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Drunken Demon (Shuten Dōji: Ōeyama ekotoba)

Imagining the Demon Conquerors

SHUTEN DŌJI (DRUNKEN DEMON) IS JAPAN'S MOST RENOWNED oni legend. The chief of the oni, Shuten Dōji, is a fantastic, demonic, and cannibalistic but charismatic creature. He and his cohorts kidnap, enslave, and cannibalize men and women.¹ Set against this imaginary character are the historical figures. According to the oldest extant text of the legend, the picture scrolls *Ōeyama ekotoba* (Illustrations and Writing of Mt. Ōe, ca. fourteenth century), whose translation follows this essay, two generals, Minamoto no Raikō (in the Sino-Japanese reading of the characters, or Yorimitsu 948–1021) and Fujiwara no Hōshō (or Yasumasa 958–1036), are charged by imperial command to rescue the captives of Shuten Dōji and eliminate him. Among a number of samurai who physically fight against oni, Raikō and his four lieutenants, called *shitennō* (Four Guardian Kings), are probably the most famous, since Hōshō's legendary status diminishes as time passes. While they are widely recognized as the brave warriors battling with the supernatural in legends, their historical records are minimal. This chapter examines who these samurai were and why they were chosen as the conquerors of oni. It also discusses some extra-literary events and the circumstances surrounding Shuten Dōji's statement that demons' power thrives when the king is wise.

SHUTEN DŌJI TEXTS

Although we know of the Shuten Dōji story through written texts, the evidence suggests that the story derives from a much older oral tradition. As is the case with popular stories with an oral origin, the story of Shuten Dōji has an array of textual versions. It is generally accepted that there are two versions of the Shuten Dōji texts: the Ōeyama (Mt. Ōe) version

and that of Ibukiyama (Mt. Ibuki). The picture scrolls of *Ōeyama ekotoba* constitute the representative text of the Ōeyama version. Another picture scroll titled *Shuten Dōji emaki* (Picture Scrolls of Shuten Dōji, early sixteen century), owned by the Suntory Museum of Art in Tokyo (hereafter the Suntory version), represents the Ibukiyama version.² The major differences between them are twofold: one is the location of the oni's fortress. In the Ōeyama version, the fortress is located on Mt. Ōe, whereas the Ibukiyama version situates the oni's den at Mt. Ibuki. The second difference is that the Ibukiyama version includes a section of explanation of Shuten Dōji's *bonji* (true nature or original form). Thus, in the Ibukiyama version we are told that Shuten Dōji is *dairokuten no maō* (the evil king of the Sixth Heaven in darkness) and the archenemy of Buddha. Likewise, the text tells us that Raikō's *bonji* is Bishamonten (Vaiśravaṇa), Emperor Ichijō's *bonji* is Miroku (Maitreya), and Abe no Seimei is Kannon-satta (Kannon Bodhisattva) ("Shuten Dōji-e jō, chū, ge" 176 [1904]: supplement 27). The Ōeyama version does not contain this *bonji* section except for the *Ōeyama ekotoba*. Satake Akihiro assumes that the *bonji* section of the Ōeyama versions may have been eliminated as exposure to the audience became more frequent (*Shuten Dōji ibun* 152). It is now generally accepted that the Ōeyama version came first. The Ibukiyama version was formed by incorporating a historical incident, the murder of a bandit named Kashiwabara Yasaburō at Mt. Ibuki in 1201, into the Ōeyama version (Satake, *Shuten Dōji ibun* 119).

Recently, Minobe Shigekatsu claimed that differentiating the texts as Mt. Ōe versus Mt. Ibuki is not fruitful because many Shuten Dōji texts can be taken as both versions. He suggests instead to classify the texts as those hued with the Tendai school of Buddhism vis-à-vis those without the Tendai color. For example, in the picture scrolls of *Ōeyama ekotoba*, Saichō (or Dengyō Daishi, d. 822), the founder of the Tendai sect of Buddhism who built Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, expelled Shuten Dōji from his original abode, whereas in the Suntory version Saichō is replaced by Kūkai (or Kōbō Daishi 774–835), the founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism.³ Also, the deity of Hiyoshi Sannō Shrine who protects the Buddhist law of Enryakuji is missing in the Suntory version (Minobe and Minobe 129–32). The Minobes' classification seems appropriate.

There are a number of copies and versions of the story, but it was the early-eighteenth-century printed version of the Shuten Dōji story that reached the broadest audience, thanks to the bookseller Shibukawa Seimon.⁴ For all intents and purposes, the popularity of the Shibukawa edition put an end to further variations (Amano, "Shuten Dōji kō" 16). The location of the fortress in the Shibukawa edition is on Mt. Ōe, and

it does not have the *honji* section; however, the detail of the story is that of the Ibuki version. Shibukawa published the “Shuten Dōji” story in an anthology of twenty-three short stories under the title *Goshūgen otogi bunko* (Auspicious Companion Library).

The *Ōeyama ekotoba* Picture Scrolls

The *Ōeyama ekotoba* is a set of two picture scrolls currently housed in the Itsuō Museum of Art in Osaka that date back to the second half of the fourteenth century. The scrolls are also referred to as *Katori-bon* because the set was formerly in the possession of a high priest of the Katori Shrine in Shimofusa Province.⁵

The scrolls consist of twenty sections of writings and illustrations.⁶ The material has been damaged, and several sections of the scroll are missing. Further, a number of writing sections do not match the illustrations; in many cases, the sections are out of order because of an error or miscommunication in making a scroll, that is, in pasting the papers of illustrations and writings onto the scroll. The opening section of the first scroll is largely missing. Fortunately, this missing part can be supplemented by the *Shuten Dōji monogatari ekotoba* (Picture scroll of the Shuten Dōji story) housed in the Yōmei bunko (Yōmei Library, hereafter the text is referred to as *Yōmei bunko-bon* [Yōmei library edition]).⁷

The second scroll ends with the sixteenth illustration. The narrative after this spot, however, can also be supplemented by a different scroll that consists of four sections over nine pieces of paper. These sections, which are written text only, were perhaps copied in the mid-Muromachi period (*MJMT* 3: 122).

Regarding the calligrapher of the writing, some attribute it to Urabe Kenkō (or Yoshida Kenkō, 1283–1350), Keiun (?), or Nijō Tameyo (1250–1338), but there is no proof to back up this assertion. The painter is not known (Sakakibara, “*Ōeyama ekotoba shōkai*” 156).

Plot Summary of *Ōeyama ekotoba*

During the reign of Emperor Ichijō (986–1011), people begin to disappear mysteriously in and around Kyoto, the Heian capital of Japan. Abe no Seimei (921?–1005), a yin-yang master of the Heian Court, divines that it is the work of Shuten Dōji, the chieftain of the oni; Shuten Dōji and his cohorts abduct and devour people. The imperial court charges the two generals, Minamoto no Raikō (or Yorimitsu) and Fujiwara no Hōshō (or Yasumasa), to destroy Shuten Dōji and his evil minions.

Before Raikō and Hōshō set out on their quest with several loyal retainers, the troupe prays for success at four separate shrines. Their faith is rewarded, for while on their way to the oni's lair on Mt. Ōe, the group encounters four deities disguised as priests. The old priests advise Raikō's party to disguise themselves as *yamabushi* (mountain priests), providing the men with the necessary clothing. The warriors, now joined by the deity-priests, meet an old woman washing bloody clothes at a river on Mt. Ōe. She tells the heroes about the activities of Shuten Dōji and his band of oni. Arriving at the demon's mountaintop palace, the members of the royal troupe tell the oni guard that they are a band of lost *yamabushi* in need of lodging for the night. Shuten Dōji allows them into his palace and jovially regales the men with stories from his past.

After Shuten Dōji retires, a number of oni disguised as beautiful women visit Raikō and Hōshō in their quarters. Raikō gives the oni-women an intense glare, and the demons scurry off. Soon after, another group of oni disguised as a *dengaku* (field music) troupe emerges to entertain Raikō and his band. Again, Raikō's fierce stare wards the oni off. Raikō and Hōshō then scout out the palace compound. They discover a cage holding a kidnapped page of the Tendai sect's head priest and in another cage, Chinese captives. Raikō's and Hōshō's troupe then moves to Shuten Dōji's grand bedchamber. They find the entrance to his quarters blocked by an impenetrable iron door, but with the help of the deity-priests, the once impervious door magically melts away. Inside, Shuten Dōji in his true monstrous form lies in drunken repose. While the four deity-priests hold each of Shuten Dōji's limbs, the warriors behead him. As Shuten Dōji's head hurls through the air, his mouth tries to bite Raikō. Raikō quickly borrows Tsuna's and Kintoki's helmets, putting them over his own, and is thus saved from Shuten Dōji's final attack. Raikō's band then kills the rest of the oni and frees the surviving captives. Before parting with the warriors at Mt. Ōe, the four deities reveal their true identities and also show the heroes their own *honji* (true nature or original form).

After the troupe returns to the capital, Shuten Dōji's head is placed, by imperial command, in the Uji no hōzō (Treasure house of Uji). Both Raikō and Hōshō are generously rewarded for their heroic deeds.

DEMON CONQUERORS

The evil supernatural Shuten Dōji character is eliminated by the legendary historical figures Minamoto no Raikō, Fujiwara no Hōshō, Raikō's *shitennō*, and Hōshō's retainer. In a sense, they are legendary because they are known as courageous warriors mostly in legends—this is especially true of Raikō

and Tsuna, Raikō's right-hand man and the first of Raikō's *shitennō*. They play an active role in the world of *setsuna* (tale literature or narrative; myths, legends, anecdotes, and the like),⁸ but historical records of them are sparse. An entertaining story is a great way of advertising or disseminating one's name or creating fame. In the process of story formation, extolling Raikō—an ancestor of the Minamoto clan—was a major issue for his descendants, and Tsuna was an important character to advance (or recover) the fame of his line of the Watanabe clan. In contrast, Hōshō, who produced few descendants, saw his status decline in the story as time passed.

Minamoto no Raikō (or Yorimitsu)

Minamoto no Raikō (948–1021) was the eldest son of Minamoto no Mitsunaka (or Manjū in the Sino-Japanese reading of the characters, 912?–97), one of the first chieftains of the Seiwa Genji line of *gunji kizoku*, or warrior-aristocrats. Mitsunaka accumulated wealth and influence by tying his fortunes to those of the Fujiwara Regency—the Fujiwara family's northern line monopolized the position of regent during the Heian period (794–1185).⁹ According to Motoki Yasuo, Mitsunaka's greatest achievement was his role as an informer in the Anna Incident in 969 that politically ruined Minamoto no Takaakira (914–83); Mitsunaka thus played a role in helping establish the Fujiwara Regency under which he laid the foundation for his descendants to flourish.¹⁰ Likewise, Oboroya Hisashi writes that Mitsunaka's significance lies in his moving to Tada in Settsu Province (the present-day eastern part of Hyōgo prefecture and the northern part of Osaka prefecture), developing his manor there, and forming an estate with his dependents; thus he laid the foundations for his descendants to flourish (Oboroya 66). Since Mitsunaka had his base in Tada, he is also known as Tada no Manjū. Raikō is said to have entered Tada, succeeding Mitsunaka.

Raikō: A Warrior-Aristocrat

Raikō first appears in the historical documents in the entry on the sixteenth day of the ninth month of 988 in *Nihon kiryaku* (Short History of Japan, ca. from the late eleventh century to the early twelfth century). Fujiwara no Kaneie (929–90) had a banquet for his newly built mansion on Second Avenue, and Raikō presented him with thirty horses (Kuroita, *Nihon kiryaku* 2: 165). Raikō was forty years old.

According to *Sonpi bunmyaku* (Genealogy of Noble and Humble),¹¹ the massive genealogical compendium compiled by Tōin Kinsada (1340–99), a high-ranking court noble, Raikō became the governor of Settsu, Iyo, Mino,

Owari, Bizen, Tajima, Sanuki, Hōki, and Awaji Provinces (Tōin 3: 107). Often, he did not go to the place of an appointment but stayed in the capital, sending someone else to work on his behalf while he received the tax revenue in the capital. Raikō was also appointed a member of the imperial palace guards, Military Guards, and the Household of Crown Prince, and he was a provisional captain of the Imperial Stables of the Left. In 1011, at age sixty-four, Raikō became senior fourth rank, lower grade, his final official rank. Importantly, while holding government positions, Raikō served the household of the Fujiwara Regent family. It was the time when the Fujiwara Regency was at its height, and the Fujiwara held the power of appointments and dismissals of the governorships. Ayusawa Hisashi, Raikō's biographer, writes that by serving the Fujiwara Regent family and having close connections with them, that is, currying favor with them, Raikō held the positions of various governorships and accumulated immense wealth—the same method his father, Mitsunaka, used (Ayusawa 22).

Indeed, Raikō served the Fujiwara family well. When Tsuchimikado Mansion, Fujiwara no Michinaga's (966–1027) residence, burned down in 1016 during a great fire in the capital, Raikō went to the capital from Mino Province, the place of his appointment, to express his sympathy after the fire (Oboroya 94–95). Michinaga's mansion was rebuilt with materials sent by various provincial governors and was completed in 1018. Among them, Raikō, at that time the governor of Iyo, was exceptional, as he supplied furnishings for the entire mansion. *Eiga monogatari* (A Tale of Flowering Fortunes, eleventh century) recounts:

Minamoto Yorimitsu, the governor of Iyo, had provided the interior furnishings for the entire establishment, supplying everything that could possibly be needed by any of the three personages—to say nothing of blinds, mats, jugs, basins, and other furnishings for the ladies' apartments, and equipment for the offices occupied by retainers, chamberlains, and Escorts. In the whole house, there was nothing of which one could think or say, "Thus-and-so is lacking." Everything was so superbly planned that Michinaga, looking about, asked himself how Yorimitsu could possibly have done it all. The curtains, the workmanship of the screens and Chinese chests, even the gold and silver lacquered designs and trims—all showed a truly exceptional taste. Michinaga wondered about how Yorimitsu could have managed it, and the other lords were enthusiastic in their praise. (McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* 2: 485)

A *setsuwa*, *Jikekinshō* (A Miscellany of Ten Maxims 1252), describes Yorimitsu as a zealous retainer of the Fujiwara Regent family. When Raikō was fifty-eight years old, while Fujiwara no Tomoakira (?–?) was performing

his duties for the Special Festival Party at the mansion of Fujiwara no Yorimichi (Michinaga's eldest son, 992–1074), “his fellow employee, Yorimitsu, joined him. Tomoakira chased him off saying that it was a breach of protocol for two men to perform the same duty. Although this may be an example of excessive zeal on the job, it is interesting that the famous hero Yorimitsu was driven away by a fellow retainer” (Geddes 1: 208; Asami 99). *Jikekimbō* was compiled two centuries after Raikō's death, and we are not sure how true this episode is, but it presents a different image of Raikō than do other *setsuma* that usually praise his bravery and military prowess.

Raikō had three daughters; they all married high-ranking aristocrats—one of them Fujiwara no Michitsuna (955–1020), Michinaga's half-brother. *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* recounts that when Michitsuna had taken Buddhist vows, Yorimitsu's daughter who was much younger than Michitsuna was “terribly upset, and Yorimitsu also felt a keen sense of loss. He had knowingly allowed his young daughter to marry an older man, he lamented, and now it was his fault that she had been hurt” (McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* 2: 524). As Ayukawa states, from historical records, Raikō's life appears to have been more like a middle-ranking aristocrat aspiring to succeed in the capital than that of an eminent warrior (Ayukawa 123).

