls,” in *Our Dogs, Our Selves*, ed. Laura D. Gelfand (BRILL, 2016), 303–24; Kuroda, *Sugata to shigusa*, 219.

Karen Gerhart has argued that the motif of animals eating human food, waste, and/or bodies likely reflects the living situation of people at this time, while also acknowledging that these function as visual tropes in images of ill people or *hinin*.²⁵¹ For instance, in the *Kōbō daishi gyōjōki* (*Biography of Great Master Kūkai*, fourteenth century), dogs and birds appear near people that are ill and dying, and in the *Kasuga Gongen genki emaki* discussed in Chapter Three, a dog laps up the man's vomit. Certainly, these motifs would have been one way of drawing a connection between the lives of humans and animals, as beings both beings trapped in the cycle of samsara and as evidence of the *kojiki*'s status.

The position of the *hinin* on the ground might also be considered in respect to the larger pictorial program of the *Ippen hijiri-e*. As noted above, the *emaki* is unique in its continuous depiction of diminished figures as compared to the surrounding elements and architecture. As noted by Kaufman and Foxwell, in a way this equalizes Ippen among other types of people and points to the larger karmic network humans are in. Yet, if we consider the fact that the *kojiki* are placed on the ground and sometimes even directly underneath the buildings in which Ippen appears, it shows that there are still structures of visual hierarchy, suggesting there are still power relationships being depicted within this *emaki*.

Another element that highlights the *kojiki-hinin* otherness is their placement in several distinct locations within the landscapes depicted in the *emaki*. Sometimes individuals or pairs appear right outside the temple or shrine gate sitting on mats while others are situated near marketplaces. In many scenes, the communities are near busy roads, a river's edge, or along hedges. These locations are significant for a number of reasons. In practical terms, these lie along routes which many people would be traveling or are places which they might be visiting, so it

²⁵¹ Gerhart, "Medieval Scavengers," 311–18.

increases opportunities for the *kojiki* to receive alms. The begging areas near temples and shrines also point to the practice of religious charity, which is a type of gift exchange that spiritually benefits the giver (positive karmic action) and practically benefits the receiver (food and clothes).²⁵² Based on several documents that I discuss more below, it seems that these might also have been places where regulations allowed certain *hinin* to beg.

Roads and rivers were also considered highly liminal spaces, bordering and morphing between the pure and impure, sacred and profane, living and deceased, and were considered sites from which impurity could be carried away.²⁵³ As noted in Scroll Seven Scene Two, the location of the home and the drying animal skins point to it being a *kawaramono* dwelling. *Kawaramono*, as well as other *hinin* that dealt with “impure” tasks, were said to live near rivers since impurities could not gather and could be moved out of the city easily.²⁵⁴ It is worth noting that recent scholarship has shown that while these groups might have been *hinin*, they also fulfilled an important role in society since they were able to manage death defilement that would have required others to undergo lengthy purification rituals or seclusions.²⁵⁵ However low their social position, they were neither itinerant nor did they have to beg. Those factors meant that they were

²⁵² Patrick Geary, “Exchange and Interaction between the Living and the Dead in Early Medieval Society,” in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 77–92; Marcia Kupfer, *The Art of Healing: Painting for the Sick and the Sinner in a Medieval Town* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

²⁵³ Spaces such as fields, water, and roadways were actually thought to be unable to become defiled in entirety. For more on hedges as means of blocking off space to help control/stop the spread of defilement, see Kim, “History of Filth,” 157–61.

²⁵⁴ For more on rivers as sites of purification rituals, see Lomi, “Dharanis, Talismans, and Straw-Dolls.” For more on defilement and rivers, see Kim, “History of Filth,” 106.

²⁵⁵ For more on *kawaramono* see Nagahara, “Medieval Origins Eta-Hinin,” 390; Yokoi, *Chūsei minshū*, 335. For their specific role in harvesting an important ritual element from deceased ox, Lomi, “Ox Bezoars.”

not among the “public” outcasts, and that may be why the scroll does not depict the *kawaramono* directly but rather indirectly through their dwelling and trade.

Boundaries of purity and sacredness are also represented by the placement of the *hinin* outside the gates at shrines and temples throughout the *Ippen hijiri-e*. Interestingly, there is one example, in Scroll Eleven Segment Two, in which the *hinin* community is located inside the *torii* gate of the shrine. *Kami* were said to be highly concerned with defilement and often punished those that ignored the prohibitions of defilement at their sites. *Hinin* were understood to be associated with defilements, and as noted in the *Ichinomiya Shrine of Mimisaka* scene, they were often asked to remain outside temple or shrine grounds. Kaufman has suggested that their presence inside the gates might be due to the lifted ban on Buddhist practitioners initiated by the supernatural occurrence discussed above.²⁵⁶ Another factor might be that large Shinto shrines have series of *torii*, and as one passed through them, the sanctity of the area generally increased. It is also possible that this is one more example of Ippen’s sacredness being validated by local deities.²⁵⁷

Raisha

The other major group of *hinin* in the *Ippen hijiri-e* are the people wearing the white head covering associated with *raisha*. As noted in the introduction, *rai* was largely believed to be a

²⁵⁶ Kaufman, “Ippen Hijiri-e,” 110–11.

²⁵⁷ In an essay on *kami* and pollution, Jacqueline Stone notes that in Buddhist literature there are numerous instances of *kami* overlooking defilement for Buddhist practitioners. Although she does not discuss this scene, she has examined another section in *Ippen hijiri-e*, in which a *kami* overlooks the death of several of Ippen’s followers at a shrine due to the shrine priest’s *kechien* (karmic connection) to Ippen, Jacqueline Stone, “Do ‘Kami’ Ever Overlook Pollution? Honji Suijaku and the Problem of Death Defilement,” *Cahiers d’Extreme-Asie* 16 (2006): 203–32.

karmic disease and one that was believed to be pollutive.²⁵⁸ The careful research of Andrew Goble supports the conclusion that there were different opinions on the karmic nature of the different types of *rai* among physicians.²⁵⁹ Regardless, there was still an overwhelming acceptance of *rai* as karmic, which allowed for the blame to be placed on the person. Moreover, despite physicians having some means to heal certain types of *rai*, the general acceptance of it as being highly pollutive stoked and perpetuated fears about the disease.²⁶⁰ Thus, *rai* was considered highly dangerous and often resulted in the person being marginalized, socially and physically. Some scholars have suggested that this marginalization is communicated in the *Ippen hijiri-e* scenes wherein *raisha* are grouped closely together and carefully distanced from others (Figure 2-1, for instance).²⁶¹

One way that *raisha* were marginalized was through their incorporation into the *hinin shuku* (literally lodging, also implies a community) system. A prominent *hinin shuku* in Kyoto, Kiyomizu-zaka, was located in a liminal area, on the slope leading to Kiyomizudera near the Toribeno burial grounds and the famous Otowa waterfall, whose water was believed to cure *rai*.²⁶² Formed by the mid-1100s, Kiyomizu-zaka exercised significant control over *hinin* and

²⁵⁸ In terms of Buddhism concept of karma and ties to defilement beliefs. Kim, “History of Filth,” 221–35. 221-235.

²⁵⁹ Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 66–88.

²⁶⁰ Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 66–67. See also, Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick*, 19–50.

²⁶¹ Kanai, *Chūsei no raisha to sabetsu*, 37.

²⁶² Water from Otowa Falls near Kiyomizudera was believed to cure leprosy. It is a border between two worlds because it is next to Toribeno cemetery. Talia Andrei, “Mapping Sacred Spaces: Representations of Pleasure and Worship in Sankei Mandara” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2016), 265–66. Chōtōdō, hospital for lepers at Kiyomizuzaka, seen in the Sankei mandala, see Andrei, “Mapping Sacred Spaces,” 238–39. Shimosaka Mamoru identifies the area between the first and second wooden gate in the Kiyomizudera version as Yumiyachō, a *hinin* town, and the roofs in the foreground as representing *hinin* houses (*minka*). Shimosaka Mamoru, “Sankei mandara no kūkan kōsei Kiyomizudera sankei mandara’ o sozai toshite,” in *Egakareta Nihon no chūsei: ezu bunsekiron* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2003), 151.

their labor activities, including begging and taking care of the deceased at the nearby Toribenno. Kiyomizu-zaka often had martial and legal conflict with another powerful *hinin shuku*, Kitayama (or Nara-zaka) that formed in the 1200s on the north side of Nara near Hannyaji.²⁶³ In addition to these, there were numerous *shuku* established throughout the provinces in Japan, especially near places considered to be liminal areas, such as important travel routes, crossroads, rivers, or burial grounds.²⁶⁴ Although neither Kiyomizudera or Hannyaji are depicted in the *Ippen hijiri-e*, it seems likely that the *raisha*'s appearance near roads and hedges is intended to communicate their ties to liminal spaces.

According to Kuroda Hideo, the *shuku* were all organized in a hierarchical manner with strict divisions starting at the top with the *chōri*, who were the leaders, followed by the beggars and physically disabled, and finally by the *raisha* at the bottom.²⁶⁵ The *shuku* organizations largely relied on begging as a source of living, but those that were in charge of handling deceased bodies and burial duties at nearby burial grounds also received the goods and donations from the services. Interestingly, the *raisha* depicted in the *Ippen hijiri-e* are not shown managing burial responsibilities but are often seen begging. Significantly, the temples that the *shuku* were associated with designated certain areas for them for official begging (*koiba*) and in return the

²⁶³ Ryuichi Abe, "Mantra, Hinin, and the Feminine: On the Salvational Strategies of Myōe and Eizon," *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 13 (2002): 119. Per Hattori, there was a *rai* hospital near Kitayama so it makes sense that a community had developed there. Hattori Hideo, *Kawara no mono Hinin Hideyoshi* (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2012), 139.

²⁶⁴ Keirstead, "Outcastes before the Law," 282. In Yamato province, the majority of *shuku* were subordinate to Kōfukuji temple while those in the Kinkai area were under the rule of the Kiyomizudera. In Kamakura, there were seven *shuku*. Nobuaki, Kurokawa, and Neary, *History of Discriminated Buraku*, 32–34. In the late medieval period, the *hinin* switched from Kiyomizudera to Gion shrine and took the name *inujinin*. Andrei, "Mapping Sacred Spaces," 266.

²⁶⁵ Kuroda, *Kyōkai no chūsei*, 155.

shuku contributed a portion of the income as tax to the temples.²⁶⁶ Thus, some have noted that the relationship between temples and *shuku* were complicated by economic dependency.

There is conflicting information on how *raisha* came to be part of the *shuku* or if they were required to stay there. There are documents noting the practice of *chōri* to force people out of their homes and into the *shuku* after they were diagnosed with *rai*. For instance, a document dated to 1275 and written by the priest Eison (1201-1290) addresses the *shuku* of Kyoto noting that the *chōri* could go to a *raisha*'s home and insist that they come to the community if severally ill.²⁶⁷ Eison's letter also notes that they could forcefully take away *raisha* who were begging in unsanctioned areas of the capital. Kanai has noted that if the person was allowed to stay at his home, he was required to pay the *shuku* a fee. However, *shuku* sometimes gave bounties or other gifts to family members in exchange for turning people over.²⁶⁸ Thus, while there seems to be some possibility for people to avoid the *shuku*, it was difficult to do so and required some sort of economic means to do so.

To be clear, in the *Ippen hijiri-e*, it is quite difficult to determine if any of the people depicted with head-coverings have *rai* or if they have another condition since there is little in the way of depicting bodily lesions or the other signs of advanced leprosy. There is at least one instance where specks seem to appear on a man's legs wearing the white head cloth (Scroll Seven). This is similar to the spots depicted on one of the poor receiving rice in the *Shōtoku Taishi e-den dankan: Musha-e* (*Fragment of a Biography of Prince Shōtoku showing Citizens*

²⁶⁶ Abe, "Mantra, Hinin, and the Feminine," 120.

²⁶⁷ Keirstead, "Outcastes before the Law," 278; Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick*, 23–24.

²⁶⁸ Kanai, *Chūsei no raisha to sabetsu*, 69–70.

Receiving Gifts of Rice) from the fourteenth century (Figure 2-19).²⁶⁹ Neither of these instances clearly communicate a specific symptom or condition, but they still likely would have been read by the viewers as *raisha* or an equivalent.

The use of the persimmon robe in place of direct depictions of bodily symptoms is found in later scrolls. In the *Ishiyamadera engi emaki* (*Illustrated Legends of Ishiyamadera*, 1497), for instance, the only visual clue that a young woman is suffering from *rai* is the persimmon-colored robe laid on top of her (Figure 2-20). This image and the ones in the *Ippen hijiri-e*, however, seem strikingly different from the depiction of a woman suffering from a skin disorder, presumed to be leprosy, in the twelfth-century *Kokawadera engi emaki* (*Illustrated Legends of Kokawadera*) (Figure 2-21). Here, the woman's body is covered with red, oozing sores, her hair and clothes are disheveled, and the text describes her body as having a horrible stench.²⁷⁰

An additional element that complicates a reading of all the figures with persimmon-robos and facial-coverings as *raisha* is the fact that *chōri* were also known to wear these items. *Chōri* were also considered *hinin* but were given certain kinds of authority through the hierarchical *shuku* groups. Other scholars have attempted to differentiate the *chōri* from the *raisha* in scenes, including the ones where the head-covered figure appears to be leading a group of *hinin* and the three figures in a group of people at Ippen's death.²⁷¹ Such readings certainly align with our knowledge about the *shuku* groups, but I suggest that this also complicates how we currently understand the marginalization of the *raisha*. Specifically, my interest lies in the fact that the

²⁶⁹ More information on Harvard Art Museum website, accessed November 1, 2021. <https://harvardartmuseums.org/art/209289>

²⁷⁰ Satomi Yamamoto, "Illness as Depicted in the Illustrated Legends of Kokawa Temple," *Studies in Japanese Literature and Culture* 2 (2019): 33, 36–40.

²⁷¹ Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 197–204.

chōri as well as others took up the clothing and attire of *raisha* despite not having *rai*. In the case of the *raisha*, the clothes were a visual symbol of their disease and otherness even apart from the *kojiki* and *hinin*. For non-*raisha*, the clothing makes them stand apart as well, which implies in a way that the clothing provided them a status of otherness that came with some sort of authority.²⁷²

Blind Performers

Unlike the *raisha*, blind or visually impaired people do not seem to have been expected to join a *shuku* nor did they rely on begging like the *kojiki*. According to Gerald Groemer, many blind people lived at home as wards of parents or relatives.²⁷³ However, from the early-medieval period, people with visual impairments often found employment in the field of music or healing, including massage, acupuncture, and moxa therapy.²⁷⁴ There is also evidence of visually impaired people partaking in important religious rituals, sometimes as mediums or shamans. Blind people were understood to be particularly capable of communicating with the gods, having a spiritual “sight.”²⁷⁵

The early history of the *biwa-hōshi* is a subject of speculation. Fujiwara Akihira’s *Shin Sarugakuki*, a document describing entertainment between 1058-1065, mentions “tales of *biwa-hōshi*.”²⁷⁶ From this, scholars have argued that the *biwa-hōshi* shared oral narratives in addition to singing and playing. It is also believed that *biwa-hōshi* likely carried news and local legends

²⁷² For more on *raisha* dress or other types of clothing as a symbols of otherness in conveying authority and power, see Keirstead, “Outcastes before the Law,” 286–87; Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 231–42.

²⁷³ de Ferranti, *Last Biwa Singer*, 42.

²⁷⁴ de Ferranti, *Last Biwa Singer*, 43.

²⁷⁵ Susan Matisoff, *The Legend of Semimaru, Blind Musician of Japan* (Boston: Cheng & Tsui Company, 2006), 20.

²⁷⁶ Fujiwara and Kawaguchi, *Shin sarugakuki*.

as they traveled from one community to the next.²⁷⁷ Over time, some *biwa hōshi*, along with *etoki-hōshi*, *sarugaku-hōshi*, *dengaku-hōshi*, came to be loosely affiliated with temples and shrines. As I noted above, it is likely that they developed performances based on those temples' *engi*, playing a role in spreading the temples' histories.²⁷⁸

In the Kamakura period, the *Heike biwa*, or lute players that performed *Heike monogatari* (*Tales of the Heike*) emerged. Some of these *Heike biwa* performed Heike tales exclusively, while for others, they were merely part of their repertoire. Some of the *Heike biwa* began to experience upward mobility, welcomed as entertainers who associated with men of wealth and power. In the early 1300s, not long after Ippen's death, the *tōdōza* guild was founded to protect the rights of *biwa hōshi*, and especially those that featured the Heike.²⁷⁹

Socially, *biwa-hōshi* could be objects of pity, ridicule, fear, and awe.²⁸⁰ They were tied to low status and associated with *sanjo* (annexed areas of liminal quality) for *hinin* and other marginal people.²⁸¹ In some images of *biwa-hōshi*, such as the Scroll One Segment Three, dogs are depicted following and barking at them. A similar depiction in the *Boki ekotoba* (*Illustrated biography of Kakunyo*), a fourteenth century *emaki*, shows a *biwa-hōshi* standing outside a house of warriors while dogs bark. The association of animals with *hinin* was already discussed above. It is possible that these were motifs to signal their otherness. It is not clear if the child in *Boki*

²⁷⁷ Matisoff, *Legend of Semimaru*, 27.

²⁷⁸ de Ferranti, *Last Biwa Singer*, 54.

²⁷⁹ There is a theory that the Tales of the Heike were performed by *biwa hōshi*, at least early on, to placate the Heike dead, who held deep grievances and might behave as *goryō*.

²⁸⁰ Matisoff, *Legend of Semimaru*, 20.

²⁸¹ Marra, *Representations of Power*, 72.

ekotoba is an assistant or a child mocking the *biwa-hōshi*. The latter argument was suggested by Hugh de Farranti based on other tales in which *biwa-hōshi* are ridiculed.²⁸²

In spiritual matters, there were rituals that channeled blindness as a means for achieving rebirth. One, depicted in the Scroll Two Segment Three, was a type of divination that said anyone that could pass through the *torii* gate while blindfolded without hitting the posts would be reborn into the Pure Land.²⁸³ Another ritual, *nissōkan*, required believers to sit at the Western gate of Shitennōji and stare directly at the setting sun while contemplating the Pure Land.²⁸⁴ Certainly, such a practice would be both blinding in the moment and damaging long term, but it seems more likely that the point was to block a physical sense in order to be attuned to inner or spiritual senses. Overall, however, it is another trope tying blindness with spiritual attainment.²⁸⁵ The trope of a blind person having special spiritually abilities is one that is often discussed in relation to the *biwa-hōshi*, but it is certainly not unique to Japan.²⁸⁶

While the performances of *biwa-hōshi* can be seen as a form of begging, they also carry a hint of ritual. For instance, there is evidence that blind *biwa* players in Kyūshū (*mōsō* or blind monks) would placate deities, including the earth god and hearth gods, at each house for a donation. De Ferranti has argued that these itinerant groups might have been viewed in

²⁸² This could also be viewed as pitiable. de Ferranti, *Last Biwa Singer*, 44–48.

²⁸³ Kaufman, “Ippen Hijiri-e,” 36.

²⁸⁴ Marra, *Representations of Power*, 68–69. In the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* (En: *Contemplation on the Buddha Amitayus*).

²⁸⁵ Mara notes that such ideas are conveyed in the *Nō* play, *Yoroboshi* (Tottering Priest), wherein a blind priest contemplated the setting sun at Shitennōji and achieved a superior realization than those that had visual facilities. Marra, *Representations of Power*, 68–69. According to Royall Tyler, however, the play was not performed until the seventeenth century. Royall Tyler, “Staging Two Unperformed *Nō* Plays by Zeami: ‘Matsura’ and ‘Furu,” *Japan Review* 10 (1998): 163–71.

²⁸⁶ Edward Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind: Medieval Constructions of a Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

connection to the concept of *marebito* (mysterious figure that arrives and gives blessings in exchange for alms), who was often viewed as divine or at least a semi-sacred figure.²⁸⁷ The difference is also noted in *Shin Sarugakuki* when Akihira evaluates the performers, noting one person “is a *hinin* in the extreme. A beggar should certainly not be counted amongst the others.”²⁸⁸ Certainly, the formation of the *tōdōza* was another important step in *biwa-hōshi*’s active move to disassociate from *kojiki*.

Summary

There are several points that become clear in this brief comparison of three main groups of *hinin* shown in the *Ippen hijiri-e*. For one, despite all groups potentially being considered *hinin*, there are significant differences in how each group was represented as well as how they lived and were treated. These differences are reflected within the *Ippen hijiri-e* representations and supported by other documentation. For one, unlike the *hinin* with established, productive roles known as *kawaramono*, the *kojiki* and *raisha* were largely depicted as marginalized through their placement near hedges, along roadways, and near temples. This makes sense in relation to their possible pollutive nature as well as their occupation of begging. The blind *biwa-hōshi*, on the other hand, were commonly seen on their own or near crowds with people from a variety of walks of life. Their movement points to their occupation as itinerant performers. It also seems to indicate that the *biwa-hōshi* were viewed differently than the *raisha* and *kojiki* in respect to their marginality, with the *biwa-hōshi* being liminal but not overly marginal figures.

²⁸⁷ de Ferranti, *Last Biwa Singer*, 44. For more on *marebito*, see Orikuchi Shinobu, “Haru kuru oni-Marebito,” in *Kaii no Minzokugaku 4: Oni*, ed. Komatsu Kazuhiko (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2000), 9–20.

²⁸⁸ Asthon Lazarus, “Envisioning Difference: Social Typology and Exhaustive Listing in Fujiwara No Akihara’s An Account of the New Monkey Music,” in *Proceedings of the Association of Japanese Literary Studie*, vol. 15, 2014, 95.

These observations are also significant in coming to understand the ways in which impairments may or may not have played a role in defining how certain people were classed. This specific example is especially poignant since both *rai* and blindness were thought to stem from negative karmic consequences, but blind people, who we would identify in modern times as having a disability, were not necessarily disabled in the medieval Japanese in terms of living or movement through communities. To be clear, this does not mean they were not ridiculed or othered. Rather, I am attempting to point out that we need more careful readings of disability in the particular context of early-medieval Japan.

These observations also call for a closer look at the assumption that people with impairments were classed as *hinin*. In the *Ippen hijiri-e*, I argue that there are only three clearly identified groups of people with physical impairments, the *izari*, the *raisha*, and *biwa-hōshi*.²⁸⁹ Other scholars have attempted to assign disabled identities to some of the other *hinin* in the scroll. For instance, in discussing Scroll Nine, Segment One, Komatsu Shigemi has stated the man is being fed because he is unable to use his hands.²⁹⁰ In his book on Hansen's disease and discrimination in the medieval period, Kanai Kiyomitsu approaches the people in Scroll Seven (noted in the introduction of this chapter) from the presumption that all are *raisha*, are related to *raisha*, and/or have an impairment. For instance, he speculates that the two *izari* figures might have lost their ability to walk due to progression in *rai* and proposes that the baby has one of the

²⁸⁹ I should note that my inclusion of *raisha* among the impaired might seem problematic since in modern times a disease is not inherently considered an impairment. Complicating matters more is the fact that in early-medieval Japan *rai* was not necessarily restricted to Hansen's disease nor were all the people wearing the visual signifiers of *raisha* actually people with *rai*. However, untreated Hansen's disease can produce symptoms that cause impairments, such as loss of vision, loss of mobility due to lack of circulation, loss of bodily tissue, and the treatment of *rai* was likely very low in early-medieval Japan. In one case, a temple notes that many people were treated for *rai* and released, but documents need to be approached with caution. It is not clear if the people had *rai* or something else, or what treatment/success meant. Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 19–20.

²⁹⁰ Komatsu, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, 20:238–39.

four untreatable versions of *rai*, known as Dried Skin (干皮, *kanpi*?), due to what he identifies as a red-face or rash.²⁹¹ More significantly, he argues that the person lying down next to a box might be blind, perhaps from *rai*, or that they have a mental disability.

As noted in the previous chapter, I have misgivings about attempting to diagnose people in visual images scenes outside obvious situations. I am not denying that there were a variety of documented invisible disabilities by the early-medieval period but rather that we need to take care not to assign meaning without evidence. In part, my approach is informed by the fact that despite the impression of realism in the *Ippen hijiri-e*, the *emaki* is a constructed image that uses a variety of visual tropes, so it is important to take care when reading the images. Moreover, I believe it might be a more fruitful conversation to consider who is missing from the scroll. In fact, what is quite striking to me is the fact that people missing digits or limbs—people who would be much easier to identify in the visual representations—are absent.

It might be the case that the three impairments prominently featured in the *Ippen hijiri-e* were chosen since they are the most recognizable. The persimmon-colored robes and white facial coverings of the *raisha*; the biwa and walking stick of the *etoki-hōshi*; and *izari* using geta all have unique elements that make them stand out from others. The use of certain impairments, especially ones that were visible, as highly legible means of conveying concerns about morality or religious teaching is well documented.²⁹² In this way, the three types of figures formed a sort of symbolic stand-in. In a more practical sense, these figures with apparent impairments or accessories are also easier to represent in paintings. It would be difficult to convey a person with

²⁹¹ Goble notes that Dried Skin has the following symptoms: internal body pain; incontinence; heavy and swollen face and body; blisters on arms and legs that leak yellow fluid until they turn into white scars; eyebrows falling off; eyes turning white; and fondness for lewd activity. Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 16–17.

²⁹² For instance, there are plenty of *setsuwa* that use the disabled body as a sign of karmic punishment.

a cognitive impairment in a way that was impactful, especially as only one aspect of an *emaki* that is full of quotidian details.

It is also possible that some disabled people were not depicted because they were not often seen outside of their homes or in public. As noted in the introduction, under the *ritsuryō* system, if disabled people had family that could care for them, they could stay in their home.²⁹³ It is difficult to know if that was continued during the Heian or early-medieval period due to lack of notes on the subject. However, the fact that we have documentation about the *raisha* being able to stay home points to that possibility. Of course, in the case of the *raisha*, having the economic means to do so seems an important caveat, especially since the *izari* and the *raisha* were depicted as beggars in the *Ippen hijiri-e*.²⁹⁴ It is also relevant to note that David Howell has suggested that disabled people that were able to stay in their homes remained within their class status, but those that were forced to live outside were understood as outcast.²⁹⁵ Thus, the *Ippen hijiri-e* might be representing people that are poor and without families or those whose family could not support them.²⁹⁶ Certainly, this would make sense in light of the prominently featured *kojiki* and the shared visual imagery of nudity for beggars and images of illness elsewhere.

²⁹³ Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 173.

²⁹⁴ See above about paying fees to stay out of *shuku*.

²⁹⁵ David Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 27.

²⁹⁶ For a list of types of hospitals, see Nobuaki, Kurokawa, and Neary, *History of Discriminated Buraku*, 35. There are records that indicate at times people in care facilities were asked to participate in duties that were considered impure, the tasks usually assigned to the *hinin*. Yet, it is not certain that this was always the case nor is it clear if the person's impairment made them a *hinin* or if the occupations were what made them part of that identity. Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 177.

It is worth noting that a figure with missing limbs does appear in the fourteenth-century *Ippen shōnin eden* mentioned above in the segment on Jimokuji.²⁹⁷ The figure is missing his right foot, so he is using *geta* on his hands and other type of protective wear on his knees to crawl. He appears in between a circle of *hinin* and a group of *raisha*, but closer to the former. The separation of *izari* and other types of *hinin* from *raisha* is a significant difference noted in this scroll. In his analysis of this image, Kuroda Hideo has argued that this image in particular showcases the concerns of pollution and discrimination, with the most pure being Ippen followed by *jishū*, a circle of itinerant priests, a *biwa-hōshi* and attendant, the *hinin*, and then a significant distance away are the least pure, the *raisha*.²⁹⁸

While the *Ippen hijiri-e* does not highlight the kind of discriminatory division seen in the *Ippen shōnin eden*, neither is it making efforts to hide that some *hinin* lived in difficult situations. In part this might be due to the patron and audience intended. As noted above, the *Ippen hijiri-e* was rarely shown and was clearly intended for a wealthy patron, who may have found any more explicit images of disabled people unappealing. *Ippen shōnin eden*, however, was created by a follower of Shinkyō (1237-1319), one of Ippen's disciples who founded a school based on Ippen's teachings and established various practice halls. As a document legitimizing Shinkyō's succession and the school, it was copied a number of times and frequently viewed.²⁹⁹ Perhaps, the *Ippen shōnin eden*, like other kinds of *emaki* or temple *mandara* that were used for soliciting purposes, incorporated *hinin* to show the charitable works of the lineage while also being careful

²⁹⁷ For detailed images visit e-Museum, accessed November 1, 2021, https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=ja&webView=&content_base_id=100328&content_part_id=0&content_pi ct_id=0

²⁹⁸ Kuroda, *Kyōkai no chūsei*, 144–50.

²⁹⁹ Griffiths, *Tracing the Itinerant Path*, 15. Griffiths, 15.

to distance the *hijiri* from the *hinin*.³⁰⁰ This latter point is something that I believe the *Ippen hijiri-e* is doing as well. Therefore, in the next section, I want to consider the role of *hinin* in the *Ippen hijiri-e* and Ippen's relationship to them.

Ippen, *Hinin* in the *Ippen Hijiri-e* and Ritual Practice

Amino has argued that *hinin* were followers of Ippen and that some of the *hinin* depicted in the *Ippen hijiri-e* represented these followers. To support this argument, Amino looks at several scenes in which *hinin* are found in relative proximity to Ippen and his followers.³⁰¹ He specifically points to the closeness of the *hinin* groups to Ippen in the Banno market scene and his final days at the Kannondō in Scroll Eleven and Twelve and to the *raisha* figure who drowns in the river in order to follow Ippen into the Pure Land.³⁰²

Amino's argument that some of the *hinin* are followers of Ippen has merit. In the text of the *Ippen hijiri-e*, there are several times when Ippen's association with *hinin* or those that were considered defiled is clearly noted. Moreover, it is largely accepted that as a *hijiri*, whose work was centered on spreading the *nenbutsu* and the possibility of salvation to all people, Ippen would have been popular among the lower classes. It is also true, however, that the paintings in the *Ippen hijiri-e* never show Ippen interacting with *hinin* directly, which stands out from other *emaki* of holy priests at this time.

³⁰⁰ Andrei, "Mapping Sacred Spaces," 268–69.

³⁰¹ The first appearance of purple clouds is at the Banno market at his end-of-the-year service in scroll six segment three. For significance of purple clouds, refer to Jacqueline Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016).

