

**Chigo Icons: Representations of Sacred and Sexualized Male Youths in Medieval Japanese  
Buddhism**

by

Robert J. Morrissey

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
(History of Art)  
in the University of Michigan  
2023

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Kevin G. Carr, Chair  
Associate Professor Reginald Jackson  
Assistant Professor Lihong Liu  
Professor Hitomi Tonomura

Robert J. Morrissey

rjmorr@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0002-5378-8984

© Robert J. Morrissey 2023

## Acknowledgments

I would like to express my immense gratitude to the numerous people who have helped shape this project and contributed to my development as a scholar. Like all projects of this size, this dissertation was formed through countless conversations, emails, and meetings along with the seemingly infinite exchanging of drafts for line-edits and comments.

It is impossible to adequately thank my advisor Kevin Carr in so few words. Kevin generously began to share his thoughts and insights on my work shortly after we met during my master's program, before I even applied to work with him at the University of Michigan. Over the greater part of a decade, Kevin has directed me through this dissertation, trained me as an instructor and in course design, and most importantly, has been an approachable, patient, and supportive mentor combining humor with incisive comments and feedback on my ideas. Furthermore, my gratitude for his endless support through writing recommendations, replying to frantic last-minute emails, and managing other behind-the-scenes work that will remain invisible to me knows no bounds.

My committee members have additionally provided much support and feedback. Hitomi Tonomura has been wonderfully enthusiastic with her advice and comments from the inception of this project to its end. Throughout this dissertation she has helped immensely with both broad concepts as well as minute details through line edits. Crucially, she helped formulate aspects of my approach to this topic and shared her invaluable insights into medieval Japanese networks of gendered and sexual behavior. Reginald Jackson has consistently been an inspiration in how to

approach medieval Japanese materials from a twenty-first century perspective and demonstrating the immense value of works from geographically and temporally distant place in contemporary American academic thought. From my time during coursework and on, he has emphasized the importance of conceptual and theoretical frameworks that often do not appear in frequently nuts-and-bolts approach to scholarship on medieval Japanese art history. He has fundamentally changed my conceptualization of pre-modern Japanese objects and writings in ways that far exceed what appears in this dissertation, and consistently ripple out into my museum work. I also cannot begin to thank Lihong Liu enough for joining my committee in the last stages of my dissertation writing, particularly as her agreeing to do so coincided with the hectic period of transition back to in-person teaching, changing COVID-19 regulations and the like. Her generosity with her time during this stressful period is endlessly appreciated, along with her feedback which helped me situate this project within the broader field of East Asian art history. Finally, I would like to thank Betsy Sears and Jennifer Robertson for their contributions to the earliest stages of this project. Both Betsy and Jennifer provided significant advice when formulating this dissertation and were vital figures in shaping its scope and topic.

I would be remiss in not thanking important figures in my academic development that I met during my master's program at the University of Kansas. First, I would not be here if not for Sherry Fowler, my former advisor who sparked my interest in Buddhist icons through her own enthusiasm and intense work on the subject. Additionally, my various classes with Maki Kaneko introduced me to numerous concepts in art history, crucially including the theoretical study of men and masculinities in modern and contemporary Japanese art. Lastly, Maggie Childs not only introduced me to pre-modern Japanese literature, but also *chigo* and the importance of questioning translations of key terms and ideas from Classical Japanese to English. Without

these three scholars, I would never have developed, researched, or written this project, and thus owe them a debt of eternal gratitude.

My years working at the University of Michigan Museum of Art were similarly crucial in my professional development, as my time there has allowed me to experience the possibility of art museums transforming their roles from the conservative arbiters of elite culture to institutions actively engaged with local communities capable of amplifying voices of those often excluded by the art world. Natsu Oyobe has been a trusted supervisor and mentor for many years, and significantly contributed to my scholarly and professional education through introducing me to many of the core skills of a museum curator. She has consistently supported and encouraged my work at UMMA, guiding me through curating small shows in the Japanese gallery and introducing me to art collectors, art dealers, and other professionals in East Asian art. Similarly, my work with Dave Choberka has left an indelible mark on my approach to understanding the role of the visual arts in education, as he has effortlessly demonstrated the flexible relevance of all art to a wide range of disciplines from the expected humanities classes to those in various STEM fields. His enthusiasm and optimism has been a welcome addition to my time in Michigan, balancing the stresses and difficulties that come along with PhD work with a true joy for teaching.

It would have been impossible for me to finish this dissertation without my network of friends and family. Sean Kramer has been consistent source of support and help through countless late-night discussions on gender and sexuality theory, art historical methodology, museum work, and career advice which continue to this day. Maja Babić and Seda Kayim have provided an endless wealth of knowledge and kindness during coursework as well as over brunches and dinners. My scholarship and quality of life would be significantly worse without

these three friends who have been with me since the very start of this PhD program. Brenna Larson has likewise made coursework and the drudgery of writing in the cold, dark winter months a true joy. In addition, Isabelle Gillet has extended her warmth and generosity countless times and acted as a steadfast voice of reason during the most tumultuous moments of my time in Michigan. Roz Biederman's neighborly hospitality, generosity and witty humor has provided needed distractions over the last seven years. Lastly, and certainly not least, Susan Dine's friendship and help navigating this program began when I first visited the University of Michigan as an applicant, and she has always helped me navigate the endless logistical and bureaucratic hurdles of life as a graduate student. Of course, I would like to thank my family and friends outside of Michigan as well. In particular, I would like to thank my sister Liz Morrissey for reading endless drafts of this dissertation, her husband Riki Yamashita, my parents Clayton and Andrea, and grandparents Bob and Irmgard. Finally, I thank Sara and Tom for seeing me through this entire academic process from our undergraduate years until now.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	ii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Abbreviations.....	xvi
Abstract.....	xvii
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Defining Chigo.....	5
1.2 Overview of Publications on Male-Male Sexual Practices in Japan.....	7
1.3 Notes on Terminology.....	19
1.4 Chapter Overviews.....	27
1.5 Conclusion.....	30
Chapter 2 Secular and Ritual Male-Male Sexual Practices in Medieval Japan.....	32
2.1 Sources of Male-Male Sexual Practices Before 1600.....	34
2.2 Commentaries on Sex in Medieval Japanese Buddhism: Transgression or Expedient Means?.....	39
2.3 Toba Sōjō and Illustrations of Male-Male Sexual Practices before the Edo Period.....	51
2.4 Kūkai and Monk-Chigo Sexual Practices from the Late Medieval Period.....	70
2.5 Sex or Ritual Technology?.....	74
2.6 Reframing <i>Chigo Kanjō</i> Consecration Rites.....	83
2.7 Conclusion.....	95
Chapter 3 Chigo Monju Icons and Political Interests during the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi Periods.....	97
3.1 Establishing a Chigo Monju Iconography.....	101

3.2 Iconographic Sources for Chigo Monju Icons: Mañjuśrī of Mount Wutai and the Wakamiya of Kasuga .....	106
3.3 Political Re-Imaginings of Monju .....	122
3.4 Political Rivalries and the Kasuga/Kōfuku-ji Complex during the Nanbokuchō Period..	130
3.5 Filial Chigo and Controllable Youths: Suzuriwari, Genmu Monogatari and Kuzu .....	133
3.6 Conclusion.....	145
Chapter 4 Chigo Daishi Icons: Esoteric Iconographies and Emblematic Biographies.....	147
4.1 Recontextualization of Chigo Daishi Icons as Portraiture .....	151
4.2 Chigo Daishi Inscriptions and Esoteric Iconography .....	160
4.3 Textiles in Chigo Daishi Icons .....	167
4.4 Production and Circulation of Textiles .....	175
4.5 Establishing a New Chigo Daishi Chronology.....	179
4.6 Death, Pollution and Textiles .....	190
4.7 Garments, Memorials and Kukai’s Eternal Meditation.....	195
4.8 Conclusion.....	203
Chapter 5 Sex and the Living Image: Chigo Manifestations of Kannon in Medieval Handscrolls .....	205
5.1 <i>Hibutsu</i> and Handscrolls: Narrating Tales of Sacred Hidden Images.....	208
5.2 Sight, Sex and Salvation: The Politics of Vision in Courtship and Buddhism .....	211
5.3 Responses to Paintings of Sculptures .....	214
5.4 <i>Kokawa-dera engi e</i> : Early Depictions of Kannon as a Youth .....	219
5.5 Sculptural Kannon Icons at Kokawa-dera.....	225
5.6 Kokawa-dera, Sex and Childbirth .....	227
5.7 <i>Chigo Kannon engi</i> : Children, Disciples and the Hase-dera Kannon .....	231
5.8 Early Modern and Modern Records of Chigo Kannon Engi.....	234
5.9 Chigo Kannon Engi and the Reconstruction of Bodai-in.....	239



5.10 Chigo Kannon Engi emaki, <i>Hase-dera reigneki</i> and Death Rites.....	243
5.11 <i>Aki no yo naga monogatari</i> : Inventing an Iconography for the Ishiyama-dera Kannon as a Chigo .....	257
5.12The Surviving <i>Aki no yo naga monogatari</i> Handscrolls .....	267
5.13 Dream Visions: Umewaka as The Nyoirin Kannon at Ishiyama-dera .....	271
5.14 Conclusion.....	279
Chapter 6 Conclusion.....	282
Figures.....	289
Bibliography .....	407

## List of Figures

Figure 2.1 <i>Barbara Kruger, Untitled (You Construct Intricate Rituals), 1989, photograph, gelatin silver print, 101.6 × 127.2 cm Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, .....</i>	289
Figure 2.2 a-d: Kachi-e emaki, Heian through Muromachi periods, ink and light color on paper, 13.0 x 1200.2 cm, Mitsui Memorial Museum, Tokyo. ....	290
Figure 2.3 <i>Nenjū gyōji emaki</i> , ink and light color on paper, .....	291
Figure 2.4 <i>Roku-do e</i> , thirteenth century, ink and color on silk, Shojuraigo-ji, Ōtsu, Shiga Prefecture, Japan. ....	292
Figure 2.5 <i>Roku-do e</i> , thirteenth century, ink and color on silk, Shojuraigo-ji, Ōtsu, Shiga Prefecture, Japan. ....	293
Figure 2.6 a-o <i>Chigo sōshi</i> , nineteenth century, ink and light color on paper, 33.3 x 1418 cm, London, The British Museum. ....	298
Figure 2.7 a-c: <i>Chigo no sōshi</i> , dated 1321, colors on paper, Sanbō-in Temple, Daigō-jo, Kyoto, Japan. ....	299
Figure 2.8 Takashina Takakane, <i>Kasuga gongen genki e</i> (detail: section three of volume one), 1309, ink and color on silk, The Museum of the Imperial Collections, Tokyo, Japan. ....	300
Figure 2.9 <i>Scenes of Paradise and Hell</i> (detail), fourteenth century, pair of two folding-panel screens, Konkai-Kōmyō-ji, Kyoto, Japan, Important Cultural Property. ....	301
Figure 2.10 Hasegawa Tōsen, <i>Hanazono shunga emaki</i> , Azuchi-Momoyama period to Edo period, Michael Fornitz Collection. ....	302
Figure 2.11 Torii Kiyonobu, <i>Courtesan with a Young Man Watched by a Young Attendant</i> , from a group of seven prints, 1704-1711, woodblock print on paper, 22.50x33.50 cm, London, The British Museum. ....	303
Figure 3.1 <i>Gokei Monju, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, with his Hair Arranged in Five Knots</i> , latter half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century, ink, color and gold on silk, 83.7x41.3 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. ....	304

Figure 3.2 <i>Chigo Monju</i> (listed as <i>Mandala of the Wakamiya of Kasuga</i> ), early fourteenth century, ink, color and gold on silk, 75.6 x 38.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.....	305
Figure 3.3 <i>Hachiman Wakamiya</i> (listed as <i>The Deity of Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine</i> ), fourteenth century, ink, color and gold on silk, 85.7 x 40 com, National Museum of Asian Art, Washington D.C.....	306
Figure 3.4 <i>Hachiman Wakamiya</i> , thirteenth or fourteenth century, ink and color on silk, 85.3 x 39.6 cm, Private collection.....	307
Figure 3.5 Kōen, <i>Seated Monju Bosatsu and Attendants</i> , 1273, wood, color, gold and crystal, 193.7 cm, Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo, Important Cultural Property. ....	308
Figure 3.6 <i>Frontispiece of Kongō hannya haramitsu kyō</i> , 1273, color on silk, 22.0 x 629.0 cm, Daitokyu Memorial Library, Gotoh Museum, Tokyo, Japan. ....	309
Figure 3.7 <i>Kasuga Shrine Mandala with the Bodhisattva Monju (Mañjuśrī)</i> , fourteenth century, ink and colors on silk, 98.3 x 34.6 cm, Nara National Museum, Nara. ....	310
Figure 3.8 <i>The Legend of Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine at Nara</i> , fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, ink and color on paper, 95.4 x 34.2 cm, Sansō Collection, Peter F. and Doris Drucker, California. ....	311
Figure 3.9 <i>Chigo Monju</i> (listed as <i>Shotoku Riding a Lion</i> ), sixteenth century, ink and color on paper, 138.43 x 52.07 cm, Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis. ....	312
Figure 3.10 <i>Sannō miya mandara</i> , 1447, ink and color on silk, 120.7 x 68.1, Nara National Museum, Nara. ....	313
Figure 3.11 <i>Chigo Monju</i> (listed as <i>Manjushri Riding a Lion</i> ), ink and color on silk, 58.2 x 32.8, National Museum of Asian Art, Washington D.C. ....	314
Figure 3.12 <i>Chigo Monju</i> , fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, color, gold on silk, Century Akao Collection, Keio University, Tokyo, Japan.....	315
Figure 3.13 <i>Chigo Monju</i> , fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, ink and color on silk, 68.2 x 38.5, Private collection. ....	316
Figure 3.14 <i>Chigo Monju</i> , fifteenth century, ink and color on silk, 109.4 x 61.0 cm, Nezu Museum of Art, Tokyo. ....	317
Figure 3.15 <i>Chigo Monju</i> , fourteenth century, color on silk, 61.7 x 34.4 cm, Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo. ....	318
Figure 3.16 <i>Chigo Monju</i> , fourteenth or fifteenth century, color on silk, 62.4 x 35.7, cm, Hara Sankei Collection, Yokohama, Japan. ....	319

Figure 3.17 <i>Chigo Monju</i> (listed as <i>Monju as a Child Riding on a Lion</i> ), fifteenth century, ink and color on silk, 61.7 x 38.7 cm, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. ....	320
Figure 3.18 <i>Monju Pentad</i> , 1302, wood with color and gold, Saidai-ji, Nara. ....	321
Figure 3.19 Monkanbō Kōshin <i>Daily Drawings of Monju (Nikka Monju)</i> , thirteenth century, ink on paper, 12.9 x 39.6 cm, National Museum of Asian Art, Washington DC. ....	322
Figure 3.20 Kōshun Kōkei <i>Monju</i> from <i>Monju Pentad</i> , 1324, wood with color, 45.0 Hannya-ji, Nara. ....	323
Figure 3.21 Monkan, <i>Gokei Monju</i> , 1334, color and gold on silk, 90.8 x 41.6, Nara National Museum, Nara. ....	324
Figure 3. 22 <i>Kasuga miya mandara</i> , fourteenth century, ink and color on silk, 160.0 x 60.2 cm, Shizuoka, MOA Museum. ....	325
Figure 4.1 <i>The Bija-A, Representing Vairocana</i> , fourteenth through fifteenth centuries, color and gold on silk, 120.7 x 42.4 cm, National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian, Washington D.C. ....	326
Figure 4. 2 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , mid-thirteenth century, ink and color on silk, Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe, Japan. Important Cultural Property. ....	327
Figure 4.3 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , mid-thirteenth century, ink and color on silk, Daigo-ji, Kyoto, Japan. ....	328
Figure 4. 4 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , Edo period, ink and color on silk, 74.2 x 42.0, Miho Museum, Kōka, Japan. ....	329
Figure 4.5 Portrait of Minamoto no Yoritomo, twelfth century, colors on silk, Jingo-ji, Kyoto, Japan. ....	330
Figure 4.6 Shinkai, <i>Fudō Myōō</i> , 1282, ink on paper, Daigo-ji, Kyoto, Japan. ....	331
Figure 4. 7 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , Edo period, ink and color on silk, 86.7 × 48.9 cm, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. ....	332
Figure 4. 8 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , 1930s, ink and color on silk, Newark Museum, Newark New Jersey. ....	333
Figure 4.9 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , late-Kamakura period, ink and color on silk, 66.04 x 38.1 cm, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. ....	334
Figure 4.10 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , Muromachi period, ink and color on silk, 186 x 64.5 cm, National Museum of Asian Art, Washington D.C. ....	335

Figure 4.11 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , last half of the Muromachi period, ink and color on silk, formerly in the collection of Chōkai Seiji.....	336
Figure 4.12 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , Edo period, ink and color on silk, Shizuoka Municipal Serizawa Keisuke Museum, Shizuoka Japan. ....	337
Figure 4.13 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , first half of the Muromachi period, ink and color on silk, 98.2 x 44.0 cm, Hikone Castle Museum, Hikone, Japan. ....	338
Figure 4.14 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , first half of the Muromachi period, ink and color on silk, Shōjōshin-in, Kōya, Japan.....	339
Figure 4.15 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , late-Kamakura period, ink and color on silk, Kōrin-ji, Imabari, Ehime Prefecture, Japan. Important Cultural Property. ....	340
Figure 4.16 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , late-Kamakura period, ink and color on silk, Shōchi-in, Kōya, Japan. ....	341
Figure 4.17 <i>Chigo Daishi</i> , Edo period, ink and color on silk, Tokyo, Private Collection.....	342
Figure 4.18 <i>Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki</i> , late 13 <sup>th</sup> -early 14 <sup>th</sup> century, ink and color on paper, Honolulu Museum of Art. ....	343
Figure 4.19 <i>Kōbō Daishi den emaki</i> , 1319, ink and color on paper, Hakutsuru Fine Art Museum, Kobe.....	344
Figure 4.20 <i>Kōbō Daishi gyōjō ekotoba</i> , 1374-1389, ink and color on paper, Tō-ji, Kyoto. ....	345
Figure 4.21 <i>Textile Fragment with boys in floral scrolls</i> , Northern Song dynasty, eleventh through twelfth centuries, silk twill damask, 29.2 x 33, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York. ....	346
Figure 4.22 <i>Nine panel Kesa, Associated with Wuhan Shifan</i> , Southern Song Dynasty, thirteenth century, Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto, Japan; (Detail) <i>Lily, Five-Petal Flower and Jasmine Arabesques</i> , twill damask. ....	347
Figure 4.23 <i>Seven panel Kesa Associated with Huiguo transmitted to Kūkai</i> , Tang Dynasty, ninth century, Tō-ji, Kyoto, Japan; (Detail) <i>Peony arabesques</i> , silk twill damask. ....	348
Figure 4.24 <i>Brocade with Lotus Flowers</i> , thirteenth to mid fourteenth century, Mongol Period, tabby, brocaded; silk and gold thread 58.4 x 67 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio. ....	349
Figure 4.25 <i>Textile with Rabbits</i> , thirteenth through fourteenth century, silk and metallic thread, Chinese.....	350

Figure 4.26 <i>Kinran (Gold Brocaded Silk) With Deer Under the Moon</i> , Jin Dynasty, twelfth to thirteenth century, plain weave foundation with gold weft patterning, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto.....	351
Figure 4.27 <i>Gold Brocaded silk (Kinran) with Rabbits and Flowers</i> , Yuan dynasty, 13 <sup>th</sup> – 14 <sup>th</sup> centuries, plain weave foundation with gold weft patterning, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto. ...	352
Figure 4.28 <i>Nine Panel Kesa, Associated with Kūkoku Myō'o</i> , Ming Dynasty, 14 <sup>th</sup> century, Jisai'in, Kyoto; (detail) <i>Tomita Kinran</i> , twill with supplementary gold wefts. ....	353
Figure 4.29 <i>Nine Panel Kesa, Associated with Musō Soseki</i> , Yuan Dynasty, 14 <sup>th</sup> century, Tenryū-ji, Kyoto; (detail) : <i>Double Stemmed Peony Arabesques</i> , Yuan Dynasty, 14 <sup>th</sup> century, lampas, 2/1 Z twill with supplementary gold wefts in tabby binding, Tenryū-ji, Kyoto, Japan. ....	354
Figure 4.30 <i>Portrait of Musō Soseki</i> , fourteenth century, Rokuō-in, Kyoto, Japan. ....	355
Figure 4.31 <i>Uwagi</i> , Muromachi period, inscribed 1458, Atsuda Jingū, Nagoya. ....	356
Figure 4.32 <i>Fringed Tunic with Double Vined Peony Arabesque Pattern</i> , Nanbokuchō period, 1378, Tokyo National Museum. ....	357
Figure 4.33 <i>Kujō (nine horizontal cloths)</i> , robe with gold-leaf arabesque pattern on purple-red base, Yuan Dynasty, fourteenth century, ra (gauze-like thin silk) with gold leafed pattern, reverse side: plain silk, 231.5 x 89.8 (right), 92.0 (left), Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo. Important Cultural Property.....	358
Figure 4.34 <i>Portrait of Shun'oka Myōha</i> , c. 1383, ink, color gold on silk, 200.7 x 75.6, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.....	359
Figure 4.35 <i>Inkin (Gold Printed Fabric) With Peony Scrolls with Double-Line Stems</i> , Ming Dynasty, fifteenth through sixteenth centuries, plain weave silk with imprinted gold, 73.8x9.4 cm, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto.....	360
Figure 4.36 <i>Tsujigahana with Flower Designs</i> , Muromachi period, sixteenth century, plain weave silk, <i>shibori</i> dyeing, 40.0 x 18.0 cm, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto.....	360
Figure 4.37 <i>Screen with Two Kosode</i> , late 16 <sup>th</sup> early 17 <sup>th</sup> century, silk textiles mounted on paper with ink and colors.....	361
Figure 4.38 <i>Surihaku (Gold Foil Stencil Imprint) Flowers with Shibori Plums</i> , Momoyama period, sixteenth century, glossed weft plain weave silk ( <i>nerinuki</i> ), <i>shibori</i> dyeing, gold imprinting, red drawing, 26.2x29.3, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto.....	362
Figure 4.39 <i>Nishiki: Alternately Inverted and Staggered Rows of Dragon Medallions</i> , mid Edo period, satin ground with continuous supplementary flat gold threads and discontinues patterning wefts, The Bauer Collection, Geneva. ....	363
Figure 4.40 <i>Kochiki and hakama</i> , Edo period, Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.....	364

Figure 4.41 <i>Kochiki and hakama</i> , Edo period, Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.....	365
Figure 4.42 <i>Robe (Kosode) with Mandarin Orange Tree and Auspicious Characters</i> , second half of the Edo period, dyed and embroidered silk crepe with couched gold-wrapped threads, 127 x 165.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art. ....	366
Figure 4.43 <i>Nishiki: Kikkō Pattern of Repeated Hexagons Enclosing Large Floral Medallions on a Red Ground</i> , med-Edo period, silk, lampas 4/1 satin ground, continuous supplementary patterning wefts held by supplementary warps in ½ Z binding: flat gold thread, The Bauer Collection, Geneva.....	367
Figure 4.44 a-i, <i>Illustrations of the Nine Stages of Decay</i> , Muromachi period, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, Nakamura family collection.....	372
Figure 4.45 <i>Nude Jizō</i> , Kamakura period, 1228, Denkō-ji, Nara. ....	373
Figure 4.46 <i>Nude “Testicle” Jizō</i> , Kamakura period, 1238, Shinyakushi-ji, Kyoto. ....	374
Figure 4.47 a-b, <i>Nude Kūkai</i> , Kamakura period, Shōrenji, Kamakura. ....	375
Figure 4.48 <i>Nude Kūkai</i> , Kamakura period, Saikō’in, Nara. ....	376
Figure 4.49 Suzuki Bokushi, <i>Illustration of Kōchi Hōin</i> , Edo period, 1837. ....	377
Figure 5.1 <i>Descent of Amida Triad</i> , fourteenth century, hanging scroll, color on silk, 112.7 cm x 49.0 cm, Miho Museum. ....	378
Figure 5.2 a-c <i>The Buddha Illuminates the Universe: Frontispiece Illustration to a Handscroll of the Lotus Sutra</i> , fourteenth century, gold and silver ink on dark-blue paper, 27.6cm x 79.6cm. Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library.....	380
Figure 5.3 a-d <i>Kokawa-dera engi e</i> , late Heian period (twelfth century), handscroll, color on paper, 30.8 cm x 1984.2 cm, Kyoto National Museum, Kyoto. ....	384
Figure 5.4 <i>Kokawa-dera engi e</i> , Genroku period, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, ink and color on paper.....	385
Figure 5.5 <i>Senjū Kannon</i> , late Heian period, wood, Kokawa-dera, Kokawa, Wakayama Prefecture. ....	386
Figure 5.6 <i>Senjū Kannon</i> , late Heian period, wood, Kokawa-dera, Kokawa, Wakayama Prefecture, (detail).....	387
Figure 5.7 Seated Amida Nyorai, Heian period, with Muromachi period head, Bodai’in, Kōfuku-ji, Nara, Nara Prefecture. ....	388
Figure 5.8 <i>Standing Chigo Kannon Sculpture</i> , c. Nanbokuchō or Muromachi periods. See <i>Rekishī Kaido—romanhe no tobira—</i> .....	389

Figure 5.9 <i>Chigo Kannon engi</i> , fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Landscape with Hase-dera (detail).....	390
Figure 5.10 <i>Chigo Kannon engi</i> , fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Chogen Encounters Chigo at the Foot of Mount Obuse (detail).....	391
Figure 5.11 <i>Chigo Kannon engi</i> , fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Concert Scene (detail).....	392
Figure 5.12 <i>Chigo Kannon engi</i> , fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Chigo Falls Ill (detail).....	393
Figure 5.13 <i>Chigo Kannon engi</i> , fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Funerary Preparations (detail).....	394
Figure 5.14 <i>Chigo Kannon engi</i> , fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Funerary Preparations (detail).....	395
Figure 5.15 <i>Chigo Kannon engi</i> , fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Kannon's Miraculous Transformation (detail).....	396
Figure 5.16 <i>Chigo Kannon engi</i> , fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Kannon Departing (detail).....	397
Figure 5.17a-c <i>Long Tale for an Autumn Night</i> (details from scrolls one and two), Muromachi period, c. 1400, ink, color and gold on paper, Metropolitan Museum of Art.....	400
Figure 5.18 <i>Long Tale for an Autumn Night</i> , Muromachi period, fifteenth century, Eisei Bunko Museum, Tokyo, Auspicious Clouds Over Iwakura (detail).....	401
Figure 5.19 <i>Long Tale for an Autumn Night</i> , Edo period, late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, ink and color on paper, Auspicious Clouds Over Iwakura, (detail).....	402
Figure 5.20 <i>Nyoirin Kannon at Ishiyama-dera</i> , Heian period, eleventh century, Ishiyama-dera, Ōtsu, Japan.....	403
Figure 5.21 <i>Long Tale for an Autumn Night</i> , Muromachi period, fifteenth century, Eisei Bunko Museum, Tokyo, <i>Kaimami</i> Scene (detail).....	404
Figure 5.22 <i>Long Tale for an Autumn Night</i> , Edo period, late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, ink and color on paper, <i>Kaimami</i> Scene (detail).....	405
Figure 5.23 <i>Long Tale for an Autumn Night</i> , Seoul National University, Edo period, <i>Kaimami</i> Scene (detail).....	406



## List of Abbreviations

- GR *Gunshō ruijū* 群書類従 Zoku Gunshō Ruijū Kanseikai, 1986-1991.  
JapanKnowledge, JKBooks.
- KG *Kanmon gyoki* 看聞御記. Edited by Ōta Toshiro 太田藤四郎, in *Zoku Gunshō Ruijū* 続群書類従 Supplement 2, parts 1&2 revised edition, 1958-1959.
- KZ *Kōbō Daishi zenshū*. Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1970-1977.
- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系. Iwanami Shoten, 1957-1967.
- NKBZ *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1972
- SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai*. 新日本古典文学大系. Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1989.
- SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1994-2002.
- T *Taisho shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大蔵経. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-1932. The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
- ZGR *Zoku Gunshō ruijū* 續群書類従. Zoku Gunshō Ruijū Kanseikai, 1986-1991.  
JapanKnowledge, JKBooks.
- ZZGR *Zoku zoku gunshō ruijū*. Zoku Gunshō Ruijū Kanseikai, 1986-1991.  
JapanKnowledge, JKBooks.

## Abstract

The twelfth through fifteenth centuries in Japan saw the development of new iconographies of Buddhist divinities in the guise of *chigo*, or sacred male youths who lived and worked in monastic settings serving senior Buddhist monks often including the provision of sexual favors for high-ranking members of the clergy. While paintings of these figures have often been associated with the fourteenth century rise in monk-*chigo* romance tales and the invention of sex-based Buddhist rituals later in the fifteenth century, this dissertation examines the development of these new *chigo* variants of Buddhist divinities as engaging with a variety of meanings beyond sex, and harnessed broader symbolic associations of youths to serve political, memorial and promotional needs for various Buddhist institutions.

This dissertation critiques the assumption that visual, literary and ritual works surrounding *chigo* solely indicate the monks' sexual desire for youths, and instead explores three specific types of youthful iconographies of Buddhist divinities—specifically, Monju, Kūkai and Kannon—each of which developed independently and engages with different symbolic understandings of youth. Despite the shared appellation of “*chigo*,” these icons do not always depict figures sartorially or tonsorially marked as *chigo*, as the naming of these works is almost always the result of modern art historical scholarship that broadly understood the term to designate a youthful variant of a particular Buddhist divinity and not necessarily as a specific historical identity and social rank. This confusion has similarly obfuscated the differences between how and why these different iconographies developed and has couched these figures in the sexual associations with *chigo* that later became prevalent in scholarship.

Drawing from gender/sexuality theory, textual and visual analysis, as well as historiography, this project reconstructs contexts for these works that have been largely overlooked in studies on *chigo* as well as in art history. First, this project explores how monk-*chigo* sexual practices related to the broader context of male-male sex in pre-modern Japan and articulates the boundaries of what was considered sexual activity between males and the status of male-male sex within Buddhism. Next, it traces the development of Chigo Monju icons as a combination of pre-existing Chinese iconographies of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī manifesting on Mount Wutai with images of the *kami* of Wakamiya of Kasuga shrine in Nara. It then examines images of Chigo Daishi icons as emblematic pictorial biographies of Kūkai that highlight the belief in achieving buddhahood in a single lifetime. The final chapter examines three handscrolls featuring Kannon's manifestations as a *chigo*, arguing that these tales emphasize the salvific efficacy of sculptural icons housed at Kokawa-dera, Bodai-in and Ishiyama-dera.

The works examined in this dissertation point to the broader symbolic uses *chigo* had in medieval Japanese religious traditions beyond their association with sexual practices. It is the first in-depth consideration of *chigo* icons and provides a counterpoint to existing text-based scholarship on *chigo* and charts the changing understandings of these works from the medieval period to the current day.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

Among the hundreds of surviving Japanese Buddhist icons that were created between the Kamakura period (1185-1333) and the close of the Muromachi period (1336-1573) a relatively small selection represent their principal figures not as powerful divinities marked by the rich symbolism of hand-held attributes nor the inhuman bodies with their multiple arms or heads, but rather as figures in the relatively simple and immediately recognizable guise of male youths. These youthful imaginings of divine figures, while not as numerous as more typical iconographies of bodhisattvas or patriarchs rendered visible in Buddhist icons, form a particularly compelling group of objects. They show divinities attired in Japanese garments and hairstyles, pointing to the development of Japanese iconographies that drew from local beliefs rather than the international Buddhist imagery imported from China and Korea. In addition, they often visually link the divinities with *chigo* 稚児/兒, quasi-sacred male temple acolytes who acted as sexually available personal attendants to senior Buddhist monks in exchange for education, thus depicting a vision of the divine both grounded in familiar human bodies and replete with potential eroticism.

This dissertation specifically looks at icons in the guise of these sacred youths and attempts to answer questions regarding the intended use and context for these works, which have often been overshadowed by textual sources that record historical, ritual, and literary notions of *chigo*. The purpose of this focus is twofold: first, to provide insight into the initial creation of icons of sacred youths during the medieval period and potential contexts for their continued use; and second, to

balance the primacy overwhelmingly placed on texts in scholarship on *chigo* in medieval Japan by closely examining their representations in the visual arts.

Curiously, the relative explosion of interest in images engaging with issues of gender and sexuality in early modern Japan among art historians of the 1990s and early 2000s did not extend back to the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, thus overlooking *chigo* as represented in illustrated literary works or icons.<sup>1</sup> Edo period *shunga* 春画 (lit. “spring pictures”) formed a significant sub-field of study in the field, including significant interest in *nanshoku* 男色 (lit. “male colors”) and *wakashūdō* 若衆道 (lit. “the way of youths”)—the primarily secular, and often intergenerational male-male sexual practices of the Edo period—but earlier images of *chigo* were never addressed with the same all-encompassing enthusiasm. Perhaps this is due to the fact that many paintings now classified as works depicting *chigo* survive as fairly minor icons, no longer widely venerated in Japan and they generally lack the same ostentatious visual effect on the viewer as the male-male sexual practices shown in Edo period works. Indeed, these paintings lack the dramatic depictions of oversized phalluses, elegant garments draped around bodies, and the allure of celebrated artists associated with specific works found in Edo period erotic art.

Despite being inadequately studied in the History of Art, the subject of *chigo* has seen multiple smaller bursts of scholarly interest in the fields of history, literature, and religious studies. This scholarship has illuminated the lived experiences of *chigo* as temple acolytes as well as their

---

<sup>1</sup> Notable publications include: Timon Screech, *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan 1700-1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson and Maribeth Graybill, eds. *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2003); Paul Berry, “Rethinking ‘Shunga’: The Interpretation of Sexual Imagery of the Edo Period,” *Archives of Asian Art* vol. 54 (2004), 7–22; Chris Uhlenbeck and Margarita Winkel, *Japanese Erotic Fantasies: Sexual Imagery of the Edo Period* (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005).

symbolic use in romance tales and sex-based consecration rituals. Occupying a gender that defies easy contemporary classification, *chigo* were both semi-divine figures but seen as less-than-fully male, capable of satisfying the most amorous monk's carnal and spiritual desires. Literary specialists have examined the roles of *chigo* in literary works, primarily in *chigo monogatari* 稚児物語, or “*chigo* tales” as the self-sacrificial objects of a monk's romantic and sexual longing, whose death often prompts mass conversions and spiritual awakenings in protagonist monks. Most recently, with increased access to ritual texts detailing *chigo kanjō* 稚児灌頂, consecration rites in which the physical body of a *chigo* is transformed into a living manifestation of the bodhisattva Kannon to allow sexual encounters between monks and *chigo* that were seen to be free of transgression. Icons of Buddhist divinities in the guise of *chigo* are particularly important for understanding the broader networks of gender and sexuality in medieval Japan, precisely because they were not created to be used as part of *chigo kanjō* rituals yet represent sexually desirable figures in formal religious painting. Their staid appearances, couched in religious iconography, frustrates easily understood erotic interpretations of the works, suggesting that the potential for sexual desire for the figures, while present, was not the primary concern of the creators.

Overall, the majority of scholarship on *chigo* has been their relationship to sexual practices either acted upon in real life or alluded to in *chigo monogatari*. While uncovering the elaborate social networks surrounding sexual activity and gendered identities has formed a substantial body of scholarship for pre-modern Japan, exclusively thinking of *chigo* as the objects of sexual fantasy ignores other potential meanings that representations of *chigo* may have held. By and large, scholarship on *chigo* has framed them as being primarily about their role in sexual practices, encompassing the extremes from sincere affection to horrific exploitation, leaving other considerations largely unexplored.

Therefore, underlying this dissertation is the contention that if these sexual practices were so well-engrained in medieval Japan as to be considered unremarkable, works created about *chigo*—be it painting, literature, or rituals—were likely not singularly motivated by erotic interest alone, but rather engaged with a variety of factors, some which would be foregrounded in the minds of contemporary viewers. Focusing primarily on painting, this dissertation presents meanings that images of youths may have generated other than those related to sex, which could be strategically deployed for political, devotional, and promulgatory reasons.<sup>2</sup> I examine how images of youths drew upon pre-existing iconographies of Buddhist divinities and *kami*, hagiographies Buddhist monks, as well as broader cultural expectations of *chigo* as filial, self-sacrificial and semi-divine. Through comparisons between text and image, as well as drawing from religious and historical documents, gender and sexuality theory, and historiography to situate these works within specific moments in medieval Japan, I examine the meanings and assumptions about these works that have accumulated over time. As a dissertation on icons used in Buddhism and *kami* veneration, my emphasis is inevitably on the more symbolic, rather than a historically grounded view of *chigo* as individuals. *Chigo* themselves become a multifaceted symbol replete with meanings within the constraints of proper iconographic form to allow the icon to properly function. Therefore, I understand icons of Buddhist divinities as youths to be primarily depictions of those religious figures in a particular iconographic form and not as images of actual *chigo* who happen to be thought of as manifestations of a particular bodhisattva.

---

<sup>2</sup> I have opted to focus specifically on painting as painted images of *chigo* greatly outnumber their counterparts in other media. Sculptural works depicting male youths were produced, the most notable examples including depictions of Prince Shōtoku as well as depictions of *kami*. These have been excluded as they have not been subjected to the same sexualized interpretations as other figures, such as Monju, Kūkai or Kannon.

## 1.1 Defining Chigo

The historical figures known as *chigo* were young males who lived in an extended state of non-adulthood. Personhood in medieval Japan was based on the adult male who had undergone a coming-of-age ceremony (*genpuku* 元服), usually around the age of fourteen, and was thus sartorially and tonsorially marked as an adult. Broadly speaking, *chigo* forewent their own *genpuku* ceremonies and kept their long hair and youthful garments, existing in an extended state of non-adulthood until a *genpuku* ceremony was arranged, the youth took the tonsure, or in some cases, remained as a non-adult in perpetuity. Once a *chigo* did finally transition to adulthood, he would rejoin secular life as part of the aristocratic or warrior class or become a monk.<sup>3</sup>

Scholarly understandings of *chigo* draw from historical evidence speaking to the specific circumstances in which *chigo* lived, as well as the symbolic meanings attached to their identities reflected in literary works and ritual texts paired with the social and cultural status of youth, broadly conceived.<sup>4</sup> The most fruitful documents have been temple records, *chigo monogatari*, and educational, ritual, and exegetical texts. Broadly, *chigo* have been synthesized into a single definition concerning three specific qualities that separate them from adult personhood: being in a

---

<sup>3</sup> Tanaka Takako, *Seiai no Nihon chūsei* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2004), 15; Catharina Blomberg, “Yoroi-kizome, Genbuku and taking the tonsure: rites of passage among the Bushi in Feudal Japan.” *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 18 (2003), 13.

<sup>4</sup> Kuroda Hideo, *Kyōkai no chūsei, shōchō no chūsei* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1986); Amino Yoshihiko, *Rethinking Japanese History*, trans. Alan S. Christy (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2012); Abe Yasuro, *Yuya no kōgō: Chūsei no sei to seinaru mono* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998); Sudō Yoshihito, “Kodomo bunka’ no kisoteki kenkyū: Minzoku sairei no naka ni miru kodomo-zō no shosō,” in *Okinawa daigaku jibun gakubu kiyō* 8 (2006). Hashidate Ayako, “Chigo no sei,” *Tōkyō joshi daigaku kiyō*, 60, no 2 (2010); Katō Osamu, “‘Chigo’ to ‘warawa’ no seikatsu shi,” (Tokyo: Keiō Tsūshin, 1994); Megumi Tsuchiya, *Chūsei jūin no shakai to geinō*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001), among others.



state of extended non-adulthood, a proximity to the divine, and a kind of androgyny not based on *chigo*'s visual proximity to women, but rather, *chigo* and women's shared visual similarities with youth.<sup>5</sup> This non-adulthood would not have carried modern ideas of infantilization, but rather, marked the figure as an attendant, functioning primarily as an indication of social class for maturing non-adults but additionally included the potential for harnessing supernatural or divine abilities.<sup>6</sup> A *chigo*'s proximity to the divine directly draws on beliefs that youths, like other non-adult individuals, animals, and objects, were inherently closer to the divine or otherworldly than the mundane physical world. It has been noted that the association of youths with the divine likely had roots in high infant mortality rates and the difficulty and uncertainty that existed alongside child-rearing that marked children as not fully belonging to the physical world.<sup>7</sup> Maintaining this state of extended youth through pubescence would not only mark an individual as continuing to exist in this liminal space between otherworldly and physical existence, but also remove them from assimilation into adult male life where they would be understood as fully-realized persons. This consideration of *chigo* as semi-divine became emphasized in *chigo monogatari* where divinities assume the guise of youths, as well as in the consecration of *chigo* in *chigo kanjō* rites, transforming the youth into a living manifestation of Kannon.<sup>8</sup> Lastly, their semi-androgynous

---

<sup>5</sup> Sachi Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys: Male-Male Love in Medieval Japanese Buddhist Narratives* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2021).

<sup>6</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 7; Amino Yoshihiko, *Igyō no Oken* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986), 49.

<sup>7</sup> William Wayne Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility and Warfare in a Transformative Age* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 89-90; Yoshihara Ijima, "Folk Culture and the Liminality of Children," trans. Charles Goudlen, *Current Anthropology* vol. 28, no. 4 (August-October 1987), 41.

<sup>8</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 9-10.

appearance drew from the practice of maintaining a youth's long hair, the application of cosmetics, and wearing of non-adult garments, forming a kind of parallel to women through their shared characteristics of not appearing in the sartorial conventions of adult men.<sup>9</sup>

This definition of *chigo* was arrived at after nearly a half-century of text-based scholarship on *chigo* that began in the mid-twentieth century. Given the dramatic social and cultural changes that prompted new attitudes towards same-sex behavior in this time in Japan and the United States, scholarship on *chigo* often map onto the anxieties, hopes, and fears of the cultural moments surrounding the research and publication of each scholarly work. *Chigo monogatari* have primarily dominated these scholarly discussions, with occasional publications produced on *chigo kanjō* and hierarchical ranks and statuses of youths in medieval Japan interspersed throughout. Scholarly interpretations of these works chart the initial early twentieth-century view of *nanshoku* as linked to pre-westernized Japanese cultural traditions, to a pathologized view as an aberrant sexual practice, and eventually to a pre-modern understanding of homosexual practices celebrated as part of broader acceptance of queer identities in the late twentieth century.

## 1.2 Overview of Publications on Male-Male Sexual Practices in Japan

The grouping of various *chigo*-related texts as a singular genre itself dates to the Edo period, when the poet Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝 (1749-1823) listed a group of texts he categorized as “*chigo monogatari*” as they prominently featured youths.<sup>10</sup> Nanpo's classification was written after Edo-period enthusiasm for *nanshoku* 男色 and *wakashūdō* 若衆道 had been well established

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 4-7.

<sup>10</sup> Ōta Nanpo, “*Chigo monogatari burui*,” in *Zoku shiseki shūran* vol. 6, ed. by Kondō Heijō (Tokyo: Chikafuji Shuppanbu, 1930), 61.

both in the written and visual record beginning in the seventeenth century, and points to a kind of antiquarian curiosity for male-male romances from a bygone era. Over a century later, in 1936 Tendai monk Kon Tōkō 今東光 (1898-1977) wrote *Chigo* 稚児 as a short story that was later published as a novel in 1946. Drawing heavily from the contents of *Kō chigo shōgyō hiden shi* 弘見聖教秘伝私, a fifteenth-century manuscript preserved on Mount Hiei that outlines a sex-based *chigo* consecration ritual, Kon publicly revealed details of this medieval rite to the modern public for the first time.<sup>11</sup> Several years later, Yukio Mishima's 1953 novel *Forbidden Colors* 禁色 (*Kinjiki*) included mention of *chigo kanjō* rituals, as well as a scene where the purportedly fourteenth-century erotic handscroll *Chigo no sōshi* 稚児草子 is shown, drawing accusations of plagiarism from Kon.<sup>12</sup> The three responses these writers had while reflecting on *chigo* was firmly rooted in a broader association of *chigo* as primarily figures of sexual fantasy, and helped to firmly establish this connection during the twentieth century.

Premodern male-male sexual practices continued to be of interest during the twentieth century and was a particular point of fascination for Iwata Jun'ichi 岩田準一 (1900-1945) who conducted a decades-long survey of historical writings speaking to these concerns.<sup>13</sup> This work led him to engage specifically with documents that spoke directly to practices of male-male sexuality in medieval Japan. His copy of a now-lost 1478 manuscript of *Kō chigo shōgyō hiden* survives at

---

<sup>11</sup> Shoko Tsuji, "Kon Tōkō 'Chigo' to 'Kōchigo shōgyō hiden shi,'" *Nara Joshi Daigaku Nihon Ajia gengo bunka gakkai* vol 38 (2011), 215.

<sup>12</sup> Matsuoka Shinpei, *Utage no karada: Basara kara Zeami e* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 115-116.

<sup>13</sup> Iwata Jun'ichi, *Nanshoku bunken shoshi*, (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1956); Iwata Jun'ichi, *Honchō nanshoku kō*, (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 2002).

the Rikkyō University Library, and is known to have commented on the nineteenth-century conservation work conducted on *Chigo no sōshi*.<sup>14</sup> His research documented a sweeping history of male-male sexuality in Japan, published in *Honchō nanshoku kō*, listing purported references to “*nanshoku*” from the eighth century through the Edo period, presenting Japanese male-male sexual practices as a kind of corrective to Western treatises on sexuality that had become available in Japan during the Meiji period.<sup>15</sup> His interest in *chigo monogatari* were likewise primarily concerned with the romantic content rather than other themes and concerns present in the works.

Other scholars such as Araki Yoshio and Ichiko Teiji continued to identify *chigo monogatari* as a unified genre based on the male-male romantic elements, and insist that the religious components to the work were included as a means to sanctify the illicit and transgressive nature of a monk’s inordinate desire for a *chigo*.<sup>16</sup> Ichiko goes as far as to characterize medieval views of *nanshoku* as “immoral and unnatural behavior” (*nanshoku ga furin na fushizen na kōi* 男色が不倫な不自然な行爲), starkly departing from Iwata’s portrayal of male-male sexual behavior as widely practiced and largely unproblematic.<sup>17</sup> This antipathy towards *nanshoku* reflected the reevaluation of sex and sexual practices in twentieth-century Japan that drew heavily from the importation of Western European and American sexological texts, which pathologized same-sex behavior as an illness to be cured by medical professionals. Management of sex

---

<sup>14</sup> Or Porath, “The Flower of Dharma Nature: Sexual Consecration and Amalgamation in Medieval Japanese Buddhism,” PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2019), 115; Iwata, *Nanshoku bunken shoshi*, 16-17.

<sup>15</sup> Iwata Jun’ichi, *Honchō nanshoku kō*, (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 2002).

<sup>16</sup> Araki Yoshio, *Chūsei Kamakura Muromachi bungaku jiten*, (Tokyo: Shunjusha: 1966): 242-3; Ichiko Teiji, *Chūsei shōsetsu no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Daigaku Shuppankai, 1955): 130-142.

<sup>17</sup> Ichiko, *Chūsei shōsetsu no kenkyū*, 137.

additionally became tied to issues of modernization and empire building in Japan, as it had previously in Europe. Such work established a hierarchy of individuals based on imagined normalcy in regards to sex, hygiene, and illness that directly corresponded to perceived usefulness to the increasingly modernizing Japanese empire, with suspicion of male-male sexuality lasting well into the 1970s.<sup>18</sup>

English language scholarship on *chigo*, specifically as portrayed in *chigo monogatari*, began in the 1980s, reframing the medieval monk-*chigo* romances as pre-modern examples of homosexuality, thus shifting the focus from *nanshoku* as a particular Japanese variant of male-male sexual practices to belonging to a global understanding of homosexuality. Margaret Childs was the first to push against Ichiko's notion that *chigo monogatari* and *chigo kanjō* rituals were used as a means to justify sexual desire, as well as to the grouping of *chigo monogatari* as a coherent genre based exclusively on the possibility for male-male eroticism. Instead, Childs brings the Buddhist elements of these works to the fore, pointing to the development of these works as something more complex than straightforward romance tales, linking them specifically with *hosshindan* 発心譚, or tales of Buddhist awakening.<sup>19</sup> However, the interest in *chigo* as male romantic partners for Buddhist monks was maintained, as Childs' translation of *Chigo Kannon*

---

<sup>18</sup> Johnathan D. Macintosh, *Homosexuality and Manliness in Postwar Japan* (London: Routledge, 2010), 33-34. See, Gregory Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Frühstück, Sabine, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

<sup>19</sup> Margaret Helen Childs, "Chigo monogatari: Love Stories or Buddhist Sermons?" *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 35, no. 2 (1980); Childs, "Influence of the Buddhist Practice of *Sange* on Literary Form: Revelatory Tales," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* vol. 14, no. 2 (1987); Childs, *Rethinking Sorrow: Revelatory Tales of Late Medieval Japan*, (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1991).

*engi* 稚児観音縁起 appeared in the 1996 publication *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature*. This project is indebted to Child's approach, viewing *chigo* related works as simultaneously engaging with Buddhism as well as male-male sexual desire, albeit, focusing on visual cultures rather than literary works.

While scholars like Childs began to extricate *chigo*-related texts from the stigmatized classifications they received earlier in the century, Bernard Faure resisted such attempts, characterizing *chigo monogatari* as “rather crude ideological coverup[s] for a kind of institutionalized prostitution or rape,” and the monks as “pedophiles.”<sup>20</sup> Primarily drawing from Hosokawa Ryōichi who examined diary entries of Jinson 尋尊 (1430-1508), the abbot of Kōfuku-ji, he characterizes the transactions between monks, *chigo*, and their parents as a kind of forced sexual servitude, and adopted criminalizing language to describe sex between monks and *chigo*, thus concluding that *chigo kanjō* rites were inherently abusive.<sup>21</sup> While Faure may be credited with introducing an interest in historical sources speaking to the lives of *chigo* into English-language scholarship, his work shared in a similar elision of differences between male-male sexual practices throughout the centuries, viewing them as a singular and unchanging sexual practice that can be viewed through an unchanging interpretive lens.

Faure was certainly not alone in his disdain for *chigo kanjō* as a practice, and likely drew upon the negative view of these practices found in Japanese scholarship. Hosokawa's own work espoused similar condemnatory views. Most recently, scholars such as Or Porath have tempered

---

<sup>20</sup> Bernard Faure, *The Red Thread: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 265; 213-14.

<sup>21</sup> Hosokawa Ryōichi, *Itsudatsu no Nihon chūsei: Kyōki, tōsaku, ma no sekai*, (Tokyo: JICC Shuppan Kyoku, 1993), 57-84.

this kind of language slightly, but still maintain reservations about inequalities in power dynamics between monks and *chigo*. Porath specifically draws from previous scholarship on the state of non-adulthood in medieval Japan, and suggests that the exchanges between monks, *chigo*, and their parents are akin to human trafficking.<sup>22</sup>

Willingly or not, Faure espoused a perspective that has done significant damage to scholarly discourse on *chigo*. The specific characterization of the monks as pedophiles and *chigo kanjō* as a means to purify *chigo* in order to be sexually assaulted has reframed the entire discussion on *chigo* to be inherently a question of childhood molestation, a concern that did not exist in medieval Japan in the same way as it does today.<sup>23</sup> A generous reading of Faure's interpretation may point to a deeply felt sympathy for *chigo* who may have been exploited. Indeed, American cultural fears over childhood sexual assault exploded during the 1980s and 1990s, culminating in the Satanic Panic and the high-profile child molestation cases such as the McMartin Preschool Trial, which would have created a highly volatile environment to publish anything that could be misconstrued as an apologia for sex rituals involving unwilling minors.

On the other hand, it is difficult to separate Faure's use of "pedophile" from how it continues to be used politically, leveraging the weight of a century of criminalizing and demonizing consenting adult same-sex practices, transgender communities, and any expression of queer identities under the guise of "protecting the children." This interpretation does not seem entirely unfair, as Faure's discussion on *chigo monogatari* takes Childs' earlier work removing these tales from Ichiko's view of Buddhism alleviating the "unnatural" quality of male-male sexuality as his main target, suggesting that equating monk-*chigo* romances with twentieth-century

---

<sup>22</sup> Porath, "The Flower of Dharma Nature," 81.

<sup>23</sup> Faure, *The Red Thread*, 261.

homosexuality was not his concern, but rather, any non-condemnatory discussion of premodern male-male sex in general. In this regard, Faure's writing on *chigo* reframes the majority of male-male sexual practices in premodern Japan as inherently abusive and conjures up Orientalist tropes of East Asian men as licentious and predatory homosexuals.<sup>24</sup>

In the last two decades, interest in *chigo* scholarship has increased yet again, focusing both on *chigo monogatari* and *chigo kanjō* rituals. Paul S. Atkins turns away from viewing *chigo monogatari* as specifically about sex but continues to emphasize the suffering and death of *chigo* as documented in diaries and imagined in literary works, drawing heavily from René Girard's scapegoat theory from *Violence and the Sacred* (1977).<sup>25</sup> Most recently, Sachi Schmidt-Hori has written on *chigo monogatari* with an insistence on rethinking these inherited prejudices when approaching the subject. She includes a thorough and articulate rebuttal to the views expressed by previous scholars about the presumed abuses of *nanshoku*, noting that the intellectually dishonest leaps made in discourses on monk-*chigo* sexual practices “from ‘inserter vs. insertee’ to ‘active vs. passive’ and ‘predatory vs. victimized’.”<sup>26</sup> She continues:

---

<sup>24</sup> It is beyond the scope of this project to fully delve into the long history of Euro-American fascination and revulsion with male sexuality in Japan. Early examples include Jesuit writings on male-male sexual practices during the sixteenth century as discussed by Faure (*The Red Thread*, 207-208). A notable twentieth century example is *Le ménage moderne du Madame Butterfly*, the earliest surviving pornographic film recording male-male sexual activity. As a pornographic parody of John Luther Long's 1898 short story “Madame Butterfly,” and Puccini's later opera *Madama Butterfly*, the short film is set in Japan and shows Pinkerton, an American naval officer, having sex with both Madame Butterfly, and later, a male servant. As all of Pinkerton's partners are understood as Japanese, male and female bodies are understood as equally sexually available to the American man. For an extended discussion on the intersection of race and sexuality in the creation of Asian-American identities, see David Eng, *Racial Castration: Managing Masculinity in Asian America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

<sup>25</sup> Paul S. Atkins, “Chigo in the Medieval Imagination,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol 67, no. 3 (August 2008).

<sup>26</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 37.



Although modern scholars' contempt for *nanshoku* in medieval monasteries may appear reasonable, or even morally sound...their hyperbolic and highly speculative language irresponsibly demonizes the Buddhist institutions and parents of the historical *chigo*. To paint the *chigo* system with a broad brush as "child sexual abuse" contributes nothing to efforts to prevent actual sexual exploitation in our society. Worse, the hyperbole surrounding the *chigo* system and *chigo monogatari* stigmatizes these very topics [and] undermines the objectives of deepening our understanding of human sexuality across time and culture and of countering the sexual exploitation of vulnerable populations as well as various forms of discrimination against sexual minorities...<sup>27</sup>

Schmidt-Hori's work offers a much-needed corrective to the emphasis on presumed abuses found throughout monk-*chigo* sexual practices as recorded in literary works by nuancing the literary characterizations of *chigo* with historic specificities regarding gender, social class, political background along with Buddhism, signaling a return to using *chigo monogatari* not as examples of ad hoc justifications but as complex literary works as well as rich sources to be mined for how monk-*chigo* romances, sexual practices, and divinities were understood at the time.<sup>28</sup>

*Chigo kanjō* rituals have also seen a flurry of new publications, specifically by Tsuji Shōko and Or Porath, both contributing significantly to the broader understanding of these ritualized sex practices. Tsuji has written numerous articles on *chigo kanjō*, as well as *Chigo kanjō no kenkyū: han to seisei* in 2021.<sup>29</sup> Her book is an invaluable addition to *chigo kanjō* scholarship, as it not only identifies the key texts, but includes both transcriptions as well as photography of the original

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 38; 40.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 41-77.

<sup>29</sup> Tsuji, "Kon Tōkō 'Chigo' to 'Kōchigo shōgyō hiten shi,' (2011); *Chigo kanjō no kisoteki kōsatsu: Shohon no shōkai to seiri*" *Jinbun bunka kenkyūka nenpyō* vol. 26 (2010); Tsuji, "Chigo kanjō no kisoteki kōsatsu: Giki no shōkai to seiri" *Jinbun bunka kenkyūka nenpyō* vol. 27 (2011); Tsuji, "'Kō chigo shōgyō hiten shi' saikō," *Chūsei bungaku* vol. 58 (2013); Tsuji, *Chigo kanjō no kenkyū: han to seisei* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2021).

manuscripts.<sup>30</sup> Porath's work has examined *chigo kanjō* texts in detail, focusing on how the rituals themselves functioned, and provides the first detailed English language overview of these rituals. In addition, he points to evidence that these rituals were actively performed, and transmitted to disciples, linking initiates to broader networks of significant figures within each monastic site.<sup>31</sup>

There is a final important work to note on *chigo* not based in *chigo monogatari* or *chigo kanjō*, but rather, one that examines the specific hierarchies and terminologies of youths in monastic complexes. Megumi Tsuchiya specifically looks at temple documents from Daigo-ji and Ninna-ji in Kyoto to articulate these distinctions. While “*chigo*” has become a somewhat all-encompassing term for young male temple acolytes of the medieval period, *dōji* 童子 and *warawa* 童 were also used for these figures. They were organized into the categories of *chigo/uwarawa* 児/上童 (upper youth), *chūdōji* 中童子 (middle-youth), and *daidōji* 大童子 (great youth), with members of each grouping coming from varying social strata, with *chigo/uwarawa* being the children of the aristocratic and warrior classes.<sup>32</sup> While their roles in monastic spaces included tending to the needs of high-ranking monks and partaking in important rituals, their social status, inclusion in elaborate ritual processions, and instruction in music and poetry lent them an air of elegance that the lower ranking youths did not share.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, *chigo*'s social status was relatively

---

<sup>30</sup> Tsuji *Chigo kanjō no Kenkyū: han to seisei*, 175-188; 189-345.

<sup>31</sup> Porath, “The Flower of Dharma Nature,” 113.

<sup>32</sup> *Chūdōji and daidōji* reflected youths from lower class backgrounds. While *chūdōji* may serve in ritual processions, be banner holders or partake in other semi-public events where they served as part of the ornamentation, *daidōji*, on the other hand, were mature males who maintained their non-adult status into their later years and were menial servants. See Tsuchiya, *Chūsei jiin no shakai to geinō*.

<sup>33</sup> Tsuchiya, 130-168.

high. Tsuchiya's analysis of notes for a formal New Year's banquet held at Daigo-ji in 1149 lists *chigo* as ranking only beneath aristocrats in formal banquet arrangements, whereas *chūdōji* and *daidōji* were placed two tiers below, indicative of the distance in social standing between the top group of youths from the lower two-thirds.<sup>34</sup> *Chigo/uewarawa* is the primary group from which icons of *chigo* manifestations of bodhisattvas drew their visual cues and associations.

“*Chigo*” as an iconographic type is primarily used to identify youthful versions of specific Buddhist divinities, and likely derives from later uses of the term that did not necessarily have the specifics of a monastic rank in mind, but rather emphasized their roles as cultured and accomplished youths. *Gazu hinrui* 画図品類 (*Categories of Paintings*), Ban Naokata's 伴直方 (1790-1842) list of paintings produced 1829, is one of the earliest surviving documents that lists a surviving medieval Buddhist illustrated handscroll, the fourteenth-century *Chigo Kannon engi*, with the term *chigo* used as a specific iconographic identifier. This title is remarkable for two reasons. First, another edition of the same tale recorded in *Chigo Kannon engi* was listed as *Bonfuku-ji Kannon engi* 梵福寺観音縁起 in 1666, despite both works being retellings of an original tale included in *Hase-dera reigenki* (c. 1210). This latest listing of the work as *Chigo Kannon engi* points to a shift in emphasis from more general concerns of the location of the miracle to the specific iconography of a Buddhist divinity. Second, it implies that Kannon's manifestation as a youth was somehow noteworthy enough to use as a title, despite being one of Kannon's canonical thirty-three manifestations as listed in the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hokekyō* 法華經) thus providing no context to the location where this miracle occurred. This emphasis is perhaps the result of

---

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

growing interest in medieval *chigo* during the Edo period, reflected in the earlier first classification of *chigo monogatari* as a coherent genre by Ōta Nanpo.<sup>35</sup>

The objects included in this dissertation primarily range from the twelfth century through the sixteenth and reflect what art historians have classified as “*chigo*” iconographies. The relative lack of sustained attention to these works in scholarship as well as museum collections has resulted in limited standardization in the terminology used to name and label paintings, as *chigo* began to be used to designate any Buddhist icon of a youth, as long as the main subject was not a known attendant associated with a particular iconographic grouping. These figures are labeled as *dōji* 童子 and generally associated with iconographies of Monju and Fudō Myōō. Similarly, depictions of Shotoku at the ages of two or sixteen are not standardly considered *chigo*, although other *chigo* icons are sometimes mistakenly identified as him. This distinction between *chigo* 児/稚児 and *dōji* 童子 appears to be a product of the twentieth century, as medieval documents may use a variety of terms to refer to the same figure that would now be definitively identified as a *chigo*. Ironically, Chigo Daishi paintings, icons of the Shingon Buddhist patriarch Kūkai as a five-year-old, are arguably the most well-known example of an iconographic type termed *chigo*, despite representing a figure younger than the medieval rank of *chigo*. Despite being an outlier in terms of subject, they have been included in this study due to the belief dating to at least the Edo period that Kūkai himself had invented male-male sexual practices, as well as the contemporary ubiquitous use of Chigo Daishi paintings as images visualizing youth in medieval Japan.