Raikō as a Poet

Sonpi bunmyaku comments that Raikō was a poet (Tōin 3: 107), which went along well with an aristocratic life because composing poems was a requirement for gentlemen and gentlewomen. His wife was the mother of a famous poet, Lady Sagami (998–1061).¹² Raikō had three poems included in imperial anthologies of Japanese poems—one in *Shūi wakashū* (Collection of Gleanings 1005), one in *GoShūi wakashū* (Later Collection of Gleanings of Japanese Poems 1086), and one in *Kin'yō wakashū* (Collection of Golden Leaves 1127) (Motoki 124). This does not necessarily make him a poet in particular, but Raikō exchanged letters with Ōe no Masahira (952–1012), a famous poet and scholar, and the husband of Akazome Emon (956–1041), one of the thirty-six poetic sages, in 1001—around the time when Raikō was assigned to the governorship of Mino Province and Ōe to the governorship of Owari Province (Ayusawa 54–55).

Raikō as a Military Strategist

Sonpi bunmyaku also reports that Raikō excelled in military strategy. Interestingly, however, there is no historical record that endorses Raikō's image as an excellent military tactician. He had never participated in any military

expedition, though he held military positions such as imperial palace guard, provisional captain of the Imperial Stables of the Left, and member of the Military Guards. It should be noted that *Sonpi bunmyaku* was compiled in the second half of the fourteenth century when the story of Shuten Dōji had already been formed.

Chapter 5 of *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* mentions Raikō or Yorimitsu's name; when Fujiwara no Korechika (974–1010), Michitaka's eldest son and Michinaga's nephew, and his younger brother Takaie (979–1044) were to be banished in 996, Raikō was one of their guards: "Extraordinary precautions went into effect at the imperial palace. On duty in the guards' offices, where each commanded the services of innumerable warriors, were descendants of Mitsunaka and Sadamori—Former Michinoku Governor Korenobu, Lieutenant of the Left Gate Guards Koretoki, Former Bizen Provincial Official Yorimitsu, and Former Suō Provincial Official Yorichika" (McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* 1: 184; Yamanaka et al., 1: 238). The time of Raikō is the backdrop of Shuten Dōji, but in 994, the fifth year of Shōryaku, *Nihon kiriyaku* records that the court "sent the men of prowess, Minamoto no Mansei, Taira no Koretoki, Minamoto no Yorichika [Yoshinaka or Manjū's second son], and Minamoto no Yorinobu [Manjū's third son] to the mountains to have them look for the bandits" (*Nihon kiriyaku* 2: 177). Raikō's name is not there.

A century later, Ōe no Masafusa (1041–1111), scholar-poet-nobleman, listed in his *Zoku honchō ōjoden* (Records of Japanese Individuals Who Achieved Rebirth in the Pure Land, Continued, ca. 1101–11) the names Minamoto no Mitsunaka (or Manjū), Minamoto no Mitsumasa (or Mansei), Taira no Korehira (or Ikō), Taira no Muneyori (or Chirai), and Raikō as peerless warriors under Emperor Ichijō's reign (Hanawa, *Gunsbo ruijū* 5: 412). Raikō, as the eldest son of Mitsunaka, must have been known as a strong warrior a century after his death. Indeed, a little later than *Zoku honchō ōjoden*, a story titled "Tōgū no daishin Minamoto no Yorimitsu no ason kitsune wo iru koto" (Raikō, Member of the Household of Crown Prince, Shoots a Fox)¹³ appeared in *Konjaku monogatari-shū* (Collection of Tales of Times Now Past, ca. 1120), the greatest *setsuwa* collection. As Raikō successfully shoots a fox in the distance with a whistling arrow, the impressed crown prince presents him with a horse. The story portrays Raikō as an excellent archer and a man with compassion—a warrior who does not wish to take the life of a fox and one who does not boast about his skill. In *Nichūreki* (Combination of Two History Books), thought to have been compiled during the thirteenth century, Raikō's name appears under *musha* (warriors) (*Nichūreki* 3: 107).

The story of Shuten Dōji gives an impression of Raikō as a mighty warrior, but as mentioned earlier, from the historical records alone, an image of the heroic subjugator of fantastic villains does not easily emerge. Raikō's younger brother, Minamoto no Yorinobu (or Raishin 968–1048), who was *Chinjuфу shogun* (commander-in-chief of the Defense of the North) and the third son of Mitsunaka, is the most historically documented among Mitsunaka's sons.¹⁴ The lack of historical documents allows the story of Raikō to be free from any factual records; he can soar in the writers', painters', and readers' imaginations.

Raikō Endowed with Supernatural Power, a Demon Conqueror

Alongside “poet” and “excels in military strategy,” *Sonpi bunmyaku* also states that Raikō was endowed with supernatural power (Tōin 3: 107). This annotation may have influenced or been influenced by the legend of Shuten Dōji because, as mentioned, the story of Shuten Dōji had already been formed by the time of *Sonpi bunmyaku*'s compilation.

In the *Ōeyama ekotoba* picture scrolls, the narrator has a priest describe Raikō: “Although there are four strong generals, Chirai, Raishin, Ikō, and Hōshō, Raikō is held in awe by people inside and outside the capital, high and low, more than the sum of these four generals. Raikō is a manifestation of *Daiitoku* (Yamantaka, the Wisdom King of Great Awe-Inspiring Power). Therefore his subjugations of demons and bandits are superior to any human beings” (Yokoyama and Matsumoto 3: 137). Raikō was chosen to be a demon conqueror because he was essentially a divine Wisdom King.

Admiration for Raikō becomes more prominent in the Suntory version of the Shuten Dōji story, created in the early sixteenth century. The Suntory text describes Raikō as “a descendant of the Seiwa Genji and the leader of warriors. His power is superior to [that of] any human beings and his physical prowess is without equal—more than Hankai (Fan K'uai). He is *endowed with supernatural power*. His eyes are sharp, and he could see through things like things in his hand” (“Shuten Dōji-e jō, chū, ge” 176 [1904]: supplement 3; emphasis added). Here, Raikō is endowed with supernatural power, just as *Sonpi bunmyaku* states. The tales and historical records seem to feed each other.

According to the picture scrolls of *Ōeyama ekotoba*, not only Raikō but also his *shitennō* are manifestations of the Buddhist Four Guardian Kings—Tsunami is Tamonten (Vaisravaṇa, the Guardian of the North), Kintoki is Jikokuten (Dhṛtarasta, the Guardian of the East), Sadamitsu is Zōchōten (Virudhaka, the Guardian of the South), and Suetake is Kōmokuten (Virupakṣa, the Guardian of the West); therefore, theoretically speaking, they should have supernatural power and be superior to other human

beings. But an important difference is that Raikō is a descendant of the Seiwa Genji and the leader of warriors, whereas the rest are not.

Raikō as a Direct Descendant of the Seiwa Genji clan

The Seiwa Genji clan was the most powerful and successful military lineage of Minamoto. The clan was founded by Minamoto no Tsunemoto (?–961, commander-in-chief of the Defense of the North). As a son of Prince Sadazumi (873?–916), the sixth prince of Emperor Seiwa (reign 858–76), Tsunemoto was given the surname Minamoto. Minamoto no Mitsunaka, Raikō's father, was the eldest son of Tsunemoto, and Raikō, the eldest son of Mitsunaka, was a direct descendant of the Seiwa Genji clan.

Many famous warriors such as Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–99), the founder of Kamakura shogunate, and Ashikaga Takauji (1305–58), the founder of Ashikaga shogunate, belong to the Seiwa Genji clan (Tōin 3: 252, 296). Also, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), the founder of Tokugawa shogunate, claimed to belong to this lineage (see Tōin 3: 248–49).

From the closing statement of the Shuten Dōji story praising Raikō, Ayusawa Hisashi conjectures that the story was perhaps created primarily to extol Raikō for the eldest son lineage of Minamoto warriors (*Genji no chakuryū*) (Ayusawa 118–19).

Actually, Yoritomo and Ashikaga Takauji were directly descended from Yorinobu, commander-in-chief of the Defense of the North and the third son of Mitsunaka, rather than Raikō. As Raikō was the founder of Settsu Genji within the Seiwa Genji clan, Yorinobu was the founder of the Kawachi Genji branch of the Seiwa Genji. Yorinobu's activity base was in the capital, but he extended his influence to the east. With internal discord and as a result of the Heiji Disturbance in 1160, the Kawachi Genji was eliminated from the center of politics in Kyoto by the late twelfth century. When Minamoto no Yoritomo became the founder of the Kamakura shogunate, however, the Kawachi Genji branch became the major line of the Seiwa Genji of Minamoto. While Raikō's line called Settsu Genji produced Minamoto no Yorimasa (1104–80), a driving force in the rebellion against Heike power and a great-great-grandson of Raikō, also known for slaying the monstrous bird called *nue*,¹⁵ Yorimasa did not have the military influence or the base in the east that Yoritomo did.

Indeed, the major line of the military family of Minamoto was the Kawachi Genji line. Later, when the Yoritomo line opened the shogunate in Kamakura, Yoritomo foregrounded the concept of eldest son lineage of Minamoto to strengthen his and his household's position among all warriors. Yoritomo traced his ancestors, which began with Yorinobu, to

Yoriyoshi, Yoshiie, Tameyoshi, and Yoshitomo, his father. The high status of the main eldest son line of Minamoto on the military side was born out of Yoritomo's political maneuver.

Minamoto no Mitsunaka, Raikō and Yorinobu's father, who had built the base for the Minamoto power, was greatly worshipped as the ancestor of the Ashikaga shogunate during the Muromachi period. It was during that same period that the legend of Shuten Dōji was created (Motoki iv). In 1472 the title junior second rank was conferred posthumously on Mitsunaka. Motoki conjectures that among the ancestors of the Ashikaga clan, rather than the warriors with close connections to the eastern provinces such as Yorinobu, Yoriyoshi, and Yoshiie, Mitsunaka was considered more suitable as the founder of the Ashikaga clan and was a subject of worship because he guarded the court in the capital and had a distinct graveyard (temple) (Motoki 198). Also, Takahashi Masaaki offers an interesting interpretation as to why Raikō was chosen as the conqueror of the demons at Mt. Ōe. The name Raikō 頼光 is a homonym of Raikō 雷公, the thunder god; Raikō is associated with a thunder god, and the frightening effects of thunder and lightning were often required to eliminate similarly terrifying demons (Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō* 34–35, 58–62).

At present, the Tokugawa shogunate's claim for the Seiwa Genji clan is considered highly doubtful, but during the Edo period (1600–1867) the creation of *Kan'ei shōke kakeizu-den* (Genealogy of the Lords of the Kan'ei, 1643), which linked the Tokugawa genealogy to that of the Minamoto clan, greatly helped heighten interest in the latter's ancestors (Itagaki 1: 439). Minamoto no Mitsunaka was so idealized that it is said that Tokugawa Yorinobu (1602–71), the founder of the Kii branch of the Tokugawa, ordered in his will that his tombstone be placed beside that of Mitsunaka in the inner sanctuary of Mt. Kōya (Itagaki 1: 422, 439). Further, in 1692, during the reign of the fifth shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709), Mitsunaka received the highest rank, senior first rank.

Minobe Shigekatsu writes that the Shuten Dōji story was able to keep its status by legitimatizing the Seiwa Genji clan's claim to have ruled Japan and exalting the Tokugawa shogunate for the Tokugawa family, which claimed to be descended from the Seiwa Genji. Therein lies the conceptual background for the thriving production of Shuten Dōji's folding screens and picture scrolls during the Edo period (Minobe and Minobe 148). The image of Raikō had been superimposed on that of the Tokugawa shogun, who claimed to be the head of the Minamoto clan. In other words, admiration for Raikō as a brave warrior and conqueror of supernatural creatures meant admiration for the Tokugawa shogunate. The theme of Shuten Dōji—that

of courageous good conquering evil, reinforced by the image of the shogunate eliminating its enemies—was welcomed by all.¹⁶

Fujiwara no Hōshō (or Yasumasa)

In the picture scrolls of *Ōeyama ekotoba*, Fujiwara no Hōshō (958–1036) is paired with Raikō in the demon-conquering mission, though Raikō is clearly portrayed as the preeminent one.¹⁷ It should be noted in the translation that the court first gives the task of conquering the demons to four warriors: Hōshō, Taira no Muneyori (or Chirai, ?–1011), Minamoto no Yorinobu (or Raishin, Raikō’s younger brother), and Taira no Korehira (or Ikō, ?–?). They decline the court’s request, saying that it is not possible to engage in a battle with demons, as they are invisible. Then the command goes to Raikō and—again—Hōshō. It is strange that Hōshō, who earlier declined the request, is summoned to the palace again and this time accepts it with Raikō. This could be an authorial (or narrator’s) mistake, or Hōshō may have indeed been called again because he was so worthy. Hōshō had become part of a set of four superior warriors by the middle of the thirteenth century. The eleventh story of chapter 3 of *Jikkenshō* (Stories Selected to Illustrate the Ten Maxims, ca. 1252) states, “Yorinobu (Raishin), Yasumasa (Hōshō), Korehira (Ikō), and Muneyori (Chirai) are four superb warriors,” and “if they fought each other, surely none would remain alive” (Asami 3: 136). Perhaps the writer of the picture scrolls used the four eminent warriors, wishing to reflect the reputation of the days of Emperor Ichijō’s reign and also to contrast Raikō’s loyalty to the emperor when he accepted the imperial command at once.

Hōshō was born to Fujiwara no Munetada (mid-Heian period, ?–?) and a daughter of Prince Genmei (mid-Heian period, ?–?). His wife was Izumi Shikibu (976?–1036?), a famous poet of the mid-Heian period¹⁸ and the contemporary of Akazome Emon and Lady Murasaki, the author of *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji); these ladies served Empress Shōshi (988–1074), the eldest daughter of Fujiwara no Michinaga.

Hōshō was of blue-blood aristocratic stock. He was a descendant of Fujiwara no Kosemaro (?–764), the Fujiwara family’s southern line. His grandfather was Fujiwara no Motokata (888–953), whose daughter, Sukehime (926–67), was the mother of Emperor Murakami’s (926–67) first son, Prince Hirohira (950–71). Prince Hirohira failed to become crown prince because Consort Anshi (927–64), the eldest daughter of Fujiwara no Morosuke (908–60)—Fujiwara’s northern family and Motokata’s rival—gave birth to Prince Norihira (950–1011), Emperor Murakami’s second

son and the future Emperor Reizei.¹⁹ Motokata died in despair, as he failed to become the grandfather of the future emperor, and he was said to have become a vengeful spirit. Fujiwara no Morosuke was Michinaga's grandfather and Consort Anshi was Michinaga's aunt, just as Fujiwara no Motokata was Hōshō's grandfather and Sukehime was Hōshō's aunt. If Prince Hirohira had become crown prince, Hōshō might have flourished as Michinaga did.

According to *Sonpi bunmyaku*, Hōshō was a poet and a brave warrior, and he excelled in military strategy. Hōshō became the governor of Hizen, Yamato, Tango, and Settsu Provinces. His final official rank was senior fourth rank, lower grade (Tōin 2: 423). He was also appointed to the position of provisional captain of the Imperial Stables of the Right and served the household of Fujiwara no Michinaga and his eldest son, Yorimichi. Altogether, his résumé is very similar to Raikō's. As time passed, however, the status of Hōshō in combatting the oni steadily declined. In the Suntory version of the Shuten Dōji story, the court summons only Raikō, and Raikō asks Hōshō to join him. In the most circulated booklet versions of the early Edo period, Hōshō becomes one of Raikō's warriors. How could this be?