³⁰² While these figures might be coming to collect alms from the people attending Ippen's sermon, Amino also suggests that they might be part of Ippen's entourage. He notes that the priest at the back of the group under the buildings seems to be calling back toward the group or in conversation with the leader, who wears the white head covering of a *raisha* or *chōri*. Amino, Christy, and Tonomura, *Rethinking Japanese History*, 197–212.

I take up these points in this following section in an effort to gain some insight into these tensions between Ippen and *hinin* in the *Ippen hijiri-e*. I look to further our understanding of how Ippen's beliefs and practices would have been appealing to *hinin* by considering his status as a sacred-type of *hinin* and his beliefs that would have been especially accessible to disabled people, while also recognizing that the *Ippen hijiri-e* was carefully crafting a narrative and image of Ippen for an elite audience.

The Shared but Separate Lives of Ippen and *Hinin*

In the *Ippen hijiri-e*, Ippen's wandering ascetic lifestyle was filled with many difficulties that were likely similar to the ones that many *hinin* faced. Throughout the painted portions of the *emaki*, he is exposed to all of the natural elements, sometimes without adequate clothing, and the changes in his skin tone from pale to dark brown may indicate this exposure over time. In the text, Ippen's suffering is clearly noted revealing bouts of hunger, illness, and physical pain, and several deaths of the *jishū* along the way.³⁰³

Of course, as a *hijiri*, Ippen would have been viewed as a type of *hinin*, at least from a socio-economic view, since he renounced traditional roles and rejected responsibilities such as owning land or paying taxes.³⁰⁴ In religious terms, *hijiri* were also distanced from and often seen as problematic by the central monastic establishments. These things are to some degree related since the traditional Buddhist lineages were closely tied to the imperial courts and were major establishments in the religious, social, and economic spheres of early-medieval Japan.

³⁰³ For more on the eight deaths of Ippen's followers near Mishima shrine, see Stone, "Kami" Overlook Pollution," 213–18.

³⁰⁴ Ohnuki-Tierney, "Conceptual Model," 38.

As argued by Caitlin Griffiths, Ippen's practices were a kind of subculture within Buddhist practices.³⁰⁵ He was often judged harshly by his contemporaries, especially within traditional Buddhist temples and orders. In one case, his practices were called heterodox, and he was believed to be leading people astray.³⁰⁶ In the *Tengu zōshi*, Ippen and the *jishū* are called “people whose appearance and actions are strange (*irui igyō no tomogara*),” noting that they do not wear the traditional *kesa* (Buddhist priest robes) but *amie* (net robe) as well as the fact that they did not wear undergarments. It is worth noting that the phrase “*irui igyō*” was used to describe non-*raisha* wearing *raisha* clothing and other uses suggest a relationship to monstrosity.³⁰⁷ The *Tengu zōshi* author also critiques the *odori nembutsu*, stating that they shake their bodies and yell like wild animals.³⁰⁸ In other cases, the *jishū* were considered indecent because the groups included men and women.

While Ippen and other *hijiri* may have been considered marginal from the central-power bloc point of view, it is important to note that they were viewed as possessing a certain sacred aura.³⁰⁹ As noted earlier, the marginality of *hinin* meant they had the ability to move among the liminal places that were believed to connect the profane and the sacred. Moreover, many *hinin* were also experts in dealing with impurities, which was in service of deities at religious sites and

³⁰⁵ Griffiths, *Tracing the Itinerant Path*, 6.

³⁰⁶ *Nomori no kagami* (*Watchman's Mirror*), a discussion of poetic theory thought to have been written by a Tendai monk in 1295. Griffiths, *Tracing the Itinerant Path*, 6.

³⁰⁷ Literally means “different kinds, different forms.” For more on use of this term related to those using *raisha* clothing, refer to Keirstead, “Outcastes before the Law,” 286. In *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, the definition isn't limited to reference to monsters, but it cites this example
 * 太平記[14C後]五・相摸入道弄田楽「異類異形の媚者（ばけもの）共が姿を人に変じたるにてぞ有ける」. <https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.web/japanknowledge>

³⁰⁸ Wakabayashi, *Seven Tengu Scrolls*, 106–7.

³⁰⁹ *Hijiri* were often perceived as having supernatural abilities.

the broader citizens of capital, including the emperor; Amino argues that this gave them a special status.³¹⁰

Thus, in many ways, the depiction of Ippen's life makes it appear as if he were one of the commoners or *hinin*, which would have made him more appealing and accessible to those groups. What stands out, however, is that Ippen is ultimately recognized as separate from *hinin* in the *Ippen hijiri-e* via the confirmation of his religious sanctity. For one, Ippen's holiness is noted by the continued appearance of purple clouds when he performs the *odori nenbutsu* or other sermons. Second, throughout the *emaki*, even when Ippen is noted as being with defiled people or he himself is viewed as being unworthy (see the *Inabadō* scene), he is eventually granted access to spaces that other *hinin* could not enter. This was often through revelations granted by a variety of deities, such as when he was in need as described in Scroll Three at *Kumano*, Scroll Four at *Inabadō*, and Scroll Eight at *Ichinomiya Shrine*.

Ippen's sacredness is also conveyed in his ability to offer salvation for all beings regardless of their status, economic means, or ability. It is to this point I turn next to tease out how Ippen's practices would have made him particularly appealing to *hinin* and commoners, including those that were disabled.

Ippen's Appeal to *Hinin*

There are some arguments that Ippen offered not just charity but also healing to *hinin* and others. As noted above, the *Ippen hijiri-e* text and other records indicate that he visited hospices and hospitals while in Kyoto. It is not clear if he offered the people there an opportunity to create *kechien* with Amida through the *nenbutsu* or if he was offering more mundane types of healing. Scholars have noted that in *Tengu zōshi*, there is an image of nuns collecting his urine.

³¹⁰Amino, *Chūsei no hinin*, 25–63.

Statements by the people in the *Tengu zōshi* scene seem to point to the belief that his urine cured all sickness, blindness, stomach issues.³¹¹ Based on negative comments about Ippen in the *emaki*, some scholars have seen this as another means to humiliate Ippen. Others argue that it might reflect an actual healing practice. This argument is based on the fact that urine was thought to cure disease and that material goods belonging to holy men were seen as especially powerful.

Rather than center on the amount of goods he offered or if he was providing care, however, it seems important to highlight Ippen's beliefs that impacted *hinin* in a number of ways. For one, Ippen and Pure Land *hijiri* believed that this world and all humans were inherently defiled, so they did not fear the *hinin* due to their pollutive state.³¹² The focus should be placed on achieving rebirth in the Pure Land. This stands in contrast to the central religious establishments that were intimately tied to the protection of the court and state from pollutions. This, of course, was challenging to Buddhist authority in that it minimized their role as meditators between the elite and salvation, but it also means that it pushed back against the social hierarchies and concerns situated in pollution. From the perspective of those deemed defiled and impure, however, such arguments would have been appealing.

More important, however, is that Ippen's specific beliefs in the *nembutsu*, which was already described as being the easy option, made it even more accessible to all people. Ippen believed that one did not have to be a believer or to be pure, as long as he or she said the *nembutsu* or accepted the *fuda*. Once they did that, they had achieved a karmic connection and would be reborn in Amida's Pure Land. To be clear, we do not have any writing from Ippen on

³¹¹ Wakabayashi, *Seven Tengu Scrolls*, 115–16.

³¹² For more on Pure Land's indifference to pollution, see Stone, "Kami" Overlook Pollution"; Martin Repp, "Socio-Economic Impacts of Honen's Pure Land Doctrines: An Inquiry Into The Interplay Between Buddhist Teachings And Institutions," in *The Social Dimension of Shin Buddhism*, ed. Ugo Dessi (Brill, 2010).

the issue of disabled people, but Ippen's practices were inherently more accessible to disabled people.

In order to make this last point clearer, I want to briefly discuss another figure that focused on the salvation of *hinin* and who was a contemporary of Ippen, Eison (1201-1290), who founded an order of Shingon Ritsu monks and nuns at Saidaiji in Nara. Eison's activities with *hinin* communities are well documented elsewhere, so here I will only provide an overview.³¹³ Along with or perhaps at the behest of his disciple Ninshō (1217-1303), Eison developed various social welfare and construction programs, including charitable relief to lepers, beggars and other *hinin*, and setting up shelters, bathhouses, and treatment facilities (*byōshitsu*).³¹⁴ Several of these medical facilities were set up in Kamakura, Nara, and Shitennoji.³¹⁵

Over time, Eison also developed a special role for *hinin* within the cult of Monju (Sk: Manjusri), a bodhisattva who was believed to reincarnate himself in the form of a *raisha*.³¹⁶ During rituals for memorial services dedicated to Monju, Eison would administer bodhisattva precepts to the *raisha* and other *hinin*.³¹⁷ Eison believed that within the temporal and spatial

³¹³ David Quinter, *From Outcasts to Emperors: Shingon Ritsu and the Mañjuśrī Cult in Medieval Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); David Quinter, "Creating Bodhisattvas: Eison, 'Hin'in', and the 'Living Mañjuśrī,'" *Monumenta Nipponica* 62, no. 4 (2007): 437–58; Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 14–20.

³¹⁴ Ninshō likely influenced Eison's social welfare. David Quinter, "Emulation and Erasure: Eison, Ninshō, and the Gyōki Cult," *The Eastern Buddhist* 39, no. 1 (2008): 46.

³¹⁵ Goble, *Confluences of Medicine Medieval Japan*, 18–20.

³¹⁶ There are various deities who decided to appear as *raisha* as means of testing a person's charity, including Yakushi Buddha. One story is in the *Konjaku monogatari*, "Lord Oe no Sadamoto of Mikawa takes the Tonsure."

³¹⁷ For example, Eison held a nondiscriminatory assembly (*musha daie*) with *hinin* as the focus of the rituals. At the ceremony, *hinin* received the following: a measure of rice, straw hat, six-foot straw mat, fan, shallow pan, needle and thread, two bowls, a rice cake, wooden lunch box, head covering, two scoops of broth, a mandarin orange and water. Quinter, "Creating Bodhisattvas," 443.

parameters of the rituals, the *hinin* could be viewed as living Monju for the monks and donors in attendance.

Scholars have mixed views about Eison's practice and if it was a benefit to *hinin* since it was limited to that particular ritual. Moreover, those that question Eison point to his own writings that describe *hinin* as lacking the nature necessary to achieve enlightenment and that deaf, blind, mute, lepers, beggars, outcasts demonstrated the karmic consequences of past transgressions.³¹⁸ On the other hand, scholars have noted that in this ritual space their defiled state allowed them to transform into a sacred one, and that the fact Eison even assumed this was possible was quite revolutionary. Quinter also argues that Eison believed Monju faith to be a universal path to enlightenment through the creation of karmic bonds, recognizing transgression, repenting, generating aspiration for enlightenment, and engaging in practice.³¹⁹

I am not denying that Eison's practices were powerful statements on the possibilities of enlightenment for *hinin*, but I believe it is significant that Eison's path requires that the person have the ability to recognize transgression, repent, and engage in practice. This path inherently leaves some disabled people out if they have cognitive or physical impairments that keep them from completing those tasks. Ippen's path, while not offering salvation in this life, does not require the person to have the cognitive or physical ability to be reborn into Amida's Pure Land.

There are other ways in which Eison's inclusion of *hinin* and *raisha* in ceremonies and other activities is problematic. For one, the Monju ceremony largely calls on the *raisha* to perform based on the visibility of their disease.³²⁰ It is also significant that the *hinin* were the

³¹⁸ Quinter, "Creating Bodhisattvas."

³¹⁹ Quinter, "Creating Bodhisattvas," 439.

³²⁰ Other critiques include the fact that *hinin* prepared land and ceremony area.

laborers in charge of preparing the location for the ritual, and that they were used by Eison's temple complex for fundraising. Eison also had political and economic reasons for appealing to *hinin* since he wanted to free the *hinin shuku* of Kiyomizu-zaka and Nara-zaka from the control of other Buddhist temples for his temple's benefit.³²¹

Certainly, Eison is not the only priest to have called on the poor or disabled in rituals or practices. The visibility of *raisha*, disabled people, and the poor to promote alms giving or in discourses and practices related to expedient means (*hōben*) to enlightenment is well established. Scholars have considered it as a means of ritualized exchange—the poor are given material goods, such as food and clothing, which is then transferred into spiritual benefits for the donors.³²² The religious institutions largely benefited as the intermediaries through which these exchanges happened, gaining labor from the *hinin* doing impure work or collecting taxes from their begging, as well as from the more wealthy who donated goods to the poor and the temples as they sought to avoid suffering in the next life. Yet, in many or most of these transactions, the *hinin* and disabled are largely not seen as people but rather as visual reminders about the dangers of karmic consequences and defilement.

Susan Burns' take on an anecdote about Ninshō carrying a *raisha* illustrates the question of whose needs were being prioritized quite well.³²³ In the story, Ninshō is depicted as a kind of savior for carrying a disabled man unable to walk on his own back and forth to the begging areas each day. However, as Burns points out, it was also possible for Ninshō to have just given the

³²¹ Hosokawa, *Chūsei no mibunsei to hinin*, 154.

³²² We might also consider how the disabled and outcast received the donations and goods of burials thus tying them to the deceased as well. Kupfer, *The Art of Healing*, 118–20. Kupfer, art of healing, 118-120.

³²³ Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick*, 30.

disabled man food and offerings without forcing him out to beg. As Burns asks, so who was that all really for?

To be clear, I am not suggesting that the *Ippen hijiri-e* is depicting the *hinin* communities in an altruistic way. Certainly, their prominent place throughout the *emaki* makes clear that this world is ultimately a place of suffering and without devotion to the *nenbutsu* one might be reborn in such circumstances. And yet, Ippen's own chosen path placed him closer to the commoners and *hinin* and away from the more established orders. This last point means he was not actively participating in the economic exchange that never really benefited the *hinin* and disabled outside of meeting their basic needs. Rather, it seems his significance for these communities was not charity but in his offering of an accessible option for their salvation.

Ippen as Sacred Figure

Despite all of these connections, the visual elements of the *Ippen hijiri-e* make the relationship between Ippen and *hinin* appear quite ambiguous. Ippen is never depicted directly interacting with them nor are they depicted as part of the groups closest to him. Even in the scenes in which Ippen is said to have shared donations with *hinin*, they are not depicted directly receiving the donations from Ippen or his followers.

In this way, the *Ippen hijiri-e* is unique among *kōsōden*. For instance, there are scenes of Hōnen (1133-1212) and Shōtoku Taishi (574-622) directly engaging in or overseeing acts of charity for the poor in their relative *kōsōden*. In one scene from the early-fourteenth century *Hōnen shōnin gyōjō ezu* (*Illustrated works of Holy Man Hōnen*), Hōnen is hand feeding a man in a small group of *hinin* on the grounds of Shitennōji (Figure 2-22). In the *Biography of Prince Shōtoku showing Citizens Receiving Gifts of Rice*, Shōtoku is seated a distance away but still closely overseeing the gifts of rice being handed out to the *hinin*.

These *kōsōden* scenes are not unique, but rather fit into a broader genre of tales about almsgiving.³²⁴ There are numerous medieval tales that implicate the pious charity work of monks from an earlier period, such as tales of Gyōki, a Nara period holy man.³²⁵ These tales might be further tied to the righteous actions of the eighth-century Empress Kōmyō Kōgō, who is known for founding several temples in Nara. In Kōmyō's story, it is said that she was instructed in a divine dream to build a bathhouse as an act of charity. At the bathhouse opening, she washed the bodies of the first 1000 men. The last man was covered with lesions from leprosy, but Kōmyō washed him and even sucked the pus from his wounds. In the end, Buddha Ashuku appeared and announced his true identity.³²⁶ It is not a coincidence that one of the tales of Gyōki featured him licking the wounds of a *raisha*, who revealed himself as Yakushi Buddha. In these tales and in *kōsōden*, the figures are celebrated for having succeeded in demonstrating extreme humbleness and piety.

In the case of the *Ippen hijiri-e*, Ippen is never tested in the same way in regard to his charity nor is he asked to wash the bodies of *hinin*. I suggest that part of the reason is that Ippen's biography showed that he lived a humble life devoted to all types of people already. Of course, the points claiming Ippen's sameness are ultimately countered by the reoccurring appearance of supernatural purple clouds and divine oracles as well as the fact that it all takes place within an *emaki* made up of exquisite paintings and rich literary references. I argue that this might be an effort to convey a significant distinction: Ippen was a voluntary beggar

³²⁴ For more on the Christian medieval version of charity tales, see Gerald Guest, "A Discourse on the Poor: The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," *Viator*, no. 28 (1995): 153–80.

³²⁵ For more on Gyōki, Quinter, "Emulation and Erasure"; D. Max Moerman, "The Buddha and the Bathwater: Defilement and Enlightenment in the Onsenji Engi," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 42, no. 1 (2015): 71–87.

³²⁶ Moerman, "Buddha and the Bathwater," 80–81.

following the path of the bodhisattvas, offering charity and opportunities of rebirth while a good portion of the *hinin* depicted were involuntarily placed in that role. Following this bodhisattva path, he himself was testing the charity and piety of others. This point is supported by the fact that his sacredness was often only tested when he doubted the efficacy of his own practices or when he was excluded by those in more established monastic situations.

If this suggestion holds merit, it is necessary to consider the message that this conveyed to the elite audience that would have seen the *emaki*. It is certainly the case that the patrons of the *Ippen hijiri-e* would have been seeking to create positive karmic merits by creating such a luxury object. It is also possible that they would have understood the implications of Ippen's humble but sacred life and been inspired to provide charity to people regardless of status.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented a sustained analysis of the *hinin* communities depicted within the *Ippen hijiri-e*. Additionally, I offered a variety of ways that we might approach the significance or function of *hinin* within the *emaki*, including their presence as means to tease out the gap between representation and lived experiences of *hinin* and disabled people in early-medieval Japan as well as their ties to Ippen through a consideration of accessible religious practices and as means to compare and contrast Ippen's own humble but sacred status. I have argued that only some disabled people appear to have belonged to *hinin* communities, but that *hinin*, or similar, status was an impairment in its own right in the social sphere. At the same time, the great majority of *hinin* depicted in *Ippen hijiri-e*, disabled and otherwise, were those out in public as beggars or in need of alms. In a sense, they were part of the "landscape" through which Ippen wandered and represented the unlimited power of the *nenbutsu*.

Chapter Three. Supernatural Illness and Monstrous Others in the *Kasuga Gongen Genki-e*

Introduction

An episode in the *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* (*Illustrated Miracles of Kasuga Deity*, hereafter *Kasuga genki-e*), a fourteenth-century illustrated handscroll, informs the reader-viewer that a household was spared from a terrible epidemic spreading across Japan due to the benevolence of the Kasuga deity and their possession of a copy of the *Jōyuishiki ron* (shortened to *Yuishiki ron*), a sacred Buddhist text.³²⁷ The painted scene shows a group of warriors gathered outside the gated wall of a protected home and provides an elevated view into the inner parts of the home, where three men sit (Figures 3-1 and 3-1.a). Next to the grand, protected house, there is a run-down dwelling and lean-to with people suffering inside. There, two women attend to an ill man vomiting violently. Outside there are remnants of a ritual, which may have been performed by the healer and assistant depicted walking away from the home. One final striking detail in the picture is a red-bodied figure wearing only a *tōsagi* (loin cloth) with a mallet tucked into it, peering over the roof into the open door of the run-down home and sticking out its tongue, perhaps imitating the man vomiting or the white dog's red tongue as it laps up the vomit (Figure 3-1b).

Much of the content of the picture speaks for itself, the suffering of those in the run-down dwelling, for example, being clear representations of the widespread epidemic in the story. Other elements, such as the body of warriors, fall into place only after reading the accompanying text.

³²⁷ The scroll is cared for by the Imperial Household. For images of the scroll, see Komatsu Shigemi, *Kasuga Gongen genki e*, vol. 14–15, *Zokuzoku nihon emaki taisei* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1982). For translation, refer to Tyler, *Miracles of Kasuga Deity*. Regarding the *Jōyuishiki ron* (En: Discourse on the Perfection of Consciousness, Sk: *Vijnapti-matrata-siddhi*). T31n1585. http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi_pdf/sutra14/T31n1585.pdf.

Finally, there are aspects that make sense only within the context of the larger visual cultural imaginary related to illness and other forms of suffering. One of these, which will be a focus of this chapter, is the red-bodied figure on the roof that is understood to be an epidemic-causing entity. In striking contrast to what we have seen in the *Yamai* and *Ippen hijiri-e*, this scene brings together illness and the supernatural. However, continuity comes from a continued concern with matters of the body and of othering. In this chapter, I argue that the monstrous form of the entity on the roof works on multiple levels: through its associations with *oni* (demon) iconography used in performances and paintings; as a symbol of otherness that speaks to concepts of foreignness; as a way of making invisible danger known; and in relationship to the mutable human body. Before delving into these matters, the chapter will briefly introduce *Kasuga genki-e* and explore the scene in question more fully in relation to the accompanying text.

Introducing the Scroll

Kasuga genki-e is comprised of twenty-one scrolls made up of calligraphic text and colorful paintings on silk. The first scroll includes an introduction and table of contents while the remaining twenty scrolls contain ninety-three sections of text and image pairings and a final summarizing section. *Kasuga genki-e*'s table of contents lists fifty-six titles, indicating that some of the ninety-three sections were considered as groupings rather than as discrete items.³²⁸

Large-scale, richly illustrated sets of handscrolls were produced for elite patrons and very few are more lavish than *Kasuga genki-e*, which, like *Ippen hijiri-e*, is a rare example of a set produced on silk. Prefatory material in the scroll notes that the set was dedicated in 1309 by the

³²⁸ One of the leading scholars in English on the scroll, Royall Tyler, has divided the text into seventy-two tales. Tyler, *Miracles of Kasuga Deity*, 9.

Minister of the Left, whom Royall Tyler and others identify as Saionji Kinhira (1264-1315).³²⁹ It credits Takashina Takakane (active 1309-1330), the head of the *edokoro* (imperial office of painting), as the designer and painter of the scroll and the former *Kanpaku* (Regent) Takatsukasa Mototada (1247-1313) and three sons as the calligraphers.³³⁰ The stories featured in the scroll were compiled by three Kōfukuji monks; Kakuen (1277-1340), younger brother of Kinhira, lead the project and Jishin (1257-1325) and Hanken (1247-1339) assisted him. Thus, the production of *Kasuga genki-e* was guided and the texts brushed by eminent members of the Fujiwara clan that had long dominated the imperial court in both culture and politics.

Classified as a *genki*, *Kasuga genki-e* incorporates elements of *reigenki* (miraculous tales) and *engi* (origin stories) found in other medieval objects. This work's focus is on the supernatural deeds of the Kasuga deity and Kasuga Taisha (shrine) located in present-day Nara.³³¹ Kasuga Shrine has a long and important place in pre-modern Japan, which has been discussed extensively elsewhere.³³² For the purposes of this essay, it is enough to note that the Kasuga deity was the *ujigami* (tutelary deity) of the Fujiwara clan and was also the protector of

³²⁹ Kinhira was one of two men that served in that position during that time. Other scholars have addressed this essay thoroughly. Tyler, *Miracles of Kasuga Deity*, 10.

³³⁰ The three sons are Fuyuhira (1275-1327); Ryōshin, who was a Kōfukuji monk (1277-1329); Fuyumoto (1285-1309).

³³¹ I am referring to the Kasuga deity as if it is singular, but it is more complicated than that. It is because this totalizing of the divine power of great shrines as one deity was common in medieval times even if the existence of separate *kami* enshrined in them continues to be recognized in other contexts. There are four main sanctuaries in the Kasuga shrine, and the deities take many forms, including being the *suijaku* forms of Buddhist *honji*. Tyler has a chapter on the various forms which is helpful, Tyler, *Miracles of Kasuga Deity*, 111–27. For *honji suijaku*, consult, Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, eds., *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm* (London: Routledge, 2015).

³³² Alan Grapard calls Kōfukuji and Kasuga a “religious multiplex.” Allan G Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 259n1. For a study of the visual arts associated with Kasuga, refer to Susan Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Through Its Art* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

Kōfukuji, the Buddhist clan temple of the Fujiwara. Kōfukuji's administrative and spiritual ties to Kasuga developed in the mid-ninth century.³³³ In terms of the spiritual, the deities enshrined at Kōfukuji and Kasuga were understood through the *honji suijaku* (originals and traces) paradigm, in which the Buddhist deities were viewed as the originals of the local *kami*.³³⁴

Other *engi* or *reigenki* scrolls, such as the *Fudō riyaku engi emaki* discussed in Chapter Four, seemed to have been used for the purpose of spreading the news about deities or temples to a wider audience, and numerous copies and even alternate versions of some were produced.³³⁵ However, the *Kasuga genki-e* was kept largely protected after its dedication, only being shown to select Kasuga priests and Kōfukuji monks over a certain age and having been viewed by nobles, emperors, or shoguns fewer than ten times.³³⁶ In the eighteenth century, the set of handscrolls was less carefully kept and was eventually donated in 1875 to the Imperial household, where it now remains. Even in the most recent exhibition of Kasuga's treasures in Japan, the original *Kasuga genki-e* was deemed too precious to display and was replaced by later reproductions.³³⁷ The care given to the scroll indicates it is considered a sacred object and one that may even contain the spirit of the Kasuga deity.

The *Kasuga genki-e* content is divided into two sections, the first of which focuses largely on nobility and nuns and the second of which largely focuses on monks. These sections

³³³ Adolphson, *Gates of Power*, 52–53.

³³⁴ Teeuwen and Rambelli, *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*, 15–54.

³³⁵ For more on use of scrolls in *etoki*, see Kaminishi, *Explaining Pictures*.

³³⁶ Tyler, *Miracles of Kasuga Deity*, 18–20.

³³⁷ There are at least six known painted copies. Tyler, *Miracles of Kasuga Deity*, 20–22. For reproductions of some of these, consult Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Kokuhō Kasuga Taisha no subete: sōken 1250-nen kinen tokubetsuten* (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2018).

are further organized by subsections on various topics. The sections and subsections are roughly organized chronologically, and the events in the stories range in date from the 870s to 1304. The topics vary, but all come under the larger umbrella of the miraculous deeds of the Kasuga deity as well as events at and around the shrine and Kōfukuji. Overall, the stories present the Kasuga deity as an entity that interacted with human activities in efforts to reward those that were faithful, punish those that were not, and protect devotees from harm, whether it be from supernatural forces or other humans.

The Scene: Household Escapes Epidemic

The “Household Escapes Epidemic” scene that is the focus of this chapter is the last story in the first chronological section on nobility and the second story in scroll eight.³³⁸ It is grouped in with two other scenes in the organization described above. The two other scenes present women having dream revelations about the Kasuga deity. In the first, the dream reveals that the Kasuga deity offers karmic salvation and in the second, the deity reveals to the woman that it is a *suijaku* (avatar) of Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha. At first glance, “Household Escapes Epidemic” stands out from the other two with its primary characters being male and the focus on an epidemic and warriors. However, this scene also involves a dream. In this case, it reveals that protection was offered by the Kasuga deity. A close look at the text and consideration of the picture in relation to it helps bring the latter into greater focus.

The Japanese text³³⁹:

禪南院範雅僧都か養父大舎人入道といふものは、そのころ人にしられたりける侍也。あるとし天下に疫病はやりて家ことにやみけるに、この入道か郎等男ゆめに、数多の武士この家にうちいらんとするに、先

³³⁸ It is often referred to simply as “8.2.”

³³⁹ I added the punctuation for ease of reading. The original does not include it.

陣のともから、うちをみいれて、かふとをぬきて拝していはく、「此所に『唯識論』おはします。狼藉あるへからす」とて、やかてみな退出しぬ。夢さめて後、翌朝に入道か家にきたりて、このよしをかたる。「そもそも『唯識論』とはなに物そや」といふ。範雅、おりふし在京して、かの家に同宿したりければ、このよしをつたへききてはしくその家を見るに、まら人ぬ棚のおくより『唯識論』第九しゅうをもとめいたしてけり。此僧都つねに宿しければ、同朋ともなと取落けるにこそ。

English translation:

Ōtonerino *nyūdō*,³⁴⁰ the adopted father of the priest Norimasa³⁴¹ of Zennan'in,³⁴² was known at that time as a samurai. That year, there was an epidemic spreading across the land and it was making all households fall ill. The father's retainer had a dream that a large number of warriors were going to attack the father's house but when the head warrior looked in the house, he stopped, removed his helmet, and said "The *Yuishiki ron* is here! We must leave" and so they withdrew. The next morning after having the dream, the retainer went to the father's house to tell him the story, and in response, the father asked, "What is the *Yuishiki ron*?" At that time, Norimasa was in the capital, and when he heard about the story, he came to the house to search for the *Yuishiki ron*. He discovered the ninth scroll of the *Yuishiki ron* on the shelf in a room that he stayed in when visiting his father. One of his guests must have left it there.

Clearly, the picture includes elements of both the "reality" in the story and the retainer's dream with its depiction of the widespread illness as well as a group of finely-outfitted warriors arriving at the gate on horses and the head warrior kneeling in reverence toward the open gate and the sacred text beyond. The image also shows Norimasa's discovery of the *Yuishiki ron* in "reality" inside an elegantly decorated closet and presenting it to his father while the retainer

³⁴⁰ The title *nyūdō* (one who has entered the Buddhist path), which general designates someone who had taken vows but not entered a monastery. Gomi Fumihiko locates a possible identity for Ōtonerino. For more on his identity, refer to Gomi Fumihiko, "*Kasuga genki e" to chūsei: emaki o yomu aruku* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1998), 213–14.

³⁴¹ The term in the text is "*sōzu*," which translates as "prelate" but here I just use "priest." Per Gomi, Norimasa is the child of Minamoto no Masuyori, and at 19 was the *ryūgi* for the *yuima-e* at Kōfukuji (1171). Gomi, *Kasuga genki e*, 213.

³⁴² I could not locate information on Zennan'in, but Tyler states the temple was a minor subtemple of Kōfukuji. Tyler, *Miracles of Kasuga Deity*, 175.

watches from the veranda (Figure 3-1a). The existence and importance of a copy of the *Yuishiki ron* in “reality” is, in fact, the reason that its power appears in a dream.