With Chigo Daishi icons as the primary exception, I selected depictions of youths that adhere to the general iconographic understanding of *chigo* as youthful figures marked by sartorial

---

<sup>35</sup> The earliest documented use of *chigo* included as the title of a painting is the now-lost *Chigo no gei-e* mentioned in 1438. The artist, subject and contents of this work are unknown.

and tonsorial indications of their status, specifically wearing garments such as *hanpi* 半臂 or *suikan* 水干, robes with *hakama* 袴 trousers along with preservation of their long hair, arranged in a long queue tied behind their head. Other hairstyles, such as the arrangement of hair in two loops around each ear, are similarly indicative of youth, but carry connotations of deliberate historicism and aesthetic appeals to the Heian aristocracy and are generally not found in depictions of divinities manifesting as *chigo* during the medieval period. Less consistently, *chigo* has been applied to other standardized iconographies, such as Gokei Monju 五髻文殊, as these depictions are understood to show Monju as a youth. I have not included these as they point to a broader, international Buddhist iconography of Monju that has its own specific textual roots and has little to do with specifically Japanese conceptions of youth. Other depictions of Monju who are assumed to be in a youthful guise and associated with *chigo*, such as Grass Robed Monju (Kusagoromo Monju 草衣文殊) or other images drawing from Chinese depictions of Monju as an orphan on Mount Wutai have similarly not been included. Chigo Monju images included in this work specifically show Monju in Japanese-styled garments typical of *chigo* that were produced exclusively in Japan. Lastly, images of *chigo* dressed in ritual or festival attire found in illustrations of processions, dances and the like have been omitted from this study as they do not depict any particular Buddhist divinity or *kami*, but rather, illustrate the elaborate pageantry of Buddhist ceremonies, conveying a sense of grandeur beyond other considerations. Similarly, *kami* as youths such as Hachiman dōji 八幡童子 or Jūzenji 十禅師 have been omitted, as their representations rely on deliberately

historicizing aristocratic garb to mark them as youths, rather than the medieval garments and hairstyles shown in other *chigo* icons.<sup>36</sup>

### 1.3 Notes on Terminology

Lastly, the terminology used throughout this dissertation to describe *chigo* as well as the medieval sexual practices in which they engaged aspires to neutrality, although being truly neutral is an impossibility. I primarily translate *chigo* as “youth” rather than boy or child. “Youth,” particularly in the history of art, carries the association of Greek *kouroi*, the sculptures of young male nudes from Western Classical Antiquity and, while an unfortunate conflation of two iconographies of young males from disparate times and places, the term does convey the sense that *chigo* as represented in art are idealized re-imaginings of living figures and not accurate transcriptions of reality itself. While imperfect, it represents a deliberate move away from previous terminologies of “boys” or “children” for *chigo* as these carry the emotive baggage associated with “childhood” as a stage of life. These over translations of *chigo* into English are particularly fraught as they include a subtext implying purity and innocence and an expectation that should be shielded from the unpleasant vicissitudes of life, benefits that have been granted primarily to the white offspring of nineteenth century European and American bourgeois society. Earlier over-translations of *chigo* as “catamites” or, the pubescent males that adult men in the Western Classical world had as sexual partners, both draws an unneeded parallel with Europe and places *chigo* exclusively in the role of being objects of sexual fantasy and desire.

---

<sup>36</sup> For an extended examination of Jūzenji, see Porath, “Japan’s Forgotten God: Juzenji in Medieval Texts and the Visual Arts,” *Religions* vol 13, no. 693, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13080693>.

Similarly, instead of terms such as “homosexuality,” itself a nineteenth century pathological diagnosis read directly in contrast to the equally pathologized “heterosexuality,” I opt for “male-male sexual practices” as an overarching umbrella term that includes both *nanshoku*, the pre-modern Japanese sexual practice of transgenerational sex between males, as well as monk-*chigo* sex practices that included monastic sexual practices with *chigo* consecrated through the *chigo kanjō* ritual, as well as those who remained unconsecrated. Unlike homosexuality or heterosexuality, these classifications do not carry the connotations of identities or strictly defined sexual proclivities practiced at the exclusion of others.<sup>37</sup> Describing *chigo* as “male” is decidedly imperfect as their unique gendered position within medieval Japanese society frustrates easy categorization, I employ it primarily due to the expectation that many *chigo* would become male adults later in life.<sup>38</sup>

Other premodern terms that arise less frequently throughout this dissertation yet remain important to define include those used to describe various sexual practices in relation to Buddhist vows. *Inyoku* 淫欲, or sexual desire broadly conceived, was included as one of the four desires (*shi yoku* 四欲) along with emotional attachments, transient physical beauty and improper food and drink. Sex itself was broadly prohibited in monastic vows and is listed as one of the ten grave precepts listed in the *Brahmā's Net Sutra* (梵網經; J: *Bonmōkyō*; Ch: *Fànwǎng jīng*; Skt:

---

<sup>37</sup> Mostow's phallogocentric pansexuality of the Edo period does not fit quite as well with monk-*chigo* practices, if we are to believe that doctrinal sanctions against monk-female sex were taken seriously, as sex that may result in pregnancy would create unwanted karmic ties. See Joshua S. Mostow, “The Gender of *Wakashu* and the Grammar of Desire,” in *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, ed. Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson, and Marybeth Graybill (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 49-70.

<sup>38</sup> Hashidate argues for *seisei* 聖性 or “sacred gender” in Japanese, which while more accurate, does not fit with the grammatical conventions of English.

*Brahmajāla Sūtra*).<sup>39</sup> Violations of this precept was frequently expressed with the verb *okasu* 犯す, with *nanbon* 男犯 and *nyobon* 女犯 specifying if breaking this vow of celibacy occurred with a male or female. In certain contexts, *okasu* may refer to rape, although the texts examined throughout this dissertation reflect the broader definition of transgressing one's precepts to include anything from penetrative sex to masturbation.<sup>40</sup> The use of *okasu* in specific texts, such as the monk Shinran's 親鸞 (1173-1263) *Shinran muki* 親鸞夢記 where Kannon promises to manifest as a woman and allow the devotee to violate the prohibition against sex without transgression, points to an understanding that while indulging in sexual desire with others condemned, sex with the divine is permitted. This is specifically the understanding of *okasu* found throughout surviving medieval texts on *chigo kanjō*, and that sex with *chigo* who had participated in this initiatory ritual was not a breach of one's religious vows.<sup>41</sup>

Likewise, contemporary theoretical terms, such as gender, sex, and agency underpin portions of this dissertation and merit a brief explanation. As anachronistic concepts to the medieval period in Japan, these are broadly used as terms of convenience. My understanding of gender draws heavily from Judith Butler's understanding of the term as a set of repeated stylizations and acts "that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance" that are unrelated to the biological specificities of primary and secondary sexual characteristics.<sup>42</sup> In this

---

<sup>39</sup> Charles Muller, "四欲," and "十重戒" in *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*.

<sup>40</sup> Sachi Schmidt-Hori, "Hyperfemmininities, Hypermasculinities, and Hypersexualities in Classical Japanese Literature," PhD. Diss., (Seattle: University of Washington, 2012), 168; "女犯" in *Nihon kokushi daijiten*.

<sup>41</sup> Tsuji, *Chigo kanjō no Kenkyū: han to seisei*, 48-49.

<sup>42</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002), 43-44.



regard, gender is a social script that is enacted to give rise to categories such as “male” and “female.” While it is entirely unlikely that medieval Japanese individuals would have understood their actions, appearances and behaviors as part of the unified system of performances that we understand as gender in this sense, scholarly examinations of these social scripts have often been rooted in textual analyses to uncover how medieval Japanese masculinities or femininities were performed, pointing to some usefulness in applying this contemporary understanding of gender to premodern Japan.<sup>43</sup> It is particularly convenient when considering *chigo*, whose identities were clearly indicated through sartorial and tonsorial visual markers, as well as performances and behaviors related to rank and status identifying them as a discrete and separate social category.

Gender is distinct from “sex” in that biological sex as a determination of one’s gendered status is a relatively recent development in Western European thought, only emerging in the eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup> In Japan, the direct connection between genitalia and gender was firmly established during the Meiji period through the importation of Western European and American ideas linking biological specificities with performed gendered behavior.<sup>45</sup> Pandey notes that the categories of “man” and “woman” were primarily understood within a broader system of relationships, and that terms such as *onna* 女 (woman) and *otoko* 男 (man) conveyed a variety of significances clarified through the context of their usage. She notes that while women in particular would be identified through their relationships to others as mothers, wives, daughters, etc. as well

---

<sup>43</sup> See Rajyashree Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair: Body, Woman and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2017); Hitomi Tonomura, “Black Hair and Red Trousers: Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 99 no. 1 (Feb. 1994), 129-154.

<sup>44</sup> Pandey, 17-19.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

as through their social rank, they are primarily referred to as *onna* in erotic encounters in *Genji monogatari*. This understanding of “woman” had a more specific use and does not point to a broad immutable understanding of gender essentialism based on genitalia.<sup>46</sup>

In short, the categories of “male” and “female” were significantly complicated by their intersection with rank and social status, resulting in a system in which biological gender essentialism would have been rendered nearly entirely irrelevant. Specifically in the context of this dissertation, while both a high-ranking aristocratic courtier and a middle-to-low ranking *chigo* may both have penises, they would have little else in common in terms of their gendered roles that they performed. Both textual and visual evidence points to understanding the roles of males and females as primarily social categories that often coincided with genitalia but was not exclusively the case. Tales like *Ariake no wakare* 有明の別れ (c. 1200) prominently features a character born with female genitalia but is raised male, but later reenters society as a woman after being impregnated.<sup>47</sup> Intersex individuals was also noted as early as the twelfth century, and included in the illustrated handscroll *Yamai no sōshi* 病草子 as a medical curiosity, but identifies the figure as male despite their ambiguous genitalia.<sup>48</sup> While these examples are likely outliers in how gender could be untethered to genitalia, they suggest that the categories of male and female had a performative component.

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>47</sup> *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1996), 21-30.

<sup>48</sup> Gregory M. Pflugfelder, “Strange Fates: Sex, Gender and Sexuality in Torikaebaya Monogatari,” *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 47, no. 3 (1992), 359.

Additionally, while the limits of modern and contemporary understandings of sex—specifically, sexual intercourse—are examined in greater depth in Chapter Two, it is worth including some brief comments here. In contemporary usage, sex has an ambiguous meaning, including a range of actions and practices usually (but not necessarily) involving a range of genital contact by a partner or partners, or by oneself.<sup>49</sup> This categorization of genital contact as being a unique, remarkable type of interaction is, again, anachronistic to medieval Japan. Tonomura notes that medieval term *totsugu* とつぐ may be used to designate a range of activities, including a woman marrying into a man’s household, or more broadly as “activities occurring at the genitals” including the vaginal penetration by a snake, or a man masturbating with the aid of a hollowed-out turnip.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, the lack of a term for “virginity” in either a physical or spiritual sense in medieval Japan suggests that the social and cultural understandings on what genital contact meant

---

<sup>49</sup> A variety of studies conducted over the last two decades highlight the wide range in understandings of what was considered as “sex,” and point to the difficulties in establishing a coherent definition of “having sex.” As early studies focused primarily on male-female interactions, certain behaviors such as oral or anal sex were understood as less sexual than penile-vaginal sex, indicating a heteronormative distortion of how these practices are understood among other groups. More recent publications have added more nuance to these earlier findings. See Jessica J. Hille, Megan K. Simmons & Stephanie A. Sanders, “Sex” and the Ace Spectrum: Definitions of Sex, Behavioral Histories, and Future Interest for Individuals Who Identify as Asexual, Graysexual, or Demisexual,” *The Journal of Sex Research* vol. 57: 7 (2020), 813-823; Shelby B. Scott, Lane Ritchie, Kayla Knopp, et al. “Sexuality Within Female Same-Gender Couples: Definitions of Sex, Sexual Frequency Norms, and Factors Associated with Sexual Satisfaction,” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* vol. 47 (2018), 681–692; Ava D. Horowitz & Louise Spicer, “Having Sex” as a Graded and Hierarchical Construct: A Comparison of Sexual Definitions among Heterosexual and Lesbian Emerging Adults in the U.K.,” *Journal of Sex Research*, vol. 50: 2 (2013), 139-150; Gary Gute, Elaine M. Eshbaugh and Jacquelyn Wiersma, “Sex for You, But Not for Me: Discontinuity in Undergraduate Emerging Adults' Definitions of “Having Sex,” *The Journal of Sex Research* vol. 45, 4 (2008), 329-337; Eileah C Trotter; Kevin G Alderson, “University Students' Definitions of Having Sex, Sexual Partner, and Virginity Loss: The Influence of Participant Gender, Sexual Experience and Contextual Factors,” *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* vol. 16 1-2 (2007), 11-29.

<sup>50</sup> Tonomura, “Black Hair and Red Trousers,” 135; 139; 148-149.

was strikingly different than our current views.<sup>51</sup> In this regard “sex” is a contemporary term of limited usefulness. However, I include a discussion of sex, and specifically what “counts” as sexual activity primarily as a means of combatting scholarly interpretations of monk-*chigo* penetrative encounters as primarily about a monk’s pleasure or gratification, as these interactions have long been understood as sexual by scholars.

Finally, the question of the agency of *chigo* occasionally surfaces throughout this project. As few surviving documents record *chigos*’ actions and behaviors, in depth efforts to uncover a sense of agency is curtailed by a general lack of sources. Surviving examples have been subject to much academic scrutiny, but often conflate agency with resistance as part of an implicit understanding of monk-*chigo* sexual practices as oppressive. Hosokawa’s examples found in Jinson’s diary as well as Porath’s examination of disobedient youths in monasteries broadly point to a desire to find moments of resistance enacted by *chigo*. While these shed some light on how these figures behaved, interpreting the extreme examples of two *chigos*’ suicides later as adults or the more common records of misbehaving youths as a means of asserting autonomy against an oppressive regime is somewhat extreme.

Attempts to excavate a sense of agency in medieval Japan—particularly when agency is conflated with demonstrations of free will or as acts of resistance—often reflects the arbitrary interpretations of surviving sources by modern and contemporary authors. Pandey notes the problems with searching for examples of agency-as-resistance in premodern Japan, noting that the “assumption that behind every act there is the presence of an autonomous individual who has the innate desire to strike out against the norms of [their] society” is wildly anachronistic and reflects

---

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 140-141.

contemporary understandings of power, liberation and subjection.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, she notes the somewhat circular logic behind excavations of women's agency as a form of resistance writing:

To sustain the idea of Buddhist misogyny it is imperative to show that women are oppressed. At the same time the emancipatory project, built into feminism, demands that women be seen as agents actively fighting their oppression.<sup>53</sup>

She specifically points to the example of medieval Japanese nunhood where some scholars have interpreted women taking the tonsure as an act of resistance to the social constraints faced by women, while others view Buddhist nuns as evidence of women's oppression and Buddhism's misogyny. Instead, she notes that taking the tonsure was an action that existed outside of any understanding of it as an act of resistance.<sup>54</sup>

Furthermore, she notes that as the medieval Japanese world had yet to privilege humans as the sole bearers of agency, as *kami*, buddhas and animals were often understood as capable of acting in their own interests. This rather crowded landscape of autonomous agents presents a world in which agency-as-resistance is rather more complicated than one in which the understanding of agency exists as humans resisting domination by other humans alone. In this world, divinities themselves may directly intervene in human actions, possibly mitigating or amplifying the consequences of human decisions. Within this context, understanding agency exclusively as resistance "presuppose[s] the existence of a free will, which operates independently of social customs or traditions," and broadly does not reflect the complexity and nuance of an individual's place in the medieval world surrounded by divine and mundane non-human agents.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Pandey, 27.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 27-28.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 26.

Therefore, I primarily look at previous academic discussions of *chigo*'s agency with a degree of caution. Understanding agency as the “socioculturally mediated capacity to act” as Ahearn has defined it, *chigo* would not have shared our contemporary views on power and liberation and subsequently, would have acted in accordance with their social scripts within the boundaries of their cultural norms.<sup>56</sup>

#### 1.4 Chapter Overviews

In Chapter Two, I examine both texts and images that provide a broad outline of male-male sexual practices in classical and medieval Japan in both secular and monastic contexts. While certain instances of these practices were clearly understood as sexual, others that may code as homoerotic works to the modern viewer, such as the comparison of erect penises in the satirical illustrated handscroll *Yōbutsu kurabe* 陽物比べ, point to instances where depictions of male sexual arousal could be uncoupled from potential erotic interpretations. I then examine how male-male sexuality was treated in Buddhism, including texts that condemn male-male sexual practices as transgressions, but also Nara and Heian period works that point to understandings of sex as a form of expedient means (*hōben* 方便) to salvation. I include two examples of satirical and erotic Buddhist imagery: an apocryphal iconography of Fudō Myōō having sex with one of his attendants that survives only as a textual description, and the well-known *Chigo no sōshi*, both spuriously attributed to Toba Sōjō 鳥羽僧正 (1053-1140). Finally, I suggest that the development of *chigo kanjō* rituals may have not been regarded as sexual at all, but rather, as the logical conclusion of centuries of theorizing sex as expedient means within Japan. As Buddhism itself was understood as a kind of religious technology, the sexual mechanics involved in *chigo kanjō* would not

---

<sup>56</sup> Laura M. Ahearn, “Language and Agency,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* (2001), 112.

necessarily have coded as either a form of sex or assault, but rather as another means of using physical bodies to engage with Buddhism, not dissimilar from mudras, chanting, and visualization. Indeed, *chigo kanjō* reflect a similar ritualized sexuality as harnessed in Indian Tantric Buddhism wherein sexual acts are translated into ritual form, shifting the goal from personal, physical pleasure to spiritual and religious merit.<sup>57</sup>

In Chapter Three, I examine “Chigo Monju” icons. This particular iconography developed in Japan without preexisting notions of Monju as a divinity associated with sex, a view not fully developed until the Edo period. As Chigo Monju has not been previously codified as a coherent iconographic type, I present an overview of nine works that specifically depict Monju in the guise of a medieval *chigo* through both sartorial and tonsorial markings unique to Japan. I argue that these images point to a clear attempt to localize preexisting beliefs of Monju manifesting on Mount Wutai in China as a young orphan within a Japanese context, drawing heavily from imagery associated with the Wakamiya of Kasuga, a youthful *kami* who was identified as Monju, as well as notions of Monju as a particularly beneficial divinity for veneration associated with filiality. I argue that this new Monju iconography developed during the Nanbokuchō period as a direct result in changing patronage of the Kasuga/Kōfuku-ji complex due to the political rivalries of Emperor Go-Daigo and the Ashikaga shogunate.

Next, in Chapter Four, I turn to Chigo Daishi icons, or images of the Shingon patriarch Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) as a youth. While not a *chigo* in terms of either age or rank, I include these works as they are some of the most well-known icons classified as “*chigo*” within the history of art, and, at points, they have been conflated and confused with Chigo Monju imagery. While the

---

<sup>57</sup> Roger R. Jackson, “Ambiguous Sexuality: Imagery and Interpretation in Tantric Buddhism,” *Religion* vol. 22 no. 1, 93-94.

initial ritual use of these works has been obfuscated by being recast as portraiture during the Meiji period (1868-1912) when most of these icons traveled from temple archives to private collections and eventually museums, iconographic evidence and textual inscriptions on three individual paintings help reconstruct medieval uses of the works. Generally understood to be paintings of Kūkai at the moment of his first miracle at the age of five, I argue that the Esoteric visual framing of the figure seated on an eight-petaled lotus blossom surrounded by a moon disc, as well as his garments reflecting the elaborate, often imported fabrics used to construct the *kesa* robes of high-ranking monks form a visual shorthand articulating Kūkai's entire religious career, and his attainment of Buddhahood in a single lifetime. I first examine the Esoteric iconography surrounding the figure in these paintings, noting that the specificity of an eight-petaled lotus blossom and moon disc directly draw from ritual texts outlining the process of visualizing the Sanskrit letter A (*A-ji kan* 阿字觀). I then turn to the elaborate fabrics worn by the figure, as well as texts recording the proper attire for youths, to argue that while the textiles worn by Kūkai would be inappropriate for a five-year-old, they reflect the practice of using robes and clothing to indicate the symbolic presence of deceased masters. In addition, this reflects the annual practice of offering Kūkai's remains food and new clothing, as part of the belief that the patriarch remains in eternal meditation awaiting the arrival of Miroku 弥勒, the Future Buddha.

Finally, Chapter Five reexamines the illustrated handscrolls *Kokawa-dera engi e* 粉河寺縁起絵 (twelfth century), *Chigo Kannon engi* 稚児観音縁起 (fourteenth century) and *Aki no yo naga monogatari* 秋夜長物語 (fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries) as examples of paintings that recount tales of the main Kannon icons from Kokawa-dera, the Ōmidō of Bodai'in (Nara), and Ishiyama-dera taking the form of a *chigo* to perform miracles and lead others to salvation. Fostering cultic devotions to a *chigo* manifestation of Kannon at these three sites seems to have



developed in part because these locations were known to be particularly efficacious in providing male heirs and disciples to devotees. Thus, *chigo* were not only understood as the subject of a monk's affection, but manifestations of Kannon known to produce male heirs. While *Chigo Kannon engi* and *Aki no yo naga monogatari* have primarily been understood as romantic *chigo monogatari*, I contend that while romance may be present to varying degrees in these two examples, the primary function of these scrolls was to allow viewers to visually engage with the miracle-working Kannon icons at each site through illustration and literature. As the main Kannon icons at each of these three sites are kept ritually separate as hidden icons (*hibutsu* 秘仏), illustrated handscrolls were the primary means of conveying a sense of the miraculous capabilities and histories of these works. The potential for romantic desire for the icons manifesting as *chigo* would simply be one of several means of engaging the viewer out of many other strategies for conveying the salvific efficacy of these sites.

## 1.5 Conclusion

As the development of *chigo* iconography began prior to the creation of *chigo kanjō* rituals and the full flowering of *chigo monogatari* as a literary genre, these icons point to uses of *chigo* imagery outside the alleviation of monks' sexual desires. Therefore, examining these works in conjunction with *chigo monogatari* or *chigo kanjō* rites complicates the contemporary assertions that medieval interest in *chigo* as divine youthful manifestations were exclusively concerned with sex without sin. While interpretations of *chigo* tales and rituals dating from the Edo period and on emphasize the sexual desire of monks for youths, medieval *chigo* icons drew from preexisting continental iconographies and the broader sociocultural associations of *chigo* to create new images that could be used for a variety of purposes, none of which were primarily concerned with monk-*chigo* romantic or sexual relationships. These earlier medieval icons points to the broader,

malleable symbolic potential of youth in Japan that could be created to respond to specific needs as they arose without relying entirely on preexisting international iconographies developed in China or Korea.

## Chapter 2 Secular and Ritual Male-Male Sexual Practices in Medieval Japan

In Barbara Kruger's *Untitled (You Construct Intricate Rituals)*, six men grin as they hold down a seventh central figure, rough-housing while wearing matching suits with matching corsages, next to the words "You construct intricate rituals which allow you to touch the skin of other men," in alternating black and white in sans-serif Futura (fig. 2.1). The text and the black and white photograph suggest the desires for male kinship found in homosocial environments, as well as the potential for repressed sexual desire manifesting in subversive ways. The photograph shows twentieth-century men in a presumably jovial environment—even the central "victim" seems to be in on his attack—but work communicates the notion that the organized violence which permits male-male physical contact in the twentieth century may run the gamut from benign to horrific, such as the highly ritualized performance found in a collision or full-contact sports like football, rugby and wrestling, to hazing practices, including sexual and physical assault, to physical or emotional gay bashing, all at points among certain groups, considered normal.

I open this chapter on medieval Japanese male-male sexual practices with a postmodern photographic print from twentieth-century America as Kruger's work succinctly encapsulates the complex understandings of male intimacy, sexual encounters, and anxieties of physical and sexual violence between men that has permeated the last two centuries of scholarly discourse on *chigo*. In scholarship on both *chigo monogatari*, tales of monks and *chigo*, and *chigo kanjō*, consecration rites that ritually identified the body of a *chigo* as a manifestation of Kannon before sexual penetration by a senior monk occurred, the sexual aspects of both literary work and ritual text often

outweigh any other potential meaning generated by these works. Often, these works have been interpreted as a means to alleviate sexual desire for *chigo* and justify the presumed abuses in monk-*chigo* intimate encounters. The underlying assumption is that medieval Japanese monks and *chigo* needed an excuse for sexual or emotional bonds to form, and that male-male desire was somehow, inherently, anomalous or transgressional, and required a kind of religious absolution.

The goal of this chapter is to untangle the mess of associations surrounding *chigo* that have developed from the Edo period and onwards and extricate these semi-divine youths from an overly simple sexualized understanding. Certainly, *chigo* were the subject of erotic fascination by aristocratic men and monks alike and partook in sexual encounters with adult men, but it has yet to be conclusively argued that these sexual practices—either in bedrooms or Buddhist halls—were considered to be something illicit or in need of a cover-up through socio-religious propaganda disseminated as fictitious narratives. I argue that the variety of cultural productions surrounding sex and *chigo*—literary narratives, religious rituals and visual depictions—cannot be simply distilled into doctrinally-sanctioned means of having sex, as this places an undue primacy on sex itself, superseding any religious, social, political or cultural meanings generated by these works.

In this chapter, I will first provide a brief overview of texts that shed light on varied male-male sexual practices, drawing from courtier diaries, literary works and illustrated handscrolls. Then, I will turn to Buddhist writings and images reflecting views on male-male sexuality, beginning with the condemnatory and moving to legends that speak to the salvific benefits of sex with the divine. Lastly, I will discuss *chigo kanjō* rituals and problematize our understandings of these rituals as primarily abusive, by turning to other examples of acts that do not code for sex, thus allowing an exploration of *chigo kanjō* primarily as rituals that harness centuries of Buddhist tales of divinities engaging in sexual acts with their devotees. In arguing that these rituals had

interests other than sexual gratification alone, I suggest that the figures of quasi-divine *chigo* may be deployed in other contexts for a variety of nuanced meanings, themes I explore in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

## 2.1 Sources of Male-Male Sexual Practices Before 1600

Male-male sexual practices were not uncommon during the Heian period (794-1185) and subsequent centuries and one can find references to same-sex practices scattered across courtier diaries, fictitious narratives, and later, ritual texts. For males, sex in all its forms appears to have been practiced, revealing much about what was considered acceptable behavior during the Heian period. Hitomi Tonomura notes:

For men, desires are fulfillable in a range of forms, from intercourse with women and young boys to wet dreams and masturbation. These acts, for which there were no separate words, in and of themselves receive no negative judgement... Male desire is inherent, intrinsic and uncontrollable in these tales. Active male passion is taken for granted and goes uncriticized for what it is, except for the important provisions that heterosexual attachment is dangerous and that semen is considered temporarily impure—a thing to be washed off.<sup>58</sup>

Gary Leupp notes that courtier diaries by Fujiwara Sukefusa 藤原資房 (1007-1057), Ōe Tadafusa 大江匡房 (1040-1111), Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120-1156) and Fujiwara/Kujō Kanezane (藤原・九条兼実, 1147-1207) include passages in their writings that arguably hint at male-male sexual interactions, although to what degree these depict sexual activity is unclear. Tōno Haruyuki's work on Yorinaga's *Taiki* 台記 that examines instances of male-male sexual encounters listed in the courtier's diary, including males of the same social rank, as well as lower

---

<sup>58</sup> Tonomura, "Black Hair, Red Trousers," 148.

ranking attendants.<sup>59</sup> Yōrinaga's writings include his own encounter with a youthful male dancer, as well as the attention these figures received from other male aristocrats.<sup>60</sup> Fictional examples of male-male sexual practices also appear, although to what degree these reflected actual practices rather than misunderstandings by scholars is likewise, unclear. For example, a scene from the eleventh century *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 has been interpreted as the Shining Prince conducting an affair with the younger brother of a woman who spurned his attentions.<sup>61</sup> While these instances have been singled out as examples of "homosexual" activity between men by scholars in the late twentieth century, more nuanced interpretations of male-male relationships as recorded in diaries and literature have emerged, locating them within broader networks of homosocial desire and intimacy. This move away from the simplistic leaps made connecting male-male sexual encounters to larger issues of identity have greatly benefited scholarly understandings

---

<sup>59</sup> Gary Leupp, *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997): 25; Tōno Haruyuki, "Nikki ni miru Fujiwara no Yōrinaga no Nanshoku Kanekei," *Hisutoria*, vol. 84 (1979), 15-29.

<sup>60</sup> Leupp, *Male Colors*, 25-6; Megumi Tsuchiya, *Chūsei jūin no shakai to geinō*, 248-252; Fujiwara Yōrinaga, *Taiki*, vol. 1, 63. (Kyoto, Rinsen Shoten, 1966).

<sup>61</sup> Leupp, 25. Additional texts concerning figure who do not fall neatly into modern-day gender binaries also exist, but an extended discussion of these works is unfortunately beyond the scope of this dissertation. The twelfth-century *Torikaebaya monogatari* とりかへばや物語 recounts a tale in which a youth falls in love with a young woman, but does not realize his romantic interest is biologically male but clad in women's attire. Similarly, *Ariake no wakare* 有明の別れ (c.1200) features a central character, Ariake, who is raised to be male despite being born female and becomes an accomplished courtier. Only when the emperor assaults and impregnates him does Ariake fake his own death and return to court masquerading as his younger sister. For a partial translation of *Ariake no wakare*, see Robert Omar Khan, trans. "Partings at Dawn [Ariake no Wakare]" in *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1996), 21-30.

of how written records of sex do not neatly map onto contemporary understandings of sexuality, but rather, existed in their own network of social relationships and connections.<sup>62</sup>

While these written depictions of male-male sexual interest generally conform to the romanticized literary standards of the Heian period or express personal desires recorded in diaries, although more explicit visual works have been attributed to this time as well. A particularly striking handscroll currently titled *Kachi-e emaki* 勝絵巻, (fig. 2.2, a-d) or “Victory paintings,” was donated to the Mitsui Memorial Museum by a branch of the Mitsui family in 2006.<sup>63</sup> Part of a genre of images known collectively as *Yōbutsu kurabe* 陽物くらべ, or “Phallus Contests,” the work is purportedly a copy of a lost original that possibly dated to the Heian period.<sup>64</sup> The handscroll shows explicit scenes of men comparing their erect penises, shedding light on what was, and was not, considered to be sexual acts between men. It has been widely thought that these images are meant to function as satirical or humorous images, avoiding the more straightforward erotic connotations that contemporary viewers may find in the work. Akiko Yano notes that the guards from the start of the handscroll quote from a scene in the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻, a copy of a lost late Heian period original (fig. 2.3), establishing it as a parody of an aristocratic court event.<sup>65</sup> The progression of figures with increasingly large and more outlandishly sized

---

<sup>62</sup> See Paul G. Schalow, *A Poetics of Courty Male Friendship in Heian Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007); Gustav Heldt, “Between Followers and Friends: Male Homosocial Desire in Heian Court Poetry,” *US-Japan Women's Journal* no. 33 (2007), 3-32; Reginald Jackson, *A Proximate Remove Queering Intimacy and Loss in The Tale of Genji* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021).

<sup>63</sup> Akiko Yano, “Historiography of the ‘Phallic Contest’ Handscroll in Japanese Art,” *Japan Review* vol. 26, Special Issue Shunga, (2013): 61.

<sup>64</sup> Yano, “Historiography of the ‘Phallic Contest,’” 65-66.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, 66. *Nihon no emaki*, vol. 8.

penises climaxing at the only one with a labeled size seems to indicate a kind of narrative progression, that presumably mapped onto the humor found in such imagery.

The scroll opens with a group of figures of mixed social classes congregating outside of an area partitioned off by white curtains. Two guards beat back the onlookers, knocking a few to the ground. Behind the curtains, a group of aristocrats sit at tables drinking and eating, while beyond them a group of three naked men display their erect penises to the delight of the onlookers. Beyond them, a second set of red and blue striped curtains separate off an internal area, with two court officials peering over the top, attempting to glimpse what is happening on the other side.

Within the inner partition, three more nude men display their massive penises, shown so large that wooden supports and tables are needed to prop them up. An old aristocratic male dressed in blue, carries a ruler and moves to the last of the three men, presumably to officially measure his member. Two more dressed court officials point wildly onwards, to the tip of the largest penis yet protruding through a gap in the white curtains. Above it has been inscribed “the winning penis [measures] six *sun*,” (*katsugatsukari rokusun* カツくカリ六寸) noting the length as roughly seven inches. Behind him, another set of three nude men sit, two casting glances at the third man’s massive, yet still-flaccid penis.

Little documentation about *Yobutsu kurabe*’s provenance is known, but Edo and Meiji period writers often speculated on the location of the original scroll. While it is not known exactly when the Mitsui handscroll was created, various eras have been suggested, ranging from the Heian period to the sixteenth century, with the general consensus that if it were produced at a later date, it faithfully copied a Heian-period original.<sup>66</sup> It was believed that Toba Sōjō Kakuyū (鳥羽僧正

---

<sup>66</sup> Yano, “Historiography,” 65.



竟猷 1053-1140) produced the first instance of the subject, but the authenticity of this claim is tenuous at best.<sup>67</sup> However, textual references to images of exaggerated members is found in the *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 (1254), in an exchange between Toba Sōjō and a student:

Look at those erotic paintings made by the old masters. They depict the size of “the thing” far too large. How could it actually be like that? If they were depicted in its actual size, there would be nothing of interest.<sup>68</sup>

ふるき上手どものかきて候おそくづの絵などを候へ。その物の寸法は分に過て大に書て候事、いかでか實にはさは候べき。ありのまゝの寸法にかきて候はゞ<sup>69</sup>

It is clear that some form of imagery emphasizing male genitalia existed at the time when *Kokon chomonjū* was compiled in 1254 and Richard Lane has suggested that these were Japanese copies of Chinese manuals on sexual practices.<sup>70</sup>

The degree to which *Yobutsu kurabe* would have been understood as a depiction of sexual activity is unclear, pointing to a gray area in social practice, where a theoretical grouping of sexually aroused men would not be necessarily understood as sexual. As a satirical work that frames the absurdity of this competition within the trappings of a stately event, beginning with the reference to *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (fig. 2.3) —a work that recorded the annual ceremonies organized throughout the year—as well as portraying the competition as an event of some importance, where partitions are erected, and food provided. The seriousness of all the participant’s expressions along with the formal measurements taken for each penis points to a calculated and deliberate absurdity.

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 61-2.

<sup>68</sup> Translation by Yano, *ibid.*, 60.

<sup>69</sup> *Kokon chomonju* 11:16, NKBT vol. 84, 316-317.

<sup>70</sup> Amaury A. García Rodríguez, *El control de la estampa erótica japonesa shunga* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 2011), 84; Richard Lane, *Nihon higa shikō: Ukiyo-e no shoki emaki* (Tokyo: Ebundō, 1979).

On the other hand, scholars have pointed to *Yobutsu kurabe* as an early source for the development of *shunga* in the Edo period, pointing to a clear moment in which medieval paintings such as the Mitsui example were copied and reimagined for both humor and sexual titillation.<sup>71</sup> Whether or not medieval viewers of this work would have understood this as primarily satirical, erotic, or a combination of both, *Yobutsu kurabe* suggests that a homosocial and/or homoerotic scene would be considered appropriate imagery for consumption among the upper echelons of society. In short, despite the depiction of a group of sexually aroused men, the meanings generated by the work itself are not entirely or exclusively erotic, pointing to a level of nuance where an erect penis does not exclusively code for sex.

## **2.2 Commentaries on Sex in Medieval Japanese Buddhism: Transgression or Expedient Means?**

Among the various texts commenting on male-male sexual practices within a Buddhist context, few suggest any kind of condemnation of the practices for social or religious reasons. The most well-known of these condemnations is found in the *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集 (*The Essentials of Rebirth in the Pure Land*) written by the Tendai monk Genshin 源信 (942-1017) in 985. The *Ōjōyōshū* provides an overview and breakdown of different Buddhist afterlives, including a specific mention of men who have had sex with men in the fourth chapter, describing the Assembly Hell (Shugō jigoku 衆合地獄) specifically the subsection of the Region of Many Sufferings and Anguish (Takunō dokoro 多苦惱處):

There is another place called the Place of Much Suffering. In this place are doomed to suffer such men who engage in wrongful practices with other men. Here the victim, seeing the man he lusted with, embraces him with a passion like a hot flame which completely

---

<sup>71</sup> Akiko Yano, *passim*.

consumes his body. After he has died he comes to life again and runs away in great terror but only to fall over a terrible precipice where he is devoured by crows with flaming beaks and by foxes with mouths of flames.<sup>72</sup>

又有別處名多苦惱處。謂男於男行邪行者。墮此受苦。謂見本男子。一切身分皆悉熱炎。來抱其身。一切身分皆悉解散。死已復活。極生怖畏。走避而去墮於嶮岸。有炎□鳥炎口野干而噉食之。<sup>73</sup>

This inclusion of male-male sexual desire is not alone in its tortures in the Assembly Hell, as it describes (presumably) male lust for women as well:

Sometimes the hell wardens seize the victims and put them into a forest of sword blades. As they look up to the top branches of the trees in this forest they see beautiful and well-dressed women, indeed the faces of those whom once they loved. This fills them with joy and so they try to climb up the trees, but when they do so the branches and leaves all turn into swords which lacerate the flesh and pierce and pierce the bones. Though they are terrorized by this their evil Karma still drives them on in their desire and defying the swords they climb on. But when they reach the top they find the object of their desire below on the ground luring them to come down and each one saying to the lover on the tree: “Because of the Karma created by my passions for you I have come to this place. Why do you not come near me and embrace me?” Thus each one allures her victim from beneath the trees till the latter in their infatuation begin to climb down the tree again. But as they descend the leaves of the trees which are made of swords turn upward and thus lacerate their bodies. When they are about to reach the ground the women appear on the tops of the trees. Then the victims, overcome with passion, again climb up. This process goes on for ten trillion years. The cause of being thus deceived in this hell by one’s own heart and the consequent suffering is one’s own evil passion.<sup>74</sup>

又復獄卒取地獄人置刀葉林。見彼樹頭 有好端正嚴飾婦女。如是見已即上彼樹。樹葉如刀割其身肉。次割其筋。如是劈割一切處。已得上樹已。見彼歸女復在於地。以欲媚眼上看罪人。作如是言。念汝因緣。我到此處。汝今何故不來近我。何不抱我。罪人見已。欲心熾盛。次第復下。刀葉向上利如剃刀。如前遍割一切身分。

---

<sup>72</sup> Translation by Reischauer, with modifications by author. A. K. Reischauer, “Genshin’s *Ōjōyōshū*: Collected Essays on Birth into Paradise,” *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, second series, vol. VII, (1930), 33.

<sup>73</sup> T2682\_.84.0034b08 to T2682\_.84.0034b13.

<sup>74</sup> Reischauer, 32.

既到地已。而彼婦女復在樹頭。罪人見已而復上樹。如是無量百千億歲。自心所誑。彼地獄中如是轉行如是被燒。邪欲爲因乃至廣說<sup>75</sup>

These two separate tortures are shown in images of hell from Shōjuraigō-ji in Ōtsu (fig. 2.4 and 2.5). Two details from the set of Kamakura period hanging scrolls known *Rokudō-e*, or *Paintings of the Six Realms* show a mostly naked man with blood streaming down his arms and legs who clammers up a pine tree to be with an aristocratically dressed woman who sits serenely on the top branches. Immediately to the right shows the same man, now climbing down the tree as the woman has frustratingly appeared at the bottom of the trunk, his suffering watched with mild interest from one of the attendants. Similarly focusing on the repetitively painful acts inflicted upon the damned for their lust, the illustration depicting male-male desire shows an emaciated man fleeing from a pale-skinned youth with topknots and flames shooting from his hands and feet. The man looks down towards the base of the mountain where another flaming youth appears to begin to give chase, not realizing that he is about to plummet from the edge of a rocky cliff.

It is intriguing to note that the set of *Rokudō-e* hanging scrolls depicting this punishment for male-male sexual desire was produced in the Kamakura period, suggesting that the tenth-century concerns voiced in the *Ōjōyōshū* were still present to some degree in the early medieval period. Textual sources from the eighth through fourteenth centuries do not fully partake in this same degree of condemnation of sexual desire, specifically in instances where the object of one's desire was a divinity. The general concern, however, seems to have surrounded sexual desire and the karmic attachments it creates and not necessarily prioritizing male-male or male-female desire as more destructive. Despite this condemnation, sex appears in a variety of Buddhist short tales as well as in documents speaking to the details of the personal lives of monks. In many cases, when

---

<sup>75</sup> T2682\_.84.0034a12 to T2682\_.84.0034a23.

sex appears in the literary sources it is treated as a kind of beneficial direct encounter with the divine, akin to the doctrine of expedient means (*hōben* 方便 Skt. *upāya*). Therefore, the sexual act itself is less important than the result, or the implication that particularly divinities may use sex as a means of helping a devotee to enlightenment.

One of the earliest examples of a Japanese Buddhist tale depicting sexual desire in a benign, if not beneficial manner is found in *Nihon genpō zen'aku ryōiki* 日本国現報善悪靈異記 (hereafter, *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記), written by the monk Kyōkai 景戒 (b.?-d.?) between 787 and 828. In this tale, a male layperson's devotions to the female divinity Kichijōten led to a dream vision where the two had sexual intercourse:

At a temple on Mt. Chitei in the district of Izumi in Izumi Province, there was an image of the heavenly woman Kichijōten. In the reign of Emperor Shōmu [701-756], a devout layman [J. *ubasoku* 優婆塞, Skt. *upāsaka*] from Shinano Province came to live at the mountain temple. When he stole a glance at the image of this heavenly woman it aroused his passion and then stole his heart. He prayed six times a day saying, "Grant me a fine woman with the same form as yours." The layman dreamt that he and the image of the heavenly woman had sex, [and] the next morning, when he looked at the image, [he saw that] by her loins on her underskirt was defiled and polluted by a stain. Seeing this, the devotee felt ashamed and said, "My wish was only to have a woman like you. But instead, you gave me yourself!" Ashamed, he said nothing to others. Afterwards, [the layman's] disciple [at the temple] found out about this incident. Because he was disrespectful to his master, he was scolded and expelled. He went to the village in that area and slandered his [former] master to the extent of [revealing this] incident. The villagers heard about this and traveled to question the veracity of [his claims]. When they vied with one another to look at the image, they saw the licentious stain of the layman's semen and he could no longer keep his affair secret...<sup>76</sup>

和泉ノ国泉ノ郡血渟ノ山寺ニ有吉祥天女ノ像。聖武天皇ノ御世。信濃ノ国ノ優婆塞来住於其ノ山寺ニ。睇テ之天女ノ像ヲ而生愛欲ヲ。繫テ心ニ恋ヒ之ヲ。毎ニ六時願云。如キ天女ノ容ノ好女賜へ我ニ。優婆塞夢ニ見婚ト天女ノ像ニ。明日瞻レバ之。彼像ノ裙ノ腰ニ不淨染汗タリ。行者視テ之而慚愧シテ言。我願似タルヲ女。何ゾ忝ク天女専ラ自ラ交之ニ。媿テ不語他人ニ。弟子偷ニ聞之ヲ後。其ノ弟子於

---

<sup>76</sup> Translation by author. See also, Burton Watson, trans. *Record of Miraculous Events in Japan: the Nihon Ryōiki* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 86.

師無礼。故ニ嘖テ擯去ル。所レテ擯出里ニ。訕リテ師ヲ程ス事ヲ。里人聞テ之ヲ往テ問ヒ虚実ヲ。並ニ瞻レバ彼ノ像ヲ。淫精染穢。優婆塞不得隱事ヲ...<sup>77</sup>

The text does not suggest that the lay devotee's interaction with Kichijōten was particularly effective for his own spiritual development, but rather a demonstration of the power of the icon itself as the lasting stain of his semen on the image was the main evidence of the affair which confirmed the miracle to the local village.

The *Nihon ryōiki* tale is reproduced in *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集, or *Tales of Times Now Passed*, a Heian period anthology of tales from India, China and Japan.<sup>78</sup> This suggests that while the original may date to the ninth century, it clearly resonated centuries later; although by the twelfth century, emphasis had shifted to the spiritual gains achieved through having an affair with a manifestation of a Buddhist divinity. Tonomura highlights a chapter from *Konjaku monogatari shū* as an example of male sexual desire for women as a convenient means of spiritual development. After a wealthy widow allows a monk to stay at her house, he attempts to seduce her. She rejects him, saying that she would be willing to have sex once he masters the *Lotus Sutra*. After he does this, he returns and is rejected again, with the stipulation that he becomes a scholar-priest (*gakushō* 学生). When he accomplishes this higher rank, he sleeps with the widow, only to awake in the middle of a field, realizing that the woman was a manifestation of the bodhisattva Kokuzō.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> *Nihon ryōiki* 2:13 in GR vol. 447.

<sup>78</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 17:45 SNKBT vol. 36, 87.

<sup>79</sup> Tonomura, "Black Hair, Red Trousers," 147; *Konjaku monogatari shū*, 17: 33.

A third instance of a romantic tryst with the divine is also found in *Konjaku monogatari shū*. This narrative recounts how Bishamonten from the Tendai sect temple Kurama-dera, in the north part of present-day Kyoto, manifested as a wandering male youth and encountered a monk from Mount Hiei:

At a time now past, there was a monk of Mount Hiei... Although he was a scholar of great eminence, he was desperately poor and, lacking a powerful patron, was unable to obtain a residence on the Mountain... For many years he had been going to Kurama-dera to pray to Bishamonten to relieve him.

Now on the twentieth day of the ninth month he went to Kurama-dera. On his return journey... he was joined by a handsome lad in his seventeenth or eighteenth year, faultlessly dressed in a loosely belted white robe...<sup>80</sup>

今昔、比叡ノ山□□ニ僧有ケリ、止事无キ學生ニテ有ケレド身貧キ事无限シ。墓々シキ檀越ナド不持ゼリケ山ニハ否无ケテ、後ニハ京ニ下テ、雲林院ト云フ所ニナ住ケル。父母ンド无カリケ、物云懸ル人ナド无クテ、便ヨリ无カリケル其ノ事祈リ申スト鞍馬ニゾ年来仕リケ。

而ル間、九月ノ中ノ十日ノ程ニ、鞍馬ニ参ニケ。返ケル[...]年十六七歳許有ル童ノ、形チ美麗ナル月々ジ氣ナル白キ衣ヲ四度解无氣ニ中結[...]行キ具シタ。<sup>81</sup>

The monk discovers that the youth had left his temple after a dispute with a friend and having no parents or anywhere else to stay, the two travel together and eventually the monk's lust for the youth leads to a sexual encounter:

[After] the sun went down, the monk drew close to him and began to caress him familiarly...

He said to the boy, "Since the time of my birth I have not touched a woman's skin except for my mother's breast... But this is so odd! It's not at all like being in bed with a boy... Can it be that you're a woman? Is that so? Tell me..."<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> Miriam Ury, *Tales of Times Now Past: Sixty-Two Stories from a Medieval Japanese Collection* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1993), 117.

<sup>81</sup> *Konjaku monogatari shū* 17: 44, NKBT vol. 24; 567-569.

<sup>82</sup> Ury, *Tales of Times Now Past*, 118

赤ノ日モ暮ヌレ僧近付テ、今ハ馴々シキ様ニ翔ケル僧、恠シキ事ヤ思ケム、僧ニ云ケル様、「己ハ此ノ世ニ生レテ後、母ノ懷ヨリ外ニ女ノ褻觸ル事无ケレ委クハ不知ネド恠ク、例ノ児共ノ邊ニ寄タルニ不似ズ[...]若シ、女ナドニ御スル然ラバ、有ノマ、宣ヘ[...]」<sup>83</sup>

The youth explained to the monk that even if he were a woman, the monk should just speak to him fondly like any other youth. That night, the monk and the youth have sex and the tale notes how the youth then became pregnant and eventually gave birth. After this, when the monk went to look at the youth and his child, the youth vanished, and in place of an infant was a large lump of gold. The monk realized that this was Bishamonten's response to his devotions and was able to financially sustain himself by selling pieces of the gold, allowing him to prosper.<sup>84</sup>

Other legends about Kannon's salvific prowess in the form as a youth appear from at least the Heian period in a group of works now collectively considered associated with the literary genre of *chigo monogatari*. The twelfth century *Kokawa-dera engi e* 粉河寺縁起絵 (*The Miraculous Origins of Kokawa-dera*) provides an early example of Kannon transforming into a youth to convert a hunter from taking life and save a woman with a skin ailment. *Chigo Kannon engi* 稚児観音縁起 (*Kannon's Manifestation as a Youth*, fourteenth century) and the *Hase-dera reigenki* 長谷寺靈驗記 (*The Miraculous Tales of Hase-dera*, c. 1210) record a tale of the Kannon from Hase-dera whose premature death and transformation into a sculpture leads a monk to salvation through the *Lotus Sutra*. *Aki no yo naga monogatari* 秋夜長物語 (*Long Tale for an Autumn Night*; late fourteenth century), arguably the most famous of *chigo monogatari*, tells the story of the Heian

---

<sup>83</sup> *Konjaku monogatari shū* 17: 44, 567-569.

<sup>84</sup> Ury, *Tales of Times Now Past*, 117-120.



period monk Sensai 瞻西 (d. 1127) and Lord Umewaka, an aristocratic *chigo*, whose romance starts a war between Enraku-ji and Mii-dera, resulting in Umewaka's death by suicide. Sensai eventually attains enlightenment after learning that his young lover was, in fact, a manifestation of the Nyōrin Kannon at Ishiyama-dera. These tales and paintings are the subject of Chapter Five, where I argue for their multifaceted meanings generated around the dates of their creation.

The framing of *chigo monogatari* as a coherent grouping of literary texts primarily concerning the relationships between youths and monks dates to the Edo period. Literary scholars have pointed to compelling shared themes and complexities repeating through these tales, largely passing over the importance of aspects of sacred icons in favor of the romantic or sexual aspects.<sup>85</sup> Starting with the poet Ōta Nanpo's 大田南畝 (1749-1823) compilation of *chigo monogatari* (*Chigo monogatari burui* 児物語部類), only six tales are mentioned, specifically, *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, *Chigo kyōkun* 児教訓, *Matsuho no ura monogatari* 松帆浦物語, *Genmu monogatari* 幻夢物語, *Toribeyama monogatari* 鳥部山物語 and *Saga monogatari* 嵯峨物かたり.<sup>86</sup> Schmidt-Hori notes that among these original *chigo monogatari*, *Matsuho no ura monogatari* and *Toribeyama monogatari*, do not feature a *chigo*. *Matsuho no ura* features a former *chigo* who is now a young nobleman, while in *Toribeyama monogatari*, the youth was never a *chigo* in a monastic setting but is an aristocratic youth with a monk lover.<sup>87</sup> She notes that this directly reflects the changing understanding of the concept of *chigo* during the Edo period from a temple acolyte

---

<sup>85</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 41-50.

<sup>86</sup> Kondō Heijō, ed. *Zoku shiseki shūran* 続史籍集覧 vol. 6 (Tokyo: Chikafuji Shuppanbu, 1930), 485.

<sup>87</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 46-47.

to the younger partner in a *nanshoku* relationship with the understanding that the senior partner was a monk. Despite this discrepancy, both tales are considered canonical *chigo monogatari*.<sup>88</sup>

*Chigo kyōkun* is also an outlier in that it is not a *monogatari* romance tale, but rather, a satirical series of poems written during the Muromachi period that served a pedagogical purpose by highlighting the misbehavior of *chigo*. Purportedly written by the monk Sōgi 宗祇 (1421–1502), little evidence directly links him to the work. A variant of *Chigo kyōkun* was produced during the Momoyama period entitled *Inu tanka* 犬短歌 or *The Dog Short Poems*, and most notably for Ōta Nanpo, in the Edo period as *Wakashū monogatari* (early seventeenth century, Kan'ei era).<sup>89</sup> *Chigo kyōkun* and its variants were used as a set of instructions primarily for acolytes from warrior families through the Edo period.<sup>90</sup> Despite the work having no clear reference to male-male sexual or romantic intimacy, Iwata Jun'ichi lists it as an example of *nanshoku* in his extensive listing of texts recording male-male intimacy, *Honchō nanshoku kō* 本朝男色考 (1930–1933).

Additional canonical *chigo monogatari* texts have been added through twentieth-century scholarship. Araki Yoshio's listing of *chigo monogatari* in 1961 expanded this list to include *Ashibiki* あしびき, *Hanamitsu* 花みつ and *Ben no sōshi* 辨草子.<sup>91</sup> By 1978, Teiji Ichiko included

---

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 47

<sup>89</sup> Laura Moretti, “Kanazōshi Revisited: The Beginnings of Japanese Popular Literature in Print”, *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 65, no. 2 (2010), 341.

<sup>90</sup> Porath, “Nasty Boys or Obedient Children? Childhood and Relative Autonomy in Medieval Japanese Monasteries,” *Childs Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, ed. Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 30.

<sup>91</sup> Araki Yoshio, *Chūsei Kamakura Muromachi jidai bungaku jiten* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1961), 242–243.

it in his own listing of *chigo monogatari*, which he categorized based on the prominent inclusion of a *chigo* character, regardless of the romantic or sexual context, noting that along with *Chigo no sōshi*, *Chigo Kannon engi* survived as one of the earliest *chigo* tales.<sup>92</sup> Likewise, Iwata Jun'ichi lists *Chigo Kannon engi* in *Honchō danshoku kō*. In English scholarship, Margaret Childs does not list *Chigo Kannon engi* as a *chigo monogatari* until her translation of the tale in 1996 in *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature*, which seems to have cemented its status as a romance tale.<sup>93</sup> All of this is to say, that these works have been grouped together over time as a coherent genre based on the possibility of age-based male-male romances or sexual encounters, even when these elements may not have been the most notable features of the work when originally written.

Leaving the realm of the divine, other recorded instances indicate male-male encounters, or depictions of male sexuality, including recorded stories and personal accounts. *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (thirteenth century) includes several references to various types of male-male behavior that may be read as sexual in a modern context. In one instance, a holy man claims to have cut off his penis to avoid sexual temptations, suggesting some understanding of the sacred body as being without sexual desire.<sup>94</sup> The tale continues to demonstrate the absurdity of this level of devotion—the priest is held down, and, notably, a male youth was called upon to arouse him, revealing that the ascetic had simply glued his penis out of sight between his legs.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> He additionally adds *Kōzuke no kimi shōsoku* to the list of *chigo* tales.

<sup>93</sup> Sachi Schmidt-Hori continues to add to the list of *chigo monogatari*, parsing their shared commonalities and departures in great detail. See *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 42-49.

<sup>94</sup> D. E. Mills, *A Collection of Tales from Uji*, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, 1970), 142. *Uji shui monogatari* 1:6 SNKBT vol. 42.

<sup>95</sup> Mills, *A Collection of Tales from Uji*, 143.

Contextually, it is clear that the goal was to disprove the extreme claims made by the wandering holy man through manually stimulating him to a degree of arousal, although it seems unlikely that the intent was sexual from either the perspective of those pinning the holy man down or from that of the youth, but rather intended as a group effort to humiliate through dispelling the man's false claims. This tale falls between a kind of deliberate assault on the holy man and homosocial roughhousing. Certainly, the forced bodily contact now may be read as a kind of sexual violence perpetrated against the holy man, but the extremes emphasized within the tale—claiming to have amputated one's own sex organ, and the public revelation of this falsehood—point to a kind of pointed critique, taking direct aim at those religious figures claiming to have transcended physical desires while secretly indulging in them, perhaps indicating a kind of hypocrisy associated with religious figures at the time.

Other tales in *Uji shūi monogatari* point to different examples of the sexual behavior of monks, suggesting that sexual desire was certainly not absent among those dedicated to religious life. In one example, Minamoto no Masatoshi 源雅俊 (?-1122) commissioned religious services conducted by monks of who have lived lives of absolute chastity (*isshō fuban* 一生不犯) who would ring bells and lecture on religious texts. When one monk's attempt to strike the bell fails, he wonders aloud if masturbation would disqualify him from this lifelong celibacy, having done so only the previous night. The term used in this instance for masturbation, *kawatsurimi*, かわつゝるみ, may also be glossed as “sodomy” or desire for *nanshoku*, suggesting a potential conflation between sex between males and other non-reproductive sexual acts, or a general ambiguity over how certain practices were understood in relation to sexual activity as a whole.<sup>96</sup> In another

---

<sup>96</sup> Mills, 148; *Uji shūi monogatari*, vol. 1, 11. SNKBT vol. 42., 23. *Nihon kokushi daijiten*, *kawatsurumi*.

instance, a short tale notes that the Tendai abbot Fujiwara no Zoyo had fallen for a young *sarugaku* performer, and convinces the youth to take the tonsure so the two may spend more time together. However, Zoyo discovered that he found the youth's beauty greatly diminished when wearing monastic robes and has the youth dress in his former garments before inviting the youth back to his private chambers.<sup>97</sup>

Perhaps the most direct evidence speaking to monk-*chigo* desire comes in the form of a *kishō* 起請 vow, a request for divine guidance, composed in 1237 by Samon Shūsei 沙門宗性 (1202-1278), a monk from Tōdai-ji:

Five Vows:

Item: I will remain secluded at Kasagi Temple<sup>98</sup> until reaching age forty-one

Item: Having violated my precepts with [男犯] ninety-five men up to now, I will forbid myself from indulging in sexual desire outside of these hundred men.

Item: I will not keep and cherish any boys [童] except Kameō-maru [亀王丸, dates unknown]

Item: I will not keep *uewarawa* in my own bedroom.

Item: Among the *uewarawa* and *chūdōji*, I will not keep and cherish any as their older lover [nenja 者事]<sup>99</sup>

五箇条起請事

- 一 四十一年算之後、常可籠居笠置寺事、
- 一 于時九十五人也、男犯百人之外、不可行姪欲事、
- 一 亀王丸之外、不可儲愛童事、
- 一 自房中不可置上童事
- 一 上童中童之間、不可儲念者事<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> Leupp, *Male Colors*, 39; D. E. Mills, *A Collection of Tales from Uji*, 247-250. *Uji shūi monogatari*, 78 (5/9).

<sup>98</sup> 笠置寺. Chisan sect of Shingon Buddhism in Kyoto,

<sup>99</sup> Translation by Leupp, 39 with author's changes. *Nenja*, in *nanshoku* refers to the elder partner.

<sup>100</sup> Takeuchi Rizō, ed., *Kamakura ibun*, vol.7, no. 5190 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2018), 361.

A direct statement from a Buddhist monk about their sexual activities with various youths in a monastic setting are rare, particularly from this early of a date. Unfortunately, little is known about Samnon Shūsei or Ryūō-maru, although the format of the monk's vows seems to suggest some degree of a Buddhist concern with his sex life, although moderation seems to have been acceptable if total abstinence was not.

Thus, despite Genshin's insistence that sexual transgressions would result in a rebirth in a horrific Buddhist hell, these other surviving documents point to a somewhat less dire view of sex in Buddhism. While still a concern, a strict prohibition against sexual activity did not restrict many monks' behaviors to the degree that Genshin had perhaps desired. Sex, while technically at odds with broader Buddhist teachings on attachment, may also be used as a kind of expedient means, where a chance encounter leads to a direct connection with a particular divinity as seen in texts written from the Heian period through the Muromachi period.

### **2.3 Toba Sōjō and Illustrations of Male-Male Sexual Practices before the Edo Period**

A particularly striking story included in the Tendai encyclopedia *Keiran shūyōshū* 溪嵐拾葉集 (1318) points to a possible theorization about the role of sex and pollution in Buddhism. In this text, three seemingly irreverent iconographies of Fudō Myōō allegedly produced by Toba Sōjō 鳥羽僧正 (1053-1140; also known as Kakuyū 覺猷), are recorded along with doctrinal sources explaining the seemingly counterintuitive mix of divinity, sexual transgression and pollution. On one hand, by invoking Toba Sōjō as the alleged author of these purportedly lost works, the intent may have been a kind of irreverent humor—he was, after all, associated with satire—but the addition of a religious pretext for the images based in the *Lotus Sutra* points to a broader understanding on how sexual desire and activity may be reframed as a devotional practice. Yushō

Tokushi reproduces a lengthy description of Kakuyū's various paintings of Fudō Myōō as listed in the *Keiran shūyōshū*:

My master told me that Toba Sōjō Kakuyū was peerless in the realm as a knowledgeable Shingon master and calligrapher, and that he was an incarnation of Fudō. During the time when Sōjō was alive, he dedicated over a hundred fantastic and strange-looking Fudō images that he had painted. Among these works are strange images that had never been seen before.

The central image [of one] showed Fudō with his youthful attendant Seitaka, lodging together and taking in the pleasures of manifesting in this world and sharing a bed.

Another, he said, was drawn in the same volume showing Fudō hastily entering into the monk's latrine with two *dōji* among the rest of the worldly people holding their noses because of the smell.

In another, he drew Fudō Myōō in the form of him entering into the monk's privy and wiping his ass with his sword.

With these secret teachings come to mind, it is said they have profound meaning...According to the *Lotus Sutra*, like one who spends twenty years removing shit without pay, contemplating emptiness will remove the dust of visions and thoughts. Contemplating emptiness is the hidden doctrine...

It is also said there is an image showing Fudō swinging his sword while running, probably an image of him chasing the two *dōji*. Thus, through using the sword of actualized enlightenment, thoughts are ornamented with the true form of the law. It is also said that through the two edges of the empty and the nominal, the wondrous principles of the middle path match [one's] thoughts, and so on, as [one] polishes their rosaries [through continued use].<sup>101</sup>

師物語云、鳥羽僧正覺猷天下無雙碩<sup>學</sup>眞言師、又書師也、卽是不動化也

此僧正在生之間、異形不動百余尊奉書之其中非普通不思議形像アリ、中尊不動勢多伽童子ト合宿出世振舞給形體此興此興

又云、同書面書不動尊僧廁入給<sup>催</sup>下痢相貌凡如世間人二童子クサカテ鼻塞體アリ

又云、不動明王僧廁入給劔以尻拭給風情被書也、

---

<sup>101</sup> Translation by author.

深秘習事之顯密一致、深意有之云云...法華云、二十年中常令除糞（文）事以空觀除見思粉意也、空觀即秘義也、云云...

又云、不動劔ウチカタケテ走絵風情、二童子トラント追走體、是則定恵刀以法體莊嚴意也又云、空假二邊以中道妙理契當意ナリ、云云一磨念珠事<sup>102</sup>

Tsuji Nobuo has argued for the sexual interpretation of the first iconography and the two scatological images seem to be a contemplation on issues of purity as well.<sup>103</sup> Considering the concerns with feces and pollution of one's body as well as certain sacred areas, the impurities of anal sex and latrines are linked to the *Lotus Sutra*, forming a kind of religious interpretation for such irreverent and satirical scenes.<sup>104</sup>

If they ever existed, Toba Sōjō's illustrations of Fudō do not survive. However, the early fourteenth century date of *Keiran shūyōshū* points to a clear interest in exploring Buddhism and sexuality through illustration. The earliest known surviving work depicting male-male sexual practices, *Daigoji nanshoku-e* 醍醐寺男色絵, more commonly known as *Chigo no sōshi*, records a date of 1321 in its colophon, and is also attributed to Toba Sōjō, and forms an intriguing point of comparison. Previously known in English as the *Catamites Scroll*, the work was known as early as the seventeenth century and became the subject of scholarly interest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sachi Schmidt-Hori has argued that the handscroll is a valuable source

---

<sup>102</sup> Yusho Takushi, "Toba Sōjō Kakuyū no giga ni kansuru ichi shiryō," *Kokka* vol. 504 (November 1932), 305-6, 1932; Tsuji Nobuo, "Oko-e no sekai: Nihon kaiga no yūisei ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu," 110.

<sup>103</sup> Tsuji, "Oko-e no sekai: Nihon kaiga no yūisei ni kansuru ichi kosatsu," *Higaku geijutsu kenkyū: Geijutsu to bikishi*, ed. Yamamoto Masao (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1977), 110.