In short, Hōshō was not from a military household like Raikō was, nor did he have descendants who would advocate his lineage. A *setsuna* story from *Konjaku monogatari-shū* describes the courageous Hōshō subjugating a notorious robber named Hakamadare.²⁰ The narrative ends with a mixed comment. While praising Hōshō as a man of valor, it notes that his household did not prosper because he behaved like a warrior even though he was not from a military family:

Yasumasa was not a warrior by family tradition because he was a son of Munetada. Yet he was not the least inferior to anyone who was a warrior by family tradition. He had a strong mind, was quick with his hands, and had tremendous strength. He was also subtle in thinking and plotting. So even the imperial court did not feel insecure in employing him in the way of the warrior. As a result, the whole world greatly feared him and felt intimidated by him. Some people said he didn't have any offspring because he behaved like a warrior though [he was] not from a military house. (Sato 33)

Sonpi bunmyaku lists Kaihan as Hōshō's son. Beside Kaihan's name is a comment that he had been honored with military skills and strategy, but there is no record of any descendants (Tōin 2: 423).

A *bushi*, or samurai, was socially distinguished by his professional military skills and his lineage; his family trade had always been martial arts. Those households were called *tsuwamono no ie* (household of samurai),

bugeti no ie (household of martial skills), or *bukei no ie* (household of arms) (Takahashi, *Busshi no seiritsu bushizō no sōshutsu* 16). Those from a “household of samurai” were the descendants of persons such as Minamoto no Tsunemoto and Taira no Sadamori, who rendered meritorious service at the Revolts of Masakado and Sumitomo (Kimura 20–21).²¹ Even though one excelled in military prowess as Hōshō did, one was not acknowledged as a martial expert or professional unless he was born to such a household; it was a hereditary profession.

The right pedigree was (and still is) essential; the Japanese generally take lineage seriously. This can be surmised when one recalls that until recently many Japanese considered themselves superior because the Japanese imperial household was *bansei ikei* (one dynastic, unbroken imperial line). As Ben-Ami Shillony has written, “The belief that Japan is basically different from other countries because its royal house has never changed is almost as old as the dynasty itself. Throughout the ages this assertion has provided the Japanese with considerable pride” (Shillony 5). He continues, “There are families and institutions in the world which have enjoyed longer survival spans . . . but [they are] not hereditary” (Shillony 1–2).

During early medieval times, Jien (1155–1225), a Buddhist monk, poet, and Japanese historian, stated that “as a custom of Japan, it has been decided since the divine age the only person of imperial lineage is allowed to become an Emperor” (Jien, *Gukanshō* 328–29). Jien, who attempted to analyze the events of Japanese history (and his dreams), believed that the Seiwa Genji would bring peace to Japan and that it was the inevitable course of history for the military class to rule Japan. He wrote in his *Gukanshō* (Jottings of a Fool, 1220) that the loss of the Imperial Sword—one of the three Imperial Regalia of Japan²²—when it sank to the bottom of the sea at the end of the Genpei War,²³ symbolized the emergence of military shoguns who protected Japan in place of the lost Imperial Sword (Jien, *Gukanshō* 265). For the influential warriors in the eastern provinces, Minamoto no Yoritomo’s raising an army against the Heike meant a revival of noble birth. Yoritomo, the founder of the Kamakura shogunate, had the pedigree the warriors trusted (Kimura 23; Noguchi 173).

Hōshō did not have a military pedigree, though his ancestors had a chance. Hōshō’s ancestors had a base on Kazusa (present-day Chiba prefecture), so when Masakado’s Revolt occurred in 939, his grandfather, the aforementioned Fujiwara no Motokata, was actually first chosen to be the commander-in-chief. But because he made an unreasonable request to the court administration, according to *Gōdanshō* (The Ōe Conversations, ca. 1104–8),²⁴ the appointment was canceled (Noguchi 26). Had Motokata

participated in the suppression of the revolt, his household would have become a military household. Equally important, Hōshō was not blessed with descendants who distinguished themselves in battles or with a storyteller who would raise his lineage high, as may have been the case for Watanabe no Tsuna (explained in the next section).

In the scrolls of *Oeyama ekotoba*, Hōshō takes one retainer with him. He is Kiyohara no Munenobu (?–1017), who holds a position of *Dazai shōgen* (junior secretary of the Dazaifu office in Kyushu). This is also a historical fact. In the entry of the eleventh day of the third month of 1017 of *Midō kanpakuki* (Diary of Fujiwara no Michinaga), Michinaga recorded the death of Munenobu and noted that he was Hōshō's retainer. Munenobu was killed by a group of people who followed Minamoto no Yorichika (Yoshinaka, Manjū's second son, ?–?).²⁵ As Hōshō's status diminished in ensuing Shuten Dōji stories, Munenobu was entirely dropped from them.

Fortunately, Hōshō is still famous in the visual arts world with such prints as those by Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839–92) titled *Fujiwara no Hōshō gekka rōtekiizu* (Fujiwara no Yasumasa Plays the Flute by Moonlight, 1883) and a Kabuki play that is based on this print.

***Shitennō* (Four Guardian Kings)**

Shitennō, or Four Guardian Kings, are pre-Buddhist deities incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon to protect Buddha's Law, Buddhists, and Buddhist countries (specifically, Japan from the Japanese viewpoint). As mentioned earlier, they are Tamonten (Vairavana, North), Jikokuten (Dhrtarasta, East), Zōchōten (Virudhaka, South), and Kōmokuten (Virupaksa, West). Each of them rules one of the cardinal points and a race of earthly devas. Later, the appellation *shitennō* also came to be used for four outstanding men of valor under a military commander. From medieval times on, Raikō's *shitennō* were Watanabe no Tsuna (953–1025), Sakata no Kintoki (?–1017), Taira no Sadamichi (also known as Usui no Sadamitsu, 954?–1021?), and Taira no Suetake (also known as Urabe no Suetake, 950?–1022?). In Raikō's time, however, there was no such thing as Raikō's *shitennō*; this was a later creation.

Konjaku monogatari shū, the largest *setsuwa* collection, compiled a century after Raikō's death, introduces Taira no Sadamichi, Taira no Suetake, and Kintoki as Raikō's retainers. The second episode of volume 28, titled "Yorimitsu no rōtōdomo Murasakino ni mono o miru koto" (Yorimitsu's Retainers Go Sightseeing at Murasakino), begins, "At a time now past, among Governor of Settsu Minamoto no Raikō's retainers were three outstanding warriors, Taira no Sadamichi, Taira no Suetake, and [. . .]"²⁶

Kintoki.” Watanabe no Tsuna’s name does not appear here or in any Heian literature (794–1185) for that matter. The narrator continues, “They all look magnificent, excel in martial arts, [are] daring and thoughtful, and leave nothing to be desired. Further, they did a marvelous service in the East and people feared them, so Raikō favored these three, having them accompany him everywhere” (*SNKBZ* 38: 152).²⁷ Having started by admiring the three retainers, the story then tells how the three, who wanted to see a Kamo Festival’s procession, miserably failed. Hoping to see the procession, the warriors decided to use an ox carriage, a transportation vehicle for aristocrats, and disguised themselves as women so no one would recognize them. However, not accustomed to riding in a carriage for the noble, they all had terrible motion sickness and could not see the procession at all. The story ends with a comment, “Brave and considerate warriors as they are, they have never been on an ox carriage before, so they had pathetic motion sickness. It is stupid or so it is handed down” (*SNKBZ* 38: 155). It is a comical story of a blunder by famous warriors. The narrator laughs at the warriors’ heavy Eastern rural dialect and their hilarious manners. It is a typical view of Eastern warriors—bold but boorish—by people in the capital.

While this *setsuna* tells us that Taira no Sadamichi, Taira no Suetake, and Kintoki were Raikō’s famous men, in reality there is no historical evidence that Raikō had his own band of warriors, let alone *shitennō*. Again, this is where the imagination enters for creative writing.

Watanabe no Tsuna

When it comes to the supernatural episodes, Tsuna attracts oni as much as Raikō does. As discussed in chapter 2, according to the “Swords Chapter” of the *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike, thirteenth century), for example, Tsuna encounters an oni and severs his hand. Tsuna also plays an important role in fighting another supernatural creature, an earth spider.

From medieval times on, Watanabe no Tsuna (953–1025) is known as Raikō’s right-hand man and the leader of Raikō’s *shitennō*. *Sonpi bunmyaku* also notes that Tsuna was the most eminent of Raikō’s *shitennō* (Tōin 3: 14). Any relevant entry in a dictionary would make the same points. As mentioned earlier, however, Tsuna’s name does not appear in any Heian literature. He is the newest member of the *shitennō* in both historical and fictional documents.

Tsuna’s name emerges for the first time in *Kokon chomonjū* (A Collection of Ancient and Modern Tales That I’ve Heard, 1254), written by Tachibana no Narisue more than two centuries after Tsuna’s death (Takahashi, *Shuten Doji no tanjō* 199; Kobayashi, “Chūsei buyūdenshō to sono kisō” 961).²⁸ Included in volume 9, the story is titled “Minamoto no Raikō Kidōmaru

o chūsuru koto” (Minamoto no Raikō Kills Demon Boy).²⁹ Tsuna appears there with Sadamichi, Suetake, and Kintoki, and they are identified as Raikō’s *shitenmō*. Kidōmaru literally means Demon Boy; there is no explanation about who this Demon Boy is and what he does. The story tells that Raikō stops by for warm *saké* at his brother’s house one cold night when he sees Demon Boy tied up at the stable. Raikō warns his brother to tie Demon Boy more firmly. Insulted, Demon Boy attempts revenge on Raikō and escapes his bonds. The following day Demon Boy hides himself in a bull’s belly and ambushes Raikō, who is on his way to Mt. Kurama. Tsuna sees through the situation and shoots an arrow into the bull in which Demon Boy is hidden. Demon Boy, pierced by Tsuna’s arrow, jumps out of the bull and dashes off to kill Raikō. Undaunted, Raikō draws his sword and beheads Demon Boy with a single stroke; thereupon Demon Boy’s head flies off and bites into the front rope decoration of the harness of Raikō’s horse (Nishio and Kobayashi 409–13; Sato 62–64). The Demon Boy, his beheading by Raikō, and the flight of the Demon Boy’s head targeting Raikō are similar to some core elements of the Shuten Dōji story.

According to *Sonpi bunmyaku*, Tsuna’s father was Minamoto no Mitsuru (?–?) of the Saga Genji line. Minamoto no Mitsuru had his base in Mita, Musashi Province (present-day Tokyo, Saitama, and part of Kanagawa prefectures). Tsuna was adopted by Minamoto no Atsushi (?–?), who was of the Ninmyō Genji line (Tōin 3: 14). When one turns to the section on the Ninmyō Genji line, a comment is written that Minamoto no Atsushi was a son-in-law of Minamoto no Mitsunaka, Raikō’s father, and that Tsuna was the founder of the Watanabe group (Tōin 3: 28). Tsuna was known as a Saga Genji warrior rather than as Ninmyō Genji. As Mitsunaka married the daughter of Minamoto no Suguru (?–?) of the Saga Genji line of the Minamoto and Tsuna’s foster father married a daughter of Mitsunaka, perhaps it was more advantageous to identify Tsuna with the Saga Genji line.

Interestingly, some scholars such as Kobayashi Miwa and Takahashi Masaaki consider that the core of the oni legends surrounding Shuten Dōji was created by Watanabe. Kobayashi Miwa writes that many episodes in *Kokon chomonji* are about the Watanabe family’s history and that Watanabe is good at self-promotion. An extraordinary degree of Watanabe no Kakeru’s (?–?) self-publicity described in the Jikōji edition of *Jōkyūki* (Records of the Jōkyū War, mid-thirteenth century) is, according to Kobayashi, the essence of the Watanabe group. She conjectures a connection between Kakeru fleeing to Mt. Ōe and legends of conquering oni on Mt. Ōe. It is possible to presume, Kobayashi writes, that an oni legend may have come from the Watanabe group, that is, Tsuna’s spectacular reputation as an oni conqueror

in the medieval period was created in the process of story transmission within that group (Kobayashi, “Chūsei buyūdenshō to sono kisō” 961–68).

Likewise, Takahashi Masaaki surmises that a faction of the Watanabe group created Tsuna and the oni stories to restore factional power within the Watanabe group. The group’s vassalage relationship to the Settsu Genji is not confirmed until the time of Minamoto no Yorimasa (1104–80), a great-great-grandchild of Raikō (Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō* 199). The Watanabe group, of which Tsuna is attributed to be the founder, was a band of warriors that had its main base at Watanabe around the mouth of the Yodo River in Settsu Province, controlling harbors in the vicinity. At the end of the Heian period the group was led by Minamoto no Yorimasa. A close relationship between Yorimasa, a driving force for the rebellion against Heike control, and the Watanabe group was detailed in volume 4 of the *Tale of the Heike*.³⁰

Historically, the Watanabe group members had been appointed *Takiguchi*, or Palace Guards, and starting at the end of the eleventh century they received the position of *Ōe no mikuriya Watanabe sōkan* (controller of Watanabe in Ōe no mikuriya manor) to present seafood to the court. *Ōe no mikuriya* was a huge imperial compound located in Kawachi, present-day southeastern Osaka. The Watanabe group’s base was an important location in the compound (Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō* 196). Takahashi surmises that the people in the Saga Genji line created Tsuna to recover from an injured identity and resuscitate their political power by painting a striking image of their founder, Tsuna. There were two lines within the Watanabe group, Takahashi explains. One was the Saga Genji line and the other the Fujiwara Southern Family Endō line. The Saga Genji line of the Watanabe group initially had more power, occupying the position of *Ōe no mikuriya Watanabe sōkan*. In the early Kamakura period, however, the Endō line of the Watanabe group, which supported Minamoto no Yoritomo in the Genpei War, became more powerful than the Saga Genji line. The Saga Genji’s declining status was exacerbated by the fact that the line supported the losing Retired Emperor GoToba (1180–1239) at the Jōkyū Disturbance in 1221, in which GoToba attempted to overthrow the Kamakura shogunate. The position of *Ōe no mikuriya Watanabe sōkan* was taken away from the Saga Genji line and moved to the Endō line (see Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō* 193–220). In other words, Tsuna was concocted to achieve the political resurrection of the Saga Genji line.

A legend or story of Shuten Dōji, encompassing the advancement of the Sumiyoshi Shrine, the Yahata Shrine, and Mt. Hiei, saw its rough formation from the end of the Kamakura period to the beginning of the

time of the Southern and Northern Courts, which corresponds to the first half of the fourteenth century. Making Raikō its protagonist was an important element to be added at the final stage. This is considered the final stage because Raikō's importance increased with the rise of the Ashikaga clan. So it has to have been after the establishment of the Ashikaga shogunate, Takahashi states. As noted earlier, the Ashikaga clan was Minamoto, and Ashikaga Takauji worshipped his ancestor Minamoto no Mitsunaka and his grave-shrine, the Tada Shrine, in Settsu. Raikō, who inherited the Tada manor from Mitsunaka, was the founder of Settsu Genji. Veneration toward Raikō increased during the Southern and Northern Courts and Muromachi periods. Tsuna's oni story became Raikō's under these circumstances (Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō* 219). Since Suetake, Sadamichi, and Kintoki were already known as Raikō's favorite retainers by the early twelfth century, perhaps it was not difficult for some scribes of the Watanabe group to add Tsuna and make him *shitennō*.

Tanigawa Ken'ichi also suggests that the Ōeyama legend was born in Ōe, Watanabe's residence (Tanigawa 84). Behind an immensely popular story lurks the struggle of ambitious warriors who wanted to succeed and strengthen their power base. Needless to say, this was in addition to some influential religious institutions contributing their pitch for their deities' efficacy.

Sakata no Kintoki (or Shimotsuke no Kintoki)

In *Shuten Dōji* stories, Kintoki is second among Raikō's *shitennō*, after Watanabe no Tsuna.³¹ In the picture scrolls of *Ōeyama ekotoba*, for example, Kintoki's name always appears immediately following Tsuna. When Shuten Dōji's severed head was going to attack Raikō, Raikō quickly borrowed Tsuna's and Kintoki's helmets. Raikō also ordered Tsuna and Kintoki to gouge out Dōji's eyes when the head bit into the helmets.