The *Yuishiki ron* is one of the fundamental sutras of the Hossō sect of Buddhism, which is seated at Kōfukuji. As noted previously, the Kasuga deity was a protector of Kōfukuji and its teachings, so it is not surprising to find several tales about the sutra in *Kasuga genki-e*. While the text suggests that the sutra itself had the power to protect the household, that might not be the case. Other *Kasuga genki-e* tales make it explicit that the Kasuga deity was the one offering protection to those with the sutra and punishment to those not honoring it. For instance, in story 14.6, a single home is saved from a devastating fire because it possesses one scroll of the sutra. It states, “Obviously it was Daimyōjin’s [Kasuga’s] protection of this book that saved this house.” In 15.1, a monk kicks a sleeping practitioner and then falls seriously ill. Through a medium, the Kasuga deity told the monk that he would not help him because the monk had injured the practitioner, who had been studying the *Yuishiki ron*.

The depiction of the epidemic in the picture is much more detailed than in the text. This is not surprising since the implications of a word like “epidemic” cannot be easily represented by a singular visual motif. At the same time, this picture contains elements that reach well beyond the content of the text. For instance, the image of a healer walking away from a person still clearly suffering could have been added as a commentary on the ultimate power of Kasuga and Kōfukuji teachings.³⁴³ The topic of competition among healers will be discussed more in the next chapter.

³⁴³ Gomi identifies the healer as a *hōshi onmyōji*, while Komatsu identifies him as *kitōshi* (祈禱師). Gomi, *Kasuga genki e*, 215; Komatsu, *Kasuga Gongen genki e*, 14–15:50–51.

Epidemic-Causing Entities

Belief that beings of various types could cause epidemics was established by the eighth century in Japan but may have earlier origins. They included but were not limited to local *kami* or gods, foreign gods, and angry spirits of the deceased. Two of the earliest examples appear in historical records, one about a local god enshrined in Mt. Miwa in the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters, 712) and the other about a foreign deity in *Bingo Fudoki* (Historical Record of Bingo Province, compiled in the early Nara period).³⁴⁴ Similarly, historical records from the 700s note the vengeful spirits of the deceased were also known to cause epidemics and other types of destruction. Many of these beings continued to be named as sources of epidemics well into the early-medieval period.

It was also during the eighth century that we find the first appearance of the specific terms *ekishin* (epidemic kami, 疫神) and *ekiki* (epidemic demon 疫鬼).³⁴⁵ Herman Ooms located these terms in documents from the 770s in relation to rituals for epidemics noting that they were the focus of symbolic action.³⁴⁶ He argues that the appearance of these terms represents a shift to

³⁴⁴ Another legend states that during the reign of Empress Suiko (593-628) an epidemic was brought from Korea by three children and three adults on a boat. The adults were not human; they had died from the disease that the children were carrying and turned into *ekijin*. After warning that the Japanese would get the disease, they asked for offerings of potato (*satoimo*). According to Shiga, this came from the *Wakan sansei zue*, which is dated much later. McMullin, “On Placating the Gods,” 280; Shiga Takeshi, “Nihon ni okeru ekijin shinkō no seisei,” *Shintō-shi kenkyū* 29, no. 3 (1981): 152, 161, 169–70.

³⁴⁵ There is no clear pattern of distinction in the way these two terms are used over time. More broadly speaking, the terms used for epidemic-causing entities vary over time, and several examples will be noted throughout this chapter. Due to the lack of clear, stable distinctions between epidemic/disease-causing gods and epidemic/disease-causing demons, I am going to hereafter refer to them as disease entities unless a direct translation is required.

³⁴⁶ In his review of historical records, Herman Ooms finds the rituals in use by the 770s. Ooms calls attention to the fact the different characters in *ekishin* and *ekiki* derive from the religious source of the materials consulted; in this case, he suggests the first was Buddhist and the second was Daoist in origin. Herman Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan: The Tenmu Dynasty, 650-800* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2016), 236.

a more precise identification of a category of entity that caused epidemics.³⁴⁷ I would further suggest this might indicate a growing need to differentiate epidemics that were caused by the individualized or named gods, such as the ones discussed in *Kojiki* and *Bingo Fudoki*, from those caused by a more general epidemic entity, such as the one depicted in the *Kasuga genki-e*. I suggest, in part, that the arrival of rituals centered on appeasing general epidemic-deities from China might have played a role in this differentiation and that the ritual influenced the way in which epidemic deities were imagined and visualized.

Epidemic Entities in Illustrated Handscrolls

As noted in the introductory chapter, illness-causing beings appearing in specialized manuals did not, for the most part, enter the popular imaginary and do not even appear in handscrolls that must have been sponsored by elite, well-educated patrons who would have been familiar with them. It seems likely that one reason the fantastical hybrid forms in the healing-ritual manuals were not used in the illustrated scrolls is because they were tied to specific identities and origins. Identifying deities through their specific physical form and/or material attributes was a major concern for healers, evidenced by the numerous iconographical source books produced during the Heian and Kamakura periods.³⁴⁸ Since those deities were well established as specific entities tied to specific disease, the iconography becomes more settled and less flexible. A different sort of figure was needed for a general epidemic deity.

³⁴⁷ Prior to that, rituals point to an approach which incorporated *kami*, Buddhas, and spirits. Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, 236.

³⁴⁸ For instance, *Shichiyō seishin betsugyō hō* (*Book of diseases caused by the stars*) insists that it was critical for the image to be done correctly for the ritual to work. For more in English, refer to Shih-Shan Susan Huang, “Daoist Imagery of Body and Cosmos Part 2: Body Worms and Internal Alchemy,” *Journal of Daoist Studies* 4 (2011): 37–38. Buddhist iconographical sources for rituals and visual image, include *Kakuzenshō*, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Zuzō*.

While beliefs about epidemic-causing beings flourished from at least the eighth century, there is no evidence that they were depicted in painted form until the early-medieval period. They began appearing in illustrated handscrolls and hanging scrolls from the thirteenth century on.

One sort of representation was of a horde of entities of various forms. For example, the artists of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi* (*Illustrated Legends of the Yūzū Nenbutsu sect*; hereafter *Yūzū engi*, early 1300s) opted for a large group of fearsome epidemic deities in the ninth section of Cleveland Museum of Art's scroll (Figure 3-2).³⁴⁹ This particular scene's story goes that a village leader at Yono in Musashi (now Tokyo) decides to lead his family and community in *betsuji nenbutsu* (praying the *nenbutsu* at different times) in order to protect them from a widespread, horrific pestilence in the Shōka era (1257-1268). The day before the service, he lists each member of the group in a document, and that night he dreams that a horde of epidemic gods (per text, *yakujin* 役神) appear at his gate and try to enter his house. He shows the deities the register of the names and the demons, as an indication of their good faith, add their seals to the register. In the visual scene, the epidemic beings have varying degrees of abnormality, including red, blue, or green skin; clawed nails on two- or three-toed feet; oversized facial features; and/or

³⁴⁹ *The Yūzū Nenbutsu engi* is made of up two scrolls, one owned by The Art Institute of Chicago and the other to the Cleveland Museum of Art. The AIC scroll illustrates the life of the founder of the sect Ryōnin (1073-1132) while the CMA scroll illustrates Ryōnin's death and rebirth into paradise and then focuses on stories that illustrate the power of the *nenbutsu*. In the *Yūzū engi* scroll owned by CMA, the leader then asked if he could add his daughter's name to the registry even though she was away from home. The demons did not allow him to add her name. He then woke up from his dream and checked the registry. Underneath the names there were seals—some of the kana was mis-written and the color was like *yaki-e* (焼き絵, pyrograph). All of the people that participated in the *betsuji nenbutsu* survived the epidemic, but not his daughter. For more on the scroll, see Jack Sewell, "Yūzū Nembutsu Engi Emaki: Illustrated Scrolls of the History of Yūzū Nembutsu," *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1959): 28–34; John Rosenfield and Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, "Illustrated Legends of the Yuzu Nembutsu Sect," in *Journey of the Three Jewels: Japanese Buddhist Paintings from Western Collections* (New York: Asia Society, 1979), 138–43; Shimada Shūjirō, *Kōbō Daishi den emaki, Yūzū Nenbutsu engi, Tsukiminedera konryū shugyō engi*, *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1980); Stern, "Yūzū Nembutsu Engi."

long, unruly hair or beards. There are deities with animalistic features such as a bird beak, a rooster head, or horns.³⁵⁰

Three unique figures stand out in the *Yūzū engi*; one deity has an elongated head with four sets of eyes plus a single eye and the other two are often described as looking like *tsukumogami* (transfigured objects). Several similar looking deities also appear in the *Fudō riyaku engi emaki* (*Illustrated Handscroll of the Miraculous Deeds of Fudō Myōō*, hereafter *Fudō riyaku*) as well (Figure 3-3). However, the identities of the deities in the *Fudō riyaku* are less certain since they are not described in the text of the scroll as either epidemic deities or illness-causing beings. These issues will be discussed more in Chapter Four.

Although not a visual image, it is important to note that the idea that epidemics were caused/carried by hordes of entities is not without precedent. In the *Konjaku monogatari*, a late-Heian period compilation of *setsuwa*, there is a well-known story about a group of disease-carrying entities. The story tells about the monk Dōkō's encounter with a road-side deity who is forced to serve gods of disease.³⁵¹ The story goes that during the night Dōkō heard a group of horsemen ride by and call for an old man to join them. A voice replied that he could not because his horse's legs were broken. The next morning, Dōkō found a decaying road god image and a broken votive horse plaque, which Dōkō fixed. The next night, the riders came again, and the old man went with them. Before dawn, the old man returned and said to Dōkō, "Holy man, your curing my horse allowed me to do my duty. I owe you more than I can ever repay! I'm the road

³⁵⁰ One might even consider how the masks used in *gigaku* and *gyōmoden* (parades that taught the public about karma), that included fantastic deities and exaggerated-depictions of foreigners, indirectly influenced the iconography of illness-causing deities. The *Karura* mask used in both types of performances, for one, show the bulging eyes, the cocks comb, and upturned beak of the bird-human deity. This bird-headed figure shows up in iconography to the bird-headed figures within the plague-deities of the *Yūzū engi*. One example of an eighth century mask is housed at Kimbell Art Museum, accessed November 1, 2021, <https://kimbellart.org/collection/ap-200502>.

³⁵¹ *Konjaku monogatari* 13:34. Royall Tyler, *Japanese Tales* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 226.

god under this tree. All those riders were gods of disease. Normally I clear the way for them as they go through the land and if I don't go, they beat and abuse me cruelly. Now, I'm sure that thanks to you I can cast off this poor shape of mine and be reborn in some far nobler form."³⁵²

These two scenes, one visual and one textual, offer interesting insight into how the warriors and the epidemic entity might have been read in comparison in the *Kasuga genki-e*. First, the horde of epidemic entities in *Yūzū engi* and the group of disease entities in the story of Dōkō mimics the group of warriors. In the case of the *Yūzū engi*, the epidemic-being group travels by foot or perhaps another supernatural method while the warriors are on horseback, and in the case of the Dōkō story, the epidemic-deities travel by horse. They all present as groups of entities that travel to do harm to others. The relationship between travel, horses, disease, foreigners, and warriors is taken up more below.

Second, the warriors and *Yūzū engi ekiki* are both understood to have appeared in a dream. Dreams were a frequent medium for supernatural entities to pass information to humans, and many monks report having sacred dreams. In fact, sacred dreams are often credited as the impetus for the worship of new deities and are the source of those deities' iconography when icons were created.³⁵³ Here, the two groups represent the danger and suffering that could have occurred were it not for the power of the Buddhist sutra and the Kasuga deity.

Third, in the case of the figures in the *Kasuga genki-e* and the *Yūzū engi*, all are depicted near a home but not inside. The *ekiki* from the former looks inside from the roof while the warriors, like the epidemic gods in the *Yūzū engi*, stop in front of the open gates. The warriors and the epidemic gods are depicted with a great amount of detail, and the brightly colored

³⁵² Tyler, *Japanese Tales*, 226.

³⁵³ One example, the Yellow Fudō, is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

clothing and/or bodies make them stand out from the rest of the scene, which is largely brown from the earthen street or the tan walls. What also stands out is that the warriors and epidemic gods do not have the opportunity to harm those protected inside the gates due to their religious protection. In each, the leader of the group is the one to recognize and honor the religious protection by not attacking those inside.

Rather than masses of entities represented as beings with varied forms or as warriors, the single, red-bodied figure of the *Kasuga genki-e* is what usually comes to mind when one thinks of agents of calamity, including plagues. The first instance of such an entity appearing in extant paintings of illness is the thirteenth century *Shōjuraigō-ji rokudō-e* (*Shōjuraigō-ji Six Paths*). It appears in one of the four scrolls that depict aspects of suffering within the human realm (Figure 3-4). Here, an ill man leans over inside a rundown hut while a green-bodied figure stands wielding a mallet above him. The being's grimacing face is accentuated by horns and his exaggerated body is covered only by an animal-skin skirt. This is one of two scenes in the scroll that depict sickness; the other scene is set inside a wealthy home and shows an ill man being cared for and propped up by assistants while vomiting. The *Kasuga genki-e* scene recalls aspects of both of those scenes. It should be noted, however, that the text of the *Shōjuraigō-ji rokudō-e* does not indicate if this is a representation of an epidemic or some other type of illness.

This monstrous form of an entity that causes calamities like epidemics conforms to that of what is generally called an *oni*, or monstrous demon-like entity that is described as having red, green, or black skin; being taller than a typical human; having abnormal or exaggerated facial features; and having long, tangled hair. The *oni* is an important figure in the Japanese cultural imagination, but a ritual performance introduced around the same time as the 770s records noting

the terms *ekishin* and *ekiki* had an influence on the iconography employed in depicting epidemic-causing entities.

Ritual Influence

Demons or spirits as the cause of plague was well established in China and East Asia from quite early on.³⁵⁴ Paul Katz has noted that there are two types of plague spirits in China: plague deities (瘟神), which were thought to be heavenly officials sent to punish wrongdoers, and plague demons (疫鬼), which randomly killed large numbers of people.³⁵⁵ The demons were considered to be the souls of people who had died in epidemics and killed others to take their place. The iconography used to visualize these deities is significant in that the spirits appear as officials while the demons appear as human-like beings with exaggerated bodies, minimal clothing, and wild hair.³⁵⁶

The Chinese rituals focused on these entities vary according to the type of spirit that was being addressed and did not remain constant over time, but they consistently focused on appeasement or expulsion. One ritual, the *Da Nou* (Great Exorcism), is particularly relevant as a closely related version of it appears in Japan early on. According to Han period (206 BCE-220 CE) descriptions, the *Da Nou* included officials and ritual specialists dressing up in animal furs, horns, and feathers and running through the imperial palace shouting threats and brandishing

³⁵⁴ Van Glahn has delved deeply into the role of supernatural entities in causing and defending against epidemics in China. Richard Von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

³⁵⁵ Paul Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 49. It is worth noting that the imaginings of the *oni* in Japan included that some might have originated with spirits of the deceased. Noriko Reider, *Japanese Demon Lore: Oni from Ancient Times to the Present* (Logan: Utah State Univ Press, 2013), 3.

³⁵⁶ It should be noted that the juxtaposition of the monstrous, spirits, and punishments also have resonance in medieval Christian European iconography. Dale, *Pygmalion's Power*, 125–72. E

swords in order to drive away the plague demons and other malignant spirits.³⁵⁷ Specifically, the ritualist, *fangxiangshi* (方相氏), wore a bear skin head cover with four golden eyes, dressed in red and black, and carried a sword and shield. Attendants acted as twelve animals wearing fur, feathers, and horns and chant about eating the malicious spirits.

The *nuo* ritual was introduced to Japan from China in the early eighth century according to historical records but could have come earlier.³⁵⁸ The Japanese version, *tsuina* (*onioi*), is still practiced today. It is centered on driving away malignant spirits that cause epidemics and pestilence as well as removing impurities or defilements that had accumulated in sacred spaces.³⁵⁹ The *tsuina* details vary over time and location, but in general, at least one person dresses as the malignant spirit while ritualists drive them away through ritual actions such as stomping, throwing rice, etc.³⁶⁰ The ritualist has the same title (方相氏) as in the *Da Nuo*, although pronounced *hōsōshi* in Japanese. The demon performer, as well as the ritualists chasing

³⁵⁷ For more on the ritual, refer to Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.-A.D. 220*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 75–138; Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, 64–65; Karin Myhre, “Monsters Life the Veil: Chinese Animal Hybrids and Processes of Transformation,” in *Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 223–25.

³⁵⁸ It is possible that it came to Japan much earlier with the importation of rice, in the late Jōmon period (ending c300BCE). Min Tian, “Chinese Nuo and Japanese Noh: Nuo’s Role in the Origination and Formation of Noh,” *Comparative Drama* 37, no. 3 (2003): 348–49. According to *Zhouli* (*Rites of Zhou*) dated to the second century BCE, the Fang Xiang Shi (exorcist and shaman) leads the performance in expelling the demons and spirits while wearing bear skins, a mask with four golden eyes, and carrying a sword and shield. This is one of earliest records but ritual goes back much earlier. Yilin Liu, “Playful Exorcist: Theatrical Representations of Zhong Kui in Ming and Qing Dramas” (PhD diss., Madison, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2018), 15. Regarding the Japanese performance, Bialock notes that the ritualist (*hōsōshi*) wore red robes and a bear skin and had a mask with four golden eyes, Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 103.

³⁵⁹ Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 103. Note that in the eighth century, the ritual was enveloped into the new year rituals of *shushoe* and *shunigatsue* that focused on prayers for good harvest, health, and peace. This seems to indicate a slight shift from merely reactive expulsion to pacification in hopes of prevention. Tian, “Chinese Nuo and Japanese Noh,” 30.

³⁶⁰ Quitman Eugene Phillips, “Kano Motonobu’s *Shuten Dōji Emaki* and Anti-Demon Rituals in Late Medieval Japan,” *Japan Review*, no. 32 (2019): 50.

the demon, dress in costumes that recall the *oni* and epidemic-deity iconography discussed above: the masks worn had bulging eyes (sometimes golden), large grimacing mouths, and unruly facial hair and either green or red skin pigment.³⁶¹ Two extant masks used in late-Heian *tsuina*, one red and one blue/green demon, exhibit the fierce and affective characteristics (Figures 3-5a and 3-5b).³⁶²

Records indicate that *tsuina* were conducted frequently at the court, temples, and shrines. In his article on Shuten Dōji, Quitman Phillips states, “A wealth of evidence tells us that *onioi* [*tsuina*] rituals were, without question, part of the lived experience of the majority of Japanese people of most, if not all, social ranks.”³⁶³ These facts, in addition to the early introduction of these rituals, make it likely that they were integral in shaping the iconographical and contextual relationship between the *oni* form and epidemic deities in the minds of Japanese people. Thus, when epidemic causing deities began to appear in painted mediums, the *oni* iconography was calling upon a rich ritual performance history that visually connected *oni* to disease deities and one that was well-known to the majority of people, not just the elite or monk-healers. These points enhance the argument by Ōsumi Kazuo and others that visual images of hell-demons solidified the *oni* iconography, and especially since these beings were largely portrayed and understood to have ability to cause harm to humans, alive or deceased.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ According to Takahashi, in China, *hōsōshi* came to be connected to the Buddhist deity Bishamon and in Japan the rituals of *tsuina* when became part of *shushoe* developed so that Bishamon was the chaser of demons. Takahashi Masaaki, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō: mō hitotsu no Nihon Bunka* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2005), 218–20.

³⁶² Part of the Fujita Museum collection in Osaka. Images 110-1 and 110-2 in catalogue of Fujita Museum Collection at the Nara National Museum. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Kokuhō no dendo Fujita bijutsukan-ten: yohentenmokuchawan to Bukkyō bijutsu no kirameki* (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2019).

³⁶³ Phillips, “Kano Motonobu’s *Shuten Dōji Emaki*,” 50.

³⁶⁴ Ōsumi Kazuo, *Nihon no bunka o yominaosu: bukyō, nenjū gyōji, bungaku no chūsei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1998), 238.

Oni: Human Otherness and Calamity

Oni, often translated as demon, was a key figure in the Japanese imagery by the late Heian period popularized through folk tales, *setsuwa*, visual iconography and ritual performances. *Oni* are often described as violent; at times eating human flesh, raping, kidnapping, and torturing humans, either in the human realm or as demons in the Buddhist realm of *jigoku*. *Oni* are usually found in the night near or in liminal spaces such as gates, bridges, crossroads, mountains, or abandoned houses. In many tales, the *oni*'s appearances are made known only through suggestion, but when the *oni* are seen by humans in tales or depicted in paintings, they are depicted with human bodies with varying degrees of abnormality as described above.³⁶⁵

Part of the difficulties in defining *oni*, is that *oni* can be presented as a specific entity, one that is often the agent of calamity, while simultaneously representing broader conceptual understandings of human “otherness.”³⁶⁶ The “othering” aspect of *oni* is one of the things that scholars can broadly agree on, and the reasons are quite similar to those raised in relation to the monstrous figures of other cultures and times.³⁶⁷ That is, *oni* are seen as culturally and symbolically important in that they represent the bounds, as described above, of the ideal human

³⁶⁵ In visual images, *oni* are not always necessarily gendered, but at times there are breasts to indicate a female form while the others default to male.

³⁶⁶ There are times when *oni* are humorous or pitiful rather than violent. See Michelle Osterfeld Li, “Human of the Heart: Pitiful Oni in Medieval Japan,” in *Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 173–96.

³⁶⁷ Noriko Rieder approaches *oni* as “marginalized others” in her book, including marginal groups excluded socio-politically as well as people considered marginal by distance from communities. Rieder, *Japanese Demon Lore*, xx–xxi. Michael Dylan Foster states “*oni* can be interpreted historically as visualizations of otherness and the dangers associated with it.” Michael Dylan Foster and Kijin Shinonome, *The Book of Yōkai: Mysterious Creatures of Japanese Folklore*, 2015, 119; Michael Dylan Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade: Japanese Monsters and the Culture of Yōkai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

body (physical features) and behavior (violence) as well that of place (liminal) and time (night).³⁶⁸

Early records that include the character 鬼 describe what might be considered supernatural entities, such as a one-eyed cannibal as well as unknown foreigners. One such instance appears in the *Nihongi* (*Chronicles of Japan*, 720 CE) where foreign men, likely from northeastern China, had washed ashore on the Island of Sado and were labeled as non-human and demons (鬼魅).³⁶⁹ The use of the term for both indicates its power to communicate that which was different either in form or custom from those writing the records, who would have been part of the Japanese state.³⁷⁰

Other records indicate that *oni* might have had early associations with fears around illness and natural disasters, or that which caused suffering and harm to humans. Takahashi Masaaki connects *oni* to epidemics by arguing that Shuten Dōji, the famed demon king in Japanese literary and visual culture, had part of his origins in a plague god.³⁷¹ What is even more significant is that Takahashi's argument draws different aspects of otherness together by

³⁶⁸ They are not unlike the monsters in the west. For a good introduction to the usefulness of thinking with monsters, see Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills, eds., *The Monstrous Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003). For an analysis of different ways that monstrous images worked in locations within architectural settings, see Dale, *Pygmalion's Power*.

³⁶⁹ Another early record from the *Izumo no kuni fudoki* (Record of the Features of Izumo Province, 733) describes a one-eyed cannibalistic being "In the old days, a person made a mountain field (or paddy) and protected it. At that time, a one-eyed鬼 came and gobbled up the man making the field." Quote from Baba Akiko, "Oni no tanjō," in *Kaii no Minzokugaku 4: Oni*, ed. Komatsu Kazuhiko (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2000), 35.

³⁷⁰ According to Komatsu, *oni* was often used as a term to describe "people who had different customs and lived beyond the reach of the emperor's control." Kazuhiko Komatsu, "Supernatural Apparitions and Domestic Life in Japan," *Japan Foundation NewsLetter* XXVII, no. No 1 (June 1999): 3.

³⁷¹ Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō*, 5. For more on Shuten Dōji in English see Phillips, "Kano Motonobu's *Shuten Dōji Emaki*."

connecting the *oni* as representative of the fear of others, or more specifically foreigners, and a fear of the plague, which was assumed to come from foreigners.

Takahashi's argument is well supported. Historical and medical records highlight that epidemics were thought to have arrived to Japan from foreign lands by the eighth century. A medical text compiled seventy years after the first smallpox outbreak in Japan (735 to 737) states that a Japanese fisherman came into contact with an infected "barbarian" and then brought the disease to Japan.³⁷² A late-Heian period version of the story changes the source from a single infected person to a "barbarian ship."³⁷³ And later, in the early-Kamakura period *Zoku kojidan*, it says, "The spread of the contagious disease called smallpox came from Silla. A person(s) of Kyūshū became separated in their cormorant boats and landed in that country. He (they) became infected with the disease and brought it back."³⁷⁴

Note that in Japan, barbarian, written with the character 胡, signified different ethnic groups, usually those beyond the Chinese borders. Some of these foreign ethnic groups were known only through exaggerated facial masks used in performances, such as the *Konron gigaku* (musical drama) mask.³⁷⁵ *Konron* is said to be a man of Southeast Asian descent but like a demon, so he is depicted with bulging eyes and nose, fang teeth, and animal-like pointed ears

³⁷² William Wayne Farris, *Population, Disease and Land in Early Japan, 645-900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 53–54.

³⁷³ Farris, *Population, Disease and Land*, 54; Kim, *Shinra Myōjin*, 95–97.

³⁷⁴ Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō*, 6, 36.

³⁷⁵ Carved wood *Gigaku* mask of *Konron*, 7th century. E-museum, accessed November 1, 2022. https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=ja&webView=null&content_base_id=100769&content_part_id=007&content_pict_id=009. Another example is the *Suiko-ō* (*Intoxicated Barbarian King*) *Gigaku* Mask [No. 47] of *Suiko-ō* ["Intoxicated Barbarian King"], Japan, 8th century CE, image available at Freer Sackler Museum website, accessed November 1, 2022, <https://sogdians.si.edu/suiko-o/>

(Figure 3-6). It is worth noting that the character 胡 was also used in descriptions of Japanese warriors at various times.

Over time, there was a shift in the smallpox story from blaming a general foreign “barbarian” to a person specifically from Korea.³⁷⁶ Takahashi suggests that this might be related to prejudice against Korea at the time. In his research on epidemics, William Farris notes that there are several times when epidemics occurred in in Japan, China, and Korea around the same time indicating transmission from other regions was likely.³⁷⁷ However, Farris also suggests that scholars should use caution “when a Japanese historian attributes an evil to Korea since Silla was the traditional scapegoat throughout the early period.”³⁷⁸

In more recent scholarship, Michael Como closely considers the connections between the introduction of new technologies to Japan and the widespread impact it had. He proposes that the introduction of horses to Japan from Korea led to increase in roadway building and travel between communities across Japan and that this in turn led to diseases spreading faster. Como states, “One result of this process was that disease-bearing demons came to be closely associated with the horses that traveled the roadways of Japan.”³⁷⁹

Como’s last point calls to mind the story of Dōkō and the horse-riding epidemic gods discussed above. In the story, the old man that spoke to Dōkō was a roadside god. Roadside rituals with offerings of food, animal hides, and/or clay human figures, horses, and animals were

³⁷⁶ Kim, *Shinra Myōjin*, 89–99.

³⁷⁷ Farris, *Population, Disease and Land*, 156–61.

³⁷⁸ Farris, *Population, Disease and Land*, 54.

³⁷⁹ It was also true that foreign deities were brought into the Japanese pantheon to assist in fighting the foreign diseases. Michael Como, “Horses, Dragons, and Disease in Nara Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34, no. 2 (2007): 401.

intended to pacify traveling epidemic deities or other dangerous spirits. These rituals functioned by appeasing the deities and encouraging them not to cross the border into other communities.³⁸⁰ Thus, there was not just fear of diseases coming from the outside of the country via deity or people, but also outside in the sense of disease spreading through different communities across Japan.

Oni and Invisible Viruses

According to Fujikawa Yū, there were a total of sixteen epidemics (including identified diseases and non-identified ones) in the twelfth century, twenty-one in the thirteenth century, and twenty-four in the fourteenth century.³⁸¹ These statistics account for the frequent epidemics, but not the famines that might have accompanied them nor all the diseases that people from the early-medieval period had to endure. For instance, Kamo no Chōmei's famed description of Kyoto during the Yōwa famine of 1181-1182 describes a "starvation epidemic."³⁸² The graphic account is particularly haunting in its vivid description of the suffering of humans as well as the collapse of the systems such as food, sanitation, commerce that were intended to support them³⁸³:

³⁸⁰ There is archaeological evidence that ritualists would break the legs off of clay horses to prevent the spread of epidemics since they were deemed to ride horses. Kaneko Hiroyuki, *Majinai no sekai 1: Jōmon kodai*, Nihon no bijutsu 360 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1996); Tatsumi Jun'ichirō, *Majinai no sekai 2: rekishi jidai*, Nihon no bijutsu 361 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1996). For more on the use of objects for exorcism or rituals dealing with disease, see J. Edward Kidder, *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chiefdom of Yamatai: Archaeology, History, and Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 127–59. For a discussion on numerous rites that took place at corner and borders see Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō*, 14–30.

³⁸¹ Between 1200-1400, there were twelve documented smallpox outbreaks and six for measles. These numbers are based on extant records, so it is possible that there were more epidemics since record keeping might have been more stable at certain times. Fujikawa Yū, *Nihon shippeishi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1969), 177–79; Ann Bowman Jannetta, *Epidemics and Mortality in Early Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 46, 110–15.

³⁸² Jannetta, *Epidemics and Mortality*, 176–77.

³⁸³ For more on the topic of industries, urbanization, and epidemic/spirit management, see Como, "Onmyōji, the Earth God and Ghosts."

It was customary for the capital to depend on the countryside for all its needs, and once supplies of provisions ceased to come in, the inhabitants found it impossible to continue to live in their usual lifestyle . . . Beggars lined the roadside, the sound of their pitiful cries dinning in one's ears.

So the first year somehow came to an end, and it was expected that the new year would bring a return to normalcy. But instead epidemics broke out, adding to the suffering, and relief seemed nowhere in sight. People were now dying of hunger, and each day their plight worsened; they were like fish trapped in shallow water . . . Many were overcome by exhaustion and despair in the midst of their ploddings, sinking to the ground where they were. Beside the walls of buildings and along the roads the bodies of those who had starved to death were beyond count. Since nothing was done to remove them, the stench soon filled the city, and the sight of them as they decayed was often too ghastly to look at. The riverbed of the Kamo was so clogged that horses and carts could longer pass that way.