<sup>104</sup> Faure notes that certain *kekka* restricted all forms of pollution from bodily fluids, specifically citing Hikosan as an example, but does not provide dates when these bans were active. See, *The Power of Denial*, 223.



of information regarding how monks and *chigo* negotiated their ranks and roles within male-male sexual practices, and that the work complicates a straightforward understanding of *chigo* as powerless figures at the mercy of older monks. If this indeed is a fourteenth-century work, it is the only example of an erotic painting depicting monk-*chigo* sexual practices surviving from this period, and notably, gives no suggestion that these sexual practices were seen as problematic in any sense.<sup>105</sup> The imagery of monks having sex with *chigo* in a variety of positions and contexts potentially points to monastic interests in such a work, although documentation on this handscroll is scarce.<sup>106</sup>

Over the last century, only a handful modern viewers have seen the surviving handscroll, with one notable exception being Yukio Mishima who wrote about seeing the work in his semi-autobiographical *Forbidden Colors*:<sup>107</sup>

The abbot appeared then. He expressed regret that he and Shunsuke saw so little of each other. Then he ushered the two into another room. At Shunsuke's insistence, he showed them a document that was kept hidden in the most esoteric precincts of the temple...In the back of the book the date was given as the first year of Genkyo (1321). It was a secret book of the time of the Emperor Go-Daigo. They rolled the scroll out on the tatami lit by the winter sun. Its name was *Chigo no sōshi*. Yuichi couldn't read the foreword, but Shunsuke put on his glasses and read it flawlessly...The *nanshoku* pictures that were shown following this simple, frank forward were filled with a pleasant, artless sensuality. As Yuichi studied excitedly every scene, Shunsuke's mind was drawn to the name of the son, Chūta, the very name of the retainer in "The Broken Inkstone"...<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> Fukuda Kazuhiko, *Enshoku ukiyo-e zenshū*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Kawada Shobō Shinsha, 1994), 4.; Richard Lane, *Nihon higa shikō: Ukiyo-e no shoki emaki*; Rodríguez, *El control de la estampa*, 88-89. Hiramatsu Ryūen, "Nihon bukkyō ni okeru sō to chigo no nanshoku," *Nihon no kenkyū* 34 (March 2007).

<sup>106</sup> Rodríguez, *El control de la Estampa*, 88-9.

<sup>107</sup> Timothy Clark, et al., *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art* (London: The British Museum Press, 2013), 73, note 19.

<sup>108</sup> Translation by Alfred H. Marks with changes by author. Yukio Mishima, *Forbidden Colors*, trans. Alfred H. Marks (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 184.

管長がその時現われて、俊輔に久闊を舒べ、二人を別室へ案内すると、俊輔の懇望にまかせて、この密教の寺院に深く秘された一巻の草紙を見せてくれた。

奥書に元亨元年の日附があるとおり、冬日のさしこむ畳の上にひろげられてゆく巻物は、後醍醐帝の時代の秘本である。その名を稚児乃草子というのであったが、悠一には読めない詞書を、俊輔は眼鏡をかけてすらすらと読みだした。

この素朴なあけすけな詞書につづいてあらはれる男色絵は、ほほえましい稚拙な肉感を湛えていたが好奇の眼でそれらの一こまに見入る悠一をよそに、俊輔の心は、中太という介添殿役の男の名から、あの「硯破」の同じ家臣の名へ漂い移った。<sup>109</sup>

Whether or not Mishima saw the original work or a later copy is unknown, although he was clearly familiar with at least the first narrative of the work, where a *chigo* enlists Chūta, his attendant, to prepare him for sex with an older monk. The “original” Daigo-ji scroll has been reproduced at least three times. The earliest known extant copy dates from the seventeenth century and was last recorded in the possession of an anonymous collector in Shizuoka. A copy of the Daigo-ji scroll was made by the sculptor and conservator Niiro Chūnosuke 新納忠之介 (1868-1954) at an unknown date, and, lastly, a Meiji period copy was made by an unknown artist, which is currently owned by the British Museum (fig. 2.6 a-o).<sup>110</sup> Iwata Jun’ichi suggested that the name *Chigo no sōshi* was a late Meiji period invention, created when the Daigo-ji scroll was repaired in 1892, and that the work had previously been called *Nanshoku emaki*, and attributed the work to Toba Sōjō.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Mishima, *Kinjiki* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1964), 299-300.

<sup>110</sup> Niiro Chunosuke’s copy is reproduced in “Chigo no sōshi: Honbun shōkai,” *Yasō* vol. 15 (1985): 167–188.

<sup>111</sup> Ozaki Kyūya cho, *Edo nanpa zakkō* (Tokyo: Shunyōdō, 1925), 18-20. Both the attribution to Toba Sōjō and the earlier title of *Nanshoku emaki* are likely early modern inventions. While the term *nanshoku* appears as early as the thirteenth century, it gained wider usage during the Edo period. The attribution to Toba Sōjō likely stems from his reputation as an author of erotic and satirical works. See Iwata Jun’ichi, *Nanshoku bunken sōshi*, 16-17.

Hayashi and Lane state that the Daigo-ji scroll is the oldest extant erotic painting showing male-male sexual practices, and, if it were not for its subject matter, would likely be a National Treasure.<sup>112</sup> Their publications on the work include three rare photographs of the purported original housed at Daigo-ji, but only of two illustrations of the scroll and the final of the colophon itself. The colophon reads “copy finished in on the eighteenth [day] of the sixth [month] of Genkō 1 [1321] 元亨元六十八書写訖,<sup>113</sup> suggesting that this too is a copy, and unfortunately offers no indication of where this copying took place fig. 2.7 a-c).<sup>114</sup>

The Meiji period copy at the British Museum is believed to be a nearly perfect recreation of the Daigo-ji scroll, including wormholes and damaged areas, suggesting that it was produced primarily out of antiquarian interests about the Daigo-ji scroll. The Daigo-ji version of the work has only been reproduced in a few photographs, prompting many scholars to rely on the British Museum’s copy.<sup>115</sup> This particular reproduction was owned by Baron Mitsui Takaharu 三井高陽 (1900-1983), and is suspected to have been previously owned by literary scholar Ozaki Kyūya 尾崎久彌 (1890-1972) beforehand.<sup>116</sup> Finally, another more recent replica of the handscroll appeared

---

<sup>112</sup> Hayashi and Lane, *Teihon Ukiyo-e shunga meihin shūsei: Higa emaki “Koshibagaki zōshi* vol.17 (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1995), 20.

<sup>113</sup> Hashimoto Osamu, “Mazamaza to nikudai de aru yō na mono: *Chigo no sōshi*,” Hiragana nihon bijutsushi, *Geijutsu shinchō* vol. 47, no. 6 (1996) 112.

<sup>114</sup> Sachi Schmidt Hori, *Idolized Boys*, 78; Atkins, “Chigo in the Medieval Imagination,” 950; Hashimoto, *Chigo no sōshi*, 112.

<sup>115</sup> Photographs of the Daigo-ji scroll appear in Lane and Hayashi, *Teihon Ukiyo-e shunga meihin shūsei*, and Phillip Rawson *Erotic Art of the East: The Sexual Theme in Oriental Painting and Sculpture* (New York: Berkley Publishing Company, 1968) n.p.

<sup>116</sup> “Chigo no sōshi,” The British Museum, Accessed September 10, 2022, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A\\_2013-3001-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_2013-3001-1).

in 2018, included in the exhibition “Coloured Bondage: Jacolby Satterwhite x Danshoku” at Asakusa in Tokyo.<sup>117</sup> Various press releases note that the artist’s video work is paired with a reproduction of the original from Daigo-ji Sanju’in, the handscroll fully unrolled, folding over itself to obscure the calligraphy and highlight the scenes of monks and *chigo* engaged in sexual intercourse—all censored with metallic pigments.<sup>118</sup>

It is clear that despite the subject matter, late nineteenth and early twentieth-century art historians viewed the work as an exceptional painting, prompting two careful reproductions and at least one conservation attempt. However, little is known about the work before the Edo period. If we are to take the inscription of the Daigo-ji scroll at face value, at least two copies of the handscroll existed in the fourteenth century, the earlier version now being lost. This does point to a degree of value or demand associated with the work. Similarly, the seventeenth century copy points to a desire to own a version of the work, coinciding with the developing interest in *wakashudō* during the Edo period, and perhaps pointing to early modern historical interest in monk-*chigo* sexual practices that predate Ōta Nanpo’s list of canonical *chigo monogatari*.

The painter, calligrapher and audience of *Chigo no sōshi* have not been recorded, other than the spurious attribution to Toba Sōjō, but the handling of the text and images may shed some information on when the original work was produced and point to a potential original audience. Sachi Schmidt-Hori has identified the pattern of the five short written tales as following a ABBBC pattern, wherein the first and last narratives are the most dissimilar, and the three middle tales are

---

<sup>117</sup> See: “Coloured Bondage: Jacolby Satterwhite x Danshoku at Asakusa, Tokyo,” ArtNews, Accessed April 8, 2020, <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/coloured-bondage-jacolby-satterwhite-x-danshoku-asakusa-tokyo-10982/>.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

almost identical in terms of their major plot points.<sup>119</sup> She note that these three middle tales take the same overarching plot structure where a monk unsuccessfully courts a *chigo* who rejects his advances, the youth's eventual acceptance, and their eventual sexual trysts.<sup>120</sup>

The first tale explains how a *chigo* prepared himself to be penetrated by an elderly monk who had difficulties maintaining an erection by enlisting the aid of his attendant, Chūta, in applying lubricant to his anus, penetrating him with a dildo and finally, having sex with the youth. The second tale recounts a standard tale of a monk courting a *chigo* to no avail, until the youth eventually agrees and arranges to meet the monk for a sexual tryst in a patch of reeds. In the third story, the lovesick monk is initially spurned, but eventually, the *chigo* arranges to bathe with him, and the two begin their sexual exploits in the bathhouse itself, and later that evening they continue to have sex in the *chigo*'s master's chambers beside a sleeping attendant once the senior monk had gone to bed. The fourth tale tells of an older monk who longs for a poorly behaved *chigo*. Once the youth discovers the older monk's desire, he arranges to have the monk wash his feet and surreptitiously reveals his buttocks. The older monk begins to finger the youth, eventually leading to them having sex. The last narrative describes a younger monk becoming infatuated with the *chigo* of a senior monk. The young monk hides in the youth's chambers, and the two initially have sex while the *chigo* lays on his front through a curtain to read to his own attendant while the monk secretly penetrates him from behind. The *chigo* eventually installs a door to his chambers so the young monk can come and go as he pleases, and the two continue their sexual escapades.<sup>121</sup> Schmidt-Hori notes the particularly crude terminology used within the text of *Chigo no Soshi* as

---

<sup>119</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 83.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 83-96.

being unusual for other romantic or sexual works from the medieval period, employing terminology such as “*mara* 魔羅” (cock/penis), “*setsuri* せつり” (masturbation), and “*shiri* 尻” (ass/buttocks).<sup>122</sup> While these terms were in use well before the fourteenth century, their frank inclusion contrasts with the more coded literary descriptions of sexual acts during this period, but they are in line with the graphic depictions of sex throughout the scroll.

The paintings in *Chigo no sōshi* takes two distinctly different compositional approaches when depicting each of the scenes, specifically, presenting the main sexual events of the narrative within a larger setting—in a bank of overgrown reeds, a bath, a bed chamber, etc.—or as isolated images with the occasional relevant props. On one hand, this compositional isolation may suggest that these scenes may have been singled out for their eroticism, as the visual emphasis is placed on the sexual act itself, and not the act within the broader narrative context as described in the text. The first, fourth and last narratives are illustrated in this manner, whereas the second and third tales have more visual detail, providing broader information about the settings in which the scenes take place, as well as including secondary characters. The illustrations of the second narrative additionally add details absent in the text itself, specifically that when the monk meets the *chigo* in the overgrown reeds, he disguises himself in a bundle of grasses, adding a potential comedic effect absent in the text itself. Not only is the main sexual act between the monk and *chigo* depicted, but detailed illustrations of the surrounding flowers and vines, as well as architectural elements from the nearby buildings are included, forming the most visually complex illustration of the

---

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 79. *Nihon Kokushi daijiten* lists the use of *mara* for penis as early as the ninth-century in the *Nihon ryōiki*, the twelfth-century’s *Irohoa jirui shō* 色葉字類抄, in *Kokon Chomonju* in 1254, and finally in *Nippo jisho* 日葡辞書 (Vocabulário da Língua do Japão), from 1603 to 1604. The earliest use of *shiri* as ass or buttocks is found in the *Kojiki*, but Edo documents use it in a more sexually explicit manner. The seventeenth century copy of *Chigo no sōshi* uses *senzuri* 千摺, which was first recorded in *Nippo jisho* 日葡辞書 in 1063-1604.

scroll. The third narrative has a similar emphasis on location, showing the bathhouse as well as the chambers of the *chigo*'s master in greater detail than the first, fourth and final scenes. In contrast, the first and last scenes show each change in sexual position as unique illustrations.

In the Daigo-ji scroll, and notable throughout the extant copies, figures and scenes are handled differently from other fourteenth-century handscrolls. While the brushwork seems to have been swiftly and deftly executed, there is little variation in the width of the line, creating still, almost diagrammatic depictions of the figures, contrasting with the detailed yet blank expressions of the figures. In a scene where Chūta applies clove oil to the anus of the *chigo* in the Daigo-ji scroll, the line widens between the man's deltoid muscle and thins out over his shoulder blade, suggesting a degree of interest in how muscle and bone stretches over skin, or even just the natural line variation. It occurs again in the small of the man's back when the thin line thickens to delineate his fleshy buttocks. Similarly, in a scene in the last narrative where a monk performs anilingus on the *chigo*, the lines delineating the body of both figures are largely static, with the exception of where fleshy skin overlaps, such as lines depicting the contours of the underarm running perpendicular to the chest, or the overlapping calf and thigh muscles. This is not to say that the artist had no dexterity with a brush, but rather, that they exhibit a high degree of control over the medium. The deft handling of line transitioning between the front side of the monk's pectoral to his trapezius and down his back uses a wonderful economy of line to create an idea of three-dimensional space, movement and anatomy. However, if the Daigo-ji scroll is indeed a copy of an earlier original work, the artist either faithfully replicated the static lines of the original, or simply ignored any calligraphic flourishes.

As a whole, *Chigo no sōshi* lacks visual cohesion as a handscroll, to a degree that seems as if the images preserved in the Daigo-ji scroll may have been taken from two distinct sources and

combined into a single work either in the 1321 copy, or in a previous iteration of the work. The contrast between the sweeping vista showing the second narrative visually places an emphasis on this scene that is not warranted in the greater context of the full scroll and speaks to a substantially different aesthetic sensibility than the more direct and graphic depictions of sexual acts. The static, lifeless depictions of sex, the visual emphasis on the physical mechanics of each position visually acts more like an encyclopedia of scenes, the variety of the acts themselves more diagrammatic than narratively interesting or emotionally engaging. This combination of drastically different means of illustrating sexually explicit narratives may point to two different editions of *Chigo no sōshi* (or similar works) that were combined at some point to create the narrative that survives today.

Like later *shunga*, it is entirely plausible that illustrations like these had a kind of educational purpose as well as an erotic intent. *Kōbō Daishi ikkan no sho*, 弘法大師一卷之書 (1598) a late sixteenth century text discussed later in this chapter, similarly combines instructions on how to gain the affections of a *chigo* through poetry with descriptions of various sexual positions. Despite the literary formatting of the narratives in *Chigo no sōshi*, a degree of pragmatism is found in each vignette. The first narrative, while still heavily eroticized, does provide suggestions on how to prepare in advance of having sex with an older man with erectile problems, specifying the kind of lubricant to use, proper dilation with a dildo and/or an attendant's penis to ensure that the main sexual event proceeds without issue. Other considerations such as where to clandestinely have sex and who to ask to keep watch to prevent interruption are included in the second, third and fourth narratives.

As pre-nineteenth century textual records discussing *Chigo no sōshi* or *Nanshoku emaki* do not exist, it is impossible to track this work in the written record. Even Ōta Nanpo's early listing



of *chigo monogatari* omits this work, which thematically should have been included had he known of its existence. However, a possible similar work, *Chigohō no gei e* 児方芸絵 (*Images of the Talents of Chigo*), is listed in Prince Sadafusa's 貞成 (1372-1456) diary, *Kanmon gyōki* in 1438, who wrote that he borrowed two copies of the work, along with *Tōdaiji-e* and *Nigatsudō-e* from Hōrin'in.<sup>123</sup> Little is known about *Chigo ho no gei e* other than the information Sadafusa includes in this entry, although Karen Brock has speculated that it may have been similar to *Chigo no sōshi* based on Emperor Go-Hanazono's 後花園天皇 (1419-1471; r: 1428-1464) and Sadafusa's interest in other *chigo monogatari* at the time, such as *Ashibiki-e*, *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, as well as their commissioning of an erotic version of *Genji monogatari*.<sup>124</sup> This erotic version of *Genji*, specifically described as an *osoku-zu* オソク図, or “positions painting” was a project that lasted several years, but a painter was only commissioned to complete this project in 1438, roughly a month before *Chigohō no gei e* was borrowed from Hōrin'in.<sup>125</sup> It is conceivable that, if this work were similar to *Chigo no sōshi*, it was borrowed as part of this project, perhaps as model from which the artist could draw certain similar elements for erotic scenes.

Unfortunately, neither Go-Hanazono's erotic *Genji* or any painting labeled as *Chigohō no gei e* survive, thus it is impossible to say for certain how they were related to similar works. On one hand, the title of *Chigohō no gei e* suggests that its content may have included some degree of representation of the sexual prowess of *chigo*, but on the other, it seems to be an unusual pairing

---

<sup>123</sup> KG vol. 2, 551.

<sup>124</sup> Karen Brock, “The Shogun's ‘Painting Match’,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol 50, no. 4 (Winter 1995), 471. See also, Hiromi Kihara, “Emaki no yuki kini miru Muromachi jidai no kuge shakai—sono kōzō to bunka,” *Bukkyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō*, vol. 23 (March 1995), 106-157.

<sup>125</sup> Brock, “Painting Match,” 468-469.

to request along with the two other handscrolls *Tōdaiji e* and *Nigatsudō e*, works that almost certainly concerned themselves with the legends and miraculous histories of Tōdai-ji. If all were housed in the same location, they may have been requested in bulk for convenience. Certainly, this request speaks to Sadafusa's and Go-Hanazono's broad interest in painting of various genres, which encompassed historical and religious works as well as romantic and erotic ones. If *Chigohō no gei e* were a work similar in genre and format to *Chigo no sōshi*, it would provide a tantalizing glimpse into who owned and viewed these works, but the evidence is ultimately inconclusive.

Frustratingly, other erotic paintings from the fourteenth century are no longer extant, precluding good comparisons between the handling of anatomy, proportions, and the like as recorded in *Chigo no sōshi* and other contemporaneous works. Partially clad figures such as laborers in works such as *Kasuga gongen genki e* 春日権現験記絵 (1309) (fig. 2.8) as well as depictions of naked bodies in the Buddhist hells exist (fig. 2.9), but neither are good candidates for comparison, as the robust musculature of the laborers and the emaciated forms of the damned reflect physical states that likely conveyed different meanings than the desirable and elegantly plump forms of aristocrats, monks and *chigo* in *Chigo no sōshi*. Only one comparable image of a nude figure survives from a fourteenth-century handscroll, the Nakamura family *Kusōzu* handscroll, depicting the nine stages of decay (discussed in Chapter Four; see fig. 4.44 a-i). Ironically, this work illustrates the fleeting nature of physical beauty by showing an aristocratic woman's corpse in the stages of decomposition between death and final complete destruction through post-mortem predation. The first illustration of the corpse is partially draped in a white robe, exposing the woman's shoulder, arm, and breast, and delineates the form in a similar manner to *Chigo no sōshi*, with a great economy of even line, emphasizing the fleshy curves of the figure. While images emphasizing the erotic potential of unclothed bodies are rare from this period, the

desirability of corpulence and lack of defined musculature in both the illustrations of the woman and figures in *Chigo no sōshi* point to a kind of idealized coherence between the two fourteenth century works.

It is an almost fantastical coincidence that *Chigo no sōshi* should be the only sexually explicit work from the medieval period to survive, and while possible, raises the question as to the specific circumstances that allowed this work to be preserved while others disappeared. Daigo-ji's reticence to display their handscroll or allow new images and information to be published on the purported oldest example of a sexually explicit handscroll limits the work's usefulness. After all, early twentieth century scholars' uncritical repetition that the work was by Toba Sōjō with little substantiative evidence, and reliance on the colophon from the Daigo-ji handscroll for a date of production points to their use of received knowledge about the work, and not necessarily in-depth research about its origins.

Indeed, the possibility exists that the Daigo-ji scroll could be either an Edo period copy of a lost original that preserves an earlier colophon or represents an instance where the text was written in the medieval period, with later illustrations completed at a later date. It is possible that *Chigo no sōshi* is an outright invention created somewhere between the fourteenth century and the Edo period by a savvy forger capitalizing on both an increased demand for sexually explicit works as well as antiquarian interests of the time. After all, a talented forger may have seen the benefits of creating a "copy" of a lost fourteenth-century original, as glaring stylistic mistakes could be attributed to the fact that the work being examined is a handmade replica of an absent original.

A troubling aspect of *Chigo no sōshi*'s content is that, as a humorous and erotic work that was purportedly created before 1321, the five tales included predate almost all other *chigo monogatari* and emphasize sex above all other considerations. This unapologetic celebration of

sex without being couched in any religious rhetoric is strikingly unusual for the early fourteenth century. Directly contrasting this surviving painting with the textual description of Toba Sōjō's Fudō Myōō iconography that was recorded only three years prior in 1318, where scriptural citations are given to explain the sexual and scatological iconographies, the general lack of connecting the narratives and images of *Chigo no sōshi* with some kind of Buddhist thought points to a dramatic departure from how sex with youths was conventionally discussed. Tales concerning *chigo* certainly existed by the fourteenth century, namely, *Kokawa-dera engi e*, (discussed in Chapter Five), *Suzuriwari* (*Breaking the Inkstone*, discussed in Chapter Three), *Chigo Kannon engi* (discussed at length in Chapter Five) as well as *Kōzuke kimi no shōsoku* 上野君消息 (Kamakura period), none of which have romantic or sexual components as strongly articulated as *Chigo no sōshi*. The earliest overtly romantic work and progenitor of the genre, *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, postdates the colophon by at about a decade.<sup>126</sup> All of these works, with the primary exception of *Suzuriwari*, additionally portray the *chigo* as manifestations of bodhisattvas, usually Kannon, a detail that is conspicuously missing from *Chigo no sōshi*. While earlier erotic works and written admissions of engaging in male-male sexual practices point to the widespread practice of sex between monks and *chigo*, the starkly areligious quality of *Chigo no sōshi* is highly anomalous for the fourteenth century. If we are to accept that this work was authentically produced in the fourteenth century as a copy of a lost original, it speaks to the existence of early, sexually explicit *chigo monogatari* that have otherwise escaped the notice of pre-modern writers and is an extreme outlier in the genre.

---

<sup>126</sup> Schmidt-Hori, addresses for more on *Kōzuke no kimi no shōsoku* in relation to other *chigo monogatari*, see *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 47-48. "Kōzuke no kimi no shōshoku," *Kokubun Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho: Dai 2 shū* vol. 7, ed. Washio Junkei, (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoin, 1928), 1-16.

While it is certainly possible that *Chigo no sōshi* is the lone surviving example of sexually explicit tales and illustrations of monk-*chigo* sexual practices, it seems rather unlikely especially considering the emphasis on salvation through expedient means present in three of the four earliest *chigo* tales. Even if we were to adopt the view espoused by Ichiko and Faure that the inclusion of religious elements in *chigo monogatari* exist as a means to justify monks' sexual desires for *chigo*, these are conspicuously absent from *Chigo no sōshi*. If we are to believe that the original *Chigo no sōshi* handscroll pre-dates 1321, this lack of concern about justifying these sexual practices by couching them within religious rhetoric indicates a significant shift in how monk-*chigo* sex was understood later in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries, a dramatic change not borne out in other surviving records. Rather, this aspect of sex between a monk and *chigo* as being the direct result of the intervention of a benevolent divinity is satirized within the work itself in the second vignette of the scroll, suggesting an awareness of the conventions of later *chigo* romance tales.

Schmidt-Hori notes that the first portion of the written narrative of the second vignette of *Chigo no sōshi*, which identifies the primary characters, is missing.<sup>127</sup> The illustration opens with a monk whose entire identity is obscured by his wearing of a bundle of reeds tied above his head, cascading around his body, his arms, penis, and knee protruding from beneath his disguise. He penetrates a *chigo* clad in green and pink garments, as the two hide among a tangled mass of autumnal grasses and flowers. Lastly, the scene concludes with another *chigo*—identified as the first *chigo*'s attendant—seated on a veranda watching the two have sex in the distance.<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 83.

<sup>128</sup> This description is based on the British Museum's scroll, as this scene from the Daigo-ji handscroll has not been reproduced.

The most noteworthy aspect of this scene is found in the accompanying text. Indicating dialogue, calligraphy above the figures notes that the monk credits this sexual encounter to his many petitions he made to a Buddhist sculpture, and that their continued rendezvous were due to the overwhelming compassion of the *chigo*.<sup>129</sup> The narrative structure of petitioning oneself to an icon and subsequently encountering a *chigo* is frequently repeated in *chigo monogatari*, beginning with *Chigo Kannon engi*, as well as in the later *Aki no yo naga monogatari* and *Genmu monogatari*. Compassion, sexual availability and Buddhist divinities, particularly Kannon, coalesce in *chigo monogatari* such as *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, but have been read into *Chigo Kannon engi* despite the fact that no explicitly romantic elements are included in the tale.<sup>130</sup> These minor narrative details found in *Chigo no sōshi*, written in the dialogue written into the illustration, and not the main body text itself, belies an understanding of *chigo monogatari*'s nearly cliched plot structure that had likely not fully developed by 1321. It may point to the existence of now-lost *chigo* tales that maintained this structure, or simply belie the author's familiarity with a more fully developed genre of *chigo monogatari* at some point after the fourteenth century.

Secondly, the painting's inclusion of a clandestine meeting between a monk and *chigo* at night among a patch of autumnal flowers and grasses being observed by a distant viewer points to

---

<sup>129</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, color plate 1, np.

<sup>130</sup> As I argue in Chapter Five, *Chigo Kannon engi* may have had romantic undercurrents, but the main concern with the protagonist monk requesting a *chigo* as a disciple broadly dealt with concerns over old age and death. A fourteenth-century viewer may have understood a sense of erotic tension in the tale based on the text alone, but the overwhelming emphasis on funerary imagery in the handscroll itself pointing to larger concerns surrounding mortality and the afterlife would likely have drawn more attention. Scholarship on *Chigo Kannon engi* emphasizes the presumed sexual nature of the monk and *chigo*'s relationship, although any explicit discussion of this in the work itself is limited. It would likely be understood at the time that a monk and his *chigo* disciple had a sexual component to their relationship, but this is not a primary emphasis of the narrative.

an erotic reimagining, or a sexual conclusion to the visual framing of *chigo* found throughout illustrated handscrolls, particularly reminiscent of the first meeting of the monk and youth in *Chigo Kannon engi*. Slightly over a third of the first set of illustrations in *Chigo Kannon engi* are devoted to two consecutive scenes of the monk wandering through the foothills at night with the *chigo* first appearing in the distance surrounded by autumnal grasses, and eventually speaking with the youth, reminiscent of Heian period *kaimami* scenes (discussed in Chapter Five).<sup>131</sup> The second scene concludes with a temple gate diagonally bisecting the handscroll, similar to the placement of the veranda in *Chigo no sōshi*, with the viewer's voyeuristic positioning replaced by the attendant.<sup>132</sup> This illustration within *Chigo no sōshi* is the longest coherent scene, and provides the only expansive vista within the handscroll, its length and grandiosity somewhat at odds with the remainder of the painting's smaller illustrations. Similarly, in multiple iterations of illustrated versions of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* first produced from the late fourteenth century and on, the *chigo* is first shown framed in nature, surrounded by flowers and trees.<sup>133</sup> While these illustrations emphasize the loveliness and desirability of the *chigo*, they are the main instances in the paintings where the viewer's erotic fascination are uninterrupted, with later depictions of the youth seen after he has been kidnapped, or after his death.

---

<sup>131</sup> For a broader discussion of the legacy of *kaimami* scenes in *chigo monogatari*, see Chapter Five.

<sup>132</sup> Watching or the potential for being watched runs throughout *Chigo no sōshi*. In addition to this second tale, the third and fifth tales narratively include the possibility of someone within the imagined narrative world seeing the two figures in the middle of their sexual acts—a sleeping attendant in the third tale, and the *chigo*'s jealous master in the fifth. The dialogue text in the fifth narrative also includes a direct discussion of the monk's quasi-exhibitionist sexual performance, suggesting that someone is watching the scene. See Sachi Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, plate 5.

<sup>133</sup> See Chapter Five (5.11) for expanded discussion on *Aki no yo naga monogatari*.

Thus, the depiction of the monk and *chigo*'s sexual encounter in *Chigo no sōshi* renders visible the subtle sexual expectations of scenes of *chigo* in nature and foregrounding the sexual aspects over any other narrative purpose the earlier scrolls may have had at the time of their creation. The humorous detail of the monk's absurd disguise—not mentioned in the text itself, but an invention of the illustrator—points to the absurdity of the scene. As viewers of the scroll, we voyeuristically consume the sexual act as depicted in the illustration, the futile attempts to hide in an overgrown patch of flowers and disguise oneself undermined by our external presence, as well as that of the observant attendant in the scene. Later viewers expecting earlier works such as *Chigo Kannon engi* to include overt romantic elements found in later, more standardized *chigo monogatari* would be met with frustration, as any narrative or visual allusion to intimacy between the two principal figures is nonexistent.

All in all, the subjugation of any potential religious reading of monk-*chigo* sexual escapades within the second narrative in *Chigo no sōshi*, paired with an illustration reminiscent of another fourteenth-century *chigo* tale, points to the artist's engagement with other works within the *chigo monogatari* genre, and broadly suggests that this particular scene, at the very least, may have been created at a later date.<sup>134</sup> While it is plausible that the other narratives and illustrations in *Chigo no sōshi* date from the fourteenth century, and this particular example is a later interloper that was mounted with the earlier illustrations, this would be difficult to ascertain through copies of the Daigo-ji scroll. Given the existence of a seventeenth century copy of *Chigo no sōshi*, and the flourishing demand for erotic work, particularly examples of *nanshoku* during the seventeenth

---

<sup>134</sup> It remains plausible that the other tales in *Chigo no sōshi* could be copies of earlier works, and this scene was a later addition.



century may point to this work being an original to that date, which included deliberate anachronisms to entice enthusiasts of both antiques and erotica.<sup>135</sup>

Regardless of the authenticity of the Daigo-ji scroll, the flurry of scholarly interest in *Chigo no sōshi* during the Meiji, Taishō and early Shōwa periods points to an understanding of *chigo* as being primarily the objects of sexual fascination of senior monks that draws heavily on seventeenth-century *nanshoku* literature and culture. The presumed importance of this work as a fourteenth century painting during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries coheres nicely with early modern emphasis on the sexual and romantic aspects of *chigo monogatari* and monk-*chigo* relationships in general that garnered increased fascination during the Edo period and continued throughout scholarship in the twentieth century.

## 2.4 Kūkai and Monk-Chigo Sexual Practices from the Late Medieval Period

With all of this in mind, *Chigo no sōshi* may date to the late sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, as at least one surviving dated text shares a similar combination of humor, pragmatism and a fascination with monk-*chigo* sexual encounters. The 1598 *Kōbō Daishi ikkan no sho* 弘法大師一卷之書 has been attributed to Mitsuo Sadatomo 満尾貞友 (n.d.), and is widely interpreted as a semi-satirical work drawing heavily on the *chigo kanjō* text *Kō chigo shōgyō hiten shi*, 弘児

---

<sup>135</sup> An illustrated handscroll by Hasegawa Tōsen 長谷川等仙 known as the *Hanazono shunga emaki* 花園春画絵巻 was produced during the Azuchi-Momoyama period or early Edo period, and is stylistically distinct from *Chigo no sōshi*, employs similar even but deft lines to articulate the contours of the individual figures and a similar attention to naturalistic detail when rendering the facial features (fig. 2.10). A later group *shunga* prints produced by Torii Kiyonobu in the early eighteenth century now housed at the British Museum have similar depictions of fleshy body types shown in a variety of sexual positions. Notable similar details are an emphasis on the curled toes of the insertee shown in the prints, as well as the relatively modest penis size, see *Courtesan with a Young Man Watched by a Young Attendant* (fig. 2.11).

聖教秘伝私 (1524 copy of a 1450 original text), discussed later in this chapter.<sup>136</sup> Little is known about Sadatomo, other than his claim to have received this text by an apparition of Kūkai, and that he was likely a warrior from Satsuma province, modern day Kagoshima in Kyūshū. Parts of this text seem to borrow greatly from *Kō chigo shōgyō hiden shi*, one of the surviving texts documenting *chigo kanjō*, but nevertheless, the work itself seems to fall between sexual education and a seduction manual, with a lightly ironic tone.<sup>137</sup>

The first section describes the various mudras used between monks and acolytes to express their desire for one another, replacing their usual meanings with sexual overtones.<sup>138</sup> The second section explains how to know when a youth is ready for sexual intercourse, including poetic explanations of sexual acts, talking points for youths with varied interests, and lastly, various details about sexual positions, lubricants and methods of insertion.<sup>139</sup> However, parts of the text seems to foreshadow the development and mass-produced satirical erotica that gained popularity during the Edo period, coupled with an interest in male-male sexual activity. Poetry included in the *Kōbō Daishi ikkan no sho* forgo typical symbolism and euphemisms for heavy-handed erotic imagery:

The acolyte who speaks quietly is sensitive to love. To such a [youth], show your sincerity by being somewhat shy. Make your interest in him clear by leaning against his lap. When you remove his clothes, calm him by explaining exactly what you will be doing.

White snow on a mountain peak  
turns to pure water on the rocks

---

<sup>136</sup> Schalow, “Kūkai and the Tradition of Male Love in Japanese Buddhism,” in *Buddhism Sexuality and Gender*, ed. Cabezon (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 220; Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 50.

<sup>137</sup> Tsuji, “‘Ko chigo shōgyō hiden shi’ saikō”, 87; Schalow, “Kūkai,” 220-221.

<sup>138</sup> Schalow, “Kūkai,” 217-218 see notes 9-13.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 218-220.

And finally flows down

As this poem illustrates, snow on even the highest mountain peak is destined to melt and move downward. Likewise, no matter how lacking in sensitivity to the mysteries of love an acolyte may be, he can be made yours if you approach him right.<sup>140</sup>

兒の物言たる跡に心を留めて見るべし、物いふ事静かなる兒は情ある者也、か様の兒にはいかにも眞實なりをみせて、少しの事に恥入る振をして尋常に膝によりかゝり其儘氣をとり、兒の知る様に衣裳を剥くべき實なり

白雪のかゝれる峯の岩清水終には下落ちてあるかな

此歌の如、白雪の掛れる程高き山の峯の清水も、終に瀧と成て下に落る也、極意に取てはいかに情なき兒なりとも、此方より仕掛れは奉る者也<sup>141</sup>

This kind of erotic imagery coupled with a similar discussion of mudras, and the author's familiarity with *Kō chigo shōgyō hiden shi* point to a mixing of sex and religious ritual, possibly hinting at a deliberately ironic take on *chigo kanjō* rituals as they gained traction throughout Tendai monasteries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *Kōbō Daishi ikkan no sho* is likewise, the earliest surviving work that links Kūkai to the invention of male-male sexual practices, and points to an intriguing turning point in how monastic male-male sexual practices were understood. While allegedly being the product of a vision of Kūkai himself, there is no real religious purpose to the sexual acts themselves, despite being framed in a kind of quasi-ritual manner. Any sense of expedient means is lost within the work, and the religious qualities themselves serve as vehicles of eroticism. Lastly, the text itself notes that it was not produced for wide circulation, but rather intended for the author and his close associates, and was not widely published during the Edo

---

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 218.

<sup>141</sup> Okada Yasushi, ed., "Kōbō Daishi Ikkan no shō," *Kinsei shomin bunka kenkyūkai*, Nanshoku bunken tokushū, no.13 (Tokyo: Oranda Shobo, 1952), 14-23.

period, if at all.<sup>142</sup> The work therefore presents to the authors erotic fascination and knowledge of *chigo kanjō* rituals from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, without necessarily understanding or appreciating the ritual significance of these rites.

Later in the Edo period, a close connection between male-male sexual practices, Kūkai, and Buddhism had been established. The celebrated dramatist Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653-1725) capitalized on this popular belief in his introduction to *Shinjū mannensō* 心中万年草 (1710):

On Kōya the mountain  
Where women are hated  
Why does the maiden-pine grow? Yet even if the maiden-pines  
Were all rooted out,  
Would not the stars of love  
Still shoot through the night?

More fitting than pine, than plum or willow is the minion cherry, the temple page, for his is the way of Chigo Monju by the Great Teacher, the love of fair youths respected even by the laity: this is the home of the secrets of [*shudō*].<sup>143</sup>

女嫌やる  
高野の山になぜ  
女松は生ゆるぞやなぜに女松が生えまいならば

よばひ星でも飛ぶまいか松より梅より柳よりお寺小姓のちご桜ちご文殊の御相伝、  
大師の広めおき給ひ。俗も尊む若衆の情け、衆道秘密のお山とかや<sup>144</sup>

While medieval sources linking Chigo Monju with male-male sexual practices are scant, and will be covered in depth in Chapter Three, belief that Kūkai had not only invented same-sex practices,

---

<sup>142</sup> Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 50.

<sup>143</sup> Leupp, *Male Colors*, 30; Chikamatsu, Monzaemon, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu*, trans. Donald Keene, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 132.

<sup>144</sup> “Shinju mannenso,” *Chikamatsu Monzaemon shū* 2, SNKBZ vol. 75 via JapanKnowledge.

but that they flourished on Mount Kōya, date back to the sixteenth century's *Kōbō Daishi ikkan no sho*. Considering that all extant *chigo kanjō* and *ko chigo sōgyō hiten* rituals are associated with Tendai institutions, it is somewhat unusual that Kūkai is credited with developing them, and not Saichō.

All in all, sex either with men, women, the sacred or the mundane has been recorded in a variety of historical sources. Within a Buddhist context, the earliest of these works suggest that religious merit could be gained through these encounters, usually through expedient means. Outlying examples such as the *Keiran shūyoshū*'s Fudō Myōō iconography creatively draw from scriptural sources in service of presenting new and engaging views of the divine. The latest medieval works turned to a new fascination with sex in monastic environments as a topic in and of itself, presaging the widespread and enthusiastic consumption of erotic materials in the early modern period.

## **2.5 Sex or Ritual Technology?**

Turning now to the surviving ritual documents that record *chigo kanjō* consecration rites, I would like to argue that these works synthesized hundreds of years of documents speaking to the benefits of sex with the divine to harness the religious benefits. Scholarly understanding of ritualized sex between monks and *chigo* as primarily considered sex and not a ritual combines both our contemporary cultural understanding of penile penetration as always and exclusively coding for sex, as well as our expectation that *chigo*'s presence in a temple was primarily to satisfy older monk's sexual desires. These two assumptions severely limit understandings on how and why *chigo kanjō* rituals may have developed in the fifteenth century. Buddhism, as a kind of technology harnessing the bodily senses that allow a devotee to escape the cycles of birth and rebirth, strategically engaged the senses throughout a wide scope of religious practice. Visual, mental,

auditory and haptic sensory feedback are directly engaged through the use of icons, mental visualization, chanting, mudras, and so on.

The idea that reframing other natural bodily functions as a means to ritually engage with the divine would stop short at sex is a quite modern, Euro-American one, as sex has been broadly recast as something inherently bad and dangerous, particularly in the nineteenth century. After centuries of tales recounting the spiritual gains accrued by devotees through trysts with divinities, it stands to reason that a group of enterprising monks would attempt to formally standardize this process through ritual form, due to the perceived religious benefits. Even if we were to conclusively prove that sexual pleasure was the ultimate goal of *chigo kanjō*, couching this within an elaborate ritual context ensures that the meaning of the acts themselves change. After all, monks and *chigo* were having sex for centuries before the first *chigo kanjō* texts appear in the written record, and likely were grappling with understandings of sex and Buddhism as found throughout these other preexisting Japanese sources before committing the finalized *chigo kanjō* ritual construction to paper.

I would thus like to look at *chigo kanjō* rituals as the logical conclusion of centuries of texts noting the benefits of a sexual encounter with the divine, resulting in a series of elaborate religious moves that allowed for a controlled, formalized and ritualized sexual encounter with an earthly manifestation of a divinity. Earlier Buddhist tales such as those found in *Nihon ryōiki* and *Konjaku monogatari*, as well as later *chigo monogatari*, that describe sexual encounters with the divine generally characterize them as unexpected, with the realization that a monk's sexual partner is, in fact, a sacred being included as the conclusion. I argue that because the mechanics of sexual encounters may or may not be understood as "sex" depending on the context, the highly ritualized

*chigo kanjō* rites may have been primarily regarded as a ritual technology when first theorized, thus separating it out from unconsecrated sexual encounters with *chigo*.

Sex acts that are assumed to be primarily erotic or about personal sexual gratification serve different purposes than those performed to achieve a larger purpose, in the case of *chigo kanjō*, a part of the larger use of expedient means to gain religious merit. As noted previously, monk-*chigo* sexual activity occurred prior to the fifteenth century, which would necessarily be understood as something other than ritualized sex as they occurred outside of ritual practices. The highly ritualized structure and complex doctrinal meanings found in *chigo kanjō* convey a sense that, while they may include sexual mechanics, the rites themselves are very much concerned with religion and not simply sexual gratification. The lengthy ritual before the final consecration of the *chigo* and the performance of ritualized sex primarily function as a means of transforming the youth into a living manifestation of the divine, who, in turn, sanctifies the officiating monk through reenacting the sexual encounters between monks and Kannon recorded in religious texts and legends.

Scholars Tsuji Shōko and Or Porath have provided the first extensive examination of the seven surviving texts concerning *chigo kanjō* rituals that were written or copied from the Muromachi period through the early Edo period.<sup>145</sup> While the majority of these texts survive as

---

<sup>145</sup> Given the repetitive names of these documents, Porath has labeled the Manuscripts A through G, a convention which I will follow for clarity. The surviving documents are as follows: Manuscripts A and B *Chigo kanjō shi* 稚児灌頂 and *Kōchigo shōgyō hiden shi* 弘稚児聖教秘伝私 respectively, are housed at the Tenkaizō archive of Eizan Bunko, roughly dating to 1524. Manuscript B was originally transcribed in 1450 but survives as a copy made in 1524. Manuscript C, *Kō chigo shōgyō hiten shi* 弘稚児聖教秘伝私 is preserved at the Edogawa Ranpō Archive at Rikkyō University as a copy made in 1941 by Iwata Jun'ichi, preserving a now-lost original. Porath notes that an unknown monk copied an earlier version of the text in 1478, which was subsequently reproduced in 1526 and later in 1571 when a poem was added to the document. Manuscript D, *Chigo Kanjō shidai*, 稚児灌頂次第 was copied in 1818 based on a sixteenth century original. Manuscript E, *Chigo kanjō shiki* 稚児灌私記, is of an unknown date,

copies from the fifteenth century or later, it is possible that earlier variants of these rituals existed, possibly being practiced as early as the fourteenth century.<sup>146</sup> Porath's research into the extant *chigo kanjō* texts provides context on the origins of these rituals, as well as an overview of their form. He notes that the *chigo kanjō* largely stems from the Tendai Taimitsu lineage of the Kantō region along with parts of northeastern Japan and was largely practiced in seminaries (*dangisho* 談義所). His argument that these rituals were actively practiced in these religious institutions draws from the apparent transmission of these rituals to ensure that they were practiced by future generations. The main goal of these rituals was to identify the body of the *chigo* as Dainichi/Mahāvairocana, Kannon and the Sannō divinity, thus transforming the body of the youth into a physical, consecrated manifestation of the divine in preparation for sexual penetration.<sup>147</sup>

While previous scholars have been able to provide a rough outline of what the *chigo kanjō* ritual entailed, Porath's examination of the entire group of surviving manuscripts sheds some light on the regional variations that these rituals took, albeit with all sharing a similar main structure. I have included the following, heavily truncated version of the ritual to convey a sense of the principle divinities invoked, as well as the elaborate nature of the consecration. The following

---

but is likely from the Muromachi or Edo periods. Manuscript F, *Chigo kanjō shiki* 稚児灌頂式 was produced in 1473 and appears to survive as an original manuscript. Lastly, Manuscript G, *Chigo kanjō kuketsu sōjō* 稚児灌頂口決相承 is presumably the earliest extant text written in 1442. For a more detailed overview of these documents, their authors and transmissions, see Porath, "The Flower of Dharma Nature," 117.

<sup>146</sup> The appearance of Sannō in *Aki no yon naga monogatari* has been interpreted as a reference to *chigo kanjō*, although given the importance of Mount Hiei within the narrative, it may simply refer to the site itself.

<sup>147</sup> Porath, "Flower of Dharma Nature," 178-179.



overview of *chigo kanjō* draws from Porath's reconstruction of the ritual based on information found in the surviving manuscripts, providing a broad understanding of the overall practice.<sup>148</sup>

The main altar consists of a central image of Kannon, flanked by an icon of Sannō on the left, and Ennin 円仁 (794-846; Jikaku Daishi 慈覺大師) on the right.<sup>149</sup> Notably, none of these icons depict *chigo* manifestations of these figures. Facing the icon of Kannon, the *chigo* would prepare himself to be ritually identified as Kannon, by performing a repentance rite *sanpō* 算法, as well as read the Amida Sutras (*Amida-kyō* 阿彌陀經), and the Universal Gateway chapter (*Kanzeon bosatsu fumonban* 觀世音菩薩普門品) of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Myōhō-rengē-kyō* 妙法蓮華經).<sup>150</sup> In addition, the *chigo* would recite a number of *dhāraṇī* related to Kannon, and lastly, bow to the Kannon icon thirty-three times, referencing Kannon's thirty-three manifestations.<sup>151</sup> Similarly elaborate recitations would be made to Sannō and Ennin.

The subsequent part of the *chigo kanjō* rites focuses on transforming the body of the *chigo* into an embodied form of Dainichi Nyorai, Kannon and the Sannō divinity, allowing the physical form of the *chigo* to participate in these divinities' sacrality.<sup>152</sup> This begins with the proper adornment (*shōgōn* 莊嚴) of the ritual space. Folding screens are placed at the four corners of the hall, and the image of Kannon is placed facing the south.<sup>153</sup> Like the previous component to the

---

<sup>148</sup> For a complete overview of this ritual see Porath, "Flower of Dharma Nature," 170-208.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 188. Notably these icons are not specified as *chigo* variants of the divinities.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 189-190.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid. 195.

<sup>153</sup> The text notes this should be a Kannon Mandala. Ibid.," 195-6.

ritual, icons of Sannō and Ennin are placed to the left and right of the main icon. On the altar, the *chigo* places a pitcher with water and flowers in the center, and scented water and bell on an offering table atop of the altar. To the left, cosmetics are placed on an additional table.<sup>154</sup> The garments and headdress worn by the *chigo* are laid out on a table to the right.<sup>155</sup>

Once the ornamentation of the hall was complete, the *chigo* would return, dressed only in *hakama* trousers in preparation for the ritual, cosmetological and sartorial marking of the *chigo*. For this aspect of the ritual, the *chigo* and officiating monk exchange mudras. The youth sits on a mat, and his body is covered in incense. The *chigo* continues to form a series of mudras before the officiating monk cleans the youth's teeth with the toothpicks, and the youth drinks some water. He then paints his teeth black three times. The monk then applies the makeup, grooms his eyebrows and provide the youth with the robe and headdress. The *chigo* ascends to the higher seat in the ritual space, while the monk descends to the lower. From there, the monk continues consecrating the youth with mudras and mantras, and lastly, pours water on the *chigo*'s head. The *chigo* then replies with verses from the *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>156</sup> After all of this has been completed, and the youth has been properly recast as the divine, then sex with the *chigo* could be understood as a direct encounter with the divine.<sup>157</sup>

Porath notes that the primary goal stated in *chigo kanjō* rituals for Kannon to spread the dharma, and how this is achieved is theorized in the 1525 version of *Chigo kanjō shi* (Manuscript

---

<sup>154</sup> Porath notes that these include: sumac gallnut, tooth-blackener, brush, toothpicks and a mirror. *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 196-7.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 205-06.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

A).<sup>158</sup> *Chigo kanjō* rituals drew extensively from previously existing legends of Kannon as capable of manifesting to remove sexual desire, and the sexual performance following the appropriate ritual steps would equate both the *chigo* and monk with the divine, allowing the monk to be sanctified through the ritual as well.<sup>159</sup> Early versions of monks thinking of Kannon as a sexually available divinity are written in the Kamakura period and on. Notably, Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1263) encountered Kannon manifesting as Shōtoku in a dream/vision where the divinity promises the monk a sexual encounter that would be absolved of transgression.<sup>160</sup>

A secondary source directly linked to the development of *chigo kanjō* is *Jidō setsuwa* 慈童說話, a thirteenth-century tale recorded by the monk Raiyū (賴瑜; 1226–1304) in *Shinzoku zakkai mondō shō* 眞俗雜記問答妙 from 1260.<sup>161</sup> The close connections between this tale and enthronement rights, literary works, and *chigo kanjō* have been examined by Itō Masayoshi, Abe Yasuro, Paul Atkins and Bernard Faure, noting the interrelationship between secret ritual and contemporaneously circulating legends.<sup>162</sup> The tale recounts the attendance of King Mu 穆王 (956-918 BCE; r. 976-922) of the Chinese Zhou dynasty (1050-211 BCE) at a sermon on the *Lotus Sutra* delivered by the Historical Buddha on Vulture Peak. There, King Mu learned of a secret

---

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 221.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 220

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 226; Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 205-208; Kenneth Doo Lee, *Prince and the Monk*, 11-28; Shinran muki [“Record of Shinran’s Dream”], *Shinran Shōnin zenshū*, vol. 4, 201. This text is reproduced in Chapter Five.

<sup>161</sup> Porath, “Flower of Dharma Nature,” 215

<sup>162</sup> See Itō Masayoshi, “Jidō setsuwa kō,” *Kokugo Kokubun* vol. 49 (1980); Yasurō Abe. “Jidō setsuwa no keisei: Tendai Sokui hō no seiritsu o megurite.” *Kokugo Kokubun* vol. 53, no. 8 (1984); Paul Atkins, “Chigo in the Medieval Japanese Imagination,” 2008; and Bernard Faure, *The Red Thread*, 1998.

teaching of Kannon's which he passed down to subsequent rulers. Generations later, the First Qin Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi fell in love with a youth named Jidō, sparking the ire of other ministers. They conspired to have the youth exiled to the mountains as punishment for sexual acts, termed the "transgression of the pillow". Before the youth left, the emperor gave him a copy of the *Lotus Sutra*, which allowed him to be saved from death and transformed him into an Immortal and a Buddha.<sup>163</sup>

While many details regarding the links between previous enthronement practices, religious and literary sources for *chigo kanjō* have been uncovered, two minor additions may be made concerning the grooming of the *chigo*. First, the process of ritually applying cosmetics and dressing the *chigo* has some parallel in *genpuku* ceremonies in which the youth's hair would be cut, dressed, and topped with an *eboshi* cap. Similarly, new garments marking the figure as an adult youth would be provided. In this regard, there is a sense of *chigo kanjō* as a kind of symbolic and religious replacement for the previously deferred coming of age ceremony.

Secondly, drawing on the face of the *chigo* through the application of cosmetics physically recalls the direct engagement with Buddhist icons during eye-opening ceremonies (*kaigen shiki* 開眼式) in which a Buddhist icon is ritually transformed into a living manifestation of the divinity it depicts. While this may include painting in the eyes, anointing it with oil, or pricking the silk mount of an icon with a needle, *kaigen shiki* not only completes the icon's physical creation, but transforms it into the divine itself. These brief moments of touching an icon, a static work of painting or sculpture, point to a limited intimacy with the divine due to the fundamental differences between a living human devotee and a still image, that while ritually alive, may only move under

---

<sup>163</sup> Porath, "Flower of Dharma Nature," 214-15; Atkins, "Chigo in the Medieval Imagination," 958.

the most miraculous of circumstances. Within these rituals, *chigo* themselves transform into living manifestations of the divine, taking the place of the main icons.<sup>164</sup> These flesh-and-blood icons provide different means in which a devotee may engage with the divine, with sex being primarily associated with *chigo kanjō* and the manifestation of Kannon now existing as a *chigo*.

All in all, the highly elaborate format of the *chigo kanjō* rite and the theorization of the ritualized sexual practices seem to indicate that rituals such as these were not devised as a means of justification of sexual desire, but rather, the logical conclusion of centuries of Japanese Buddhist thought on sex and the divine. The layered meanings and the performative recreations of mythical sexual practices puts this at a distinct remove from everyday male-male, or monk-*chigo* sexual encounters. The intensive preparation and details involved in the ritual suggests that this was primarily understood as a religious rite, and not an excuse to circumvent poorly enforced prohibitions against sex in general. In contrast to earlier legends such as those found in *chigo monogatari* where Kannon autonomously decides to manifest as a *chigo* and aid a monk through sex, *chigo kanjō* manually ensures that this kind of interaction with the divine will occur. Crucially, separating the image of the *chigo* from this exclusively sexualized identity allows for more nuanced interpretations on how images of *chigo* were used in a variety of ways, including political commentary, memorials, and commentary on the living nature of hidden Buddhist icons, as will be explored in subsequent chapters.

Between the wealth of sources speaking to sex with the divine as a kind of expedient means that monks had at hand, as well as monk-*chigo* dalliances found in pre-Muromachi period sources, it seems likely that monks did not construct *chigo kanjō* rituals as a means to circumnavigate vows of celibacy, but rather to create a ritual that capitalized on these preexisting beliefs that the divine

---

<sup>164</sup> Porath, *ibid.*, 182.

may benefit their devotees through sex. A day long ritual involving three primary participants—an officiant (*ajari* 阿闍梨) instructor (*kyōju* 教授), in addition to the *chigo* himself—many recitations, arrangements of ritual spaces, and the like would be entirely unnecessary if monk-*chigo* affairs were as commonplace as sources suggest, especially if clandestine trysts could be arranged through secretive letters and poetic exchanges as described in diaries and literature.<sup>165</sup> Instead, surrounding an act as familiar as sex between monks and *chigo* within this ritual context would likely ensure the participants’ understanding that it is something entirely different. That is to say, the ritual framing itself recasts the sexual act as a religious one between a monk and a *confirmed* manifestation of the divine, and not the same as unconsecrated sex between a monk and *chigo*. The effort for organizing and performing a ritual speaks to a different understanding of these particular instances of monk-*chigo* sexual activities beyond a casual desire for sexual fulfilment. Returning to Barbara Kruger, in this instance, it is not that monks constructed intricate rituals that allowed them to touch the skin of *chigo*, but rather, to experience a *bona fide* interaction with a physical manifestation of the divine.

## 2.6 Reframing *Chigo Kanjō* Consecration Rites

For the last portion of this chapter, I would like to consider that *chigo kanjō* rituals may not have always been understood as sexual, despite sexual actions and mechanics, specifically penile-anal insertion being involved. While these rites have been often characterized as entirely based on monk’s licentious desires for *chigo*, little evidence from the surviving documents points to these as being anything other than rituals drawing from centuries of theorization about sexual

---

<sup>165</sup> Porath, “The Flowering of Dharma Nature,” 182-3. Porath also notes the potential presence of chanters who may have been present for the performance of the ritual, although this was not necessarily standard practice.

encounters with divinity. Despite this, scholars have often adopted a negative view of these rituals, by overemphasizing the role of sexual mechanics involved, as well as the highly structured mixed-age aspects found in *chigo monogatari* as well as in *chigo kanjō* rituals. Faure articulates this point with passion:

The assimilation of male love to sin, as found in Genshin seems to represent a minority voice... According to the Buddhist tales known as *chigo monogatari*... it does not seem that homosexual relationships were regarded as a moral issue in and of themselves. To be sure, they were condemned as moral transgressions or worldly attachments, but their gravity was apparently less than that of heterosexual relationships... However, Japanese Buddhist homosexuality offers a particular case, one that deserves close scrutiny. It poses a problem precisely because of its euphemization of the exploitation and glorification of the pederastic relationship as an elevated form of *paideia* (education)... Most historical accounts of the phenomenon reduce Buddhist homosexuality to the prostitution of the Edo period... Although it is undeniable that prostitution and child abuse were rampant, can we refuse to hear the pedophile's plea?... How can we avoid taking sides? Is condemnation merely a refusal to understand, or conversely, is any attempt to understand the phenomenon a way to condone it?<sup>166</sup>

Characterization of these rituals as a form of monastic male prostitution and *chigo monogatari* as a means of justifying this behavior stems from our own collective trauma of the grim reality of child abuse, mixed with the remnants of twentieth century cultural moral panic. Certainly, there is room for abuse to have occurred in the medieval period; certainly, individuals abused their authority, much like modern-day doctors such as Larry G. Nassar, who used his authority to molest numerous individuals.<sup>167</sup> However, an institutional structure designed to permit behavior that is already widely practiced seems unnecessarily complicated—a monk wouldn't need a lengthy ritual to grant him the ability to coerce a *chigo* into sex when sinister opportunities would likely arise

---

<sup>166</sup> Faure, *Red Thread*, 213-14.

<sup>167</sup>Christine Hausser and Maggie Astor, “The Larry Nassar Case: What Happened and How the Fallout is Spreading,” *The New York Times (Online)*, accessed April 22, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/25/sports/larry-nassar-gymnastics-abuse.html>.

organically. After all, while male-male, or monk-*chigo* sexual practices were technically condemned by Genshin, there is little indication it was seen as a particularly serious offense. Crucially, we do not have evidence that there was a consistent effort to use these rituals as a means to coerce young temple acolytes into sex, and it is unwise to assume that sexual assault was the original intent behind the rituals.

Before continuing, it is essential to note that the anxieties surrounding mixed-aged sexual practices are a relatively recent phenomenon, and, particularly in a Euro-American context, are almost inextricably tied in with the criminalization of homosexuality and are a vestige of nineteenth-century moralizing panics. Gayle Rubin summarizes:

During the nineteenth century, it was commonly thought that “premature” interest in sex, sexual excitement, and above all, sexual release would impair the health and maturation of a child. Theorists differed on the actual consequences of sexual precocity. Some thought it led to insanity, while others merely predicted stunted growth. To protect the young from premature arousal, parents tied children down at night so they would not touch themselves; doctors excised the clitorises of onanistic little girls... Although the more gruesome techniques have been abandoned, the attitude that produced them still persist. The notion that sex *per se* is harmful to the young has been chiseled into extensive social and legal structures designed to insulate minors from sexual knowledge and experience.<sup>168</sup>

A relatively direct line can be traced from nineteenth century concerns about youthful masturbation or any sort of early developing sexual interests and censorship laws that were used to criminalize same-sex practices through the twentieth century. Legal changes raising the age of consent for girls to sixteen additionally included provisions criminalizing consensual acts between men, linking concern for the sexuality of minors with the policing of other, non-heteronormative acts

---

<sup>168</sup> Gayle Rubin, “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality,” in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, Carol Vance ed., (New York: Pandora Press, 1992), 268.



due to the fear that these may further corrupt the youth.<sup>169</sup> The relative silence among scholars on the age discrepancy between male-female sexual practices at the aristocratic court, where the ten year old son of a high ranking courtier may be sexually active with a woman of twenty-one, suggests a continuation of this unfortunate conflation.<sup>170</sup> Rubin provides further explanation on the cultural fear of sex and sexuality:

Western cultures generally consider sex to be a dangerous, destructive, negative force... This culture always treats sex with suspicion. It construes and judges almost any sexual practice in terms of its worst possible expression. Sex is presumed guilty until proven innocent. Virtually all erotic behavior is considered bad unless a specific reason to exempt it has been established. The most acceptable excuses are marriage, reproduction and love. Sometimes scientific curiosity, aesthetic experience, or a long-term intimate relationship may serve. But the exercise of erotic capacity, intelligence, curiosity, or creativity all require pretexts that are unnecessary for other pleasures, such as the enjoyment of food, fiction or astronomy.<sup>171</sup>

Most scholarship on *chigo monogatari* and *chigo kanjō* have some small vestige of both of these concerns inherent in their characterization of sex. The assumptions that many twentieth and twenty-first century scholars writing on monk-*chigo* largely fall into this preexisting ideology is largely borne out by their characterizations of both *chigo kanjō* and *chigo monogatari* as elaborate rituals or romance narratives to justify inherently reprehensible acts.

There are scant sources that explain how monks or *chigo* themselves viewed *chigo kanjō* rites, but evidence of sexual coercion has been noted in Japanese literary works such as tale literature (*monogatari*) and diaries (*nikki*). Tonomura points to a specific example in Lady Nijō's

---

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 268-269.

<sup>170</sup> Tadazane himself was married first when he was about ten or eleven to Minamoto Ninshi (任子 1066-1152), the daughter of Toshifusa 源俊房 (1035-1121) in 1089, when she was about twenty-one or twenty-two; William H. McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol 27 (1967): 132.

<sup>171</sup> Rubin, 278.

二条 *Towazugatari* とわすがたり where the author is sexually assaulted by the Retired Emperor Go-Fukakusa 後深草天皇 (1243-1304; r. 1246-1259).<sup>172</sup> The severity of the incident is noted as being far beyond the performed systems of relative vulnerability and power between women and men as demonstrated in romance tales, where an imbalance of power often maps onto conventional courtship in aristocratic circles as outlined by Margaret Childs.<sup>173</sup> While that fact that there is no expressly written account of rape or sexual assault or coercion among surviving accounts of *chigo* does not mean that they never occurred, considering *chigo kanjō* rituals as “a rather crude ideological cover-up for a kind of institutional rape or prostitution” as Faure has characterized them seems extreme given our lack of documentation.<sup>174</sup> It cannot be conclusively argued that *all* monks who performed *chigo kanjō* rites lusted after *chigo* and used a ritual pretext to satisfy this desire, or similarly, that *all chigo* were opposed to these practices. Certainly, emotional and sexual violence likely happened, but to what degree they were the norm is impossible to say, given the surviving evidence.

Hosokawa and Faure point to the tragic lives of two *chigo* as evidence of the difficulties endured by youths in this system. Records show that Jinson 尋尊 (1430-1505), the head priest (*daijōin* 大乘院) of Kōfuku-ji, kept two *chigo* under his care and tutelage. Aimitsumarū 愛満丸 was sent by his father, Yushirō 又四郎, a commoner (*senmin* 賤民) to Jinson in 1461 at the age of fifteen. By the end of the year, Jinson petitioned Aimitsumarū’s father to have the youth

---

<sup>172</sup> Tonomura, “Coercive Sex in the Japanese Court: Lady Nijō’s Memoir,” *Monumenta Nipponica* vol 61, no 3 (Autumn 2006), 284; Childs, “The Value of Vulnerability: Sexual Coercion and the Nature of Love in Japanese Court Literature,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 58, no. 4 (November 1999).

<sup>173</sup> Tonomura, “Coercive Sex,” 284.