In the Suntory version of the Shuten Dōji story, Kintoki plays a more prominent role. At Shuten Dōji's banquet scene, an oni, commanded by the Dōji to entertain Raikō's troupe, sings a song and dances a couple of times: "People from the capital, how did they lose their way, to become *saké* and side dishes?" Understanding the meaning of this song, Tsuna becomes livid and is about to kill the oni, but Raikō calms him down. Kintoki, who is introduced as a renowned dancer in the capital, rises to dance and sings two to three times in response: "Spring has come to the old demon's cavern, wind will blow them out during the night." The narrator says Shuten Dōji is too intoxicated to pay attention to the meaning of Kintoki's song and enjoys "Kintoki's dance and singing voice" ("Shuten Dōji-e jō, chū, ge" 176 [1904]: supplement 16–17).³²

Kintoki is without doubt the most familiar figure among Raikō's *shitennō*; this is not necessarily through the name Kintoki but rather as Kintarō, Kintoki's legendary childhood name. Kintarō is a boy with superhuman strength and is a popular character in folklore, Kabuki and puppet plays, children's books and songs, even as candies. In present-day Japan a Kintarō figure, wearing a red *harakake* (large bib that covers the chest and stomach) on which a big character *kin* (gold) is written, is customarily put up on Boys' Day (or Children's Day) in the hope that boys will become brave, strong, and healthy like Kintarō. By the end of the seventeenth century, a *yamauba* (mountain witch, ogress, hag) had come to be considered the mother of this Kintarō. Kintarō was raised in the mountains, wrestling with animals, and many legends say he was found by Raikō to become one of his *shitennō* (see Reider, *Japanese Demon Lore* chapter 4).

In my earlier work I wrote that there is virtually no record of the existence of Sakata no Kintoki except for an episode in *Konjaku monogatari shū* ("Yorimitsu's Retainers Go Sightseeing at Murasakino") and one in *Kokon chomonjū* ("Minamoto no Raikō kills Kidōmaru") (Reider, *Japanese Demon Lore* 73). Kintoki has often been considered an imaginary figure. But it turned out that there was a historical figure for Kintoki's model; he is Raikō's contemporary. His family name was not Sakata but Shimotsuke, that is, Shimotsuke no Kintoki (?–1017), a famous *Konoe toneri* (Attendant of the Left and Right Imperial Guards) (*Oyamachō-shi* 182). Kintoki's father, Shimotsuke no Kintomo (?–?), is also *Konoe* (*Oyamachō-shi* 204). Like Raikō and Hōshō, Kintoki served Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027).

Regarding the *Konoe toneri*, Helen Craig McCullough writes:

In the eleventh century they enhanced the magnificence of state processions, doubled as court-appointed Escorts for senior nobles, and participated in archery contests and similar ceremonies, both at Court and at the private residences of great men, but their most important function was the provision of music and dancing at *kagura* performances. The *Shōgen* [lieutenants] and lower posts often went to professional and semiprofessional performers, and there is much evidence to indicate that at all levels the Bodyguards contained exceptionally skilled dancers and singers. (McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* 2: 814; see also Wada and Tokoro 136; Murasaki, *NKBT* 15: 210; *SNKBZ* 21: 421)

Toneri were expected to be remarkably skilled at music and dancing. Kintoki must have excelled at dancing and singing. In *Zoku boncho ojōden*, Ōe no Masafusa (1041–1111) lists Kintoki—Shimotsuke no Kintoki—and Owari no Kanetoki (?–?) among peerless *Konoe* during Emperor Ichijō's

reign (Hanawa, *Gunsbo ruijū* 5: 412).³³ According to *Shimotsuke shi keizū* (Genealogy of the Shimotsuke Clan), Owari no Kanetoki was Kintoki's maternal grandfather. Kanetoki was an excellent dancer and horse rider—he was a dance teacher for Fujiwara no Norimichi (995–1065) and Fujiwara no Yoshinobu (996–1075), Michigana's sons (*Oyamachō-shi* 205; Fujiwara, *Midō kanpakuki zen chūshaku Kankō yonen* 37). Shimotsuke no Kintoki seemed to have a good reputation for his singing and dancing skills. On the entry for the sixteenth day of the ninth month of the second year of Chōwa (1013), Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957–1046) wrote in his diary, *Shōyūki*, that Kintoki served as a dancer after winning a horserace (Fujiwara no Sanesuke, *Shōyūki* 1: 356). That is why, in the Suntory version of Shuten Dōji, Kintoki is described as “a renowned dancer in the capital” whose voice and dancing captivated Shuten Dōji to the point that he paid no attention to the song's intent of killing oni.

Shimotsuke no Kintoki was also good at horse riding. On the thirteenth day of the ninth month of the same year, that is, in 1013, when Fujiwara no Michinaga privately held a horserace at his residence, Kintoki won the race (Fujiwara no Sanesuke, *Shōyūki* 1: 352–53). This must have been a famous topic in those days because Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078–1162) talked about this matter (and it was written down by Nakahara no Moromoto [1109–75] in *Chūgaishō* [Selection from What Tadazane Said, twelfth century] *Chūgaishō* 352–53). Similarly, Minamoto no Akikane (1160–1215) recounts this story in *Kojidan* (Tales of Olden Times, ca. 1212–15) (Minamoto, *Kojidan* 585).

On the first year of Kannin (1017), Fujiwara no Michinaga wrote in his diary that he learned of the death of Kintoki, a recruiter for sumo wrestlers, on the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month. As an annual court function, a sumo match was performed in the seventh month in the presence of the emperor, and it was one of the low-ranking *Konoe*'s jobs to recruit sumo wrestlers in various provinces for this court event (Wada and Tokoro 198). Michinaga notes, “That man is my Escort, the best among the Left and Right Imperial Guards (*Konoe*), he is terribly missed by everyone” (Fujiwara, *Midō kanpakuki zen chūshaku Kannin gannen* 156). Kintoki's untimely death, missed by everyone as Michinaga put it, may have paved the way for the legendary figure of Kintoki.

While Kintoki was a contemporary of Raikō and Hōshō, working for Michinaga, there is no record or evidence that he was Raikō's subject.

So why is he known as Sakata no Kintoki? When one goes back to the original text of “Yorimitsu's Retainers Go Sightseeing at Murasakino” of *Konjaku monogatari-shū*, where Raikō's three retainers are introduced, while

Sadamichi and Suetake are given their surnames, the part where Kintoki's surname is supposed to be written is missing. It is described as "Taira no Sadamichi, Taira no Suetake, and [. . .] Kintoki." The annotation to this lacuna in the various texts, however, states "this is Sakata no Kintoki."³⁴ Similarly, when one looks at "Minamoto no Raikō Kills Kidōmaru" of *Kokon chomonjū*, where Tsuna's name appears for the first time, Kintoki's name is written simply as Kintoki without a surname. The surname Sakata does not appear anywhere. But again his name is annotated in a headnote as Sakata no Kintoki (see Nishio and Kobayashi 410).

Torii Fumiko, the author of the book *Kintarō no tanjō* (Birth of Kintarō, 2002), writes that Kintoki's birth, life, and other information are not precisely known because no record of his birth and biography remains. His surname, Sakata, started to be used during the Edo period, and no one knows how he acquired it (Torii 7). Torii writes that the surname Sakata appears for the first time in the literature with *Genji no yurai* (Origin of the Genji clan, 1659), a *jōruri* (puppet theater) text; Kintoki is introduced as Sakata no Minbu Kintoki (Torii 26). *Zen-Taiheiki* (Chronicle of Pre-Grand Pacification, 1692?), a popular historical narrative widely read throughout the Edo period, describes Kintoki as Sakata no Kintoki (Itagaki 1: 328), and Chikamatsu Monzaemon's (1653–1725) popular play *Komochi Yamauba* (Mountain Ogress with a Child, first performed in 1712) also has Sakata no Kintoki.³⁵

Kintoki must have been known as Shimotsuke no Kintoki during the medieval period. But because of the influence of Edo literature and performances, Kintoki in earlier works from *Konjaku monogatari-shū* through *Shuten Doji* is retrospectively called Sakata no Kintoki by modern audiences.

Taira no Sadamichi (Usui no Sadamitsu)

At the beginning of the twelfth century, when *Konjaku monogatari-shū* was compiled, Taira no Sadamichi (Tadamichi, or Sadamitsu, also known as Usui no Sadamitsu) was probably the leader of Raikō's retainers because the aforementioned episode "Yorimitsu's Retainers Go Sightseeing at Murasakino" lists Taira no Sadamichi first, followed by Taira no Suetake, then [. . .] Kintoki. But as time passed, Sadamichi's position was replaced by Tsuna.

Sadamichi also appears in another story in *Konjaku monogatari-shū* titled "Yorinobu no koto ni yorite Taira no Sadamichi hito no kashira o kiru koto" (Told by Yorinobu, Sadamichi Beheaded a Man).³⁶ In the story Yorinobu, Raikō's younger brother, publicly orders Sadamichi to get some insolent man's head for him. Sadamichi thinks the request is odd because he is serving

Raikō, not his brother, and it is unusual to hear such a personal request in public. Sadamichi is not going to pursue the matter, but the rude person boasts that Sadamichi is not strong enough to kill him. Angered, Sadamichi ends up killing him, realizing Yorinobu's wish. The narrator's major intent was perhaps to describe Sadamichi's swordsmanship and Yorinobu's boldness. But it is interesting to have Sadamichi specifically say he is Raikō's retainer while at the same time have him do a service for Raikō's brother, even though unintentionally.

Sadamichi was allegedly a son of Taira no Yoshifumi (mid-Heian period, ?-?). According to the *Sonpi bunmyaku*, Taira no Yoshifumi was a son of Takamochi-ō, or Taira no Takamochi (?-?), a founder of the Kanmu Heishi clan. Yoshifumi's final official rank was junior fifth rank, upper grade. The annotation to his name states he is also known as Muraoka no Gorō (Tōin 4: 12), and *Nichūreki* (Combination of Two History Books, early thirteenth century) lists Muraoka no Gorō under *musba* (warriors) (*Nichūreki* 3: 107). Recent scholarly studies indicate that Taira no Sadamichi was an ancestor of the Miura clan, a powerful military clique of the eastern province that was loyal to Minamoto no Yoritomo. While Yoshifumi was called Muraoka no Gorō, Sadamichi seemed to have been called Muraoka no Kogorō (Muraoka Gorō minor) or simply also Muraoka no Gorō (Noguchi 19).

Yoshifumi may have been an influential warrior in the east province. Number 3 of volume 25 of *Konjaku monogatari shū* tells a story of his duel with Minamoto no Mitsuru. Titled "Minamoto no Mitsuru to Taira no Yoshifumi no Kassen seru koto" (Minamoto no Mitsuru and Taira no Yoshifumi: The Duel),³⁷ the tale describes the like-mindedness of two great warriors, their recognition of each other's excellent archery skills, and how they fostered their friendship. Minamoto no Mitsuru was considered to have been Watanabe no Tsuna's father and Taira no Yoshifumi was Sadamichi's father; they were in the same generation, and according to *setsuwa*, both sons became Raikō's *shitenno*. It is ironic that Sadamichi, written as Raikō's retainer in a number of places in Heian literature and originally the first among Raikō's outstanding retainers, ceded his leading position to Tsuna, whose name does not appear in any Heian literature.

There is a famous *setsuwa* story of Sadamichi, nicknamed Muraoka no Gorō (Noguchi 19), in *Konjaku monogatari shū* titled "Hakamadare, Sekiyama ni shite sorajini o shite hito o korosu koto" (Hakamadare, Pretending to Be Dead, Kills People at Mt. Osaka).³⁸ In the story, Hakamadare (?-?) was pretending to be dead on Mt. Ōsaka in his attempt to kill and rob samurai of their belongings. When a fine-looking warrior accompanied by many of his retainers saw Hakamadare, the warrior warned his men to be cautious in

passing by the man who appeared to be dead. Onlookers thought the warrior's behavior unworthy of samurai, as the man was apparently dead. Later, another warrior came near Hakamadare and pitied him, believing he was dead, whereupon Hakamadare immediately killed the warrior and robbed him of his clothes and armor. People later learned the warrior who was cautious about Hakamadare was Muraoka no Gorō, officially named Taira no Sadamichi, and they admired his alert behavior.

This Hakamadare is the notorious robber who tried to rob Fujiwara no Hōshō and failed to do so. Hōshō in that episode instead gave Hakamadare some clothes and advised him not to steal, as he could get in trouble. Various characters in the Shuten Dōji story appear in earlier *setsuma*; the scribes of the Shuten Dōji stories used these *setsuma* well.

Taira no Suetake (Urabe no Suetake)

Taira no Suetake (also known as Urabe no Suetake, 950?–1022?) is also allegedly a descendant of the Kanmu Heishi clan, though it is not certain—his name does not appear in the *Sonpi bunmyaku*.

While Raikō and the rest of his *shitennō* were engaged in varying degrees with the supernatural in the world of *setsuma* from the fourteenth century on, Suetake had already encountered a female ghost in the early twelfth century, *Konjaku monogatari-shū*. The forty-third story of volume 27, titled “Yorimitsu no rōtō Taira no Suetake ubume ni au koto” (Taira no Suetake, Raikō's Retainer, Meets an *ubume*, *SNKBZ* 38: 134–38), describes a test of courage in which Suetake dares to meet an *ubume*, the ghost of a pregnant woman or a woman who died in childbirth. While Raikō is governor of Mino Province, his retainers gather at night talking about an *ubume* who appears at a river; the *ubume* tries to give her baby to anyone crossing the river. She is so frightening that no one can cross the river at night. Suetake then says that he can easily do it. The warriors wage their armor on Suetake not being able to make the crossing. Suetake leaves, and, as expected, an *ubume* appears while he is crossing the river. She hands him her baby. Suetake receives it, and now she wants the baby back. But Suetake ignores her plea and comes back to the gathering place with what he thinks is a baby. The baby turns out to be some leaves. The warriors are going to give their armor to Suetake, who declines it by saying the task was simple. The story ends with praise for Suetake for his bravery as well as his bigheartedness.

Again, there is no record that Suetake was serving Raikō, but he is certainly described as worthy of his *shitennō*—brave, generous, and undaunted by ghostly supernatural creatures.

EXTRA-LITERARY SOURCES: RELATION BETWEEN THE NARRATIVE AND HISTORICAL EVENTS

In the picture scrolls of *Ōeyama ekotoba*, Shuten Dōji makes an interesting statement that no other extant texts have: “When the king is wise, our power thrives too. The reason is that when the imperial authority declines, the power of his subjects also wanes; when divine protections become enfeebled, the land decays.” At a glance, this statement may sound odd because when the imperial authority declines and divine protections are enfeebled, it seems logical that evil would take advantage of the situation and overwhelm the feeble forces. Shuten Dōji in this scroll brings calamities. According to the Buddhist scripture *Konkō myōkyō* (Golden Light Sutra), one of the three sutras for protecting the country, when the king does not rule with correct law and lets evil go unharmed, the deities will abandon the king and natural disasters such as famine and pandemics will occur (Mibu 267–76).³⁹ Similarly, according to the Chinese concept of the Mandate of Heaven, calamities are considered signs of the ruling emperor’s unjustness and can be legitimate reasons for the ruler to be replaced. The Japanese emperors were well aware of the Mandate of Heaven, though they were exempt from such a concept because the lineage of the imperial family was what counted. Perhaps Shuten Dōji’s logic is like that of a good competitor drawing strength from a worthy opponent. As Ii Haruki writes, his statement expresses admiration for the prosperity of Emperor Ichijō’s court (Ii 86).