The woodcutters and other poor people by this time no longer had the strength to deliver firewood to the city; so persons with no other means of support broke up their own houses and peddled the wood in the market. But as much wood as one man could carry did not bring enough to sustain life for a single day. Strangely enough, among the wood, I saw pieces here and there that were painted red or had bits of metal foil attached. When I investigated, I found that some people, lacking any other resort, were going around to old temples, stealing Buddhist images, ripping out the furnishings the sacred halls, and breaking them up.³⁸⁴

Reading about the terrible impact of epidemics on people's lives, it is not surprising that there was a deep interest in contending with the invisible cause through various means. Fear of the unseen seems universal, especially when it is something that has the potential to harm. This seems especially true when the invisible nature of a virus has the potential to bypass boundaries of space and flesh.³⁸⁵ This fear is often mitigated by responses that make the unseen knowable and visible.

³⁸⁴ Translation is from Burton Watson, *Four Huts: Asian Writings on the Simple Life* (Boston: Shambhala, 2002), 56–57.

³⁸⁵ The idea of viruses as modern day monsters is proposed in Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock, "Invisible Monsters: Vision, Horror, and Contemporary Culture," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittman and Peter Dendle, 2012, 284–86.

Approaches to making the invisible known vary according to ritual and culture. For instance, Michael Strickman argues that in Chinese rituals knowing the name of the demon and calling it out was central to overcoming its power.³⁸⁶ As noted in the introductory chapter, rituals to appease astral deities in *Shichiyō seishin betsugyō hō* require that their likeness be made into a visual image. In an essay on *tsuina*, Alexandre Gras makes a point of discussing how the ritual made it so that which was not seen, the causes of illness and impurity, could be seen by viewers.³⁸⁷

It is also the case that in Japan, seeing was understood to be a powerful act often tied to access to knowledge, power, and supernatural abilities. The scholar Morishige Satoshi has argued the term *miru*, to see, had significant connotations in pre-modern Japan. Of particular importance is the association of the word with the meaning to ““possess” something exterior to oneself.”³⁸⁸ Satoshi further argues that the term to “see someone or something” could also mean to “know someone or something.”³⁸⁹ These associations point to the potency of looking and the implications of being seen in Japanese thought. In the latter, looking is associated with knowledge and in both cases, it is conceived in terms of the exertion of control over that which is being seen. Thus, in terms of the *tsuina* ritual performances and the *emaki* featuring epidemic entities, the act of seeing might be understood as gaining control over that which is feared, dangerous, and invisible—defilements and disease. In the case of the epidemic-entities, the

³⁸⁶ Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, ed. Bernard Faure (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 30–31, 84.

³⁸⁷ Gras Alexandre, “Tsuina ni okeru jumon no meishō to hōsōshi no yakuwari no henka ni tsuite,” *Nagoya daigaku daigakuin kokusaigengo kenkyū* 5 (2004): 35–53.

³⁸⁸ Gary Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 29.1/22/22 12:24:00 PM

³⁸⁹ Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry Politics of Death*, 29.

known iconography of the *tsuina oni* and later in painted images of *jigoku oni* punishing nude, vulnerable human bodies would have been a significant way to envision the harm that is brought by the virus.

In sum, the fear of unknown and potentially harmful entities is a thread that weaves through views on the *oni*, the foreign, the barbarian, and the epidemic. It is not surprising that depictions of those groups also reflect another thread, which is to use exaggerated features or characteristics that mix animal and human to define them as something other than ideal Japanese humans who lived and served inside the bounds of the court's rule. Similar tactics were used in images from medieval European visual culture, which envisioned foreign people, or non-Christians, as monstrous beings on the edges of the civilized world.³⁹⁰ In this way, non-normative, monstrous bodies were used in establishing boundaries, much the same way the rituals, such as *tsuina* or roadside rituals, sought to demarcate inside/purity from outside/impurity. The next section takes up the question of what happens when the boundaries are blurred with a focus on the mutable, human body and its visual and metaphorical relation to *oni*.

Oni and the Mutable Human Body

Edo-period images of illness-causing deities explicitly tie the physical characteristics of the entity's body and its paraphernalia with different aspects of the disease. They indicate that the deity's red body correlates with the psychosomatic symptoms of a fever and the red spots that arise from rashes, smallpox, or measles, while the deity's hammer is associated as causing the

³⁹⁰ Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Dale, *Pygmalion's Power*, 132, 136–38; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

pounding of the head and body aches.³⁹¹ Although these ideas are not specifically noted in early-medieval documents, it is not a stretch to imagine that these associations between the *oni*-like body of the disease-causing entity and the symptoms felt and seen in the body of an ill person were happening.³⁹² In part, this is because the *oni* was already associated with the non-normative human body, and as noted in Chapter One, illness was considered a mode of otherness, even if temporary. Rather than considering the correlation between *oni* and ill person as a cause-and-effect situation, I suggest that we should consider the *oni* as drawing its power as a symbol of alterity on its presentation as an anomalous human body. Here, I present various images of bodies of the ill, aging, and deceased during the early-medieval period. I will then consider how these bodies connect to beliefs and fears about the instability of bodies in early-medieval Japan. I propose that images of *oni* and disabled bodies can be understood as working in similar ways to both define “other” and interrupt the myth of human bodily integrity.

Illness, Aging and Dying

In “Household Escapes Epidemic,” the ill man’s fallen robe exposes his chest and ribs flexing as he heaves forward vomiting reddish brown liquid onto the dirt floor. A woman, perhaps his wife, holds his head up as he leans forward indicating his weakness. A person, likely dying or dead, was removed and placed in a lean-to next door.

³⁹¹ This is especially true for the *hashikagami* (measles-causing deity) which was depicted in woodblock prints called *hashika-e* (measles pictures). Hartmut Rotermund, “Illness Illustrated: Socio-Historical Dimensions of Late Edo Measles Pictures (Hashika-e),” in *Written Texts-Visual Texts: Woodblock-Printed Media in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), 251–83; Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō*, 37.

³⁹² I use *oni*-like here to signify that *oni* definitions vary. The modern image of *oni* is clear, but for many, the typology, such as disease-causing entity, is not.

Images like this one are not uncommon. As noted in the introduction and in Chapter Two, the image of the half nude body and the image of a person vomiting are common visual motifs of illness.³⁹³ In addition to the *Shōjuraigō-ji rokudō-e* described above, the *Kōbō Daishi gyōjōki* offers another version of the motif. Here, two people are depicted inside huts in an empty field-like area; one woman is lying down, her body emaciated with the ribs in her chest area protruding while next door the woman leans forward vomiting onto the ground (3-7). Not too far away, a corpse has been almost entirely eaten by dogs and birds. Toward the bottom of the painting, another corpse is surrounded by four people as scavenging birds approach.

In the most basic way, these images highlight the reality of the unstable nature of human body through states of illness, aging, and death. They also highlight the ways in which these types of bodies became sites of concern which were removed to marginal spaces due to fears of pollution.³⁹⁴ These bodies could also be read as providing an opportunity for spiritual enlightenment and in some cases, they had potential for achieving supernatural powers. I offer a few examples here to highlight how aging and deceased bodies were read through socio-cultural views and could function in a variety of ways.

In early- to mid-Heian Japan, aging represented the decline of vital pneumas (*ki*, Ch: *qi*) as well as being a potential source of pollution.³⁹⁵ It often meant removal from important political and social circles of society through the act of retirement and/or seclusion from the daily

³⁹³ Shinmura, *Nihon bukkyō no iryōshi*.

³⁹⁴ See the introduction for an overview of defilement. Also, Kim, “History of Filth.”

³⁹⁵ For more on pneumas, see Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*; Edward R. Drott, “Care Must Be Taken,” *Journal of Religion in Japan* 4, no. 1 (2015): 1–31.

world.³⁹⁶ The *rōtai* (aged body) was one that was a source of personal lament as well as being open to ridicule by others. For instance, white hair, wrinkles, and a bent back were often grieved as signs of aging in personal accounts and dairies.³⁹⁷ In other stories, the elderly are mocked for physical appearance, including the manner in which faces contort with age and wrinkles, or are viewed in disgust for not being able to control bodily functions, including instances of incontinence.³⁹⁸ As Edward Drott puts it in his work on old age in medieval Japan, “the aged body was an inherently asocial body, one whose ugliness and crassness made it impossible to harmonize with the rest of humanity, propelling it to the social fringe.”³⁹⁹

However, views on the aging body were not static. Drott notes that there was a shift in the late Heian period evidenced in the way that age was celebrated as an opportunity to escape social constraints. It was also the case that elderly men came to be described in semi-sacred terms and the figure of *okina* (divine or mysterious old man) came to prominence in literature, visual images, and performances.⁴⁰⁰ For instance, some priests came to be revered for their age and extreme ascetic practices and were viewed as possessing supernatural powers, such as En no

³⁹⁶ Rules established in 713 gave rights to people to remove the elderly from positions. Drott, *Buddhism Transformation of Old Age*.

³⁹⁷ Chusid, “Picturing the Afterlife,” 86–87.

³⁹⁸ Story about a priest passing gas but instead having a bowel movement in the *Shasekishu* (Collection of Sand and Pebbles). Robert E. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles The Tales of Muju Ichien, a Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 187. Also discussed in Drott, “Care Must Be Taken,” 2.

³⁹⁹ Drott, *Buddhism Transformation of Old Age*, 2.

⁴⁰⁰ The *okina* appears as giver of blessings in *dengaku* and *sarugaku*, and in *Noh*, and the *okina* was one of the three bodies that performers had to master. Phillips, “Kano Motonobu’s *Shuten Dōji Emaki*,” 53. For an interesting discussion about the view of elderly being envisioned as moving back into the world of deities, see Kuroda, *Kyōkai no chūsei*, 185–230. For an English summary refer to William R. LaFleur, *Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 33–37.

Gyōja, the founder of Shugendō. It also became common for *kami*, such as the Kasuga deity, to disguise themselves in the form of *okina* to appear to followers.

What is significant is that *okina*, who came to symbolize otherworldly power, are depicted in ways that exaggerate but reflect the body in old age while also recalling features used in *oni* iconography. In age, teeth become more prominent and, with men at least, hair grows more vigorously from eye brows, nose, and ears. *Okina* often have white, wild hair and bushy eyebrows that stand out over eyes in sunken-in sockets in a face defined by prominence of cheek bones and wrinkles. Sculptures of En no gyōja also highlight loss of body fat through the prominence of ribs showing across his chest (Figure 3-8). These features are highlighted in many of the *oni* images as well as the epidemic-entities described above.

Elderly female bodies were also associated with supernatural beings, but rather than a divine figure, they were usually depicted or described in terms of *oni*. In a *setsuwa* about two brothers, for instance, the narrator states “Senile and demented, their mother had become an *oni* and followed her children into the mountains to devour them. Parents who are extremely old always turn into demons and, in this way, try to eat even their own children.”⁴⁰¹ As Michelle Osterfeld Li notes, the story might be relating how dementia can cause changes in a person’s behavior, which sometimes includes hostility, but here the cognitive and behavioral changes are explained through the act of becoming *oni*.⁴⁰²

In visual images, Datsueba is representative of the terrifying old female *oni*, much like the one in *jigoku* (Figure 3-9). She appears in Buddhist texts as the old hag that strips the clothes

⁴⁰¹ Marian Ury, “Tales of Times Now Past Sixty-Two Stories from a Medieval Japanese Collection,” 2020, 165.

⁴⁰² Michelle Osterfeld Li, *Ambiguous Bodies: Reading the Grotesque in Japanese Setsuwa Tales* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 180.

off of people by the Sanzu River (River of Three Crossings), which they must cross after death.⁴⁰³ Datsueba is often depicted with long unkept white hair, a face distorted with wrinkles, protruding eyes, and a large mouth, and by sagging breasts that stand out against the bones of her rib cage that press against the flesh.⁴⁰⁴

It is not surprising that the image of Datsueba and the female *oni* are eerily similar to the images of the ill and dying women in the *Kōbō Daishi gyōjōki* with long sagging breasts and skin and distorted faces. It is also likely that these figures would have been viewed in gendered terms—standing in as the opposite of young women valued in society for fertility via their ugly and repulsive bodies. There is a correlation being drawn between the liminal state of their aged bodies between health and illness and ideal and aberrant and their position at borders between life and death. This reading is further enhanced with knowledge that decaying bodies marked the boundaries between this world, the Pure Land, and hell.⁴⁰⁵

The prevalence of *kusōzu* or images of decaying bodies in nine stages by the thirteenth century also speaks to these issues. In *kusōzu* paintings, the body, usually that of a woman, is shown in nine stages of decay after death.⁴⁰⁶ One example from the *Shōjuraigō-ji rokudō-e*, the woman is shown in the states of distention, rupture, exudation of blood, putrefaction,

⁴⁰³ In the *Bussetsu Jizō bosatsu hosshin innen jūō kyō* (The Sutra on the Bodhisattva Jizō's Aspiration for Enlightenment and the Ten Kings; often abbreviated as *Jizō jūō kyō*), she is also depicted as being part of the judgement of people's sins in *jigoku* by weighing the clothes of the deceased on a tree. Saka C., "Bridging the Realms of Underworld and Pure Land: An Examination of Datsueba's Roles in the Zenkōji Pilgrimage Mandala," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 44, no. 2 (2017): 191–223.

⁴⁰⁴ By the Muromachi period, a mysterious woman that lives in the mountains is called *yamauba* (*yamanba* or *yamamba*), often described as being an ugly, elderly human women. Sometimes they have animalistic characteristics like the exaggerated mouths or extra eyes of the male *oni*, but not always. Reider, *Japanese Demon Lore*, 61–89.

⁴⁰⁵ Chusid, "Picturing the Afterlife," 75–79.

⁴⁰⁶ The stages varied among the Buddhist sutras that included this practice. Kanda has a good summary of the sutras and differences in stages. Kanda, "Behind the Sensationalism."

discoloration, consumption by animals, scattering, and skeleton (Figure 3-10). These graphic images are related to the concept of *fujōkan* that encouraged meditation on the impurity of the human body to overcome hindrances to enlightenment, such as earthly and personal attachments. The question of the female body as subject of these paintings has been taken up as both reflective of misogyny and as a positive view of woman as important for enlightenment.⁴⁰⁷

In Japan, the idea of the impure body was central in the work of the monk Genshin (942-1017) in his *Ōjōyōshū* (*Essentials of Salvation*), but the theme of *fujōkan* appears in a number of *setsuwa* as well. It was not really until the early-medieval, however, that we see the emergence of the *kusōzu* paintings. Kanda Fusae has suggested that the interest in paintings might have been due to the prohibitions surrounding death defilement at the time, or in other words, the paintings offered an avenue for people to contemplate the deceased body without exposing themselves to defilement.⁴⁰⁸ I agree that these images and ideas about the defiled body highlight shifting views, but I also suggest that we need to consider how these fit into the other paintings I have described above. That is, there seems to be an overall increase in images that depict the mutable body, which relate to concerns of living in the age of *mappō* (latter days of the dharma), when people were less able to achieve enlightenment through their own power and had to rely on various expedient means.⁴⁰⁹

I also suggest that the human body and existence, as the one that was known and recognizable, was the most efficient means by which to other supernatural entities. Thus, the

⁴⁰⁷ R. Pandey, "Desire and Disgust: Meditations on the Impure Body in Medieval Japanese Narratives," *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 2 (2005): 195–234; Chin, "Gender of Buddhist Truth"; Kanda, "Behind the Sensationalism."

⁴⁰⁸ Kanda, "Behind the Sensationalism," 35.

⁴⁰⁹ Jacqueline Stone, "Seeking Enlightenment in the Last Age: 'Mappō' Thought in Kamakura Buddhism: PART I," *The Eastern Buddhist* 18, no. 1 (1985): 28–56; Jacqueline Stone, "Seeking Enlightenment in the Last Age: Mappō Thought in Kamakura Buddhism: PART II," *The Eastern Buddhist* 18, no. 2 (1985): 35–64.

most aberrant qualities of human bodies (elderly and ill) become incorporated into the most feared supernatural entities (*oni* and epidemic-causing beings).

Challenging Myths of Human Integrity

Early-medieval Japanese views of the human body highlight the existential boundary between human and other types of beings as porous and liminal. The world was populated with invisible and visible entities and forces that impacted and interacted with humans in various ways. *Kami* could be present even while hidden from view and care had to be taken to avoid offending them. *Gaki*, or hungry ghosts, lived adjacent to and fed on various human bodily excretions, but humans could not see them.⁴¹⁰ *Gaki* were also one of the lower existences that humans could be reborn into according to Buddhist doctrine of samsara. *Jigoku* was elsewhere yet also close by and accessible to those in the human realm either through portals such as water wells connecting the realms or through supernatural experiences guided by deities.⁴¹¹

The human body itself was also not a contained material object. Illness-causing deities crossed the bounds of the human body in a number of ways. Although the mechanism in which the epidemic deities invaded the body are not clear, the historian Kuroda Hideo states that the pores of the skin were seen as primary points of access.⁴¹² In a recent essay, Yasui Manami traces tales in which *yōkai* enter and exit the human body through various areas and orifices,

⁴¹⁰ *Gaki* scrolls show eating excrement; ear wax; after birth. William R. LaFleur, “Hungry Ghosts and Hungry People: Somaticity and Rationality in Medieval Japan,” in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, ed. Michel Feher, vol. 1, 1990, 270–303; Suzuki, “Twanging Bows and Throwing Rice.”

⁴¹¹ Visits to hell were led by Buddhist deities like *Jizō*, but there were also places considered portals. See more on visits to hell in following chapter.

⁴¹² Kuroda, *Kyōkai no chūsei*, 251–53.

noting that the human body was a liminal place that could easily be penetrated.⁴¹³ Yasui uses the scene of two snakes emerging from the ears of Fujiwara no Tokihira (871-909) from the *Kitano Tenjin* as one example.⁴¹⁴ Another example of illness-causing deities crossing the bounds of the body includes the three *sanshi* (corpses), who work from the inside out, leaving to tell on the human's activities.⁴¹⁵ In the case of the *mononoke*, a living person's spirit can leave their own body to possess another.⁴¹⁶ It was also not uncommon for *setsuwa* to include tales of bodies morphing into an animal due to greed or becoming deformed or disabled from slandering Buddhist texts.⁴¹⁷ It is interesting to note that human-animal hybrid characteristics are present in many the cases of the *oni* and epidemic-causing entities as well.

Thus, from the socio-religious view, the human body and human existence at this time were understood to be quite fluid and unstable. These ideas also mean that from a self-subject standpoint the self-body was vulnerable. As stated by Michelle Osterfield Li, "It [body] is open in its vulnerability: forces other than time can act upon it and change it in ways different from

⁴¹³ Minami Yasui, "Where Yōkai Enter and Exit the Human Body: From Medieval Picture Scrolls to Modern Folktales in Japan," trans. Kenneth Reeves, *Studies in Japanese Literature and Culture* 2 (2019): 61–72. For more on yōkai, see Foster and Shinonome, *Book of Yōkai*.

⁴¹⁴ The story goes that the snakes were sent by Michizane to order Jōzō, a priest, to stop conducting an exorcism to heal Tokihira. In other stories, Michizane was blamed for the smallpox epidemic that ultimately killed Tokihira. For more on this scroll in English, see Sumpter, "'Vengeful Spirit' Handscrolls," 48–67.

⁴¹⁵ For more on *sanshi* or *kōshin* (worms) and the development of the all-night vigil to keep them from living the body, which included food and storytelling, see Livia Kohn, "Kōshin: Expelling Daoist Demons Through Buddhist Means," in *Daoism in Japan* (London: Routledge, 2015), 148–76.

⁴¹⁶ *Mononoke* are discussed more in the introduction and in chapter four. One of the most famous *mononoke* possessions is from Chapter 35 of the *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*). In this chapter, Genji's wife Lady Murasaki dies after being possessed by an evil spirit. For more on the rituals used here, refer to Kevin A. Bond, "Forcing the Immovable One to the Ground: Revisioning a Major Deity in Early Modern Japan" (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2009), 24–25.

⁴¹⁷ Discussed some in introduction. See also William R. LaFleur, "In and Out the Rokudō: Kyōkai and the Formation of Medieval Japan," in *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body*.

aging and death.”⁴¹⁸ Of course, vulnerability is an existential state of being human, but it is often seen as a negative since it can lead to harm or change. In order to mitigate fears of being vulnerable, people attempt to protect themselves in various ways, including projecting those fears elsewhere. These concerns are at play in considering how monsters, *oni*, and epidemic entities are cast as dangerous “others.”

And yet, there is a fallacy in seeing a clearly marked binary between *oni* and humans. In her book on monsters and human vulnerability, Margarit Shildrick states “In seeking confirmation of our own secure subjecthood in what we are not, what we see mirrored in the monster are the leaks and flows, the vulnerabilities in our own embodied being.”⁴¹⁹ Shildrick’s argument, of course, might be considered in relation to Jerome Cohen’s view that monster figures reflect a specific culture’s fears, anxieties, and desires and that by looking at these bodies the viewers begin to question their own body.⁴²⁰

Rosemarie Garland-Thomsen has shown how the extraordinary body, sometimes labeled as monstrous or freak, was often depicted or put on display to call attention to its difference from the “normal” or “ideal” as well.⁴²¹ In recent years, European medievalists have written about the connection between representations of the monstrous figure and the disabled body noting that both were used in cultural narratives to define the body, ability, and otherness.⁴²² Such research requires care since it is the case that the disabled body, in its own form or in the guise of a

⁴¹⁸ Osterfeld Li, *Ambiguous Bodies*, 43.

⁴¹⁹ Shildrick, *Embodying the Monster*, 16–17.

⁴²⁰ Cohen, *Monster Theory*, 4; Godden and Mittman, *Monstrosity, Disability, Posthuman*, 3–31.

⁴²¹ Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*, 5–18.

⁴²² Godden and Mittman, *Monstrosity, Disability, Posthuman*, 3–31.

monster, is often used as a metaphor for social ills and moral problems.⁴²³ Disability scholars have noted that others often look at how physical difference correlates to social deviance, without considering the constructed and variable nature of physical body itself.⁴²⁴

Research by Japanese poet and literary critic Baba Akiko is relevant to this discussion since she suggests that the character 鬼 (*oni*) could also be read “*shiko*,” which means ugliness. She then connects that to the fact that ugliness, deformity, and impairment were inherent parts of most *oni*’s hybrid characteristics.⁴²⁵ Although she does not argue this, Baba’s research hints to the fact that the monstrous and the monster almost always rely on the anomalous, deformed, or disabled human body to emphasize their alterity.

What I am suggesting is that not only do images of *oni* and epidemic entities draw on the aberrant qualities of human bodies, but they also function similarly to images of the ill, aging, and decaying bodies as a reminder of the myths of the integrity of the human body and existence. In other words, images of the monster and the elderly, gendered, racialized, disabled body make clear that the boundaries between self/pure/ideal and other/impure/abnormal are constructed.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the presence of the monstrous form of the epidemic-entity in the “Household Escapes Epidemic” scene works in varied ways. It heightens the drama of the scene since the imagery calls upon a rich visual and performative history. Its references to rituals frequently performed to rid cities of epidemics and pollution as well as the image and

⁴²³ Mitchell and Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis*, 1–14.

⁴²⁴ David M Turner and Kevin Stagg, *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity* (London: Routledge, 2012); Allison Hobgood and David Woods, *Recovering Disability in Early Modern England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2013). David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 4–6.

⁴²⁵ Baba, “Oni no tanjō,” 39, 49.

concept of the *oni* that was emblematic of otherness and calamity are especially potent with meaning and potential for various associations, including that of the warriors in the scene. The significance of depicting the epidemic entity in the rituals and visual images can also be read as a way of making invisible dangers known. Finally, I have offered that *oni* and epidemic entities reference the mutable human body in states of illness or disability, aging, and decay, which highlights how images of the monstrous and disabled body function as both means of creating and refusing notions of “other.”

Before turning to the next chapter, I want to note that shifting views on defilement in the body impacted how disease-causing entities were framed in popular and religious contexts. First, Buddhist teachings that the body was inherently impure and defiled stand in contrast to practices discussed above that were focused on keeping defilement out. The latter practices imply certain spaces and bodies were viewed as largely pure ones as long as care was taken. When the rituals took place, the external defilements or entities were expelled and there could be a return to an ideal social order and the ideal bodily norm. However, the spreading beliefs in inherent defilement of the body challenged those practices and boundaries between impure/pure and external/internal became blurred. It is important to note that these beliefs did not outright replace earlier ones. Rather, conflicting notions of external entities or curses existed alongside notions of internal impurity and different religious groups adapted or created rituals to address them. One only has to consider how owning the *Yuishiki ron*, a Buddhist text, was a means to have a *kami* protect you from epidemic entities in *Kasuga genki-e*. The question of how another Buddhist lineage incorporated images and rituals related to illness-causing entities into their healing and ritual programs is taken up next.

Chapter Four. Illness and Healing in the *Fudō Riyaku Engi Emaki*

Introduction

Two monstrous beings fly outside the door of a monk's quarters while one scampers on the rafters in a scene from the fourteenth century *Fudō riyaku engi emaki* (*Illustrated Handscroll of the Miraculous Deeds of Fudō Myōō*, hereafter *Fudō riyaku*). Inside the quarters, a fatally ill monk lies near a fire talking to his acolyte while monks gather nearby, all seemingly unaware of the flying figures' presence (Figure 4-1). It is widely believed that these monstrous beings are illness-causing deities and that they represent the illness or are the cause of the illness that has afflicted the monk. A later scene in the same scroll focuses on preparations for a healing ritual to transfer the monk's illness with other kinds of monstrous entities taking a central role. These deities are also thought to be illness-causing deities, although they appear quite different from the ones in the scene with the monk and acolyte (Figure 4-2).

Fudō riyaku is a fourteenth-century *emaki* made of color and ink on paper.⁴²⁶ The visual-verbal narrative, currently housed at the Tokyo National Museum, tells a dramatic story of illness and healing and sacrifice and salvation centered on Shōkū, a Buddhist disciple, who sacrifices himself by taking on the fatal illness of his teacher Chikō.⁴²⁷ The sacrifice is made via an unnamed ritual conducted by Abe no Seimei (915-1005), an *onmyōji* (yin-yang master). After receiving Chikō's illness, Shōkū prays to a painted icon of Fudō Myōō, a fierce-looking deity that protects devout Buddhists (Figure 4-3). Fudō is so moved by Shōkū's actions and devotion

⁴²⁶ *Fudō riyaku engi emaki* is 28.4 x 947.5, ink and color on paper. Cared for at the Tokyo National Museum. Images of the scroll can be found at: e-Museum, accessed July 14, 2020, https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=en&webView=&content_base_id=100284&content_part_id=0&content_part_id=0

⁴²⁷ Chikō's posthumous name was Shosan. For a chronological record of the priests, see Takei Akio, "Shōkū and Shosan: Fudō Riyaku engi (Naki Fudō engi) bikou," *Bunkashigaku*, 1995, 165–79.

that he emerges from the icon and takes upon himself Shōkū's suffering. Fudō is led to *jigoku* (hell) where he is ultimately released by Enma, a king of *jigoku*.⁴²⁸

Because the *Fudō riyaku* emphasizes the miraculous powers of a specific icon of Fudō and focuses on the story of Chikō and Shōkū, who were Buddhist priests at Onjōji (a Jimon Tendai temple located in Ōtsu, now known as Miidera), scholars have considered the work to be an example of an *engi-e*, or origin tale, which serves to promote a shrine or temple as a site of particular spiritual power.⁴²⁹ The term “*riyaku*” in the title acknowledges the importance of the benevolence of Fudō; therefore, the scroll is also situated with a larger genre of works that transmit the miraculous deeds of deities called *reigenki* (miracle tales). I explore *Fudō riyaku*'s place in these genres as a means of thinking about its similarities and differences with the several other versions of the story, including how the unique aspects of the *emaki* tie into its function and the impact they had on an intended audience.

The thrust of this chapter is to offer new insights into the *Fudō riyaku* as a visual-verbal narrative that is driven by illness and healing and how those relate to Onjōji and the Fudō icon. Some of the healing components in *Fudō riyaku* appear to have derived from different bodies of knowledge and practice, so the *emaki* provides an opportunity to explore varying views on the sources of illness as well as different healing modalities available during the early-medieval period. The seemingly conflicting elements raise a number of questions that I explore after

⁴²⁸ *Jigoku* is not precisely equivalent to hell but is often glossed as such due to similar modes of punishment. *Jigoku* is a realm of existence that one can move out of, so it is not a site of eternal damnation as in the Judeo-Christian tradition. For that reason, it is often times considered as akin to Christian Purgatory. For more on this topic see Barbara Ruch, “Coping with Death: Paradigms of Heaven and Hell and the Six Realms in Early Literature and Painting,” in *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, ed. James Sanford, William LaFleur, and Masatoshi Nagatomi (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 93–130.

⁴²⁹ Bond, “Forcing the Immovable One,” 26–32.

providing an overview of the *Fudō riyaku* and the various images and textual accounts with similar stories.

In the second section, I discuss Chikō's illness and the unidentified monstrous figures in the scenes with Chikō and Abe no Seimei. Scholarship on the *Fudō riyaku* generally refers to them as illness-causing deities, but this identification is troubled by the fact that none of the versions of this tale mention such beings. In this section, I engage with current arguments about the identity of the deities as well as consider iconographical sources.

I focus on the ritual performed by Abe no Seimei in greater depth in the third section. Knowing the source of illness was important in determining the most advantageous methods for healing, but the healing ritual depicted can be read in a number of ways. This section will center on exploring the possibilities of what ritual is depicted and the role the monstrous deities have in the scene.

The fourth and final section contextualizes the healing elements of the scroll within Onjōji, a temple known for its healing practices, and as related to the Fudō icon. I provide a more nuanced understanding of why the *Fudō riyaku* was adapted from previous versions of the story and how those adaptations furthered the agenda of Onjōji priests. I specifically argue that the *emaki* places importance on religious devotion and ritual use of icons in the healing process.

Overall, I argue that the *Fudō riyaku* is a carefully crafted visual-verbal narrative that promotes the efficacy of healing rituals and the Fudō icon at Onjōji and uses the addition of visual iconographical elements that allude to alternate healing practices to appeal to the viewer and contend with the various illnesses that they might be suffering from. Moreover, as an *emaki*, the *Fudō riyaku* had the power to create *kechien*, or karmic connections between the believers

that viewed the scroll and the Fudō at Onjōji and thus might be considered as a healing object itself.

Fudō Riyaku and Related Objects

Content Summary of *Fudō riyaku*

Fudō riyaku is composed of three segments, each containing a text followed by an image, and a final segment of text. It begins with a long textual account of Shōkū visiting his mother and sharing his plan to take on the grave illness of his teacher Chikō, a renowned monk at Onjōji.⁴³⁰ Devastated, the mother pleads with her only son not to sacrifice himself since he has filial responsibility towards her. Shōkū laments making his mother suffer, but is certain that if he does this, they will be reborn on the same lotus in paradise. The picture shows the two inside the mother's home and several people behind the house hanging robes and washing laundry.