<sup>174</sup> Faure, *The Red Thread*, 265; Hosokawa, *Itsudatsu no Nihon chūsei*, 57-84.

formally given to him as an acolyte. In 1467, Jinson received permission from Aimitsumarū's father to have complete custody over the youth. Aimitsumarū remained as a *chigo* until the age of twenty-six and took his life after withdrawing from the world.<sup>175</sup> The *chigo* Aichiyomaru 愛千代丸, entered into Jinson's instruction at the age of sixteen, receiving payment in 1475. After his *genpuku* ceremony, he took the tonsure and was appointed the manager of Nikinoshō 新木莊 in Yamato. In 1489, he died by suicide.<sup>176</sup>

The tragic deaths of both figures do not necessarily point to the traumas of life as a *chigo*, more so than the difficulties of life in the fifteenth century in general. Famines were not uncommon, and paired with disease and warfare, life was certainly not always easy. However, the untimely deaths of these two former *chigo* have been highlighted in scholarship, as they fit the narrative framing *chigo* as figures who die sudden and often violent deaths in literary works. This has been examined by Paul Atkins, who focuses on the violent deaths of the youths in *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, *Genmu monogatari*, and *Ashibiki*. Drawing from René Girard's theorizations of violence and scapegoating in *Violence and the Sacred* (1977) and *The Scapegoat* (1986) Atkins notes that the respective demises of these literary *chigo* function as "surrogate victims of socially sanctioned violence whose role is to deflect or absorb violence that would otherwise tear apart the community."<sup>177</sup>

On a surface level, the suicides of two real *chigo* and the violent deaths of literary *chigo* potentially indicate a life of misery, with sexual assault through *chigo kanjō* rituals and a general

---

<sup>175</sup> Faure, 272; Hosokawa, 69-70.

<sup>176</sup> Faure, 271; Hosokawa, 70.

<sup>177</sup> Atkins, 964.

life without autonomy. However, Abe, Matsuoka and Porath note that social empowerment may be found through *chigo kanjō*, specifically through the youth's direct conflation with the divinities of Prince Shōtoku, Kannon and Dainichi, and the ritual's direct relationship to imperial enthronement practices.<sup>178</sup> Furthermore, depending on the rank of the *chigo*'s biological family, the youth's social standing may have increased through becoming a *chigo (uewarawa)*.<sup>179</sup> Lastly, the exchanges of money in relation to keeping a *chigo* reflects notions of filial behavior of youths, including the willingness to perform difficult labor for the benefit of one's parents.<sup>180</sup> While bleak by current-day standards, these exchanges may have been done out of concern for the survival of one's family. If it were thought that a child was more likely to be housed and fed than if they were to remain with their original family and the exchange of money would likewise help the parents,

---

<sup>178</sup> Porath, "Nasty Boys or Obedient Children?," 19.

<sup>179</sup> This was particularly true for those of relatively higher social standing, and less for those from lower backgrounds. Aimitsumarū and Aichinomaru were likely lower-ranking *chigo*.

<sup>180</sup> Farris notes that the practice of selling or borrowing children in the late-twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a double-edged sword. While the possibility for better conditions for children existed in some instances, the abduction of children traveling towards their master's residence was not uncommon. If a child were to successfully arrive at their new master's home, the servants often lived in squalor. While this predates Aimitsumarū and Aichiyomaru, a similar dynamic may have been at play. See William Wayne Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility and Warfare in a Transformative Age* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 89-90.

Chinese texts such as *Quanxiang ershisi xiao shixuan* 全相二十四孝詩選 (*A Collection of Poems for Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety*) by Guo Jujing 郭居敬 (d.1354) circulated in Japan from at least the Kamakura period, and espoused hard, and occasionally deadly, work to aid one's parents. These themes continue to appear in the Edo period in the biographies of filial children. See Niels van Steenpaal, "Conflicting Paradigms of Moral and Biological Childhood: The biography of Tonematsu the Filial Boy," in *Kindheit in der japanischen Geschichte: Vorstellungen und Erfahrungen* 215-236; R. Keller Kimbrough, "The Twenty-Four Filial Exemplars," *Japan Review* 34 (2019), 69-94. For other educational texts, see Porath, "Cosmology of Male-Male Love in Medieval Japan: *Nyakudō no kanjinchō* and the Way of Youths," *Journal of Religion in Japan*, 4 (2015), 241-271, and "Nasty Boys," *Child's Play*.

these transactions may have been handled with a degree of pragmatism. While nefarious exchanges would likely have happened as well, a more generous read of these two *chigo*'s circumstances may point to parents making difficult decisions to protect themselves as well as their children.

The limited number of textual sources used to support the narrative that *chigo kanjō* rituals were created as a means for monks to have sex with *chigo* above all other concerns ignores the nuances of how the circumstances surrounding sexual acts or practices come to define the acts themselves. It is not enough to point to two individuals and descriptions in fictitious literary works to understand how *chigo kanjō* may have been understood, or, likewise, take Genshin's admonitions about male-male sexual practices as a universal viewpoint on the transgressive nature of sex. It is essential to problematize our own twenty-first century assumptions of sexual practices and the meanings they may or may not generate by briefly turning to examples of other documented ritualized sexual practices. These suggest a third possibility, wherein the sexual aspects of *chigo kanjō* were primarily considered part of a ritual performance and not necessarily intended to be viewed in the same light as sexual encounters writ large.

In our current moment, defining what "counts" as sexual behavior is not straightforward.

Jane Ward summarizes the ambiguities among twenty-first century men as follows:

I asked myself, "Would a queer couple, perhaps on a first date, be likely to define the behavior as 'sex' or 'sexual' if they participated in it?" and if the answer was yes, I referred to the behavior as "sex" or "sexual." In this vein, I include all forms of anal penetration, hand jobs, blowjobs, and mutual masturbation. For instance, I believe it is likely that if a gay male couple were on a date that at some point included one man penetrating another man's anus with his fingers, they would likely perceive that they had been sexual with one another. In contrast, the straight men who engage in this same form of digital anal penetration as part of fraternity or military initiation rituals may perceive that the act is not strictly sexual, or even sexual at all.<sup>181</sup>

---

<sup>181</sup> Elizabeth Jane Ward, *Not Gay: Sex Between White Straight Men* (New York: New York University Press, 2015) 38.

The meaning of what would be considered overtly sexual in the bedroom of two consenting adults changes drastically with its context. The same act has drastically distinct interpretations, one classifying the act as purely sexual, the other, leveraging the sexual connotations with it to establish a hierarchy between men through humiliation.<sup>182</sup> These nuances are further muddied through the fact that the surviving sources covering these acts are primarily ritual documents that were produced with their own specific intents in mind that may or may not have been recorded.

Perhaps one of the most well-known examples of documented ritual sexual performances between males that was not understood as a form of sexual activity is recorded in Gilbert H. Herdt's *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia* (1984).<sup>183</sup> In a series of nine chapters, a handful of anthropologists present varied ways in which sexual practices between men and the varied meanings they generated. These practices, Herdt notes, had little implication for the sexual proclivities of the males involved:

[I]n these societies males are involved in homoerotic contacts first as insertees, then as inserters, often being steadily involved [...] for months or years. Yet in all known cases, they are later expected to marry and father children, as is customary. Their psychosexual involvement...does not make them into "homosexuals" in the sense that this noun connotes (life-long habitualized sexual preference for members of the same sex) in Western culture[...] In other words, to engage in initiatory or secular homosexual acts (behavior) does not necessarily mean that one is or becomes "homosexual" in habitual sexual motivation or sex object choice (identity).<sup>184</sup>

---

<sup>182</sup> Ward, 38.

<sup>183</sup> Gilbert H. Herdt, *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). Herdt's arguments have been refined and discussed with greater nuance by subsequent anthropologists, see Deborah A. Elliston, "Erotic Anthropology: 'Ritualized Homosexuality' in Melanesia and Beyond," *American Ethnologist* vol. 22, no. 4 (November 1995) 848-867.

<sup>184</sup> Herdt, *Ritualized Homosexuality*, 7.

A particular set of rituals Herdt examines took place in Simbari culture, on the Papuan border near the Eastern Highlands. He notes that within this group, semen is understood as something vital to the development of male bodies but is not naturally produced. Rather, young males must be inseminated through a series of ritual inseminations:<sup>185</sup>

Sambia practice secret homosexual fellatio, which is taught and instituted in first-stage initiation. Boys learn to ingest semen from older youths through oral sexual contacts. First- and-second stage initiates may only serve as fellators; they are forbidden to reverse erotic roles with older partners. Third-stage pubescent bachelors and older youths thus act as fellateds, inseminating prepubescent boys. All males pass through both erotic stages, first being fellators, then fellateds; there are no exceptions since all Sambia males are initiated and pressured to engage in homosexual fellatio.<sup>186</sup>

These ritualized sexual performances developed in part, due to the straight segregation of male and female children while being raised. For male children semen is equated with breast milk and is believed that the consumption of semen allows youths to properly mature, these transactions directly relate to notions of growth and reproduction.<sup>187</sup> While a woman's insemination results in pregnancy, it is also believed that the semen given to the woman transforms into breast milk, which in turn feeds the infant until it is weaned. Then, development continues by feeding the child pandanus nuts, and eventually the introduction to ritualized fellatio, where the semen accumulates inside the male until he is able to produce semen, inseminate younger youths, and eventually his wife, where the cycle starts over.<sup>188</sup> In this instance, there is a direct connection between life cycles and what would code as sexual encounters—if not entirely child molestation—in other cultural

---

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, 181

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

contexts that lack sexual meanings. Understandably practices such as this code as deeply unacceptable from a twenty-first century perspective, however, exclusively inhabiting the Euro-American mindset when it comes to sexual ethics simply continues to do the quasi-colonial work of insisting upon Euro-American sexual practices as the only correct ones.

A contemporary parallel may be found in texts overviewing medical procedures such as prostate exams. These do not have a sexual intent and it is yet another instance in which the same act's meaning changes drastically with context. Medical journals note that the outcome outweighs the act itself. According to a 2011 article published in "Pediatrics: Official Journal of the American Academy of Pediatrics" notes:

Despite the lack of evidence-based guidelines supporting routine testicular screening and teaching of testicular self-examination, [it] represents an important part of a male adolescent's complete physical examination during annual preventive health visits... Ultimately, one of the goals of the genital examination is to help the young man gain a better understanding of his own body and reproductive parts...An external anal inspection, a digital rectal examination, and screening for hernia as part of the male adolescent physical examination should be performed on the basis of specific concerns... or risk factors that would warrant an external anal inspection...

Health care providers might be confronted with male adolescents who refuse a genital examination because of concerns about homophobia, lack of experience with such examinations, fear of getting an erection, or even because of previous abuse. Understanding the specific concern can help the health care provider educate the patient about the importance of this examination, determine the priority of such an examination for a particular patient, and negotiate how and when to complete the required components of the examination. Routinely examining the genitals from childhood through adolescence can help the male patient understand the routine nature of this examination component. The use of a chaperone might also be relevant and should be considered during all genital examinations.<sup>189</sup>

An intentionally suspicious read of this overview on how to perform examinations that most twenty-first century readers would likely agree are inherently beneficial reveals a similar dynamic

---

<sup>189</sup> Arik V. Marcell, et al., "Male Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Healthcare," *Pediatrics* vol. 128 no. 6 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2011-2384>.



found in *chigo kanjō*. The same elements are at work: an older, educated authority is sanctioned to perform an act or acts that would carry sexual connotations between consenting adults. If the adolescent is reluctant and more convincing is needed, then other adults are consulted to help persuade the adolescent into agreeing. Phrases like “Ultimately, one of the goals...is to help the young man gain a better understanding of his own body and reproductive parts” may be true in a medical sense, but the same phrase could very easily be used to justify a process of grooming and molestation, all enacted “despite the lack of evidence-based guidelines.”

Considering medical science and Buddhism as two different technologies both working towards their own beneficial aims (health and longevity on one hand, and enlightenment on the other), both this medical text and *chigo kanjō* ritual documents record and pragmatically outline the steps undertaken to achieve a beneficial goal. Based on these surviving medieval documents alone, it is unlikely that we will never fully understand how the power dynamics were deployed within *chigo kanjō* rituals as these ritual documents are not the primary venue to convey the details of personal experiences. These experiences would almost certainly have varied dramatically, based on the logistics of where, when and who performed these rituals, and may have ranged from the benign to the outright sinister, much in the same way they do in other contexts in the current era. Similarly, despite the seemingly sexual nature of these rituals, they may have been understood in a range of ways by the participants, with being purely ritual or entirely sexual on either extreme end of the spectrum.<sup>190</sup> Certainly, the author of *Kōbō Daishi ikkan no shō* was primarily interested in the sexual elements of *chigo kanjō*, but the degree to which he and his close group of unknown

---

<sup>190</sup> While *Kōbō daishi ikkan no shō* suggests this kind of reemphasis on sex in the ritual, this work provides a single perspective, and may not reflect broader understandings of *chigo kanjō* as a Buddhist ritual.

associates reflected late sixteenth-century views of these rituals within monastic complexes remains unclear.

In short, it is impossible to definitively state how *chigo kanjō* rituals were understood by those who practiced them, or how monk-*chigo* sexual practices were negotiated with the occasional condemnation of *nanshoku* within Japanese Buddhism. As previous scholarly interpretations of these rites have sprung from bad-faith interpretations and framed in largely condemnatory language, it appears that this discomfort is more unique to our own historical moment than those of medieval Japanese monks or *chigo*. While it cannot be conclusively argued that *chigo kanjō* was seen as something entirely other than sex for pleasure, it similarly cannot be understood as inherently nefarious, as cultural understandings of bodies, bodily functions and sexual activity are not stable concepts across time. After all, there is no indication that *chigo kanjō* rituals were considered troubling, or even remarkable, at the time in which they were practiced, and adopting a view based on the presumed abuses unfairly renders all *chigo* as hapless victims and all monks as predatory.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have argued that while sex was theoretically condemned within Buddhist doctrine, sexual encounters with the divine were thought to be salvifically beneficial to devotees. As texts attesting to sexual trysts with manifestations of Buddhist divinities are found from the early Heian period and on, the eventual development of *chigo kanjō* consecration rituals were the logical conclusion of centuries of miracles attesting to the efficacy of a sexual encounter with the divine. Datable documents speaking to fourteenth century male-male sexual practices directly couch these trysts within Buddhist doctrine, usually that of expedient means, and suggest that these

relationships were not understood as unusual, or particularly transgressive due to the semi-divine state of *chigo*.

As scholarship has primarily viewed *chigo kanjō* rituals as a deliberate system of abuse where *chigo* were disproportionately used for the sexual gratification of monks, I have argued that the surviving evidence does not necessarily point to this interpretation. Rather, I suggest that the context of sexual acts occurring within an elaborate ritual context ensures that the meaning of the acts would necessarily code as something other than sex for personal gratification. While the range of receptions to these rituals would vary on a case-by-case basis, it is impossible to definitively conclude that these were understood as universally abusive or sexual in nature.

Sexual encounters with *chigo* did not require the invention of an elaborate ritual, but rather, the rituals were created by drawing from the rich symbolic associations *chigo* had in preexisting Buddhist tales, pointing to the broader symbolic potential of *chigo* unrelated to sexual desire. Therefore, in subsequent chapters, I will examine icons depicting *chigo* variants of various divinities largely outside the concerns of sexual desire, as these icons were developed independently of *chigo kanjō* and often deployed meanings very different than those found within the ritual context of these consecration rites.

### Chapter 3 Chigo Monju Icons and Political Interests during the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi Periods

In shifting the emphasis on *chigo* from the singular context of sexual and romantic fantasy, ritual or otherwise, it becomes possible to delve into other roles that *chigo* iconography played in medieval Japan. Chigo Monju imagery seems to have been developed without preexisting notions of Monju (文殊, aka Manjushiri 文殊師利, Skt. Mañjuśrī) being a divinity associated with sex; rather, it developed out of a combination of veneration of the divinity on Mount Wutai in China (present-day Shanxi Province), his identification with the Wakamiya of Kasuga in Nara, and notions of Monju as divinity useful for filial veneration.<sup>191</sup> I argue that rather than the sexualized version of Chigo Monju that developed later in the Muromachi and Edo periods, Chigo Monju icons were developed during the Nanbokuchō period as a direct result of shifting patterns of patronage at Kasuga Shrine and Kōfuku-ji, and reflect changing uses for Monju that became directly affiliated with political changes during the period. As Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇

---

<sup>191</sup> The sexualized interpretation of Monju seems to date to the mid fifteenth century at the earliest, as a colophon noting in the 1664 edition of *Genmu monogatari* that it was copied from a 1486 document. Among the other surviving versions of *Genmu* include one dated to 1497. See Childs, *Rethinking Sorrow*, 26.

While the 1442 *chigo kanjō* text *Chigo kanjō kuketsu sōjō* notes that the *chigo* must recite the Mañjuśrī Dhāraṇī (*Monju ju*; 文殊咒) one hundred times before the icon of Ennin as part of the day-long preparatory ritual. Porath notes that this was likely included due to Monju's frequent veneration as a youth. As the only (and relatively minor) instance that Monju is invoked within *chigo kanjō* rituals, it seems unlikely that this divinity was included because of any widescale association between Monju and sex, but rather as a nod to Ennin's promulgating of Monju devotions. See Porath, "Flower of Dharma Nature," 192-193.

(1288-1339; r. 1318-1339) and his ardent supporter, the monk Monkan 文觀 (1278-1357; also known as Kōshin 弘真) had used Monju in public state-sponsored rituals to suppress the Ashikaga shogunate, esoteric forms of Monju became directly associated with the emperor's attempts to reassert dominance over the warrior class. Therefore, when the Ashikaga shogunate eventually began an aggressive process of financially backing Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji to gain their alliance, a new iconography of Monju was developed to better suit the shogunate's interests.

The variety of ways in which Chigo Monju has been depicted suggests that the iconography was not developed for one specific ritual use, but likely served a variety of purposes, all with a shared emphasis on depicting the divinity in the guise of a high-ranking *chigo* through sartorial and tonsorial moves. I argue that the later interpretations of Chigo Monju that emphasize the sexual or romantic aspects of the divinity are later Edo period assertions that overshadowed the various meanings that images this figure generated during the medieval period, by prioritizing one aspect of the figure's connotations, and largely overshadowed these other political implications. Underpinning this argument is the fundamental assertion that although certain images have been read as "homoerotic" at certain points in their history, this has not always been the case. Writing of the changing representations of masculinities in French painting of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the fluidity of visual interpretation in light of erotic desire is best summarized by Abigail Solomon-Godeau:

[An] iconographic type such as Ganymede, the beautiful mortal boy abducted by Zeus, which one might take to be a straight-forwardly homoerotic subject, could be employed by artists metaphorically to signify things quite apart from homoerotic desire.... Because works of art are characterized by their multiplicity of meanings and associations—manifest and latent, conscious and unconscious—interpretation therefore needs to extend beyond mere iconographic deciphering or biological references. Indeed, it is what semiotics designates as the polysemic or multi-signifying aspect of imagery, especially in the complex and highly wrought forms of elite painting, that makes any given work of art productive of meanings greatly in excess of simple denotation... [W]hether the image of Ganymede is intended to signify same-sex desire, or the soul's aspirations, artists could

only choose between the existing conventions for the representation of masculinity... they could not, in any case, invent a type out of whole cloth.<sup>192</sup>

Like images of Ganymede, images of a youthful Monju borrowed from previously existing visual types, capable of expressing meanings that were later overshadowed by more affective romantic or sexual interpretations.

One of the oft-cited sources concerning Monju's veneration as a sexually available youth in medieval Japan is a poem purportedly written by Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 1394-1481, a Zen monk known for his erotic and irreverent poetry. In this work, he claims that Monju inspired Kūkai to promote what has been interpreted as male-male sexual practices:

Monju, the holy one, first opened this path  
Kōbō Daishi of Kongō then received it.  
Without male and female, its pleasures are like an endless circle  
Men shout with pleasure when they attain entrance.<sup>193</sup>

大聖文殊初活開  
金剛弘法再興來  
無陰陽処円通培  
得入人々叫菩哉<sup>194</sup>

The poem's sexual theme relies heavily on *shiri* as a *kakekotoba* pun, as the last two characters of Manjushri's transliteration into Japanese as *Monjushiri* 文殊師利—*shiri* 師利 sound the same as

---

<sup>192</sup> Abigail Solomon Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 29-30.

<sup>193</sup> Schalow, *Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender*, 216.

<sup>194</sup> Asakura Haruhiko, *Kana zōshi shūsei* vol. 4 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1983), 12.

the word “ass” 尻.<sup>195</sup> The attribution to Ikkyū is likely dubious as the work first appears in *Inu tsurezure* 犬徒然 (1619; 1653), the Edo period parody of Kenkō’s 兼好 (1283–1350) *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 (*Essays in Idleness*; 1330-1332).<sup>196</sup> However, Monju had clearly gained some association with monk *chigo* sexual practices by the fifteenth century, as *Genmu monogatari* 幻夢物語, (late fifteenth century), includes a manifestation of Monju as a *chigo* as the tale’s main love interest. The additional inclusion of Chigo Monju as a source for monk-*chigo* sex found in Chikamatsu Monzaemon’s 1710 *Shinjū mannensō* as mentioned in Chapter Two, as well as *Genmu monogatari*’s inclusion in Ōta Nanpō’s listing of *chigo monogatari* suggests that Monju had been cemented in the minds of Edo period writers as a youthful object of monk’s affections.

Bracketing out these more recently developed understandings of Monju, I will examine the development of Chigo Monju icons, looking primarily at their iconographic sources as well as the political climate surrounding their production. I argue that Chigo Monju iconography reflected the changing patronage of Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji and spoke to the different uses of Monju as a divinity that better suited the Ashikaga shogunate’s needs. First, I examine iconographic sources used to develop Chigo Monju iconography, specifically the beliefs surrounding the divinity found on Mount Wutai, as well as the Japanese identification of Monju as the Buddhist equivalent to the Wakamiya of Kasuga. I then turn to the political reasons for the development of Chigo Monju icons, specifically the Ashikaga shogunate’s financial backing of Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji as a means of asserting their political power, at sites that may have had loyalties to Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐

---

<sup>195</sup> *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* dates the earliest use of the *shiri* 師利/*shiri* 尻 pun to 1674 in *Yakusha hyōban geji* 役者評判蛸蛭 in their entry on Chigo Monju.

<sup>196</sup> Schalow, *Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender*, 229, note 8.

醐天皇 (1288-1339; r. 1318-1339) and his bid to restore imperial power during the Kenmu Restoration (1333-1336). I lastly turn to two texts, *Genmu monogatari* and the Nō play *Kuzu* 国栖 (fifteenth or sixteenth centuries) to examine the broader symbolic uses of youth within literature and suggest these associations may be found in Chigo Monju icons as well.

### 3.1 Establishing a Chigo Monju Iconography

I classify Chigo Monju images exclusively as those showing the divinity dressed in the guise of a Japanese youth typically wearing *suikan* 水干 robes, hair parted in the center, pulled back and tied in a long queue (*suihatsu/subeshigami* 垂髮)—notably different from the two round *binzura* 角髮 side buns found in other iconographies of divine youths such as Prince Shōtoku at the age of sixteen—all visual attributes that conform to other illustrations of *chigo* in medieval Japan.<sup>197</sup> These depictions of Monju as a Japanese-styled youth are by no means the most common visualization of the divinity, with about only ten known images from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries surviving that fit this definition. These medieval icons of Monju directly adopt both Japanese dress and polychrome painting style, firmly rooting them in Japanese religious culture. Unlike the collective title of “Chigo Daishi,” the subject of Chapter Four, “Chigo Monju” as a typology of image does not refer to any one standardized iconography and composition. While few of these images survive, they employ various compositions reflecting a shared iconography showing Monju holding his vajra sword and dressed as a Japanese youth, with his hair pulled back in a long queue, all but one depicting him with his lion mount.

---

<sup>197</sup> Tsuda Tetsuei, *Chūsei no dōjigyō, Nihon no Bijutsu* vol. 442 (March, 2003) 67-68.



Among this categorization are three subcategories. The first variant, including at least four examples, depict Monju in the same pose, seated on his lion mount facing left, holding his sword upright in right hand, and the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* (J: *Hannya-haramitta kyō* 般若波羅蜜多經; Ch: *bōrě bōluómìduō* 般若波羅蜜多) in his other hand. One example of this version of the iconography are found within shrine landscape *mandara* (*miya mandara* 宮曼荼羅).<sup>198</sup> A second variant, consisting of about three icons, omits the sutra and shows Monju holding the hilt of his sword in his right hand, and the blade in his left hand covered with the silk of his garments. The final variant shows the most inventiveness in the compositions and shows the divinity gazing down at his lion mount, two depicting the lion facing the viewer, and only one with the more typical side view.<sup>199</sup>

The relative scarcity of these images and the inventive ways in which they were depicted has led to problems with identifying other images of divine youths. The title “Chigo Monju” appears to be a modern classification created out of convenience. However, as Monju often appears as a youth, parsing out the differences between the different varieties of *chigo/wakamiya*

---

<sup>198</sup> As per art historical convention, I adopt the Japanese transliteration *mandara* for religious paintings produced in Japan that were not true Esoteric mandalas. See Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geographies*, (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press) 1999.

<sup>199</sup> In order of these sub-divisions, these works are held in the following collections: Variant One: Century Museum, Tokyo, Nezu Museum; Minneapolis Institute of Art, and a Private Collection, published in *Nihon no Bijutsu* vol 442 in 2003; Variant Two: Sansō Collection; National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian, Washington DC; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City; Variant Three: Cleveland Museum of Art; Tokyo National Museum; Hara Sankei Collection. One outlying example is a nineteenth century Chigo Monju hanging scroll by Tani Bunchō (谷文晁 1763-1841) housed at the Tokyo National Museum, which appears to be an imprecise copy in the spirit of the example housed in a Private Collection. This is by no means a definitive listing of all medieval examples that exist. As relatively minor works within the history of Japanese painting, these icons have often escaped notice in publications and exhibitions.

visualizations of this divinity from other youthful *kami* and religious figures has caused a degree of confusion. Museums have classified this sword-wielding youth variously as the Wakamiya of Kasuga, Chigo Monju, Monju on a Lion, and erroneously as Shōtoku Taishi. To add to the confusion, occasionally Gokei Monju 五髻文殊 icons (images of Monju as a youth with five top-knots) or Chigo Daishi (paintings of Kūkai, the subject of Chapter Four) are identified as Chigo Monju.<sup>200</sup> In her article “The Divine Boy in Japanese Art,” Guth identifies a Gokei Monju at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston as a Chigo Monju (fig. 3.1), noting that the painting’s form resembles that of Chigo Daishi images in that it simply depicts Monju seated on a lotus blossom with little other visual information other than the divinity’s typical attributes, and includes the tricolored *shikishi* papers for an inscription.<sup>201</sup> This confusion is likely furthered by the Mandala of the Wakamiya of Kasuga (fig. 3.2) owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art as it has a similar composition, isolating the figure on a floating lotus surrounded by a circular golden mandorla. While Gokei Monju does take a youthful form, the identification of this image as a Chigo Monju in Guth’s work as well speak to the ambiguities of the term “*chigo*” in classifying painted icons during the twentieth century, all seeming to derive from the 1930s in Japan, starting with the first use of the term Chigo Daishi in 1935.<sup>202</sup> The classification of Chigo Monju as an iconographic type first appears in 1959 in Matsushita Kajita’s article on the frontispiece depicting the Wakamiya

---

<sup>200</sup>The box associated with the Chigo Daishi icon at the Nelson Atkins Museum in Kansas City is labeled as “Chigo Monju.

<sup>201</sup> Guth, “The Divine Boy in Japanese Art,” *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 42, no. 1 (Spring, 1987), 13; *Zaigai Nihon no shihō: Bukkyō kaiga* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1979-1981), plate 63.

<sup>202</sup> Matsumoto Eichi, “Chigo Daishi zō kai”, *Kokka* (1935), 274-278.

of Kasuga from the *Kongo hanya haramitsu kyō*, which has since been firmly reidentified as an illustration of the apparition of the Wakamiya to the monk Gyōgen 行玄 (1097-1155).<sup>203</sup>

Similarly, images of other youthful *kami* are misidentified as being the Wakamiya of Kasuga (a *kami* closely associated with Monju), such as one fourteenth-century example owned by the Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art (formerly the Freer|Sackler), which is more likely a depiction of Hachiman in the guise of a youth (fig. 3.3).<sup>204</sup> A strikingly similar one housed in a private collection was recently shown at the exhibition *Shintō: Discovery of the Divine in Japanese Art* in 2019 at The Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 3.4). Both the Freer image and this second are nearly identical, with even greater fidelity given to reproducing the same forms of the craggy rocks underneath the figure. The close similarities point to one being produced as a direct copy of the other.

Frustrating as these misidentifications may be, it is possible that they point to later repurposing or reinterpretations of iconographically vague *chigo/dōji* images to suit different institutions' or individuals' needs, or that they stem from the gradual movement of these images from religious spaces to museums and private collections over time. Research on these works has

---

<sup>203</sup> Matsushita Kajita, *Zuhan yōgō: Chigo Monju shutsugen zu Kongō hanya haramitsu kyō mikaeshi e*,” *Bijutsu Kenkyū* vol. 203 (1959). Earlier uses of the term Chigo Monju appear in 1918, in Ryūnosuke Akutagawa's 芥川 龍之介 (1892-1927) *Jigokuhen* 地獄変 (*Hell Screen*), as well as Katsushika Hokusai's 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849) *Chigo Monju osana kyōkun* 兒童文殊稚教訓 (1801). While both point to the use of the term Chigo Monju neither conform to the iconographies or associations of medieval Chigo Monju images and speak to further developments of Monju's manifestations in the Edo period.

<sup>204</sup> This painting seems to have had this identification since it was acquired by the museum in the 1960s. See: Mayuyama Junkichi, ed., *Japanese Art in the West*, (Tokyo: Mayuyama & Co., 1966), pl. 107; John Alexander Pope, et al., *The Freer Gallery of Art* vol 2 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1971-1972), 157; Freer Gallery of Art, *Masterpieces of Chinese and Japanese Art: Freer Gallery of Art Handbook* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1976), 105.

been limited because of the paucity of information on their uses and their ambiguous status as works falling between Buddhism and *kami*-related practices. It seems unlikely that these identifications would be so muddled had these images been more frequently produced or used, suggesting that their popularity was eclipsed by other images of youthful divinities.

A distinctly different iconography of occasionally-termed Chigo Monju, showing a youthful Monju in monochrome ink, was developed later in the Muromachi and Edo periods and produced in greater numbers from then on. Examples of this iconography still appear at auction houses: Brightwell's in Leominster put on auction a monochrome Edo period Chigo Monju (lot 302) image during their Summer Two Day Fine Art Sale on July 24<sup>th</sup> of 2019, which went unsold.<sup>205</sup> Bonham's listed a Chigo Monju painting (lot 1071), attributed to Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1768) in their *Fine Japanese and Korean Art* auction of September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018.<sup>206</sup> Despite the shared collective term "Chigo Monju," these images use distinctively different iconographies to depict the divinity, drawing heavily from Nawa Monju imagery, or dressing the divinity in princely garb including crowns and *ruyi* 如意 scepters.<sup>207</sup> In all likelihood, the classification of these images as Chigo Monju stems from the same lack of standardization of terms that plague medieval polychrome examples, as well as icons of youths writ large. However, their varied compositions,

---

<sup>205</sup> Brightwells, Summer Two Day Fine Art Sale, July 2019 accessed 1/16/2020, <https://www.brightwells.com/lot-details/423033> (website discontinued).

<sup>206</sup> Bonhams, Lot 1071: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1768), Chigo Monju Bosatsu, accessed 1/16/2020. <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/24862/lot/1071/?category=list&length=10&page=8>.

<sup>207</sup> In addition to the previously mentioned examples, a partial list include: Kano Tanyū, *Chigo Monju*, fifteenth century, Kanman-ji, Nikaho, Akita; Shūsei, *Monju on a Lion*, fifteenth century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, among others.

styles and iconographies point to different uses than the ten Chigo Monju icons I address in this chapter.

### **3.2 Iconographic Sources for Chigo Monju Icons: Mañjuśrī of Mount Wutai and the Wakamiya of Kasuga**

As one of the most prominent divinities in Mahayana Buddhism, myriad images of Monju appear throughout East Asia, produced in a wide range of iconographies. Chigo Monju imagery is a direct result of the conflation Mañjuśrī iconography developed in China, specifically surrounding his cult of devotion on Mount Wutai 五台山 (J. Godaisan; C. Wutaishan) in present-day Shanxi Province, with pre-existing venerations of Monju as the Wakamiya of Kasuga in Nara. Interest in both these respective divinities increased during the thirteenth century in Japan, particularly among Emperor Go-Daigo, and Monkan who continued to invoke Monju as a state-protective divinity, as well as the Ashikaga shogunate as they heavily patronized Kōfuku-ji and Kasuga to gain their political alliance later in the century.

During the Tang dynasty (618-907), Mount Wutai was promoted as Mañjuśrī's earthly abode by Amoghavajra (J. Fukū Kongō 不空金剛 705-774). Textual evidence for devotions to Monju in Japan appear in the eighth century, as copies of Chinese texts, specifically *Gu Qingliang zhuan* 古清涼傳 or *Ancient Records of Mt. Clear-and-Cool* (copied in Japan in 740), a work that attests to Manjushri's miraculous works on Mt. Wutai, as well as the *Kegonkyō denki* 華嚴經伝記 (*Records of the Flower Garland Sutra*, copied in Japan in 747). Veneration of Monju also features prominently in the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* (*Yuima-kyō* 維摩經) as well as the *Mañjuśrī*

*Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* (C. *Wenshushili banniepan jing*; J. *Monjushiri hatsunehangyō* 文殊師利般涅槃經).<sup>208</sup>

Gyōga 行賀 (729-803), a Hossō sect monk from Kōfuku-ji, first traveled to Mt. Wutai during the Nara period, returned and began to promulgate devotions to Monju throughout Japan. Later on, he was followed by other prominent pilgrims, such as Saichō 最澄 (767-822), the founder of the Tendai sect in Japan, and Ennin 圓仁 (794-864), who provides the first written account of a pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai in his diary.<sup>209</sup> According to Ennin, Monju would assume unexpectedly humble guises:

When one enters this region of his Holiness, if one sees a very lowly man, one dares not feel contemptuous; if one meets a donkey, one wonders if it might not be a manifestation of Monju.<sup>210</sup>

大聖の境地に入る時は極賤の人を見るも、且も敢えて輕蔑の心を作さず。若し驢畜に逢うも赤疑心を起こす、恐らくは是文殊の化現かと。挙目見るは皆文殊所化の想を起こす。<sup>211</sup>

Not noted in Ennin's comments was the belief that Mañjuśrī would appear as a youthful commoner. However, later Chinese texts attest to the belief in a youthful Mañjuśrī inhabiting Mount Wutai as early as the eleventh century. Records in the *Shishi jigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 (c.1354) and the *Qingliang shan chi* 清涼山志 (c. 1596) recount miraculous apparitions of Monju to the

---

<sup>208</sup> David Quinter, *From Outcasts to Emperors: Shingon Ritsu and the Mañjuśrī Cult in Medieval Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 61. Paul M. Harrison, "Mañjuśrī and the Cult of the Celestial Bodhisattvas," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, No. 13.2 (2000): 178.

<sup>209</sup> Quinter, *From Outcasts to Emperors*, 62.

<sup>210</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955), 225.

<sup>211</sup> Ennin, *Nittō guhō junrei kyōgki*, vol.1, Tōyō Bunko vol 157, Atachi Kiroku, Shioiri Ryōdō, eds., (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1970-1985) 309.

monk Lu Huiqing 吕惠卿 (1032-1111).<sup>212</sup> It has been noted that this account not only drew from Buddhist textual sources attesting to Mañjuśrī's manifestations as a commoner, but also popular Daoist legends of Qington 青童, the Azure Lad, perhaps helping the belief in youthful Mañjuśrī gain a foothold in China.<sup>213</sup>

Kamakura-period monks such as Eison 叡尊 (1201-1290), Ninshō 忍性 (1217-1303) and Monkan (1278-1357) spearheaded a revitalized interest in Monju in Japan. Within Japan, they situated Monju's devotional cult within the context of filial devotions and charitable works towards *hi'nin* 非人,<sup>214</sup> both aspects possibly stemming from Monju's manifestations as a pauper and youth.<sup>215</sup> Eison and his followers began to emphasize the Mañjuśrī Parinirvāṇa Sūtra (C. *Wenshushili banniepan jing* 文殊師利般涅槃經; J. *Monju-kyō* 文殊經), emphasizing the divinity's compassion.<sup>216</sup> Eison's commentary on Monju included in his autobiography *Kongō busshi Eison kanjin gakushōki* 金剛仏子叡尊感身学正記 (hereafter, *Gakushōki*) further notes

---

<sup>212</sup> Hwi-Joon Ahn, "Paintings of the Nawa Monju: Mañjuśrī Wearing a Braided Robe," *Archives of Asian Art* 24 (1974), 47; Guth, "Divine Boy," 14.

<sup>213</sup> Guth, *ibid.* Qington, one of the prominent divinities in medieval Daoism, takes the form of a youth clad in an iridescent azure cloak. Traditionally, he is associated with the east, and enlightenment. See Paul W. Kroll, "In the Halls of the Azure Lad," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 105, no. 1 (1985), 75-94.

<sup>214</sup> Literally, "non-human." During the medieval period this referred to a diverse group of individuals who were seen as polluted in a variety of ways, including sickness, disabilities, sex workers, the indigent, and those who worked with the dead among others. See Nagahara Keiji, "The Medieval Origins of the Eta-Hinin," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* vol. 5, no. 2 (1979), 385-403; Quinter, "Creating Bodhisattvas: Eison, 'Hinin', and the 'Living Mañjuśrī,'" *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 62 no. 4 (Winter 2007), 437-458; Amino Yoshihiko, *Chūsei no hinin to yūjo* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1994).

<sup>215</sup> Quinter, *Outcasts to Emperors*, 10

<sup>216</sup> Quinter "Visualizing the Mañjuśrī Sutra as a Contemplation Sutra," *Asia Major* vol. 23, no. 2 (2010): 104. T. 463.

that Monju and compassionate works are inherently linked through his manifestation as a suffering figure.<sup>217</sup> These remarks draw specifically from the *Monju-kyō*, which outlines Monju's manifestations:

If people call to mind this Dharma-Prince Mañjuśrī, if they wish to make offerings and cultivate meritorious deeds, then [Mañjuśrī] will transform himself, turning into an impoverished, solitary or afflicted sentient being, and appear before the practitioners. When people call Mañjuśrī to mind, they should practice compassion. Those who practice compassion will thereby be able to see Mañjuśrī.<sup>218</sup>

此文殊師利法王子。若有人念。若欲供養修福業者。即自化身。作貧窮孤獨苦惱衆生。至行者前。若有人念文殊師利者。當行慈心。行慈心者。即是得見文殊師利<sup>219</sup>

It is possible that Eison's remarks may have also been informed by the legends recorded later on in the *Shishi jigu lüe* (c.1354) and the *Qingliang shan chi* (c. 1596).<sup>220</sup> Both variants of the narrative note that Lu Huiqing traveled to Mount Wutai in the hopes of encountering a miraculous apparition of Mañjuśrī. While on the mountain, the monk became caught in a thunderstorm and witnessed a young blue dragon among the clouds. After a little while, the monk realized that the apparition was, in fact, a youth with long hair, parted in the center, wearing a garment constructed from grass. When the youth asked the monk why he had traveled to the mountain despite the inclement weather, Lu replied that he wished to encounter Mañjuśrī, to help clarify the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*.

---

<sup>217</sup> Quinter “Mañjuśrī sutra,” 104. *Kongō busshi Eison kanjin gakushōki*, 1268/9, in *Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo*, (1977): 34.

<sup>218</sup> Quinter, “Mañjuśrī sutra,” 112-13. T 463.14. Quinter notes he opted for “solitary” rather than the more typical translation of *gudu* as “orphan.” As the death of the *chigo* Hanamatsu in *Genmu monogatari* occurs after the youth avenges his slain father, suggesting a further parallel between the youth and Monju's associations on Mount Wutai. *Kongō busshi Eison kanjin gakushōki*, 1268/9, in *Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo*, (1977): 34.

<sup>219</sup> T. 463.14.0481.

<sup>220</sup> Hwi-Joon Ahn, “Paintings of the Nawa Monju,” 47; Guth “Divine Boy,” 14.



The youth simply replied that the original clarity of Buddhist teachings had become muddied over time after hundreds of volumes of commentaries were produced. After the monk scolded the youth for his irreverent remarks, the youth replied that all things on Mount Wutai were related to Mañjuśrī and transformed into the bodhisattva before riding off into the skies on a golden-haired lion. The narrative concludes with Lu creating an image of the youth in his grass robe, thus creating the iconography Grass-Robed Mañjuśrī (*Nawa Monju*, or *Kusagoro Monju*).<sup>221</sup> At least sixteen images of this iconography were produced in both China and Japan, many bearing poetic inscriptions, and are generally associated with Zen/Chan Buddhist practice. It is unclear how many of the works produced in China were transmitted to Japan during the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, however, by the early fifteenth century, *Nawa Monju* had become an established iconography produced in Japan.

While Eison was promulgating devotions to Monju based on those developed on Mount Wutai, Monju was already venerated at Kasuga Shrine, having already been incorporated into the Japanese religious consciousness with the tenth century introduction of the Wakamiya of Kasuga. The origins of the Wakamiya of Kasuga, properly named Ame-no-oshikumone-no-mikoto 天忍雲根命, are firmly dated to 1003 and are recorded in a manuscript that had belonged to the Chidori 千鳥 family of priests serving the Wakamiya. The *Kasuga shaki* 春日社記 (1290) suggests that the first recorded apparition of the Wakamiya was in 933, citing a later instance where Nakatomi no Koretada (d.1004) saw the divinity in 1003.<sup>222</sup> The text notes that during Emperor Ichijō's —

---

<sup>221</sup> Hwi-Joon Ahn, 49. *Zenrin Gasan: chūsei suibokuga o yomu* ed. Shimada Shūjirō and Iriya Yoshitaka (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1987), 72-74.

<sup>222</sup> Royall Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990) 57.

条天皇 reign (r. 986-1011), a translucent, frog-spawn-like substance was found underneath the floorboards of the *himegami*'s, or female *kami*, shrine. After its discovery, a small snake emerged from the mass of slime, and entered into the *himegami*'s shrine.<sup>223</sup> The Wakamiya was eventually installed between the second and third shrines of Kasuga, only gaining his own distinct shrine in 1135.<sup>224</sup>

Four texts survive outlining the iconographies of each of the shrines at Kasuga, yet only one, the *Shun'ya shinki* 春夜神記 lists the Wakamiya.<sup>225</sup> It is unknown when the *Shun'ya shinki* was composed, but the earliest surviving manuscript dates to 1437.<sup>226</sup> The *Koshaki* 古社記 (940) the earliest surviving text outlining the *kami* and their *honji*, lists the original four main divinities as follows:

First Sanctuary: Fukukenjaku, or, alternatively Shaka Nyorai

Second Sanctuary: Yakushi or, alternatively Miroku

Third Sanctuary: Jizō Bosatsu

Fourth Sanctuary: Ise Daijingu [whose *honji* are] Dainichi Nyorai or, alternatively Juichimen Kannon<sup>227</sup>

一宮御本地不空羼索、或尺迦如来云々

二宮御本地薬師如来、或弥勒云々

三宮御本地地藏藏井

---

<sup>223</sup> Susan Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen through its Art* (Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1992), 62-63.

<sup>224</sup> Tyler, *Cult of Kasuga*, 62-63.

<sup>225</sup> These texts are: *Koshaki* 古社記 (940); *Kasuga Daimyōjin go-honji narabini go takusenki* 春日御社御本地并御託宣記 (1175); *Kasuga-sha shiki*, 春日社私記 (1295), *Shun'ya shinki* 春夜神記 (1437); Nagashima Fukutarō, *Kasuga*, Shinto taikai, Jinja-hen vol. 13, ed. Sakamoto Tarō (Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1985).

<sup>226</sup> ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, 155; Tyler, *Miracles of the Kasuga Diety*, 116-117.

<sup>227</sup> Tyler, *Miracles of the Kasuga Diety*, 116. *Koshaki*, Nakashima, *Kasuga*, 9-11.

四宮伊勢大神 御本地大日如来、或十一面観音...<sup>228</sup>

In both the *Koshakai* and *Shun'ya shinki* the forms of the *kami* are also outlined, with the *Shun'ya shinki* alone describing the fifth shrine of the Wakamiya as: “A youth with his hair in loops (*binzura* 角髪). His palms are pressed together in *gasshō* [mudra] (若宮ハ童子形、ヒナツラニテ合掌).<sup>229</sup>” Earlier identifications of the *honji* of the Wakamiya of Kasuga are found in textual descriptions of paintings. On the seventh day of the ninth month of 1191, Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (or Fujiwara no Kanezane 藤原兼実, 1149-1207) noted in his diary *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 (1164-1200) that he offered the *kami* at Kasuga an icon depicting the five divinities in their Buddhist form: Fukukenjaku Kannon, Yakushi, Jizō, and, notably, Juichimen Kannon for the Wakamiya.<sup>230</sup> While it is unclear what became of this particular image, it is striking that this reflects an earlier tradition of identifying the Buddhist *honji* at Kasuga as Kannon. While the Ichinomiya was later identified as Shaka, early written documents dating to 1175 note that the *honji* were once identified as Fukukenjaku Kannon, Yakushi, Jizo, Jūichimen Kannon, and the Wakamiya as Monju, and not Kannon, as Kanezane's image depicted.<sup>231</sup>

Despite being the latest addition to the *kami* venerated at Kasuga, the Wakamiya took on its own important role among the religious institutions in Nara. The establishment of the

---

<sup>228</sup> Nakashima, *ibid.*

<sup>229</sup> Tyler, *Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, 117-118. *Shun'ya shinki*, Nakashima, *Kasuga*, 185. *Binzura* is a hairstyle associated with male youths, marking them as pre-adult.

<sup>230</sup> Tyler, *Cult of Kasuga*, 30. *Gyōkuyō*, Kokusho Kankō kai (Tokyo: Kokosho Kankō kai, 1898-1907).

<sup>231</sup> Sinéad Vilbar and Kevin Gray Carr, *Shintō: Discovery of the Divine in Japanese Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019) 90.

Wakamiya Shrine at Kasuga allowed for Kōfuku-ji, as well as other high-ranking figures not directly tied to the Fujiwara family, to exert an increased influence over Kasuga, as unlike the original shrines at Kasuga, the cultic devotions surrounding the Wakamiya of Kasuga was open to those outside of the Fujiwara family. While the Kōfuku-ji and Kasuga operated in tandem, Buddhist monks were forbidden from participating in festivals offered to the four primary *kami* at the shrine and were grouped together with other unwelcome guests, such as pregnant women and those in mourning. Nagashima notes that the shrine to the Wakamiya's shrine itself was built by Kōfuku-ji as a means of demonstrating its power over Kasuga, and Tatsuro suggests that that festivals at the Wakamiya of Kasuga Shrine began for a similar reason.<sup>232</sup> As these same strictures did not apply to festivals for the Wakamiya, Kōfuku-ji was able to forge a close connection with the Wakamiya's shrine.<sup>233</sup> Festivals held for the Wakamiya began in 1136— a year after the Wakamiya was granted his own shrine—by Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164). During a period of serious floods and starvation, Tadamichi devoted himself to the Wakamiya to end the recent disasters and thus began offering festivals to the divinity. These festivals devoted to the Wakamiya of Kasuga became at least a semi-regular event and emphasized the syncretic nature of the Wakamiya and Monju.<sup>234</sup>

One of the most overt identifications of the Wakamiya with Monju was with the creation of Kōen's 康円 (c. 1207-1284), creation of a Monju sculpture that was installed at Kōfuku-ji (fig.

---

<sup>232</sup> Nagashima Fukutarō, “Kofuku-ji no rekishi,” *Bungaku geijutsu*, 40; 1959; Ishii, Tatsuro. “The Festival of the Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine” *Theatre Research International* vol. 12, no. 2 (1987) 135.

<sup>233</sup> Tyler, *Cult of Kasuga*, 57.

<sup>234</sup> Allan G. Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 11.

3.5). By the time this Monju pentad had been completed in 1273, centers of devotion to Monju had already gained a significant foothold in Japan, as Eison had consecrated another, now nonextant, Monju pentad as part of his restoration of Hannya-ji in 1267. In this instance, however, Kōen's sculptural group was created at the behest of the Kōfuku-ji monk Gyōgen 行玄 (1097-1155) to be installed at the Kangaku'in Hall after its construction in 1285, and notably included a copy of the *Kongō hannya haramitsu kyō* bearing a frontispiece depicting the Wakamiya of Kasuga standing before Mount Mikasa and the five shrines at Kasuga (fig. 3.6). In Gyōgen's dedicatory text, he notes that this vision of the Wakamiya of Kasuga appeared to him in a dream as a youth, surrounded by three priests from Kasuga among cherry blossoms, butterflies and swallows, all reproduced in the frontispiece.<sup>235</sup> This early representation of the Wakamiya maintains the earlier iconography of the divinity, specifying the gasshō mudra where his hands are pressed together, as well as the two *binzura* chignons arranged over each ear.

This re-popularization of Monju through figures like Eison likely allowed for a more robust development of the identification of Monju as the *honji* of the Wakamiya of Kasuga. Kōen's Monju pentad was notably installed in a sub-temple of Kōfuku-ji and implicitly associated itself with the Wakamiya Shrine through inclusion of the aforementioned illustration as the frontispiece of the *Kongō hannya haramitsu kyō* inserted into the work. The sculptural group itself is a fairly standard depiction of a Monju Crossing the Sea (渡海文殊 *Tokai Monju*) iconographic sculptural pentad, showing Gokei Monju seated on his typical lion mount as the central image, surrounded by his four youthful attendants, Uten'ō 宇填王, Zenzai dōji 善哉童子, Daishō Rojin 大聖老人 and Buddhari 仏陀波利. It seems highly likely that the conflation between *Tokai Monju* imagery as

---

<sup>235</sup> Miyeko Murase, *Bridge of Dreams: The Mary Griggs Burke Collection of Japanese Art*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 94.

well as devotions to Monju as the *honji* at the Wakamiya of Kasuga Shrine directly led to the development of polychrome Chigo Monju icons, as many draw from the formal iconography of this version of Monju imagery.

This formal Tokai Monju iconography of the divinity seated on a lion linked directly with Kasuga is found in the *Kasuga Shrine Mandala with the Bodhisattva Monju* at the Nara National Museum, which pairs the formal stiff pose of Gokei Monju along with his four attendants, with a scene of Mount Mikasa in the distance (fig. 3.7). A similar combination of Monju on a lion and Kasuga shrine *mandara* is found in the Chigo Monju icon now in the possession of the Sansō Collection (fig. 3.8). While this example dates to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, this combination of a Kasuga Shrine *mandara* and an icon of Monju is not without precedent—other examples use pre-existing iconographies for the bodhisattva. The Sansō painting, for example, sometimes known as *The Legend of the Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine at Nara*, is a remarkable image, combining many of the motifs associated with Kasuga shrine *mandara*, deer *mandara* and icons of individual divinities. The upper half of the image is dominated by many of the typical elements of a Kasuga deer *mandara*. The five Buddhist *honji* of Kasuga are arranged on a golden mirror in a *sakaki* tree branch supported by a saddle on a deer. Eight figures flank this central image, and hover over Mount Mikasa. Like many other deer *mandara*, in this composition a *torii* gate creates the bottom frame of the composition; however, in the case of the Sansō image, the gate separates the upper half of the painting from the bottom, which depicts a manifestation of Monju in the guise of a youth wearing Japanese-styled garments, seated on his lion mount, grasping his sword in his left hand, and holding the blade in his right.

Another Chigo Monju icon that was likely part of a larger shrine *mandara* is housed at the Minneapolis Institute of Art. Dated to the sixteenth century, the Minneapolis image is a later

pairing of Chigo Monju (fig. 3.9) with a religious landscape. Monju and his lion ride down to the ground on a bank of auspicious clouds about to cross a body of water. Pointed green mountains tower in the distance, and a waterfall pours down from the upper left. On the back, an anonymous monk inked a note attributing the painting to Ashikaga Yoshitane 足利義植 (1466-1523), pointing to a creation date during the sixteenth century.<sup>236</sup> It is worth noting that even if the attribution to Ashikaga Yoshitane is inaccurate, at some point in the image's history the work was connected to the Ashikaga, pointing to the possibility of Ashikaga creation or commissions of Chigo Monju imagery. Indeed, by the close of the fourteenth century, the Ashikaga shoguns were aggressively patronizing Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji, a practice that continued throughout the Muromachi period, as examined later in this chapter. Therefore, the attribution itself may reflect a logical inference based on which significant figures were involved with Kasuga during this period.

The identity of the landscape in the background is unclear, as the image has been significantly damaged and was cut out of a larger painting. The top left and right corners of the surviving image show the edges of auspicious clouds floating about the mountain tops, with the one on the left including the white-robed knee of an unknown divinity, seated on a bank of red clouds. While it is potentially unwise to extrapolate any definitive shrine, temple complex or religious site based on the surviving landscape elements, the exaggerated peaks of the mountains are somewhat reminiscent of images of Mount Wutai, and not the more rounded mountains shown

---

<sup>236</sup> 義植將軍筆 文殊大士画像 小苾芻鑑 [illegible seals] 足利義植筆 [cipher], “Yoshitane Shogun hitsu Monju Taishi gazo, Shobishu kan, Ashikaga Yoshitane hitsu,” Painted by the Shogun Yoshitane, painting of Bodhisattva Monju, examined by this humble monk, painting by Ashikaga Yoshitane.” Minneapolis Institute of Art,

<https://collections.artsmia.org/search/artist:%22Traditionally%20attributed%20to%20Ashikaga%20Yoshitane%22> (accessed 3/8/2020).

in most Kasuga *mandara*. Similar mountain peaks are additionally found in the *Sannō miya mandara* (fifteenth century) at the Nara National Museum (fig. 3.10).

A third Chigo Monju icon often associated with Kasuga, despite not having any direct illustration of Kasuga's landscape, other *kami*, or share in any typical format of a *kami*-related icon, is that held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Now generally known as Wakamiya of Kasuga Shrine (fig. 2.2), it has become one of the most well-known images depicting the Wakamiya due to the attention the icon has garnered through publications on youths and those by the museum itself. The identification of the figure as the Wakamiya of Kasuga, the inclusion of the *vajra* sword suggests a closer affiliation with Monju iconographies, Murase notes that the cherry blossom pattern of Monju's outer robe and the butterfly and swallow pattern of outer vest may perhaps relate to Gyōgen's original dream.<sup>237</sup> This work is unusual among Chigo Monju/Wakamiya of Kasuga icons in that it is the only surviving work that isolates the figure seated on a lotus blossom and surrounded by a round, golden full body halo. Unlike the Sansō or Minneapolis examples, this version omits the typical Tokai Monju iconography of the sutra and lion mount, with the figure holding his sword to the side, much like the Sansō collection Chigo Monju.

The last example with this relaxed posture includes the Chigo Monju icon at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art (3.11) and is similar in dress and posture to the Sansō and Metropolitan Museum's examples, suggesting a possible standardization for the posture of the figure. Many of the pigments on the Freer icon have worn off over time, with the but appears to have been a mix of polychrome and monochromatic ink. The remaining traces of colors suggest a similar palette as the pinks and greens of the Metropolitan Museum's icon as well as the few

---

<sup>237</sup> Murase, *Bridge of Dreams*, 94-95.



patches of color left on the Tokyo National Museum's example discussed below. Similar to the Metropolitan Museum's painting, the bodhisattva wears a green vest that has traces of a golden butterfly pattern, functioning as a reference to Gyōgen's dream in a second Chigo Monju icon.<sup>238</sup>

The remaining three Chigo Monju images that repeat the formal posture of Tokai Monju iconography, in addition to the Minneapolis Institute of Art, include those at the Century Museum, the Nezu Museum and a final example in a private collection. The Century Museum's example is perhaps one of the best-preserved Chigo Monju icons of this format (fig. 3.12). Produced during the fourteenth century, the Century Museum's icon shows another variant of the young Monju's iconography, specifically regarding attire. In this example the divinity wears a golden brocade *suikan* jacket ornamented with floral and arabesque patterns and white *hakama* trousers ornamented with roundels. The posture of this figure is rather stiff, holding his *vajra*-sword vertically in his right hand and directly grasping the sutra in his left. The apparent formality of this posture recalls other Tokai and Gokei Monju images, although these more standard iconographies generally hold the sutra balanced on a lotus blossom, and not directly in hand. Like the Chigo Monju at the Smithsonian, both youthful Monju icons wear golden roundel-patterned garments, with lotus blossoms beneath their feet. The lion mounts in each image are similarly adorned with decorative bells and ornaments on their regalia and elaborately made saddle blankets, suggesting that early Chigo Monju icons drew heavily from the details found in Tokai Monju images.

---

<sup>238</sup>Documents at the Freer Gallery of Art note that at the time of sale, the work was originally attributed to a Tosa artist named Kaida Unemi, and thought to be from the latter half of the fourteenth century. A note from 1922 written by the curator John E. Lodge notes unfamiliarity with the purported artist's name and suggests that it may have been created slightly later in date. It is possible that this points to Kaida Umenosuke Minamoto no Sukeyasu 海田采女佑源相保, a painter known to have created a copy of *Saigyō monogatari* in 1500.

A similar dedication to ornamentation in the garments of the youth and the accoutrements of the lion is repeated in the Chigo Monju icon now housed in a private collection (fig. 3.13). While it has not been firmly dated, it is likely that it dates to the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, combining the attention to detail found in the Century Museum and Smithsonian examples with the bold lines and attention to drapery and details in the depiction of fabrics found Minneapolis Institute of Art's icon. Details like the flowing of the *chigo*'s sleeves, folding into triangular openings in both this and the Minneapolis example, along with the handling of the ribbon tying back the youth's hair as a thin curling decoratively to the left of the queue suggest a shared visual lineage. Similarly, the handling of the facial features, with large narrow eyes set in the middle of an ovoid face, with subtle eyebrows and high hairline suggest a similar date of creation, stylistic details found in the nineteenth century Tani Bunchō polychrome Chigo Monju icon.

The Nezu Museum Chigo Monju icon is similarly later in date, likely produced in the late fifteenth or sixteenth century (fig. 3.14). The work a visually bold image, although rather simplified in its details. Thick black lines delineate the folds in the youth's garments, and express the powerful muscularity of the lion, forming the main visual interest of the painting. Monju is circled by a halo around his head, and a full-body halo behind him. In the fall of 2011, the Nezu Museum included this Chigo Monju image in its exhibition *Kasuga no fūkei: uruwashiki seichi no imeiji* 春日の風景：麗しき聖地のイメージ, pointing to the continued association of this work with Kasuga, despite nothing in its iconography directly relating it to the site.

The final three examples show a great deal of experimentation with the subject, inventing new arrangements of the figures, to a degree that they read less like formal religious icons and more like intimate portraits of Monju. The Chigo Monju image owned by the Tokyo National Museum (fig. 3.15) is strikingly different from the previously discussed examples, as Monju is not

seated on his mount, rather, places his arm around the lion in a fashion reminiscent of the intimacy seen in images of *The Four Sleepers* from the Muromachi and Edo periods. Sadly, the image is significantly damaged, and much of the image has been lost, although what survives suggests that the original was quite elaborate in its details. This Monju wears similar garments to the others, but any indication of patterns on the fabric is mostly obscured by the passages of lost pigment. Small light green patches are extant on the sleeve of the outer robe, as well as patches of white on the underrobe, speaking to the lost color palette of the painting. While generally dated to the fourteenth century, Nakamatsu Wakako notes that the unnatural way in which the clothing and body of the youth are depicted, as well as the flatness of the lion's face may point to a later date of creation, it is unlikely to date from after the fifteenth century.<sup>239</sup> The youth's queue is pulled from behind, and appears held by the same sleeve-covered hand that holds the hilt of his sword. The lion retains the most legible details, with individual hairs delineated on its legs and back, and the swirling lines of its mane visible, if faded. Lastly, this is the only Chigo Monju image that bears an inscription in its upper left corner, although the text has deteriorated like much of the painting and is illegible. Like the Nezu Museum's Chigo Monju, this example has also been included in exhibitions on Kasuga, specifically the *Eternal Treasures from Kasuga Shrine (Kasuga Taisha: sennen no shihō 春日大社：千年の至宝)* from January to March of 2017 held at the Tokyo National Museum.

Similarly unusual in its frontal format is a Chigo Monju icon that has been spuriously attributed to Fujiwara no Nobuzane 藤原 信実 (1176–1265) and associated with the Hara Sankei Collection (fig. 3.16). The work was included in *Hara Sankei no bijutsu: densetsu no dai korekushon (The Eye of the Connoisseur: The Legendary Hara Saneki Collection 原三溪の美術*

---

<sup>239</sup> Tokyo National Museum, ed. *Kasuga Taisha: sennen no shihō: tokubetsuten*, (Tokyo: Yomyuri Shinbunsha, 2017) 329.

—伝説の大コレクション) between July and September of 2019.<sup>240</sup> The work stands out from other Chigo Monju images in that it shows the youthful divinity riding his lion as it strides towards the viewer, the youth himself bending to the right to look at his mount. The vibrant colors of the painting, particularly those on the lion, have been particularly well preserved, and reflects elements of both the Tokyo National Museum Chigo Monju as well as the Cleveland Museum of Art's example discussed below. In particular, the lion's face and general expression remarkably resembles that of the Tokyo National Museum image, although the degree to which this is unique among depictions of Chigo Monju is unclear. Forward facing lions such as these are uncommon among depictions of Monju, and the existence of two examples points to some degree of experimentation within the development of this iconography. Lastly, the leaning posture, face and facial features are reminiscent of the Cleveland Museum of Art's icon of Chigo Monju, perhaps indicative of a similar date of creation. Despite the attribution to Fujiwara no Nobuzane, this work likely dates to the fourteenth or fifteenth century due to its stylistic similarities with the Tokyo and Cleveland examples. As Nobuzane is primarily noted for his *nise-e* 似絵, or "likeness images" akin to sketched portraits, the attribution of this Chigo Monju icon to him is unusual, given the bright polychrome pigments used throughout this ritual object. However, much like the equally dubious attribution of the Minneapolis Museum of Art's Chigo Monju image to Ashikaga Yoshitane, the association of this painting with Nobuzane could relate to the image's association with the Fujiwara through prior use at Kasuga, although the provenance of this work is unclear.

The Chigo Monju at the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 3.17) the third and final example another atypical Chigo Monju image with a strikingly different composition that portrays a strong

---

<sup>240</sup> Yokohama Museum of Art, ed. *Hara Saneki no bijutsu: densetsu no dai korekushon*, (Tokyo: Kyuryudo Art Publishing Co., Ltd., 2019), 36; 228.

sense of intimacy between Monju and his lion mount found in the previous two examples. Monju is shown on his lion, leaning to the right and gazing down at his mount, and holding his sword in front of him. The charming scene is set beneath a large tree, brushed in black ink, contrasting the delicate colors of the divinity and the lion. The mix of delicate black ink and light colors suggests the artist's engagement with Chinese styles being imported into Japan during the Muromachi period and is perhaps a precursor to later monochromatic ink Monju images.

The range of styles and adjustments made throughout each of the individual Chigo Monju icons points to a standardization of a divinity in process, or perhaps, never fully achieved. It is clear that at some point during the fourteenth century, a new iconography of Monju in the guise of a *chigo* associated with the Wakamiya of Kasuga began to develop but did not necessarily have the same ritual constraints that other painted icons of youthful figures had, as seen in the Chigo Daishi imagery discussed in Chapter Four. Additionally, the relative scarcity of this particular iconography suggests that this was not a widespread variant of Monju venerated throughout Japan, but was likely affiliated with a select few sites, likely centered around Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji in Nara given some of the details in at least two of the ten works referencing either Kasuga or Gyōgen's dream/vision.