Emperor Ichijō’s period was one of the ideal times for the nobility. Various medieval women’s instructional texts such as the *jokunsho* “Menoto no sōshi” consider Empress Shōshi or Jōtōmon-in (988–1074) to be the exemplar of court ladies (Hanawa, *Gunsho ruijū* 27: 240). She was Emperor Ichijō’s empress, the mother of Emperors GoIchijō (1008–36) and GoSuzaku (1009–45), and Fujiwara no Michinaga’s daughter. Empress Shōshi’s time was at the peak of the Fujiwara Regency, politically and economically the height of aristocratic power. Shuten Dōji’s statement therefore constitutes a narrator’s admiration for Emperor Ichijō rather than a defense of the Ichijō court. This narrator or narrators represent established noblemen and aspiring aristocrats. The narrator(s) may also be saluting the contemporary imperial court that wishes to exercise strong imperial authority. This could also be a reflection of the contemporary court’s desire for managing political affairs directly—possibly during the time of the Southern and Northern Courts (1336–92), simultaneously hailing Raikō as an imperial subject.

While acknowledging that the *Ōeyama ekotoba* is a fictional story, Ii surmises that there must have been some frightening events and occurrences

during the Shōryaku era (990–94), as the narrator specifically notes the dates (Ii 85). The text reads “From the early days of [. . .] through the Shōryaku era (990–995).” I surmise that the lacuna indicated by the square brackets is Eiso (989–90), the time immediately preceding the Shōryaku era, because disastrous events such as the disappearance of many people could not have been left unattended without taking swift measures. When one looks at the events of Eiso in *Nihon kiriyaku*, in the eighth month of the first year of Eiso (989) a devastating typhoon caused a flood, killing people and animals and destroying paddy fields in the coastal areas of the provinces in the vicinity of the capital. *Nihon kiriyaku* describes it as “unprecedented deaths and damages, devastating disaster” (2: 167). The event was so devastating that “Typhoon of Eiso” was used later as a simile for natural disasters.

In the eighth month of 990, the first year of the Shōryaku era, there were natural disasters, including typhoons and floods (Kuroita, *Nihon kiriyaku* 2: 169). In 991, the second year of Shōryaku, there was famine in the sixth month (ibid. 171). In the sixth month of the third year of Shōryaku (992), thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and floods occurred (ibid. 173). In the sixth and seventh months of 993, diseases spread widely, and thunder and lightning struck; in the eighth month there was a solar eclipse (ibid. 175–76). In the fifth year of Shōryaku (994), an epidemic wiped out more than half of Kyoto’s population, including sixty-seven courtiers with the fifth rank and above, between the fourth and seventh months. In the twelfth month there was another solar eclipse (ibid. 178).

The Shōryaku era is followed by the Chōtoku era (995–99). In the first year of Chōtoku (995), a widespread epidemic that had started in the last year of Shōryaku killed Fujiwara no Michitaka (953–95), the chief adviser to the emperor, and his younger brother, Michikane (961–95). The atmosphere of the court became tense, primarily because of the power struggle between Fujiwara no Michinaga (Michitaka and Michikane’s younger brother) and Fujiwara no Korechika, Michitaka’s eldest son and Michinaga’s nephew, for the chief adviser position. The conflict ended with Michinaga’s victory. It is intriguing to postulate that there is some relationship between the backdrop of the story and historical events that led to Michinaga’s prosperity. In the story, it is Michinaga who recommended that the emperor reward Raikō and Hōshō generously after the successful mission, as he did in history.

TRANSLATION OF ŌEYAMA EKOTOBA

This translation is based on *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei* (Complete Works on Monogatari in the Muromachi Period; Yokoyama and Matsumoto 3:

122–40) and *Zoku Nihon emaki taisei* (Complete Works on the Picture Scrolls, Continued; Komatsu et al. 19: 75–103, 158–60, 171–78). *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei* is the most standard work for *otogizōshi*⁴⁰ written texts, with the sections reorganized to be read as a coherent story. The missing opening section of the first scroll is supplemented by the Yōmei library edition printed in *Zoku Nihon emaki taisei*. The section from right after the end of the second scroll until the end of the story was supplemented by a scroll without illustration, perhaps copied in the mid-Muromachi period. *Zoku Nihon emaki taisei* provides full illustrations.

The Picture Scrolls of Mt. Ōe (Drunken Demon)

SCROLL ONE

When the emperor rules his country benevolently, Buddhas and Shinto deities protect his people, responding kindly to their wishes. When the emperor prays for the world in good faith, stars rejoice and shine their benevolent light on his reign. However, even in ancient times when the supernatural and emperors were honest and humble, evil demons and goblins stalked the land [. . .].⁴¹ Even in the ancient times of the well-governed Three Dynasties and Two Hans⁴² [. . .], it was easy to disobey [. . .].

In this country Emperor Jinmu⁴³ had great success in opening the land. More than 1,640 years had come and gone since Jinmu ruled the land when [Emperor Ichijō (reigned 986–1011)], the sixty-sixth emperor to guide his people, ascended the throne at age seven. He was already deeply engaged in poetry and writing at age nine. Early on he administered the state's affairs as earnestly and diligently as he studied literature. Emperor Ichijō was equally well versed in one hundred schools of profound thought. Later in life, he melted delusory thought into the ultimate truth, deeply respecting three treasures of Buddhism.⁴⁴ During his twenty-six-year reign, his gracious rule benefited his people; any unreasonable minds were straightened. The whole world looked upon him as a sacred beast personified. His virtues filled the country. [Emperor Sanjō (reigned 1011–16)] succeeded [Emperor Ichijō], and governing the state affairs again [. . .] whole world. The wise administration by the two emperors [. . .] like autumn dew, and their favors resembled [. . .].

As the prince of Emperor⁴⁵ [Enyū (969–91)], [Emperor Ichijō] ascended to the throne after [Emperor Kazan (968–1006)], and all the people rejoiced. At this time both exoteric and esoteric Buddhist sects revealed their signs, schools of various literary and martial arts competed in their skills, and medical and arithmetic studies advanced in their achievements. The fame

of yin-yang masters' rendering their skills and services was unprecedented. Everyone, from lords and generals to simple men and women, was imbued with benevolence and received the favors of the natural and supernatural worlds. This was because four great wise men, Tadanobu,⁴⁶ Kintō,⁴⁷ Yukinari,⁴⁸ and Toshikata,⁴⁹ and all the officials of the empire performed their duties [in a devout and benevolent way].

However, when a mortar [. . .] many, even though there were ten of holy Emperor Shun and nine of virtuous Emperor Yao⁵⁰ [. . .], harmful evils gathered [. . .] guardian deities, and their wisdom could not completely protect the land.

From the early days of [Eiso (899–990)] through the Shōryaku era (990–95),⁵¹ people of high and low estate, men and women inside and outside the capital, began mysteriously to disappear. Courtiers of the palace and rustic peasants of the countryside alike pined and grieved for their lost parents or siblings; people far and wide keened sadly for their lost wives, husbands, children, or [other] kin. In and around the city of Kyoto tears of sorrow flowed without end, and in every village the ceaseless sound of sobbing and weeping filled the air. Strange happenings occurred; tempests raged on in all their fury as thunder roared and lightning struck. Young courtiers on night duty, proper people's wives, princesses, and girl attendants in the service of court ladies continued to disappear. Those left behind felt all the more bitter, mourned, and feared to go out [. . .] for a long while. The emperor's ministers knew there could be no mortal cause to these events, that it must be the work of some demons.⁵² The various and sundry Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples in and around the capital were ordered to [. . .], but it was hard for the high priests to reveal their [. . .]. The protection of miraculous Buddhas and Shinto deities was of no avail. It reminds us of the words of ancient times—"even in the most idle societies, seedlings are cut; even in the most well-administered society,⁵³ deer fight."

At this time there lived a great yin-yang master named Abe no Seimei.⁵⁴ When Seimei performed divination, his results were so exact it was as though he could see through a cataclysm. So the emperor's ministers immediately summoned Abe no Seimei to the capital so he might divine the cause of all the strange happenings. After much deliberation, Seimei reported, "These bizarre disappearances are surely the work of the demon king living on Mt. Ōe, northwest of the capital. If you fail to act soon, there won't be a living soul left in the palace or any province of the empire. The emperor is requested to be very careful as well, though his majesty has been hard at work, without rest, to restrain these evil doings. It is hard to enquire [. . .]" Hearing the report, beginning with the [. . .] in the palace, ministers [. . .],

they were all overwhelmed with grief. Within [. . .] sorrow prevailed and became an outcry of [. . .]. The eight ministries of government and their various offices took great caution, surrounding [. . .] before the gods' authority. Great generals took matters in hand and stationed their armies to the north and south to repel the demons' wrath and to ease people's grief.

Court nobles and ministers gathered often to discuss the matter and after much discussion the [minister of] right proposed, "Our court has set the ways of the literary and martial arts; with literary art we administer state affairs, with martial art we subjugate rebellions in the provinces. Therefore, I suggest we immediately summon the warriors Chirai,⁵⁵ Raishin,⁵⁶ Ikō,⁵⁷ and Hōshō⁵⁸ and send them to conquer the demons."

The four warriors were thus summoned and given their instructions. But each warrior said, in turn, "Indeed it is true that the very purpose of bows and arrows is to subjugate imperial enemies. There is no reason to decline your command; one should always be devoted to loyalty and use his knowledge and skill to achieve the emperor's will. But these are demons, invisible and inaudible. Let us humbly say that it is beyond the reach of human hands and human weapons to engage them in battle."

Thereupon Lord Sanemi of Kan'in,⁵⁹ major captain of the left who at that time was middle counselor, said, "Even though they are shape-shifters, they live in the imperial land; how can they disobey the emperor's wish? We must send for Minamoto no Raikō (948–1021), governor of Settsu Province,⁶⁰ and Fujiwara no Hōshō (958–1036), governor of Tango Province."⁶¹ Thus the nobles and ministers summoned the two great generals to the imperial palace, told them of this most alarming matter, and commanded the generals to subdue the evil creatures with their military prowess. The warriors left the palace with all due respect and no demur. Mist and smoke do not favor east or west but follow instead the direction of the prevailing wind; this is a virtue of submissiveness. Subjects may live near or far, but upon receiving an order, they run immediately to their lord; this is loyalty. Both generals returned to their homes, thinking it impossible to disobey the imperial order.

Raikō and Hōshō had wives and mistresses who were reluctant to be separated. Children and grandchildren were [. . .] each other. As they could only rely on the protection and the [. . .], patronage of their guardian deities at their shrines and temples, Raikō went to pray earnestly at Hachiman Shrine⁶² and Hiyoshi Sannō Shrine;⁶³ Hōshō repeatedly prayed at Kumano Shrine⁶⁴ and Sumiyoshi Shrine.⁶⁵ They offered horses, various treasures, and prayer strips to the Shinto priests and stewards, as they wished to reunite with their loved ones after subjugating the enemy.

When the court heard that Raikō and Hōshō had already departed for the destination, they sent tens of thousands of warriors from neighboring provinces to aid the generals in their quest. Raikō, however, said, “Such a great number of warriors matters little in the face of such an enemy. Besides, I feel pity for their wives and children. When the imperial authority is effective, the imperial order should be strictly observed.” So saying, the generals stopped the warriors from coming to their aid, and each warrior shed tears of joy and remained where he was.

Raikō [. . .] had four loyal retainers who pledged to live or die together, Tsuna, Kintoki, Sadamitsu, and Suetake [. . .]; with the lord and his four lieutenants, there were five horsemen. Hōshō’s lone retainer was a junior secretary of the Dazaifu office.⁶⁶ [. . .] had visited the palace wearing *bita-tare*⁶⁷ ceremonial clothes over which they put on armors of various colors, and they received a written proclamation from the emperor charging Raikō and Hōshō with the task of defeating the evil demons. [Raikō] wore the [. . .]-colored brocade robe with [. . .] threads and had [. . .] helmet. He placed a quiver containing twenty-four long, black [. . .] arrows on his back, used his famous rattan-wrapped bow as a staff, and wore a three-foot-five-inch sword decorated with gold. Hōshō wore a red brocade robe over which was a suit of armor with dark purple lacing. He carried a helmet with a hoe-shaped crest, carried a quiver of sharp arrows, and, like Raikō, used a rattan-wrapped bow as his walking staff. Carrying a sword with a hilt wrapped with white metal sheet in a sheath of tiger skin, Hōshō was a towering figure in the courtyard. Such was the loyalty people bore for the great warriors that the rest of their subjects felt impatient to accompany their generals, but again Raikō and Hōshō took pity on their subjects’ wives and children and commanded them to stay; thus their subjects reluctantly remained and accompanied their lords no farther than the capital. From the nobles [. . .] in the palace to folks ranked high and low in the capital, people swarmed to see the expedition depart. Finally, the troupe left the capital on the first day of the eleventh month of the first year of [. . .] and set forth for Mt. Ōe where the king of [demons] was said to live.

After spending many days and nights in search of the demons of Mt. Ōe, going through peaks and valleys, rivers and clouds, mountains and gorges and mists, they still found nothing strange or mysterious. Pondering their long and fruitless search, Raikō said, “Without conquering the imperial enemy, we cannot return home,” and Hōshō agreed. The warriors, being one in body and soul, continued to look for the enemy everywhere, walking sideways on narrow paths against rock cliffs, bowing their heads low under drooping branches. Thus, various and sundry places of trial and hardship

faded behind them in the mist. [. . .] could be compared to a storm. The sky looked sooty and the landscape appeared somewhat [. . .]. There were dark clouds over the peaks, [. . .] looked light on the trees. Flying birds rarely chirped [. . .] in the clouds, and there was no sound other than [. . .] monkeys on the trees crying at the moon.

At last, they came to a place on Mt. Ōe that looked out over a small shrine in the mountain; it was then, as they gazed on the shrine, that their eyes beheld a strange thing. In the distance they saw four men: a white-haired old man, an elderly mountain ascetic, an old priest, and a young priest. Each appeared to have prepared food and drink on a Chinese chest and seemed to be waiting for someone. The warriors suspected that these strange men must indeed be shape-shifters, and they proceeded in the strangers' direction, unsheathing their swords and drawing their bows. As the warriors bore down on the strangers, the white-haired old man stepped forward, taking off his clothes to show he was unarmed and pressing his hands in prayer. Loudly he cried out to the warriors, "Pray let down your weapons and ease your suspicions, for we have awaited your coming many days. We have good reason for that. I have seven children but the demon king took them all from me. Yonder mountain ascetic has had many of his fellow ascetics taken as well, and this young priest has lost his master and disciples. Please think kindly on our grievances. We have heard that the two great generals have received the imperial command to seek the demon's castle, so we are delighted to accompany and lead you to your destination."

Raikō said to his warriors, "Although all they are saying speaks to their honesty, we must not let down our guard entirely. However, since we bear the written order of the emperor around our necks, no harm may befall us." The warriors sheathed their swords, relaxed their bows, and sat down together to the feast the odd strangers had prepared. As they discussed how best to look for the demons, the white-haired old man spoke again: "Your martial accoutrements won't do. Even with your own brothers, it will be hard for warriors so armed to receive a meeting. You must disguise yourselves as you seek the enemy." He then took from the Chinese chest items to accomplish the warriors' disguise, like rust-colored robes, monks' stoles, and round caps [*tokin*] of the same color. He produced as well nine ascetics' panniers in which to conceal the warriors' armor. Food and drink he gave as well. Nine people, [. . .] ascetic, elderly priest, young priest, Tsuna, Kintoki, [. . .], the warriors each carried a pannier on their back. The white-haired old man and Raikō both carried stout cypress staffs to guide their steps. Their horses were returned to their home by the servants.



Figure 1.1. Raikō's troupe meets the elders in the mountain. Courtesy of the Hankyu Culture Foundation, Itsuō Art Museum.