The second segment begins with a short textual account that concludes the conversation of the previous scene with Shōkū's mother reluctantly accepting his wishes. The final sentence states "crying, Shōkū returns to his teacher and right away takes the illness into his body." The picture, comprised of two scenes, diverges from the text significantly in that it focuses on the events after his return to Onjōji, none of which is described in the text. The first depicts two small, monstrous beings flying into the open doors of a monk's quarters while inside Chikō lies close to a warm fire talking to his acolyte and another monstrous entity scampers above. Separated by a landscape scene of rolling hills and rock formations, the second scene shows Abe no Seimei preparing the ritual to transfer Chikō's illness into Shōkū.⁴³¹ In this scene, five

⁴³⁰ For more on the priest Shōkū see Takei, "Shōkū and Shosan."

⁴³¹ The *Fudō riyaku* text does not mention Abe no Seimei in any segment of the scroll, but other textual sources provide this information, and it is widely accepted that the figure is Seimei. Abe no Seimei was a historical figure that served at least six emperors as an *onmyōji*, but he was also a source of many legends regarding magical powers. For more on Abe no Seimei see Matthias Hayek, "Abe No Seimei (921-1005) and Illness: Physicians, Masters of the Way of the Yin and Yang, and Monks in Ancient-Medieval Narratives (11th-13th Centuries)," *Sokendai Review of*

monstrous beings sit in front of a decorated altar while the man reads from a scroll. Two monstrous attendants and a human sit to his side.

In the third text-image segment, set off by an abbreviated landscape of rocks and trees, Shōkū, who has taken on the illness and is suffering terribly, goes to the hall to pray to Fudō. According to the text, Shōkū pleads at the foot of the altar of the Fudō icon for help and a good rebirth. Fudō is so moved by the monk's sacrifice and devotion that tears run down from his eyes, and he comes down from the hanging scroll. Shōkū, a devout believer in Fudō, is relieved of his suffering and his health is restored.

The first part of the third segment's visual scene aligns with the textual. It depicts Shōkū praying feverishly in front of the decorated altar of the icon, a hanging scroll showing him standing and holding his sword and binding cord. It should be noted that Fudō is not depicted crying as the textual account states. The visual depiction continues beyond the textual story with another landscape filled with trees, rolling hills, and deer giving way to a scene of Fudō tied up and being taken by the demonic minions of King Enma to hell along with his two attendants, Kongara-dōji and Seitaka-dōji.⁴³² On the other side of a wooden gate, the still-bound Fudō is shown again standing on two lotus flowers and being met by King Enma, who is slightly bowing and also standing on lotus, as well as officials who kneel and prostrate themselves toward Fudō

Cultural and Social Studies, 2010, 47–52; Shin'ichi Shigeta, "A Portrait of Abe No Seimei," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40, no. 1 (2013): 77–97; Matsuo Ayami, "Abe no Seimeizō no hensen: Naki Fudō setsuwa wo chushin ni," *Osaka Aoyama Tandai Kokubun gakkai hen*, 2000, 57–84; Suwa Haruo, *Abe no Seimei Densetsu* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2001).

⁴³² These figures are called ox-head (*gozu*) and horse-head (*mezu*) hell wardens. For more on Ten Kings of Hell, see Quitman E. Phillips, "Narrating the Salvation of the Elite: The Jōfukuji Paintings of the Ten Kings," *Ars Orientalis* 33 (2003): 120–45; Haruko Wakabayashi, "Officials of the Afterworld: Ono No Takamura and the Ten Kings of Hell in the Chikurinji Engi Illustrated Scrolls," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 36, no. 2 (2009): 319–49; Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*, 2003.

and other guards that seem somewhat in awe of him. The final portion of this scene depicts Fudō leaving hell on a *raigō*-type large cloud formation with many accompanying attendants.

The final segment, text only, states that Shōkū is reunited with his mother. It instructs the reader that Shōkū's virtuous deeds are respectable and that Fudō provides mercy to believers.

Related Images and Literature

Versions of the *Fudō riyaku* story are found in three scrolls and one fragment as well as a number of literary sources, including five *setsuwa* collections, two temple records, two collections of priests' biographies, a historical collection, a diary, and an epic tale.⁴³³ Each version varies slightly from the scroll, and scholars have supplemented their reading of the *Fudō riyaku* with information from these other sources.⁴³⁴ Pertinent variations are presented throughout the discussion below but first, a deeper look at the different visual images is warranted since the *Fudō riyaku* is often conflated or confused with another scroll called *Naki Fudō engi* (*Crying Fudō*).

Despite *Fudō riyaku* being the earliest dated scroll among the other *emaki* versions, the most commonly reproduced version is *Naki Fudō*, which is currently kept at Nara National Museum and dated to the fifteenth century (Muromachi period).⁴³⁵ According to Shirohata Yōshi, the *Naki Fudō* scroll is a copy of the scroll housed at the Shōjōke-in Kyoto, which is also

⁴³³ Sources that I do not cite below include: Mujū Ichien and Matsuura Teishun, *Zōdanshū*, Koten bunko 41–42 (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1950); Gentō and Ikegami Junichi, *Sangoku denki*, Chūsei no bungaku (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1976); Kokan and Imahama Michitaka, *Genkō shakusho*, Kyōikusha shinsho; Genpon gendaiyaku 62 (Tokyo: Kyōikusha; Hanbai Kyōikusha Shuppan Sabisu, 1980). Other sources noted as having information include the following Buddhist priest biographies from the Edo period: *Tōgokukōsōden* and *Honchōkōsōden*.

⁴³⁴ For a Japanese overview of different versions of the story, see Matsuo, “Abe no Seimeizō.”

⁴³⁵ The *Naki Fudō* is two scrolls, one 31.7 x 504.3 and the other 31.7 by 553; color on paper. In 1693, Tosa Mitsunari identified the artist as Tosa Toshimitsu but this is not settled. For information see the Nara National Museum website, accessed July 14, 2021. <https://www.narahaku.go.jp/english/collection/839-0.html>

dated to the Muromachi period.⁴³⁶ Even though *Naki Fudō* is a copy, it is the more widely known and available work, so it is the focus for comparison purposes below. The final extant scroll is a fragment depicting the ritual scene at the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, which they have dated to the Nanbokuchō period (1333-1392).⁴³⁷

The *Fudō riyaku* differs from the other scrolls in a number of ways. For instance, the styles of the images reflect the different periods in which they were produced. *Fudō riyaku* features lighter colors, solid lines for buildings, and a less-formalized way of depicting landscapes and mists. *Naki Fudō* incorporates bright colors, outlines, and opaque cloud forms that isolate episodes; features commonly found in paintings from the Muromachi period. The Asian Art Museum fragment features a similar style with bright, opaque colors. Another difference is the role of text in the scrolls. *Naki Fudō* consists of images only whereas the *Fudō riyaku* incorporates both text and image. The Asian Art Museum fragment includes text, but it is brushed in the visual scene rather than in a separate segment.⁴³⁸ Finally, there are a number of visual elements within the scrolls that differ. For instance, the *Naki Fudō* contains two scenes that are not found in *Fudō riyaku*: one at the beginning depicting Abe no Seimei conducting a divination ritual to determine the source of Chikō's illness (Figure 4-4) and one at the end depicting Shōkū and his mother reunited. The first scene is also not included in the text of the

⁴³⁶ Shinbo Toru, "Fudō riyaku engi emaki ni tsuite," in *Hoyake amida engi; Fudō riyaku engi*, vol. 4, Zokuzoku nihon emaki taisei (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1995), 137; Shirahata Yoshi, "Naki Fudō," *Kokka* 967 (April 1974): 32–38. Per the Shōjōke-in website, the priest Kōa (1265-1345) brought the Onjōji Fudō image to Shōjōke-in in the Muromachi period. Accessed July 15, 2021. <http://jozan.jp/index.php?清浄華院の不動信仰%E3%80%80向阿上人と泣不動尊像>

⁴³⁷ The segment is 31.7 x 63.8 cm. Asian Art in San Francisco. Accessed July 15, 2021. <http://searchcollection.asianart.org/view/objects/asitem/search/@/0?t:state:flow=35577633-9f48-405c-895c-0c13259131db>

⁴³⁸ Since it is a fragment, it is difficult to know if this style of incorporating text was used throughout.

Fudō riyaku but supporting literature in the *Hōbutsushū* (*Collection of Treasures*) states that Chikō's illness is deep and the only way he could be saved is if someone takes his illness for him. The last image correlates with the last *Fudō riyaku* verbal segment. Additional diverging pictorial elements, such as the number and iconographical elements of the deities, is explored more below.

Among purely textual sources, one of the earliest versions of the story is found in the twelfth-century *setsuwa* collection *Konjaku monogatari shū* and is unique in that Fudō is not present in the story nor is Shōkū even named. Rather, the story focuses on Abe no Seimei employing the *Taizan Fukun sai* (Ch: Taishan Fujun; *sai*: ritual) to heal Chikō.⁴³⁹ The shift in focus to Fudō happens in the *Hōbutsushū* and *Hossinshū* (*Collection of Awakening Tales*) both dated from the twelfth to the thirteenth century, wherein Fudō becomes the central saving figure despite Abe no Seimei's continued appearance in the story.⁴⁴⁰ In these works, Shōkū is also identified by name, and the piece about his relationship with his mother appears. In the *Hossinshū* and *Towazugatari* (*Confessions of Lady Nijō*), the text identifies a specific Fudō painted icon, one enshrined at Jōjū-in.⁴⁴¹

Some variations in the versions highlight the ways in which stories could be modified or embellished over time depending on the goals of the storyteller and the audience for which it was intended. For instance, the most extended literary version of the tale in the *Soga monogatari*

⁴³⁹ NKBT.25.111-123.

⁴⁴⁰ Taira Yasuyori, "Hōbutsushū," in *Hōbutsushū. Kankyo no tomo. Hirasan kojiri reitaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 181; Saigyō, Kamo Chōmei, and Taira Yasuyori, *Senjūshō; Hossinshū; Hōbutsushū*, Dainihon bukkyō zensho (Tokyo: Ushio Shobo, 1932).

⁴⁴¹ *Hossinshū* says this temple is part of Go-Shirakawa-in. Other tales connect it to directly to Onjōji, see: Nakanoin Masatada no Musume and Karen Brazell, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 13, 246–47.

(*Tale of the Soga Brothers*, fourteenth century) is similar to that in the *Fudō riyaku* but is contextualized in a specific way.⁴⁴² That is, it highlights the story of Chikō and Shōkū as an instance of repaying gratitude towards one's teachers as a way to gain karmic merit, which aligns with the specific task the two brothers, Soga Gorō and Jūrō, were undertaking at that time in the story: to visit a priest at Mt. Hakone who had once been their master.⁴⁴³

Other examples are the entries that appear in *Jimon denki horoku* (1394-1428) and *Onjōji denki* (Muromachi period), which focus more on the benevolence and power of Fudō.⁴⁴⁴ This is certainly due to the fact that the Fudō icon was enshrined at a sub-temple of Onjōji (Miidera) and these *jisha engi* accounts are from Onjōji. The temple's promotion of the deity's efficacy would make sense and correspond to the common practice of highlighting famous priests, miraculous events, or potent icons in their own histories and in *engi*, as mentioned above.

Sunjung Kim, in her book on Onjōji's deity Shinra Myōjin, discusses the complexities of reading and using the *jisha engi* materials since historians have often considered *engi* as self-serving fictions created to gain privilege rather than as factual accounting of temple history.⁴⁴⁵ Using the concept of "mythistory," Kim argues that these records should be read as mixtures of myth and truth that reflect a world view and perception of reality that included close interaction with deities and spirits. Kim's call to read "between the lines" is one I will echo as we consider the *Fudō riyaku*.

⁴⁴² Thomas J. Cogan, *The Tale of the Soga Brothers* (Tokyo: University of Tōkyō Press, 1987).

⁴⁴³ Cogan, *Tale of the Soga Brothers*, 189–93. The epic story is of two brothers who seek to avenge their father's death in the twelfth century

⁴⁴⁴ Bussho Kankōkai, *Onjōji denki; Jimon denki horoku*, Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho 127 (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 2007). Name of entries in the *Jimon denki*: Fudōdo Nan'in, 247 and Ajari Shoku Jojuin, 357. Name in *Onjōji denki*: Naki Fudō no koto, 66.

⁴⁴⁵ Kim, *Shinra Myōjin*, 24–26.

Key elements of the *Fudō riyaku*—illness-causing monstrous beings and healing rituals—support viewing it as a visual-verbal narrative crafted at least in part toward promoting the efficacy of healers and the icons with which they interacted. As discussed below, those elements encourage viewers to make broad, intriguing connections to various illnesses and healing practices that promoted the healing efficacy of the healers and its icons. This crafted narrative can be read as self-promotion, but it is also true that people were actively seeking the most efficacious means to overcome devastating illness that was thought to be caused by spirits and/or karma. Moreover, it should be noted that the *Fudō riyaku* functions as a powerful icon itself and it is possible that the *emaki* allowed viewers and believers the ability to create a karmic connection to *Fudō* as well. These topics of healing and promotion strategies by temples will be discussed in the fourth section.

The Source of Chikō’s Illness: Illness-Causing Deities or Something Else?

In the *Hōbutsushū*, Abe no Seimei conducts a *bokuzei* (divination) which reveals that Chikō’s illness (and impending death) is “determined” or *teigyō*.⁴⁴⁶ *Teigyō*, according to Shinmura Taku, means that one’s life span is predetermined by the karma from one’s previous lives.⁴⁴⁷ His illness thus comes from a “deep cause” rather than an external one such as illness-causing deities. Knowing the cause, Abe no Seimei declares that Chikō’s illness could not be overcome but that his life could be extended through a ritual that required someone to take his place.

⁴⁴⁶ Taira, “Hōbutsushū,” 182. The term 定業 can also be transliterated as じょうごう, and it is related to karmic accumulations. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, Japan Knowledge library, accessed October 2021. *Soga monogatari* also notes that the illness is “determined,” likely referring to *teigyō*. Cogan, *Tale of the Soga Brothers*, 190.

⁴⁴⁷ Shinmura, *Nihon bukkyō no iryōshi*, 27.

The karma-related source raises questions, including about the identification and role of monstrous beings in *Fudō riyaku* near Chikō's chambers and in front of Abe no Seimei's ritual table. How much can we rely on the Fudō story variations to read the *Fudō riyaku*? Are the monstrous figures illness-causing deities? What can the iconography and visual story tell us? If some are illness-deities, does this indicate another shift from the *Hōbutsushū* and *Konjaku* versions or are they included for other reasons? What is the ritual depicted and does the ritual traditionally invoke illness-causing deities?

Such questions are rarely answered because the point about Chikō's illness being deep is not often mentioned in secondary sources (or not at all in English sources) on *Fudō riyaku*.⁴⁴⁸ Even if the source is mentioned, the scholarship generally does not question how the beings are related to Chikō's illness and explores the rituals depicted in the scroll as being related to illness-causing deities. In these works, there has also been little consideration of the specific terminologies used to identify them or their place within a larger category of illness-causing deities.

That is not to say that these approaches are inaccurate. I agree that the *Fudō riyaku* does include and point to beliefs and visualizations of illness-causing deities despite the text not including them. As I explore below and based on visual evidence, it seems likely that at least one of the three beings near Chikō's quarters is intended to represent an illness-causing spirit. I

⁴⁴⁸ The outcome of Abe no Seimei's divination concerning Chikō's illness is mentioned in Shinbo and Takasaki, but not discussed further as an issue of concern regarding the role of the illness-causing deities in the scene. Shinbo, "Fudō Riyaku Engi"; Takasaki Fujihiko, *Naomoto Mōshibumi Ekotoba; Nōe Hōshi Ekotoba; Inabadō Engi; Hōyaki amida Engi; Fudō Riyaku engi; Kondasōbyō engi*, vol. 30, Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1980). The following do not mention the source. Noriko T. Reider, "Animating Objects: Tsukumogami Ki and the Medieval Illustration of Shingon Truth," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 36, no. 2 (2009): 231–57; Karen J. Mack, "The Function and Context of Fudō Imagery from the Ninth to Fourteenth Century in Japan" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2006); Komatsu Shigemi, *Hōyake amida engi; Fudō riyaku engi*, Zokuzoku Nihon emaki taisei (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1995).

believe these illness-causing beings were included for impact in the visual telling of the story and as a means for generating connections in the readers' minds rather than as the actual source of the disease. Further, I argue the two scenes with monstrous images portray different entities. Since the identity and purpose of the group in the Abe no Seimei ritual scene are more complicated, I will discuss them in section three when exploring the healing rituals.

Chikō's Suffering: Illness-Beings and Visual Impact

The first appearance of possible illness-causing beings is in the scene of Chikō in his quarters. The flying beings outside of his quarters are humanoid, although half the size of the human figures and with a number of fantastic features. One bears a flaming long-handled Chinese spear, or *geki*, and wears flowing scarves around its torso, a red skirt, and shell-like hat. Its facial features are exaggerated: it has a wide, open mouth, a large bulbous nose, and a protruding forehead. Wearing scale-like armor and holding a *gohei*, or staff with plaited paper streamers, a second being is red-bodied with long, pointy ears, a prominent nose and nose bridge, as well as claw-feet with sharp nails. A third deity, located in the rafters of the monk's room, also has claw feet with black nails, a grimacing smile, flowing hair, and only a fur-like skirt as a garment.

Overall, there has been scholarly consensus that within the group of three deities at least one causes illness, but, beyond that, opinions differ. Several essays identify all three as illness-causing deities who are afflicting Chikō. For instance, Takasaki Fujihiko refers to the three

beings as *ekiki*, or epidemic demons.⁴⁴⁹ Komatsu Shigemi describes the three as *ekibyōshin*, gods that spread epidemic or infectious disease, which have possessed the priest.⁴⁵⁰

In contrast to Takasaki and Komatsu Shigemi, Shinbo Toru states that only one is an illness-causing deity. He argues that the *byōma* (demon of illness or disease) on the rafters is being chased by two servant gods that are protectors of Buddhism.⁴⁵¹ Along the same lines as Shinbo, Abe Yasuro identifies the one in the rafter as an *ekiki*, and the two figures with the *geki* and *gohei* as *shikigami*.⁴⁵² *Shikigami* are generally defined as supernatural servants for *onmyōji* that can change forms, carry out tasks, and perform extraordinary duties.⁴⁵³ While it is not stated in the text, it is widely accepted that the two figures kneeling behind Abe no Seimei in the ritual scene are his *shikigami*.⁴⁵⁴ Like the illness deities in the previous scene, the *shikigami* are smaller than the human figures and have exaggerated facial features. They both have brown, unkept hair and bulging yellow/brown eyes, and exaggerated mouths. The red-bodied *shikigami* wears a torso armor made of scales while the green *shikigami* wears robes with a shoulder shawl. In between them are staffs, one with streamers like the *gohei* described above.

⁴⁴⁹ Takasaki, *Naomoto mōshibumi ekotoba*, 30:53. Characters used: 疫鬼

⁴⁵⁰ Komatsu, *Fudo riyaku engi*, 93. Komatsu glosses the characters 疫病神 as *ekibyōshin*, but according to the *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, it is also transliterated as *yakubyōgami*.

⁴⁵¹ Shinbo, “Fudō Riyaku Engi,” 143. Shinbo uses the terms *ekiki* 疫鬼 and 病魔 for the one deity that is being chased, and 護法二使神 for the other two.

⁴⁵² Abe Yasuro, “‘Tohazugatari’ ni okeru naki fudō setsuwa no saibunmyakuka,” *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* 92, no. 5 (2015): 121–22. Characters used 疫鬼.

⁴⁵³ Carolyn Pang, “Uncovering ‘Shikigami’: The Search for the Spirit Servant of Onmyōdō,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40, no. 1 (2013): 99–129. Pang offers a summary of theories on *shikigami* in English.

⁴⁵⁴ *Fudō riyaku* is the earliest painting depicting *shikigami* as monstrous beings located near or kneeling by Abe no Seimei. Per Pang, “Uncovering ‘Shikigami,’” 106.

Interestingly, in his essay, Shinbo identifies Abe no Seimei's *shikigami* using the same term as he used for the two-flying deities in the monk's quarters.⁴⁵⁵ He further states that this is evidence that Abe no Seimei's ritual is working. While it seems that both scholars believe the four figures are the same class of deity, it is unclear if Abe and Shinbo are arguing that the deities are the same ones depicted twice. Based on a close comparison, there is enough variation between the two sets to indicate that they are not the same entities in both scenes, however. Further, I question Shinbo's point about the deities indicating the efficacy of Abe no Seimei's ritual since at this point in the visual story it is not clear that the ritual has yet occurred. My view is based in part on the abbreviated landscape in between the two scenes since that typically signifies temporal and geographical distance. This narrative strategy is used in the following segment to show the sequence of events in which Shōkū prays to Fudō and then Fudō takes his place and is taken to hell. Finally, even though the *Naki Fudō* is dated after *Fudō riyaku* and includes two additional scenes, it is relevant to consider how these groups of entities are depicted since they are related. In *Naki Fudō*, Abe no Seimei's *shikigami* are present in the first, divination scene and in the ritual scene. The two sets of figures match up closely enough to indicate that they are intended to be the same deities appearing twice in the scroll. Like those in the *Fudō riyaku*, the two figures outside of Chikō's room in *Naki Fudō* are not depicted closely enough to the *shikigami* entities, indicating they are not the same.

Shinbo and Abe's overall argument that two of the deities are protective and one is illness-causing is not without merit despite my misgivings about their being Abe no Seimei's *shikigami*. For one, we have already seen in Chapter Three that there are other extant images in which only one illness-causing deity is depicted on the roof of a house, so this image could be

⁴⁵⁵ Shinbo, "Fudō Riyaku Engi," 138, 143.

drawing on that motif. The figures in one of the thirteenth-century Shōjuraigōji Six Paths paintings and the fourteenth-century *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* are *oni*-like, colored green or red, have straight-standing hair, wear only loin cloths, and appear on or near a building.

The second point of merit is related to the interaction between the three figures and the implements carried by two of the deities. First, the way in which the figure on the rafter scurries in the opposite direction while looking back gives the impression that it is running in fear from the other two deities. Second, one deity carries a *gohei*, an implement commonly used in Shinto rituals to purify a space or objects. It would make sense for a figure carrying such an implement to be carrying out a protective and/or purifying function. In fact, it is not uncommon for converted spirits (previously dangerous but now protectors of Buddhist law) to carry *gohei* in visual images; Abe no Seimei's *shikigami* in the *Fudō riyaku* provide just one example of this phenomenon.⁴⁵⁶

Complicating this reading is the fact that it is not uncommon for malignant spirits to carry *gohei* and spears in paintings as well. For instance, in segments of the *Tsukumogami ki* (*Record of Tool Specters*, Muromachi period), a scroll produced later than the *Fudō riyaku*, there are vengeful spirits carrying *gohei* and spears. In the *Tsukumogami ki*, the spirits carrying these items appear as monkeys, a hairy-human figure, and red-faced entities with extremely long noses (Figure 4-5a and 4-5b).⁴⁵⁷ Interestingly, in the same scroll, divine boys or *gohō dōji* are depicted attacking the vengeful spirits while also carrying spears and/or *gohei*. The divine boys are

⁴⁵⁶ Pang, "Uncovering 'Shikigami,'" 114–15. While the figures are presented as diminutive servants, *shikigami* were also known to cause harm if not properly controlled.

⁴⁵⁷ Images can be found at Kyoto University Rare Book Digital Archive, accessed on October 2021, <https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/en/item/rb00013599#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=17&r=0&xywh=-712%2C492%2C4396%2C1024> and <https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/en/item/rb00013599#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=20&r=0&xywh=-2861%2C-1%2C8793%2C2048>

differentiated as protective beings through the visual cues of appearing on cloud formations and alongside flaming *rinpō* (wheels of dharma) (Figure 4-5c).⁴⁵⁸ Despite the pairs' similarity to the *shikigami*, the divine boys are identified in the text as being the attendants of Fudō Myōō and Gōzanze Myōō.

An illustrated example more closely-related to that in the *Fudō riyaku* appears in the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi* (*Illustrated Legends of the Yūzū Nenbutsu Sect*; hereafter *Yūzū engi*). Running up to the back of a group of epidemic deities in the *Yūzū engi* are two monstrous figures carrying *gohei*. It is possible that the *Yūzū engi* deities are intended to represent protective deities, called forth by the Buddhist devotees who pledged to recite the *nenbutsu* in order to keep them safe from the epidemic. This would support a reading of the two *Fudō riyaku* deities as being protective beings, since their iconography is very similar to that of the beings in the *Yūzū engi*; perhaps these were summoned vis-à-vis the Buddhist prayers occurring in Chikō's room. However, the two *Yūzū engi* figures' lack of impact on the group of epidemic deities—only two look back in that direction—might challenge the reading that they are protective. In general, scholars have not addressed whether or not the *Yūzū engi* entities are part of the epidemic deity group rather than beings attacking it.⁴⁵⁹

Similarly, two figures carrying the *gohei* and sword in the Shinjuan *Hyakki yakō emaki* (*Night Processions of One Hundred Demons*, early-sixteenth) could be read as either part of the group of demons or as attacking it. the two figures appear at the beginning of the scroll but are

⁴⁵⁸ Images can be found at Kyoto University Rare Book Digital Archive accessed on October 2021, <https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/en/item/rb00013599#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=32&r=0&xywh=-2861%2C-1%2C8793%2C2048> and <https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/en/item/rb00013599#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=35&r=0&xywh=-2861%2C-1%2C8793%2C2048>

⁴⁵⁹ I have not seen any discussion about the figures being separate from the group in scholarship on the *Yūzū engi*. Rosenfield and ten Grotenhuis, “Illustrated Legends”; Sewell, “Yūzū Nenbutsu Emaki”; Stern, “Yūzū Nenbutsu Emaki.”

technically at the end of the long demon procession that takes place over its remainder. In other versions of this scroll, the same figures appear as part of the procession alongside other demon figures that carry *gohei* and swords indicating they were considered a part of the demon group by later artists (Figures 4-6).⁴⁶⁰ It should be noted that in her book, Takako Tanaka describes them as *yokai* rather than as protective entities.⁴⁶¹ Unfortunately, the lack of textual identification and absence of other visual cues, such as the clouds or *rinpō* found in the *Tsukumogami ki*, make it less clear whether or not the *Hyakki yakō emaki* figures, as well as similar ones in *Yūzū engi* and the *Fudō riyaku*, are meant to depict malevolent or protective entities.

In sum, the visual evidence clearly supports the identification of the deity above Chikō's room as an illness-causing deity with room for interpretation regarding the other two deities. Questions still remain about what type of illness-causing deity is portrayed and its purpose and presence in a story about a deep illness. I will turn to the former question first before offering some thoughts on their purpose in the story.

As noted above, the majority of scholars identify the Chikō-scene figure(s) as either *ekibyōshin* or *ekiki*. As discussed in the introduction and Chapter Three, by the time the *Fudō riyaku* was produced, the concept of *ekibyōshin* or *ekiki* would have been used specifically in regard to a deity that causes epidemics. Since the *Fudō riyaku* and the other versions never discuss an epidemic as the source of Chikō's illness nor do the texts identify the beings in the images, it seems then that using the term *ekibyōshin* or *ekiki* in this particular case is somewhat misleading. I assume that the scholars who do so are guided by iconographic connections to

⁴⁶⁰ Images can be found at Tokyo National Museum, accessed on October 2021: <https://webarchives.tnm.jp/imgsearch/show/C0056373> and <https://webarchives.tnm.jp/imgsearch/show/C0056376>

⁴⁶¹ Tanaka Takako, *Hyakki yagyō no mieru toshi* (Tokyo: Shin'yosha, 1994), 224–25.

other visual sources. The epidemic deities in the *Yūzū engi* are identified as *yakujin* in the text of the scroll, for instance. Nonetheless, since there is not a connection to epidemics in the *Fudō riyaku*, Shinbo's use of *byōma*, illness demon, might be a more fitting term for this particular emaki.

As for the purpose of including a *byōma* in the *Fudō riyaku*, I believe it is an artistic addition to the scroll meant to more effectively convey the suffering of Chikō rather than to represent the cause. It is possible that their inclusion removes some of the possible focus on Chikō's culpability as one whose diagnosis indicates a karmic origin to his suffering. That is, it distracts from the fact that the celebrated high priest is still not removed from karmic punishment, a point that is not usually made in origin tales for the temple. More likely, however, is that it was added to the scroll as a means of enhancing the visual story to solicit patronage. In this way, the inclusion of monstrous imagery would have heightened the sense of suffering and tapped into deeply held fears about epidemics. In other words, the imagery would have struck the viewers in a more immediate way than the rather mild suffering displayed by Chikō. This argument is supported by the use of an established iconography of the *oni*-like form for images of causing suffering, as discussed in Chapter Three.

The Five Beings in Abe no Seimei's Ritual Scene

The identity of the five monstrous beings in front of Abe no Seimei's ritual platform is even more complicated than that of the beings in the previous scene. In the *Soga monogatari*, the only version that provides details of the ritual conducted by Abe no Seimei, a number of deities are named as being in attendance. The story describes the scene as follows: "He [Abe no Seimei] built a bed of seven feet in length, hung multicolored sacred streamers, and arranged a pile of cakes and offerings of gold coins which were to be scattered about. After seating Shōkū in the

middle, he rubbed his prayer beads with great reverence and called Bonten (Brahman) and Taishakuten (Indra) and Shitennō (Four Heavenly Kings) from above and from below the Kenrōjishin (Earth Goddess) and the Hachidai-ryū-ō (Eight Dragon Kings). Then, when he read his written request to the gods, the *gohō* (protectors of Buddhist law) must have appeared for the gold coins and the streamers flew into the sky or danced about on the altar.”⁴⁶²

It is clear from other visual sources that the five monstrous beings are not any of the specific, named deities in the *Soga monogatari*. The reference to *gohō* deities is intriguing as a possible identification of the five-unknown beings since *gohō* have a dual nature and appear in response to prayers. However, since *gohō* is used to describe deities from a variety of different origins, it is unclear if the Soga author was using the term to refer to the named deities who also are protectors of Buddhism. Moreover, the *Soga monogatari* is not an exact telling of the *Fudō riyaku* tale and there are numerous differences between them. For one, in the *Fudō riyaku* version, Shōkū is not present at the Abe no Seimei ritual scene.