### **3.3 Political Re-Imagings of Monju**

Given the modern title of "Chigo Monju" used to describe these works, and the lack of lengthy, legible inscriptions written on any of the surviving images, textual records speaking directly to the use or creation of these works have yet to be uncovered. While this lack of absolute documentation certainly limits our understandings of how and why this new iconography of Monju in the guise of a *chigo* developed, turning to look at the political environment, especially

its relationship to Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji may help shed light on reasons a new iconography was devised.

The shift in depicting this youthful divinity at Kasuga from either a *kami* classically dressed in aristocratic garb or shown in a Buddhist iconography imported from continental East Asia to the immediately more familiar form of a high-ranking *chigo* (*uwarawa*) points to a dramatic shift in understanding how the divinity was understood, and the associations their depiction may generate. As previously noted, *uwarawa* were primarily youths of higher social status, generally from the aristocratic or warrior classes. Therefore, reimagining the Wakamiya of Kasuga—traditionally a *kami* associated with the Fujiwara family, and, by extension, the imperial court—in the guise of a youth, potentially of the warrior class, perhaps reflects the changing patronage of the Wakamiya’s shrine throughout the fourteenth century, in addition to a broader shifting role Monju played in the Muromachi period’s officially sponsored religious practices. This new attire was not without iconographic precedent—If Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai could manifest as a common, orphaned youth, reimagining Monju in the localized guise of an attendant *chigo* would not have been a dramatic change. In this regard, shifting the iconography to this new *Chigo* Monju form that emerged in the fourteenth century was still couched in iconographic precedent.

Ritual performances dedicated to Monju quickly became tied up with political agendas beginning at least in the Kamakura period. As early as 1273, the same year that Kōen’s Monju pentad was completed, Eison was invoking Monju as part of a performance of subjugation rites against the Mongols and embarking on the first of several pilgrimages he made to Ise for the protection of the state. Quinter notes that Eison’s entries in the *Gakushōki* for eighteenth day of the ninth month of 1273 states that he undertook pilgrimages and presented offerings to shrines “to eliminate the harm caused by the foreign country, pray for peace in the realm, spread the

buddha-dharma, and benefit sentient beings.”<sup>241</sup> This use of Monju as a protector of the aristocratic court set a precedent for later fourteenth century Shingon-Ritsu monks to perform similar rituals for the benefit of Emperor Go-Daigo. Half a century later in 1321, Monkan made similar use of the Hannya-ji Monju image to quell military conflict and protect the imperial state, pointing to a sustained understanding of Monju as an effective martial aid aligned with the emperor and the state.

When Go-Daigo and Monkan petitioned Monju for aid to protect the state, however, it was not due to the impending threat of a foreign incursion, but rather, specifically targeted against the Ashikaga shogunate.<sup>242</sup> This was part of Emperor Go-Daigo’s broader attempt to restore political authority to the aristocratic court in Kyoto, after nearly one hundred and fifty years of governance broadly dominated by the warrior class that ensured a diminished role of the imperial court. Along with his broad restructuring of policy and bureaucracy under his centralized authority, Go-Daigo additionally employed symbolic and religious moves, such as sponsoring these state protective rituals, and his general support of Monkan.

Monkan’s legacy has been largely rewritten by those in opposition to him and Go-Daigo, and has been remembered as a heretical monk, obsessed with the accumulation of worldly honors and possessions, in addition to his alleged role in synthesizing the Tachikawa sect of Buddhism which was portrayed as filled with sexual rituals.<sup>243</sup> Only twenty years after Monkan’s death, the Shingon monk Yūkai 有快 (1345-1416) criticized him in his revisionist text *Hōkyō-shō* 宝鏡鈔 in

---

<sup>241</sup> Quinter, *Outcasts to Emperors*, 17.

<sup>242</sup> Quinter, *Outcasts to Emperors*, 243.

<sup>243</sup> Quinter, *Outcasts to Emperors*, 181. It bears noting that while Tachikawa Buddhism was understood as heretical due to the rumors of the performances of sex rituals, Tendai and *chigo kanjō* rites seem to have escaped this same response.

1375, claiming Monkan was willfully a heretic, performing *ḍākinī* rituals in the imperial court, and that his appointment at Mount Kōya prompted the monks to protest angrily, submitting a 1335 petition against him.<sup>244</sup> Later Yūkai orchestrated the widescale destruction of Tachikawa sect related book and documents in both Kyoto and Mount Kōya, effectively ensuring a removal of most materials concerning this sect's rituals and beliefs from the historical record.<sup>245</sup> A description of Monkan in the latter part of the *Taiheiki* 太平記 (late fourteenth century) describes him as a self-important and greedy figure:

In vain had Monkan left the world of renown and profit to meditate on the three mystic things, for he thought of only gain and reputation, caring nothing for holy contemplation. Beyond all need he piled up goods and treasures in storehouses, instead of rendering aid to those who were poor and in want. He gathered together arms of war, kept soldiers in very great numbers, and gave presents for nothing to people who flattered him and formed a tie with him, so that the city was filled with men who said, "We are the retainers of the monk reformer Monkan," and banded together with outspread elbows five or six hundred of them.<sup>246</sup>

適一旦名利の境界を離れ、既に三密瑜伽の道場に入給し無益、只利欲・名聞にのみ■て、更に観念定坐の勤を忘たるに似り。何の用ともなきに財宝を積倉不扶貧窮、傍に集武具士卒を逞す。成媚結交輩には、無忠賞を被申与ける間、文観僧正の手の者と号して、建党張臂者、洛中に充満して、及五六百人。<sup>247</sup>

This characterization of Monkan as a corrupt and failure of a monk recasts his professional success and close association with Go-Daigo as a kind of moral shortcoming. Instead of being a high-ranking monk appointed to prestigious positions by the emperor, these characterizations recast any

---

<sup>244</sup> James H. Sanford, "The Abominable Tachikawa Skull Ritual," *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 46, no. 1 (1991), 3.; Quinter, *Outcasts to Emperors*, 180-182.; T 2456.

<sup>245</sup> Sanford, "Skull Ritual," 3-4.

<sup>246</sup> Hellen Craig McCullough, trans. *The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 366-367.

<sup>247</sup> *Taiheiki* 12:95, Kokumin bunko vol. 18 (Tokyo: Kokumin bunko kankokai, 1910-1911).



of the trappings of authority Monkan may have enjoyed through his affiliation with the Southern Court as unseemly worldly obsessions. The rehabilitation of Monkan's reputation is a relatively recent scholarly development, as Iyanaga Nobumi, Abe Yasurō, Thomas Conlan, David Quinter and Gaétan Rappo have published works that examine Monkan's life, works and relationship with his posthumous affiliations with "heretical" doctrines, that among other considerations, describe a monk directly tied to the promulgation of Monju as a filial and protective divinity in Japan.<sup>248</sup> However, previous to these publications, and specifically throughout pre-modern Japan, Monkan has largely been seen in this distorted, and highly politicized manner.

Surviving evidence speaking to Monkan's religious career and works points to a significant emphasis on Monju in both his personal and public devotions. Monkan continued to draw from Eison and Ninshō's previous work to establish a significant center of Monju devotions in Japan, and continued to produce images, texts and rituals dedicated to the divinity, starting his career at Hannya-ji, and later serving at two sub-temples of Saidai-ji.<sup>249</sup> He was a significant figure in memorializing Eison, specifically participating in copying sutras and creating images for the thirteenth anniversary of Eison's death in 1302, including four polychrome paintings of Monju, various mantras and seed syllables associated with Monju, and a series of daily sketches of Monju

---

<sup>248</sup> In addition to Quinter, see: Iyanaga Nobumi, "Tachikawaryū to Shinjō *Juhō yōjin shū o megute*, *Nihon Bukkyō sōgyō kenkyū* 2 (2004), 13-31 among others; Abe Yasurō, "Monkan-chosaku shōgyō no saihakkan—Sanzon gōgyō-hō no tekusuto fuchi to sono isō," *Nagoya daigaku hikakujinbungaku kenkyū nenpō* vol 6 (2009) 117-132; Abe Yasuro, "Hōju no katadoru ōken—Monkan-bō Kōshin no Sanzongogōgyōhō shōgyō to sono zuzō," in *Shari to hōju*, *Nihon no Bijutsu*, (2011) 80-93, among others; Thomas Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth Century Japan*; Gaétan Rappo, *Rhétoriques de l'hérésie dans le Japon médiéval et moderne: Le moine Monkan (1278–1357) et sa réputation posthume* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2017).

<sup>249</sup> Kitajō Jōraku-ji, in Harima province (present day Hyōgō) and Chikurin-ji at Kasayama, Yamato Province (present-day Hyōgo).

(fig. 3.19), all of which were inserted into a 1302 sculpture of Monju Seated on a Lion with Four Attendants at Saidai-ji (fig. 3.18).<sup>250</sup> After entering Daigo-ji to further study Esoteric Buddhist practices, Monkan met Go-Daigo through his master, Dōjun 道順 (?-1321).

In 1324, Monkan performed the aforementioned subjugation rites dedicated to Monju to quell military conflict and protect the imperial state from the increased threat of the Ashikaga shogunate's political ambitions. As part of this, he dedicated a Hakkei Monju (八髮文殊) Monju with eight topknots) sculpture at Hannyaji in 1324 (fig. 3.20) in support of Go-Daigo's martial efforts to suppress the warrior government.<sup>251</sup> Go-Daigo eventually appointed Monkan head of Tōji, and abbot of Kongōbu-ji on Mount Kōya in 1335. In the same year, Monkan rededicated an icon of Gokei Monju he had previously made for his mother's seventh-day memorial rite to Tō-ji for the longevity of the state (fig. 3.21).<sup>252</sup> Later, when Go-Daigo requested that Monkan lead prayers for one of the emperor's pregnant consorts that likewise included rites for subjugating enemies and protection against evil, the *bakufu* arrested and later exiled Monkan.<sup>253</sup>

---

<sup>250</sup> Rappo, *Rhetoriques de l'heresie*, 152; Quinter, *Outcasts to Emperors*, 187. The sculptural group and a selection of its inserts were shown in an exhibition commemorating the 1250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of Saidai-ji in the spring of 2017 and are reproduced in *Sōken 1250 toshi kinen Nara Saidai-ji ten: Eison to ichimon meihō* 奈良西大寺展：創建 1250 年記念：叡尊と一門の名宝, 86-89. The Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art additionally includes a segment of a handscroll featuring Monkan's daily sketches of Monju, now mounted as a hanging scroll (fig. 2.18).

<sup>251</sup> Quinter, "The Shingon School and the Mañjuśrī Cult in the Kamakura Period: From Eison to Monkan," (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2006) 230-231. Mitsui Memorial Museum et al. eds, *Sōken 1250 toshi kinen Nara Saidai-ji ten: Eison to ichimon meihō* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 2017), 92-93; 225.

<sup>252</sup> Quinter, *Outcasts to Emperors*, 223. This painting is currently housed at the Nara National Museum.

<sup>253</sup> Andrew Edmund Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University), 100-101

Monkan's supporters noted his ardent dedication to Monju, and his filial devotion to his mother. As an adult, Monkan produced at least four icons of Monju dedicated to his mother, including the one painting that he later dedicated to Tō-ji for the state, in addition to creating daily sketches of Monju (fig. 3.19). In a broader context, devotions to Monju for the benefit of deceased parents had begun from the onset of Eison's promulgation of Shingon Ritsu, suggesting a tie between Monju and filial responsibility. When in the ninth month of 1239, Eison first met Ninshō 忍性 (1217-1303), his future collaborator in spreading Monju devotional cults, Ninshō noted that it was his dying mother's wish for him to become a monk, and beginning in the 1240s, the devotional assemblies the two monks offered were partially to benefit Ninshō's deceased mother.<sup>254</sup>

This association between Monju and family memorial rites was furthered by Monkan, as he produced multiple images of Monju that were later woven into biographical texts written by his followers that highlight his proper filial behavior. According to the *Yuga dentō shō* 瑜伽伝灯鈔, a biography of Monkan composed in 1365 by his disciple Hōren (宝蓮), Monkan was born in 1278 after his mother devoted herself to the Nyoirin Kannon and White Robed Kannon, asking them that she give birth to a filial son.<sup>255</sup> During a dream, Kannon presented her with three wish-fulfilling jewels on a moon disc—two red flanking a central white one. After selecting the white wish-fulfilling jewel, she became pregnant with Monkan. This legend suggests that from before his birth, Monkan was identified as a particularly filial figure, and that his later use of devotional

---

<sup>254</sup> Quinter, *Outcasts to Emperors*, 31; 59.

<sup>255</sup> Quinter, *ibid.*, 183-185; Tsujimura Taizen, "Yuga dentō shō, ni mieru Monkan den," *Gangōji bunkazai kenkyū* vol. 69, (1999): 1-5.

images of Monju to memorialize his mother stem from this characteristic.<sup>256</sup> However, the intertwining of Monkan's political and family devotions through his rededication of the painting of Monju for his mother's seventh day memorial points to the fact that even these personal veneration were made public to some degree.

Given the public use of Monju as a divinity to suppress the Ashikaga shogunate in favor of Go-Daigo and his court, these esoteric iconographies of the divinity used by Monkan would likely have carried a degree of political significance that existed outside their strictly ritual intent. Therefore, Ashikaga backed commissions of festivals, rituals, or religious works that required a depiction of Monju or the Wakamiya of Kasuga would necessarily require a kind of rebranding effort surrounding the divinity. This is not to say that the members of the Ashikaga family themselves were behind the invention of this new form of Monju, but rather, those at the religious sites tasked with producing these works who had the religious education to draw from pre-existing forms of Monju to create a new iconography that would be more flattering to their new political patrons. Similarly, removing the classicizing aristocratic dress of the Wakamiya of Kasuga, and replacing it with the garments associated with contemporary medieval youths shifts the emphasis away from the legacy of the Heian court and the height of Fujiwara court power.<sup>257</sup>

---

<sup>256</sup> Quinter, *Outcasts to Emperors*, 184.

<sup>257</sup> While the origins of Chigo Monju iconography appear first in the fourteenth century, there was not a universal shift in how the Wakamiya of Kasuga was depicted. The MOA Museum owns a fourteenth-century Kasuga Shrine Mandara including a depiction of the various *kami* and their Buddhist equivalents (fig. 3.22). Notably, the Wakamiya is dressed similarly to his depiction in the frontispiece inserted into Kōen's 1273 Monju sculptural commission (fig. 3.5). See *Kasuga Taisha: sennen no shihō: tokubetsuten*, 125; 325.

### 3.4 Political Rivalries and the Kasuga/Kōfuku-ji Complex during the Nanbokuchō Period

Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji, as prominent religious sites situated in this historical capital at Nara, both saw increased attentions from both Go-Daigo and the *bakufu* during the fourteenth century. Go-Daigo had arranged ceremonial visits to various prominent sites in the 1320s, not only to maintain these traditional visits, but to gather political support from various powerful religious institutions. While ultimately, Go-Daigo did not gain the immediate alliances of either Kasuga or Kōfuku-ji at this point, he continued to vie for control over Kōfuku-ji, allowing it to retain its control over Yamato province while installing a close confidant to oversee the temple's finances, as well as maintaining the right to appropriate funding from the temple for military expenditures. Thus, Go-Daigo was able to secure funding and control over potential Fujiwara rivals by closely managing the site.<sup>258</sup>

These early fourteenth century political moves by Go-Daigo ensured that Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji would continue to be contested political spaces between the Northern and Southern courts. As previously noted, the Wakamiya of Kasuga shrine was the one location where those who were not members of the Fujiwara could engage with the *kami* through rituals or cultic devotions. Thus, this shrine provided a toehold into the greater Kasuga/Kōfuku-ji complex for the Ashikaga shogunate during the fourteenth century and became a primary focus for shogunal patronage as a means of exerting power over one of the most powerful institutions in Nara and securing allegiance to the *bakufu* rather than Go-Daigo's Southern Court in Yoshino.

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利 義満 (1358-1408) made two significant excursions to Nara to ensure their power extended to sites that had traditionally been affiliated with the imperial court,

---

<sup>258</sup> Goble, 99-100; 191-192.

such as Ise, Hiei and most importantly for our purposes, Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji.<sup>259</sup> Nagashima Fukutarō has argued that these progresses to Nara were specifically to extend Ashikaga political control over these areas, and specifically notes that Yoshimitsu's visits to Kōfuku-ji and Kasuga in 1385 and 1391 were largely political in nature and meant to bolster shogunal power over the Southern Capital by exerting influence over religious sites, subduing their individual power.<sup>260</sup>

Kaneko notes that Ashikaga Yoshimitsu established the general itinerary for subsequent Ashikaga shoguns' tours of Nara and visited more frequently than subsequent shoguns. He lists Yoshimitsu traveling to Nara seven times between 1385 and 1405, four of which were to Kasuga, and one specifically to attend the Kasuga Wakamiya festival, as well as another instance of him visiting Kōfuku-ji for an eye opening ceremony (*kaigen shiki*) in 1399.<sup>261</sup> Yoshimochi 足利 義持 (1386-1428), Yoshinori 足利 義教 (1394-1441) and Yoshimasa 足利 義政 (1436-1490) likewise visited Kasuga during their respective reigns (Yoshimochi in 1416 and 1417; Yoshinori in 1429; Yoshimasa in 1465) with Yoshinori and Yoshimasa specifically attending the Kasuga Wakamiya Festival.<sup>262</sup> Shogunal visits to these shrines and temples required that taxes be raised to provide gifts for the visiting shogun, as well as preparations at the site as well. Kaneko notes that these gifts of objects and finances were redistributed amongst the various sites in Nara (with Kōfuku-ji

---

<sup>259</sup> Kaneko Hiraku, "Unexpected Paths: Gift Giving and the Nara Excursions of the Muromachi Shoguns," trans. Lee Butler, in *Mediated by Gifts: Politics and Society in Japan from 1350-1850*, ed. Martha Chaiklin, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 24-47.

<sup>260</sup> Kakeno, 26; *Nara shishi tsūshi 2* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Bunkan, 1994); Nagahara Keiji, *Muromachi sengoku no shakai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979).

<sup>261</sup> Kaneko, 28.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

almost always benefiting the most) for the reconstruction of buildings and general repairs.<sup>263</sup> It is plausible that somewhere within the circulation of funding from taxation to shogunal re-gifting that Chigo Monju icons may have been painted, either as preparation for the visit of an Ashikaga shogun, or as part of the restoration and reconstruction of the sites. Certainly, the Ashikaga had some degree of interest in the arts associated with Kasuga, as Yoshimitsu is known to have borrowed the full set of *Kasuga Gongen Genki e* 春日権現験記絵 (1309) handscrolls at an unknown date, although likely after 1394, suggesting a continued relationship between the *bakufu* and Kasuga soon after the end of the Nanbokuchō period.<sup>264</sup> Indeed, Ashikaga involvement in Kasuga likely increased somewhat during Yoshimitsu and Yoshimochi's reign as Yoshimitsu's consort, Fujiwara no Yoshiko 藤原慶子 (1358-1399) was Yoshimochi's mother. Yoshimochi and Yoshinori were known to patronize Kōzan-ji in part due to its veneration of Kasuga Daimyōjin 春日大明神 due to their familial ties to the Fujiwara family.<sup>265</sup>

Between Kōfuku-ji and Kasuga being significant sites in Nara for political influence for both Go-Daigo and later the Ashikaga, the development of a symbolic shift in authority would not be unlikely. As the Ashikaga family continued to exert their political influence over these sites through visits, festivals, and gifts, the need to re-envision a more flattering depiction of the Wakamiya-as-Monju that did not draw directly from earlier aristocratic conventions likely increased. As the emergence of this new Monju iconography largely coincided with Ashikaga attempts to curtail Go-Daigo's political reach in Nara, and the emperor's previous attempts to quell

---

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 42-43.

<sup>264</sup> Brock, "Painting Match," 468. KG 2, 521-522. For a reproduction of the scrolls, see Komatsu Shigemi *Zoku Nihon no emaki* vols. 13 and 14.

<sup>265</sup> Brock, "Painting Match," 458.

Ashikaga authority through invoking Monju to protect the state, this shift in how the divinity was represented likely drew from broader social understandings of chigo as well as previous iconographical precedent. This new Chigo Monju iconography leveraged the shared understandings of chigo and Monju as filial, but also introduced understandings of chigo as manageable figures who could be directly controlled, much as one controlled their attendants or children.

### **3.5 Filial Chigo and Controllable Youths: Suzuriwari, Genmu Monogatari and Kuzu**

A final consideration in the development and use of Chigo Monju icons stems from Monju's association with filial practices, as well as the understanding that chigo perform proper filial and self-sacrificial behavior as depicted in both literary works and gleaned from historical documents speaking to the transactions performed between youths, their parents and religious institutions. As previously mentioned, Monkan's devotions to Monju were directly linked to filial rites he conducted for his mother, suggesting that Monju was broadly associated with filial practices in religious communities. Previous iconographies of Monju as a youth—either as Gokei Monju, or the Grass Robed Monju drawing from the divinity's veneration on Mount Wutai—to a Japanese styled chigo would likely facilitate the development of the divinity as a Japanese-styled chigo. Furthermore, the centuries-old veneration to the Wakamiya of Kasuga—a kami identified as Monju—coupled with a growing Ashikaga interest in Kasuga as both a political and familial site of importance points to a need for a version of this divinity in a filial form that could not be misconstrued as part of earlier subjugation rites against the shogunate.

Literary depictions of *chigo* from the Heian period onwards suggest that filiality was a characteristic of the ideal youth, with one of the earliest indications of the ideal, filial youth found in *Suzuriwari* 硯割, or *Breaking the Inkstone*, included in *Konjaku monogatari-shū* (late twelfth



century).<sup>266</sup> *Suzuriwari* is another work commonly associated with the *chigo monogatari* genre, which highlights the youth's willingness to sacrifice himself for others and his loss of life prompting the others' changes of behavior, specifically, leading one to take Buddhist tonsure. An illustrated handscroll version of *Suzuriwari* was produced by Tōsa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (1434-1525) in the late fifteenth century which was inscribed by Ashikaga Yoshizumi 足利義澄 (1480-1511) in 1495. Melissa McCormick links the themes of self-sacrifice in *Suzuriwari* to the broader social demands of loyalty, fealty and devotion associated with the warrior class. In this illustrated version of the handscroll, the youth's death prompts his parents to renounce the world, and their servant to become a monk.<sup>267</sup>

A summary of the narrative of the version of *Suzuriwari* found in *Konjaku monogatari* follows: The narrative notes that during the reign of Emperor Murakami 村上天皇 (924-967; r. 946-967), the Minister of the Left Fujiwara Moromasa 藤原師尹 (also known as Fujiwara no Morotada, 920-969) had depleted his financial resources while preparing a dowry for his daughter who was to become an imperial consort. One of the objects that he had include in her dowry was an inkstone, ornamented in lacquer, silver, and gold that produced high-quality ink. Being passed down in the family for generations, it had become an irreplaceable heirloom, and a valuable part of his daughter's dowry. Within Moromasa's employ was a young man who had dabbled in calligraphy and who was intrigued by the celebrated inkstone. One day, he secretly examined the inkstone, and accidentally broke it. He was discovered by Moromasa's son, a *chigo* of around

---

<sup>266</sup> *Konjaku monogatari shū* NKBZ, vol. 22, 536-47.

<sup>267</sup> Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 172.

thirteen, who, seeing the man's distress, asked to be blamed instead, believing that his parents would not punish him as harshly.

When Moromasa discovered the broken inkstone, he summoned the young man who followed the *chigo*'s instructions, blaming the youth. Enraged, the minister expelled his son and his nurse from the house, believing his son to be an incarnation of an enemy from a previous life. Soon after, the youth's health deteriorated, and, on the brink of death, his nurse summoned his parents. Seeing his child's condition, Moromasa felt great sorrow and a deep remorse as he watched his son recite the *nenbutsu* ten times and die. After the funerary rites had been performed, the young man who had cleaned for Moromasa came to confess to breaking the inkstone and explained that the youth had requested to take the blame to save the servant from punishment. Moromasa then realized that his child was no ordinary person, and experienced great remorse at his decisions that resulted in his death. The servant man then disappeared, cut his hair, and became a religious ascetic.<sup>268</sup>

The emphasis on the youth's compassion, self-sacrifice, and obedience points to notions of the ideal *chigo*, qualities unrelated to the characterization of *chigo* objects of sexual desire. These themes are more strongly present in *Genmu monogatari* which presents Monju's youthful manifestation as filled with a desire to avenge his father, using his own death as a catalyst for his murderer's salvation. While tales like *Suzuriwari* and *Genmu monogatari* romanticize self-sacrificing behavior of youths, in actuality, it is likely that youths were expected to comply with the decisions made by their families with little to no say in the matters. Returning to the historical *chigo* discussed in Chapter Two, Aimitsumaru, the network of relationships recorded in Jinson's

---

<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 223-226.

*Daijōin jisha zōjiki* 大乘院寺社雜事記 between Jinson, Aimitsumarū, and Yushirō, the *chigo*'s father, suggests that becoming a *chigo* may have been part of a larger transactional process benefiting the youth's parents. While in literary works, a *chigo*'s sacrifice generally leads to the religious benefit of conversion for the laity, or a religious awakening for monks, actual figures sent to live and work in monastic environments likely benefited their families financially, either through the exchange of money or the promotion of one's parent.<sup>269</sup> While literary tales portray *chigo* as willingly self-sacrificial—perhaps as a model behavior for youths encountering these tales—whatever say that *chigo* may have had in these transactions was likely minimal; however, this sense of self-sacrifice for the benefit of one's family may well have been seen as a filial act.

Literary depictions of *chigo* emphasize their fragility mixed with a sense of their ardent filiality, a final layer of meaning that may be added to Chigo Monju imagery. This fragility, on one hand, speaks to a characterization of proper filiality, loyalty and devotion of a youth extending to the point of death. On the other, however, points to a need to safeguard and protect *chigo* so their impulsive instincts do not actively harm themselves, or, more typically, control their behavior so they understand the importance of manners, obedience, social rank and hierarchy.<sup>270</sup> Porath suggests that youths had the capacity for a kind of “relative autonomy,” not one that allowed any agency as understood in a contemporary sense, but one that certainly allowed for the capacity to misbehave.<sup>271</sup> *Chigo kyōkun* 児教訓 a medieval satirical text listed in Ōta Nanpo's listing of *chigo*

---

<sup>269</sup> Faure, *Red Thread*, 272.

<sup>270</sup> Porath, “Nasty Boys,” 26-7. Medieval period education texts such as *Dōji-kyō* 童子教 (1377) and *Jistsugokyō* 実語教 (twelfth century) were used in the instruction of youths during the medieval and early modern periods.

<sup>271</sup> Porath, “Nasty Boys,” 17-18.

*monogatari* (discussed in Chapter Two) concerns itself with the misbehavior of youths, pointing to a general sense that youths did not necessarily comply with the instructions given to them.<sup>272</sup>

Therefore, by translating Monju iconography from his esoteric form to that of a Japanese youth, the new Chigo Monju imagery likely included associations of the proper and improper behavior of *chigo*, and the need for an authority to properly steer youthful behavior in the correct direction. Two literary works from the fifteenth century, *Genmu monogatari* and the Nō play, *Kuzu*, engage with elements of this understanding of *chigo* as in need of proper governance and protection. In particular, the overlapping elements of extreme filiality, impulsive behavior associated with *chigo* misbehaving is found in the depiction of Monju manifesting as a *chigo* in the fifteenth-century *Genmu monogatari*.

*Genmu monogatari* exists in six surviving copies the earliest original document dated to 1497, although a printed reproduction from 1664 includes a postscript dated to 1486. The remaining copies are from 1664, 1668, 1689 and one final undated document. The 1689 edition of the text includes a postscript that ambiguously states that the text was passed down on “this mountain.” Scholars have suggested that while it is impossible to know for certain, it is probably either Mt. Nikkō, Mt. Kōya or Mt. Hiei, as there are significant events in the text concerning these sacred mountains.<sup>273</sup> Other significant sites include Chikurin-ji, as the manifestation of Monju appeared at a “Chikurin Cloister,” albeit on Mount Nikkō in Shimotsuke, rather than Monkan’s Chikurin-ji at Kasayama (present day Kasa in Sakurai-shi, Nara Prefecture). The Shimotsuke Chikurin Cloister is particularly a tantalizing detail, as the Ashikaga family itself descended from

---

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>273</sup> Childs, *Rethinking Sorrow*, 26. Yokoyama Shigeru and Matsumoto Ryūshin, eds. *Genmu monogatari, Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei* vol. 4, (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1981), 398-416.

a branch of the Minamoto located in Shimotsuke. The additional identification of the *chigo* Hanamatsu as the son of a warrior family from Shimotsuke potentially conveys a sense of a *chigo* manifestation of Monju being somehow tied to the Ashikaga clan, although there is little concrete evidence to support this. The name “Chikurin” clearly had strong ties with Monju devotional cults in general, as another Chikurin-ji exists in Kōchi in Shikoku Prefecture that enshrines Monju as their main image (*honzon* 本尊). Regardless, if this is not a direct reference to Monkan, the Ashikaga, or both it certainly embeds *Genmu monogatari* within historically specific sites dedicated to Monju. *Genmu monogatari* is strikingly more complex in plot than earlier *chigo monogatari* such as *Chigo Kannon engi* and *Aki no yo naga monogatari* in that a variety of temples, monks and locations are involved.

*Genmu monogatari* draws from typical features of Monju’s iconography to describe Hanamatsu, including biographical details and appearance. The death of Hanamatsu’s father parallels the concept of Monju appearing as an orphaned youth on Mount Wutai, and his desire to avenge his father by killing his father’s murderer and dedicating the act to his father’s salvation links the youth with the filial associations of Monju. While Monju’s appearance as Hanamatsu does not directly reflect any of the specific youthful forms of Mañjuśrī found on Mt. Wutai, it draws from the convention of his appearance as a non-aristocratic youth. Unlike other divinities masquerading as *chigo* to lead devotees to salvation, Monju/Hanamatsu is not from an aristocratic family, rather, the child of a warrior family from Shimotsuke.

Additionally, descriptions of Hanamatsu’s attire nods at Chigo Monju imagery. When Genmu first sees Hanamatsu on Mount Hiei, the youth is dressed remarkably similar to the Century Museum’s Chigo Monju icon:

There, Genmu noticed a youth of sixteen or seventeen in the company of two monks who seemed to be his colleagues. They boy probably had come from some distant province

insofar as he appeared quite footsore. Having taken his vows, he had been about to set off on his return journey when the heavy snow brought him to the Shiō'in Hall to wait for the storm to lift.

Perhaps it was simply that he was worn out from traveling, but the youth appeared lost in thought and dispirited. Yet the luster of his disheveled hair brought to mind the cherry blossoms dropping under a spring rain on a quiet evening, or the limp branches of a willow at dawn. No word or picture could have conveyed his loveliness. Dressed in a silk kimono the color of autumn leaves, a white silk under-robe, and a jacket of Chinese brocade, the youth looked frail and delicate. He was truly an elegant sight.<sup>274</sup>

ここに、とし十六七計なるちこの、とうしゆくと、思しくて、法師二つれて、遠國の人とおほうえて、あしいたけなるか、これしゆかひ過て、下ける所に、雪いたくふりければ、雪とをさんとて、四王院に、立寄けり

此ちこおみれは、たびしんろうにや、物思わしき、すかたにて、うちしほれたる風情也、世間のよそおひ、しつかにして、春雨にしぼめる、夜の桜はな、上げほのほの柳のいとに、みたれたる御かみ、ゆふゆふとして、詞にもなへかたし、絵に書とも、筆にも難及

いしゆをみれは、はたには、白きねりきぬき、もみちかさねのきぬに、からのをり物、たちそへて、たよたよと着なし、物はかなきすかた、誠あてやかにそみえける<sup>275</sup>

While the types of garments themselves may differ from the *suikan* robes generally worn by Chigo Monju icons, the colors and fabrics noted are remarkably similar. The second and last time Genmu sees Hanamatsu, the youth resembles images of Chigo Monju dressed in green:

Then [Genmu] caught the sound of quiet footsteps nearing the hall. The door opened with a rasping moan and someone entered. It was a boy of sixteen or seventeen clad in robes of silk and brocade, a pale-green chest protector, thigh guards, and a white silk cape. At his waist was a sword decorated with gold...<sup>276</sup>

あしをとしづかに、あゆみよりて、つま戸を、きりきりとひらひて、らひどうに立ちけり

---

<sup>274</sup> Childs, *Rethinking Sorrow*, 34.

<sup>275</sup> Yokoyama and Matsumoto, *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei* vol. 4, 402.

<sup>276</sup> Childs, *Rethinking Sorrow*, 40-41

みれは、とし十六七の小人の、ねりぬきに、めひのしたる小袖に、もへきをどしの、とう丸を、くさすりなかに、きなし、上にしろきぬねりぬき、ひきかつき、金作の太刀をはき、立ちたりけり<sup>277</sup>

Again, while not wearing the same types of garments, the colors reflect those used in various other Chigo Monju images, specifically those owned by the Metropolitan Museum and the Freer Gallery of Art. The green chest protector (*dō* 胴) and thigh guards (*kusazuri* 草摺) that Hanamatsu wears overtly suggest his military class status similar to the green garments in these two Chigo Monju icons. Lastly, his sword with gold decorations is almost certainly an adaptation of Monju's gilded *vajra*-sword.

Most importantly, Hanamatsu's fervor to avenge his father links the youth with the filial associations with Monju but reframes this as somewhat impetuous behavior. After all, it is this desire that compels the abbot of the Chikurin Cloister to protect Hanamatsu in a monastic setting. The abbot succinctly recounts Hanamatsu's childhood and subsequent vow to seek revenge:

After a short time, the old monk spoke: “[Genmu], listen to me. That youth was the son of a man of this province, a lieutenant in the Division of the Left, Taiko no Ieaki. When Hanamatsu was seven, his father Ieaki had an argument with the eldest Ono brother, Chikatada of the Military Guards, and was slain. Afterward, Hanamatsu declared that he would grow up in a hurry, slay his father's murderer to settle the score, and dedicate the act to his father's benefit in the next world. I said he mustn't, that someone who was to enter properly into the Buddhist life as my disciple must never think of such a thing. I counseled him repeatedly to renounce the world and pray for his father's salvation. He finally agreed to follow my advice, and the months and years went by. Then on the tenth of this month he begged to leave. ‘The blossoms are out in my home town,’ he said, ‘and there are many people dear to me who are fond of linked verse, both family members and friends. I would like to spend a little time with them now.’

It's been quite a long time since you first came up to this mountain, so go ahead, but you are to come right back. I can allow you to leave the temple to compose a bit of poetry as long as violence is not your ulterior motive. Your goal is to master the teachings of

---

<sup>277</sup> Yokoyama and Matsumoto, 407.

Buddhism, even if you never attain enlightenment. You must come straight back here, I told him. He was very glad to have received my permission and left immediately. At about eight o'clock the next morning Hanamatsu's attendants arrived out of breath and nearly hysterical. 'Our lord killed that villain Ono last night! He slipped right past the guards and slew Ono with ease! He even escaped the mansion without getting hurt, but then someone caught up with him, and he was struck down!' They blurted out the awful news.<sup>278</sup>

しはしありて、らうそうの給ふ様、客僧聞しめせ、此ちこと申は、当國の住人、たひこの、さつたもりの将監家明と申人の息子也

七歳のとき、父家明を、同國の住人をのの太郎兵衛親忠と、のりあひとかめをして、あへなく、うたれ候

それよりして、はな松殿、あわれ、とくおとなになり、親のかたきを、うちとりて、無念をさんし、父の、つひせんにも、備へはやと、申されしを某、もつたひなしと、かたのことくの、佛家にいる、我等か弟子とて、ましはす人の、さやうの事、努努思ひより給ふへからず

出家仕給ひて、ひとへに、しやうりやうの、ほたひを、とむらひ給へと、再三けうくんせしかはとも角も、師の仰事にこそ、したかひ申さめとて、年月送りける処に、今月十日、今ほとは、里のはな盛なり、我等か連歌の、ともたちあまた、一そくにも、他人にも、多く候へは、くたり候て、しはらく候はんとて、いとまこはれ候ほとに此程なかく、登山ありしかは、くたられ候て、頓てのほられ候へ、山寺のこと、歌連歌、尤にては候へ共、うちたちは、本意ともそんし候はす

かなわぬ迄も、佛法のはいりうをこそ、学し給はん事こそ本意なれ、あひかまへて、頓てのほられ候へと申せは、いともを得て悦ひ、やかて、くたらせ給ひし

次の日の、辰の一天に、花松殿中間、世にあわたたしき風情にて、はしり来て申様、我君は今夜、御かたき子野の守殿のたちへ、しのひ入給ひて、やすやすとうち、たちをも遁候ひしか、わか身も、うたれさせ給ひ候由をいふ<sup>279</sup>

---

<sup>278</sup> Childs, *Rethinking Sorrow*, 45-46.

<sup>279</sup> Yokoyama and Matsumoto, 411-412.



On one hand, Hanamatsu's military family and interest in slaying Chikatada for his father's benefit in the afterlife suggests a direct parallel with not only how Monju appears as a sword-wielding, quasi-militant youth, but also the use of such images, especially as votive offerings for deceased parents. More unusual, however, is the monk Genmu meets at Kūkai's mausoleum (known in the text only as "the monk from Shimotsuke" or "the younger monk") is moved to take the tonsure after killing Hanamatsu shortly after the *chigo*'s own slaying of Ono no Chikatada. While the younger monk was initially pleased with his revenge, only after noticing the physical beauty of the dead Hanamatsu does the monk from Shimotsuke realize the uncertainty of life, prompting him to take the tonsure at Mount Kōya, and devote himself to Amida.<sup>280</sup> If it were not for Hanamatsu's filial devotion to his deceased father, the monk would not have killed the youth and likely not have dedicated himself to a religious life.

While Eison may have noted that on Mount Wutai, even a donkey may be a manifestation of Monju, *Genmu monogatari* suggests that even a murderer may be a manifestation of Monju, and the act of slaying may prompt the aspiration to enlightenment in others. While all other aspects of Hanamatsu's character are couched in some form of Monju-related religious belief, this impetuous quality appears to be an invention of the narrative itself. The unusual murderous impulses of Monju found in *Genmu monogatari* may have functioned in several ways. First, the uncontrollable and militant dedication to his slain father may have been seen as a proper response for a filial child of the Ashikaga family, considering their active engagement in warfare and military endeavors. After all, Hanamatsu's identity as the son of a slain warrior from Shimotsuke, the ancestral seat of the Ashikaga family, recontextualizing his unstoppable filial devotion as a

---

<sup>280</sup> Childs, *Rethinking Sorrow*, 49.

positive for the family's survival as a whole. The self-sacrificial act itself is what lead others to take the tonsure, ensuring a positive outcome for all involved.

A second literary work, the Nō play *Kuzu*, demonstrates a similar anxiety around youth left unsupervised, although with a clear expectation that without proper protection, he would meet a disastrous end.<sup>281</sup> Written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the circumstances of *Kuzu*'s authorship are unknown the main point of interest is the treatment of the emperor as divine yet weak, with the role of the emperor filled by a youthful *kokata* 子方 actor. This portrayal of the emperor's relatively powerless role has been noted to reflect Ashikaga interests concerning the status of the imperial court and is taken as a significant point of the dramatic work.

The play is set in seventh century Yoshino and recounts an instance when the Emperor Tenmu 天武天皇 (c. 631-686; r. 673-686) was saved by an old peasant couple while fleeing his political rival, Prince Ōtomo 大友 (later Emperor Kōbun, 弘文天皇 c. 648-672; r. 671-672). Emperor Tenmu arrives in Yoshino, miraculously heralded by a comet and purple clouds. The old couple gives the emperor a fish to eat, which he brings back to life, a nod at the belief of the divinity of the emperors. Then, emperor Tenmu and his attendants explain that they are being pursued by his rivals, and the old fishing couple quickly hide the emperor beneath an upturned fishing boat. The old man manages to convince Prince Ōtomo's forces to leave without fully investigating the scene, thus saving the emperor.

On the surface, this play seems to be a dramatic reenactment of aspects of the Jinshin War of 672. However, *Kuzu*'s use of a *kokata* actor in the role of the emperor who has few lines and spends the majority of the play hidden from sight points to a work that was created to be

---

<sup>281</sup> *Kuzu* is reproduced in Yōkyoku shū II, *Iwanami koten bungaku taikei* 41 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1963) 361-365; *Yōkyokushū* II, NKZ 34, 327-341.

deliberately flattering to the Ashikaga shogunate. The historic events referenced in the play occurred when Emperor Tenmu was in his thirties, and while young actors were common in Nō, there had been no precedent to cast youthful actors in the role of an emperor. Indeed, the idea of a weak emperor located in Yoshino perhaps points to the warrior government understanding of Go-Daigo and his Southern Capital as powerless, as the Ashikaga believed that they backed the true imperial authority.<sup>282</sup>

In both literary works, youths are symbolically deployed to convey a depth of meaning drawing from broader social understandings of *chigo* that are functionally absent from the texts themselves. Considering this symbolic use of youths within literary works, it is unlikely that these associations would have been bracketed out from image making. Therefore, the development of Chigo Monju images most likely deliberately paired the new imagery couched in longstanding iconographical sources with these contemporaneous associations with *chigo* as filial, self-sacrificial, and above all, controlled. By transforming Monju from the esoteric divinity used by Monkan and Go-Daigo against the Ashikaga shogunate into the more immediately recognizable form of a *chigo* during a time when the Ashikaga were exerting an increasing influence over Kasuga and Kōfuku-ji, this new iconography visually points to the successes of the shogunate over the attempted subjugation by the imperial court. The replacement of other depictions of the Wakamiya of Kasuga with Chigo Monju imagery effectively erased the earlier aristocratic visualizations of the young *kami* during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, cementing the Ashikaga family into Kasuga's visual and artistic legacy.

---

<sup>282</sup> Thomas Hare, "Emperor's Noh Clothes: Medieval Japanese Kingship and the Role of the Child in Noh Drama," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol 13 (2002), 424.

### 3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued for an understanding of Chigo Monju icons as a direct result of the conflation of various pre-existing iconographies of Monju as a youth, and not as part of a growing interest in framing sexually available *chigo* as Buddhist divinities. While later Edo period understandings of Monju directly recast him as a divinity associated with male-male sexual practices, there is little evidence that suggests this view was essential in the development of Chigo Monju iconography. Rather, this sexualized understanding of the divine youth likely stems from the Edo period, appearing in sources as early as the seventeenth century, and repeated in Ōta Nanpo's listing of *chigo monogatari* in the nineteenth century.

By sorting through the myriad and sometimes contradictory icons classified as “Chigo Monju” paintings, I have isolated a group of about ten extant works that directly portray Monju in the guise of a medieval *chigo* through sartorial and tonsorial conventions, using this selection to unpack the sources used in the creation of this iconography that developed during the fourteenth century. As belief in Monju's appearance as a youth on Mount Wutai had been promulgated throughout Japan beginning in the Heian period, understandings of the divinity in appearing in youthful guise had been well-established in Japan by the medieval period. Devotions to Monju were revived during the Kamakura period by monks such as Eison and Ninshō, as well as their follower Monkan. During this time, interest in Monju as a state-protecting divinity increased as Eison and Monkan both invoked the divinity in state-sponsored rites commissioned to ensure the safety of the imperial court from outside military threats.

At the same time as this resurgence in Monju devotions, the Wakamiya of Kasuga became an increasingly important shrine, for the Kasuga/Kōfuku-ji complex. The young *kami* was identified as a local manifestation of Monju, an identification that was firmly understood by the

thirteenth century. The development of Chigo Monju iconography was a direct result of reimagining the Wakamiya of Kasuga's *honji* as Kasuga became the site of rival political interests between Go-Daigo and the Ashikaga shogunate during the fourteenth century. While Go-Daigo primarily exerted his influence over the site during the early part of the century, the later half of the fourteenth century saw a significant increase in Ashikaga-backed patronage of the Kasuga/Kōfuku-ji complex as part of their attempt to sway the sites alliance from the Northern Court to the shogunate.

I argue that Chigo Monju iconography was developed in this particular context and drew from the preexisting beliefs of the divinity appearing on Mount Wutai as a youth, as well as understandings of Monju as the *honji* of the Wakamiya of Kasuga, in addition to contemporaneous understandings of *chigo* as filial, fragile and in need of control. This reimagining of Monju at Kasuga shrine directly reflected a need for the shogunate to rebrand the divinity as one directly associated with the Ashikaga family, and not the imperial court. Thus, reframing Monju as a self-sacrificial and filial youth in need of proper management and control shifted the understandings of Monju as a divine protector of the imperial state, to a divinity that directly reflected the developing familial ties between the Ashikaga and Fujiwara families, effectively changing the understandings of Monju's role at Kasuga during the Muromachi period.

## Chapter 4 Chigo Daishi Icons: Esoteric Iconographies and Emblematic Biographies

Perhaps some of the most popularized depictions of medieval sacred youths are those of Chigo Daishi 稚児大師, or images of Kūkai 空海 (known by his posthumous title Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774-835), the founder of the Shingon sect of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan. In these images, Kūkai appears as a five or six-year-old seated on an eight-petaled lotus and dressed in elaborate garments, with his hands pressed together in a devotional *gasshō* 合掌 mudra.<sup>283</sup> The popularity of these paintings is perhaps due to a combination of Kūkai's esteemed legacy throughout Japanese history, his status as the patriarch of a major sect of Buddhism and the apocryphal founder of an impossibly vast number of temples throughout Japan, with the bold, minimal geometric composition of a circle enclosing the youth dressed in bright jewel-tone fabrics, often ornamented with gold pigment, seated on a vibrant lotus blossom. Throughout the twentieth century, Chigo Daishi paintings were frequently reproduced in surveys of histories of Japanese art and exhibitions about Kūkai and reached a wider audience through their dissemination as

---

<sup>283</sup> Born into a mid-level aristocratic family, Kūkai studied under his uncle Atō Ōtari, the tutor of the emperor's eldest son, and later studied the Confucian texts in preparation for a life as a court bureaucrat. He abandoned this life to study Buddhism, eventually traveling to China. He studied under the Shingon patriarch Huiguo, who gave him the ordination name of Henjō Kongō after several initiation rituals indicated a strong connection between Kūkai and Dainichi. Kūkai returned to Japan and gained a reputation as a miracle worker and civil engineer. In 823, Kūkai was made director at Tō-ji in Kyoto, where he was permitted to train fifty monks exclusively in Shingon Buddhism. See Ryūichi Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) and Cynthia J. Bogel, *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

devotional sculptures, postcards and even jigsaw puzzles. Despite their popularity, little is known about the original use and context of these images, as this important context was largely lost as the icons moved from temples to museum and personal collections where they were recontextualized as portraits showing Kūkai as a five-year-old.

The title Chigo Daishi 稚児大師 is an invention of the twentieth century, first appearing in 1935, likely reflecting the early development and use of *chigo* as an iconographic designation among art historians. It is somewhat misleading as the young figure is not a “*chigo*” in the same sense as Chigo Monju or Chigo Kannon imagery or reflect the monastic rank of *uewarawa*. Rather, it draws from a secondary definition of *chigo* indicating the stage of young childhood between birth and seven. This use of *chigo* 乳 (児 or 乳子), specifically links this aged status to breastfeeding.<sup>284</sup> From seven to until their *genpuku* ceremony could be known as a *warara* 童, although within in monastic settings, youths as young as seven could be termed *chigo* (稚児 or 児). However, the use of *chigo* as a broad umbrella term including the ranks of *uewarawa* and *chūdōji* generally implied youths between the ages of twelve and seventeen.<sup>285</sup> Representations of figures in their early years were primarily indicated through tonsorial markings, reflecting how infants and toddlers were maintained by their caregivers. From birth to about the age of three, their hair was shaved. Afterwards, it was allowed to grow, but was generally cropped short until the ages of seven to around fifteen, when it was grown out into the long hairstyle maintained by *chigo* when

---

<sup>284</sup> Kokushi Daijiten “*chigo*” ちご; Katō Osamu, “‘*Chigo*’ to ‘*warawa*’ no *seikatsu shi*, 125; Sachi Schmit Hori, *Idolized Boys* 3.

<sup>285</sup> Tanaka Takako, *Seiai nihon no chūsei*, 15.

they deferred their *genpuku* coming of age ceremonies.<sup>286</sup> The relatively short shoulder-length hair of the youth is consistent with hagiographic information concerning Kūkai written on one of the extant Chigo Daishi paintings, which identifies these representations of the patriarch’s first miraculous vision at the age of five or six. As such, there is no indication that the figures shown in Chigo Daishi paintings were ever subject to sexual or erotic interpretations, despite Kūkai’s later association with the invention of male-male sexual practices, an assertion that dates to the sixteenth century.

Like Chigo Monju icons, this modern designation frustrates most attempts to situate these works within a specific ritual context. However, the standardized iconographic format used in Chigo Daishi paintings maintained over centuries of production suggests a singular ritual use for these objects.<sup>287</sup> Additionally, three of the works include inscriptions that shed light on what associations these works had in the minds of devotees. While this ritual context cannot be fully reverse engineered through iconography and inscriptions alone, they point to ways in which the image of young patriarch was symbolically used and framed in medieval Japan.

Drawing from both these inscriptions and iconography, I propose that Chigo Daishi icons reflect the doctrine of attaining Buddhahood in a single lifetime (*sojushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛) by drawing from imagery associated with Kūkai’s first and last miracles and framing the figure in the esoteric iconography associated with *A-ji kan* 阿字觀 rituals (or meditations of the *bija* A), and

---

<sup>286</sup> McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu* 191; see note 29; Kuroda Hideo, “*Emaki: kodomo no tōjō: chūsei shakai no kadomozō* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1989).

<sup>287</sup> In the fall of 2021, an Edo period sketch of Chigo Daishi iconography was included in *Special Exhibition: Kōbō Daishi and Daigo-ji* (特別展「弘法大師と醍醐寺」), indicating that a standardization of these images was maintained over several centuries.



their related icons (fig. 4.1).<sup>288</sup> I first look at the extant inscriptions found on Chigo Daishi icons as these directly reflect how devotees responded to these images. While one of these identifies the scene as a representation of the patriarch’s first vision, two specifically note the date of his last miracle when he “entered into eternal meditation” (J. *sanmai* 三昧, Skt. *sāmadhi*) to await the arrival of Miroku, the Buddha of the Future, thus avoiding death. Then, I examine how these works adopt the format of A-ji icons, replacing the A-ji with the body of the youth seated on an eight-petaled lotus and surrounded by a moon disc, visually equating him with Henjō Kongō 遍照金剛, the esoteric name for the Cosmic Buddha Dainichi Nyorai 大日如來 (Skt. Mahāvairocana) as well as Kūkai’s ordination name. Then, I turn to examine the elaborate garments worn by the youth in these works, arguing that the garments form a deliberate part of the iconographic program, navigating a network of associations of elaborate textiles, including their uses as *kesa* associated with high-ranking monks, as well as the samsaric qualities of luxurious goods. I suggest that this inclusion in the iconography references Kūkai’s final miracle, specifically reflecting the annual tradition of presenting the patriarch’s remains with food and new robes on the twenty-first day of the third month.<sup>289</sup> As a whole, these hagiographic details included in the standard iconography

---

<sup>288</sup> Kūkai wrote on attaining buddhahood in one’s current body as part of a trio of texts—*Sokushin jōbutsugi* (*Transforming One’s Body Into the Realm of Enlightenment*, KZ 1: 506-520), *Shōji jishshōgi* (*Voice, Letter, Reality*, KZ 1:521-534) and *Unjigi* (*On the Sanskrit Letter Hum*, KZ 1:535-553)—composed to expound upon the three mysteries of Esoteric Buddhist divinities, namely body, speech, and mind respectively. While the exact date that Kūkai composed these works is unknown, contemporary followers of Kūkai attest that they were written in the 820s. See Ryūichi Abe, *Weaving the Mantra*, 277; Bogel *With a Single Glance*, 35.

<sup>289</sup> It is unclear when the practice of giving Kūkai’s body garments and food began, but belief that the patriarch was waiting in meditation for Miroku was widely disseminated throughout Japan as part of the itinerant recitations of the *Tale of Heike* in the fourteenth century. For the ritual dressing of memorial sculptures, see Horiguchi Sozan, *Kantō no rakeizō* (Geien Junreisha, 1960), Sarah J. Horton, *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan* (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2007), Samuel C. Morse, “Dressed for Salvation—the Hadaka Statues of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Human Figure in the Visual Art of East Asia*:

for Chigo Daishi paintings bookend the patriarch's life, creating an icon that succinctly narrates Kūkai's attainment of Buddhahood in a single lifetime.

#### 4.1 Recontextualization of Chigo Daishi Icons as Portraiture

While the exact total number of surviving Chigo Daishi images is unknown, previous publications list anywhere between ten to thirteen extant Chigo Daishi paintings, with only about five being the subject of independent articles, and the remainder appearing occasionally in exhibition catalogues as examples of their iconographic type. In my research, I have identified at least fourteen Chigo Daishi paintings, but more likely exist in temple and museum collections scattered throughout Japan. The earliest Chigo Daishi icons were produced in the mid-Kamakura period and continued to be made sporadically until the 1930s.<sup>290</sup> Textual inscriptions on three premodern Chigo Daishi images—housed at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art, Hikone Castle Museum, and Art Institute of Chicago respectively—bear inscriptions identifying the scene as Kūkai's first vision that he had at the age of five or six. Out of these three, the inscriptions found on the Smithsonian and Hikone Castle examples identify Kūkai by his Esoteric

---

*Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural Property* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties) 31-46; Hank Glassman, "The Nude Jizō at Denkō-ji," in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan), 383-413. These nude images of Kūkai will be addressed in greater detail later in this chapter.

<sup>290</sup>The locations and traditional dating for the known Chigo Daishi images are as follows: Daigo-ji (mid-thirteenth century), Kōsetsu Museum of Art (mid-thirteenth century), Kōrin-ji in Imabari, Ehime Province (mid-to-late Kamakura period), Shōchi-in (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century), formerly the Chōkai Seiji collection (Kamakura period), Tokyo Private Collection, (fifteenth century), Shōjōshin-in, Mount Kōya (Muromachi period), the Nelson Atkins Museum (fifteenth century), the Miho Museum (fourteenth or fifteenth century), the Smithsonian's National Gallery of Asian Art (Muromachi period, fifteenth or sixteenth century), Hikone Castle Museum (fifteenth or sixteenth century), the Shizuoka Municipal Serizawa Keisuke Museum (fifteenth century), Art Institute of Chicago (fifteenth century), Newark Museum (twentieth century).

Ordination name of Henjō Kongō 遍照金剛 and provide information about his first miracle, concluding with the date when it was believed that the patriarch circumvented death by entering into a state of “eternal meditation” on the twenty-first day of the third month of the second year of the Jōwa period, or 836. The Art Institute of Chicago’s inscription is unusual among the three, as it quotes directly from the passage in *Goyuigō* 御遺告 (late Heian period)—the twenty-five precepts attributed to Kūkai for his disciples—that describes his first vision where he dreamt he was seated on a lotus, communicating with various buddhas.

This iconography developed in Chigo Daishi imagery is still used today in part of celebrations of Kūkai’s birth, but the new ritual context is likely radically different than the original use of these icons.<sup>291</sup> Currently, Kūkai’s birth is celebrated on Mount Kōya on June 15<sup>th</sup>, and includes a ritual procession of a sculpture replicating the iconography of Chigo Daishi from the Daishi Kyōkai 大師教会, the modern administrative center of Shingon Buddhism on Mount Kōya, to Kongōbu-ji.<sup>292</sup> This public celebration of Kūkai’s birth has little, if anything, to do with the original use of Chigo Daishi imagery, but reflects the modern interpretation of these works as celebrating Kūkai’s early life. This modern recycling of Chigo Daishi iconography relies on the most straightforward interpretation of the scene itself, with any of the ritual complexity implied by the medieval paintings’ composition being largely ignored.

---

<sup>291</sup> Despite using the same iconography, and in certain cases, the same icons, the ritual context for these works may have changed dramatically over time as religious practices developed and changed. As icons may have been repurposed or even re-identified as different divinities to suit these differing ritual needs, the iconographic specificities found in certain images may not directly relate to these newer uses developed over time. See Fowler, Sherry Fowler, *Murō-ji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005).

<sup>292</sup> Phillip L. Nicoloff, *Sacred Koyasan: A Pilgrimage to the Mountain Temple of Sait Kobo Daishi and the Great Sun Buddha* (Albany: State University of New York, 2008), 241-245.

Like many other Buddhist objects, Chigo Daishi images were stripped of their status as ritual objects and were reframed as valuable objects of “art” in the Meiji period when they began to leave temple collections and enter personal or museum ones. During this period, whatever remaining vestiges of medieval ritual purposes Chigo Daishi images served were effectively lost as these paintings were classified simply as portraits of Kūkai and are often grouped together with images of Shingon patriarchs to this day.<sup>293</sup> The earliest scholarly interest in Chigo Daishi images began during this period, when Kurokawa Mayori 黒川真頼 published an article in *Kokka* in the march of 1893. This short writing on the Kōsetsu Chigo Daishi image (fig. 4.2)—then called *Dōgyō Daishi* 童形大師 (or “The Great Teacher as a Youth”) as the term *chigo* had not gained the broader meaning of sacred youth found in current scholarly publications—primarily focused on its aesthetic merits rather than its religious use. Kurokawa attributes the icon to Fujiwara no Nobuzane 藤原信実, and associates it with other works attributed to him.<sup>294</sup> At this point during the late nineteenth century, this Chigo Daishi painting was already in Mayuyama Ryōhei’s 村山龍平 (1850-1933) collection.<sup>295</sup> Kurokawa notes the painting’s previous use on Mount Kōya, and

---

<sup>293</sup> This is seen in their treatment in exhibition catalogues and catalogues raisonnés surrounding Kūkai and Shingon Buddhism. See *Kokuhō Kōbō Daishi Kūkai ten* (Ehime Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 2000); Keiko Takahashi, *Inori no michi: Shiko no taiwa no tame ni*, (Tokyo: Sanbō Shuppan, 1999); Kōyasan Reihōkan, *Kōbō Daishi no meihō: kono yo no jōdo to eien no inori*, Kōyasan Reihōkan, 1984); *Mikkyō bijutsu meihō ten: Kōbō Daishi go-tanjō sen-nihyakunen Kinen* (Kyoto: Benridō seisaku, 1973); *Mikkyō Bijutsu Taikan* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1983) among others.

<sup>294</sup> Kurokawa Mayori, “Nobuzane sho dōgyō daishi” *Kokka* 42, (March 1893) 104-105.

<sup>295</sup> The founder of Asahi Shimbun and publisher of *Kokka*, whose collection became the base of the Kōsetsu Museum of Art. On December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1931, the Murayama Chigo Daishi became designated as Important Cultural Property while still associated with the Murayama family. In the next publication on Chigo Daishi images, this example was still associated with the

identifies the figure as Kōbō Daishi, but did not explain this identification, or any larger context for this iconography.<sup>296</sup>

By 1935, when Matsumoto Eichi 松本栄一 published a second article on Chigo Daishi paintings, only five Chigo Daishi images were listed, and in addition to the Murayama Chigo Daishi, were housed at Enman'in 圓滿院 on Mount Kōya, and the example still owned by Daigo-ji (fig. 4.3), in addition to another at Zentsu-ji 善通寺 in present-day Kagawa Prefecture.<sup>297</sup> Matsumoto's article focused on the Chigo Daishi image now owned by the Miho Museum, when it was in the collection of Dan Takuma 團琢磨 (1858-1932), and the Dan family (fig. 4.4).<sup>298</sup> Matsumoto's article was the first publication that directly linked Chigo Daishi images with various textual descriptions of Kūkai's first miraculous dream at the age of five or six by demonstrating that the iconography of Chigo Daishi images drew from descriptions of Kūkai's first miracle in *Goyuigō* 御遺告 and *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō yōshū* 弘法大師行狀要集 (published in 1732), thus establishing the basic iconographic understanding of these images.

Outside of a purely academic context, Chigo Daishi paintings were gaining a wider audience through large scale exhibitions and were included in the 1953 show *Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture* that traveled between four major cities in the United States.

---

Maruyama family, and specifically Murayama Nagataka 村山長挙 (1894-1977), Ryōhei's son-in-law that was adopted into the Murayama family.

<sup>296</sup> Kurokawa, *Kokka*, 1893.

<sup>297</sup> Matsumoto Eichi, "Chigo Daishi zō kai," *Kokka* 539 (1935): 274-277. It is unclear which Chigo Daishi paintings were housed at Zentsu-ji or Enman'in, and if these respective sites still own these works. It is possible that these icons may have found their ways into private collections without a documented provenance.

<sup>298</sup> An inscription found with the Miho Museum painting notes that at one point this image was owned by Dan Takuma. *Miho Museum, North Wing* (Shigaraki: Miho Museum, 1997) 88.

Organized by a group of Japanese and American politicians and curators in the final years of the American Occupation, the show played a certain nationalistic or propagandistic role in postwar America, falling somewhere between an imperialistic display of the spoils of war brought to the United States, and a symbolic declawing of Japan's military power. Showcasing art that was likely perceived to be decorative and inoffensive by an American public, the exhibition brought together a remarkable assembly of important works set to be displayed in Washington DC, New York City, Chicago, Boston and Seattle. The *New York Times* published an announcement of the show's opening at the National Gallery of Art in Washington DC, prominently displaying the Murayama/Kōsetsu Chigo Daishi beside a text succinctly noting that the work depicted Kūkai's dream as a five-year-old.<sup>299</sup> Another article in the *Washington Post* notes that the Chigo Daishi painting appeared in a gallery with a portrait traditionally identified as Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147- 1199; r. 1192-1199) (fig. 4.5) and a sketch of Fudō Myōō (fig. 4.6). The presentation of these three works together emphasized their respective statuses as works of art, with the Chigo Daishi and Minamoto portrait understood as portraiture of prominent historical figures, and the image of Fudō Myōō as "a loose sketch which shows the artist's working methods" eliding the different uses of these works and reframing them as familiar genres of images under the umbrella of Euro-American artistic production.<sup>300</sup>

A similar, albeit more sinister, use of this Chigo Daishi painting as advertising for *Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture* appeared on December 10, 1953. The Home Forum

---

<sup>299</sup> A.B.L., "The Best from Japan," *New York Times*; Jan 25, 1953, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, SM18.

<sup>300</sup> Leslie Judd Portner, "Japanese Show Opens Today," *The Washington Post (1923-1954)*; Jan. 25, 1953. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

section of the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston, Massachusetts published a photograph of the Chigo Daishi icon included in the show, along with a column written by art critic Dorothy Adlow that introduced readers to the exhibition when it had arrived in Boston:

According to legend, priest Kukai as a child dreamed that he talked with the gods about the principles of his religion.