[As they sought the lair of the demon king, they came upon an ancient woman.] Her hair was all white, not a string of black. She was washing clothes stained with blood and drying them on tree branches and rocks. Looking at this site, the troupe thought she was a shape-shifter, but no sooner were they prepared to kill her than she pressed her hands together in prayer and begged for mercy. “I am no shape-shifter,” she cried, “I was originally a lowly woman from Uta.⁶⁸ The demon king kidnapped me here, but because my bones are hard, my body sinewy, and my face ugly, I was abandoned and made to wash these clothes. I miss my hometown and family, but springs have gone and autumns passed; indeed, 200 wretched years have gone. Still, how did you come here?” she asked. “You should immediately return home. This is a place far away from human habitation. How interesting to see people, especially those in their prime.”

“This mountain is the back of Mt. Ōe. What do you mean by ‘far from human habitation?’” Raikō inquired. The old woman replied, “There is a rock cave on the way here. This side of the cave is a demon-hidden village.”

“Tell us more about it. We are here by imperial command,” said Hōshō.

“I will tell you all I know,” replied the old woman. “The demon king’s castle is up yonder from us. There is an eight-pillar gate; a framed board that says Shuten Dōji is hung over it, or so I hear. Often the demon king assumes a child-like appearance, and he loves *saké*. He abducts princesses and the wives of nobles and courtiers in the palace, high and low alike; he chops them with a knife and eats them. Now, because a man called Seimei in the capital worships *taizunfukun*,⁶⁹ serving gods⁷⁰ and divine boys⁷¹ constantly surround the countryside to protect the emperor’s people, so when the demon king comes back without human beings to eat, he gets fiercely upset, beats his chest, and clenches his teeth. He plays the flute idly and passes the time.

“There is a strange thing,” the old crone continued. “The demon king took a very young disciple of Tendai Abbot Ryōgen (912–85),⁷² a son of the priest of the Enshrinement Hall (Fujiwara no Michinaga [966–1027]),⁷³ and confined him in a cage made of iron and stone. This child does nothing but pray. His voice reciting Lotus Sutra can be heard here at dawn. I am receiving evil retributions like this while I am alive. I grieve over my sins. But when I hear his prayers, I feel like my sins are being extinguished. So I am most appreciative. Also, perhaps because Ryōgen himself performs services for the boy, various heavenly beings and benevolent deities gather like rain and clouds to protect him from early morning till late at night. The demon king knows not what to do with the boy.”

Following the words of the old woman, they walked up the hill a little distance, and there indeed was a big gate with eight pillars. The pillars and

doors were beautiful and admirably shining. The mountains in all directions looked like lapis lazuli, and the grounds were as if crystal sand were strewn all about. When they looked at the scenery carefully, deep frost grew in a stone hut as if one came to Kashō's⁷⁴ cave; small paths had light snow on them, as if one looked out on a confession yard.

Raikō summoned his retainer Tsuna and told him to enter the gate to seek an audience with the master of the house. Whereupon Tsuna, feeling like Hankai,⁷⁵ passed the gate alone. Reaching the place that looked like the main residence, Tsuna loudly announced, "Excuse me. Is anyone there?"

From within there came a grave voice, "Who is this?" and a man about ten feet tall appeared. Raising a bamboo blind with his hand holding a flute, Shuten Dōji had a human form, adorned in a quilted silk garment with a crimson *bakama*. There he stood looking serious and noble, with his sharp eyes.

Not a bit daunted, Tsuna replied, "We, more than ten of us, are mountain ascetics training through various provinces, but we have become lost and wandered here. Please give us lodging for the night."

"In that case," Shuten Dōji replied, "enter the veranda near the main gate," and he sent a maiden to guide the troupe.

The maiden, walking before Tsuna, pressed her face to her sleeve to wipe her tears. Tsuna asked why she was crying so bitterly. The young lady replied, "As I see it, you are an ascetic priest. After you come here you will not be able to go back to your hometown, and I am so sad and sorry for you. I am the third daughter of Lord Munenari, palace minister of Tsuchimikado. One night last autumn while I was viewing the moon, the demon took me away and brought me here. I am in such a miserable state. Shuten Dōji eats anyone whom he dislikes on the spot, calling them his snack. It's such a misery even to see him. I feel like a bird on snowy mountains, as I always worry that today will be my last. How terrible." Listening to her, Tsuna thought it a grave matter. But he pretended that it was not so serious and led his comrades onto the veranda.

After a short while, beautiful young ladies came onto the veranda with ten round straw mats for the troupe to sit on. They also brought *saké* in a large silver decanter and a golden bowl filled with unidentifiable meat. This encounter was perhaps comparable to that of Chōbunsei (Zhang Wencheng) in China, who met playful goddesses in an enchanted cave.

Raikō, in harmony with Hōshō, said compliantly, "It would be wonderful if the host could attend. Only we ourselves would be boring. Would you please ask for his presence?" After a while, Shuten Dōji came into the room. Ten feet tall and looking wise with his sharp eyes, he was adorned in clothing

of various colors with a glossy silk garment over his upper body and a white *bakama*. Having made four or five beautiful maidens carry round straw mats or an armrest, he made the whole surrounding look radiant and solemn.

“Mountain priests,” Shuten Dōji asked of Raikō, “where did you come from and where are you going?”

“We have been traveling in various provinces for training and sightseeing,” replied Raikō, “but we lost our way in the mountains and arrived here.”

Shuten Dōji then turned the conversation to himself. “I love *saké*, so my relatives and fellow men call me Drunken Demon,” he said. “I lived on Mt. Hirano a long time ago because it had long been my property. But a strange priest named Saichō⁷⁶ took the mountain to build a temple on the peak and seven shrines at the foot. Because it had long been my place and I was reluctant to part with it, and to be honest I had nowhere else to live, I transformed myself into a camphor tree and tried to obstruct his project. But the priest cut down the tree, leveled the ground, and opened the area. So I changed myself into a bigger tree that night. But then the priest thought it strange and put a magical barrier over the area, chanting, “*Anokutara sanmyaku sanbodai no hotoketachi waga tatsu soma ni myōga arase tamae*” (I pray, the omniscient Buddhas, bless me and the temple I am about to build).”⁷⁷ I could hardly restrain myself, but as I was overpowered I revealed myself to the priest. “Then please give a place to live,” I said. He gave me Mt. Kaga of Ōmi Province, since it was his property. So I moved to the new mountain.

“Then, Emperor Kanmu (737–806) sent an imperial envoy and had him read an imperial proclamation to leave the place. As I was living on sovereign land, it was hard not to obey the imperial command; besides, heavenly beings came to expel me. Powerless, I had to leave Mt. Kaga and had nowhere to go. Annoyed, I wandered around riding on wind and clouds for a long while. But sometimes, when I felt a grudge and an evil thought, I comforted myself by bringing disaster to the land of Japan, sometimes as a storm, sometimes as famine.

“During the reign of Emperor Ninmyō (reigned 833–50), around 849 perhaps,” Dōji continued. “I started to live here. When the king is wise, our power thrives too. The reason is that when the imperial authority declines, the power of his subjects also wanes; when divine protections become enfeebled, the land decays. Under the reign of an ignorant one, my mind is of no use; during the reign of a wise king, I gain my supernatural power. I’ll tell you more of my past. But first, have a cup of wine.” So saying, he offered *saké*.

“You are the dōji,” Raikō replied. “How can I have a cup before you? Please allow me to offer you one first.”

“Your courteous words please me,” Shuten Dōji smiled and drank three cups. Then, he offered one to Raikō. As Raikō raised the cup to drink it, it smelled extremely bloody and nauseating. Raikō, however, calmly drank it without so much as a disagreeable look. Raikō gave the cup to Hōshō, who pretended to drink it but discreetly threw it away. Then the old man and the mountain ascetic said, “Thank you for your *saké*. We too have prepared *saké*. If we don’t take this out in front of you now, when should we do it?” So saying, they took a *saké* tube out of the pannier and offered it to Shuten Dōji. As the leader drank it up, they kept pouring it and all the participants followed. Soon the demon king lay slumped in a drunken stupor.

SCROLL TWO

[Led by the old man, Raikō and Hōshō set about the task of exploring the palace.] There, confined in room after room they found the young and old, from the cities and the countryside, to [. . .]. As the party moved on, they heard a whispering voice reciting a sutra. Wondering who it could be, they followed the sound of the chanting voice to the presence of a pure and clean-looking boy of fourteen or fifteen years old who, alongside four [. . .] maidens, was imprisoned in a copper cage. The child was wearing a silk garment with a white *hakama*. Having taken a small sutra from his charm, he was chanting tearfully. As Raikō and Hōshō looked to the left and right of this child, *Jūrasetsunyo* (Ten Female Rakshasis),⁷⁸ putting down various heavenly fruit, were guarding the boy, and so were *Jūnishinshō* (Twelve Divine Generals)⁷⁹ of Yakushi nyorai (the Healing Buddha),⁸⁰ who stood outside the bars. One monkey stood towering over the cage surrounded by roaring flames like Fudō myōō (Immovable Protector of Dharma).⁸¹

Looking on in amazement, Raikō asked the white-haired old man, “What is the meaning of all this?”

“Because of this child’s virtue,” the old man answered, “in reciting the Lotus Sutra, *Jūrasetsunyo* have descended to protect him. As for *Jūnishinshō*, this child’s master performs the ritual of *shichibutsu yakushi* (the Seven Healing Buddhas),⁸² so the Twelve Divine Generals, who protect and serve the Healing Buddha, descend to guard him. That very being who takes the form of yonder monkey is the deity enshrined in the Hayao Shrine⁸³ at Mt. Hiei. The original form of the deity is Fudō myōō, sworn protector, and a monkey is a messenger of the shrine; so both appearances are manifested as such.”

Raikō thought to himself, “This old man is mysterious himself. It is true that without divine protection it would be hard to subdue the demon’s heinous acts. This must be solely thanks to the benefits of the miraculous



Figure 1.2. Shuten Dōji entertains Raikō's troupe with unidentifiable meat and blood. Courtesy of the Hankyu Culture Foundation, Itsuō Art Museum.

deities we have always prayed for.” Raikō was delighted and glanced secretly at Hōshō, who nodded to him in agreement. This child was the page about whom the old woman spoke—the disciple of Ryōgen and a son of Fujiwara no Michinaga, the priest of the Enshrinement Hall.

Leaving that place, they looked to the south. Near the eaves of the palace, the breeze wafted the scent of citrus *tachibana*, reminding them of the fragrance of sleeves in olden times; the underbrush of the woods grew wildly. Here and there, flowers of beloved star lilies looked on charmingly. It was then that they saw many large barrels placed in line, in which was human flesh pickled with vinegar. The smell coming from the barrels was foul, and the sight was too miserable to witness. Turning their eyes to the side, they saw mounds of carnage; moss grew on old corpses and bloodstains were on fresh dead bodies. When they look to the west, treetops were tinged with rain swishing; the color of paulownia and catalpa is red.⁸⁴ Dewdrops formed on a variety of fruit; bluebeards gave off fragrance. The sound of pine crickets was captivating. Then they saw a number of imprisoned Chinese people and realized that the demons abducted people not only from their own country but from India and China as well. It was indeed piteous.

In the direction of north, snow was heavy on the pine trees, pining for a storm;⁸⁵ autumn still lingered on the frosty chrysanthemums in the garden. It was appealing scenery.

The number of demons wasn’t many, they thought. A little over ten. The rest were minor servants of various shapes, and they were numerous. Thinking it all mysterious beyond understanding, they returned to their quarters and reported their findings to their retainers.

About sunset, perhaps scheming to fool the troupe, five or six oni disguised as beautiful women adorned in multilayered ceremonial robes visited the group’s quarters.

These oni, without saying much, tried to seduce them, like a heavenly maiden’s love affair with Kaiō (King Huai, reign 329–299 BCE) of Sokoku (Chu guo) in ancient China.⁸⁶

Hōshō said, “It is hard to believe that women come to the place of mountain priests. Leave immediately.” But the women did not listen and remained there. Thereupon, Raikō gave the oni-women an intense glare. The demons, startled at the fierceness in Raikō’s eyes, made a hasty retreat, murmuring, “This priest among them looks noble and important. His eyes are sharp and disturbing. We had better leave.” Revealing their real appearances, the oni scurried off.

Shortly after that, black clouds shrouded the area and soon it became pitch black. The strong wind blew wildly, the earth was shaken, and thunder

and lightning began to strike. “What’s happening?” the warriors thought. While they were wondering, numerous shape-shifters, tall and horrendous-looking, emerged, dancing *dengaku* (field music and dance).

These goblins with different faces and shapes started to perform music. Some were funny, some were beautiful, and others were frightening. It was beyond description, beyond imagination. While the warriors were watching this, Raikō remained in his seat, unmoved, and stared fiercely at the shape-shifters for some time, whereupon five-colored lights began to emit from Raikō’s eyes. The shape-shifters talked to themselves, “Have you seen that mountain priest? With his eyes and face, he is no ordinary person. I hear there is in the capital a man called Raikō of whom everyone is afraid. They say his eyes give out sparkles.”

“Is that so? There is such a man, then. We won’t be able to deceive such a person.” So saying, they ran off in all directions, some stumbling over the rocks.

[. . .]

The warriors found Shuten Dōji asleep in a room strongly built of iron and stones. Four or five noblewomen were forced to massage his giant body. So strong and formidable did the room’s fortifications appear that the warriors and their retainers found it impossible to enter. But then, the old and young priests made signs with their fingers underneath their stoles and earnestly prayed, “This is the time to reveal the merits of years of our training and prayers for the main Buddha. Exalted one, please do not break our vows!” Whereupon the iron and stones melted like morning dewdrops, and the sturdy-looking chamber was destroyed instantly.

Although the dōji had looked like a human being during the day, when the troupe entered the room he was revealed in his true monstrous form at night; his height was well over fifty feet, a five-colored giant; he had a red head and body, a yellow right arm, and a blue left arm. His left leg was black, and the right one was white. This oni with a five-horned head and fifteen eyes was sleeping peacefully, oblivious to the fate that awaited him. Looking at this giant, the warriors felt as though they were in a nightmare, but they calmed themselves and became anxious to attack the dōji. The young priest, however, warned that they would be uncertain of a quick victory if the warriors attacked Shuten Dōji on different places of his body with their swords. “If the dōji wakes up, it will be of great consequence indeed,” the priest continued. “Therefore, we four priests will hold each of Shuten Dōji’s limbs, and you the warriors must behead him in one accord.”

Thus the four priests held on firmly to the Dōji’s limbs; thereupon the demon king raised his head and cried, “Where is Kirinmugoku? Where is



Figure 1.3. The oni who played the *dengaku* performance run away from Raikō. Courtesy of the Hankyu Culture Foundation, Itsuō Art Museum.



Figure 1.4. Shuten Dōji's severed head lunges at Raikō. Courtesy of the Hankyu Culture Foundation, Itsuō Art Museum.

Jakengokudai?⁸⁷ Deceived by these men, I am now to be done with. Kill these enemies!" Hearing Shuten Dōji's voice, the decapitated oni rose from the ground and were running about without their heads.

No sooner had the demon cried out than the two generals and five warriors cut down Shuten Dōji's head in one combined stroke. His head hurled through the air, wildly roaring. Raikō quickly donned Tsuna's and Kintoki's helmets, putting them over his own. As people gazed on in frightened wonder, Shuten Dōji's head dashed to Raikō and bit him on his helmets.

"Gouge out his eyes!" Raikō yelled. Tsuna and Kintoki rushed to blind the dōji with their swords, and the demon king's head stopped moving. When Raikō removed his helmet and checked the other helmets, he found that Shuten Dōji's fangs had penetrated them all.