In secondary sources on the *Fudō riyaku*, the five beings are sometimes identified as illness-causing deities. For instance, in his transcription of the work in the *Zokuzoku Nihon no emaki* series, Komatsu Shigemi labels them *ekibyōshin*.⁴⁶³ As discussed in relation to the Chikō scene, the identification of the deities as *ekibyōshin* is problematic due the lack of evidence about an epidemic in *Fudō riyaku*. In the discussion of the scroll in his book *Hyōrei Shinkōron*, Komatsu Kazuhiko states that the five are the *ekibyōshin* that are the cause of Chikō’s illness and then adds “that is to say *mononoke*.”⁴⁶⁴ Komatsu Kazuhiko isn't the only one who uses the term

⁴⁶² I modified the translation from Cogan, *Tale of the Soga Brothers*, 192. Based on Ichiko Teiji and Ōshima Tatehiko, *Soga monogatari* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1966).

⁴⁶³ Komatsu, *Fudo riyaku engi*, 97. Note this is same term he used for the deities in the previous scene.

⁴⁶⁴ Komatsu Kazuhiko, *Hyōrei shinkōron* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994), 190.

mononoke. The *emaki* description on the Tokyo National Museum names them as such.⁴⁶⁵

Moreover, in his essay in the *Zokuzoku Nihon no emaki* series, Shinbo proposes that the figures might be non-object *mononoke*. Rather than being the cause of Chikō's illness, Shinbo suggests that they may have gathered to witness the ritual.⁴⁶⁶ The difference presented in Komatsu Kazuhiko and Shinbo's arguments—that is the *mononoke* being the cause versus serving as witnesses—is an important one that gets at the question of what kind of ritual is being conducted, a point that will be taken up below.

The relationship between *mononoke* and *ekibyōshin* warrants a brief exploration before moving on. Scholars such as Komatsu Kazuhiko and Takahashi Masaaki present the two groups as connected via their ability to harm humans through illness and/or death.⁴⁶⁷ As noted in the introduction, these two groups might also be considered alongside or connected to other known causes of disease and illness, such as spirits of deceased people (*onyrō* and *goryō*), *tengu*, fox spirits (*kitsune*), and astral deities.⁴⁶⁸ Yet, the deities stem from different origins and have specific qualities so creating a direct equivalency between *ekibyōshin* and *mononoke* seems problematic.

Of course, the definitions and significance of deities, especially *mononoke*, were not static over time. At one time, *mononoke* were thought to be the cause of various strange or

⁴⁶⁵ Tokyo National Museum detail, accessed October 2021, http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100284/001?x=10260&y=88&s=2&d_lang=ja&s_lang=&word=&class=&title=&c_e=®ion=&era=&cptype=&owner=&pos=1&num=1&mode=¢ury=

⁴⁶⁶ Shinbo, “Fudō Riyaku Engi,” 143.

⁴⁶⁷ Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō*, 14–16.

⁴⁶⁸ *Onryō* are vindictive spirits of a deceased person that was wronged in life, and *goryō* are *onyrō* that are venerated to convert them into benevolent spirits. These spirits often caused epidemics or contagious diseases, which brought on or occurred around the time of famines. Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, 228–29.

inexplicable phenomena, but by the late-Heian period, *mononoke* also signified invisible spirits (either from living or dead) that caused harm to specific people or families.⁴⁶⁹ It seems then that scholars arguing for a *mononoke* identification are referring to the more general, non-personal version. This would be in line with how Haruko Wakabayashi refers to *tengu* as a type of *mononoke*.⁴⁷⁰ In either case, there is not an established iconography or practice of depicting *mononoke* as entities during the early-medieval period. This fact troubles a true identification of the deities as *mononoke*, but again, scholars tend to use it to imply “spirit” in a more general way.

Shinbo’s argument about the figures being non-object *mononoke* is in rebuttal to the other main argument that these deities are *tsukumogami*, or animated objects. In essays written before Shinbo’s argument, Takasaki and Watanabe Hajime claim that the five figures are *tsukumogami*, or household objects that transform into spirits after turning a certain age (99-100 years old).⁴⁷¹ In two essays written in the past decade, Noriko Reider has also drawn out the similarities and connections to *tsukumogami* but makes a point to refer to them as illness-causing deities or illness-causing deities transfigured into objects.⁴⁷²

These scholars draw, in part, from Tō Teikan’s (1732-1797) eighteenth-century compilation, *Kōko Shōroku (A Minor Record of a Predilection for Old Things)*. Regarding the

⁴⁶⁹ These authors cover the characters used in *mononoke*, and the roots of those graphs. Noriko T. Reider, *Seven Demon Stories from Medieval Japan* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2016), 6; Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō*, 14–16; Yui Suzuki, “Possession and the Possessed: The Multisensoriality of Spirits, Bodies, and Objects in Heian Japan,” in *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, ed. Sally Promeay, 2017, 71.

⁴⁷⁰ Wakabayashi, *Seven Tengu Scrolls*, 3–4.

⁴⁷¹ Takasaki, *Naomoto mōshibumi ekotoba*, 30:53; Watanabe Hajime, “Naki Fudō Engi Emaki,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 35 (Showa 9).

⁴⁷² Reider, “Animating Objects,” 250.

Naki Fudō, the record states “In the middle of the scroll, Abe no Seimei, with the *tsukumogami* ritual, removed the illness from Chikō and into Shōkū, and Chikō was relieved from his sickness.”⁴⁷³ The author then points to an entry in Nakayama Tadachika’s *Sankaiki* from 1194 (Kenkyū 5) about an incident in 1178 when a priest and *onmyōji* transferred a *mononoke* into a medium then into a thing (*mono*).

Reider and Takasaki also point to visual evidence to support claims about the deities’ connection to *tsukumogami*. Specifically, they have noted that two of the five beings appear to be everyday objects with animalistic features. Reider sees the figure at the top as a large bowl while Takasaki sees it as a three-legged desk, and both understand the second to be a basin with four handles. Both scholars compare the *Fudō riyaku* figures to the animated objects from the *Tsukumogami ki* (*Record of Tool Specters*), which is dated to the Muromachi period (1336-1573). The *Tsukumogami ki*, dated later than the *Fudō riyaku*, does not connect the objects with illness though. Rather, the story is about the objects, which received spirits after turning 99 years old, seeking revenge for being discarded by their owners. The objects transform into animated figures and cause great disturbance and fear before being converted to Buddhist teachings.

While there is visual evidence of the two figures being animated objects, three of the figures in the *Fudō riyaku* grouping do not appear to be transformed objects at all.⁴⁷⁴ Two of the figures have animal features, but the one with multiple sets of eyes is unique. Reider addresses this issue by considering the connection of animal and object figures in two of her essays. In her essay on the fourteenth-century *Tsuchigumo zōshi* (*Tale of an Earth Spider*) *emaki*, she makes a

⁴⁷³ My translations. Text can be found in: Fujiwara Tō, “Kōko Shōroku,” in *Nihon zuihitsu zenshū*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Kokumin Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, 1927); Shinbo, “Fudō Riyaku Engi,” 143; Takasaki, *Naomoto mōshibumi ekotoba*, 30:52.

⁴⁷⁴ Point also made by Shinbo. Shinbo, “Fudō Riyaku Engi,” 143.

visual connection between the *Fudō riyaku* group of deities to a scene of spirits, including transformed objects and animal figures, that appear before Minamoto no Yorimitsu (948-1021) in an abandoned house. Reider translates the *Tsuchigumo* group as spirits and goblins in English.⁴⁷⁵

In the “Animating Objects” article, Reider argues that the *Fudō riyaku* is evidence of the conceptual relationship between animals and objects as having the potential to transform into spirits after reaching the age of 100-years old.⁴⁷⁶ This argument, that there is a close relationship between transformed animals and animated objects, was proposed by Tanaka Takako in her 1994 book.⁴⁷⁷ Tanaka points to the presence of transformed animals and objects in scenes of the *Tsuchigumo zoshi* as well as the *Yūzū engi* as evidence that belief in these type of transformed-spirits existed or was being formed prior to the production and popularity of *Tsukumogami-ki* and related tales.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁵ Fig 2.1 in Reider, *Seven Demon Stories*. Even though she does not offer a translation in Japanese, the choice of words seems to point to a *yōkai* identification. Komatsu also uses the Japanese term *yōkai* in his description of the *Tsuchigumo zoshi* figures. Komatsu, “Supernatural Apparitions,” 3. *Yōkai* does appear in the 8th century *Shoku Nihongi* in reference to a strange occurrence, but it is not a common term throughout the Heian and medieval periods. In fact, it really wasn’t until the Meiji period (1868-1912) that *yōkai* became common as the overall signifier for terms like monster, spirit, goblin, demon, etc. Thus, it seems unlikely that these figures would have specifically been identified as *yōkai* by the fourteenth-century producers or viewers of the scroll. Foster and Shinonome, *Book of Yōkai*, 19. Matt Alt, Komatsu Kazuhiko, and Yoda Hiroko, *An Introduction to Yōkai Culture: Monsters, Ghosts, and Outsiders in Japanese History* (Tokyo: Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture, 2018), 66. For more on the complexity of defining *yōkai* and other “monsters,” see Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade*, 1–25.

⁴⁷⁶ Reider, “Animating Objects.”

⁴⁷⁷ According to Reider, Tanaka makes an argument that shape-shifting animals like foxes and *tanuki* that live to over 100 were called *tsukumogami*, so it is just one step away from calling objects *tsukumogami*. Reider, “Animating Objects,” 249. Tanaka does note that there is a difference between living things being transformed and objects being animated. Tanaka, *Hyakki yagyo*, 197.

⁴⁷⁸ In her writing, Tanaka uses the term *bakemono* specifically. It means “changing thing,” so it certainly corresponds to the idea of the transformed animals and objects. However, the term *bakemono* seems to have been not commonly used until the Edo period. Tanaka, *Hyakki yagyo*, 186. On *bakemono* usage see Foster and Shinonome, *Book of Yōkai*, 16–18; Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade*, 5–8.

As noted by Tanaka and Shinbo, there are visual connections between the *Fudō riyaku* deities and the *Yūzū engi*'s epidemic horde. Three deities in particular are extremely close in appearance to the two object-beings and the being with multiple eyes in the ritual scene of *Fudō riyaku*. The deity referred to as the three-legged desk or bowl above appears in both. The one in *Fudō riyaku* has completely black cranial appendages, while the *Yūzū engi* deity's appendages are green with black outline. The next matching deity is the red-faced deity that is identified as a four-handled basin by Reider and Takasaki. The third deity that appears in both scrolls is the figure with four sets of eyes and one singular eye on an elongated cone-shaped head, long ears surrounded by hair, and a wide-open mouth. In *Yūzū engi*, this figure's skin is red unlike the blue skin of the one that appears in *Fudō riyaku*. The rest of the figures do not match as closely, but the *Yūzū engi* horde is comprised of a fantastic assortment of beings that have animalistic features such as beaks, *oni*-type horns, and claws, or wear skull-headaddresses.

The inclusion of object-type spirits in the *Yūzū engi* epidemic deities does not mean that *tsukumogami* or animal-spirits were considered to be epidemic deities. Stories of the *tsukumogami* tell that they were vengeful and would torment and sometimes kill their past owners, but they did not do so specifically via an illness or epidemic. Animal spirits were often tricksters and could cause illness but like *tsukumogami* were not tied specifically to epidemics. Their placement within a horde of epidemic deities perhaps points to a broader, more diverse visualization of illness-causing beings at that time. That is, the way in which artists visualized epidemic deities was more open to creative interpretation during the time of the *Yūzū engi* production and only later became more standardized as a single, *oni*-like figure (see Chapter Three).

Based on the similarities between the three figures, it is clear that the artist of *Fudō riyaku* drew direct inspiration for the monstrous iconography from the *Yūzū engi*. This argument is further supported by the fact that the two flying deities in the Chikō scene of the *Fudō riyaku* are very similar in appearance to the two *gōhei*-carrying *Yūzū engi* figures in a number of ways: one wears a conch shell-shaped hat and flowing sashes around his shoulders and the other has a long nose and cow-shaped ears and wears an armor over the torso (Figure 4-7). Moreover, there are two other scenes in each scroll that are almost identical: the scene of a man fetching water at the well while a woman washes clothes nearby (Figures 4-8 and 4-9) and the scene in front of Enma's palace (Figure 4-10 and 4-11).

The close visual relationship between these two scrolls may have influenced how the five monstrous beings in front of Abe no Seimei have been read as illness-causing deities by modern-day scholars. This idea was certainly bolstered by the inclusion of the illness-causing being in the Chikō scene, but the appearances of the two sets of deities are unique. Scholars arguing that both sets of figures are illness-causing deities do not contend with this issue, so it is difficult to know how they view the relationship between the groups. In any case, if the artist intended to depict illness-causing figures harming Chikō in various stages of the scroll, it seems that at least one of the deities from the five would be present in the Chikō scene or vice versa. The other possibilities are that it is another group of illness-beings witnessing or participating in the ritual scene or other type of spirits that have been drawn to the ritual scene. These possibilities are supported by the fact that Abe no Seimei was famed for controlling spirits and having them do his bidding. In other words, it might represent the power of Seimei that would have been familiar to viewers. As noted above, the question of identity may depend on what role, if any, that the beings played in the Abe no Semei ritual, so I turn to that next.

Healing Rituals

At the end of the divination scene described in literary versions, Abe no Seimei declares that Chikō's life could not be saved but could be extended through a ritual that required someone to take his place. Unfortunately, the name of the ritual that Abe no Seimei conducts is not made clear in the *emaki* nor the various texts except for the *Konjaku monogatari* version. This absence in the majority of the texts has led scholars to consider different options and most often it is considered in relation to transference rituals. I first present the evidence on the transference rituals but ultimately offer an alternate ritual for consideration.

As noted above, Tō Teikan's *Kōko Shōroku* states that Abe no Seimei conducts a *tsukumogami* ritual and then references a ritual in which a *mononoke* was transferred to an object. Using this text, Takasaki and others draw conclusions that the scene depicts a ritual of transference of illness from a body to an object. Despite not having found a ritual specifically called *tsukumogami*, it is clear that transference of harmful spirits from humans into objects is well-documented by this time.⁴⁷⁹ The rituals include ceremonies that remove pollutions as well as harmful spirits. The ritualists use objects shaped like humans, such as *hitogata*, ceramic bowls or figures, wooden objects, images on paper, or even clothing that would become the receptacle for the harmful spirit or pollution.⁴⁸⁰ The *yorishiro* (object for spirit possession) could be rubbed on the person's body or the person might breathe into the object. A harmful spirit could also be coaxed out of the human body and into the receptacle; depending on the type of deity it was, this was achieved through chanting, physical beating, transference of food eaten by the sick person,

⁴⁷⁹ For a detailed examination of one ritual that involves transference, see: Lomi, "Dharanis, Talismans, and Straw-Dolls."

⁴⁸⁰ Jane Marie Law, *Puppets of Nostalgia: The Life, Death, and Rebirth of the Japanese Awaji Ningyō Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 33–34.

or coaxing by a ritualist.⁴⁸¹ The objects containing the spirit and/or pollution would then be thrown away into a river or buried.⁴⁸²

Tanaka, Reider, and others have argued that the objects imbued with spirits and/or pollution had the potential to become animated vengeful spirits.⁴⁸³ In this vein, Reider proposes that the five beings might be the animated objects in which the illness was placed, as in the case of the *Kōko Shōroku* example.⁴⁸⁴ She suggests it is possible that the image depicts the end of the ritual in which the illness-beings were placed inside objects and transformed the objects into monstrous-object beings through their possession. This seems to go against the important theme of the sacrifice of the monk and of Fudō, however.

Another take on the Abe no Seimei ritual as a transference comes from Komatsu Kazuhiko. While Reider sees this scroll as showing how objects are used in transference rituals, Komatsu Kazuhiko instead views Shōkū as being the *yorimashi*, or the human into which the five *ekibyōshin-mononoke* spirits are being transferred.⁴⁸⁵ Moreover, in his view, the scene depicts the process of a transference ritual not culmination: Abe no Seimei reads incantations, summons the *gohō* (*shikigami*), and expels the *mononoke*; the *gohō* then chase the *mononoke* into the *yorimashi*. He further argues that ultimately the ritual does not work, and Fudō has to step in. This seems not to be the case since the ritual to transfer Chikō's illness to Shōkū was successful.

⁴⁸¹ For information on the physical removal, see Macomber, "Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease," 303.

⁴⁸² For more on the use of objects in spiritual rituals, see: Kaneko, *Majinai no sekai 1*; Tatsumi, *Majinai no sekai 2*.

⁴⁸³ Tanaka, *Hyakki yagyo*, 186–208; Reider, "Animating Objects," 250–52.

⁴⁸⁴ Reider, "Animating Objects," 250.

⁴⁸⁵ Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 190.

It should be noted that the Jimon lineage of monks (based in Onjōji) was especially known for conducting *yori kitō* (possession prayers), which are similar to the expelling rituals discussed here. The *yori kitō*, a type of *kaji* or Buddhist healing ritual, involved transferring a disease-causing spirit from the body of the ill patient into the body of a medium (*yorismashi*).⁴⁸⁶ While it was in the body of the medium, the priests used mudras and mantras to determine the spirit's identity and then “drop” the spirit (*otosu*). This point could be used to strengthen the position that the ritual depicted is transference, but it seems clear that the ritualist is not a Buddhist.

There are clearly connections between the concepts of illness-causing deities, *tsukumogami*, and transference rituals to expel dangerous spirits. While the arguments that these rituals are what is depicted are not without merit, I hold some reservations. For one, I do not believe that *tsukumogami* and transference rituals should be conflated outright. *Tsukumogami* gained spirits from reaching old age, whereas the objects used in rituals could become animated by the spirit deposited inside of them. This distinction is an important one since the former is an inanimate object gaining a spirit while the other is a possession. Second, Reider's argument that the five figures are the objects possessed by the illness-causing deity implies that the transfer of illness into the objects has been complete. This line of inquiry, unfortunately, does not account for how Shōkū ended up taking on the illness. Komatsu Kazuhiko's argument that the scene is a depiction of a process is intriguing and accounts for all of the characters involved. Unfortunately, Komatsu's reading is troubled by his identification of the man in the bottom of the scene as Shōkū instead of Abe no Seimei's assistant. The visual evidence—different clothing that is not

⁴⁸⁶ According to Macomber, several scholars believed that Enchin, the founder of the Jimon lineage, adopted these rites into practice. Macomber, “Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease,” 89.

worn by monks—suggests otherwise. Moreover, it seems typical in accounts of transference rituals for the person suffering and the medium or object that the *mononoke* is drawn into to be within the ritual space. In this case, neither Chikō nor Shōkū is present. Finally, I believe there is other convincing evidence to indicate that the ritual is a different one altogether, the *Taizan Fukun sai*.

Taizan Fukun Sai

According to the *Konjaku monogatari* version of the tale, Abe no Seimei performs the *Taizan Fukun sai*, a ritual that promotes longevity, improves health, eases childbirth, and provides other earthly benefits. The story goes that an unnamed priest (Chikō) was deathly ill and that, after Buddhist prayers (*kaji*) were unsuccessful, Abe no Seimei was called for a divination.⁴⁸⁷ The outcome is that someone must substitute themselves for Chikō and place their name in the records of Taizan Fukun (Ch: Taishan Fujun). After Seimei enters the substituting priest's name (Shōkū) in the *tojō* (supplication letter) and performs the ritual, the ill priest (Chikō) is cured while the other priest (Shōkū) prays and waits to die. When asked to explain why the substituting priest did not die the next day, Abe no Seimei states that Taizan took pity on him, saying “*meido* is suffering too,” and then saved him from death. The story ends by noting that both priests lived long lives.

The *Taizan Fukun sai* first appears in Japanese records in 919, but it became increasingly popular with the emperor and courtiers throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴⁸⁸ The ritual centers on Taizan Fukun, a Chinese deity that records and administers the lengthening or

⁴⁸⁷ Note that in the *Konjaku* story the priests are not named. For clarity I am using them here.

⁴⁸⁸ Appears as *shichiken jōshō sai* 七献上章祭. Per Hayami, beliefs in the realm of dead did not flourish in mid-Heian so were not popular before Ichijo's time (980-1011). Shigeta, “Portrait of Abe No Seimei,” 94; Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō*, Nihon shūkyōshi kenkyū sōsho (Tokyo: Yoshikawakōbunkan, 2013).

shortening of lifespan allotments from his residence atop sacred Mount Taishan.⁴⁸⁹ Over time, Taizan was absorbed into Daoism as ruler of the underworld and later into the Buddhist pantheon as King Enma's chief minister in hell. There Taizan also kept administrative records of deeds that people committed throughout their lives that had potential to impact the original lifespan as well as rebirth in the next.⁴⁹⁰

The *Taizan Fukun sai* was performed for longevity, but it was also used to ward off disastrous events, to preserve the imperial line, to advance in government rank, as well as to protect from illness, to support safe childbirth, and mitigate strange events. The ritual largely consists of the practitioner requesting the deities' presence and then reading a *tojō*.⁴⁹¹ The letters read are fairly formulaic. First, they commend the offerings provided to the deities, then explain the problem, and finally pray for assistance and ask for the desired outcome (i.e., an increase in the person's life span or safe childbirth).⁴⁹² A review of existing *tojō* show that the deities are presented with ritual offerings of silk, gold and silver, saddled horses, and slaves.⁴⁹³ In addition to Taizan Fukun, other deities involved in the ritual are King Enma, Godō Daijin (Ch: Wudao dashen), Tenkan (Ch: Tianguan), Chikan (Ch: Diguan), Suikan (Ch: Shuiguan), Shimei (Ch:

⁴⁸⁹ Premoselli Giorgio, "Onmyōdō shin: Taizan fukun no Seisei," *Bukkyo Daigaku Daigakuin Kiyo* 42 (2014): 20.

⁴⁹⁰ He was also connected to the two astral deities (Shimei and Shiroku) that would descend and report back on people's activities. These two deities are listed as part of the *meido no junishin* discussed on the follow page.

⁴⁹¹ Mark Teeuwen, "The Creation of a Honji Suijaku Deity: Amaterasu as the Judge of the Dead," in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, ed. Fabio Rambelli and Mark Teeuwen (London: Routledge, 2015), 128.

⁴⁹² In one instance, the Emperor Go-Reizei (ruled 1045-1068) had the ritual performed while quite ill, and the *tojō* requests his name be moved from the death register into the life register. Premoselli, "Onmyōdō shin," 30.

⁴⁹³ Image of original *tojō* and transcribed *tojō* are located in Murayama Shūichi, *On'yōdō kiso shiryō shūsei* (Tokyo: Tokyo bijustu, 1987). Discussed in Masuo Shinichiro, "Taizan Fukun sai to meido junishin," in *Shigo no sekai: Indo, Chugoku, Nihon no meikai shinko*, ed. Tanaka Sumio (Tokyo: Tōyō Shorin, 2000), 236. Transcribed in Premoselli, "Onmyōdō shin," 27–29.

Siming), Shiroku (Ch: Silu), Honmyō (Ch: Benming), Kairo Shōgun (Ch: Kailu jiangjun), Tochi Reigi (Ch: Tudi lingzhi), Kashin Jōjin (Ch: Jiachin zhangren); they were collectively called the *meido no junishin* (twelve deities of the realm of the underworld) in Buddhist texts by the twelfth century.⁴⁹⁴

Despite the *Fudō riyaku* naming neither Taizan nor the *Taizan Fukun sai* in its text, it seems likely that the scene with Abe no Seimei is an illustration of it. In part, this makes sense since the *Konjaku* version is the earliest account, and no other account modifies the story by naming another ritual. In the *Konjaku monogatari* version, it is made clear that someone was going to have to take the place of Chikō in Taizan's registry, and rather than being a symbolic gesture, Shōkū physically takes on the illness and pain of Chikō immediately after the ritual is conducted. However, the information I gathered about the *Taizan Fukun sai* does not indicate that there was a specific requirement for another person to donate their life-years for the sake of the sponsor. This difference is significant in that it could indicate a shift in how the ritual was performed over time. It might also be that the *Konjaku monogatari* version of the ritual was modified to emphasize the aspect of illness transference rather than describing it as a prayer ritual, which extant records indicate it was. The adaptations of the *Konjaku* version and the *Fudō riyaku* are examined in the following section, but for now, it is important to note that there is a valid reason for an *onmyōdō* ritual to be presented in an *emaki* on Buddhist temples and deities.

There is also visual evidence in *Fudō riyaku* that points to the *Taizan Fukun sai*, including Abe no Seimei reading a *tojō* and the type of offerings discussed in the existing *tojō*. Specifically, the offerings of a saddled horse and slave are represented with paper models in the

⁴⁹⁴ Masuo, "Taizan fukun sai." Katsuaki Yamashita and Joseph P. Elacqua, "The Characteristics of On'yōdō and Related Texts," *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 21, no. 1 (2012): 89; Shinichiro Masuo and Joseph P. Elacqua, "Chinese Religion and the Formation of Onmyōdō," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40, no. 1 (2013): 36.

detail of the *Fudō riyaku* (Figure 4-12).⁴⁹⁵ The outdoor location of the ritual is something to consider as well. According to Yamashita Katsuaki, *onmyōdō* ritualists did not have a fixed place to hold rituals like temples so they often made temporary ritual spaces outdoors.⁴⁹⁶ He also noted that *onmyōdō* rituals were often held after dark or at dawn due to the character of the gods they called upon. That is, the gods were often tied to nature and astrological elements so the connection to them was stronger outdoors.⁴⁹⁷

If the ritual is in fact the *Taizan Fukun sai*, it does not immediately account for the presence of the five beings since they do not appear to be any of the *meido no junishin* that are called upon. Taizan was associated with many demons and spirits, including underworld, astral, and disease-carrying types though.⁴⁹⁸ It is possible that these figures are general *kijin* (ghosts and demons) or *mono* that Taizan and *onmyōji* were tasked with managing and expelling. In any case, it seems very likely that these beings are connected to Taizan rather than as a representation of the illness impacting Chikō and Shōkū. Their role in the scene might be as witness to the ritual, as Shinbo suggested, and their visible presence might reflect that Abe no Seimei was known to see demons and spirits invisible to the rest of humans.⁴⁹⁹ Again, it is clear that the artist

⁴⁹⁵ This particular feature is not present in the later scrolls. The appearance of horses in rituals was not uncommon. They were the preferred spirit mount of many *kami* as well epidemic-causing entities. In the *Sannō reikenki*, for instance, we see similar paper horse images on sticks. Kaneko, *Majinai no sekai 1*, 35.

⁴⁹⁶ Yamashita Katsuaki, “On’yōdō no shūkyōteki tokushitsu,” *Tōyō Kenkyū*, no. 159 (2006): 102–3.

⁴⁹⁷ Yamashita, “On’yōdō,” 102–3.

⁴⁹⁸ Premoselli, “Onmyōdō shin,” 22. For instance, according to another *Konjaku* story, Taizan controlled the demons that would travel to the human realm and bring them to the underworld every month. One of the deities in the ritual, Shimei, the Ruler of Destiny in Daoism, controlled the internal deities that would leave the body to report on a human’s actions. The earth deity was also known to cause disasters. Yamashita and Elacqua, “Characteristics of On’yōdō,” 90.

⁴⁹⁹ Shigeta, “Portrait of Abe No Seimei,” 81–82.

drew on the iconography of the *Yūzū engi* plague deities, but I believe the deities are intended to be witnessing the scene rather than be the source or participating in the ritual.

Fudō as Ultimate Healer: Adapting the Story for Onjōji

Giorgio Premoselli has argued that the *Konjaku monogatari* story of *Taizan Fukun sai* stands out from other *setsuwa* tales about Taizan.⁵⁰⁰ In that story, Taizan is the focus rather than being subordinate to King Enma, and he is able to heal the priests where the Buddhist prayers failed. Moreover, Abe no Seimei is highlighted as the ritual practitioner rather than the Buddhist priests. He argues that these differences indicate a shift toward presenting Taizan as a specific *onmyōdō* god and focus of practice rather than as a component of Buddhist beliefs and rituals.

Takeda Hiroo argues that the *Konjaku monogatari* version of this story showcases a sort of magical competition between *onmyōdō* and Buddhism in which the *onmyōji* and their rituals are victorious.⁵⁰¹ In the case of *Fudō riyaku*, however, Buddhism and specifically the Buddhist deity Fudō is presented as the victor. The *Fudō riyaku*, a scroll likely commissioned by a Buddhist temple, clearly uses an adapted story to emphasize Buddhism as the ultimate path towards healing. Overall, it follows the well-known story up to the point of the relief of Shōkū's suffering. The *Konjaku monogatari* version explains it as the mercy of Taizan Fukun, while the *Fudō riyaku* substitutes the sacrifice of Fudō. Thus, the adaptation should also be considered in light of the *Fudō riyaku* as an *emaki* of the *engi* and *reigenki* type that was used to spread the miracles of Onjōji and its Fudō icon. This section will take up these areas of inquiry by first

⁵⁰⁰Premoselli, "Onmyōdō shin."

⁵⁰¹ Saito Hideki and Takeda Hiroo, *Abe no Seimei no bunkagaku: On'yōdō o meguru boken* (Tokyo: Shin Kigensha, 2002).

looking at the reasons why Fudō was chosen to become the focus of this story. The connections between Fudō and Onjōji, known for being a locus of healing rituals, is explored as well.

Why Fudō?

When one thinks of a healing deity in Japan, Yakushi Buddha, or the Buddha of Medicine, is usually the one that comes to mind. However, over time, other deities became known as powerful agents of healing. By the time the *Fudō riyaku* was created, Fudō's miraculous healing powers had been well established. This section will present a few of the rituals focused on Fudō as well as the miraculous deeds that Fudō was known to perform to heal, save, or offer worldly benefits to devotees.

Rituals focused on Fudō alone (*Fudō hō*) or as part of the Five Great Myōō (*Godan hō*) were quite popular with emperors, courtiers, and warriors during the Heian and early-medieval period. Records indicate that the rituals were employed in hopes of increasing prosperity, averting calamity, promoting successful childbirth, and restoration of health.⁵⁰² The deities were invoked through images, mantras, and mudras and were summoned to this world to bring about the desired results. For instance, Fudō could be called upon through painting or sculpture and the mantra chanted is “Homage to the All-Encompassing Vajra, the Manifestation of Great Wrath. Eliminate all hindrances.”⁵⁰³

As a fierce deity, Fudō was the focus of *chōbuku*, or subjugation rituals, used in esoteric Buddhism. Subjugation rituals were held to overcome those that cause harm to Buddhist doctrine

⁵⁰² Mack offers an excellent survey of recorded uses of these rituals in her dissertation. Mack, “Function and Context of Fudō.”