This portrait, the title of which signifies the youthful Kobo Daishi, depicts the legend. Here is a bright little boy of five or six years, seated on a lotus pedestal. The portrait was painted with the dignified grace characterizing the art of this epoch.<sup>301</sup>

Given the propagandistic context, it's hard to divorce the *Christian Science Monitor's* description of Chigo Daishi as a “bright little boy” from the memory of the violent brightness of another Little Boy dropped on Hiroshima less than a decade earlier. Out of the ninety-one objects included in exhibition, selecting the Chigo Daishi icon as one of the primary works to advertise the show despite its relatively unknown status among a selection of highly celebrated works of painting and sculpture, and perhaps, points to an early, deliberate characterization of Japan as a conquered and infantilized nation.<sup>302</sup>

This deliberately innocuous interpretation of Chigo Daishi images helped spread their popularity in the United States throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Yanagisawa Taka 柳澤孝 reiterated the connection between Chigo Daishi paintings and Kūkai's first miracle in 1959 where she examined the Chigo Daishi icon now housed at the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 4.7), the only example of

---

<sup>301</sup> Dorothy Adlow, “Article 8—No Title,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 10, 1953. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Christian Science Monitor, 14

<sup>302</sup> These themes have been explored in a variety of contemporary artistic works and commentaries in the early twenty-first century, most prominently by Takashi Murakami, in his 2005 exhibition *Little Boy* リトルボーイ . See Takashi Murakami, ed., *Little Boy: The Arts of Japan's Exploding Subculture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

this kind of icon that directly quotes *Goyuigō* in its inscription.<sup>303</sup> At the time of the article's publication, it was owned by Howard C. Hollis, the curator of Far Eastern Art and Near Eastern Art at the Cleveland Museum of Art. However, this painting was acquired by the AIC in 1960 as a gift from the Joseph and Hellen Regenstein Foundation, noting that they believed that the image was originally from Mount Kōya.<sup>304</sup>

The next Chigo Daishi icon to be publicized was in 1968, when the Newark Museum purchased their image, once owned by the Fujita family, and believed to be from the Muromachi period (fig. 4.8). Valrae Reynolds, the curator at the time of its acquisition, speculated that the image may have been produced for the monastic complexes on Mount Kōya founded by Kūkai including the Oku-no-in 奥の院, Kūkai's mausoleum where tradition maintains he sits "eternal meditation." This information was included in an essay disseminated on the back of a box for a jigsaw puzzle reproducing the Newark Museum's Chigo Daishi that was made available in 1970.<sup>305</sup> Scholarly consensus now maintains that this image was produced during the Shōwa period (1926-1989), most likely in the 1930s.

In 1969, another Chigo Daishi image was acquired by the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, from Mrs. George H. Bunting Jr., who purchased it from Mayuyama and Co. Ltd., Tokyo (fig. 4.9).<sup>306</sup> While it is identified as a Chigo Daishi icon in the 1971 published notification of the museum acquiring the painting, the work had been previously misidentified in the twentieth

---

<sup>303</sup> Yanagisawa Taka, "Chigo Daishi zo", *Kokka* vol. 810 (1959), 329.

<sup>304</sup> Jack V Sewell, *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly*, vol 54 no. 2, (April, 1960): 8.

<sup>305</sup> "Portrait of Chigo Daishi (Kobo Daishi as a Child) The Newark Museum," (Enfield: Springbok Editions, Inc., c. 1970).

<sup>306</sup> "Art of Asia Recently Acquired by North American Museums, 1969," *Archives of Asian Art* vol 27 (1970/1971), 111.



century, as the storage box purchased with the painting bears a sticker identifying the subject as *Chigo Monju* 稚児文殊, indicating some degree of confusion over the identity of the youth. Shortly after, Christine Guth published “The Divine Boy in Japanese Art” which continued to use the inscription found on the Chicago Chigo Daishi icon as an explanation of the iconography.<sup>307</sup>

Despite the sudden increase in interest in these images in the postwar period, the first Chigo Daishi image to become part of an American collection was that owned by Charles Lang Freer, after he purchased it in 1905 from Boston-based merchant Bunkio Matsuki 松本文恭 (1867-1940) (fig. 4.10), and by 1920, became part of the Freer Gallery of Art.<sup>308</sup> Early Japanese language publications ignored this example, possibly because of the limited accessibility due to its early removal from Japanese collections. It has similarly not been included in major English-language publications on Chigo Daishi painting.

Other Chigo Daishi images in Japan have remained relatively obscure, as they were either purchased by private collectors, and only moved into the hands of museums after their owner’s deaths or kept continually in temple collections. In addition to the Mayuyama and Dan families, artist Chōkai Seiji 鳥海青児 (1902-1972) and textile designer Serizawa Keisuke 芹沢銈介 (1895-1984) each had a Chigo Daishi image included in their respective collections (fig. 4.11 and fig. 4.12). Little is known about Serizawa Keisuke’s Chigo Daishi before it entered into his collection but is now included in the Shizuoka Serizawa Keisuke Municipal Museum, and was the subject of

---

<sup>307</sup> Guth, “Divine Boy.”

<sup>308</sup> National Museum of Asian Art record, <https://asia.si.edu/object/F1905.267> (Accessed, 9/10/2022).

an article by Kayako Fukuchi liking the work to other examples of Chigo Daishi paintings.<sup>309</sup> Finally, a Chigo Daishi icon had been in the private collection of the Ii 井伊 family of Tōtōmi Province 遠江国 (present-day Shizuoka Prefecture), presumably since the Edo period, and is now owned by the Hikone Castle Museum (fig. 4.13). Only four Chigo Daishi images remain in the ownership of temples, specifically those found at Daigo-ji, Shōjōshin-in, Kōrin-ji and Shōchi-in (figs. 4.3; fig. 4.14; fig. 4.15; fig. 4.16). Lastly, an allegedly fourteenth example exists in a private collection associated with the Edo Senke 江戸千家 school of tea ceremony and has not been included in major exhibitions or publications (fig. 4.17).

With scholarly interest predominantly based on identifying the young Kūkai in Chigo Daishi images, and many significant examples of these icons entering private collections in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it seems possible that investigating and recording how these images were used was not considered important. The only contextual information that survives concerning how Chigo Daishi images were displayed comes with the Murayama/Kōsetsu example, as the museum notes that it had been displayed between two portraits of Kariba and Niu Myōjin, two *kami* associated with Mount Kōya, but there is little evidence to suggest this was a standard practice.<sup>310</sup> However, the creation of the Newark Museum's Chigo Daishi in the 1930s suggests that images of the young Kūkai still maintained some degree of relevance, particularly in conjunction with celebrations of the patriarch's death. Thought to have been used on Mount Kōya before it entered the Fujita collection, it is possible that it was produced at the same time as many

---

<sup>309</sup> Fukuchi Kayako, "Shizuoka shiritsu Serizawa Keisuke bijutsukan zō 'Chigo Daishi:' Seisei o genken suru dōjigyō," *Tohoku Fukushi University Serizawa Keisuke Art and Craft Museum Annual Report* vol 1. (2009), 82.

<sup>310</sup> National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture* (Washington Press, 1953), 52.

of the sites on Mount Kōya were reconstructed in 1930s. The Kondo was reconstructed in 1934 (Shōwa 9) to commemorate Kūkai’s entry into eternal meditation 1,100 years prior. Other sites on the mountain were reconstructed during the 1930s, including the Danjō Garan Pagoda in 1937.<sup>311</sup>

All in all, Chigo Daishi paintings have been largely removed from their original religious contexts and have been treated as “portraits” or “works of art” rather than ritual objects, thus obscuring their original usage. While the main subject of Kūkai at the moment of his first miracle has been firmly established through early iconographical analysis, as well as its identification found in the Chicago Chigo Daishi painting, other considerations have been largely ignored. In the next section, I will examine the information found in other inscriptions on Chigo Daishi paintings, as well as unpack the esoteric framing of Kūkai seated on an eight-petaled lotus blossom and surrounded by a moon disc in an attempt to further nuance our understandings of how these images may have been initially used.

#### **4.2 Chigo Daishi Inscriptions and Esoteric Iconography**

The inscription on the Chicago Chigo Daishi has been cited as the definitive identification of the scene as early as 1959. The text itself was likely brushed onto the image by a devotee, and directly quotes the *Goyuigō*’s record of the patriarch’s first miracle. While the inscription has been badly abraded, Christine Guth (following Yanagisawa’s lead) has translated the quote as recounting Kūkai’s recurring dreams he had between the ages of five and six where he would be seated on a lotus blossom. Guth’s translation of the text is as follows:

Long ago, when I was living in my parents’ home, sometime between the age of five or six, I always had visions of myself in my dreams seated on an eight-petaled lotus conversing with the buddhas. However, I didn’t tell anyone, not even my parents, much

---

<sup>311</sup> <http://www.koyasan.or.jp/en/k1200/>, accessed July 28, 2018.

less anyone else. At that time my parents had such affection [for me] that they named me Tōtomono [“Precious One”].

In the beginning of my twelfth year, my parents told me, “My son, you were predestined to become a disciple of the Buddha.”

“How do you know this?” I asked.

[My mother answered,] “I had a dream in which a saintly monk from India came and entered my body. Thus was I entrusted with giving birth to you, and it was ordained that you would become a disciple of the Buddha.”

I was overjoyed to hear this news, and immediately made clay images of the Buddha and constructed a hut alongside my playmates’ house. I installed the images within the hut and worshipped them.

My father belonged to the Saeki family, and at that time resided in Tado-gun in Sanuki province. Long ago, the clan had received land there for attacking the rebellions barbarians. My mother was a member of the Atō family.<sup>312</sup>

吾昔得生在父母家時、生年五六之間、夢常見居座八葉蓮花之中諸仏共語也雖然專不語父母況語他人此間父母偏悲字号貴物<多度>毛布能止年始十二爰父母曰我子是昔可佛弟子以何知之夢見從天竺國聖人僧來入我等懷如是任妊胎產生子也然則齋此子將作仏弟子吾若少之耳聞喜以泥土常作仏像造宅邊童堂安置彼内奉禮爲事此時吾父佐伯氏讚岐國多度郡人昔征敵毛被班土矣母阿刀氏人也<sup>313</sup>

Unlike other inscriptions on Chigo Daishi images, this directly quotes Kūkai’s own account of his early childhood, specifically highlighting his first miracle. Tanaka’s use of this quote firmly identifies this scene as Kūkai’s first miracle as recorded in hagiographies, pointing to a specific moment in the patriarch’s life that was isolated for veneration. However, this one inscription alone does not seem to account for the full context of how these images were used in the medieval period. While this work does pair the iconography with a specific canonical text, two other inscriptions found on the Smithsonian and Hikone Castle examples, appear to be original compositions by the devotees who brushed them on the works, thus providing valuable information about how early viewers of these icons understood them.

---

<sup>312</sup> Christine Guth, “Divine Boy,” 2-4.

<sup>313</sup> Text reconstruction by Yanagisawa Taka, *Kokka* vol. 810, 1959.

The inscription on the Chigo Daishi housed at the Smithsonian provides additional details about Kūkai’s life and works, highlighting his birth, studies in China, and finally his entrance into “eternal meditation:”

Henjō Kongō [Kūkai’s ordained name] was born in the early spring of the fifth year of the Hōki period [774] to a father from the Saeki family and a mother named Atō in Tadao County in Sanuki Province. Called Tōtomono, he is seated eternally on an eight-petaled lotus. He traveled to Qinglong-si [Shōryō-ji] in a foreign land, and with Huiguo among others, pursued the highest teaching of the dharma.<sup>314</sup> The sun-like light of the *dharmakāya* spread through the provinces of Japan when he returned home, and offered his teachings to the imperial household. In the fifty-second year of the sexegenary cycle, on the twenty-first day of the third month of the second year of the Jōwa era [835], he entered into meditation on Nanzen [the southern mountain of Mount Kōya] and was given the posthumous name of Great Messenger and Great Teacher.<sup>315</sup>

遍照金剛而讚岐國多度郡寶龜五年初春謳生父佐伯氏母阿刀姓童雅常坐八葉蓮花  
名貴物異域青龍寺而人隨惠杲大德求法極旨歸朝法身光及日域奉皇家法 承和二年  
乙卯三月廿一日南山入定大使大師諡号

While significantly less detailed than the Chicago inscription, this text’s inclusion of biographical details that are not directly related to the scene itself perhaps points to a broader understanding of these icons representing the patriarch’s entire life, and not simply his first miracle. It notably calls Kūkai by his ordination name, and directly references the iconography of the painting by specifically mentioning the eight-petaled lotus, calling attention to a detail that has not been addressed in previous scholarship. Similar details are found in Hikone Castle Museum’s Chigo Daishi inscription, where Kūkai’s birth, ordination name, and date of his entry into eternal meditation are given.

---

<sup>314</sup> Located in Chang’an (present-day Xi’an) Qinglong-si was the temple where Huiguo (746-805) taught Vajrayāna Buddhism; Huiguo was a Tang Dynasty Buddhist monk at Qinglong-si, who began his study of Buddhism as a child under the direction of Amoghavajra, who had come to China from India in his youth.

<sup>315</sup> Translation by author.

Intriguingly, similar information about Kūkai's life and works was mentioned in a letter sent by the monk Jitsue 実慧 (786-847) to Qinglong-si monastery after Kūkai's death in the fifth month of Jōwa 3 (835):

I, Jitsue, a Dharma-heir in the Shingon monastery in the nation of Japan, together with my Dharma colleagues, report: Our late master-abbot Kūkai, whose [esoteric] ordination name was Henjō Kongō... journeyed to China in search of the *dharmā*. By good fortune, he met the imperial court priest [Huiguo], the great abbot of [Qinglong-si], and studied with him the secret teachings of the *garhba* and *vajra* [*maṇḍalas*]. He returned to Japan carrying with him ritual instruments and other items entrusted to him by his teacher. Our master's way of *dharmā* was loftier than those of other [Japanese] schools and his teachings were different from the ordinary. The Dharma teachers of other schools then found his teaching contradictory to theirs and were not able to understand it, and for more than ten years [after his return to Japan], the master was unable to establish [his new school].

Eventually, however, the stream of his Dharma began to permeate people's minds as if to encourage [their seed of enlightenment] to sprout, and the number of people who received his *abhiṣeka* [initiation into the Esoteric Teaching] among the priests and nuns of various schools and among the sons and daughters of good families increased. Thereafter, the imperial house too has an interest in Esotericism and its envoys constantly made visits to our master. When the Tenchō emperor [Junna, r. 823-833] succeeded to the throne, he prepared a maṇḍala altar in the inner palace and was initiated into the Esoteric Teaching. Extending over his aegis over our school, the emperor granted Tōji in the capital to our master and designated it a Shingon monastery.<sup>316</sup>

日本國真言道場付法弟子實慧等白。先師諱空海和尚。受職號遍照金剛。先年入唐求法。奉遇青龍寺內供奉諱慧果大和尚。受學胎藏金剛兩部密教並寶持道具付屬等物歸本朝道高餘宗教異常習。此間法匠各爲矛盾不肯服膺十餘年間無得建立。法水漸浸人機吐芽。諸宗法侶身家子弟。灌頂受法者其數稍夥。厥後密教之旨相尋上聞。中使往還詔問不絕。及天長皇帝受讓踐祚。灑掃禁闈建立壇場。始嘗密教之甘露稍發興隆之御心以帝城東寺爲真言寺。<sup>317</sup>

This letter specifically notes Kūkai's Esoteric ordination name as Henjō Kongo, his journey to Qinglong-si monastery, connections with the imperial household as well as his success at

---

<sup>316</sup> Abé Ryuichi, *Weaving of the Mantra*, 41-42. Translation by Ryuichi. KZ *Tsuikai bunsō* 5: 345

<sup>317</sup> *Tsuikai bunsō* KZ 5, 345.

spreading Shingon Buddhism.<sup>318</sup> This biographical approach to inscription writing suggests that devotees did not think of these as only representations of Kūkai's youth, but as related to the patriarch's entire religious career. Therefore, based on the inscriptions it seems plausible that these images were not exclusively understood as being representations only of Kūkai's first vision, but had a broader significance relating to Kūkai's miraculous life.

Ordinarily, arguing for a more nuanced read of a work's iconography based on the details provided in the inscriptions of only two out of over a dozen or so extant works would be unwise, as these responses may have been outliers among understandings of this subject of painting writ large. However, as both the Smithsonian and Hikone Castle Museum directly call attention to the eight-petaled lotus pedestal—a detail previously overlooked in scholarship on these works—the inclusion of this specific iconography was clearly important to at least two viewers of these works, and merits further attention.

Unlike the variety of iconographies used in Chigo Monju icons discussed in Chapter Three, Chigo Daishi icons universally repeat the same iconographic details of Kūkai at the age of five or six, his hands pressed together in a *gasshō* mudra, seated on an eight-petaled lotus blossom and surrounded by a moon disc. This adherence to the iconography suggests that these details were crucial elements deliberately included in the works for their ritual efficacy, and thus did not allow artists much room for invention. These elements seem to have been directly taken from A-ji kan 阿字觀 imagery, where the Sanskrit letter A is visualized on an eight petaled lotus and surrounded by a moon disc. The *Hizō hōyaku* 秘藏寶鑰 (*Jeweled Key to the Secret Treasury*) written in 835 includes the following notes on visualizing the A-ji from which the iconography is derived:

Here is a verse on the letter A, which stands for the enlightened mind:

---

<sup>318</sup> Abe, *Weaving the Mantra*, 41-42.

Visualize: a white lotus flower with eight petals, [above which is a full moon disc] the size of a forearm in diameter, [in which is] a radiant silvery letter. Unite your *dhyāna* with *prajñā* in an adamantine binding; Draw the quiescent *prajñā* of the Tathāgata [*nyorai*] in [your mind].<sup>319</sup>

即讚阿字是菩提心義頌曰

八葉白蓮一肘間炳現阿字素光色  
禪智俱入剛縛  
召入如來寂靜智<sup>320</sup>

In this practice, the A-ji was understood to be the seed syllable for Henjō Kongō, and thus, replacing the letter with an image of Kūkai, who took the ordination name of Henjō Kongō, draws an equivalency between the patriarch and the divinity.

Using a physical body in place of a seed syllable reflects the more corporeal considerations of A-ji visualization. While A-ji contemplation had its roots in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, Bogel notes that Kūkai’s commentary adds a crucial element to the visualization, namely, what she terms the “expansion-contraction technique” which allows the body of the practitioner to become the corporeal form of the divinity. Specifically, she notes that:

the practitioner uses the image-manifesting technique to bring the image of the main divinity within his breast. He may also use the transformation technique, in which the divinity is visualized using its seed syllable “A” and *samaya* (i.e. symbolic) forms—the lotus and the moon—that are transformed into the divinity’s anthropomorphic form, the practitioner.<sup>321</sup>

---

<sup>319</sup> Translation by Hakeda, Yoshito S. *Kūkai: Major Works*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972): 220.

<sup>320</sup> KZ 1: 469.

<sup>321</sup> Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, 200.



Jitsue's notations on the *A-ji* visualization in the *Aji kan yōjin ketsu* 阿字觀用心口決 (eighth or ninth century), thought to have been annotated based on Kūkai's own practice, reflects this emphasis on localizing the contemplation in one's own physical body, allowing for the conflation of both the divine and human:

People who visualize this syllable are removed from their previous desires. It radiates strongly from the heavens in the four directions without a specific location, without darkness and without the light. The darkness of obtrusive thoughts disappear and the senses awaken. The wisdom of the heart/mind scatters disorder... See in your own body's mind a moon disc like a full moon on an autumn night. In the middle of that moon disc is the *a-ji* [㒶字]. The *a-ji* is the seed syllable. The light of the *a-ji* spreads out from the moon disc to encompass all things. This is seen in one's mind. The *a-ji* fills the body and becomes the heart/mind itself. Like this, one's cognition is unparalleled, and through this, concerns of death disappear.<sup>322</sup>

先欲觀此字者。天井四方強不迫處。不暗不明坐。暗妄念起。明心散亂。[...] 自身胸中有月輪。如秋夜月晴。其中有㒶字。㒶字月輪種子。月輪㒶字光。月輪與阿字全一也。胸中觀之。自身成阿字。阿字即自心也。如是心境不二。而緣慮亡絕。<sup>323</sup>

Thus, the emphasis on the physical body becomes an important consideration for *a-ji* visualization, as the practitioner becomes a corporeal form of Henjō Kongō, at least during the process of contemplation.

While the precise ritual use of Chigo Daishi icons remains unknown, viewers familiar with *A-ji* imagery and visualization practices would likely recognize the framing of the young Kūkai's body echoing that of the seed syllable for Henjō Kongō, recalling this bodily conflation with the divine. These iconographic characteristics are not found in other illustrations of Kūkai's first miracle found in handscrolls (discussed later) and appears to be unique to Chigo Daishi icons in

---

<sup>322</sup> Translation by author.

<sup>323</sup> T. 2432, 415.

representations of Kūkai. The recurring emphasis on the eight petaled lotus and moon disc invariably repeating in in all Chigo Daishi icons suggests that this framing of the patriarch's first miracle as visually equivalent to A-ji visualization was an important aspect of these works and suggest that the patriarch was associated with Henjō Kongō from the start of his miracle working life. This is not to suggest that Chigo Daishi icons and A-ji icons were interchangeable, but rather, that Chigo Daishi paintings deliberately associated themselves with A-ji contemplation practices that Kūkai emphasized in his monastic career and speak to Kūkai's lifelong association with Henjō Kongō.

#### **4.3 Textiles in Chigo Daishi Icons**

The final iconographic detail repeated in all Chigo Daishi icons is the depiction of the youth in elaborate textiles that would not have been worn by youths of his age, but rather, were associated with high-ranking adult monks. If circumscribing the body of the five-year-old Kūkai in the same manner as the A-ji emphasizes his lifetime identification with Henjō Kongō, clothing him in elaborate fabrics reminiscent of the *kesa* passed down from master to disciple in monastic environments visually identifies the youth as already being a significant Buddhist figure at a young age. The overall lack of artistic invention and adherence to a strict iconographical format suggests that the selection of the specific fabrics worn by the young patriarch conveyed specific information about the broader symbolic uses of these works. Unlike other icons of sacred youths, Chigo Daishi paintings record a vast array of different elaborate fabrics, that directly reflected the changing methods of production and ornamentation available in Japan from the Kamakura through Edo periods. The insistence on showing all Chigo Daishi figures in up-to-date textiles points to this detail as part of a considered iconographic program that frames the body of the youth as being

physically and temporally present at the moment of each icon's creation, directly paralleling the annual practice of donating garments to Kūkai's mausoleum, as well as the broader practice of making garments for wooden sculptures dedicated to deceased Buddhist masters.

It is hardly unusual for paintings to not function as accurate transcriptions of reality, or that the symbolic nature of iconography generates meanings beyond the literal. However, it is worth examining why the garments of Chigo Daishi paintings do not adhere to sartorial conventions to more precisely articulate why these decisions were likely legible to medieval viewers. Even though Chigo Daishi images may have represented Kūkai's first miracle, medieval viewers would have been able to infer more nuanced information about the figure specifically based on the youth's garments. Examining the wider range of images depicting Kūkai at this early moment of his miraculous life suggest that the elaborate garments of Chigo Daishi icons was specific to images and not directly associated with his first vision.

During the medieval period in Japan, one of the main preoccupations of the social elite concerned dress, as appropriate dress was required for both men and women who lived and served in the imperial capital. Frequent references to the correct attire for ceremonies, imperial visits, clandestine affairs, among other things are strewn throughout diaries written by the social elite, with fabrics often standing in for one's identity.<sup>324</sup> Knowledge of the appropriate combinations of fabrics, colors and seasons was an essential aspect of life in the aristocratic court. Pairing one's garments to the seasons demonstrated one's sophisticated knowledge of poetic conceits and color symbolism, and anxieties over wearing the incorrect garments are scattered throughout the written record. The late Heian period story "Shell Matching Contest" (*Kaiawase* 貝合わせ) found in the

---

<sup>324</sup> Rajyashree Pandey, *Tangled Hair and Perfumed Sleeves: Body, Woman and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 31-44.

*Tsutsumi Chūnagon monogatari* 堤中納言物語 anthology includes an instance one winter where a woman appears wearing a mix of colors associated with spring, summer and autumn in one outfit, not only disregarding the conventions of matching the entire ensemble to one season, but also failing to properly match even one color to the correct time of year, highlighting her embarrassing lack of understanding of aristocratic conventions.<sup>325</sup> Other than literary demonstrations of courtly unsophistication, other writings served as guidebooks for how members of the aristocratic court were to dress, while others lament the changes in the capital, including inappropriate garments.

Concern over proper attire in court also led to Fujiwara no Taishi 藤原多子(1140-1202) asking Minamoto Masasuke 源雅亮 (late Heian period) to compose a text outlining the appropriate attire for members of the imperial court. Married at the age of ten to the eleven-year-old Emperor Konoe 近衛天皇 (1139-1155; r. 1142-1155) in 1150, Taishi attained the rank of Grand Empress after Konoe died and his brother Go-Shirakawa 後白河天皇(1127-1192; r. 1155-1158) ascended to the throne, thus elevating Taishi to the rank of Senior Grand Empress. When Go-Shirakawa abdicated in 1159, his eighteen-year-old son Nijō 二条天皇 (1143-1165; r. 1158-1165) assumed power and made his aunt Taishi his consort. This removed Taishi from her senior position, forcing her to work her way back up to the rank of Senior Grand Empress. In order to avoid unwanted scandal caused by inappropriate dress, Taishi enlisted the help of Minamoto Masasuke to create a standard guide for court attire.<sup>326</sup> Known as *Masasuke's Notes on [Court] Costume* (*Masasuke shōzokushō* 満佐須計装束抄, between 1140 and 1202), the text included a detailed overview of

---

<sup>325</sup> Liza Carihfield Dalby, *Kimono: Fashioning Culture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 250. See *Tsutsumi Chūnagon Monogatari*, 220.

<sup>326</sup> Liza Dalby, 227-228.

the appropriate attire for youths in the court, specifying not only the cut of each garment, but the colors, patterns, and layering in addition to seasonal variations, proper accessories and hairstyling.<sup>327</sup> As these formal strictures were specifically for youths over the age of seven in the aristocratic court, garments were regulated starting at a young age within aristocratic circles. Texts describing the appropriate attire for aristocrats taking the tonsure also points to a degree of austerity. The Cloistered Prince Shukaku's 守覚法親王 (1150-1202) *Uki* 右記 written in 1192 briefly notes how *chigo* should behave and groom themselves noting their use of light cosmetics for a period of four or five years before taking the tonsure.<sup>328</sup>

One particularly public critique of inappropriate garments was included in a fourteenth-century text criticizing the chaos found in the Heian capital during that period. Posted at the intersection of the Nijō and Kawara avenues in the capital in 1334, the anonymously written text became known as the “Nijō-Kawara Lampoon” (*Nijō Kawara rakugaki* 二条河原落書) and notes the decline of imperial court culture due to the influx of the military class:

Recently in the capital the most popular sights are night attacks, burglaries, false imperial orders, criminals, empty disturbances, freshly severed heads, monks who have returned to secular life, unordained holy men, people who have suddenly become lords, wanderers, confirmations of land ownership, rewards, skirmishes, people who have lost their domains, plaintiffs, thin arrowroot binding up legal documents, flattery, slanderers, monks, people who have met with success by building an up-side-down society with no relation whatsoever to their personal ability.

How strange to see people enter the imperial palace holding scepters and wearing headdresses and clothes that they were never allowed to wear! How foolish to see the so-called wise men fighting over the right to deliver a message to the emperor, men who compete in the skillful concoction of lies! We cannot even count the number of soldiers from, the capital who keep their caps crooked on their heads like country bumpkins, falling victim to their sexual desire as soon as dusk approaches. The spouses of allegedly respected “lords” behave like prostitutes in their own palaces; a glimpse of them makes you feel sick. These soldiers sport with small hawks whose tail feathers are bent, forever unable to

---

<sup>327</sup> GR, 112: 56-57; 66-67.

<sup>328</sup> GR 444: 673.

capture a single bird. They wear big swords made of lead which hang with their hilts in the wrong direction

Lords from the Kantō plain come in their palanquins with poor fans made of only fine bones and wearing thin garments and old armor from the pawnshop. Major and minor lords wearing beautiful garments and armor catch the dogs without even taking off their official consumes and without any skill at loosing their arrows. They fall from their horses more often than the number of arrows they shoot. Although they cannot count on the help of a master, they play archery games all over the place—a new and fashionable trend.<sup>329</sup>

此比都ニハヤル物夜討強盜謀綸旨召人早馬虚騒動生頸還俗自由出家俄大名迷者安堵恩賞虚軍本領ハナル、訴訟人文書入タル細葛追従讒人禅律僧下克上スル成出者器用堪否沙汰モナクモル、人ナキ決断所キツケヌ冠上ノキヌ持モナラハヌ笏持テ内裏マシハリ珍シヤ賢者カホナル伝奏ハ我モ我モトミユレトモ巧ナリケル詐ハワロカナルニヤヲトルラム為中美物ニアキミチテマナ板烏帽子ユカメツ、気色メキタル京侍タソカレ時ニ成ヌレハウカレテアリク色好イクソハクソヤ数不知内裏ヲカミト名付タル人ノ妻鞆ノウカレメハヨソノミル目モ心地アシ尾羽ヲレユカムエセ小鷹手コトニ誰モスエタレト鳥トル事ハ更ニナシ鉛作ノオホ刀太刀ヨリオホキニコシラヘテ前サカリニソ指ホラスハサラ扇ノ五骨ヒロコシヤセ馬薄小袖日銭ノ質ノ古具足関東武士ノカコ出仕下衆上臈ノキハモナク大口ニキル美精好鎧直垂猶不捨弓モ引エヌ犬追物落馬矢数ニマサリタリ誰ヲ師匠トナケレトモ遍ハヤル小笠懸事新キ風情也<sup>330</sup>

The text's mix of descriptions of chaotic violence with sartorial critiques suggests the value placed on proper attire among the social elite. While almost certainly this text was written with a satirical bent, the amount of attention spent on appearances of public officials suggests that minor gaffes would be recognized and draw unflattering attention.

With this in mind, dressing the young Kūkai in luxurious fabrics that would have been seen as inappropriate for a five-year-old to wear would not have gone unnoticed or uncritiqued unless there was a broader iconographical logic behind the decision. As this detail is limited only to Chigo

---

<sup>329</sup> Michelle F. Marra, *Representations of Power: The Literary Politics of Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 116-117.

<sup>330</sup> Ishii Susumu, "Kenmu ki" in *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol 2. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1994), 503-504.

Daishi icons and does not appear in other illustrations of his first miracle, their inclusion points to broader considerations that held significance beyond a straightforward depiction of his first vision.

Scholars have often pointed to representations of Kūkai's first miracle in illustrated handscrolls narrating the patriarch's life as visual parallels to Chigo Daishi icons.<sup>331</sup> However, while these illustrations depict the same first miracle, few of the details found in Chigo Daishi painting, such as the elaborate dress, posture, number of petals on the lotus pedestal, etc. are included in these narrative works, suggesting that these were not part of the standard way of illustrating this miracle outside of Chigo Daishi icons. Three handscrolls depicting Kūkai's life and works include illustrations of his first vision: The earliest, the *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki* 弘法大師行状絵巻 (fig 4.18) is housed at the Honolulu Museum of Art and is believed to have been produced in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Next, in 1319 the Hakutsuru Fine Art Museum's *Kōbō Daishi den emaki* 弘法大師伝絵巻 (fig. 4.19) was produced, and followed by the *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō ekotoba* 弘法大師行状絵詞 (fig. 4.20) housed at Tō-ji being painted between 1374 and 1389.<sup>332</sup>

The earliest of these handscrolls, the Honolulu scroll was produced around the same time the earliest Chigo Daishi icons appeared in the mid-Kamakura period. Executed in a delicate and rather sparse style reminiscent of other handscrolls of this period, the illustration opens with a view of Kūkai, his mother, and an attendant asleep. Kūkai is shown lying in a separate room visually isolated from the other figures, his body framed by a doorway leading into a separate chamber.

---

<sup>331</sup> Fukuchi, "Serizawa Keisuke bijutsukan zō 'Chigo Daishi,'" and Guth, "Divine Boy."

<sup>332</sup> *Bijutsu no naka no dōji* (Hikone: Hikone-shi Kyōikuiinkai, 2000); Shimada Shūjirō, *Nihon emakimono zenshu: Bekkai zaigai hen* vol. 31 (Tokyo: Kakukawaw Shōten, 1980); Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Zoku Nihon emaki taisei* vol. 5 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1981-1985).

Reading further to the left, the young Kūkai is shown outside the house, seated on a lotus in a swath of unpainted paper, facing three Buddhist divinities. Overall, Kūkai's appearance reflects the restrained aesthetics of the scene. Dressed in a plain white robe and *hakama* trousers, the young Kūkai kneels on his lotus pedestal, with his left hand resting on his knee, while the other bent at the elbow and pointing towards the buddhas. His shoulder-length hair is cropped in the familiar center-parted style, and Kūkai is also shown with the thick eyebrows often worn by women and youths.

The Hakutsuru scroll similarly dates to roughly the same time that the earliest Chigo Daishi icons were being made during the mid-Kamakura period, and again, departs from the seemingly standardized iconography for this scene as shown in Chigo Daishi images. Kūkai is shown seated not on a lotus, but on a bank of swirling auspicious clouds that also supports three buddhas on their lotus pedestals. The scene is a remarkable amalgam of different moments listed in the *Goyuigō* concerning Kūkai's first vision. Not only is he faced with the Buddhas, but he also is shown dedicating himself to Buddhism and producing clay Buddha images and enshrining them in a small hut. While this provides a clear overview of Kūkai's early religious life, it does not single out his first vision as separate from other youthful moments in which he encountered Buddhism and goes as far as to ignore the detail of his vision involving the eight-petaled lotus entirely. Like the Honolulu scroll, Kūkai is clad in a plain white *kosode* and *hakama*, and unlike any previously discussed depiction of this scene, his hair is tied back with a white band of cloth. While it is not visible in this particular scene, other illustrations in the scroll of this point in Kūkai's early life show his hair tied on both sides of his face. The same scene shows youths, presumably his playmates mentioned in *Goyuigō*, dressed in multicolored robes and bringing Kūkai building



materials for his clay buddha and its small shelter. The contrast between their colorful appearances and Kūkai's restrained one again seems to mark his body as separate from the ordinary.

Lastly, the scene of Kūkai's youthful vision in the *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō ekotoba* housed at Tō-ji and produced in the latter half of the fourteenth century more closely resembles Chigo Daishi icons, although the illustration of the scene has more dynamism than the reserved stillness of the icons. In this example, Kūkai wears the familiar cropped hairstyle, and assumes the same *gasshō* mudra while seated on a lotus blossom with more than eight petals. He is dressed similarly to the earlier illustrations in handscrolls, wearing white or light gray garments. Kayako Fukuchi notes that the positioning of Kūkai asleep and during his vision contrast between the sleeping youth, with his limbs casually sprawled out with the dignified posture of Kūkai seated on the lotus, as conveying the contrast between Kūkai's life as a youth and his future saintly works.<sup>333</sup>

When comparing Chigo Daishi icons to illustrations of this first miracle in these handscrolls, the elaborate brocades are conspicuously absent. In all three, Kūkai is shown wearing the same sorts of garments, complete with fluttering ties on his *hakama*, yet the fabric used to construct all the elements are a plain, white or gray fabric. Considering the garments shown in Chigo Daishi images against this backdrop, the development of the standardized iconography of Kūkai's first vision included deliberate decisions made concerning what fabrics he was to wear. The legibility of sartorial practices would have almost certainly allowed contemporary viewers to understand that the images depicting Kūkai at his first miracle simultaneously show him as a high-ranking and well-established monk, similar to Fukuchi's observation of the more formal posture the youth takes on at the moment of his first vision in the Tō-ji handscroll.

---

<sup>333</sup> Fukuchi, 84.

#### 4.4 Production and Circulation of Textiles

The faithful reproduction of different kinds of textiles in Chigo Daishi icons allows for the potential of a more nuanced dating of each painting, which has been previously difficult to establish. Scholarship often points to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the origin of the precipitous rise of images of sacred youths during the medieval period and assumes Chigo Daishi images were part of this sudden new interest. As no Chigo Daishi images may be firmly dated, this era may seem to be the most logical hypothesis for their dates, but it presupposes that interest in sacred youths did not exist either before or after the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While all examples of Chigo Daishi paintings are executed in a similar polychrome painting technique using thick, brightly colored pigments, the stylistic diversity among them is remarkable, and points to a greater range in dates of their production. Most notably, the textile patterns in each image varies dramatically between examples and may be used as a means of dating the individual paintings through comparisons with surviving textiles as these fabrics directly reflect the changes in the availability of certain kinds of ornamented fabrics in medieval Japan.

The fabrics shown in all extant Chigo Daishi icons directly reflect the changing kinds of textiles produced in East Asia over the span of several centuries.<sup>334</sup> None of the fabrics included

---

<sup>334</sup> It is beyond the scope of this chapter to include a thorough overview of the history of East Asian textile production and ornamentation as it forms its own field within the History of Art, let alone its broader historical importance of fabrics to economics, trade, etc., or its centrality in the emerging discipline of Fashion History. A brief selection of publications pertinent to the fabrics discussed in this chapter is as follows: *Shūri kansei kinen tokubetsuden: Ito no Mihotoke*: (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2018); Eric Boudot, *The Roots of Asian Weaving* (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2015); Mary M. Dusenbury, ed. *Color in Ancient and Medieval East Asia*, (Lawrence, KS: The Spencer Museum of Art, 2015); Helen Loveday, *The Baur Collection, Geneva: Japanese Buddhist Textiles* (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2014); Saitō Teichirō ed., *Fabric Tracing Passageways: Textiles from the Saito Collection* (Kyoto: Shikōsha, 2014); Aki Yamakawa, *Transmitting Robes, Linking Mind: The World of Buddhist Kasaya*, (Kyoto: Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2010); James C. Y. Watt, ed. *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010); Tasumura Kōhō,

in these works are particularly fanciful, and while on the rare occasion an artist may presage a style or textile pattern, the fact that all surviving Chigo Daishi paintings can be matched with swatches of fabric that compositionally reflect similar designs points to the deliberate inclusion of specific textiles that were available in Japan at the time of each paintings' creation. Fabrics travel faster than the knowledge of the processes and technologies that allows them to be produced. Weaving is an elaborate technology requiring not only skilled expertise in designing patterns, but also in creating looms that allow for different types of fabrics to be created, in addition to the prerequisite knowledge of spinning and dyeing threads. In particular, brocades create challenges due to the high degree of ornamentation that is woven directly into the fabric itself, and not added as a later surface ornament like embroidery or stamping. Thus, the specialized looms and weaving techniques were not as portable as the finished fabrics themselves, leading to an international demand for textiles produced in certain regions using certain technological practices. Additionally, regional styles found in the compositions of fabric patterns that are stamped, stenciled or embroidered reflects the prevailing aesthetic of those who produced the original fabrics, and not necessarily those who received the fabrics through the often-elaborate routes of trade or transmission. Stylistically, it is possible to surmise what fabrics were produced outside and inside of Japan, as well as a rough estimate as to when they were manufactured based on technologies in use, prevailing aesthetics and available materials.

---

*Nishiki: hikari o oru* (Tokyo: Shohan, 2009); Young Yang Chung, *Silken Threads: A History of Embroidery in China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 2005); James C. Y. Wyatt, Anne E Wardwell, Morris Rossabi, *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997); Toshiko Itō and Monica Bethe, *Tsujigahana: The Flower of Japanese Textile Art* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985); Kaneo Matsumoto, *Jōdai gire: 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Century Textiles in Japan from the Shōsō-in and Hōryū-ji* (Kyoto: Shiksha, 1984).

Certain weaving practices traveled to Japan in prehistoric times, with imprints of fabrics found on a variety of Jōmon period earthenware works. The earliest extant textiles in Japan are preserved at the Shōsō-in Repository, which includes an excellent number of Nara period works that draw heavily from the aesthetics of the Tang Dynasty. From early on, the majority of textiles in Japan were produced with either silk or ramie, with cotton only becoming widely available during the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>335</sup> In Japan, twill damasks (*kata-aya* 固綾) and brocades were woven, occasionally ornamented with dyeing techniques. Embroideries also existed, but were primarily only produced as Buddhist icons, and were generally not worn in the medieval period.<sup>336</sup> Painting patterns onto fabrics was also a possibility and was used in women's formal garments from the Heian period and on.<sup>337</sup> Silver and gold foils were pressed onto fabrics since the Nara period, a technique known as *surihaku* 摺箔 became widely used in the creation of Muromachi period textiles, particularly used in Nō theater robes. *Katazome* 型染め resist paste and stencil printing along with *tsujigahana* 辻が花 tied resist dyeing were used at least by the fourteenth century to produce colorful patterns that would have been more costly and technologically complex to produce as brocades.

The limitations of what kinds of fabrics could be produced in Japan were supplemented with imports from Korea and China. In addition, *inkin* 印金 and *kinran* 金襴—fabrics stamped

---

<sup>335</sup> Kaneo Matsumoto, “Jōdai-gire,” 201-203.

<sup>336</sup> Chung, *Silken Threads*; Ito Shinji, ed., “Shubutsu,” *Nihon no bijutsu*, vol. 470 (Tokyo: Shibundo, 2005); *Ito no mihotoke*.

<sup>337</sup> “Kaibu mo, with Lozenges on White *kata-aya* twill,” e-Museum, Tokyo National Museum, accessed October 10, 2022, [https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=ja&webView=&content\\_base\\_id=101134&content\\_part\\_id=003&content\\_pict\\_id=002](https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=ja&webView=&content_base_id=101134&content_part_id=003&content_pict_id=002).

with gold and those woven with golden threads respectively—were imported from the Asian continent. The development and international transmission of *kinran* began under the Mongols in continental Asia. *Kinran* textiles, or *nasij* as they were known in the Mongolian court, were the result of Mongolian expansion throughout Central and East Asia and their reorganization of brocade production sites into three new areas that consolidated weavers from Central Asia and North China in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. These new sites were known for their production of golden textiles,<sup>338</sup> luxury goods that were popular with the Mongolian elite as gold not only held cosmological significance, but also came to symbolize Mongolian rule. Frequently, the *kinran* textiles were brought to Japan by Buddhist monks (often, Zen monks studying Chan Buddhism in China, and returning with surplices that had been bequeathed to them by their masters) creating an association between these garments and the Buddhist clergy. These golden textiles also became highly desired by tea ceremony collectors, and many fragmentary examples of *kinran* are preserved in collections under the term *meibutsugire*, or “celebrated textile fragments” either remade into pouches for other tea utensils or as fabric swatches in albums.<sup>339</sup> Political circumstances had a direct effect on what kinds of fabrics could be found in Japan during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, as political tensions disrupted previously established trade, and warfare displaced weavers from textile producing areas of the capital. Due to these conflicts, textile historians have been able to date where and when particular fabrics were made due to the kinds of looms used, the ornamentation techniques, and comparisons with fabric scraps using the same weaving patterns found throughout East Asia.

---

<sup>338</sup> Joyce Denney, “Textiles in the Mongol and Yuan Periods” in *The World of Kublai Khan*, 247-8.

<sup>339</sup> Kirihata Ken, *Meibutsugire* (Kyoto: Kyōtō Shoin, 1994).

Therefore, it is possible to assign rough dates to Chigo Daishi images by comparing the colors and compositions of the fabrics shown in each painting with extant textiles. While all Chigo Daishi mainly reproduce the same iconography in terms of the youth's posture, mandorla and eight petaled lotus, significant changes are made to the colors and patterns of the youth's garments, suggesting that these individual details were not as important as the overall need to clothe the young Kūkai in the most up-to-date fabrics available.<sup>340</sup> This up-to-dateness seems to form a crucial part of Chigo Daishi iconography that is as important as the eight-petaled lotus, *mudra* and posture, indicating that the young patriarch should not be seen in anachronistic textiles, expressing a desire to visualize him as equal to a contemporary high ranking monk, reinforcing the idea that, despite depicting Kūkai at the moment of his first miracle, his later works as an adult monk, and identification with Henjō Kongō are made visible in these icons.

#### 14.5 Establishing a New Chigo Daishi Chronology

The two earliest Chigo Daishi images, the Daigo-ji and Kōsetsu versions, both wear fabrics that would have likely been available in Kamakura-period Japan. The Kōsetsu youth wears a *kosode* robe made from a pink or light red fabric with a blueish-gray densely scrolling chrysanthemum pattern uniformly covering the fabric. Chinese brocades were produced with similar compositions during the Song Dynasty, such as a textile fragment depicting young children amidst floral scrolls now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4.21). Similar examples

---

<sup>340</sup> The main exception to this concerns hairstyle. Chigo Daishi icons have previously been organized based on two variants to the *kamuro* 禿 hairstyle, one cropped at the shoulders with a center part, and a second that is the same other than the inclusion of bangs or a fringe. In nine of the extant icons discussed in this chapter the youth wears the first variant of this style, while the remaining icons depict the second. This categorization reflects the belief that the earliest Chigo Daishi icons at Daigo-ji and the Kōsetsu Museum were copied to produce subsequent paintings, thus establishing two separate lineages.

of Chinese brocades made their way to Japan, one example being included in a *kesa* believed to have belonged to Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249) that was brought back by one of his disciples (fig. 4.22 a-b).<sup>341</sup> In fact, a *kesa* that is believed to have been given to Kūkai from Huiguo includes a purple fabric with small peony arabesques (4.23 a-b) that has a similarly dense composition.<sup>342</sup>

In contrast, The Daigō-ji example depicts a fabric depicting abbreviated *tachibana* trees all bearing three oversized oranges, each of which is surrounded by three leaves. This schematic depiction of the trees and their fruit, as well as their arrangement as an offset motif regularly spaced on the surface of the fabric reflects the compositions of woven Chinese textiles produced under Mongol rule in China.<sup>343</sup> These textiles depicted auspicious imagery in a legible but schematic fashion, often in teardrop-shaped roundels. Given the abundance of textiles imported into Japan from Yuan dynasty China, it is probable that the fabric depicted in the Daigo-ji painting traveled to Japan as part of international trade during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Remarkable fragments of this kind of fabric are preserved in a variety of museums, although the Cleveland Museum's *Brocade with Lotus Flowers*, (fig. 4.24), and the Metropolitan Museum's *Textile with Rabbits* (fig 4.25) show the interest in abstracting the individual elements of each subject matter. In addition, the Saito collection has two excellent examples from both the Jin and Yuan dynasties (fig. 4.26 and 4.27).<sup>344</sup>

---

<sup>341</sup> Yamakawa, *World of Kesaya*, 118.

<sup>342</sup> Yamakawa, *World of Kesaya*, 50-51.

<sup>343</sup> Watt, *World of Kublai Khan*, 249.

<sup>344</sup> Saitō, *Fabric Tracing Passageways*, 38-41.

The Chigo Daishi images at Kōrin-ji, Shōchi-in and the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art are the closest in style, two of which are likely copies of the earliest of the three. Registered as an Important Cultural Property of Japan, the Kōrin-ji Chigo Daishi is generally considered to date from the late Kamakura period. All three show the young Kūkai dressed in a bright crimson *kosode* robe with tightly scrolling gold patterns, and white *hakama* trousers, and the Kōsetsu example's variant on the *kamuro* hairstyle. The Kōrin-ji and Shōchi-in Chigo Daishi's red *kosode* has a generic, scrolling *karakusa* 唐草 floral pattern, while the Nelson Atkins' has a recognizable chrysanthemum pattern, reflecting the ornamentation of the Kōsetsu Chigo Daishi's garments. The textiles depicted are almost certainly *kinran* fabrics produced in continental East Asia. *Kinran* textiles were certainly known in Japan during the Kamakura period through imports from continental East Asia, as these golden fabrics traveled to Japan as *kesa* brought from China as part of the Zen/Chan Buddhist tradition of transmitting religious garments as marking the transfer of *dharma*. Therefore, a connection between *kinran* fabrics and religious authority and personal divinity may have been established, as these fabrics were generally seen in clerical garments. The *Rokuon nichiroku* 鹿苑日録, a diary of the priests from Rokuon-ji recording events between 1487 through 1651, notes that the particular techniques used in *kinran* production were not introduced until 1592, suggesting that these three Chigo Daishi paintings are shown wearing imported fabrics.<sup>345</sup>

Similar fragments of *kinran* with red warp and gold weft threads appeared in Japan roughly around the fourteenth century, with one example being a *kesa* with red and gold pattern was given to the Zen monk Kūkoku Myōō 空谷明應 (1328-1407), and worn during the consecration of

---

<sup>345</sup> Zennosuke Tsuji, *Rokuon nichiroku* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1934-1937).



Shōkoku-ji in the late fourteenth century.<sup>346</sup> Now known as *Tomita kinran*, this particular pattern of red *kinran* fabric used in Kūkoku Myōō’s *kesa* depicts golden clouds against a red background (fig. 4.28 a-b).<sup>347</sup> It seems that this pattern was almost exclusively used in Buddhist robes, painting mounts and coverings and pouches for tea ceremony utensils, and would not likely have been used in the construction of garments for actual youths affiliated with temples. Other examples of a floral patterns created with metallic threads are found in the *kesa* associated with Musō Soseki, believed to have been produced during the fourteenth century, and which was additionally reproduced in period portraits of the monk (fig. 4.29 a-b; 4.30).<sup>348</sup> Other than *kesa*, two extant examples suggest that garments made with *kinran* were donated to religious sites, or used as part of rituals. Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1436-1490) donated a green silk *uwagi* jacket to Atsuta Jingū in Nagoya in 1458, and has a double weave with both gold and silver threads creating a warp-facing pattern of phoenixes, paulownia and bamboo on a green silk ground with a figured hollyhock pattern (fig. 4.31).<sup>349</sup> A second example of a fringed *ryōto* 襦褌 made from a dark blue satin gold brocade produced in the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) and now housed at the Tokyo National Museum was part of a set of ceremonial costumes used at Amano-sha on Mount Kōya, and is inscribed with the date of 1378 (fig. 4.32). Given the religious or ritual use for garments made from such luxurious

---

<sup>346</sup> Kirihata Ken, “Kūkoku Myōō shoyō *kesa*,” in *Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Gakusō* vol 4 (1981), 103-14; Yamakawa Aki, *World of Kasaya*,” 264.

<sup>347</sup> Dora C. Y. Ching, and Louise Allison Cort, eds, *Around Chigusa: tea and the arts of sixteenth-century Japan*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 162-163. Yamakawa, *World of Kasaya*, 182-183.

<sup>348</sup> Yamakawa, *World of Kasaya* 162-164.

<sup>349</sup> “Koshinpō rui: *Uwagi*,” Aichi Cultural Properties Navi, accessed October 13, 2022, <https://www.pref.aichi.jp/kyoiku/bunka/bunkazainavi/yukei/kougei/kunisitei/0467.html>.

fabrics, it is unlikely that these would have been used in more mundane clothing, especially not daily wear for small children.

During the Muromachi period, imported *kinran* and *inkin* fabrics were still depicted in Chigo Daishi images. The Hikone Castle Museum and Shōjōshin-in 清浄心院 Chigo Daishi images are strikingly similar in style and depiction of the youth, suggesting that one was copied from the other not long after the first was produced. Both are shown with the Daigo-ji variant of the *kamuro* hairstyle, and the figures wear *kosode* made of elaborate fabrics ornamented with a metallic warp-facing pattern, and bright white *hakama*. The similarities extend even to the ornamented *shikishi* papers affixed to the tops of each images. While only the Hikone Castle Museum's example bears an inscription, the papers on both icons are ornamented with pampas grass, scattered flower petals and trees—pine in the case of the Hikone painting, and willow on the Shōjōshin-in example. Like the other Chigo Daishi images dressed in golden brocades, both images depict *kinran* with a floral pattern, although while the previous examples depicted densely scrolling arabesque forms between the groups of flowers, the Hikone example isolates each element on the fabric ground. Compositionally similar to the green *uwagi* jacket at Atsuda Jingū, each of the visual elements are spaced out repeatedly across the surface of the fabric. Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1449-1473) donated this garment to the shrine in 1458, so it seems plausible that the Hikone and Shōjōshin-in Chigo Daishi images date to approximately the mid-fifteenth century.

The Smithsonian Chigo Daishi icon wears gray-blue *hakama* similar to those seen in the Kōsetsu example, along with the Kōsetsu-style *kamuro* hair. Unlike previous Chigo Daishi images dressed in fabrics woven with gold (*kinran*), it is possible that the Smithsonian example may be dressed in a textile ornamented with golden designs that were printed or stenciled onto the surface

of the fabric, known as *inkin*. Early examples of this type of printed fabric arrived in Japan at least as early as the fourteenth century, as Shun'oku Myōha's 春屋妙葩 (1311-1388) *kesa* at the Tokyo National Museum features red silk stamped with a scrolling floral pattern (fig. 4.33). A style also found in the monk's portrait housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4.34). The combination of solid gold *tachibana* oranges and leaves interspersed with the wispy scrolling clouds recalls the relative freedom of composition that can be created through stamping, rather than the regular and repeating forms of a woven brocade, as the pattern is free from the constraints of the intersecting and overlaying threads. While similar patterns are certainly possible to achieve on a loom, such as in the aforementioned fourteenth century *Fringed Tunic with Double Vined Peony Arabesque Pattern*, the relative complexity of the arabesque patterns on the Freer Chigo Daishi's garments appear more reminiscent of the patterns produced in *inkin* printed fabrics. One Ming dynasty (1368-1644) *inkin* example in the Saito Collection bears a striking resemblance to these garments in both scale, composition and color (fig. 4.35), suggesting the possibility that the Freer image was produced in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.<sup>350</sup>

The Chigo Daishi image formerly owned by Chōkai Seiji was likely produced during the latter half of the Muromachi period, as the fabric shown in the icon reflects the colors and compositions of *tsujigahana* dyeing. The warfare of the Muromachi period interrupted the imports of Chinese textiles, allowing new ornamentation technologies to be developed in Japan. *Tsujigahana* dyeing—or stitched tie-dyeing that allowed for the creation of patterns not restricted to the repeating geometries of loomed fabrics—seems to have emerged at some point during the Ōei era (1394-1428) among the merchants in and around the capital. The Ōnin War (1467-1477)

---

<sup>350</sup> Gion, *Fabric Tracing Passageways*, 52-53.

largely destroyed Kyoto's silk weaving industry, spurring the development of fabric ornamentation practices that were not created on looms, but rather, through dyeing and embroidery and metallic appliques (*surihaku* 摺箔).<sup>351</sup> By the mid-fifteenth century, these were adopted by the military elites in the Capital. Along with new dyeing techniques, *surihaku* patterns made with metallic appliques began to develop. While *surihaku* flourished in the Azuchi-Momoyama and Edo periods, the late Muromachi period tale *Hachikazuki* 鉢かづき (1392-1573) describes a *kosode* patterned with a *surihaku* technique suggesting that the practice originated during the Muromachi period.<sup>352</sup>

Unfortunately, early examples of *tsujigahana* and *surihaku* are rare, but fragments are preserved in the Saito Collection as well as in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century two panel folding screen which allow for some comparison (fig. 4.36; fig. 4.37).<sup>353</sup> Chōkai Seiji's *Chigo Daishi* wears a *kosode* of deep purple ornamented with large sprigs of plum blossoms, the now-black flowers seemingly painted with an oxidized silver paint with leaves and tendrils painted in gold. The colors and compositional arrangement reflect the styles favored in *tsujigahana* and *surihaku* fabric ornamentation. The violet color of the *kosode* interspersed with floral motifs bears a striking resemblance to the sixteenth century fragment of a *kosode* is preserved in the Saito Collection as well as a large fragment of a *tsujigahana*-dyed garment included on a two-panel folding screen from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (fig. 4.37). Given the metallic details found in the painting, it seems likely that the fabric was produced with a combination of dyeing techniques and metallic applications. A second sixteenth-century example in the Saito Collection uses both

---

<sup>351</sup> Chung, *Silken Threads*, 408-409.

<sup>352</sup> Steven Chigusa, "Hachizuki: A Muromachi Short Story, *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 32 no. 3 (1977), 327.

<sup>353</sup> Gion, *Fabric Tracing Passageways*, 70-71.

gold imprints, *shibori* dyeing and drawing onto the surface of the fabric itself (fig. 4.38).<sup>354</sup> While compositionally quite different, this fragment suggests that combinations of textile ornamentation processes were used in the same fabric in at least the sixteenth century, suggesting a date for this image from the latter half of the Muromachi period.

Two additional Chigo Daishi images bear striking resemblance to the Smithsonian example, in the treatment of the garments as well as the face. Owned by the Shizuoka City Serizawa Keisuke Art Museum and another unknown private collector, both images have received little scholarly attention. Only one article has been published on the Serizawa painting where it was dated to the fifteenth century, while the existence of the other Chigo Daishi image was only briefly publicized when the art dealer Kobijyutsu Kyobashi displayed a Chigo Daishi image then in their possession as part of a tea ceremony performance held by the Tokyo-based tea ceremony group Edo Senke on April 5, 2015 at the Shingon temple of Gokoku-ji. Little information about this image was made public other than an image of the painting and a caption labeling it as fourteenth century.<sup>355</sup> Both of these figures wear *kosode* with an orange-pink ground covered in a large floral pattern with plain blue *hakama* similar to the Freer example.

However, the fabric shown in the Serizawa Chigo Daishi is a combination of a large polychrome floral pattern augmented with golden clouds, suggesting that it was produced during the Edo period after the technology for weaving with golden threads was adopted in Japan. A surviving example of a weaving technique that could have been used to create a similar fabric is

---

<sup>354</sup> Ibid., 78-79.

<sup>355</sup> Edo Senke, “Dai 66 kai: Tōkyō Fuhakukai Haru no Sakai,” (April 5, 2015). Accessed November 9, 2018,

<http://www.edosenke.jp/gyouji/2015/haruchakai15/index.html>.

found in the Bauer Collection, dating from the mid-Edo period (fig. 4.39).<sup>356</sup> While compositionally dissimilar to the Serizawa Chigo Daishi's garments, the use of golden threads in conjunction with discontinuous weft threads in a variety of colors could have produced a floral pattern with petals of one color, and stamens of a second, all surrounded by golden cloud patterns. The fabric in the Chigo Daishi image now housed in a private collection has a similar composition, although with a tighter overall pattern, and was likely produced around the same time as the Serizawa example.

The Miho Museum's Chigo Daishi image is somewhat of an outlier in terms of the fabric in that unlike the elaborate floral motifs seen in earlier works, Kūkai is dressed in a matching set of peach-colored *kosode* robe and *hakama* trousers ornamented with a regularly patterned peony print in which four blossoms are arranged in roundels. Golden clouds stretch between these white roundels suggesting Edo period textiles that combined polychrome woven designs augmented with patterns and highlights woven with gold-covered thread.<sup>357</sup> The Tokyo National Museum houses a similar *kosode* and *hakama* set dating from the Edo period with a similar ground color and repeating white floral roundels (fig. 4.40 and fig. 4.41). While the *hakama* does not have the same floral pattern, the matching dye of the silk is reminiscent of the Miho Museum Chigo Daishi's matched garments that depart from most other Chigo Daishi icons.

While the Chigo Daishi icon owned by the Art Institute of Chicago is generally dated from the fifteenth century, the fabric reflects the colors and compositions that could be produced during the Edo period. Unlike many of the previous Chigo Daishi images examined in this chapter, the

---

<sup>356</sup> Loveday, *The Bauer Collection*, 128

<sup>357</sup> Many surviving fragments of these textiles exist, albeit, with denser designs. The Bauer Collection includes particularly diverse holdings of this type of textile design. See Helen Loveday, *The Bauer Collection*.

colors of the Chicago painting are remarkably well preserved and the work shows little sign of deterioration. The body of the youth itself is frail, in contrast to the more plump and robust depictions of youths of the medieval period. Similar depictions of large-headed, willowy figures dominate the eighteenth century, with examples populating images produced both by painters hired by the elite such as Kanō Chikanobu as well as by mass-circulated popular images designed by Suzuki Harunobu and others.

The creator of the Chicago work evinces an interest in decorative details (particularly in the figure's face) that is not evident in earlier examples. The individuated strands of hair depicted demonstrate an attention to detail that is largely absent in earlier examples. In addition, the large face, long and narrow eyes echoed by the slightly curving eyebrows all are more in line with Edo period Buddhist painting than medieval styles. Furthermore, the cosmetics worn by the youth in the Chicago painting suggest an updating of previous versions. While the deep crimson lips and bone white skin remain the same, the inclusion of a pink blush on his cheeks is not found in earlier examples.

In the Chicago Chigo Daishi painting, the young Kūkai does not wear an under robe but is dressed simply in a peach-colored robe with golden *tachibana* oranges, surrounded by white, green and violet leaves. The color scheme of the fabric is reminiscent of surviving Edo period *kesa* and *kosode*. While the distribution of the sprigs, fruit and leaves call to mind the Daigō-ji example, the composition of the three oranges surrounded by six leaves reflect a similar composition to how *tachibana* oranges are depicted in a late eighteenth century *kosode* currently housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig 4.42). The colors used in the brocade are additionally reminiscent of color combinations seen in mid-Edo period fabrics, such as in an additional fragment from the

Bauer Collection (fig. 4.43).<sup>358</sup> The *kosode* and Chigo Daishi image both depict the fruit in gold while the supporting vegetation varies in color, adding visual interest to the fabric.

The most recently produced Chigo Daishi icon is owned by the Newark Museum and is believed to have been created in the 1930s. The image is strikingly modern in appearance, with bright pigments used throughout with little signs of wear. Kūkai wears a bold red *kosode* patterned with white cherry blossoms surrounded by golden branches and leaves. The overall composition is reminiscent of not only the changes in twentieth century kimono design, but also the great variety of ornamentation techniques developed during the Edo and Meiji periods that were available for textile design. The blossoms are likely produced with *yūzen* dyeing technique, while the golden leaves may have been woven into the fabric or stamped on as a foil.

All in all, the interest in depicting fabrics that were physically available from the Kamakura through Edo periods helps to provide a nuanced sense of the temporal distribution of the production of Chigo Daishi images. While little documentation survives concerning the creation of each of these Chigo Daishi icons, textiles are somewhat easier to date, given the technological and artisanal innovations that occurred at specific moments throughout Japanese history. The earliest works seem to have been produced with the painters looking directly at imported fabrics from China that primarily traveled to Japan as high-ranking monks' *kesa*. Later examples produced after the disruption of textile trade and production during the Ōnin War drew from ornamentation techniques that developed in Japan, such as *tsujigahana* and later polychrome brocading techniques using supplementary golden threads that developed in the early Edo period.

Certainly, this symbolic legibility of dressing Kūkai as a youth in these elaborate garments would have been understood differently over time, especially considering the wide range of years

---

<sup>358</sup> Loveday, *The Baur Collection*, 304



in which these paintings were created. Those involved in the creation of the Newark Chigo Daishi painting would have had dramatically different needs for the painting than those of the Kamakura period. Regardless, it seems that the emphasis on up-to-date elaborate fabrics had become a standardized part of Chigo Daishi iconography that was maintained across several centuries, forming a crucial part of the iconography for these works.

#### **4.6 Death, Pollution and Textiles**

While I have argued that the fabrics shown in Chigo Daishi icons reflect actual textiles that circulated in Japan during the times when each icon was produced, I would now like to turn to a brief overview of the significance of these inclusions. It is beyond the limited scope of this chapter to provide a detailed analysis of how this may have changed over hundreds of years of Chigo Daishi image production, medieval understandings of textiles and their associations were complex, and tied to notions of social rank, sexual desire, and worldly attachments. Therefore, dressing Kūkai in elaborate garments would not have been an arbitrary decision on the part of the painters or designers of the iconography, or a blithe honorific, but likely pointed to the broader tradition of presenting Kūkai's remains with new garments, as well as the ritual dressing of nude sculptures made as memorials for deceased Buddhist masters.