THE END OF THE SECOND SCROLL

Now, there were many still living who were abducted to this evil realm. Far from home, they missed their families while fearfully awaiting their demise

in the oni's evil mouth. Trapped in a deep cave without knowing which direction was east or west, without seeing the sun or moon, the captives were comparable to flying birds without wings or fish in the water without scales. Thanks to the two generals, they now escaped from the demon king's evil lair. Their joy was more than that of a baby reunited with his mother or rice seedlings getting rain. They stumbled out with bittersweet feelings.

"If possible," the released Chinese captives asked, "please give us a blessing of neighboring friendship and allow us to return to our homeland. We wish to spread tidings of your wise emperor's majestic power and to spread word to foreign courts of the deeds these two brave generals have performed in these strange affairs." The two generals thought the request was reasonable, so they sent the Chinese to the Nine Provinces⁸⁸ and had them wait for a favorable wind at Hakata⁸⁹ of Tsukushi.⁹⁰ Thus, the Chinese were sent to the ferry landing on the Kanzaki River.⁹¹

Having calmed down from a state of rapture, that old woman who was washing the bloody clothes at the river was going to be on her way back home. But now that the demon king's supernatural power that had prolonged her life was gone, old age engulfed her and she laid down on the ground before leaving the mountain. The lines on her forehead were comparable to those on Ryoshō (Lu Shang), who went to the River I (Weishui River) to fish;⁹² her hair was as white as the hair on the temples of En Shito (Yuan Situ), who left Mt. Shō (Mt. Shang) feeling cold. "Even though I return to my old town, I go without honor and triumph. It's been more than 200 years; how can I see the grandchildren seven generations after?" [she mused.] Still, she missed her hometown. She collapsed looking in the direction of the capital. The life of a mayfly is ephemeral, not waiting for evening; leaves of banana plants are fragile. The troupe felt great pity for her and pressed their sleeves onto their face.⁹³

The four strangers who had joined the warriors' expedition and [. . .] return journey was without any difficulties. When they came to a certain place on Mt. Ōe, the four travelers said, "The whole event was unforgettable, and it is hard to part with you. But now it is time for us to leave. We wanted to help your grave imperial mission of subjugating the enemy, so we have accompanied you so far.

"Don't think the present emperor is an ordinary king. Since ancient times there have been many wise kings. This emperor is, though born as a king of a small country,⁹⁴ actually Miroku (Maitreya), who descended in this life and guides masses to enlightenment. His mortal appearance is an expedience to lead the masses on the path of enlightenment. Therefore, for the sake of all the officials and subjects, he prays and gives blessing on people,

including guests from afar. Have no doubt of Shakyamuni Buddha's⁹⁵ precepts, and rely on the officiating priest's teachings. As for Seimei, he is an incarnation of Ryūju bosatsu (Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva), a master of *Shingon* (True Word) esoteric Buddhism. Long ago, he was manifested as Priest Hakudō,⁹⁶ and now he appears as Professor Seimei. As he attended to the secret skills of yin-yang with extreme earnestness, he appeared twice before and has now appeared in the reign of the wise king.

"Raikō, don't think lightly of yourself. Although there are four strong generals—Chirai, Raishin, Ikō, and Hōshō—Raikō is held in awe by people inside and outside the capital, high and low, more than the sum of these four generals. Raikō is a manifestation of Daiitoku (Yamantaka, the Wisdom King of Great Awe-Inspiring Power). Therefore, his subjugations of demons and bandits are superior to those of any human beings. People call Raikō's retainers *shitenno* (Four Guardian Kings)⁹⁷ for a good reason. Tsuna is Tamonten (Vaisravana, the Guardian of the North), Kintoki is Jikokuten (Dhrtarasta, the Guardian of the East), Sadamitsu is Zōchōten (Virudhaka, the Guardian of the South), and Suetake is Kōmokuken (Virupaksa, the Guardian of the West). They commiserate with the public and protect the court. Never doubt my words."

Hearing this, people—high and low—joined their hands in prayer. Indeed, people looked up to Emperor Ichijō as the authority, and Raikō was feared as a man with two lives.

Hōshō said, "The tryst of a previous life is easy to understand, and it is hard to forget, describe, or express the matters of this time. It would be such an honor if you would give me a memento for the memory of my later years and for my descendants to remember me by." The old man thought this quite reasonable, so he took off his white garment and gave it to Hōshō. Hōshō received it respectfully, and in return he offered his arrow. The mountain ascetic took off his reddish-brown robe and gave it to Hōshō, and he in turn offered his sword. The old monk said, "It is good to see the exchange of a keepsake. Lord Raikō, please come here. We shall exchange a memento." The old monk took out his crystal rosary and gave it to Raikō, who in return took off his helmet and offered it to the old monk. The young monk then gave his golden staff⁹⁸ to Raikō, who in return offered the young monk his sword.

"May I ask your names and where you live?" Raikō asked.

The old man replied, "I'm Kyūjin, Old Benevolent, and I live around Sumiyoshi," then he disappeared into thin air.

"I'm from Nachi of Mt. Kumano. My name is Unrō,⁹⁹ Clouds and Waterfall," the mountain ascetic said and likewise disappeared.

“I’m from the Hachiman area and came here because of Lord Raikō’s earnest prayers,” the old monk said.

The young priest followed, “I am a priest from the Enryakuji temples area,” and he and the monk disappeared as well.

Thinking this matter over, the warriors thought, “Miraculous deities whom we have relied upon and prayed to for a long time have protected us because of their vows to look after the state and to benefit the masses.” They were greatly appreciative and hopeful. Doesn’t a revelation of divine authority result from men worshipping deities? Doesn’t living to a ripe old age result from divine help? It is like an echo to a sound, the moon reflected on water. The divine response is the way of the world, but the event of this time was rare in ancient times and the future.

Thus, the original seven warriors accompanied by the demons’ captives continued their journey home, and when they arrived at Ikuno at the foot of Mt. Ōe they built temporary huts. The generals sent Tadamichi¹⁰⁰ to the capital as a messenger to ask for horses and people to receive the released captives. As Tadamichi hurried and relayed the message to the families and relatives of the captured women and children in the capital, they were overjoyed and excited. They all shed tears of joy and rushed to Mt. Ōe with palanquins and horses. Before long they met their loved ones; some their wives, others their husbands. Some thought it was a dream. But there were those who looked for their parents or children but could not find any; their grief was beyond description. But as there was nothing they could do, they were soon on their way home.

The two generals made a triumphant return without changing their outer garments: they had their armor over the reddish-brown robe; Raikō had his round cap deep on his forehead with no helmet. Numerous people gathered to see them at the roadside, barriers, and mountain paths. The news arrived that the generals would enter the capital with the head of the demon king that day. The generals’ subjects hurried to be at their side, making the generals’ troop larger. The number of spectators exceeded tens of millions. It was so crowded that people had to stand on tiptoe; the carriages couldn’t turn their shafts around.

“There are a number of people who were born to the military houses, trained in swordsmanship, and became famous for their valor; but it is a rare event to subjugate a demon king and oni, other than the achievement of Tamura Toshihito,”¹⁰¹ people said loudly to each other.

As the evil demon was not allowed to enter the imperial compound, the emperor, retired emperor, regent, and everyone else went out in carriages to see the spectacle. What with the demon king’s head and the generals’

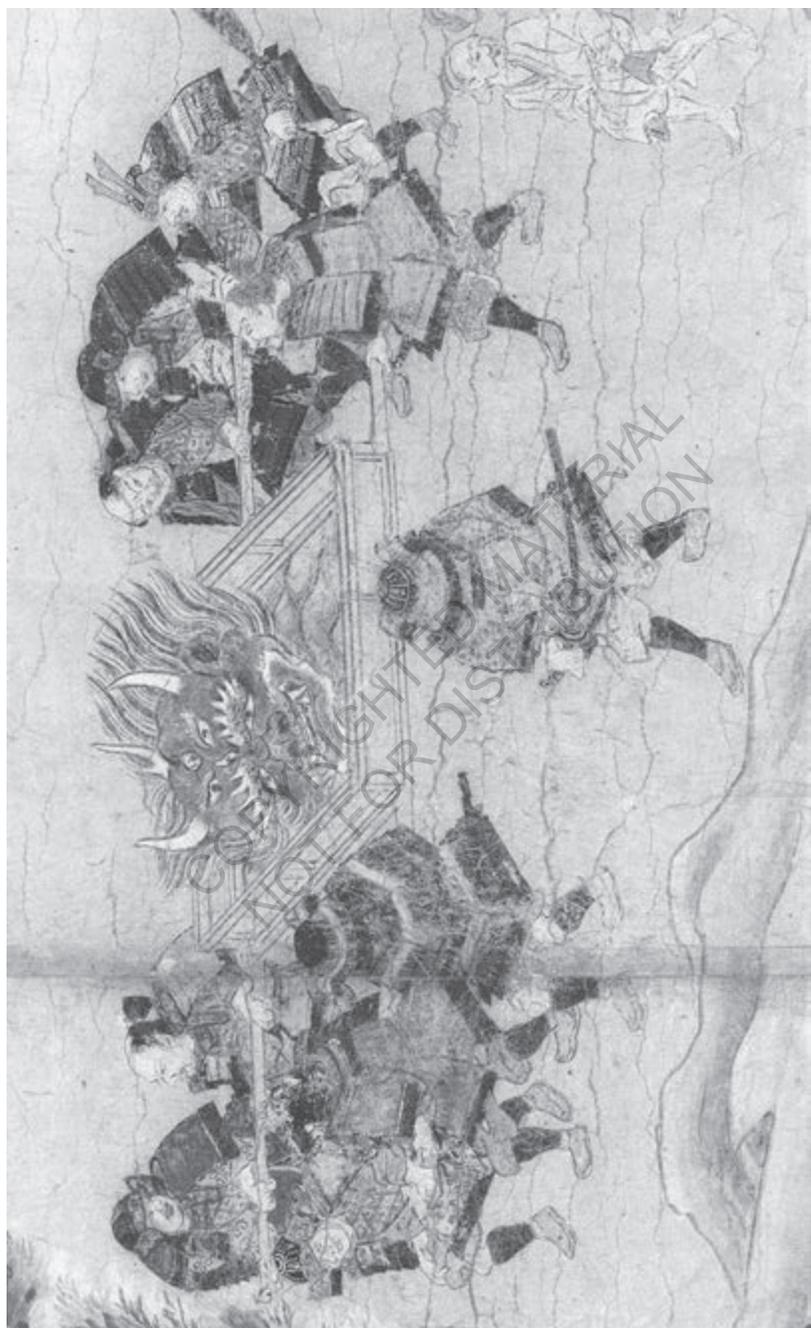


Figure 1.5. The warriors bring Shuten Dōji's head to the capital. Courtesy of the Hankyu Culture Foundation, Itsuō Art Museum.

awesome countenance, it was indeed a splendid sight. The generals made their report directly to the emperor, and it was decided by imperial decree that Shuten Dōji's head be placed in the Uji no hōzō (Treasure house of Uji).¹⁰² Michinaga, the priest of the Enshrinement Hall and chancellor, then made a palace visit and advised the emperor, "Although there were many victories over the imperial enemies from ancient times, this is an unprecedented achievement. Rewards should be immediately given to the generals." So Hōshō, the governor of Tango, was appointed commander-in-chief to conquer Western barbarians and was given the Province of Chikuzen.¹⁰³ Raikō, the governor of Settsu, was appointed commander-in-chief to conquer Eastern barbarians and was given Mutsu Province.¹⁰⁴

"As a rule, in a large country once one subjugates an imperial enemy, he is said to be awarded a half province and the prize lasts for seven generations. Our country is small to begin with, and governorship of one province is more than the prize of a half province. On top of it, the generals received an imperial proclamation to become the Eastern and Western commanders-in-chief. Those are tremendous rewards and prizes. But who is going to sustain them?" So people clamored at the court.

NOTES

1. For various theories about the origins of Shuten Dōji, see Reider, *Japanese Demon Lore* 46, 48–51.

2. For various Ibuki versions of texts, see *MJMT* 2: 357–426; *MJMT boi* 1: 245–68, 335–59.

3. Kūkai founded Kongōbu-ji in Mt. Kōya in present-day Wakayama prefecture.

4. The Shibukawa edition is almost identical to a *tanroku-bon* (a picture booklet illustrated in green and orange), which was published during the Kan'ei era (1624–43). Matsumoto, "Otogi zōshi no honbun ni tsuite" 172. Regarding the text of the Shibukawa version, see *NKBT* 38: 361–84.

5. The writing in part of *Oeyama ekotoba* is printed in *MJMT* 3: 122–40; both illustrations and writing are reproduced in Komatsu Shigemi, Ueno, Sakakibara, and Shimitani, *Tsuchigumo zōshi*, *Tengu zōshi*, and *Oeyama ekotoba* 75–103, 158–60, 171–78.

6. Sakakibara, "Oeyama ekotoba shōkai" 149–52. Also see *MJMT* 3: 122–40.

7. The remaining part of the language in *Oeyama ekotoba* matches that of *Yōmei bunko-bon*. The *Yōmei bunko-bon* does not contain any illustrations. It is a written text only. Satake Akihiro considers that *Yōmei bunko-bon* was written by Konoe Sakihisa (1536–1612), chancellor, at the end of the Muromachi period and that it shows people were reading the *Oeyama ekotoba* version of the story. Satake, *Shuten Dōji ibun* 142.

8. *Setsuma*, a Japanese literary genre, broadly consists of myths, legends, folktales, and anecdotes. In the narrow sense of the term, they are "short Japanese tales that depict extraordinary events, illustrate basic Buddhist principles or, less frequently, other Asian religious and philosophical teachings, and transmit cultural and historical knowledge. These narratives were compiled from roughly the ninth through mid-fourteenth centuries in collections such

as *Konjaku monogatari-shū* (*Tales of Times Now Past*, ca. 1120)” (Li, *Ambiguous Bodies* 1). When Haga Yaichi used the term *setsuna* in modern times in the introduction to his *Kōshō Konjaku monogatari-shū* (1913), he used it “in a general sense, to traditional stories passed down from one generation to another through many generations. This transmission can be oral or written” (Haga, *Kōshō Konjaku monogatari-shū* I, quoted in Li, *Ambiguous Bodies* 19). However, *setsuna* are now often considered to have an oral origin. *Setsuna* are secondhand stories. They are presented as true, or at least as *possibly* true, and are short. Also see Eubanks 8–11, especially for an explanation about Buddhist *setsuna* literature.

9. The family’s strategy was to marry their daughters to emperors and have the daughters bear the next emperors. As a maternal grandfather, the Fujiwara exerted influence on the Japanese imperial court and politics.

10. Motoki also writes that Mitsunaka was nothing but a miniscule existence, as a cat’s paw of those in power at the time of establishing the Fujiwara Regency government. Motoki i–ii.

11. Some information was added by Tōin family members after Kinsada’s death.

12. *GoShūi wakashū*, the fourth imperial anthology of Japanese poems, includes the second-largest number of her poems. Izumi Shikibu, Hōshō’s wife, has the largest number. See note 18, this chapter.

13. It is number 6 of volume 25. *SNKBZ* 37: 418–21; Sato, *Legends of the Samurai* 80–81.

14. According to *Sonpi bunmyaku*, Yorinobu’s mother is Fujiwara no Hōshō’s younger sister. Tōin 2: 423.

15. For the study of Yorimasa and the nue, see Oyler 1–32.

16. In “The Circular Letter” chapter of the *Heike monogatari* (*Tale of the Heike*), Raikō is mentioned as an excellent military man and Minamoto no Yoshinaka’s ancestor; “Whether on horseback or on foot, [Yoshinaka] surely equals in every way Tamuramaro in days of old or Toshihito, Koremochi, Tomoyori, Yasumasa, or those forebears of his own, Yorimitsu or Lord Yoshiie” (Tyler, *Tale of the Heike* 322; *SNKBZ* 45: 442). Actually, Yoshinaka’s forebears should be “Yorinobu or Lord Yoshiie” instead of “Yorimitsu or Lord Yoshiie.” At the time of compilation of the *Tale of the Heike*, which is almost the same time as that of *Oeyama ekotoba*, a move to exalt Raikō seems to have already been established. It is also of interest that Yasumasa or Hōshō is mentioned together with Raikō, as in the picture scrolls of *Oeyama ekotoba*.