⁵⁰³ Mack has it as “*Namah samanta vajranam, canda maharosana sphotaya, hum trat ham mam.*” Suzuki lists it as “*Nomaku sanmanda bazaradan senda makaroshada sowataya un tarata kanman.*” Karen Mack, “The Phenomenon of Invoking Fudō for Pure Land Rebirth in Image and Text,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33, no. 2 (2006): 299; Suzuki, “Possession and the Possessed,” 67.

or community, as well as political and military adversaries.⁵⁰⁴ More importantly, for this discussion, the ritual was used to restore health by subjugating possessing spirits, including disease-carrying deities, *tengu*, and *kami*. The commissioning of Fudō subjugation rituals for women about to give birth and suffering from possessing spirits can be seen in two examples; one occurred in 1025 for Princess Kishi (1007-1025), who was suffering from measles in addition to spirit possession, and another in 1026 for Princess Ishi (999-1036).⁵⁰⁵ In another story, a Fudō ritual was said to cure the Somedono Empress of an affliction caused by *tengu*.⁵⁰⁶

The *Fudō riyaku* visually references the Buddhist *chōbuku* in the scene of Shōkū praying to the painted hanging scroll of Fudō. Specifically, the triangle-shaped hearth on the main ritual table below the icon, which corresponds to the ritual details in the Kamakura-period iconographical source *Kakuzenshō* (Figure 4-13), is the standard for subjugation rituals.⁵⁰⁷ To be clear, the text does not indicate that Shōkū is performing the ritual nor does it mention that other priests had attempted it. The inclusion of such details would invite those who were knowledgeable about the rituals to make connections with the other elements in the story about illness and healing.

Rather than on the *chōbuku* ritual, however, the focus in the *Fudō riyaku* seems to be on Fudō's compassion as well as his miraculous abilities. In the scroll, Fudō declares to Shōkū, "You substituted for your master. I will substitute for you." Here, Fudō calls attention to the fact

⁵⁰⁴ Mack, "Function and Context of Fudō," 170–71.

⁵⁰⁵ Mack, "Function and Context of Fudō," 178. Childbirth was a dangerous time, and mother and infant were susceptible to spirit attacks; see Suzuki, "Twanging Bows and Throwing Rice."

⁵⁰⁶ Based on the *Kojidan* version. Mack, "Function and Context of Fudō," 296.

⁵⁰⁷ *Fudō Hō* section, *Kakuzenshō* TZ 2.212. Richard Karl. Payne, *The Tantric Ritual of Japan: Feeding the Gods; the Shingon Fire Ritual* (Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1991), 79; Macomber, "Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease," 291.

that he is mirroring the sacrifice by Shōkū for Chikō. After his declaration, Fudō immediately heals Shōkū by offering himself as a bodily substitute, or *migawari*, and taking on his illness, dying, and going to *jigoku*.

Fudō's ability to perform *migawari* for devout followers is recorded in a number of *setsuwa* and in monks' biographies. One in particular is related to the Tendai priest Ennin (794-864), who hid amongst a group of Fudō statues to avoid persecution from Chinese authorities in 845. According to the *Uji shūi monogatari*, the authorities did not see Ennin because he was disguised as a Fudō statue.⁵⁰⁸ In another tale, the priest Kakuban was also disguised as a Fudō statue to avoid being killed by rival monks.⁵⁰⁹ When the monks drilled into the Fudō statue near Kakuban, its wound spilled blood so the monks left thinking they had killed Kakuban.

These stories differ from the *Fudō riyaku* in that Fudō hides those figures rather than taking away their illness or their place in *jigoku*. It should be noted, briefly, that the *jigoku* aspect of the *Fudō riyaku* is uncommon amongst the miraculous deeds attributed to *Fudō*. The Soga version of the tale provides some insight into this action by Fudō. In that tale, Fudō adds to his declaration of substitution by saying “Bodhisattva Jizō is not the only deity to take such an oath.” Here we see the storytellers drawing the connection between Fudō and Jizō, a deity that was known to travel to *jigoku* or take the place of devotees by receiving their torturous punishment.⁵¹⁰ In this way, we can also say that the Fudō story is drawing upon another deity's

⁵⁰⁸ Tale 170: How the Great Teacher Jikaku went to Tie-Dyeing Castle. Douglas Edgar Mills, *A Collection of Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of "Uji Shui Monogatari"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 390.

⁵⁰⁹ Tanaka Hisao, *Fudō shinkō*, *Mīnshū shūkyōshi sōsho* 25, 1993, 31. “Kakuban Shōnin no koto” in *Senshū shō* (選集抄), which is a late 13th century *setsuwa* collection, NKBT.85.114.

⁵¹⁰ In his dissertation, Kevin Bond notes that this identification between Jizō and Fudō as well as Fudō's takeover of the story from Taizan is expected because Fudō did not have the same narrative tradition as they did. Bond, “Forcing the Immovable One,” 28.

reigenki. However, both are similar in that the deity endures punishment on behalf of a believer. Further, traveling to *jigoku* as witness or being saved from *jigoku* were prominent themes within visual culture and literature at this time, so it is probable that this aspect was intended to be an added affect for the viewers.

Onjōji as a Site of Healing

By the late Heian period, the government system of controlling temples had weakened and individual temples had to find innovative ways of garnering patronage and fundraising for artistic productions. One way of garnering support from various patrons was through the work by healers called *genza* (or *genja*), those who manifested efficacy, and by the deities that could offer healing or protection. Jimon-lineage monks (based in Onjōji) were often revered for their healing potencies, and Onjōji was one of the temples well known for enshrining a number of efficacious healing deities.

In considering what lineages were successful in promoting their healing potency, we can also turn to temple records, historical records, and personal diaries to see which priests or deities were called upon for healing. According to Andrew Macomber, the Jimon monks were sought out more than those of the Sanmon (the other Tendai lineage that was often in conflict with Jimon) and the Shingon school.⁵¹¹ Tokunaga Seiko credits the popularity of Jimon monks amongst aristocrats for healing rituals to their supervisory role over pilgrimages in the Kumano mountains.⁵¹² In 1090, retired emperor Shirakawa appointed the Onjōji abbot to oversee the Kumano shrines, cementing a relationship between retired emperors, imperial pilgrimages to Kumano, and Onjōji. Over time, the Kumano pilgrimages became even more popular with

⁵¹¹ Macomber, “Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease,” 88.

⁵¹² Tokunaga Seiko, “Kumano sanzan kengyō to shugendō,” *Chūsei shi kenkyū* 27 (2002): 75–100.

emperors and aristocrats, and they were often led by Onjōji priests. This situation allowed for Onjōji monks to establish relationships with the court that extended out of the mountains and into the city.

The Onjōji connection with Kumano played a role in the relationship between the Jimon lineage and Shugendō, which furthered their claims of religious potency. *Shugenja*, practitioners of Shugendō, acquired their powers through ascetic religious practices in the mountains. For rituals, *shugenja* were able to call on various types of gods, including kami, Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and the myōō. According to Miyake, invocation of Fudō was most common.⁵¹³ In the Shugendō *chōbuku*, for instance, the *shugenja* achieves identification with Fudō and then is able to use the deity's powers and control his servants to expel evil spirits.⁵¹⁴

The importance of the mountain pilgrimages and practices and the connection to Fudō was already evident for Tendai leaders in the ninth century. According to the priest's biography, Enchin (founder of Jimon sect) had a vision of the Yellow (or golden) Fudō while meditating in a remote cave. The story goes that the Yellow Fudō appeared to Enchin and told him to create an image of his form and then continue his practices. Enchin asked who the figure was, and the deity replied, "I am the Yellow Fudō. Due to my relation to the adherents of the dharma, I will always protect you...." So moved, Enchin made an exact replica of the manifested form. The secret painting of Yellow Fudō at Onjōji is supposedly based on Enchin's image.⁵¹⁵ Other accounts follow indicating that Yellow Fudō kept the promise to protect Enchin. Appearing two

⁵¹³ Hitoshi Miyake, "Religious Rituals in Shugendo: A Summary," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16, no. 2–3 (1989): 106.

⁵¹⁴ Miyake, "Religious Rituals," 111.

⁵¹⁵ Exact details of the Yellow Fudō at Onjōji are difficult to come by as it is held in secret and not displayed. It might be that the original image was lost in fires and only copies remain. Cynthea J. Bogel, *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icons and Early Mikkyo Vision* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 198.

times when Enchin was in need, Yellow Fudō saved him from being adrift at sea and saved him from a grave illness.

The stories of Enchin and Yellow Fudō correlate with the *reigenki* stories of Fudō above, especially that of Ennin and the Fudō *migawari*, but they also point to the Onjōji monks' other means of increasing their healing prowess: employing deities unique to their temples as well as the creation and use of new healing rituals. To the former point, the Yellow Fudō is but one of many previously unknown deities associated with Onjōji; others include Sonjōō and Shinra Myōjin as well as Shōmen Kongō (Blue-faced Vajrayaksa). In his dissertation, Andrew Macomber notes “these unheard of gods held the allure of special and mysterious powers” and could be considered a novel strategy for lineages to promote their temples.⁵¹⁶ It is perhaps not surprising that some of these “novel” deities are also connected to healing rituals.⁵¹⁷

The *Fudō riyaku* does not feature one of the “unique” versions of Fudō, but it does highlight a specific icon at Onjōji as being efficacious as well as pointing to specific rituals developed there. As noted in the last textual segment of *Fudō riyaku*, Shōkū is not only completely healed from the illness, but his life is also extended via Fudō's benevolence. In this way, the *emaki* can be read as highlighting the two unique life-prolonging (*enmei*, alternatively *ennen* or *enju*) rituals performed by Onjōji priests that focused on Fudō. It should be noted that this ability to extend lives furthers the connection between Fudō and Taizan (from the earlier version).

⁵¹⁶ Macomber, “Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease,” 4.

⁵¹⁷ The Shōmen Kongō, for instance, was central to a new healing ritual focused on managing the deities that resided inside the human body. See Macomber, “Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease.”

One of the rituals is named the *enmei hō*, or life extending ritual, and the other is the *jō daishi hō*, or expelling the great death ritual. According to the *Kakuzenshō*, the Onjōji *enmei hō* can lengthen a devotee's life up to 6 months and can lengthen the lives of ascetic priests (*gyōja*) indefinitely.⁵¹⁸ It is also noted that if devotees want to extend their lives six months longer, they should make sure to recite a mantra to *Dakini*. *Dakini* was a goddess said to know when a person will pass six months in advance and will take their heart and eat it.⁵¹⁹

While the *enmei hō* is centered on the individual, the *jō daishi hō* is focused more on saving larger swaths of people, such as those suffering from an epidemic. According to *Kakuzenshō*, Emperor Toba (1107-1123) inquired about means to protect the large number of people dying. The response was to do the Fudō ritual, and the head priest of Onjōji and twenty additional priests performed the ritual.

Based on commentary by the Tendai monk Keien (1140-1223), the two Fudō life extending rituals were already known specialties of the temple by the late Heian period. By the Kamakura period, Onjōji had become a major site for *enmei* performances and rituals and was politically significant.⁵²⁰ According to Kim, the rituals at Onjōji were much more elaborate than those at other temples, which was in part to compete with Enryakuji, home to the Sanmon-lineage of Tendai priests.⁵²¹ Perhaps sensing the popularity of the rituals and attempting to

⁵¹⁸ *Kakuzenshō* TZ 2.211-212.

⁵¹⁹ *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, Japan Knowledge, accessed on May 2021.

⁵²⁰ Although it is unknown if Jimon-lineage priests were called to perform this particular ritual, one of the most well-known stories of invoking Fudō for extending a life is found in Chapter 35 of the *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*). In this chapter, Genji's wife Lady Murasaki dies after being possessed by an evil spirit. After Lady Murasaki's death, Genji calls many *genja* (healers; alternately *genza*) and prays to Fudō to bring her back from death and prolong her life. Their prayers were successful when Lady Murasaki started breathing again and the spirit entered into the medium and addressed Genji. Bond, "Forcing the Immovable One," 24.

⁵²¹ Kim connects the rituals to the promotion of Shinra Myōjin since the rituals came to be carried out at the deity's shrine. Kim, *Shinra Myōjin*, 68–69.

dampen their significance, Enryakuji labeled the Onjōji Fudō rituals as heterodox because of their similarity to Dakiniten rituals.⁵²² Of course, as noted in the introduction of this section, Buddhist healers were also competing with *onmyōji* to prove their superior healing efficacy. In this case, the *Fudō riyaku* illustrates the superiority of Onjōji's Fudō and ritual practices to both *onmyōdō* gods and rituals and other Buddhist practices.

This information makes it clear that Onjōji was very much part of crafting new rituals as well as the narrative around the efficacy of the priests and deities tied to their temple lineage. It does not seem too farfetched to consider that the *Fudō riyaku* had an important role in propagating these rituals and spreading the news of their efficacy as well. Reading the *Fudō riyaku* through this lens provides us with a much better understanding of why the earlier versions of the story were adapted into an *emaki* and that it was likely by priests with ties to Onjōji.

Conclusion

The *Fudō riyaku* is a complicated visual-verbal narrative. Earlier and later versions of the story have to be considered as does the specific context in which this *emaki* was produced. While the overall storyline is largely similar to other versions, the added visual elements force us to contend with complex views on sources of illness as well as methods for healing. As was made clear, there is often overlap or at least correlations between different healing rituals. Thus, coming to a definitive conclusion about the meaning and presence of the “illness-causing beings” is difficult. However, I hope to have shown that the inclusion of at least one illness-causing being in the Chikō scene was not tied to the origins of his illness nor the ritual that was used to heal him. Rather, it was likely a decision based on visual impact and affect for storytelling. It offered viewers different ways to read the scroll and make connections between illness-causing beings,

⁵²² Bernard Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 136.

tsukumogami, and transference rituals, which all would have been well known. It also offered the temple a means of promoting its healing program as being capable of managing a variety of illnesses, regardless of source. I have presented another reading of the scroll's ritual scene by showing how it illustrates the *Taizan Fukun sai* and the ultimate superiority of the Onjōji Fudō, which is certainly related to the powerful Fudō life extending rituals of the temple. Finally, the animation of Fudō in response to prayer and ritual within the *emaki* correlates with the role of the *emaki* itself as an animated object; that is both types of icons offer the viewers an opportunity to create karmic connections.

Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore the various ways in which illness, disability, and bodily otherness were conceived and visualized in the early-medieval period. Using the four *emaki* addressed in this dissertation as case studies has presented challenges since each of them is distinctly different in its presentation of illness and disability. This is in large part due to the different roles the themes play in satisfying larger objectives. They are, however, the four *emaki* from the early medieval period that stand out for their engagement with disabled and ill bodies, so it is only by examining them in all their difference that one can hope to understand the complexity, variety, and nuance in how ill and disabled people were imagined and treated and the role that representations of them played in social and religious practices.

Each of the *emaki* treat illness and disability in varying ways, but together they offer a fuller picture of the dimensions of early-medieval anxieties over otherness and the mutable human body and existence. I have teased out a partial view of matters such as stigma and the differing treatment of people suffering from a variety of illnesses and misfortunates in the *Yamai*; in the *Ippen hijiri-e* chapter I dealt with the lived experiences of disabled people alongside other marginal figures in early-medieval Japan; I argue that the *Kasuga genki-e* shows how an external, supernatural source of disease and its monstrous iconography reflects the disabled and mutable human body; and finally, in the *Fudō riyaku* chapter, I contended with the role of religious institutions and icons in healing and the significance of healing programs in a temple's quest for patronage.

I have focused primarily on representations in painting and in literature while also considering how other materials might complement or complicate those representations. A basic reason for such a focus is that these sorts of historical documents provide some perspective on

how disabled people were perceived or presented as living and being treated in society in ways that hover between reportage and purposeful construction. I have avoided relying too heavily on legal information or even specific religious doctrines because these limit the domain of disability to either state policy or the ideal religious body.

The interdisciplinary approach was also necessary due to the overall dearth of direct evidence about the lived experiences of disabled people from their own perspective. The evidence that we do have is from the perspective and experiences of the wealthy, but those also offer crafted narratives depending on the audience and source. For instance, the *Eiga monogatari* (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*) describes the passing of the Heian period statesman, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966-1028), as a dignified death with him concentrating on prayers to Amida, or in other words having a good death intended for a good rebirth.⁵²³ Yet, in his diary *Shōyūki*, Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957-1046) describes a vivid scene of suffering at the end, including Michinaga's lying in excrement for days because of fecal incontinence; being in pain due to a huge abscess on his back that when finally lanced caused him to scream and pass out; and having overall issues with dementia and loss of consciousness that kept from saying his prayers.⁵²⁴

This issue of perspective, or whose reality and perspective, was an important one that I attempted to keep at the front throughout the dissertation. This is because perspective can significantly alter how we read and understand these images and stories. The example of the evidence provided in diaries about aristocrats suffering is helpful to understanding this as well.

⁵²³ For death bed practices, see Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*. For more on *Eiga monogatari*, see Watanabe, *Flowering Tales*.

⁵²⁴ Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo hen, *Shōyūki*, vol. 10, Dai Nihon Kokiroku (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2016); Yiengpruksawan, "Visual Ideology of Buddhist Sculpture."

Despite the personal accounts of suffering, there are no visual images depicting the highest level of courtiers with disease or disability. Instead, the majority of the people depicted as suffering are commoners, such as those found in *Yamai* and the run-down dwelling of the *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* or *hinin*, such as those in the *Ippen hijiri-e*.

This begs the question of who is allowed to be depicted in those ways, and what being disabled meant more broadly. One reason for not depicting the suffering is likely related to the issues of the ideal body and aesthetic beauty as discussed in Chapter One. It is quite certain that people commissioning the illustrated scrolls and literature were wealthy patrons or temples and shrines with the financial backing of wealthy donors. Avoiding any negative depictions of courtiers would be prudent since they were often patrons and donors to the temples and shrines.

It also points to the fact that those in the highest levels of court were considered to be closest to the purity of the emperor, whose body symbolized the status of the state overall. Concerns of defilement that could be transferred to someone else through seeing, touching, or sharing a space meant that the defiled person had to be isolated. It also meant that depicting someone close to the emperor as defiled could implicate the emperor and the country as being in a state of disfunction.

It may not be surprising, then, that those whom we often see are people that are the furthest from proximity to the emperor, the commoners and *hinin*. On the other hand, as noted by Keirstead and others, the commoners and *hinin* were integral parts of the economy, including their vital role of managing and dispelling impurities that impacted the emperor directly.⁵²⁵ What is interesting here is that the increasing fears around defilement led to the development of rules and regulations which minimized the ability of courtiers and emperors to move freely and which

⁵²⁵ Keirstead, "Outcastes before the Law," 281–82.

made them reliant on *hinin*. Thus, in a way, the systems disabled the elite in a manner that others such as the *kiyome* (purifiers)-*hinin* were not.

Over time, and with the influence of Pure Land Buddhism, the idea that the body was somewhat neutral and subject to external defilement shifted to the idea that the body was the locus of defilement. These concepts might be considered in light of disability scholars, such as Lennard Davis, call to note that “impairment is the rule and normalcy is the fantasy.”⁵²⁶ Or, in other words, these Buddhist ideas had the opportunity to neutralize the stigma and policing of certain bodies as abnormal and problematic by seeing all bodies as defiled. However, as evidenced in this dissertation, these religious ideas did not suddenly equate to changes in the systems that managed bodies. Rather, as noted by David Bialock, these ideas were taken up by some Buddhist temples and adapted to create more fear about punishable actions and conditions.⁵²⁷ In this way, the Buddhist temples gained more power in determining what bodies were defiled and more control over *hinin* groups under their management. They also benefited by having a monopoly over their ability to offer healing and salvation. Of course, some Pure Land practitioners, such as Ippen, did work in that direction by living and practicing an accessible form of salvation, but these practices were by and large unpopular with the central Buddhist establishment and conservative members of the court due to its impact on social change.

These points elucidate the complexities that arose when working on the topic of representations of disabled bodies in early-medieval Japan as well as the benefits. Whereas

⁵²⁶ Lennard Davis, “End of Identity Politics: On Disability as an Unstable Category,” in *The Disability Studies Reader*, ed. Lennard Davis, Fourth (New York: Routledge, 2013), 276.

⁵²⁷ Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 226–27. The concern over female attachments and suffering in hell for them is just one example, for more refer to Hank Glassman, “At the Crossroads of Birth and Death: The Blood Pool Hell and Postmortem Fetal Extraction,” in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Jacqueline Stone and Noriko Namba Walter (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), 175–206.

research on the body in early-medieval Japan has often focused on the elite, which centers on the ideal, what I have shown is that the disabled body allows us to see the body politics of early-medieval Japan more clearly. The disabled body highlights the tensions at play that were constantly undermining the ideal of the courts. Each *emaki* discussed shows how the body was a site for conveying and constructing meaning between the competing concerns about class, gender, aesthetics, and defilement, and was a potent site for negotiating power and authority.

Glossary

Abe no Seimei 安倍清明
 Ashuku 阿闍
 Awaji 淡路
 bakufu 幕府
 Banno (market; Ippen) 伴野
Bingo fudoki 備後風土記
 Bishamonten 毘沙門天
biwa 琵琶
biwa-hōshi 琵琶法師
Boki ekotoba 慕婦繪詞
bokuzei 卜筮
 Bonten 梵天
byōma 病魔
byōshitsu 病室

 Chikan (Diguan) 地官
 Chikō 智興
 Chiribukuro 塵袋
chōbuku 調伏
chōri 長吏
Daimyōjin 大明神
 Dakiniten 荼吉尼天
 Datsueba 奪衣婆
dengaku hōshi 田樂法師

eboshi 烏帽子
edokoro azukari 繪所預
 Eison 叡尊
ekiki 疫鬼
ekishin 疫神
emaki 繪卷
 Enchin 円珍
eengi 縁起
 En'i 円伊
 Enma 閻魔
 Enmei hō 延命法
 Ennin 円仁

En no Gyōja 役行者
 Enryakuji 延曆寺
 eta 穢多
 etoki 絵解
 etoki-hōshi 絵解法師

fangxiangshi 方相氏
fūbyō 風病
fuda 札
 Fudō hō 不動法
 Fudō Myōō 不動明王
Fudō riyaku engi emaki 不動利益縁起絵巻
fugu 不具
 Fujiwara Akira 藤原明衡
 Fujiwara no Takanobu 藤原隆信
 Fujiwara no Tokihira 藤原時平
fujōkan 不浄観
fukanzen 不完全
fuseijin 不成人

gaki 餓鬼
Gaki zōshi 餓鬼草紙
 Genjō sanzō-e 玄奘三蔵絵
Genpō 現法
gigaku 伎楽
 Go-Shirakawa 後白河
 Godanhō 五壇法
 Godō Daijin (Wudao dashen) 五道大神
gohei 御幣
gohō 護法
gohō dōji 護法童子
gonbyō 權病
goryō 御霊
 Gyōki 行基
gyōja 行者

Hachidai-ryū-ō 八大龍王
haishichi (moderate disability) 廢疾
haishitsu-ga 廢疾画
 Hanken
 Hachimangu 八幡宮
 Hannyaji 般若寺

Heike biwa 平家琵琶
Heike monogatari 平家物語
 Hiden'in 悲田院
 hinin 非人
 hitogata 人形
 hōben 方便
 Hōbutsushū 宝物集
honji suiaku 本地垂迹
 Honmyō (Benming) 本命神
hōgo 法語
 Hōnen 法然
 Hōnen shōnin gyōjō ezu 法然上人行狀繪図
hōsōshi 方相氏
Hosshinshū 発心集
 Hossō 法相
Hyakki yakō emaki 百鬼夜行繪卷

Ichinomiya 一宮
Ichiya 市屋
Ihon Yamai no sōshi 異本病の草
 imayō 今様
 Inabadō 因幡堂
 Ippen Shōnin 一遍上人
 Ippen Shōnin eden 一遍上人繪伝
Ippen hijiri-e 一遍聖繪
irui igyō no tomogara 異類異業の輩
Ishiyamadera engi emaki 石山寺縁起繪卷
 Iwashimizu 岩清水
izari 膝行・躡

Jigoku zōshi 地獄草紙
 Jimokuji 甚目寺
Jimon denki horoku 寺門伝記捕録
jisha engi 寺社縁起
 jishū 時衆
 Ji-shū 時宗
jitsubyō 實病
 Jizōdō 地藏堂
 Jōjū-in 成就院
Jōyuishiki ron 成唯識論

Kairo Shōgun (Kailu jiangjun) 開路將軍
kaji 加持
 Kakuban 覺鑾
Kakunyo 覺如
kakuran 霍乱
Kakuzenshō 覺禪抄
 Kamakura 鎌倉
kami 神
 Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明
kanpaku 関白
 Kankikōji 歡喜光寺
 Kannondō 觀音堂
kanpi? 干皮
kara-e 唐繪
 Kashin Jōjin (Jiachin zhangren) 家親丈人
Kasuga Gongen genki emaki 春日権現験記繪卷
 Kataoka 片岡
katawa 片端・片輪
 Katsura 桂
kawarabito 河原人
kawaramono 河原者
 Katase 片瀬
 Katsuragi 葛城
kechien 結縁
kegare 穢れ・汚れ
kekkan 欠陥
 Kenrōjishin (Earth Goddess) 堅牢地神
 Kenshumon'in 建春門院
 Kitayama 北山
Kitō 祈祷
Kiyome 清め／浄め
 Kiyomizudera 清水寺
 Kiyomizu-zaka 清水坂
Kōbō Daishi gyōjōki 弘法大師行狀記
 Kōfukuji 興福寺
koiba 乞場
kojiki 乞食
Kojiki 古事記
Kokawadera engi emaki 粉河寺縁起繪卷
Kōko Shōroku 好古小録
 Kōmyō Kōgō 光明皇后

Konron 崑崙
koseki family registry system 戸籍
Konjaku monogatari shū 今昔物語集
kōsōden 高僧伝
kotoneri 小舎人
 Kumano 熊野
kurushii; kurushimu 苦しい: 苦しむ
kusōzu 九相図
 Kūkai 空海
 Kūya 空也

Makashikan (Mo-ho-chih-kuan)
Makura no sōshi 枕草子
mappō 末法
marebito 客・賓・客人
meisho-e 名所絵
michiyuki 道行
migawari 身代・身替
 Miidera 三井寺
Mimisaka Ichinomiya 美作一宮
miru 見る
 Monju 文殊
Mononoke 物の怪
muga 無我
Myōhō Renge Kyō. Lotus Sutra, JP: 妙法蓮華経

Nakayama Tadachika 中山忠親
Naki Fudō engi 泣不動縁起
Namu Amida Butsu 南無阿弥陀仏
 Nanbokuchō 南北朝
 Nara-zaka 奈良坂
Nihongi 日本紀
 Ninshō 忍性
Nissōkan 日想観
 Norimasa 範雅
nyūdō 入道

Ōdachi Takakado 大館高門
odori nenbutsu 踊念仏
okina 翁
oni 鬼
onioi 鬼追い

Ōjōin 往生院
 Ōjōyōshū 往生要集
 Ōmi 近江
 Onjōji 園城寺
Onjōji denki 園城寺伝記
 Onmyōdō 陰陽道
onmyōji 陰陽師
onryō 怨靈
 otoneri 大舍人
 Ōtsu 大津
 Owari 尾張

rai 癩
raisha 癩者
reigenki 靈驗記
Rengeō-in 蓮華王院
ritsuryō 律令
rokudō-e 六道絵
 Rokujō Dōjō 六条道場
 Ryōbyō-in 療病院

sabetsugo, or discriminatory language 差別語
 Sadō 佐渡
 Saidaiji 西大寺
 Saionji Kinhira 西園寺公衡
 Saishōkōin 最勝光院
saka 坂
Sakanomono 坂者
 Sanjo 散所
 Sanjō Hiden-in 三条悲田院
Sankaiki 山槐記
Sanmon 山門
sanshi 三尸
 Sanzu 三途
Sarugaku hōshi 猿樂法師
 Sei Shōnagon 清少納言
 Sekidera 関寺
 Sekido 関戸 (family who owned most of *Yamai*)
 Sesonji 世尊寺
Setsuwa 説話
 Seyaku-in 施薬院

shajitsu 写実
 Shakadō 釈迦堂
Shichiyō seishin betsugyō hō (*Book of diseases caused by the stars*) 七曜星辰別行法
 Shijō-Kyōgoku 四条京極
shiki-e 四季絵
shikigami 式神
 Shimei (Siming) 司命
 Shinano 信濃
 Shingon Ritsu 真言律
 Shinjuan 真珠庵
 Shinkyō 真教
 Shinnenjobon 身念処品
 Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神
 Shinran 親鸞
Shin Sarugakuki 新猿樂記
 Shiroku (Silu) 司祿
 Shitennō 四大天王
 Shizuki 志筑
Shōbōnenjokyō 正法念処經
 Shōjōke-in 清浄華院
 Shōjuraigō-ji 聖衆来迎寺
 Shōkai 聖戒
 Shōkū 証空
 Shōmen Kongō 青面金剛
Shōmonji 唱門師
 Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子
Shōtoku Taishi eden dankan 聖德太子絵伝断簡
 Shugendō 修験道
shugenja 修験者
shuku 宿
 Shuten Dōji 酒吞童子
 Soga Gorō 曾我五郎
 Soga Jūrō 曾我十郎
Soga monogatari 曾我物語
 Sonjōō 尊星王
 Suikan (Shuiguan) 水官

 Taimadera 当麻寺
 Taishakuten 帝釈
 Taizan Fukun (Taishan Fujun) 泰山府君
 Taizan Fukun sai 泰山府君祭

Takashina Takakane 高階隆兼
 Takatsukasa Mototada 鷹司基忠
 Tamakazura 玉鬘
teigyō 定業
tengu 天狗
Tengu zōshi 天狗草子
 Tenjin 天神
 Tenkan (Tiangan) 天官
 Tō Teikan 藤貞幹
 Tochi Reigi (Tudi lingzhi) 土地靈祇
tōdōza 当道座
tojō 都状
tokushichi 篤疾
 Tokiwa no Mitsunaga 常磐光長
 Tomo no Yoshio 伴善男
 Toribeno 鳥辺野
torii 鳥居
 Tosa Mitsusada 土佐光貞
 Tosa Yoshimitsu 土佐吉光
tōsagi 犢鼻褌
Towazugatari とはずがたり
Tsuchigumo zōshi 土蜘蛛草紙
tsuina 追儼
tsukinami-e 月次絵
tsukumogami 付喪神

ujigami

Uji shūi monogatari 宇治拾遺物語

Waka 和歌

Wakamurasaki 若紫

yakujin 役神

Yakushi Nyorai 薬師如来

Yamai no sōshi 病の草紙

Yamashiro 山城

yamato-e 大和絵 倭絵

yōkai 妖怪

yorimashi 寄坐・尸童・憑子

yorishiro 依代

Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好

Yōwa 養和

Yuishiki ron 唯識論

Yugyō shōnin den emaki 遊行上人伝絵巻

Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki 融通念仏縁起絵巻

zanshichi 残疾

Zenkōji 善光寺

Zennan'in 禅南院

Zoki kojidan 続古事談

Tables

Table 1. Titles of *Yamai no sōshi* scenes⁵²⁸

Standard Japanese Title	Standard English Translations ⁵²⁹	Proposed English Translation
<i>futanari</i> ⁵³⁰	Hermaphrodite	Two-form person*
<i>kakuran</i> ⁵³¹	Woman with cholera	Woman with <i>kakuran</i> *
<i>hanaguro no ikka</i>	Family with black noses	Man and children with black-tipped nose
<i>fuminshō no onna</i>	Woman with insomnia	Woman who cannot sleep
<i>fūbyō no otoko</i> ⁵³²	Man suffering <i>fūbyō</i> Man with nervous disorder	Man with <i>fūbyō</i>
<i>kōjita no otoko</i>	Man with small tongue Man with “toad tongue” (ranula glottis)	Man with little tongue
<i>kuso wo haku no otoko</i>	Man with ileus	Man without a hole in rear*
<i>ganbyō no chiryō</i>	Man with cataracts	Man receiving eye treatment

⁵²⁸ Note that I am not included Acupuncture scene in my discussion. The acupuncture scene seems unrelated to the rest of the scenes because the size, scale, and composition. It is also not included by Kasuya and Yamamoto, *Yamai no sōshi*.