In the aristocratic court, garments were often directly associated with sexuality, and thus attachments to the samsaric world. As with garments writ large, individual's garments conveyed information about the wearer's class and gender, but often could stand in for more fundamental aspects of the wearer's identity. High ranking aristocratic women would often be concealed behind screens or blinds, with only their trailing garments visible.<sup>359</sup> Garments themselves were part of

---

<sup>359</sup> Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves*, 37-45.

the visual rhetoric of sexual desire for women—a form of erotic desire largely condemned in Buddhism as the production of offspring would create additional karmic ties to one’s current lifetime, thus creating more obstacles to reach enlightenment.

The rejection of these markers of sexuality and secular life is best illustrated by women who took lay vows, a practice that began in the mid-Heian period and continued through thirteenth century. Previously, taking vows had been a formalized process, but the Heian period saw a dramatic rise in informally taking precepts as the act itself was considered beneficial enough to outweigh other outstanding bad karma. Combined with the rise in Pure Land Buddhism, and the subsequent increased interest in preparing for one’s own salvation, taking lay vows became a more prevalent option for aristocratic women.<sup>360</sup> While these vows were not necessarily recognized by any official Buddhist institution, women who adopted lay vows could live at a remove from the ritual and social obligations of the aristocratic court to varying degrees, opting for a life of religious devotions on one end at one extreme, and a temporary reprieve from duties on the other.<sup>361</sup> This process of taking lay vows marked individuals as being at a remove from secular life, and included either cutting or shaving their hair and the adoption of drably colored Buddhist robes.<sup>362</sup> While these new tonsorial and sartorial changes varied depending on the individual and their levels of commitment to their vows—women who cropped their hair to mid-back length were known as

---

<sup>360</sup> Lori Meeks, “Buddhist Renunciation and the Female Life Cycle: Understanding Nunhood in Heian and Kamakura Japan,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 70 no. 1 (June 2010), 3-4; 7-9.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10; 22.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

*amasogi* 尼削ぎ, as opposed to *bikuni* 比丘尼, or fully ordained nuns—the visual markers of rank and sexuality were specifically targeted as markers of this new religious status.<sup>363</sup>

This practice reflects the broader need to ensure that the appearances of the clergy did not carry connotations of attachments to the samsaric world prompted additional regulations for monastic dress. The *Twelve Austerities of Monastic Life* (*Jūni zuda-kyō* 十二頭陀經) a list of regulations for monks' behavior known in Japan at least by the 12<sup>th</sup> century, notes that the robes of monks should be made of rags or hand-me-down clothing. A variant of this sutra was discovered in Japan at Nanatsu-dera in Nagoya; the manuscript is believed to have been copied around 1175 after Nanatsu-dera had become a branch temple of the monastic complexes on Mount Kōya.<sup>364</sup> An additional description of the kinds of robes deemed appropriate in monastic settings is found in the *Shibun ritsu* 四分律, which was transmitted to Japan during the Nara period. The text includes a second list introduced to Japan around the same time, called the *Ten Varieties of Clothing* (*Jūshue* 十種衣), details the types of clothes that monks were allowed to wear, such as garments that have been chewed by cows or mice, burnt, stained from menstruation, covered in blood from childbirth, those that had been blown away by the wind, or found on burial mounds after being used as death shrouds or used to carry the deceased, or made from fabric left over from an enthronement ceremony. Monks' robe made of rags (known as *funzōe* 糞掃衣) survive from the eighth century and suggest that these stipulations on dress were put into practice from an early stage in Japanese

---

<sup>363</sup> Ibid., 20-21.

<sup>364</sup> Toshinori Ochiai, *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera : A Recently Discovered Treasure-House in Downtown Nagoya* (Kyoto: Istituto italiano di cultura, Scuola di studi sull'Asia orientale, 1991), 5; 51.

Buddhist history. By ensuring that monk's robes made from fabric that was seen as polluted, their garments would not have been seen as part of the samsaric world that characterized secular life.

However, it should be noted that types of fabric are never expressly prohibited. These monastic regulations emphasize how the textiles used should be somehow polluted, therefore allowing *kesa* to be made from the lavish textiles examined above. There is an emphasis on female garments implicit in the list of ten kinds of clothing that monks were allowed to wear. Menstruation and childbirth are highlighted, suggesting that the monks may have reused the fabric from aristocratic women's robes after they had been donated to a temple.

A final means of removing any kind of desire linked to garments comes in meditations on decaying corpses. Before his death in 835, Kūkai wrote in the *Shōryōshū* 性靈集 about the practice of contemplating a body's slow decay in a charnel field as a means of removing sexual desire.<sup>365</sup> This practice first appeared in the fifth century texts *Sutra on the Samādhi Contemplation of the Oceanlike Buddha* (J: *Kanbutsu zanmai kaikyō*; C: *Guanfo sanmei hai jing*) as well as in the *Discourse on the Great Wisdom* (J: *Dai chidoron* 大智度論; C: *Mohe banruo boluomi jing*; Skt: *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra*), and was likely introduced to Japanese painting practices through the *Discourse on Mahayana Meditation and Contemplation* (J: *Maka shikan*; C: *Mohe zhiguan*).<sup>366</sup> Before the fourteenth century, Japanese monks had relatively easy access to decomposing bodies as the deceased were left to decay in charnel grounds and were only interred beginning in the

---

<sup>365</sup> Komatsu Shigemi, *Nihon emaki Taisei* vol. 7, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977-1979), 110.

<sup>366</sup> T. 223; Fusae Kanda, "Beyond Sensationalism: Images of a Decaying Corpse in Japanese Buddhist Art," *The Art Bulletin* vol. 87, no. 1 (March 2005), 24. Kanda lists these official nine stages as follows: distension (*chōsō*); rupture (*kaisō*); exudation of blood (*ketsuzusō*); putrefaction (*nōransō*); discoloration and desiccation (*seiosō*); consumption by animals and birds (*tansō*); dismemberment (*sansō*); bones (*kossō*); and dust (*shōsō*).

fourteenth century.<sup>367</sup> Thirteenth-century texts such as Keisen's 慶政 (d. 1296) *Kankyo no tomo* 閑居友 from 1216 and Kamo no Chōmei's 鴨長明 (1153 or 1155–1216) *Hosshinshū* 発心集 recount tales of monks removing all desire for sensual delights through by visiting exposed decaying bodies, suggesting that this practice was at least popularized through tales of monks' dedication to their religious pursuits, if it was not common in actual practice.<sup>368</sup>

Perhaps in response to this change in body disposal, illustrated versions of a body's decomposition began to be produced during the medieval period, with the earliest handscroll dating from the fourteenth century. Known simply as *Illustrations of the Nine Stages [of Decay]* (*Kusōzu* 九相図, Nakamura Family Collection) the painting depicts a body in the process of putrefaction beginning with a pre-death portrait of an aristocratic woman clad in the sartorial, tonsorial and cosmetological markers of wealth and beauty, and gradually shows her bodily transformation into bones and dust (fig. 4.44 a-i).

Crucially for our purposes, the decaying body is paired with the corpse's undergarment, allowing for the erotic associations of garments to be intertwined with death and decay. The scroll presents the nine stages of the woman's body decaying in a relatively formulaic manner, with each section of the painting dedicated to a different moment in the body's decomposition. The scroll begins with an illustration of the living woman dressed as a court beauty and writing poetry, but the next portion shows her body laid out, completely covered with a white robe with a fern pattern. While still a relatively fresh corpse, the signs of personal disarray are already present. A single breast is exposed on her body and her hair—the subject of erotic fascination in poetry and romance

---

<sup>367</sup> Kanda, 25.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

tales—lies tangled and thinning behind her. Her eyes appear sunken into her skull, and her mouth is drawn back as the soft tissues of the lips begin to dry.

As the body's putrefaction advances, the more of it is revealed to the viewer, suggesting a direct correlation between exposing the body of a corpse and a desire to remove all sexual thoughts from the mind of the viewer. Her body bloats and discolors and the robe travels to obscure only her genitalia. Lesions appear, her eyelids now gone, the body stares blankly back, her left leg muscles contract in death giving the body the appearance of convulsing undead corpse, almost emphasizing the horrors of death present in a still-moving body. Slowly she decays and the robe remains entangled in the body's limbs, and only uncovers her pubic region when the process of decay reveals her abdominal cavity, and her intestines spill out. The subsequent depiction of the body is almost skeletonized, her eyes and lips missing, her abdomen collapsed, and her fingers and toes revealing the bones beneath the desiccated flesh. Post-mortem predation begins, and a group of dogs and crows tear away at the remaining flesh and bones, revealing a tibia, ribs and humeri with their paws and feathers tracking gore and long strands of tangled black hair away from the body, her robe completely vanished. Lastly, only her skeleton remains with a tangled mass of hair as the last reminder of her physical beauty.

#### **4.7 Garments, Memorials and Kukai's Eternal Meditation**

Therefore, with these broader concerns of sexual desire and samsaric attachment tied up with secular understandings of garments, along with the clear visual association these fabrics had with the *kesa* of high-ranking monks, the inclusion of these elaborate textiles in Chigo Daishi icons was likely a deliberate decision that generated specific associations in the minds of contemporaneous viewers. Additionally, Kūkai's young age would have made wearing such garments impractical and inappropriate, suggesting that like the framing of the youth's body as a

kind of equivalent for Henjō Kongō, the garments themselves reflect other traditions surrounding Kūkai other than those surrounding his first miracle. Specifically, I would suggest that these directly reflect the practice of providing Kūkai with new garments, related to the belief that he avoided death by entering into eternal meditation to await for the coming of the Future Buddha.

Belief that Kūkai remained in a state of eternal meditation on Mount Kōya was widely disseminated at least by the fourteenth century, as it was included in the final parts of *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 as it was recorded in Akashi no Kakuichi's 明石 覚一 (1299-1371) 1371 recording of the narrative.<sup>369</sup> Transmitted throughout Japan by itinerant lute players or *biwa hoshi*, *Heike monogatari* is primarily an example of a war tale or *gunki monogatari*, recounting the Genpei War (1180-1185) fought between the Minamoto and Taira families, all framed in Buddhist thought. By the time Kakuichi, himself a *biwa hoshi*, recorded his version of the text it had been popularized and performed throughout Japan. Chapter ten of *Heike monogatari* includes a section titled *The Book of Kōya* which recounts the discovery of Kūkai's miraculous meditation:

Now during the reign of the Engi Emperor, His Majesty presented the Great Teacher Kōbō with a dark brown robe in response to a request he received from the Great Teacher in a dream. The imperial messenger, Middle Counselor Sudetaka, took Archbishop Kangen of the Hannyaji with him to Mount Kōya. When the two opened the tomb door to put the robe on the body, a dense mist hid the Great Teacher...Then the mist gradually cleared, a light as of the rising moon shone, and the Great Teacher became visible. Kangen robed him, shedding tears of joy. Because the Great Teacher's hair had grown very long, the Archbishop also received the honor of shaving him...The Great Teacher replied to the Emperor with these words. "In the past, I met the bodhisattva Fugen, and from him I received all the mudras and mantras in direct transmission...I seek to accomplish Fugen's compassionate vows in everlasting pity for mankind. Still retaining corporeal form, I have entered into the realm of contemplation to await Maitreya's coming..." The Great Teacher had died during the first period of the Hour of the Tiger on the Twenty-First of the Third Month in the second year of Jōwa. More than three hundred years have elapsed since then,

---

<sup>369</sup> Hellen Craig McCullough, *The Tale of Heike*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 8.

but he must wait another five billion six hundred and seventy million years before Maitreya comes to deliver the three sermons—a long time, indeed.<sup>370</sup>

抑延喜帝の御時、御夢想の御告有て、檜皮色の御衣を參らせられしに、勅使中納言資澄卿、般若寺僧正觀賢を相具して、此御山に參り、御廟の扉を開いて、御衣を著せ奉らんとしけるに、霧厚く隔たて、大師拜まれさせ給はず。[...] 漸霧晴て、月の出が如くして、大師拜まれ給けり。時に觀賢隨喜の涙を流いて、御衣を著せ奉る。御ぐしの長く生させ給ひたりしかば、剃奉るこそめでたけれ。[...] 大師御門の御返事に申させ給ひけるは、「我昔薩 たらに逢て、まの當り悉印明を傳ふ。無比の誓願を發して、邊地の異域に侍り。晝夜に萬民を哀んで、普賢の悲願に住す。肉身に三昧を證して、慈氏の下生を待つ。」とぞ申させ給ひける。御入定は承和二年三月二十一日寅の一點の事なれば、過にし方も三百餘歳、行末も猶五十六億七千萬歳の後、慈尊出世三會の曉を待せ給ふらんこそ久しけれ。<sup>371</sup>

The belief in Kūkai's continued animation being signaled by his changing clothes seems reaffirmed by the development of the annual offering of food and garments to the patriarch's remains, although it is unclear when this practice began.<sup>372</sup> In medieval Japan, memorializing a deceased monk or holy figure may include commissioning a nude sculptural image that could be dressed, allowing the mourners to continue to care for the departed. Termed *ragyō* 裸形, the production of nude sculptures of buddhas, bodhisattvas and high-ranking monks that were then dressed began in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It has been argued that clothing these sculptures was a deliberate attempt to demonstrate that sacred Buddhist images were living manifestations of who they depicted.<sup>373</sup> Their appearance additionally coincides with a revitalized

---

<sup>370</sup> McCullough, *Tale of Heike*, 344.

<sup>371</sup> Yamada Yoshio, *Heike monogatari*, (Tokyo: Hobunkan, 1933).

<sup>372</sup> Morse, "Dressed for Salvation—the Hadaka Statues of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," 39.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.



interest in Buddhism in the twelfth century, particularly surrounding figures that were believed to alleviate suffering.

Hank Glassman and Samuel Morse highlight the memorial aspect of these sculptures. Glassman notes that the nude image of Jizō housed at Denkō-ji in Nara provides a wealth of information about the intentions that prompted the production of nude images (fig. 4.45). In November of 1950, during conservation work being performed on the image, various objects and artifacts were recovered from the interior of the image. Out of these, the most informative were three dedicatory *ganmon* 願文 texts that included a lengthy explanation of why the image was produced by the primary patron. Myōhō, an eighty-three-year-old woman wrote that she wished to create karmic merit for her deceased parents' salvation, citing a previous incarnation of Jizō known as Kōmoku. This incarnation of Jizō was thought to have created a Buddhist icon, devoting herself to it after learning that her mother was suffering in the afterlife.<sup>374</sup>

Additional nude Jizō images were produced as memorials. The Jizō image currently housed at Shinyakushi-ji in Nara also included a dedicatory text found inside the hollow cavity of the icon, where the monk Sonhen notes that he had the sculpture produced to memorialize his master Jisson 実尊 (1180-1236) who had died in 1236 (fig. 4.46). Sonhen notes that his desire to continue to serve his master after his death, directly conflating the body of the image with the body of his master. This broadly paralleled how portraits—both painted and sculpted— of Zen Buddhist patriarchs were understood as being conflated with the monks shown in the images themselves, suggesting that images of patriarchs may have been understood to stand in for the individuals

---

<sup>374</sup> Glassman, “The Nude Jizō at Denkō-ji,” 386-388.

themselves in other sects of Buddhism.<sup>375</sup> Glassman additionally asserts that Sonhen may have even dressed the image of Jizō in his master's own garments, which would further the association between the image and the deceased Jisson.<sup>376</sup>

Two nude images of Kūkai that were dressed survive, and are housed at Shōren-ji 清蓮寺 in Kamakura and Saikō-in 西光院 in Nara.<sup>377</sup> Little is known concerning the origin of these works, or how they were used.<sup>378</sup> The Shōren-ji Kūkai is shown seated in his usual cross-legged posture found in portraits of him as an adult, holding a *vajra* in his right hand by his chest and a Buddhist rosary in his left (fig. 4.47 a-b). Perhaps more than the previously discussed images of Jizō, the physicality of Kūkai's human body is palpable. Not only is the Kūkai image at Shōren-ji intended to be dressed, his image was outfitted with rock crystal eyes and fingernails in addition to joined knees, details which Morse and Glassman suggests are directly related to the belief of Kūkai's state of eternal meditation where his hair and nails continued to grow.<sup>379</sup>

Shinyakushi-ji's nude Jizō image has gained notoriety in recent years due to the sculpture's semi-realistic genitalia, earning the sculpture the epithet "Testicle Jizō" (*Otama Jizō*), even in official publications put out by the temple.<sup>380</sup> The inclusion of genitalia may directly relate to the image's function as a memorial for Jisson. Other nude sculptural images of Buddhist divinities that were dressed generally replace the figure's penis with a lotus or a spiral shape, likely to

---

<sup>375</sup> Ibid., 394-395.

<sup>376</sup> Morse, 39.

<sup>377</sup> Morse, 39. *Kanto no Rakeizō*, 166.

<sup>378</sup> Morse, 39.

<sup>379</sup> Glassman, 393; 409.

<sup>380</sup> Horton, *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan*, 137.

conform with descriptions of the thirty-two marks of the Buddha including a retractable penis, termed *meonsō* 馬陰藏相.<sup>381</sup> Like the Shinyakushi-ji Jizō, the nude Kūkai image at Saikō-in includes genitalia, but more fully and naturalistically depicted (fig. 4.48). The inclusion of such detail that would be hidden beneath the robes when dressed suggests that like the fingernails, it emphasized the living human body of the patriarch, and not the abstracted bodies of Buddhist divinities, drawing an additional parallel between Kūkai's remains and his sculpted image.

While Kūkai's status as eternally meditating required provisions of food and clothing, he was not the only monk who needed to be looked after in death. Kūkai's last miraculous feat seems to have been instrumental in inspiring the development and spread of self-mummification among Buddhist monks. Kōchi Hōin 弘知法印 (d.1363) is the oldest surviving example, having died in the fourteenth century at the Shingon temple Saishō-ji 西生寺 in Niigata (fig. 4.49).<sup>382</sup> Achieving this bodily self-preservation was considered a sign that the individual had become a manifestation of the Buddha, and while Kōchi Hōin succeeded, it seems likely that there were numerous others that failed. While it is not clear how many monks attempted this very literal *sokushin jōbutsu* in the medieval period, emulating Kūkai's eternally meditating body would have reaffirmed the connections between Kūkai and conquering death, ensuring that his final moments were clearly linked to the divine identity of the patriarch and Shingon practice.

It should be noted that during the Edo period, viewers acknowledged that the garments worn by mummified monks were not the original ones, but rather, later productions. Suzuki Bokushi 鈴木牧之 (1770-1842), a textile merchant from Shiozawa in present day Niigata

---

<sup>381</sup> Glassman 396.

<sup>382</sup> Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 148-150.

Prefecture, included his description of Kōchi Hōin's remains in his *Hokuetsu seppu* 北越雪譜 published in 1837. He notes:

Kōchi's [mummy] is counted as one of the twenty-four wonders of Echigo. Though it has been mentioned in various works, none of them provides illustrations—which I have seen fit to do here. My drawing records what I saw myself, when I traveled to lower Echigo last year. All that is visible is the face. The hand and feet cannot be seen, and a temple regulation prohibits too close an approach. The mummy's eyes are closed, as if in sleep, with wrinkles at the corners. The head covering and robe the mummy now wears cannot be the original ones...<sup>383</sup>

此を越後廿四奇の一に數ぶ。此事雜書に散見すれども圖をのせたるものなし、ゆゑに圖をここにいだす。此圖は余先年下越後にあそびし時目撃したる所なり。見る所ただ面部のみ、手足は見えぬ。寺法なりとて近く観る事ゆるさず閉眼皺ありて眠りたる如し。頭巾法衣はむかしのままにはあらざるなるべし。是、他國には聞ざる越後の一奇跡なり。<sup>384</sup>

Maintenance of mummified remains clearly included ensuring that the bodies themselves were dressed in a presentable manner, and like the earlier nude memorial images, marked the physical remains of mummified monks as being continually present and numinous. Painting the young Kūkai dressed in fabrics that were currently in circulation suggests a similar continued presence. By updating the garments in each new Chigo Daishi icon, the young Kūkai is visually given new garments, much like the patriarch's remains.

Lastly, dressing bodies of mummified monks, memorial sculptures and Kūkai point to broader concerns of death, nakedness and the slow dissolution of a socially presentable body that comes with old age. Nakedness in Buddhist painting is closely associated with death. The late Heian period apocryphal sutra *Jizōbosatsu hosshin innen jūōgyō* 藏菩薩発心因縁十王經 and

---

<sup>383</sup> Faure, *Rhetoric of Immediacy*, 149-150.

<sup>384</sup> Suzuki Bokushi, *Hokuetsu seppū*, ed. Okada Takematsu, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1936), 291-293 (illustration 192).

eleventh century *Dainihonkoku Hokekyō Kenki* 大日本国法華経験記 record stories of Datsueba 奪衣婆, a hag who removes one's clothes and hangs them in a tree to weigh the sins of the deceased before assigning a proper punishment.<sup>385</sup> Therefore, scenes of hell in Buddhism are often populated with naked or partially clothed figures, suggesting that the various tortures the figures suffer in hell are compounded with the loss of personal identity and the various pleasures afforded in the realm of humans.

This newfound nakedness of the deceased in hell reiterates ideas of old age as marking a body as socially inappropriate due to its slow decay, with nakedness being the last disrobement of personal identity. Drott notes that the tangible qualities of old age experienced by the individual and, more importantly, perceptible by onlookers marked a body as undesirable and thus “old”. One's inability to maintain flawless skin or black hair or move without pain were seen as undesirable qualities, and generally led to the marginalization of the elderly. Conversely, one was not considered “old” if they maintained their identities through appearance and social standing.<sup>386</sup> Like youth, the liminality of age allowed for the identification of the body as closer to the divine, although approaching divinity through senescence ensured the gradual pollution of the body. Pollution through disease and bodily fluids could mark a body as impure throughout one's lifetime, but the illnesses and conditions exacerbated by age may permanently mark a body as impure.<sup>387</sup> Therefore, while both old age and youth experienced a conflation with the divine, old age bore the marks of decay and pollution even before death.

---

<sup>385</sup> Edwin R. Drott, *Buddhism and the Transformation of Old Age in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 45-46.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

In the case of Kūkai being represented by his first miracle in Chigo Daishi paintings, two important messages are conveyed about the patriarch: first, it highlights the notion that Kūkai's body did not succumb to the ravages of age or decay, thus avoiding pollution, and second, it portrays the patriarch as a youthful immortal much in the same vein as the Wakamiya of Kasuga, who was born but never ages. Fukuchi notes the visual similarities between Chigo Daishi images and souls being reborn on the lotus blossoms in the pond of Amida's Pure Land in *Taima mandara* images, and within a religious system that is concerned with escaping the continuous birth and rebirth, old age and youth shared a similar proximity to the divine.<sup>388</sup>

#### 4.8 Conclusion

Despite their popularity, relatively little is known about the origins or use of Chigo Daishi images. Their striking visual appearances and association with Kūkai led them to be sought after by private collectors and museums alike from the Meiji period and on, recasting them as portraiture rather than ritual objects with specific meanings linked to their iconographies. In this chapter, I have argued for a more detailed examination of how their iconography functions as a whole and suggest that while depicting Kūkai's first vision, the implicitly link the body of the young patriarch to his final miraculous work. This condensing of an entire religious hagiography in a single icon emphasizes Kūkai's teachings on attaining buddhahood in a single lifetime.

In addition, a consideration of the different types of fabrics shown in the surviving Chigo Daishi icons points to a much longer production of this type of icon than previously suggested. By linking each work with surviving fabric swatches, I suggest that these works were produced over the course of multiple centuries, and do not simply point to an explosion of *chigo*-related imagery

---

<sup>388</sup> Fukuchi, 84-85.

in the fourteenth century, as has been previously suggested. Rather, these works were likely part of Kūkai devotions that had little, if anything, to do with monk-*chigo* sexual practices, despite the belief that Kūkai had introduced male-male sexual practices to Japan as recorded in the 1598 *Kōbō Daishi ikkan no shō* discussed in Chapter Two. Similarly, Chigo Daishi icons seem to form an independent tradition unrelated to other iconographic types such as Chigo Monju, with which they have been associated on the basis on similarities found between Chigo Daishi imagery and that of the Chigo Monju image housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Taken as a whole with the other works examined in this dissertation, it is clear that Chigo Daishi icons have little to do with *chigo* imagery writ large, and have only been associated with other images of older sacred youths due to the renaming of these works as Chigo Daishi icons in the early twentieth century, and reflect their own distinct ritual uses and intentions.

## Chapter 5 Sex and the Living Image: Chigo Manifestations of Kannon in Medieval Handscrolls

This final chapter looks at three illustrated handscrolls, *Kokawa-dera engi e* 粉河寺縁起絵 (twelfth century), *Chigo Kannon engi* 稚児観音縁起 (fourteenth century) and *Aki no yo naga monogatari* 秋夜長物語 (*Long Tale for an Autumn Night* fourteenth or early fifteenth century), and how they functioned as works speaking directly to the salvific efficacy of hidden icons (*hibutsu* 秘仏) at Kokawa-dera, Hase-dera and/or Bodai-in, and Ishiyama-dera, respectively.<sup>389</sup> This is by no means a radical claim for *Kokawa-dera engi e*, as it has primarily been understood as a work expounding upon the works of a miraculous sculpture housed at Kokawa-dera. However, *Chigo Kannon engi*, despite the shared literary format of a tale of the miraculous origins of an icon, has been largely treated as an example of a romance tale between a monk and *chigo*, with little attention given to the original context and function of the scroll itself. *Aki no yo naga monogatari* likewise has not been examined thoroughly in regards to the work emphasizing the Ishiyama-dera Kannon's salvific powers through expedient means, transforming disasters into mass conversion events.

Unlike Chigo Monju or Chigo Daishi icons, images of Kannon as a *chigo* specifically carried the potential for a sexualized interpretation in medieval Japan. Salvation through sex was known to be part of Kannon's compassionate repertoire during the medieval period. Dreams,

---

<sup>389</sup> These handscrolls are housed at the Kyoto National Museum, Kōsetsu Museum of Art, and Metropolitan Museum of Art, respectively.



visions, or physical interactions with Kannon promising aid through sexual acts as a kind of expedient means had been established in the thirteenth century. The monk Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1262) dreamt of Kannon manifesting as a beautiful woman while staying at Rokkakudō 六角堂 in Kyoto, a site also dedicated to the Nyōirin Kannon.<sup>390</sup> *Shinran muki* 親鸞夢 records the encounter:

*Guze* Kannon appeared as a righteous monk at Rokkakudō. Dressed in simple white robes and seated on a large white lotus, they said to Shinran: “If a practitioner is driven by sexual desire because of his past karma, then I shall take on the body of a holy woman [玉女] and allow him to violate his precepts [犯]. Throughout his entire life I will adorn him, and at death I will lead him to birth in Pure Land.” After saying these words, *Guze* Kannon proclaimed to [Shinran]” This is my vow. Expound it to all people.” Based on this proclamation, I realized that I needed to tell this message to hundreds of thousands of people, and then I awoke from my dream.<sup>391</sup>

六角堂救世大菩薩示現顏容  
 端政之僧形令服著白納御  
 袈裟端座廣大白蓮告命  
 善信言  
     行者宿報設女犯  
     我成玉女身被犯  
     一生之間能莊嚴  
     臨終引導生極樂  
 救世菩薩誦此文言此文吾誓  
 願ナリ一切群生可説聞告命  
 因斯告命數千萬有情  
 令聞之覺夢悟了<sup>392</sup>

<sup>390</sup> Ive Covaci, “Ishiyama-dera and the Representation of Dreams and Visions in Pre-Modern Japanese Art,” PhD diss., (Yale University, 2007): 80.

<sup>391</sup> Translation by Kenneth D. Lee with changes by author. See Kenneth Lee, “Kannon: The Goddess of Compassion in Japan,” in *The Constant and Changing Faces of the Goddess: Goddess Traditions of Asia*, ed Deepak Shimkhada, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 76.

<sup>392</sup> Shinran muki [“Record of Shinran’s Dream”], *Teihon Shinran Shōnin zenshū*, vol. 4 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1969-1970), 201.

It should be reiterated that *chigo* were the objects of romantic attention by men and women alike, and while monk-*chigo* romances have been the most well-recorded, tales such as *Chigo ima mairi* (稚児今参り) point to female-*chigo* desire as well. Shinran's account of Kannon manifesting as a woman may have had a certain appeal to some monks but using *chigo* as erotic-yet-divine figures would likely appeal to a larger audience.

While sexual desire for the *chigo* himself was certainly emphasized in *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, I argue that in both *Kokawa-dera engi e* and *Chigo Kannon engi*, this is a secondary concern in these works, with the primary emphasis placed on cultic beliefs surrounding each religious site. Sex, particularly procreative sex, became implicitly associated with Kokawa-dera, Hase-dera, Bodai-in, and Ishiyama-dera by the fourteenth century, as these sites were all known to be particularly efficacious in providing male heirs to rescue diminishing family lineages. However, these sites may have also become known with providing *chigo* as personal attendants to serve monks, including the performance of after-death rituals for the monks' rebirth in a better afterlife. In this regard, *chigo* may have partially functioned as heirs to take care of childless monks after they died. Therefore, the emphasis on *chigo* in these works may point to understandings of *chigo* as filial youths for parents and as ideal disciples for monks.

Therefore, in this chapter I will argue that *Kokawa-dera engi e*, *Chigo Kannon engi* and *Aki no yo naga monogatari* all primarily relate miracles the performed by Kannon icons kept ritually hidden at their respective sites, and, when engaging with romantic desire, do so strategically, characterizing it as part of Kannon's miraculous works. As the first two works are *engi*, or tales explaining the legendary or mythical origins of temples, icons, or relics, or explanations of why religious events occurred, *Kokawa-dera engi e* and *Chigo Kannon engi* have a very specific purpose as illustrated handscrolls, namely, to record and disseminate religious

beliefs concerning the miraculous origins of a particular site (Kokawa-dera) or sculpture (Jūichimen Kannon at Bodai-in).<sup>393</sup> *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, generally viewed as the quintessential *chigo monogatari*, specifically explains that the Heian period monk Sensai's 瞻西 (d. 1127) spiritual awakening was directly caused by the Nyoirin Kannon at Ishiyama-dera after first miraculously appearing to him in a dream, and later, encountering the monk in the guise of a *chigo*. All three works convey a sense of the miraculous capabilities of specific sculptural icons at each of these three temples and emphasize different symbolic understandings of *chigo*.

### 5.1 *Hibutsu* and Handscrolls: Narrating Tales of Sacred Hidden Images

The main consideration for *Kokawa-dera engi e*, *Chigo Kannon engi*, and *Aki no yo naga monogatari* is the need to convey the significance and miraculous efficacy of two icons of Kannon, both kept as ritually enlivened icons and hidden from view. Termed *hibutsu*, these icons were kept in shrines (*zushi*), away from the view of devotees and only revealed occasionally, if ever. This periodic revelation of the images, or *kaichō* 開帳, originated at least in the Tang Dynasty, as Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019-1068) *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 (1084) records an instance in 818 where a finger bone of the Historical Buddha was shown using the same terminology.<sup>394</sup> In Japan, the earliest references to *kaichō* date from the mid-fifteenth century, although it was likely practiced before it was recorded in surviving written records.<sup>395</sup>

---

<sup>393</sup> See *engi* 縁起 in *Nihon kokushi daijiten*.

<sup>394</sup> Sherry Fowler, "Hibutsu: Secret Buddhist Images of Japan," *Journal of Asian Culture* 15 (1991) 137-138.

<sup>395</sup> *Nihon kokushi daijiten* lists the earliest use of the term *kaichō* to 1451 found in the *Daijōin jisha zatsujiki* 大乘院寺社雜事記, which specifically mentions an unveiling at Hase-dera. The second recorded instance of the term is found in 1465, used the *Inryōken nichu roku* 蔭涼軒日録 describing an event at Ishiyama-dera.

The view that these hidden icons were living manifestations of the divinities they depicted provides another obstacle that these handscrolls sought to alleviate. Sculptural icons were ritually enlivened through *kaigen shiki* 開眼式, or “eye opening ceremonies” performed once the sculpture was completed and installed within the temple, which invited the transcendent Buddhist divinities into the image and allowed the icon to be considered a physical manifestation of the divinity itself.<sup>396</sup> Ritually enlivened *hibutsu* suffered from the dual problem of being secreted away from view, as well as being largely static wooden sculptures. Various tales and legends attest to the belief that many icons were living divinities and demonstrating this understanding took multiple forms.

On one hand, the infrequency with which these ritually enlivened and sacred icons were displayed speaks to the ritual importance of these images. But on the other, they require a means of engaging the attention of a wider public outside of temples and monasteries. Enshrining an object as a sacred, miracle-working icon alone is not enough to guarantee enthusiastic support for a particular temple. Writing specifically on *Kokawa-dera engi e*, Carr notes that providing evidence for miraculous events was crucial to establishing a long-lasting religious site, and simply stating that a miracle took place was hardly likely to convince individuals to devote themselves to

---

<sup>396</sup> Over the several decades, scholarship resituating Buddhist icons in religious and ritual contexts has increased dramatically, including the views of icons as living images, specifically thanks to Bernard Faure, Robert Scharf, Elizabeth Horton Scharf, Sherry Fowler, and Sarah J. Horton. These considerations have yet to be fully applied to *chigo monogatari*, despite many of these works clearly identifying the *chigo* as manifestations of Kannon icons from specific temples. See Bernard Faure, “The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze,” *Critical Inquiry* (Spring 1998), 768-813; Robert H. Scharf and Elizabeth Horton Scharf, *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Sherry Fowler, *Murō-ji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005); Sarah J. Horton, *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

a new manifestation of a divinity or establish a sacred space. He points to two thirteenth-century examples of false miracles, specifically a pseudo-*raigō* for a monk staged by *tengu* in *Tengu zōshi* (1296) and a tale in *Uji shūi monogatari* where a hunter reveals a racoon-dog's impersonation of Fugen by shooting the animal with an arrow. He concludes that if false miracles occur, levels of evidence must be provided in order to convince others of the veracity of a particular developing cult's religious claims.<sup>397</sup> In *Kokawa-dera engi e*, he identifies various levels of evidence, including the overabundance of miracles and conversions that occur in each of the two narratives of *Kokawa-dera engi e*, the emphasis on a particular place where the miracles occur, the combination of two distinct miraculous tales, the emphasis on repeating material objects incorporated into otherwise miraculous events, and, lastly, visualizing all of this through painting as a means of rendering the improbable plausible.<sup>398</sup>

I would like to extend Carr's argument by asserting that handscrolls illustrating these miraculous events and depicting sacred animated icons were more likely to be seen than the *hibutsu* themselves, and thus provided a clearer demonstration of their "living" status beyond ritually marking them through *kaigen shiki*, by showing their wondrous works. Handscrolls function as tangible objects that textually record the events, and visualize the miracles purportedly witnessed by a select few, standing in for the original events of years past. As a kind of record of religious miracles, handscrolls may be read and re-read, shared, copied, and otherwise travel further than a static *hibutsu*. For many, two dimensional depictions of *hibutsu* were the only visual access points

---

<sup>397</sup> Carr, "Evidence of Our Eyes: The Epistemology of Vision(s) in Early Medieval Japan," in *Crossing the Sea: Essays on East Asian Art In Honor of Professor Yoshiaki Shimizu*, ed. Gregory P. A. Levine, Andrew M Watsky, and Gennifer Weisenfeld (Princeton: P.Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Center for East Asian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press, 2012), 83.

<sup>398</sup> Carr, "Evidence of Our Eyes," 85-87.

to the miracle-working image itself and they place a greater emphasis on the enlivened qualities of the icons in a way that the actual sculpted work could not. In the case of Kokawa-dera, its location in the mountains of present-day Wakayama severely curtailed women from making pilgrimages to the site due to its relative distance from the capital, despite one of its founding legends attesting to the Kokawa-dera Kannon's ability to heal women, and later, fourteenth-century petitions to Kokawa-dera for childbirth.<sup>399</sup>

## **5.2 Sight, Sex and Salvation: The Politics of Vision in Courtship and Buddhism**

Engaging with a representation of a distant sculptural *hibutsu* was not necessarily a less successful means of devotion. Indeed, painting allows for a more dynamic visualization of what the sculpted icon can miraculously accomplish, while a static sculpted icon is unlikely to move of its own volition before the eyes of onlooking devotees. Engaging with an image of a *hibutsu* may have been just as or even more effective than being physically near the icon itself. These three narrative works present records of original scenes or events in which the viewer did not and could not directly partake, but they still engender specific responses within the viewer through the act of looking, reading and reliving the events. Through these processes, the viewer can experience these original events by proxy, using the illustrations as a stand-in for the icon which may never be seen. Likewise, these scrolls present a condensed version of miraculous events through text and image, recording days, months, or years of events within short narratives. These condensed and potent repackagings of miracles are easily consumable and allow the viewer to experience more

---

<sup>399</sup> Karen M. Gerhart, "Reconstructing the Life of Uesugi Kiyoko," *Japan Review* no. 31 (2017), 9-10.

miraculous events in one reading of a scroll than the primary “historical” figures in the text who experience the events as they unfolded in their own “historical” moment.

The viewer may live vicariously through the handscroll’s documentation of miraculous events, having an unobscured view of the hidden *hibutsu* as it performs these miracles, creating the potential for a personal engagement (*kechien* 結縁) with the sacred icon running parallel to those of the original figures involved in the miraculous events. These works provide clear expectations of what each icon may do to help devotees, facts that would not have been clear to the original figures involved. In short, these handscrolls allow the viewer to partake in scenarios that they will likely not experience in person, yet may form emotional or religious bonds, an intimate sense of knowing or expectation of what the icon may do for them.

Deploying the iconographic form of *chigo*, replete with layers of meaning including (but not limited to) sexual availability allowed for additional types of engagement with the narratives. Vision itself was a political and sexual act that has been closely examined in scholarship on romance literature, gender within the aristocratic court, and the politics and hierarchies of desire.<sup>400</sup> It has been studied less within a Buddhist context despite the clear emphasis on the need for secrecy surrounding rituals and Buddhist icons, and even less so in regards to the combination of manifestations of Buddhist divinities in the form of figures who were sexually desired by both adult men and women.<sup>401</sup> By shifting the focus from the sculpture itself to Kannon’s manifestation

---

<sup>400</sup> Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*, 60-65. Daniel Struve, “Stolen Glimpses: Convention and Variations,” *Cipango: French Journal of Japanese Studies. English Selection 3* (2014); Nakanishi Susumu, “Miru: kodai teki chikaku,” *Bungaku* vol. 43, no. 4 (1975), 479-489; Takahashi Tōru, *Monogatari to e no enkinhō* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1991).

<sup>401</sup> Elizabeth Morrissey, “Memorializing Imperial Power Through Ritual in the *Illustrated Legends of Ishiyama-dera Handscroll*,” PhD diss, (University of Pittsburgh, 2018).

as a *chigo*, the viewer is invited to potentially experience Kannon's salvific potential through a hijacking of sexual desire.

The literary trope of *kaimami*, or surreptitiously gazing at the object of one's desire had been well established by the medieval period and finds a parallel within these three handscrolls. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to fully delve into the considerable body of research on *kaimami*, it is helpful to note the importance of the effect of these scenes on the reader, as well as the implications of vision as an access point to a kind of erotic possession through secret observation. On the first point, Daniel Struve notes the layers of vision present in these scenes:

In a *kaimami* scene the reader is invited to identify with the character. He or she observes the scene unfolding, has access to the same sight, and shares the character's fascination. At the same time, the reader sees the character in the act of looking. A *kaimami* scene is in fact, double, a combination of two scenes: the one seen by the character, and another in which the character is seen as he watches.<sup>402</sup>

We as readers see the same scene, but silently watch the protagonist as it unfolds. Likewise, we may revel in the shared erotic potential of the scene, but being external to the narrative, have a more complete view as we watch the protagonist become aroused by the scene. We become the voyeurs, with omniscient access beyond what exists in the narrative text of the tale.

Even though *kaimami* is generally associated with romance literature, the same dynamic of watching someone else witness a person or event is present in these tales of miracle-working sculptures. On one hand, by visualizing Kannon as a *chigo* with erotic potential, the viewer is allowed to fantasize about the possibilities that their own romantic entanglements may lead to salvation. On the other hand, the viewer has visual access to the miracles performed, the secret *hibutsu* sculpture, and the long-term aftereffects of Kannon's miraculous deeds. The handscrolls,

---

<sup>402</sup> Struve, "Stolen Glimpses," 3.



therefore, provide a kind of intimacy with both the miraculous works and miracle working sculpture that would be impossible to attain through other means by leveraging this erotic possession over religious events. Using Kannon's manifestation as a *chigo* (one of thirty-three possible manifestations) facilitates this kind of looking and provides the viewer with the opportunity to more closely engage with the youthful manifestation of the divinity. Therefore, in these instances, sexual interest may be paired with religious arousal, with a desire for Kannon manifesting as a *chigo* functioning as Kannon manifesting as a woman in Shinran's dream.

Therefore, I argue that in *Kokawa-dera engi e*, *Chigo Kannon engi*, and *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, the frequent depictions of either the *hibutsu* or the *chigo* manifestation of Kannon is a crucial component for these works to function as objects that convince viewers of the salvific efficacy of Kannon at these sites. *Kokawa-dera engi e* frequently repeats the same image of the *hibutsu* within its Buddhist hall, *Chigo Kannon engi* provides multiple illustrations of Kannon as a *chigo*, including two emphasizing the youth's physical beauty, and it offers two visualizations of the Bodai-in Kannon—once as the sculpture itself, and secondly as Kannon's intangible divine form rendered visible through illustration. Lastly, *Aki no yo naga monogatari* directly uses *kaimami* imagery within the illustrations and text but replaces the scene of the *chigo* furtively viewed by the protagonist monk with repeating motifs of his first vision of Kannon as a youth.

### **5.3 Responses to Paintings of Sculptures**

Before examining these three handscrolls specifically, it is worth noting that painting was used in other examples as a means of allowing a viewer access to a particular sculpture, enlivened icon, or Buddhist divinity existing in a non-tangible form. The Miho Museum houses a fourteenth century hanging scroll painting depicting Amida, the Buddha of the Western Paradise, descending with his attendants to greet a recently deceased devotee (fig. 5.1). Once belonging to the Akahoshi

family of Hiko Province, this painting of Amida is unusually sculptural, perhaps reflecting earlier practices of devoting oneself to a sculptural image of Amida and his attendants. Typical imagery of Amida's descent represent the divinity as a living being, perhaps surrounded by swirling auspicious clouds and rays of light emanating from a mandorla. The Miho example, however, shows the buddha standing before a stiff screen-like mandorla of tightly curling golden flames, culminating in a pointed lobe above Amida's head, directly reflecting the format and appearance of sculpture of the time. The painting was perhaps produced as an illustration of a specific Amida sculpture, but nevertheless survives as a clear illustration of the conflation of icons—painted or sculpted—and the divinity itself.

This conflation of painting, sculpture, relic, body, and divine presence is found elsewhere during the medieval period and used to articulate the complexities of physical realities and the ongoing presence of the divine. A particularly compelling example is found in a frontispiece to the *Lotus Sutra* (J. *Myōhō renga kyō* 妙法蓮華經, Ch. *Miaofa lianhua jing*; Skt. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*) owned by the New York Public Library as part of the Spencer Collection (fig. 5.2 a-c). Dating to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the sutra records the name of Ogura Zeun, a provincial governor and lay monk who was likely the patron of the work. The frontispiece is painted in silver and gold ink on indigo paper and depicts eighteen scenes from the *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>403</sup> Of particular note is the frontispiece that includes an illustration of the importance of making Buddhist images mentioned in the second chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, forming a rare illustration of a sculptor and painter creating Buddhist icons.

---

<sup>403</sup> Ives Covaci, *Kamakura: Realism and Spirituality in the Sculpture of Japan*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 126-127.

The frontispiece opens with a scene from the first chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, showing the Buddha on Vulture Peak transmitting the sutra to his followers. The illustration for the second chapter, depicting the importance of image making in the greater context of expedient means (*hōben*) appears beneath the rays emanating from the head of the Buddha and the haloed heads of the divinities seated on an architectural platform, listening to the sermon. A painter daubs his brush on the robes of a fully completed painting of the Buddha stretched across a frame held in place by his assistant. To his left, a sculptor similarly holds his blade next to a completed sculpted icon (fig. 4.2a). A bald-headed monk kneels prostrate while venerating at a reliquary, and a second monk prays before two *gorintō* stupas, with a bank of auspicious clouds surrounding the five figures.

As each vignette of the frontispiece illustrates a separate chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, it is unlikely that this illustration would have been imagined as a single, coherent world where each figure is aware of each other's presence, except, perhaps, the Buddha who may share the viewer's omniscient gaze. Therefore, within these fictive worlds separated by banks of auspicious clouds, it is unlikely that each figure is aware of the others, and therefore, the painter and sculptor are likely unaware that their works assume the same markers of sacrality regardless of their level of finish, as the other depictions of divinities in the frontispiece. For the omniscient viewer of the work, this draws a direct parallel between the painted and sculpted icons with the other divine figures depicted, who are largely illustrated as buddhas and bodhisattvas themselves physically present in their respective scenes, and not merely painted depictions of them. The only indication that mark these images as icons is the presence of the artists and their tools. Otherwise, the divinities are visually equated with the remaining depictions of buddhas that are represented as actually present in these scenes.

Further to the left in the frontispiece is an illustration of the Apparition of the Jeweled Stupa from chapter eleven, which further highlights the conflation of painted, sculpted and living divinities (fig. 4.2b). Three buddhas seated on lotus pedestals face a radiant stupa with two seated Buddhist icons inside. Visually framed sculptures within the logic of the vignette itself, both buddhas—likely Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来 and Tahō Nyorai 多宝如来 (Skt: Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna)—radiate a fiery golden light that extends beyond the walls of the reliquary itself as if to demonstrate that they are part of the miracle itself, and thus of higher significance than their spectators. This framing within a stupa, and placement of the two buddhas on sculptural lotus pedestal bases mark the divinities as simultaneously living manifestations as well as sculptural icons, much like the edge of the stretcher around the painting or sculptor’s knife by his sculpture mark these figures as depictions-yet-manifestations of the buddha. For the omniscient viewer, all these divinities exist in the hierarchically flattened two-dimensional world of a painting. Time and chronology of the *Lotus Sutra*’s narrative have been collapsed into a single scene, reflecting that the sutra itself is a permanent relic of the Buddha, and the distinctions between relative levels of sacrality between buddhas, bodhisattvas, artists, animals, etc. have been subsumed into the sutra as a sacred relic itself. Thus, the painter and sculptor likewise become part of the relic, along with their divine creations.

The sculptor and painter in the image engage in a process of icon creation that karmically benefits them, similar to the creators of the sutra itself. The depicted artists as well as the actual painters of the Spencer frontispiece are in a process of becoming buddhas themselves. Sutras themselves are part of a complex network between body, mind, and relics. Comprising of words, they may exist in the memory of the devotee or mingling with their bodies through hearing the texts spoken aloud, but they also exist as a verbal or physical fragments of the Buddha as they

represent his words. Thus, sutras themselves were treated as if they were corporal relics and enshrined in sites established for ritual practice.<sup>404</sup> As these relics are comprised of words of the Buddha and the proof of his own enlightenment, sutras may supersede bodily relics of the buddha as the latter point to his physical absence. These textual relics were particularly useful in that devotees who committed the words of a sutra to memory would become a kind of reliquary themselves, something less possible with other physical relics.<sup>405</sup>

In sum, painting could be used as a means of articulating complex intersections between sculptural representation, buddhahood, and divinity, as painting could take the form of icons understood to be living manifestations of the depicted divinity, illustrated records showing miraculous events associated with a particular icon, or function as part of a relics. With these examples in mind, I would like to suggest that the scrolls depicting Kannon as a *chigo* function in a similar way, acting as both painted manifestations of the bodhisattva in general, as well as visual proxies for specific *hibutsu* that would have been visually inaccessible for most medieval viewers. As images of icons that the viewers of handscrolls would likely never see, these illustrated divinities would form one of the main ways in which devotees could visually engage with these site-specific *hibutsu*. Rendering these hidden icons visible allows for a degree of intimacy with the divinities that would otherwise be impossible, allowing the viewer to romantically, religiously desire Kannon with a specific image in mind, and thus engage with the divinity in more immediate ways.

---

<sup>404</sup> Charlotte Eubanks, "Illustrating the Mind: 'Faulty Memory,' *Setsuwa* and the Decorative Sutras of Late Classical and Early Medieval Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2 (2009), 213-15.

<sup>405</sup> Eubanks, "Illustrating the Mind," 213-215.

Each of these three depictions of Kannon manifesting as a *chigo* in *Kokawa-dera engi e*, *Chigo Kannon engi* and *Aki no yo naga monogatari* focus on site-specific miracles or associations with their respective temples, emphasizing the role of each of their main icons. *Kokawa-dera engi e* and *Chigo Kannon engi* are the most straightforward, in that Kannon's manifestation as a *chigo* directly transforms into the sculpture itself. *Aki no yo naga monogatari* relies on Ishiyama-dera's reputation as a site where miraculous dreams could be had, fashioning a new iconography of the Ishiyama-dera Nyoirin Kannon icon as a *chigo* surrounded by cherry blossoms, as purportedly seen in a miraculous dream by the tale's protagonist monk.

#### 5.4 *Kokawa-dera engi e*: Early Depictions of Kannon as a Youth

Currently housed at the Kyoto National Museum, one of the earliest surviving handscrolls depicting Kannon manifesting as a *chigo*, *Kokawa-dera engi e* dates from the late Heian or early Kamakura periods (794-1333), in the twelfth century.<sup>406</sup> The work was heavily damaged in a fire when Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598) set Kokawa-dera ablaze in 1585. What survives is largely an approximate reconstruction of the original handscroll, using the surviving fragments that have been remounted as a single scroll. The work records the mythical origins of the Senju

---

<sup>406</sup> Much has been written about *Kokawa-dera engi e*. See Tanaka Ichimatsu and Mizoguchi Teijirō *Kokawa-dera engi, Izumi Shikibu nikki emaki, Jūni innen emaki* vol. 18 in *Nihon emaki shūsei*, (Tokyo: Yūankaku, 1931); Ōgushi Sumio, “Kokawa-derazō Kokawa-dera engi kaisetsum” *Bijutsu kenkyū*, vol. 171 (November, 1953), 95-99; Kameda Tsutomu, “Kokawa-dera engi emaki sōkō,” *Yamato bunka* vol. 27 (September, 1958), 1-18; Katano Tatsurō, “Kokawa-dera engi emaki ekotoba no kenkyū: Ekotoba no bungeisei nit suite,” *Bungei kenkyū* 28 (March 1958), 33-45; Nishiguchi Junko, “Kii Kokawa-dera to sono engi: Jiien engo no seiritsu ni kansuru ichi shiron,” *Shisō* 21 (December, 1962), 47-65; Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Kokawa-dera engi*, vol. 5, *Nihon emaki taisei*, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977); Umezu Jirō *Kokawa-dera engi e Kibi Daijin nittōe*, vol. 6, *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū*, ed. Tanaka Ichimatsu, (1977); Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Kokawa-dera engi e*, vol. 5, *Nihon no Emaki* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1987); Lisa K. Langlois, “The Miraculous Origins of Kokawadera: The Editor's Role in the Production of a Narrative Picture Scroll, MA Thesis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1996).

Kannon *hibutsu* sculpture at Kokawa-dera, along with a second narrative attesting to Kokawa-dera's icon's ability to heal women's medical ailments. While the majority of the text and illustrations of the first narrative were significantly damaged by the fire, what has survived was reconstructed based on surviving texts such as *Kokawadera daisotoba konryū engi* (粉河寺大率都婆建立縁起), along with an analysis of the wave-like burn patterns on the top and bottom of the scroll speaking to the organization of the scroll at the time of its partial destruction.<sup>407</sup> Despite the first portion being largely fragmentary, the scroll has been reconstructed in its approximate original order of illustrations and calligraphy. By the thirteenth fragment, the remaining pieces survive in the order they were in when they were burnt in the sixteenth century.

In its current state, the scroll is comprised of forty sections of paper, each leaf measuring about 30.2 cm tall and 12 cm long. The first portion of the text of the *engi* appears in the seventeenth fragment, reflecting the extensive damage to the scroll. By the nineteenth leaf, the second narrative begins, roughly dividing the entire scroll into two equal parts. It is possible that there are some scenes missing from the first narrative, as there are several fragmentary sections of landscape imagery that have been remounted together, although how much was lost in these sections is largely unknown. A Genroku period (1688-1704) reconstruction also exists although providing no new information about the original format of the handscroll, as it is based on the fragments of the burnt original.<sup>408</sup>

The first story goes as follows: A hunter named Ōtomo no Kushiko would frequently search for boar and deer in the forest. One night, Kushiko noticed a miraculous light at the base of

---

<sup>407</sup> Komatsu, *Kokawa-dera engi* (1977), 1; Yoshiaki Shimizu, "Kokawa-dera engi' fukugen e no ichi kōsatsu," *Ars Buddhica* vol. 86 (1972).

<sup>408</sup> Komatsu Shigemi, *Kokawa-dera engi*, (1977).

one of the trees by his deer stand. This vision filled him with remorse for hunting and eating meat, and thus he built a simple Buddhist hall of brushwood to commemorate his vision. Later that evening, Kushiko met a young pilgrim (男童の行者) wandering alone and begging for lodgings. The youth promised that in exchange for Kushiko's generosity, he would produce an icon for the hunter's small Buddhist hall. Seven days passed, and Kushiko returned to the hall to see the icon the youth had created. Opening the doors of the shrine, he found a life-sized shimmering sculpture of the Senju Kannon. Kushiko turned to thank the youth, only to watch him disappear.<sup>409</sup>

The second narrative in the handscroll attests to the Kokawa Kannon's ability to heal the sick. A wealthy man from Sasara no kōri in Kawachi Province had a daughter who had been seriously ill for three years. One day, the same wandering ascetic youth arrived at his villa, and stayed beside his daughter for seven days, reciting the *Senju Kannon dhāraṇī* 千手観音陀羅尼 until the young woman was eventually cured. In thanks, she gave the youth a sword scabbard and pair of red *hakama*. As he left, the youth told her that he was from Kokawa in Kii province. The next spring, after the woman had completely cured, she set out to find the youth. When she arrived at Kokawa, she was shocked to see that the sculptural icon at Kushiko's shrine held the *hakama* and scabbard that she had given the youth. In response to this, she and her entourage shaved their heads and took the tonsure.<sup>410</sup>

Other than a few surviving scraps of illustration depicting the forest, Kushiko by his hunting platform, the first illustrations depict Kushiko's dog running to greet the hunter, and then the wandering youth in Kushiko's home asking for shelter. The next fragment shows Kushiko and

---

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid.



his family eating meat, with additional meat drying outside along with a deerskin stretched and prepared to be tanned. After a short fragment of calligraphy noting the passage of seven days and Kushiko's return to the shrine, the hunter is shown prostrate before the icon. Several small fragments of landscape follow. The next relatively complete scene shows the hunter excitedly explaining what had happened to his family. Finally, Kushiko brings a large group of people from the town to see the miraculous image.

The illustrations from the second section of the handscroll are relatively intact, with only damage to the upper and lower edges of the scroll, preserving the original progression of the illustrations. The first scene shows a mass of figures watching the youth recite the *dhāraṇī* at the young woman's bedside. This progresses to a frenzied scene of the woman's entourage preparing for her journey to Kokawa. They travel through rolling hills, filled with spring flowers and newly emerging leaves. They arrive at the shrine, with the main doors closed. Upon opening the shrine, the entourage is moved to tears seeing the gifts the woman had given the youth, realizing that she had been cured by the Kannon of Kokawa-dera. The final scene depicts the woman and her traveling companions shaving their heads and taking the tonsure.

Like other *engi* handscrolls combining illustrations with the founding legends of a temple, or origins of a particular icon, *Kokawa-dera engi e* was created to emphasize the importance of the site of the temple, as well as to highlight the main icon's active miraculous capabilities, manifesting as a *chigo* to aid others in need. Even while Kokawa-dera became a pilgrimage site during the Heian period, usually for aristocratic men due to its location far away from the Capital, Kokawa-dera's icon was ritually kept as a *hibutsu* and was visually not available to anyone, with

the exception of high-ranking monks performing rituals.<sup>411</sup> Therefore, handscrolls provide dual and often overlapping opportunities to promote interest in the temple itself, along with visually demonstrating a miracle-working icon. Scrolls are portable and were frequently copied by interested collectors who would hopefully be enticed into becoming pilgrims, patrons, or donors to the site.

*Kokawa-dera engi e* maintains a certain blandness in its composition, as it is often repetitive, flitting from scenes of the hunter in his house to the small Buddhist hall, or the illustration of the woman's lengthy pilgrimage to Kii province to find Kokawa, and the repetition of the hall multiple times while she and her attendants discover the woman's gifts held by the sculpture, and their taking tonsure.<sup>412</sup> The fairly static scenes of the hall and sculpture that are repeated throughout the scroll do seem to emphasize the importance of the location of the temple as well as the main narrative drama of the youth transforming into the icon, and later, the sculpture holding the woman's gifts. Painted depictions of the Senju Kannon in the *Kokawa-dera engi e* appear four times: first, when the icon appears before Kushiko; second, when he brings other villagers to the shrine; third, when the woman sees the icon with her gifts; and lastly, when the woman and her entourage take the tonsure (fig. 5.3 a-d). While the rapid brushstrokes used to paint the icon make some details, such as the specifics of arms and attributes, difficult to see, it is clear that each representation of the icon has slight differences in posture and held attributes. While this may be due to the presence of different hands working on this handscroll simultaneously, evidence of later repairs, or the exposure of underpainted ink lines that would originally have been covered

---

<sup>411</sup> Barbara Ambros, "Liminal Journeys: Pilgrimages of Noblewomen in Mid-Heian Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol 24, no. 3 (1997), 304.

<sup>412</sup> Carr, "Evidence of Our Eyes," 80-86.

by thicker colored pigments, it lends a sense of a kind of living animation to the illustrations of an icon believed to manifest and interact with devotees. The most obvious and clearly intentional change in the icon's attributes and posture occurs when the woman sees that the Kokawa Kannon now holds her gifts in the third illustration of the icon. The overall repetitive stillness throughout the scroll creates a kind of mild visual fatigue, creating a dramatic and unexpected reveal in the third depiction of the Kokawa-dera Kannon, where the sculpture now holds the scabbard and *hakama*.

This repetition of the same view of an icon does not appear in either *Chigo Kannon engi* or in *Aki no yo naga monogatari* where the Ishiyama-dera Kannon icon is never depicted. *Kokawa-dera engi e* is the only one of these three works that reveals that the *chigo* is a manifestation of the Kokawa-dera Kannon midway through the entire handscroll, and therefore, strategically uses this repetition of scenes through two different miraculous tales to emphasize that the *chigo* and the sculptural icon are one and the same. This is further emphasized in the Genroku period version of the scroll, where an additional scene is included showing the *chigo* peering out from behind the Buddhist hall's door while he closes it as Kushiko bows on the ground before him (fig. 5.4).<sup>413</sup>

While the illustrations of the *hibutsu* icon subtly shift throughout the handscroll, the static and symmetrical feel of the illustrations reflect sculptural styles from the Heian period, but also point to an early codification of the Kokawa-dera Kannon's iconography. As a *hibutsu*, the original icon was rarely, if ever, displayed. Likewise, the *maedachi*, replicas of the *hibutsu* that were placed before the main shrine, is similarly kept away from the eyes of the public.<sup>414</sup> However, a third

---

<sup>413</sup> Komatsu Shigemi, *Kokawa-dera engi*, (1977).

<sup>414</sup> Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Sōken 1250 nen kinen tokubetsu ten: Kokuhō Kokawa-dera engi to Kokawa-dera no rekishi*, (Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2020), n.p.

sculpture of the Kokawa-dera Kannon dating to the late Heian period has been included in exhibitions on Kokawa-dera in 2016 and 2020 and provide some idea of what the original icon may have looked like in terms of its style and iconography.

### 5.5 Sculptural Kannon Icons at Kokawa-dera

In June of 2016, the Wakayama Prefectural Museum announced the special exhibition *Senju Kannon of Kokawa-dera Standing Image, along with Kokawa's Famous Treasures* 「初公開・粉河寺の千手観音立像—粉河の名宝とともに—」, with the museum's official Twitter releasing two images of this Senju Kannon icon: one frontal view of the entire sculpture, and a second detail shot of one of Kannon's hands, with an eye protruding from the palm (fig. 5.5 and 5.6). Along with the announcement, the museum noted that the sculpture was made in the late Heian period by a sculptor from the Heian Capital, along with details on the construction of the hand and eye.<sup>415</sup> Later, in 2020, the Wakayama Prefectural Museum held the exhibition *The National Treasure Kokawa-dera engi emaki and the History of Kokawa-dera* 国宝粉河寺縁起と粉河寺の歴史 where the handscroll was displayed along with the main icon, along with other significant paintings and sculptures from the temple.<sup>416</sup>

---

<sup>415</sup> Tokubetsu chinretsu: Hatsukōkai Kokawa-dera no Senju Kannon tachizō—Kokawa no meihō totomo ni—(Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2016), accessed December 9, 2020.

<https://www.hakubutu.wakayama-c.ed.jp/tounan2016/frameset.htm>;

Wakamiya Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, Twitter post, June 11, 2016, 8:10 a.m., accessed December 9, 2020, <https://twitter.com/wakayamakenpaku/status/741603456473923584>.

<sup>416</sup>Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Sōken 1250 nen kinen tokubetsu ten: Kokuhō Kokawa-dera engi to Kokawa-dera no rekishi*, (Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2020), n.p.

While the sculpture itself is not Kokawa-dera's *hibutsu* the work is strikingly similar to the icon depicted in the handscrolls. The sculpture itself bears traces of gilding clinging to the face and chest of the icon, with remnants of the brightly polychromed designs on the garment. The sculpture wears a long shawl that falls in light, sinuous tendrils on either side of the lower half of the image's body. The body itself is draped in shallowly carved fabric that falls in regularly spaced pleats around the legs and painted with a floral and honeycomb pattern. The icon has thirty-eight hands, with the two largest pressed in a *gasshō* mudra in front of his chest, with the second largest below, holding a medicine jar. The remaining thirty-four surround the image, with seventeen on each side, each holding a different attribute.

The symmetrical stillness and geometric form of the Wakayama Prefectural Museum sculpture is replicated relatively faithfully in the handscroll, with the top half of tube-like body backed with a circular arrangement of the various arms and attributes. The illustrations depart from the sculpture in that the handscroll shows a completely gilded sculpture, instead of the polychrome sculpture, as well as the relative exuberance of the draping and flowing fabric which billows slightly in each illustration. The face in the paintings seems more proportionate to the body, and the seam running around the neck of the sculptural icon itself points to the possibility that it was replaced after the Heian period. Certainly, the sculpture shows elements of repair and restoration, particularly in the many arms, hands and attributes, and the lower body, which appears darkened as if by smoke damage, either through the temple's destruction or centuries of incense smoke coming in contact with the icon.

Despite the icon displayed at the Wakayama Prefectural Museum not being the original *hibutsu*, it is clear that by the Heian period, when both this sculpture and illustrations were made, a standardized iconographic type associated with Kokawa-dera was established. While there are

no particularly distinguishing features of the Kokawa-dera Kannon (the scabbard and *hakama* are not included in the standard depictions of the icon) the relatively simple geometrical forms formed by circular cluster of arms and attributes surrounding the cylindrical upper half of the icon's body, and the narrow rectangular form of the standing icon's body protruding downward are typical to depictions of the Kokawa-dera Kannon. Therefore, the handscroll does manage to provide a seemingly accurate sense of an individualization of the Kannon icon venerated at Kokawa-dera, allowing viewers of the scroll to draw distinctions between this manifestation of Kannon from others.