17. The fact that Hōshō is not as important as Raikō is known from the following: (1) When the priest reveals Raikō’s *bonji*, he says, “Although there are four strong generals, Chirai, Raishin, Ikō, and Hōshō, Raikō is awed by people inside and outside the capital, high and low, more than the sum of these four generals” (Yokoyama and Matsumoto 3: 137). Hōshō’s *bonji* is not narrated. (2) The shape-shifters disguised as ladies did not pay attention to Hōshō’s words, but they feared Raikō’s glare and ran off. (3) The shape-shifters performing *dengaku* ran away because of Raikō’s eyes and reputation. (4) Shuten Dōji’s head targeted Raikō. Raikō ordered that Dōji’s eyes be taken out to put an end to him. (Hōshō was not the Dōji’s target.)

18. *GoShūi wakashū* includes the largest number of her poems, followed by Lady Sagami, whose mother married Raikō. See note 12, this chapter.

19. Part of Takita Yōji’s film *Onmyōji* treats the power struggle between Motokata/Sukehime and Morosuke/Anshi.

20. It is number 7 of volume 25, titled “Fujiwara no Yasumasa no ason nusubito no Hakamadare ni au koto” (Fujiwara no Yasumasa and Hakamadare: Presence of Mind). *SNKBZ* 37: 421–24; for an English translation, Sato, *Legends of the Samurai* 30–33.

21. They are the revolts led by Taira no Masakado (d. 940) and Fujiwara no Sumitomo (d. 941), which occurred separately in different locations but almost at the same time. Taira no Masakado, who had his base in eastern Japan, rebelled against the court in 939, calling himself the new emperor and controlling the major Kanto Provinces. He was killed by the imperial forces led by Taira no Sadamori and Fujiwara no Hidesato. Almost at the same time, in western Japan, Fujiwara no Sumitomo virtually controlled the Inland Sea. After Masakado was killed, the court could focus on suppressing Sumitomo's rebellion, and Sumitomo was finally suppressed in 941.

22. They are the Sword (*Kusanagi no tsurugi* or *Amenomurakumo no tsurugi*), Jewel (*Yasakani no magatama*), and Mirror (*Yata no kagami*).

23. A civil war and a conflict between the Minamoto clan (Genji) and the Taira clan (Heike) that lasted from 1180 to 1185. It ended with the fall of the Taira clan and the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate by Minamoto no Yoritomo in 1192.

24. The stories were written down by Fujiwara no Sanekane (1085–1112), who heard them from Ōe no Masafusa (1041–1111).

25. Michinaga comments, “Yorichika excels at murdering people” (Fujiwara, *Midō kanpakuki zen chūshaku Kannin gannen* 58). Incidentally, Kiyohara no Munenobu's younger sister is a famous poet and writer, Sei Shōnagon (966–1025), who served Empress Teishi (977–1001), Michinaga's daughter's rival.

26. There is a lacuna in the original text. A surname is supposed to be there.

27. This translation is mine. For an English translation of the whole story, see Sato, *Legends of the Samurai* 66–67.

28. Tsuna is also written as a newcomer in “Shibugaki” (Sour Persimmon, Never Doubt the Words of the Wise), an instructional text for warriors in the Kamakura period (1185–1333). As a newcomer to Raikō's *shitenno*, Tsuna asks Kintoki how to become mentally strong (Hanawa, *Gunsho Ruijū* 27: 157). The date of “Shibugaki” is unknown but is assumed to be the beginning of the fourteenth century.

29. See Nishio and Kobayashi 409–13; for an English translation, see Sato, *Legends of the Samurai* 62–64.

30. See “Kiō,” *SNKBZ* 45: 291–300; Tyler, *Tale of the Heike* 211–17, 233–37, especially 235; “The Death of the Prince,” *SNKBZ* 45: 322–28, especially 325–26.

31. This order seems to have been established by the time of *Kokon chomonjū* (A Collection of Ancient and Modern Tales That I've Heard, 1254). In the Kidōmaru episode of *Kokon chomonjū*, Kintoki is listed immediately after Tsuna, followed by Sadamichi and then Suetake. Raikō sent Kintoki off to his brother's house with a message asking whether he could stop by for *saké*.

32. A copy of the Suntory version called *Iwase-bon* (Iwase edition) has the same line. See *MJMT* 2: 392. This Kintoki dance scene is replaced by Tsuna in the Shibukawa version of the Edo period.

33. According to Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957–1046), Kintoki is *ukon'e* (Imperial Guard of the Right). In *Nichūreki* (Combination of Two History Books, early thirteenth century) Kintoki is also written as *Konoe Toneri* (*Nichūreki* 3: 113).

34. See, for example, the footnotes in *SNKBZ* 38: 152 and *NKBT* 26: 55. Modern Japanese translations of this episode spell out his name in their main texts as Sakata no Kintoki.

35. The play was first performed for *jōruri* in 1712. The first recorded Kabuki performance was in 1714. For the text of *Komochi Yamauba*, see Chikamatsu, *Chikamatsu jōruri shū* 177–226.

36. It is number 10 of volume 25, *SNKBZ* 37: 430–33.

37. *SNKBZ* 37: 395–98; Sato, *Legends of the Samurai* 19–21 for an English translation.
38. It is number 19 of volume 29, *SNKBZ* 38: 348–50; Sato, *Legends of the Samurai* 34–36.
39. It is well-known that Emperor Shōmu (701–56) copied the Golden Light Sutra himself and distributed it to the provinces. In 741 he called for the establishment of provincial temples called *konkōmyō-shitennō-gokoku no tera* (temples for the protection of the country by the four guardian deities of the golden light) throughout the country.
40. See the introduction for a brief explanation of *otogizōshi*.
41. There is a lacuna in the original text.
42. *sandai nikan*. The three dynasties are Xia Dynasty (2100–1600 BEC), Shang Dynasty (1600–1046 BCE), and Zhou Dynasty (1045–256 BCE). The two Hans are Western Han (206 BCE–9 CE) and Eastern Han (25–220 CE).
43. The first emperor of Japan who is, according to *Nihon shoki* (or *Nihongi*, Chronicles of Japan, 720 CE) and *Kojiki* (Ancient Matters, 712), purported to have been enthroned at Kashiwanomiya in Nara prefecture in 660 BCE.
44. *sanpō*. They are Buddha, sutras, and priesthood.
45. *jūzen* or ten good acts. It was believed that one became an emperor as a result of performing ten good acts in his previous lives. Ten good acts are not to (1) kill, (2) steal, (3) commit adultery, (4) lie, (5) use immoral language, (6) slander, (7) equivocate, (8) covet, (9) give way to anger, and (10) hold false views.
46. Fujiwara no Tadanobu (967–1035), courtier and an able official. As Fujiwara no Michinaga’s right-hand man, he supported Emperor Ichijō. One of so-called Four Councilors of the Ichijō court.
47. Fujiwara no Kintō (966–1041), courtier, an able official, and one of the so-called Four Councilors of the Ichijō court.
48. Fujiwara no Yukinari (972–1028), courtier, an able official, and one of the so-called Four Councilors of the Ichijō court. He is known for his great calligraphy.
49. Minamoto no Toshikata (959–1027), courtier and one of the so-called Four Councilors of the Ichijō court.
50. Shun and Yao are legendary virtuous emperors of ancient China whose reigns were regarded as ideal.
51. Emperor Ichijō reigned during the Shōryaku era.
52. *tenma*. They are demons (the evil king and his relatives) of the sixth heaven in the realm of desire that try to prevent people from acquiring wisdom and doing good deeds.
53. *suikyō*. The *Shu Ching*, or *Book of History* states that in the era of Busei, or Wu Cheng, “the sleeves hang low and one folds his arms, the world is well governed in peace.”
54. Abe no Seimei (921?–1005), a famed practitioner of Japanese Onmyōdō (the Way of yin-yang) during the mid-Heian period.
55. Taira no Muneyori (?–1011), a warrior of the mid-Heian period.
56. Minamoto no Yorinobu (968–1048), a warrior of the mid-Heian period. He was Minamoto no Mitsunaka’s third son and Raikō’s half-sibling (younger brother with a different mother).
57. Taira no Korehira (?–?), a warrior of the mid-Heian period.
58. Fujiwara no Yasumasa (957–1036).
59. This may be Fujiwara no Sanenari (975–1045), the eldest son of Fujiwara no Kinsue (956–1029), who started a Kan’in line of the northern branch of the Fujiwara family.
60. Present-day northwest Osaka through southeastern Hyōgo prefecture.
61. Present-day northern Kyoto. There seems to be a discrepancy here because Hōshō was summoned earlier and had declined the offer.

62. Hachiman sanjo, which is Iwashimizu Hachimangū. Located in present-day Kyoto, it enshrines the god of battle and the guardian deity for the Minamoto clan.

63. It enshrines a Shinto deity, Ōmononushi or Ōkuninushi. The shrine is a branch of Shinto formed within the Tendai school of Buddhism.

64. Kumano sansho. Located in present-day Wakayama prefecture, it is one of the strongholds of mountain asceticism (*shugendō*).

65. Sumiyoshi Myōjin, the god of navigation as well as the god of battle.

66. This is Kiyohara no Munenobu (?–1017).

67. The *hitatare* is a formal upper-body garment.

68. Or Ikuta. Located in present-day Kobe, Hyōgo prefecture.

69. A deity who is said to live on Mt. Taishan in China. In Taoism, he is in charge of life and death.

70. *shikigami* or *shikijin*. An agent—form of magic—that a practitioner of Onmyōdō, or yin-yang master, uses.

71. *gobō doji*. A deity to protect Dharma. He has the appearance of a child.

72. The text has “Jikaku daishi” (i.e., Ennin [794–864]), but Yokoyama corrects it as “Jie daishi” (i.e., Ryōgen [912–85]). I am following Yokoyama’s correction. Jikaku daishi, or Ennin, is the third Hiei abbot, and the date does not match the story’s setting. Jie daishi, or Ryōgen, is the eighteenth Hiei abbot. Mt. Hiei refers to the Tendai institution at Mount Hiei.

73. The Fujiwara Regency reached its peak with Fujiwara no Michinaga. He took religious vows in 1019 and was the father-in-law of three emperors.

74. Mahā-ka-śyapa. One of the ten disciples of Gautama Buddha, famous for ascetic practices.

75. Fan K’uai (d. 189 BCE), a paragon of strength and courage. He was a retainer of General Liu Pan, the first emperor of the Han Dynasty in China.

76. Dengyō Daishi (d. 822), founder of the Tendai sect of Buddhism. He founded Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei in present-day Kyoto.

77. This poem is included in book 20 of *Shin kokin wakashū* (New Collection of Poems Ancient and New), the eighth imperial anthology (ca. 1205). The translation is by Honda, *Shin Kokinshū* 529. For the Japanese text, see Minemura 557.

78. Ten heavenly maidens who protect the Lotus Sutra.

79. They represent twelve vows of the Medicine Buddha.

80. Bhaiṣajyaguru Thathāgata.

81. *Ācala Vidyārāja*. Fudō myōō is a manifestation of Mahāvairocana, the fundamental, universal Buddha of esoteric Buddhism, and he has a fearsome countenance as he destroys humans’ delusions and material desires in exchange for the salvation of mankind. Fudō or Ācala, that is, immovability, refers to his ability to remain unmoved by carnal temptations.

82. An esoteric Buddhist ceremony that focuses on the Healing Buddha and his six manifestations. It was performed to pray for health, longevity, and safe delivery of a child.

83. One of the Hie shrines at Mt. Hiei.

84. *Goshū*. “Go” is an old name of *kisasage* or *Catalpa ovata*, and *shū* is *aogiri* or *firiana simplex*. In the “Falling Leaves” section of volume 1 of *Wakan roeishū* (Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing, ca. 1018), compiled by Fujiwara no Kintō (966–1041), there is a poem by Minamoto no Shitagō (911–83): “In the shadows of paulownia and catalpa / a sound of rain swishing emptily / Above the back of the oriole / several bits of red still hanging on” (Rimer and Chaves 100; Sugano 168).

85. “Pining for (*matsu*) a storm” does not make sense here, but it sounds poetic with the previous word, pine trees, *matsu*.

86. The source of this simile appears in “Chu guo” of *Gao tang fu*, composed by Song Yu, a poet of the Warring period (403–221 BCE) in China.

87. Kirinmugoku and Jakengokudai are perhaps his oni’s names.

88. Present-day Kyūshū.

89. Present-day Fukuoka city.

90. Present-day western and southern part of Fukuoka prefecture.

91. The river runs through present-day Osaka.

92. Lu Shang, known as Taigong Wang, is the adviser to King Wen (1152–1056 BCE) of the Zhou state. When Lu Shang was fishing at the Wei-shui River, waiting for someone to come and hire him to overthrow the king of Shang, the future king of the Zhou state came and asked Lu Shang to be his adviser. Lu Shang was eighty years old at that time.

93. To wipe tears.

94. This refers to Japan, compared to India and China.

95. Gotama Buddha (ca. 566–485 BCE), the founder of Buddhism. He was born to a noble family of the ruling class in Lumbini, present-day Nepal. He abandoned material life in pursuit of spiritual tranquility. When he was awakened to the truth about life, he became the Buddha, the enlightened one, and shared his teaching with others.

96. According to the preface of *Sangoku sōden onmyō kankatsu bokinaiden kin’u gyokuto-shū* (Transmitted through Three Countries, Collections of the Sun and Moon Yin-Yang Treatise Held in the Ritual Containers, ca. early fourteenth century), Hakudō became a disciple of Monju bosatsu (Manjusri). When he became enlightened he received a secret transmission called *Monju sesshū butsurekikyō* (Sutra of Buddha Calendar Assembled by Manjusri) from Manjusri. He brought the sutra to China and named the *Hokinaiden kin’u gyokuto shū* (Collections of the Sun and Moon Yin-Yang Treatise Held in the Ritual Containers), which became the sacred scripture for Japanese practitioners of yin and yang. Abe no Seimei is said to have received the scripture from Hakudō. The date, early fourteenth century, is given by Murayama, *Nihon onmyōdō* 323–24. For the text of *Hokinaiden*, see Nakamura, *Nihon onmyōdō-sho no kenkyū* 237–329.

97. The Four Guardian Kings are pre-Buddhist deities that were incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon to protect Buddhist teachings. Each of them rules one of the cardinal points and a race of earthly devas.

98. *Shakujō*, one of the eighteen possessions of a monk.

99. Nachi is famous for its waterfall, which emits mist like clouds.

100. This must be an official who lived in the Ikuno area.

101. Tamura is Sakanoue Tamuramaro (758–811), a famous general of the early Heian period who, having received an imperial command, conquered the native people of northern Japan. Toshihito is Fujiwara no Toshihito (?–?), a general of the middle Heian period who subjugated a number of thieves and bandits. Several legends hold that the military general Tamura Toshihito (Tamuraamaro and Toshihito combined into one person) conquered oni.

102. Uji no hōzō was the treasure house built by Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992–1074), the eldest son of the regent Michinaga. Uji no Byōdōin buildings, which Uji no hōzō was part of, were built in 1052, thirty-two years after the death of Raikō.

103. Present-day northwestern Fukuoka prefecture.

104. Present-day Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, and Aomori prefectures.