⁵²⁹ Note that these are in order of (1)Teramoto and (2) Goble. If they are the same only one appears. Teramoto, “Yamai No Sōshi”; Goble, “Images of Illness.”

⁵³⁰ Futanari, literally means two forms. It refers to intersex people. Yamamoto has done extensive work on this particular scene. She notes that the Buddhist sutra, “*Bussetsu daijō zōzō kudokukyō* (*Sutra of Mahayana Buddhism on the Merit of the Construction of the Buddha’s Image*)” states that if people are born not as man but as women, eunuchs, hermaphrodites it is because of karmic retribution. Yamamoto Satomi, “Futanari, Between and Beyond: From Male Shamans to Hermaphrodites in the Illustrated Scroll of Illness.”

⁵³¹ *Kakuran* was recorded in documents since at least 772. It is often described as cholera but some have also guessed it was dysentery or heatstroke.

⁵³² The term *fūbyō* is difficult to sum up in one word in English but it translates as “wind illness.” According to the *Ishinpō*, there was a class of wind diseases that range from neurological afflictions like paralysis and cerebral hemorrhage which are caused by disturbance of chi, or the vital force which circulates through the body. Tanba Yasuyori, *The Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan: Yasuyori Tamba’s Ishinpō*, 16; Teramoto, “Yamai No Sōshi,” 210–11.

Standard Japanese Title	Standard English Translations ⁵²⁹	Proposed English Translation
<i>shisōnourou no otoko</i>	Man with pyorrhea Man with loose teeth	Man with loose teeth*
<i>jirō</i>	Man with anal fistula	Man with holes on rear*
<i>kejirami</i>	Man infected with lice	Man and woman with pubic lice*
<i>semushi no kojiki otoko</i>	Hunchbacked priest	Monk with bent back
<i>iki no kusai onna</i>	Woman with halitosis	Woman with bad breath*
<i>shiminkuse no otoko</i>	Man with narcolepsy Man with lethargy	Man who falls asleep
<i>azanoaru onna</i>	Woman with facial macula/wen	Woman with birthmark
<i>shirako</i>	Albino	White woman
<i>shujū</i>	Dwarf	Dwarf*
<i>sebone no magari otoko</i>	Priest with curved spine Priest with spinal curvature	Man with hunchback
<i>himan no onna</i>	Obese woman	Woman with obesity
<i>tori ni me wo tsutsukaseru onna</i>	Woman with <i>torime</i> Woman with night blindness	Woman having her eyes pecked by a rooster*
<i>kohoushi genkaku shōzuru otoko</i>	Man suffering hallucinations	Man who has hallucinations of small priests*

*Asterisk indicates it is similar to titles in Kasuya and Yamaoto eds., *Yamai no sōshi* (2017).

Table 2. Categories of *Yamai no sōshi* scenes

Proposed English Translation	Category	Reason
Two-form person	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (men) laugh and point
Woman with <i>kakuran</i>	1 (Empathy)	Receiving care from others
Man and children with black-tipped nose	N/A or 3 (Stigma)	Family setting is content but would likely have been stigmatized.
Woman who cannot sleep	N/A	Secondary figures sleep but she is isolated in her suffering.
Man with <i>fūbyō</i>	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (two women) laugh
Man with little tongue	1 (Empathy)	Receiving care by doctor and assistant
Man without a hole in rear	N/A or 3 (Stigma)	No secondary figure but would likely have been stigmatized.
Man receiving eye treatment	2 (Curious)	Secondary figures watch
Man with loose teeth	2 (Curious)	Secondary figure (woman) looking/pointing inside mouth
Man with holes on rear	2 (Curious)	Secondary figure (woman, possibly wife?) starting at rear
Man and woman with pubic lice*	1 (Empathy) or 2 (Curious)	Both suffer from same; woman assisting but laughing
Monk with bent back	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (woman, man) stare and (child) mock
Woman with bad breath	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (women) laugh and point
Man who falls asleep	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (woman and men) smile and (woman) points
Woman with birthmark	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (women) point and cover face
White woman	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (man, women, children) laugh and point

Proposed English Translation	Category	Reason
Dwarf	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (men and children) mock
Man with hunchback	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (men) point and mock
Woman with obesity	3 (Stigma)	Secondary figures (men) mock while two attendants (women) assist
Woman having her eyes pecked by a rooster	N/A	No secondary figure
Man who has hallucinations of small priests	1 (Empathy)	Receiving care from wife

Table 3. Size, Format, Location of *Yamai no sōshi* scenes

Title	Size	Current format	Location	Sekido Scroll
Man and children with black-tipped nose	25.9 x 37.8	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Private collection	Yes
Woman who cannot sleep	25.8 x 41.9	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Suntory Museum	Yes
Man with <i>fūbyō</i>	26.3 x 31.1	Handscroll (卷子装)	Tokyo National	Yes
Man with little tongue	26.2 x 42.7	Handscroll (卷子装)	Tokyo National	Yes
Man without a hole in rear	26.4 x 33.7	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Kyushu National	Yes
Two-form person	26.2 x 47.6	Handscroll (卷子装)	Tokyo National	Yes
Man receiving eye treatment	26.2 x 58.9	Handscroll (卷子装)	Tokyo National	Yes
Man with loose teeth	26.3 x 38.5	Handscroll (卷子装)	Tokyo National	Yes
Man with holes on rear	26.2 x 25.8	Handscroll (卷子装)	Tokyo National	Yes
Man and woman with pubic lice	26.2 x 40.8	Handscroll (卷子装)	Tokyo National	Yes
Woman with <i>kakuran</i>	26.3 x 41.2	Handscroll (卷子装)	Tokyo National	Yes
Monk with bent back	26 x 38	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Kyushu	Yes
Woman with bad breath	26.2 x 49.4	Handscroll (卷子装)	Tokyo National	Yes
Man who falls asleep	26 x 44.8	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Private	Yes
Woman with birthmark	25.9 x 45.3	One sheet (台紙貼)	Kyushu	Yes
White woman	25.2 x 39	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Private	
Dwarf	26.3 x 40.7	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Kyushu	
Man with hunchback	25.3 x 32	One sheet (台紙貼)	Bunkacho	

Title	Size	Current format	Location	Sekido Scroll
Woman with obesity	25.3 x 45.1	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Fukuoka Art Museum	
Woman having her eyes pecked by a rooster	25.8 x 18.4	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Private	
Man who has hallucinations of small priests	25.8 x 44.8	Hanging scroll (軸装)	Kosetsu Museum of Art	

Figures



1-1. Two-form person. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-2. Woman with *kakuran*. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper



1-3. *Gaki zōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-4. *Jigoku zōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-5. Man with *fūbyō*. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-6. Man who has hallucinations of small priests. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-7. Man with small tongue. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-8. Man receiving eye treatment. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-9. Man with holes on rear. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-10. Man with loose teeth. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



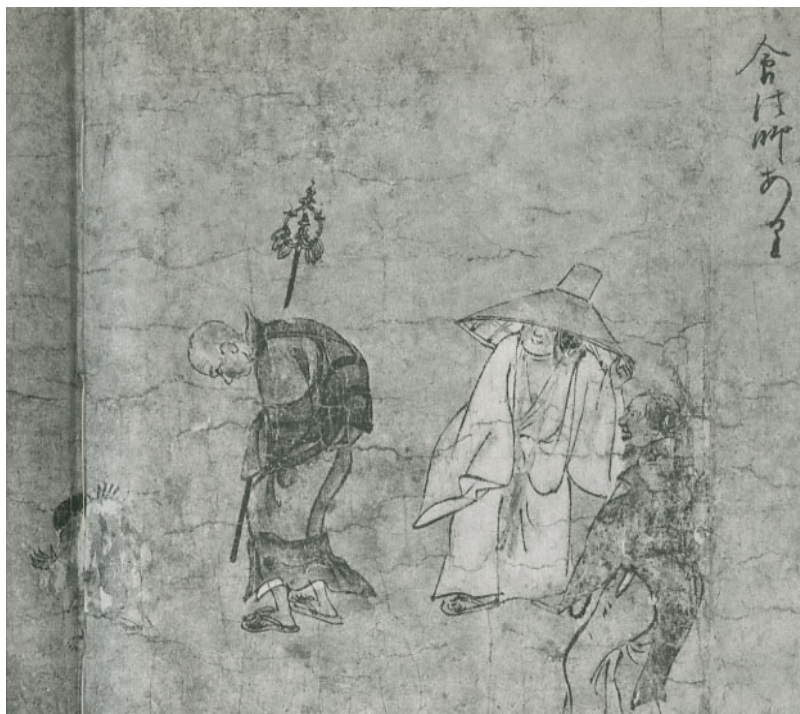
1-11. White woman. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-12. Dwarf. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-13. Woman with obesity. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-14. Monk with bent back. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-15. Man with hunchback. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-16. Woman with birthmark. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-17. Man who falls asleep. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



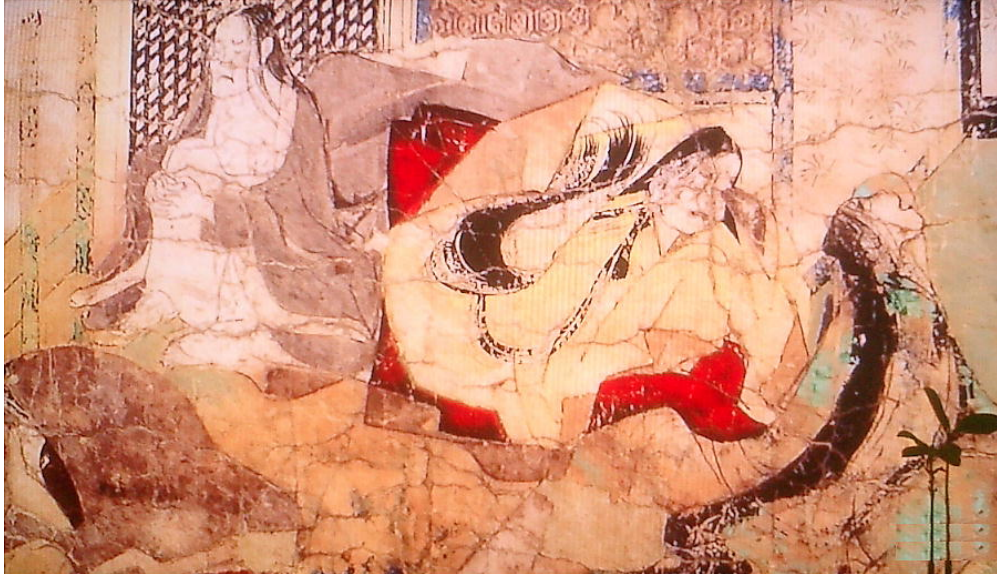
1-18. Woman with bad breath. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-19. *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-20. *Shigisan engi emaki*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-21. Detail of Family of Tomo no Yoshio. *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



1-22. Women who cannot sleep. *Yamai no sōshi*. Late twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.



2-1. *Ichiya Market. Ippen Hijiri-e. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.*



2-2. *Zenkōji in Shinano. Ippen Hijiri-e. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.*



2-3. Shitennōji. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-3a. Shitennōji. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-3b. Shitennōji. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-3c. Shitennōji. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-4. Fukuoka Market. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-5. Inabadō. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



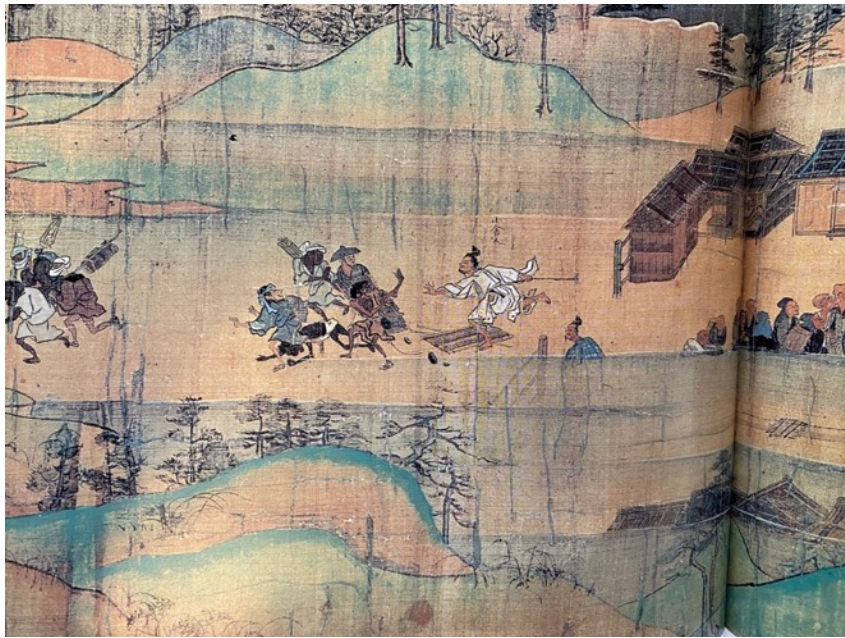
2-5a. Inabadō. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



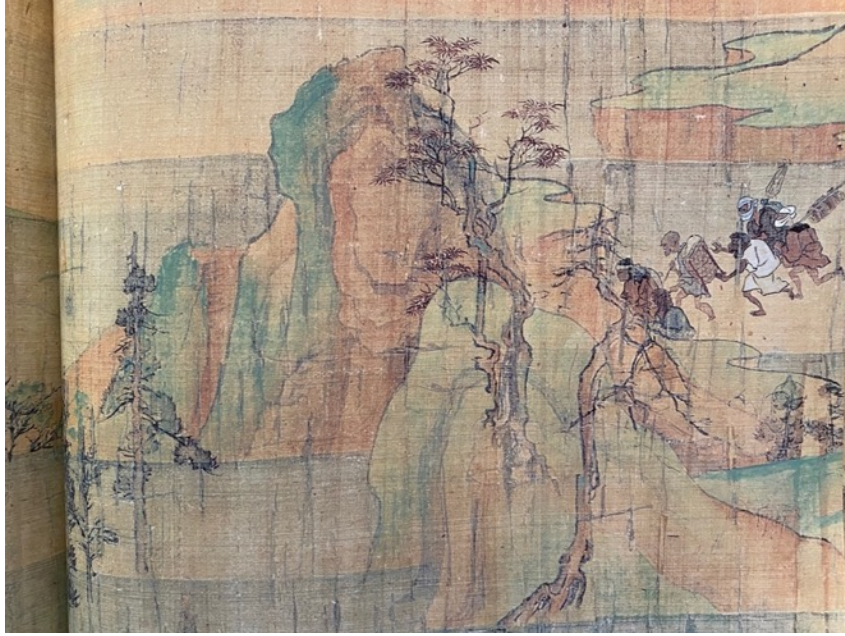
2-6. Banno market. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-7. Kamakura. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-7a. Kamakura. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-7b. Kamakura. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-7c. Kamakura. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-8. Near Katase. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-8a. Near Katase. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-8b. Near Katase. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



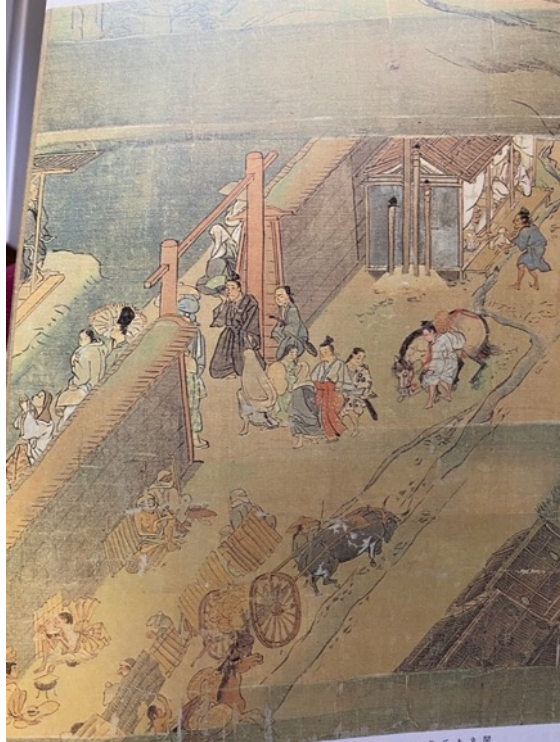
2-8c. Near Katase. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-9. Jimokuji. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-9a. Jimokuji. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-10. Sekidera. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-11. Shakadō. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-12. Katsura. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-13. Ichinomiya Shrine. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-14. Taimadera. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-15. Iwashimizu Shrine. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-16. Tenjin shrine. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-17. Kannondō. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



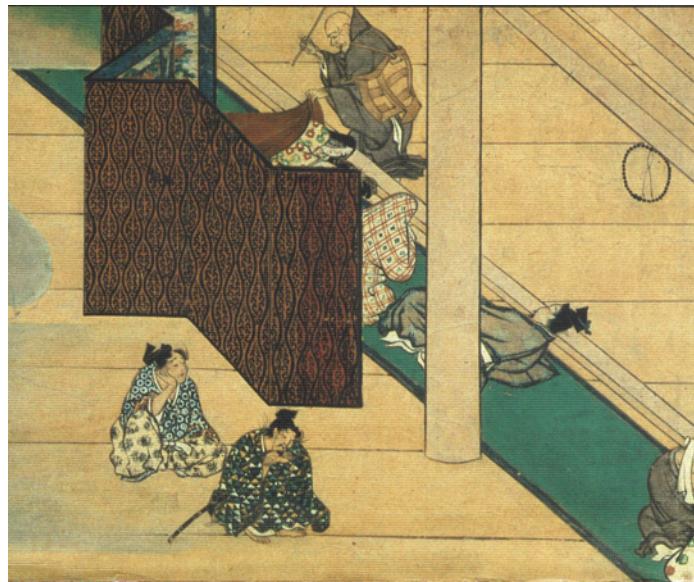
2-18. Kannondō. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



2-18a. Kannondō. *Ippen Hijiri-e*. 1299. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



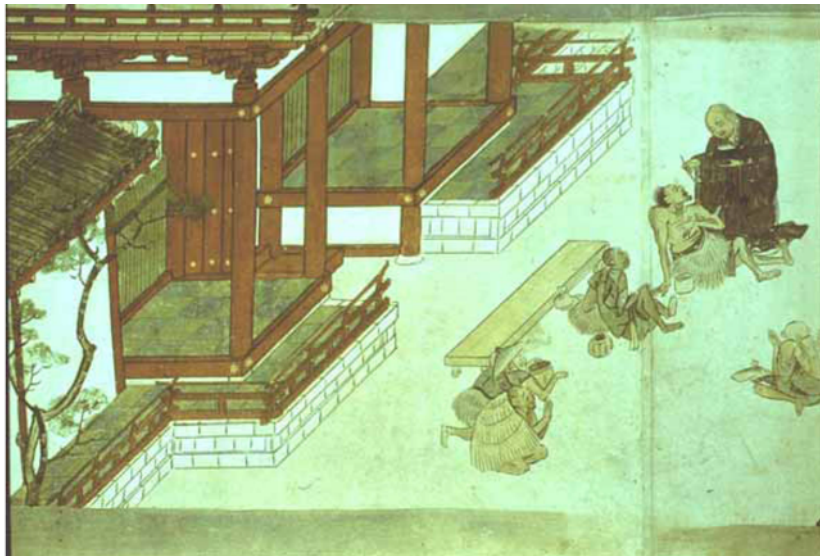
2-19. Fragment of a Biography of Prince Shōtoku showing Citizens Receiving Gifts of Rice. c. 14th century Hanging scroll fragment mounted as an album leaf; ink and colors on silk.



2-20. *Ishiyamadera engi emaki*. Kamakura period. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper.



2-21. *Kokawadera Engi emaki*. Thirteenth century.



2-22. *Hōnen shōnin gyōjō ezu*. Fourteenth century.



3-1. Household Escapes Epidemic. *Kasuga Gongen genki emaki*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.



3-1.a Segment of discovery of the *Yuishiki ron*. *Kasuga Gongen genki emaki*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk. Note: This segment is section to left of above scene



3-1.b Detail of the red-bodied entity. *Kasuga Gongen genki emaki*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.



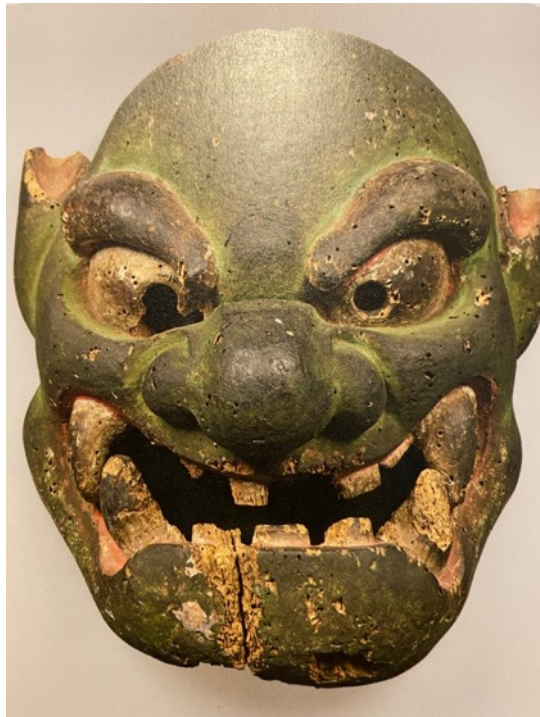
3-2. Ninth segment. *Yūzū Nenbutsu engi*. Early 1300s. Handscroll; ink, colors, and gold on paper.



3-3. Segment. *Fudō Riyaku Engi Emaki*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper.



3-4. Detail. *Shōjuraigō-ji Rokudō-e*. Thirteenth-century. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk.



3-5.a Tsuina mask, Blue Demon. Heian period (Eleventh-twelfth century). Wood with color.



3-5.b Tsuina Mask Red Demon. Heian period (Eleventh-twelfth century). Wood with color.



3-6. Konron *gigaku* mask. Seventh century. Carved wood.



3-7. Detail. *Kōbō Daishi gyōjōki*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper.



3-8. En no gyōja. Kamakura period (1200s). Wood.



3-9. Oni. *Jigoku zoshi*. Late Heian period. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper.



3-10. Detail. *Shōjuraigō-ji Rokudō-e*. Thirteenth century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk



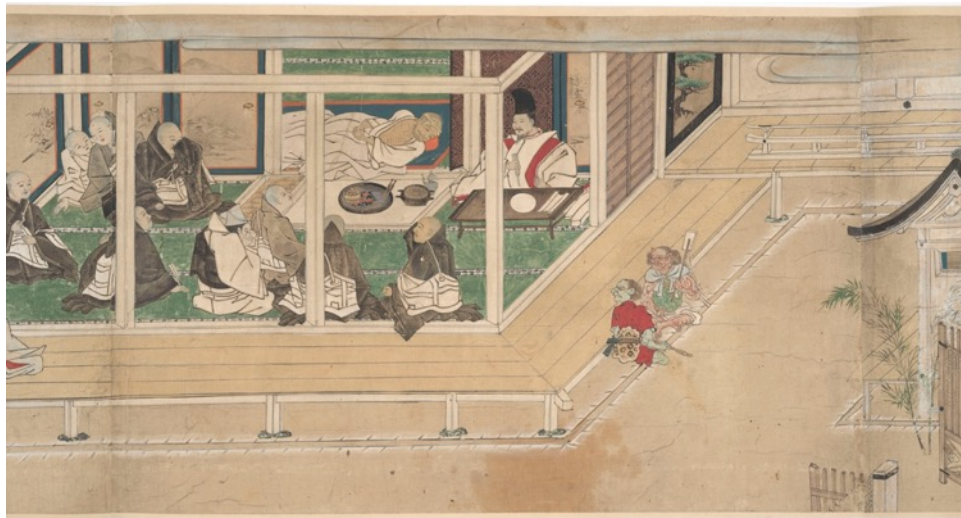
4-1. Chikō quarters segment. *Fudō Riyaku Engi*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper



4-2. Abe no Seimei ritual segment. *Fudō Riyaku Engi*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper



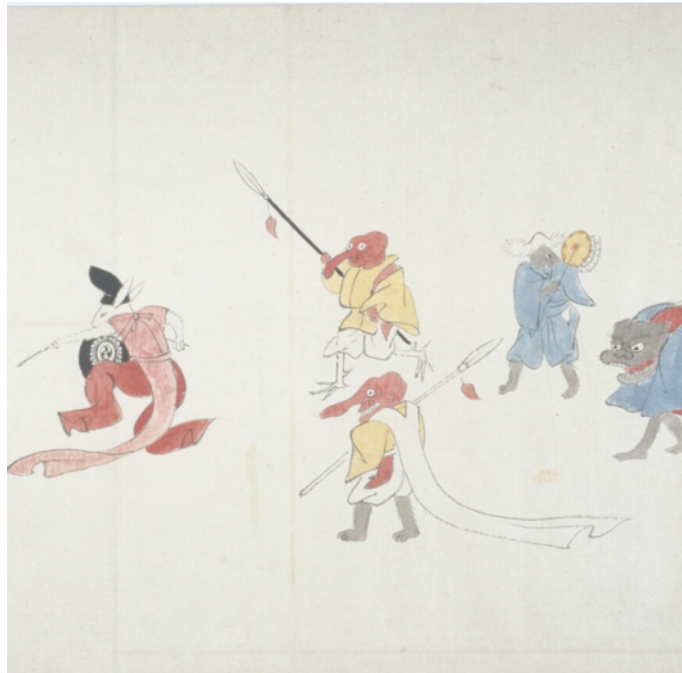
4-3. Shōkū prays to a painted icon of Fudō Myōō. *Fudō Riyaku Engi*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper



4-4. Abe no Seimei divination. *Naki Fudō Engi*. Fifteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper



4-5.a Segment. *Tsukumogami ki*. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper.



4-5.b Segment. *Tsukumogami ki*. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper.



4-5.c Segment. *Tsukumogami ki*. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper.



4-6. Segment. *Hyakki yakō emaki*. Early sixteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper.



4-7. Ninth segment. *Yūzū Nenbutsu engi*. Early 1300s. Handscroll; ink, colors, and gold on paper.



4-8. Washing clothes. *Yūzū Nenbutsu engi*. Early 1300s. Handscroll; ink, colors, and gold on paper.



4-9. Washing clothes. *Fudō Riyaku Engi*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper



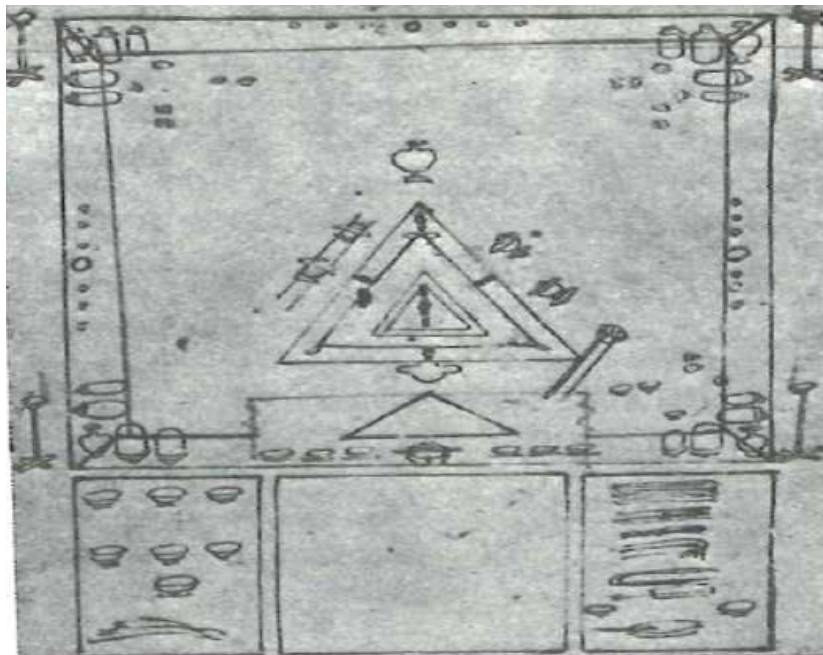
4-10. Enma. *Yūzū Nenbutsu engi*. Early 1300s. Handscroll; ink, colors, and gold on paper



4-11. Enma. *Fudō Riyaku Engi*. Fourteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper paper.



4-12. Detail of Abe no Seimei divination. *Naki Fudō Engi*. Fifteenth century. Handscroll; ink and colors on paper.



4-13. Fudō ritual table. *Kakuzenshō*. Kamakura period.

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