### **5.6 Kokawa-dera, Sex and Childbirth**

Unlike the two other handscrolls recording Kannon's manifestations and miracle workings as a *chigo*, there has been no sexualized interpretation of the Kokawa tales that overshadowed the legends themselves. While the wandering *chigo* transforms back and forth from a human body to a sculptural icon and leads others to conversion, there is no real sense of romantic interest found. Perhaps this is due to the conspicuous absence of a primary monk within the narratives, which facilitated romantic interpretations of the later *Chigo Kannon engi*, and is explicitly found in *Aki no yo naga monogatari*. However, if we wish to view the gifts of red *hakama* trousers, generally worn as undergarments by high-ranking women and the empty sword scabbard as sexualized to a degree, it is possible to find some details of the original tale that may have led to the associations of Kokawa-dera and childbirth during the medieval period. The donation of garments considered polluted through menstruation, childbirth and disease was typical for the period (as seen in Chapter

Four). Additionally, the scabbard may have been an oblique reference to women's genitalia, a connotation found by the Edo period.<sup>417</sup>

However, this is not to say that romance or sexuality could not have been read into the handscroll at a later date. Women, after all, were shown as romantically interested in *chigo* in at least three romance tales from the Muromachi period, with one being of particular interest, specifically *Chigo ima mairi* 稚児今参り translated by Schmit-Hori as *The New Lady in Waiting is a Chigo* and later as *Chigo Known as Miss Rookie*.<sup>418</sup> In the tale, Himegimi (simply, “young lady” in the text), the beautiful daughter of the Minister of the Interior (*Naidaijin*) falls ill, and her father summons a monk from Mount Hiei to aid her. After seven days of prayers, she recovers, but her father requests the monk to remain in case her illness returned. During the monk's extended stay at the *Naidaijin*'s residence, one of his attendant *chigo* catches a glimpse of the young woman and becomes enticed with her beauty and elegance. The *chigo* petitions the monk to stay with his wet nurse in the Capital so he may be close to his new-found love interest. The *chigo*'s wet-nurse discovers his new-found romantic feelings for the *Naidaijin*'s daughter and arranges to have the youth disguise himself as a woman and take up a position as a lady-in-waiting so he may be nearer to her. He eventually reveals his true identity as a *chigo* to Himegimi, and she becomes pregnant.<sup>419</sup>

---

<sup>417</sup>See entry no. 6 for *saya* 鞆 in *Nihon kokushi daijiten*.

<sup>418</sup>Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 134. For an extended examination of the tale, see *Tales of Idolized Boys* 134-160. For select images of a sixteenth century illustrated handscroll version of *Chigo ima mairi*, see Melissa McCormick, “Mountains, Magic and Mothers: Female Ascetic in a Medieval *Chigo* Tale,” in *Crossing the Sea: Essays on East Asian Art In Honor of Professor Yoshiaki Shimizu*, ed. Gregory P. A. Levine, Andrew M Watsky, and Jennifer Weisenfeld (Princeton: P.Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Center for East Asian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press, 2012), 107-136.

<sup>419</sup>The tale continues in a dramatic plot of kidnapping, secret arrangements, and hidden identities that are not relevant to this chapter. Of note, the tale ends rather happily, with the *chigo* and Himegimi being able to spend their lives together and have two sons. Other aristocratic woman-

It is, perhaps, coincidental that the women in *Chigo ima mairi* and *Kokawa-dera engi e* both fall ill, recover, and have meaningful interactions with *chigo*. However, *Chigo ima mairi* does seem to present an imaginative alternative ending for a tale like *Kokawa-dera engi e*. Schmidt-Hori notes that *Chigo ima mairi* is somewhat of a satirical work that directly takes up the conventions and tropes found in other *chigo monogatari*.<sup>420</sup> Indeed, *Chigo ima mairi* does not reveal the *chigo* as a manifestation of Kannon, but rather, a figure who impregnates his love interest, receives his *genpuku* ceremony and receives the rank of lesser captain (*shōshō*) as he is descended from the Northern Fujiwara family, before fathering a second son with Himegimi.<sup>421</sup> A *chigo* in this instance directly fathers two sons for a devoted woman, not through the intercession of Kannon in the guise of a *chigo*.

At some unknown point between *Kokawa-dera engi e* being completed as an illustrated handscroll in the twelfth century and the writing of *Chigo ima mairi* during the Muromachi period, Kokawa-dera gained the reputation of a temple that was efficacious in providing male heirs. The earliest recorded example of petitioning the Kokawa-dera Kannon for a male heir dates to the fourteenth century when Uesugi Kiyoko 上杉清子 (1270-1342), the mother of Ashikaga Takauji 足利 尊氏 (1305-1358) sent two petitions (*ganmon*) for safe childbirth, one to the Jizō at Kōfuku-ji, and the second to the Senju Kannon at Kokawa-dera in 1305. Karen Gerhart notes that while Kokawa-dera did not have the reputation for promising safe delivery of children at the time, the Kannon was known to provide aid to women. Considering the Kokawa-dera Kannon's reputation

---

*chigo* romances are found in *Hanyū no monogatari* and *Tsukiyō Otohime monogatari*, see Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 141-143.

<sup>420</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Idolized Boys*, 138.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*



for healing women and Kiyoko's age of thirty-six at the time of her petitions, it is likely that her request to the Kokawa-dera Kannon combined medical and familial concerns.<sup>422</sup> If at the time of Kiyoko's request in the early fourteenth century Kokawa-dera did not have a reputation for providing male heirs, it was clearly associated with providing sons by the fifteenth century. In 1425, one hundred and twenty years after Kiyoko's first recorded request to the Kokawa-dera Kannon, Ashikaga Yoshinori 足利義教 (1394–1441) visited the temple due to concerns of a lack of heirs in the family in. In 1431 Yoshinori returned to Kokawa-dera, devoted himself to a painting of the Kokawa-dera Kannon, and a year after the birth of his son Ashikaga Yoshikatsu 足利義勝 (1434–1443), Yoshinori commissioned a set of seven scrolls recording the *Kokawa-dera engi*.<sup>423</sup>

The events shown in *Kokawa-dera engi e* form the backbone of Kokawa-dera's cultic belief surrounding its *hibutsu* and are specifically used to reaffirm the temple as a credible site causing conversions and healing. Clear associations with Kannon's manifestation as a *chigo* and childbirth developed over time, perhaps forming a link between petitioning Kannon for male heirs and monk's desiring a *chigo* as a disciple. Despite not having the same monk-*chigo* romantic elements to the tale that *Chigo Kannon engi* or *Aki no yo naga monogatari* have, *Kokawa-dera engi e* lays the blueprint for future tales of Kannon manifesting as a youth wandering through the wilderness or villages prompting conversions through personal interactions with those he meets. As the earliest example of a handscroll documenting this particular manifestation of Kannon in Japan, it is likely that the associations between Kannon as a *chigo*, sex, and providing heirs had yet to fully develop. Crucially, however, *Kokawa-dera engi e* establishes the notion of sculptures of Kannon

---

<sup>422</sup> Gerhart, "Uesugi Kiyoko," 8-9.

<sup>423</sup> Karen Brock, "Shogun's Painting Match," 459; KG vol. 1, 65-66.

being able to transform into miracle-working youths, and vice versa, which becomes a distinct pattern in later *chigo monogatari*, suggesting that this animation of *hibutsu* was a principal element in the development of cultic beliefs surrounding Kannon from other sacred sites.

### **5.7 *Chigo Kannon engi*: Children, Disciples and the Hase-dera Kannon**

Turning now to the fourteenth century handscroll *Chigo Kannon engi*, I argue that the work specifically reflects an interest in bolstering support for Bodai-in, a sub-temple of Kōfuku-ji, by associating the Jūichimen Kannon sculpture with the flourishing cult of Kannon at Hase-dera. As Kōfuku-ji named Hase-dera as a dependent during the Kamakura period, *Chigo Kannon engi* repurposes a legend from *Hase-dera reigenki* (c. 1200), a compilation of miraculous stories involving the Kannon at the Shingon Buddhist temple Hase-dera in present-day Sakurai, Nara Prefecture, to emphasize the importance of Bodai-in following its destruction and rebuilding in the twelfth century. As I previously noted, the emphasis on the romantic elements in *Chigo Kannon engi* appeared more recently in scholarship and did not garner much attention before the twentieth century. The work itself primarily concerns itself with questions of death and rebirth in Amida's Western Paradise, functioning as an extension of the Amida devotional cult located at Bodai-in as it was produced in concert with Bodai-in's reconstruction. I will first examine historical documents including *Chigo Kannon engi* that point to premodern understandings of the work's significance and genre. Then, I provide an overview of Bodai-in's fragmentary history, as well as its cultic uses. Finally, I examine *Chigo Kannon engi* as it relates to issues of discipleship and death in relation to the Pure Land use of Bodai-in.

The handscroll *Chigo Kannon engi* begins by introducing the protagonist monk, who had spent his life dedicated to Buddhism and now is around sixty. Having no disciple to serve him in his current life nor anyone to pray for his afterlife, the monk made monthly pilgrimages to Hase-

dera to ask the Kannon there to provide him with a disciple. After three years and three months with no response from Kannon, the monk was disheartened and left Hase-dera to return home. At the foot of Mount Obuse, the monk encountered a youth of thirteen or fourteen standing alone in the moors. Finding that the youth had left his master at Tōdai-ji, the monk invited the youth to stay with him.

The illustrations open with a sweeping mountainous vista, the verdant foothills of distant peaks scattered with pine, and deciduous trees bearing autumnal foliage. A monk—presumably Chōgon—who is accompanied by a second pilgrim and a warrior, points up the steep pathway leading to the temple, indicating the protagonist monk’s initial pilgrimage to the site (fig. 5.9). The next scene shows Chōgon returning home crossing through the moors at the base of Mount Obuse. Just passing two pine trees that have grown entangled with each other, the monk sees a *chigo* further along the path playing a flute (fig. 5.10). Moving through a patch of autumn grasses, the monk stops to converse with the *chigo*, inviting him to travel back to the monk’s dwelling to serve him as his new master. Further along, the viewer encounters a large wall with an open temple gate suggesting a chronological and temporal transition from the previous scene. The last illustration of the first half of the scroll shows Chōgon and the *chigo* along with other monks and acolytes playing instruments within the temple, indicative of the pleasant nature of their lives before the youth became ill (fig. 5.11).

Three years pass, and the *chigo* falls ill with an unknown disease. While dying, the *chigo* confesses that he had hoped to outlive the monk to perform memorial rites for him, saying that this was the only regret he had in dying first. He then instructs the monk to place his body in a coffin before the altar at the temple, and to open it on the thirty-fifth day. The youth dies, and although the monk is devastated, he follows the *chigo*’s request. When he finally opens the coffin, he is

greeted by a manifestation of the Jūichimen Kannon who explained that he was the *chigo* all along and vowed to escort Chōgon to the Pure Land in seven years. The text concludes by identifying the manifestation of Kannon as that of Bodai-in, with the promise that those who make vows or pilgrimages to the site will encounter Kannon manifesting as a youth, and those who transcribe the *Lotus Sutra* will attain enlightenment and experience direct encounters with Kannon.

The second illustrated section of the scroll opens on a scene where the youth lies partially behind a screen, his head on the knee of a weeping Chōgon whose head is bent close to that of the *chigo*, suggesting the scene depicts the youth's last words and requests to the monk. A second temple acolyte rushes into the room delivering supplies while another monk silently watches (fig. 5.12). An architectural barrier separates this first scene from the second, showing the initial funerary preparations. Chōgon has placed the *chigo*'s body in a coffin wrapped in a white cloth, and cries into his sleeve while placing one hand on the casket. Unnoticed by the monks preparing for the funerary rites, a manifestation of Kannon arrives on a bank of clouds hovering over the altar (fig. 5.13). The subsequent scene shows the funeral rituals taking place, accompanied monks copying the *Lotus Sutra*, surrounded by weeping onlookers, both clergy and laity alike (fig. 5.14). In the last full illustration of the scroll, the perspective shifts so the viewer has a direct, frontal view of the coffin and altar. The coffin has been opened, and a polychrome sculpture of the Jūichimen Kannon stands inside the box, his feet surrounded by clouds, revealing the miraculous transformation of the youth's body, and the origins of the Jūichimen Kannon icon at Bodai-in (fig. 5.15).

This handscroll places a clear emphasis on the miraculous transformation of the youth's body into the Jūichimen Kannon sculpture at Bodai-in, by showing the temple itself as the site of the transformation. However, this surviving *Chigo Kannon engi* handscroll is not the first instance

of the tale itself, but reproduces an earlier variant found in *Hase-dera reigenki*.<sup>424</sup> Therefore, it is important to consider *Chigo Kannon engi* along with the myriad tales of the Hase-dera Kannon performing miracles, despite the illustrated handscroll being ostensibly about the origins of the Chigo Kannon icon at Bodai-in, a sub-temple of Kōfuku-ji.

## 5.8 Early Modern and Modern Records of Chigo Kannon Engi

*Chigo Kannon engi* 児観音縁起 appears in multiple written historical records, which primarily evince interest in the painting and calligraphy. Out of all the sources that list *Chigo Kannon engi*, only beginning in the mid-twentieth century did the work become associated with *chigo monogatari* as a genre. The majority of commentaries written on the work surround issues of authorship. While the work's whereabouts were largely unaccounted for before the Edo period, it was likely that *Chigo Kannon engi* was originally owned by Bodai-in, or Kōfuku-ji when first created. At some point in its history, it left the temple's ownership and was listed in the collection of the Hachisuka family located in Awa Province (present-day Tokushima) since at least the late Edo period, but left their collection by 1935 at the latest.<sup>425</sup> It has been included in lists of paintings and handscrolls since at least the early nineteenth century, being recorded in Ban Naokata's 伴直方 (1790-1842) list of paintings *Gazu hinrui* 画図品類 in 1829.<sup>426</sup> In this instance, the paintings are attributed to Sumiyoshi Bungo Hokkyō 住吉豊後法橋 (c. fourteenth century) and calligraphy

---

<sup>424</sup> *Hase-dera reigenki* 2: 22, ZGR vol. 799, 253-255.

<sup>425</sup> Komatsu Shigemi, *Taima mandara engi, Chigo Kannon engi*, *Zoku Nihon no emaki*, vol. 20, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), 37.

<sup>426</sup> Ban Naokata, *Gazen hinrui*, Meiji period, unpaginated, *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan: Dijitaru raiburarī*, accessed June 30, 2022, <https://webarchives.tnm.jp/dlib/detail/2383;jsessionid=825F55D3E6608DF7690D7B9E34ACB7AA>.

by “Tameshige-kyō 為重卿.”<sup>427</sup> Five years later, it was listed in Mōri Baien’s 毛利梅園 (1798-1851) *Honchō gazu hinmoku* 本朝書図品目 and attributed to the same creators.<sup>428</sup>

However, other Edo period lists record *Chigo Kannon engi* as painted by Tosa Yoshimitsu 土佐吉光 (early fourteenth century) with calligraphy by Sesonji Tsunetomo 世尊寺殿經朝卿 (1215-1276), including *Sumiyoshi ke kantei hikae* 住古家鑑定控 and *Honcho e no koto* 本朝画事 (also known as *Yamato nishiki* 倭錦) published at some point during the nineteenth century.<sup>429</sup> The latter source alleges that Hatakeyama Gyūan 畠山牛庵 (1589-1656) authenticated the calligraphy as Tsunetomo’s, lending an air of authority to the attribution missing from the other records.<sup>430</sup> A follower of the celebrated appraiser of calligraphy Kohitsu Ryōsa 古筆了佐 (1572-1662), and founder of his own lineage of calligraphy authenticators, invoking Hatakeyama Gyūan’s name to support claims of authorship indicates that Edo period antiquarians viewed *Chigo Kannon engi* as important enough over the centuries to have been examined by the connoisseurial elite. Thus, *Chigo Kannon engi* would have been known as a significant work among artists, scholars, and collectors since at least the seventeenth century. It is perhaps this extra weight of expertise that allowed this attribution to become standard. In 1897, additional published listings

---

<sup>427</sup> Possibly Nijō Tameshige 二條家為重卿 (1325-1385).

<sup>428</sup> Mori Baien, *Honchō gazu hinmoku*, Meiji period, *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan: Dijitaru raiburarī*, accessed June 30, 2022, <https://webarchives.tnm.jp/dlib/detail/2432>.

<sup>429</sup> *Honcho e no koto*, nineteenth century, National Diet Library Digital Collection, accessed June 30, 2022, <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2541293>.

<sup>430</sup> Komatsu, *Taima Mandara Engi, Chigo Kannon Engi*, 89.

for a *Chigo Kannon emaki* 稚児観音画卷 appeared in the journal *Kaiga sōshi*, which similarly attributed the work to Tosa Yoshimitsu 土佐吉光.<sup>431</sup>

By the Taishō period (1912-1926), *Chigo Kannon engi* appeared in *Kokka*, published in November of 1917, and notes that the handscroll was then in the collection of Marquis Shigeaki Hachisuka in Tokyo.<sup>432</sup> Other than providing a brief summary of the text of the handscroll, the article repeats that the work had been traditionally attributed to Tosa Yoshimitsu and Tsunetomo although the author states that this has little to no supporting evidence. Indeed, the name of the calligrapher is omitted in the French translation of the article in the same journal, pointing to either an oversight on the part of the translator, or that evidence of Tsunetomo’s involvement was so tenuous that it did not merit mention in the limited word count of *Kokka*’s tertiary language. Any possible attributions are absent by the time the scroll was mentioned in Matsuoka Eikyū’s *Zuroku emakimono shōshaku* in 1926, but instead simply records the handscroll as in the collection of Hachisuza Masaaki, along with a brief overview of the narrative.<sup>433</sup>

The first in-depth academic analysis of *Chigo Kannon engi* appeared in a 1935 *Bijutsu kenkyū* article by Watanabe Hajime, likely in conjunction with the preparations to have the work designated as Important Cultural Property, a title granted to the work only a month later on April 30. At this point, the painting had moved to the collection of Ikedo Sōzaburō 池戸宗三郎 of

---

<sup>431</sup> Kaigakai, *Kaiga sōshi* (Tokyo: Kaigakai Sōshibu, 1887-1915), 42-43.

<sup>432</sup> “A Scroll Painting of ‘Chigo Kwannon,’ *Kokka* 330 (1917), 108-109.

<sup>433</sup> Matsuoka Eikyū, *Zuroku emaki mono koshaku*, (Morikō Shōten, 1926), 115-181. National Diet Library Digital Collections, accessed June 30, 2022, <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1839212>.

Osaka.<sup>434</sup> Watanabe briefly mentions the disputed attributions but focuses on *Chigo Kannon engi*'s relationship to previous texts. Finally, in 1941, *Chigo Kannon engi* was included in *Geijutsu shiryō* as an example of medieval Japanese depictions of autumn grasses, divorcing the painting from any historical context to focus on elements of design.<sup>435</sup>

All of this is to say that if *Chigo Kannon engi* were considered to be primarily about monk-*chigo* sexual practices, such a topic would have been mentioned in nineteenth and early twentieth century art historical scholarship, in which the work suffered no lack of attention. The records of *Chigo Kannon engi* found in a late-Edo period anthology highlights several points of interest. First, *Chigo Kannon engi* was considered important enough to include in a variety of Edo period anthologies and therefore, enjoyed some kind of audience beyond those immediately associated with Kōfuku-ji, Bodai-in or Hase-dera. The compilers of these lists at least knew of its existence, and likely those in their professional circles such as patrons or students. Mori Baien's anthology sheds some light on how the work was classified, as *Honchō gazen hinmoku* is organized thematically. Out of the limited scope of this anthology of only one hundred and thirty works, *Chigo Kannon engi* is included in a list of other miraculous founding legends included in most modern lists of *engi*.<sup>436</sup> Crucially, it is listed among these religious tales despite romance and erotic

---

<sup>434</sup>Watanabe Hajime, "Chigo Kannon engi," *Bijutsu kenkyū* no. 39 (March 1935), 13-15; *Kunishitei bunkazai dō detābēsu*, "Shihon choshoku Chigo Kannon engi," accessed June 30, 2022, <https://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/bsys/maindetails/201/1721>.

<sup>435</sup> Kanai Shiun, *Geijutsu shiryō* (Kyoto: Unsōdō, 1936), National Diet Library Digital Collections, accessed June 30, 2022, <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1906503>.

<sup>436</sup> These include: *Tōdaiji Hachimangū engi* 東大寺八幡宮縁起, *Konda sōbyō engi* 誉田宗廟縁起, *Tōnomine shin engi* 多武峰新縁起, *Kitano Tenmangū engi* 北天満宮縁起, *Daizaifu Tenmangū engi* 宰府天満宮縁起, *Kamakura Egara Tenjin engi* 鎌倉荏柄天神縁起, *Ishiyamadera engi* 石山寺縁起, among others.



works existing in the same anthology, such as *Koshibagaki zōshi* and *Kanjō no maki*.<sup>437</sup> It seems that the softcore erotic potential of the monk and *chigo* discussed in recent scholarship on *Chigo Kannon engi* was seen as a secondary concern to the tale's function as a record of a miraculous origin of a sculpture. That said, the attribution of the painting of the scroll to Sumiyoshi Bungo Hokkyō may hint at a potential link to eroticism, in that Sumiyoshi was known to have produced a version of the explicit *Koshibagaki zōshi*. While this association between artist and erotic works may not have been as strong as that of Toba Sōjō, it hints at the potential for an erotic reading of the work.

Lastly, it is clear that *Chigo Kannon engi* garnered some level of interest, antiquarian or otherwise, pointing to Edo period fascinations with interactions between monks and *chigo*. It is likely unknowable if *Gazu hinrui* and *Honchō gazen hinmoku* list a second version of *Chigo Kannon engi* with an attribution separate from that of Tosa Yoshimitsu, or if these early citations simply point to the surviving scroll. If a second version existed and these are not simply misattributions, it seems to have disappeared between 1834 and 1917, and is absent from all recent scholarship. Taishō and Shōwa period publications certainly discuss the surviving scroll dubiously attributed to Yoshimitsu. The reproduction of *Chigo Kannon engi* in *Kokka* relied not on photography but by replicating the original through colorized wood engravings (*Kokka* credits the engraver as M. Yoshihira, and the colorized press to T. Tamura), the faithful replication of areas of damage, specifically, fissures in the original paper as well as areas of discoloration suggests that these earliest images of *Chigo Kannon engi* were produced from the one surviving scroll.

---

<sup>437</sup> *Honcho gazen hinmoku*, n.p.; See Akiko Yano, "Historiography of the 'Phallic Contest' Handscroll in Japanese Art," 71, note 46.

## 5.9 Chigo Kannon Engi and the Reconstruction of Bodai-in

The content of *Chigo Kannon engi* specifically concerns itself with the miraculous Jūichimen Kannon at the Ōmidō hall at Bodai-in, a sub-temple of Kōfuku-ji in present-day Nara.<sup>438</sup> It is unknown when Bodai-in was established as its recorded history is relatively fragmentary. Tagawa Fumihiko argues that Bodai-in was a site used for a variety of purposes over the course of its history. He notes that Bodai-in is mentioned *Shichi daiji nikki* 七大寺日記 (attributed to Ōe no Chikamichi 大江親通, ?-1151) and *Shichidaiji junrei shiki* 七大寺巡礼私記 (late Heian period) lists it as the former residence of the monk Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746). While it is unlikely that Bodai-in existed while Genbō was alive, scholars believe that the temple was used for memorials on the monk's behalf during the Heian period.<sup>439</sup> Later in the Heian period, Bodai-in was used as a *nenbutsu bessho* 念仏別所別所, or a retreat for itinerant monks promulgating belief in the Pure Land, and salvation through the recitation of the *nenbutsu*.<sup>440</sup> It is unknown when the main Amida Nyorai icon was installed at Bodai-in (fig. 5.7), but considering the temple's use by *nenbutsu* devotees, a depiction of Amida of some kind would likely have existed, although no specific documentation confirms this. When Bodai-in was first destroyed in the late twelfth century, allegedly burnt down by Taira Shigehira 平重衡 (1158-1185) in the 1181 Siege of Nara, funding was rapidly secured to rebuild the temple the following year, speaking to the strength of its support.

---

<sup>438</sup> For a reproduction of the full handscroll, see Komatsu Shigemi, *Taima mandara engi, Chigo Kannon engi* vol. 24, Nihon Emaki Taisei (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977-1979); Komatsu Shigemi, *Taima mandara engi, Chigo Kannon engi* vol. 20, Zoku Nihon no emaki, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992).

<sup>439</sup> Tagawa Fumihiko, “Kōfuku-ji ni okeru Bodai-in no yakuwari to sono kinōsei ni tsuite,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* vol. 53, no. 1 (2004): 95-97

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

Tagawa notes that other uses for Bodai-in developed, including the continued performance of memorial rites, as well as a site for Buddhist education.<sup>441</sup>

The addition of a cult of devotion to Kannon at Bodai-in seems to function as a kind of religious redundancy for those primarily concerned with rebirth in the Western Paradise. The veneration of Amida and the temple's history of memorial rites facilitated the incorporation of the Jūichimen Kannon *hibutsu* that is venerated as Kannon's manifestation as a *chigo* as recorded in *Chigo Kannon engi*.<sup>442</sup> The tale's emphasis on the funerary practices held at Bodai-in after the unexpected death of the *chigo* dovetail nicely with the use of the space itself. The recitation of the *nenbutsu* would guarantee rebirth in Amida's Pure Land of the Western Paradise upon death, the deceased devotee themselves being escorted to this heavenly realm by Amida, along with the bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi (C: Shizhi; S: Mahāsthāmaprāpta). Not only does *Chigo Kannon engi* reflect the performance of memorial rites at the temple but relates to the broader concerns of salvation through direct contact with the divine shared with *nenbutsu* practitioners. The tale itself ends with Kannon promising to escort the protagonist monk to Amida's Pure Land upon his death, suggesting that the miracles that this particular manifestation of Kannon performs are as effective as devotions to Amida himself.

The original Jūichimen Kannon sculpture itself is likely lost due to Bodai-in's multiple destructions. Like the Amida Nyorai icon, it is likely impossible to firmly date when the Jūichimen Kannon icon was enshrined at Bodai-in, although the earliest record of the tale found in *Hase-dera reigenki* (c. 1200) lists the death of the *chigo* and subsequent revelation as Kannon as 1013 (Chōwa

---

<sup>441</sup> Ibid.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid.

長和 2) and this is still given as the traditional year of the sculpture's original installation.<sup>443</sup> After the conflagration of 1181 and subsequent reconstruction, Bodai-in was destroyed again during the Sengoku period, and finally rebuilt in 1580. The main icon at Bodai-in, an Amida Nyorai sculpture, survived this last destruction of the temple, with the exception of its head, which was replaced later during the Muromachi period (fig. 4.7). Now listed as an Important Cultural Property, it first received government attention in 1924. Documents from the Agency for Cultural Affairs record the sculpture as a Heian work with the head replaced during the Muromachi period, while more recently, it has been listed as primarily a Kamakura period work, including in official promotions by Kōfuku-ji itself.<sup>444</sup> Considering the destruction of the site in the late twelfth century, the sculpture is likely a Kamakura work produced as part of the greater reconstruction efforts.

Regardless of whether or not parts of the Amida sculpture are remnants from the temple before it was first destroyed in the twelfth century, it survives as a testament to the site's various destructions and reconstructions over time. Likewise, there were multiple occasions when the Jūichimen Kannon described in *Hase-dera reigenki* may have been destroyed, recreated, or replaced with another Jūichimen Kannon sculpture. As a *hibutsu*, the current sculpture itself has received little scholarly attention and is often overlooked in publications, despite Chigo Kannon still being venerated at the site. A single photograph of the sculpture's face was published online as a brief companion to an episode of Asahi Television Broadcasting Corporation's television

---

<sup>443</sup> Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku, *Kōfuku-ji kokuhōten: Kamakura fukkōki no mihotoke*, (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2004), 222.

<sup>444</sup> Otsuka Kogeisha, *Catalogue of Art Treasures of Ten Great Temples of Nara, vol. 15 The Kofukuji Temple Part Two* (Tokyo: The Otsuka Kogeisha, 1933), 16. "Kizukuri Amida Nyorai zazō," *Kunishite bunkazai dō dētabēsu*, accessed June 30, 2022, <https://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/heritage/detail/201/3979>; "Kizukuri Amida Nyorai zazō," *Hōsō-shū Daihonzan Kōfuku-ji*, accessed June 30, 2022, <https://www.kohfukuji.com/property/b-0041/>.

show *Rekishi kaidō: roman'e no tobira* (歴史街道—ロマンへの扉—) that was aired in 2004, the same year as one of Kōfuku-ji's sizable exhibition of national treasures (fig. 5.8). The scant information about the sculpture itself does not reveal if this is the actual *hibutsu*, or another variant of the Jūichimen Kannon at Bodai-in.

It is likely that *Chigo Kannon engi* was produced in concert with reconstruction efforts after Bodai-in's destruction in the twelfth century. While Tagawa notes that the site was quickly rebuilt, she does not specify if this was exclusively the architectural site or included the temple along with all its concomitant icons, ritual implements, texts, and so forth. Plausibly, the architectural space was rebuilt first with the most crucial objects to perform essential rituals. The remainder of the restoration work likely took longer, concurrent with the other widespread efforts to rebuild Nara that continued throughout the Kamakura period. In this case, the ambiguity of the date for the Bodai-in Amida Nyorai's body as either Heian or Kamakura period work fits this timeline, as the *honzon* of an Amida-centric temple would likely be one of the first sculptures to be recreated. The Jūichimen Kannon may have been important enough to merit being repaired or replaced soon after the temple's destruction, but this information is likely unknowable.

The handscroll may have been produced along with the new Jūichimen Kannon icon. If the original sculpture had been destroyed and replaced soon after, promoting a new, revitalized version of its miraculous origins would have helped ensure the religious continuity between the now-lost original work and its replacement. On the other hand, if the sculpture had survived intact or needing repairs, ensuring a new outpouring of support from pilgrims to Bodai-in would likely have financially benefited the site's reconstruction. All in all, *Chigo Kannon engi* would have been produced with the intent of drawing attention to Bodai-in and the creators leveraged the calligraphy

and paintings of the handscroll along with a newly rewritten version of the *engi* against the possibility of financial difficulties or a decline in interest in Bodai-in as an important religious site.

### 5.10 Chigo Kannon Engi emaki, *Hase-dera reigenki* and Death Rites

While the illustrated handscroll *Chigo Kannon engi* is directly related to Bodai-in, the tale itself is a reimagining of an earlier narrative found in *Hase-dera reigenki*, in which thirty-three stories about the various manifestations of the Hase-dera Kannon are included. These can be categorized into five main subcategories based on Kannon's miraculous deeds, specifically curing illnesses, granting success in warfare or escape from danger, bestowing wealth on the impoverished, facilitating childbirth, and ensuring salvation of a devotee or their parents.<sup>445</sup> The twenty-second of these tales recounts the story of the monk Chōgen Shōnin 朝欣上人, and his salvation through Kannon's manifestation as a *chigo*.<sup>446</sup> By looking at the original version of the tale listed in *Hase-dera reigenki*, along with other tales that speak of divine youths at Hase-dera, I argue that the monk and *chigo*'s relationship is not primarily romantic or sexual, but that of master-disciple, with the main theme of the work concerning itself with salvation and rebirth in Amida's Pure Land.

Tagawa Fumihiko has identified the main changes made between the original tale found in *Hase-dera reigenki* and the *Chigo Kannon engi* handscroll. First, the original narrative as recorded in *Hase-dera reigenki* provides a specific year when the events of the narrative unfolded, along with identifying the protagonist monk as Chōgon Shōnin. In this version, the two meet on the first

---

<sup>445</sup> Yoshiko K. Dykstra, "Tales of the Compassionate Kannon," *Monumenta Nipponica* vol 31, no. 2 (1976), 117.

<sup>446</sup> *Hase-dera reigenki* 2: 22, ZGR vol. 799, 253-255.

day of 1008 among the pines on the foothills of Mount Obuse, an area in the southeast of present-day Nara. Later in the tale, when the *chigo* lay dying, his dying request was to have his coffin placed over the pines at Rokuyaon (鹿野園ノ松ノ上, also known as Bonfuku-ji 梵福寺) and opened on the seventh day to reveal his true nature. *Hase-dera reigenki* also notes that Chōgen Shōnin retired to Hase-dera, where he had a dream/vision of Kannon emerging from the *chigo*'s coffin. When he finally opened the coffin, he discovered the Jūichimen Kannon sculpture. Lastly, in *Hase-dera reigenki*, Chōgen's spiritual awakening was prompted by the realization that the *chigo* was a manifestation of the Hase-dera Kannon.

By contrast, the illustrated handscroll *Chigo Kannon engi* identifies the unnamed monk as living near Mount Hase, saying that he makes pilgrimages to the temple for a disciple. The monk meets the *chigo* at the foot of Mount Obuse who claims that he had escaped from his previous master at Tōdai-ji. The funerary rites are held at Bodai-in, and the tale reveals that it was the Chigo Kannon of Bodai-in, not the Jūichimen Kannon at Hase-dera who had taken the form of the youth.<sup>447</sup> Lastly, the illustrated handscroll tells of the benefits of pilgrimage to Bodai-in and expounds upon the miracles that would be bestowed upon those who copied and dedicated the *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>448</sup>

Sachi Schmidt-Hori lists more changes to the original variant of the tale, specifically those which emphasize the romantic connection between the monk and *chigo*. This is achieved through changing the monk's request to the Hase-dera Kannon from a desire for religious awakening to

---

<sup>447</sup> “*Ima, Nara no Bodai-in no chigo Kannon, kore nari* 今、奈良の菩提院の児観音、是なり Komatsu Shigemi, *Taima mandara engi, Chigo Kannon engi* vol. 20, Zoku Nihon no emaki (1992), 63.

<sup>448</sup> Tagawa Fumihiko, “Jisha engi no zaiseisan to sono hen'yō: Chigo Kannon engi o megutte,” *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*, vol. 52, no. 1 (2003), 234-235.

wanting a disciple to serve him, highlighting the *chigo*'s beauty, and the use of romantic symbolism and imagery throughout the illustrations themselves. Drawing from the work of Kimura Saeko, Schmit-Hori notes that the illustration showing the meeting of the monk and *chigo* is preceded by two intertwined pine trees, a motif used to represent romantic love, as well as a pair of trees outside of Bodai-in, the difference in their heights symbolic of transgenerational male-male love.<sup>449</sup> In addition to symbolic meanings found within the illustrations, Schmit-Hori points to other instances in the painting that hint at the relationship between the monk and *chigo*, namely, the monk cradling the *chigo*'s head in his lap while the youth dies of his illness, and the monk weeping over the youth's coffin.<sup>450</sup>

Lastly, Schmidt-Hori emphasizes that revelation of the youth as a manifestation of Kannon is deliberately changed in the illustrated handscroll to have a more spectacular ending. While the illustrations primarily focus on the funerary rituals, the text includes an extended lamentation on the monk's grief, climaxing in his opening of the coffin and discovering the body of the *chigo* has transformed into resplendent sculpture of Jūichimen Kannon. Unlike the *Hase-dera reigenki* version of the tale, the dramatic revelation is directly tied to Bodai-in where the sculpture was later enshrined, emphasizing the location of the miracle itself.

The dramatic reimagining of the story of Chogen Shōnin and the *chigo*, including the addition of romantic elements and a more immediate conclusion of the tale, speaks to the goals of creating an object like *Chigo Kannon engi*. Schmidt-Hori states:

Though both stories explain the origins of the same boy-figured Kannon statue at Bodai-in of Kōfukuji, *Kannon's Manifestation as a Youth* explicitly advertises the location where the sympathetic response occurred, encouraging readers to pay a visit to this particular

---

<sup>449</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 56; Kimura Saeko, *Koisuru mongoatari no homosekushuariti* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2008), 154-155.

<sup>450</sup> Schmidt-Hori, *Tales of Idolized Boys*, 56.



statue at the particular subtemple. One of the significant features of *engi* stories such as *Kannon's Manifestation as a Youth* is that they were collaborative efforts on the part of religious institutions and others who had a stake in the promotion of temples and shrines: government agencies, donors, local people, and residents of the estates...The production of an *engi* narrative would naturally require crafting a positive or awe-inspiring image of the religious establishment so that it appealed to potential pilgrims and donors from near and far. In this vein, the creation of *Kannon's Manifestation as a Youth* by adding more dramatic and erotic elements to an older, more subdued story indicates that not only were the lay community familiar with priest-*chigo nanshoku* but they also did not regard it as distasteful.<sup>451</sup>

It is a logical and pragmatic interpretation of the outpouring of economic resources to create a new icon, new legend, and a new handscroll to promote a new site for pilgrims that a welcoming audience for *Chigo Kannon engi* must have existed. While the audience for *Chigo Kannon engi* almost certainly did not find the romantic elements of the tale objectionable, it was likely not the main appeal of the handscroll. It does, as Schmidt-Hori notes, elevate what would have been a fairly typical mythical tale about Kannon into a short yet emotionally engaging tale. Other than the romantic potential, the sorrowful element of the *chigo's* premature death adds further emotional interest and may also have been deliberately used as a means of engaging an audience to explain the benefits of Kannon at Bodai-in.

Schmidt-Hori and Tagawa point to the main changes in the written narratives, but largely omit how the illustrations compliment and complicate this later version of the text itself. The attention to the relationship between text and image is quickly established in the illustration of the monk and *chigo* meeting. Fearing that he had failed in his devotions to the Hase-dera Kannon,

---

<sup>451</sup> Ibid., 57.

noting that “the clouds of [his] past transgressions cannot be dispersed,”<sup>452</sup> the monk returns to his home from Hase-dera. The text states that:

[a]s he was passing through the foothills of Obuse Mountain, he saw a youth of thirteen or fourteen, of complexion as pale as the moon and adorned with flowerlike magnificence. Over a purple underrobe he wore a garment of white silk and a hakama the color of fallen leaves. He played a melancholy tune on a Chinese flute. He wore a bamboo ornament in his long sleek hair. Damp with the dew of the dawn on the eighteenth day of the eighth month, he was more graceful than a willow bending in a spring breeze. The sight made the monk wonder if he were not dreaming.<sup>453</sup>

尾臥の山と申すふもとをすぐる程に、十三、四許なる少年の、月の兎せ、花の粧まことに厳く、むらさきの小袖に白練貫をよりかさねて朽葉染の袴の優なるに、漢竹の横笛心すごく吹きならし、たけなる簪し、もとゆいをしすべらかして、比は八月十八日の曙がたに、露にしほたれたる気色にみえて、春の柳の風にみだれたるよ<sup>454</sup>

The illustration shows the monk traveling to the left across low-lying grassy hills with the *chigo* playing the flute in the near distance. This first depiction of the *chigo* in the handscroll positions him on a narrow path in a vast field, surrounded by Japanese clover (*hagi* 萩) and Chinese silver grass (*Miscanthus sinensis*, *susuki* 薄) under a cloudy moonlit sky. Conveying the details of the youth’s moonlike complexion and flowerlike beauty appears as a direct transliteration of the text to the details shown in the setting. The inclusion of the moon breaking through the clouds on one hand, indicates the early morning setting, but functions as an alleviation of the monk’s fears. Clearly, Kannon has seen past the clouds of his past transgressions and appeared before him as a *chigo* in need of a new master.

---

<sup>452</sup> Childs, *Partings at Dawn*, 32. 我身の罪障の雲はれざるのかなしけれども, Shigemi, (1992), 41

<sup>453</sup> Childs, *Partings at Dawn*, 32.

<sup>454</sup> Shigemi, (1992), 41-43.

Schmidt-Hori notes the romantic symbolism of the trees bookending the two illustrations showing the first meeting of the monk and *chigo*. The pines, however, likely hold additional significance with Hase-dera and Kannon. The opening illustration of the handscroll depicts Hase-dera surrounded by numerous pine trees growing in the mountainous terrain and continue past a small bridge crossing a river ending at the aforementioned intertwined pines that Kimura discusses. Practically, these function as a clear compositional break between the first scene and this second while maintaining scenic continuity.

The pine tree motifs of *Chigo Kannon engi* likely point to male-male romances among other symbolic concerns related specifically to Kannon and the *Hase-dera reigenki* variant of the tale. Most literally, the depictions of pine trees throughout the first half of the scroll points to details of the text not found in the calligraphy of the handscroll, but rather in the earlier *Hase-dera reigenki*. When Chogen first encounters the *chigo* in this version of the tale, the text specifically notes that it was in a copse of pine trees by the foothills of Mount Obuse to the south of Nara (奈良ノ南尾臥山ノ麓野園ト云フ所ニ松ノ有リケル本ヲ晩ホドニ過ギケレバ).<sup>455</sup> This detail initially seems to be minor, concerned primarily with describing a precise location where Kannon in the guise of a *chigo* first met the monk. However, the *chigo*'s specific request to have his coffin installed “over the pines at Rokuyaon,” along with Chogen’s dream/vision of Kannon flying out of the coffin in this location points to the pine trees as a necessary detail.

Rokuyaon itself is honorific name for the temple Bonfuku-ji 梵福寺, a Shingon temple that was abolished during the Meiji period. The *Bonfuku-ji Kannon engi* 梵福寺観音縁起

---

<sup>455</sup> *Hase-dera Reigenki* 2: 22; ZGR vol. 799, 254.

from 1666 records a similar story of Chogen Hōnin devoting himself to the Hase-dera Kannon for a youth to serve him, and the sculpture's miraculous transformation occurring at Rokuyaon near Bonfuku-ji.<sup>456</sup> The principal image at Bonfuku-ji was a copy of the then-extant Jūichimen Kannon at Hase-dera (the current sculpture being an Edo-period replacement), and speaks to the connections between Bonfuku-ji, Hase-dera and Bodai-in. It is unlikely that Bonfuku-ji's Kannon was considered to be the same sculpture that had transformed from the body of the *chigo* himself, as in 1681, Hayashi Sōha 林宗甫 writes in *Washū kyūseki shūkō* 和州旧跡幽考 that the Jūichimen Kannon that had transformed from the body of the *chigo* was kept in a small shrine to the right of the Amida main icon at the Omido of Bodai-in. Curiously, this later version of the *engi* maintains many of the original details as the *Hase-dera reigenki* version, including the youth's bodily transformation at Rokuyaon.<sup>457</sup> Considering the longevity of the *Hase-dera reigenki* original version of the myth, it seems as if *Chigo Kannon engi* was produced as a specific variant of the story for the patron, with details of the narrative tweaked to emphasize the efficacy of the *Lotus Sutra* as well as the importance of Bodai-in to this narrative.

Imagery of Kannon among trees themselves are also found in depictions of moments of crisis. While later than *Chigo Kannon engi*, the *Kiyomizu-dera engi emaki* (1517) records an instance when the Kannon icon of Kiyomizu-dera flew out of the temple to roost in a pine tree when the main hall was destroyed in a fire. Similarly, *Ishiyama-dera engi e* illustrates an instance in 1078 when their Kannon icon fled the temple and found safety in a willow tree.<sup>458</sup> The idea of

---

<sup>456</sup> “Kizukuri Jūichimen Kannon ritsuzō,” *Nara-shi: Bunkazai* (March 28, 2022), accessed March 31, 2022, <https://www.city.nara.lg.jp/site/bunkazai/138676.html>.

<sup>457</sup> Bodai-in yo Ōmidō, *Washū kyūseki shūkō* 3, in ZZGR, vol. 8, 375-376.

<sup>458</sup> Morrissey, “Memorializing Imperial Power,” 106-107.

Kannon appearing in or around willow trees is repeated in the first scroll of *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, when the protagonist monk first sees the *chigo* Umewaka, who is a manifestation of Ishiyama-dera's Kannon icon. Thus, Chogen encountering a manifestation of Kannon paired with a specific arboreal symbol is continued throughout other *chigo* tales. While neither *Chigo Kannon engi* nor *Aki no yo naga monogatari* have such dramatic, public moments of crisis such as a temple hall being destroyed, the personal crises of both Chogen and Kaikei/Sensai clearly prompted the respective Kannon manifestations to leave their shrines and take the form of *chigo* to aid them.

Lastly, and most specifically relevant to the themes of *Chigo Kannon engi* is another tale in *Hase-dera reigenki* in which a man named Sadayori ardently devoted himself to the Hase-dera Kannon, praying for a son.<sup>459</sup> He eventually dreamt of a youth who volunteered to become his child, and composed the poem:

Contemplate the evergreen pine of the mountain  
Where I lived for generations  
As my own eternal companion.<sup>460</sup>

住馴テ幾世ニナリヌ此山ノ松ヲ替ラヌ身ノ共トシテ<sup>461</sup>

After he awoke, the Sadayori contemplated the symbolism of the poem and concluded that the youth was one of the Hachidai dōji 八大童子 attendants of Kannon from the *Lotus Sutra*, noting that like the mountain's unchanging pines, this youth would alleviate their suffering and become their child.<sup>462</sup> Soon after, Sadayori's wife became pregnant and gave birth to a boy they named

---

<sup>459</sup> Another variant of this tale is found in *Konjaku monogatari*, 24:25.

<sup>460</sup> Dykstra, 124; Hase-dera reigenki 1:4.

<sup>461</sup>, *Hase-dera reigenki* 1: 4, ZGR vol. 799,193.

<sup>462</sup> Dykstra, 124.

Haseo, who became a prominent scholar and reestablished his family's prominence in the aristocratic court. After Sadayori's death, Haseo continued to travel to Hase-dera often, and eventually died at the temple at the age of sixty-eight.<sup>463</sup> Haseo's body does not dramatically transform into any specific image of a divinity, nor does the tale end with the revelation that he had been a manifestation of the divine, but still implies that Kannon's attendant who volunteered to be Sadayori's son had returned to Hase-dera once this promise had been fulfilled.

The specific ability of Kannon to bestow an heir—spiritual or biological—is repeated in *Chigo Kannon engi* and perhaps points to one association of Kannon with pines. The oft-used trope of “pine” (*matsu* 松) in *waka* poetry as a homonym for “waiting” (*matsu* 待つ) or “pining” for a lover may convey an additional sense of the protagonist monk's longing for a *chigo* as he devotes himself to the Hase-dera Kannon. Indeed, the depiction of pine trees is primarily grouped around the scene of Hase-dera and the monk's traveling through the moors and ends with the intertwined pines shown before his first meeting with the *chigo*.

Emphasizing the *chigos*' role as either familial heirs or Buddhist disciples rather than an uncomplicated view of them as primarily the objects of a monk's erotic desire expands our understanding on the symbolic use of *chigo* throughout medieval imagery. When asked for a male heir to take over a struggling family's lineage, Kannon's intervention ushers in generations of prestige and success. For monks whose goal is less centered on familial success, Kannon's manifestation as a *chigo* provides them both with a disciple and a confirmation of their own spiritual awakening. This lends a practical explanation as to why *chigo* manifestations of Kannon

---

<sup>463</sup> Ibid. 124-125.

associated with monk-*chigo* romances almost always die within the narratives.<sup>464</sup> If the broader implications of *chigo* as a servant or disciple for a monk includes the expectation of performing post-mortem funerary rites and rituals for the master's salvation, the death of the *chigo* before the monk and the youth's subsequent revelation as Kannon carries the implication that the monk no longer needs to be concerned with what awaits him in the afterlife, as Kannon has already confirmed his salvation. Therefore, he no longer needs a follower to perform the appropriate rituals for a better afterlife. After all, these tales emphasize that the death of the *chigo* and the revelation of their divine status prompt the monks to transform into significant living holy figures rather than monks struggling with their vows.

Certainly, a level of implied intimacy may be read in *Chigo Kannon engi* considering the frequency with which monks and *chigo* were sexually active, although reading the tale as Chōgen specifically asking the Hase-dera Kannon for a young lover overshadows the more common theme of requesting an heir. *Chigo Kannon engi* shows the monk devoting himself to the Hase-dera Kannon to receive a disciple to serve him closely and to pray for him after death. This second reason for wanting a disciple belies the greater concern of both monks and parents needing followers or descendants to pray for their salvation after death, and likely superseded any reading of this request as a desire for a young lover. If one brackets the potential romantic elements of the tale, *Chigo Kannon engi* is about the death of a youth, and how through the Hase-dera Kannon's

---

<sup>464</sup> While Atkins notes that this detail draws from Chinese literary tradition, it is important to note that *chigo* had a symbolic presence outside of romance stories. Kannon's two manifestations as a *chigo* in *Hase-dera reigenki* speaks to the importance of devotions to Kannon and a need for heirs or disciples. The death of Kannon in *chigo monogatari* that end in religious revelations generally indicate that the miracles requested by the devotee were not only granted, but spawn more and even greater miraculous works. The death of the *chigo* may also indicate a complete sense of salvation for the monk, as he would no longer need a disciple to carry on his devotions after his own death.

compassion, people need not worry if their sole heir dies before them as their devotions to Kannon may be enough to merit a direct intervention from the bodhisattva. Their disciple or child may have been a manifestation of the divine, and their interactions were enough to guarantee rebirth in a heavenly afterlife.

There is a deep sadness in *Chigo Kannon engi*'s handling of the youth's death that is arguably absent in other illustrated handscrolls considered to be *chigo monogatari*. The entirety of the second half of the illustrations are devoted to the youth's sickness, death, funerary rites, and final revelation as Kannon.<sup>465</sup> The second half of the handscroll begins with a record of the youth's illness and premature death:

Three years later, towards the end of spring, the youth became slightly indisposed. Day by day he weakened, until, on the verge of death, he pillowed his head on the monk's knee. Together, they lamented their parting. The youth's last words were deeply touching. "For these three years I have passed my days in a dwelling of compassion, my nights have been spent at the foot of walls of forbearance. Morning and evening you have taught me with kindness that I shall never forget, even in lives to come. Though they say that the old do not necessarily die before the young, I have thought only of outliving you so that I might hold memorial services for your salvation. My hopes have been in vain, my only regret is that I am going first..." He had barely finished speaking when he breathed his last... The tears of despair that a youth had passed on before an aged man repeatedly dampened [the monk's] robe... He who was approaching old age remained, while the youth was gone. He was reminded of fresh buds being scattered and of the cruelty of the turning of the autumn leaves. As the dew on the tip of a branch or the droplets at the foot of a tree both vanish, life, whether long or short, inevitably ends.<sup>466</sup>

三年と申す春の暮に俄にかの少人病悩をうけ御座けり四大日々に衰て万死一生に成し時彼少人上人の膝を枕にし手に手を取りくみ顔にかほをあはせて互に別を惜給けるに遺言実に哀に覚抑此の三年か程慈悲の室の内に日をくらし忍辱のふすま

---

<sup>465</sup> While the dramatic continuous *ijidōzu* narrative of Umewaka's death by suicide in *Aki no yo naga monogatari* emphasizes the tragedy of a young life cut short, the lingering gaze on the youth's hair and garments articulate a sadness of beauty being destroyed. It is, above other considerations, an aesthetic death that is meant to be appreciated for the sorrow in its own beautiful destruction. There is no illustrated resolution to Umewaka's death, and his true identity as the Ishiyama-dera Kannon is only noted in the text.

<sup>466</sup> Childs, *Partings at Dawn* 32-34.



のしたに夜を明し朝夕に慈訓をうけし事何の生にか忘れむ設老少不定の習なりとも我身ながらへて御身先立給は々設後の御孝養をも我身いきて申はやとこそ思候つれ思空く[...]というもはてす息絶ぬ[...]老少不定の涙の衫と何の時にか乾かむ[...]老を々ひたるは留り幼なる去る青花のちり秋葉のつれなきにたくふ本のしつく末の露にあひにたりなくなく<sup>467</sup>

The illustrations depart from being straightforward images based on the text and include new details appear in the narrative that do not exist in either this version of the miraculous tale or that found in *Hase-dera reigenki*. The paintings begin by showing the *chigo* in his sickness, his head on the knee of weeping the protagonist monk, with another monk and attendant *chigo* waiting on the sick youth. In the background, a lone pine tree is shown as a painted motif on a *fusuma* as an allusion to the loss of the monk's lover. Immediately following this is an illustration of the monk weeping over the coffin of the *chigo*, which has been arranged before an altar with two other monks looking on. Next, two monks are seen copying the *Lotus Sutra* while the funerary rites themselves are performed over the youth's coffin. Outside the hall, a group of onlookers are seated on the veranda. Men, women and children, the onlookers range in age from infancy to the elderly, functioning as a reminder of the cycle of birth and rebirth. The viewer first encounters a young woman balancing an infant on her knee, while behind her a man holding rosary beads converses with an elderly woman, as a younger woman in a traveling cloak, her hat discarded on the floor, ardently focuses on her prayers. Further along, an elderly individual has removed the upper portion of the robes exposing their back, allowing a young child to scratch it for them. The final two figures sob into their sleeves, seemingly more aware of the funeral occurring inside, or engulfed in their own personal grief (fig. 4.14).

---

<sup>467</sup> Komatsu, *Taima mandara engi Chigo Kannon Engi* (1992), 57-61.

This mix of new life, adults, and the elderly echo the text's lamentation of the loss of young life before old. Considering the origins of *Chigo Kannon engi* as a tale expounding upon the Hasedera Kannon's ability to grant children and lead one or ones' parents to salvation, the themes of finding a disciple, the *chigo*'s and the monk's subsequent salvation would surely have resonated with an audience familiar with the desire to have children, or those who had lost theirs. Intriguingly, this portion of the illustration points to a potential audience for a newly-enshrined Kannon at Bodai-in who was known to grant children, but also assure those who lost children that they may still have had an encounter with Kannon.

Kannon's presence is clearly depicted in each of these funeral scenes (figs. 4.14 and 4.15). The main icon of Amida enshrined at Bodai-in is absent in the first two funeral scenes and is replaced by a manifestation of Kannon that reads as an incorporeal apparition that hovers over the altars surrounded by auspicious clouds. The first instance shows Kannon from the elbow down, with both feet planted on separate lotus pedestals, indicating the speed with which the bodhisattva has arrived. This detail directly recalls depictions of Kannon in *raigō* scenes, where the bodhisattva arrives with Amida and Seishi to greet the deceased. Along with the frequently bent knees of the divinities, the separate lotus pedestals for each foot may indicate the rapid arrival of the figures. Invoking funerary imagery increases the visual drama of the scene while emphasizing the somber atmosphere. The arrival of Kannon as part of a *raigō* scene may have been a familiar sight to those who had recently lost loved ones, or those familiar with Bodai-in as a site associated with Amida devotions.

The apparition of Kannon alone, however, gives some sense of this being an atypical funeral. Instead of accompanying Amida, Kannon arrives alone and remains static on the altar in the next scenes. In this, Kannon stands statically on a single lotus blossom swirling in auspicious

clouds. Finally, in the revelatory scene, the polychrome Jūichimen Kannon sculpture appears from inside the youth's coffin, replacing the spectral apparition of the bodhisattva in the previous scenes. In this last illustration, the Amida icon is finally shown, but lacks any indication that the divinity is actively doing anything. He sits placidly as a sculpture, whereas the newly-appeared Jūichimen Kannon sculpture is still surrounded by swirling auspicious clouds. The depictions of the two sculptures reveal their respective states of animation at the moment of the miraculous revelation of the *chigo*'s true identity. It is not a *raigō* scene, after all, there was no real death, only Kannon's metamorphosis from a human *chigo* manifestation to their true divine form visualized in sculpture. Finally, the scroll concludes with an image of Kannon, dressed in similarly colored garments as shown on the sculpture, flying away on a lotus blossom, with his scarves fluttering behind him.

This deliberate emphasis on the transformation of Kannon into the Jūichimen Kannon at Bodai-in is atypical for depictions of sculptures kept as *hibutsu*. Like Kokawa-dera, *Chigo Kannon engi* only depicts the Kannon icon while performing a miracle, however, the repetition of Kannon's apparition as a *chigo* suggests that it is something meant to be looked at. Kannon is fully visible primarily as a *chigo* whereas the more ethereal apparitions of the divinity while approaching during the funerary scenes are primarily hidden from view, with the full sculpture only being shown at the moment the miracle takes place.

The final image of Kannon flying off into the distance provides a last moment of viewing the divinity, this time illustrated at a remove from the narrative itself, functioning almost as a depiction of Kannon in an intangible, divine and animated form, untethered to a specific manifestation as a *chigo* or to the stillness of Bodai-in's sculpture (fig. 5.16). Instead of repeating an image of the Kannon at Bodai-in, the illustration relies on more generalized iconography for Jūichimen Kannon. Dressed largely the same as the illustration of the Jūichimen Kannon emerging

from the *chigo*'s coffin, the illustration emphasizes the living quality of the divinity shown in the sculptural icon, and provides the viewer with a painted vision that pilgrims to the site would not have, specifically, that of Kannon as a divinity capable of manifesting in myriad ways specific to the needs of the devotee, through a visual reiteration of the promises made within the text itself.

All in all, *Chigo Kannon engi* repurposes a tale from *Hase-dera reigenki* to promote a pre-existing site mostly associated with Amida and rituals primarily associated with preparations for the afterlife. The handscroll is visually organized around the main narrative beats of the legend as retold to promote Bodai-in, depicting Chogon's initial petition to Kannon at Hase-dera, Kannon's response by providing him with a disciple, the tragic and unexpected death of the *chigo*, and finally, Kannon's miraculous transformation into an icon and promise for an even greater miraculous intervention in Chogon's life than he had initially requested.

### **5.11 *Aki no yo naga monogatari*: Inventing an Iconography for the Ishiyama-dera Kannon as a Chigo**

Like *Kokawa-dera engi e* and *Chigo Kannon engi*, *Aki no yo naga monogatari* includes Kannon manifesting as a *chigo*, but in this instance, the scroll does not attribute any site-specific miracles to the divinity. Rather, it explains how the Ishiyama-dera Kannon as a *chigo* helped a monk attain significant spiritual progress through their romance. The text itself combines Ishiyama-dera's association with providing children with the temple's direct connection to romance stories, as Murasaki Shikibu allegedly began to write the *Tale of Genji* on the back of a sutra at the temple. The story of *Long Tale* itself is an imagined biography of the Heian period monk Sensai 瞻西 (d. 1127) and combines elements of various literary genres such as romances, war tales (*gunki monogatari* 軍記物語) and tales of religious awakenings (*hosshindan* 発心譚), all of which coalesce into a narrative explaining how Sensai attained salvation through his romance

with Umewaka, the *chigo* son of the Minister of the Left and a manifestation of the Ishiyama-dera Kannon.

For the final part of this chapter, I will primarily examine the illustrated *Aki no yo naga monogatari* handscrolls, currently owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, first, because they are the earliest surviving example, and second, because they have a greater emphasis on illustrating scenes from the tale prominently featuring Umewaka with the iconography of the monk's miraculous vision of Kannon as a *chigo*. This version of the tale is comprised of three scrolls brushed by an unknown artists and is generally considered to date from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.<sup>468</sup> The three scrolls survive as the earliest illustrated example of the tale and are based on the 1377 version of the narrative's text.<sup>469</sup> Before being acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, it was owned by Kōsetsu Shizuhiko 幸節静彦, but had been in the imperial collection until 1438.<sup>470</sup>

Often considered the pre-eminent example of *chigo monogatari* literature, *Aki no yo naga monogatari* explains that when the monk Sensai was young and a monk at Mount Hiei, he was known as Keikai. One morning, after a fitful night of scattering flower blossoms and leaves, the young monk realized his disappointing spiritual progress on the road to reaching enlightenment.

---

<sup>468</sup> For a detailed analysis of the calligraphy and painting, see Fujita Saki, "Metropolitan bijutsukan zō 'Aki no yo naga monogatari e,' no kisoteki kōsatsu," *Chiga Daigaku Daigakuin Jinbun Kōkyōbu Kenkyū Purojekuto hōkokusho*, vol. 333 (2018), 52-64. During a workshop held on March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2011, at the Metropolitan Museum, Sasaki Takahiro noted that the calligraphy was likely brushed during the Ōei era (1394-1427), Masako Watanabe, *Storytelling in Japanese Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 110.

<sup>469</sup> Fujita, "Metropolitan bijutsukan zō Aki no yo naga monogatari e," 54; Watanabe, *Storytelling in Japanese Art*, 110.

<sup>470</sup> "A Long Tale for an Autumn Night," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* vol. 61, no. 2 (Fall 2003), 63.

Believing that devoting himself to the Kannon at Ishiyama-dera would be beneficial, he set out on pilgrimage. While at Ishiyama-dera, he had a miraculous dream in which a beautiful *chigo* emerged from the temple's shrine and stood beneath a cherry tree with cascading flowers around him. After returning to Mount Hiei, Keikai was distracted by this dream to the point where he could no longer focus on his religious obligations and returned to Ishiyama-dera to complain to Kannon. While passing Mii-dera, Keikai stopped to take shelter from a passing rain when he saw a youth who looked like the *chigo* from his dream at Ishiyama-dera. By communicating with Keiju, the *chigo*'s attendant, Keikai learned that the youth was Umewaka 梅若, the son of the Hanazono Minister of the Left, and arranges an excuse to meet him. After Keikai and Umewaka finally spend the night together, the monk returned to Mount Hiei leaving Umewaka distraught and determined to find Keikai. Umewaka and Keiju sneak away from Mii-dera and are kidnapped by *tengu* 天狗. The youth's disappearance led Mii-dera to destroy the Hanazono Minister's estate and built an ordination platform with the hopes of drawing Enryaku-ji into a battle. As Keikai blamed himself for Umewaka's disappearance and the subsequent battles, he led an assault on Mii-dera, where he distinguished himself in battle, leading to the complete destruction of Mii-dera. While Umewaka remained imprisoned by *tengu*, he heard of the war between the two temples and blamed himself for the destruction and loss of life. Keiju and Umewaka were eventually rescued by a *kami*, and eventually, the two again set out to find Keikai. However, Umewaka remained distraught over the destruction of his father's residence and Mii-dera, and blaming himself, drowned himself in a river. Keikai searches for Umewaka, and eventually finds his lifeless body floating in a river. After the youth's funeral, Keikai threw himself wholeheartedly into practicing his Buddhist vows, and reaches enlightenment. It was then revealed that this was all because of the Kannon of Ishiyama-

dera took the form of Umewaka to lead Keikai to a complete understanding the Buddha's teachings.

The reasons why Sensai would become the subject of a fictionalized biography during the fourteenth century that attributes his spiritual advancement to an ill-fated romance with a *chigo* manifestation of Kannon from Ishiyama-dera appear to be based more out of a literary fascination with him than any real historical events covered in the tale. As a Tendai monk, Sensai is primarily known for establishing Ungo-ji 雲居寺 in 1124 and organizing the creation of a colossal buddha sculpture there.<sup>471</sup> Additionally, Sensai was an accomplished poet who took part in various poetry competitions, notably the Ungo-ji kechien-gyō kōen utaawase 雲居寺結縁経後宴歌合 of 1116, when Fujiwara no Mototoshi 藤原基俊 (1060-1142) presided as the judge and the monk won two out of his three competitions, eventually tying with the noted poet Minamoto no Toshiyori 源俊頼 (1055-1129).<sup>472</sup> Evidence of Sensai, Mototoshi and Toshiyori's social ties is found in both *Fujiwara no Mototoshi kashū* 藤原基俊家集 (c. twelfth century) where Mototoshi includes several of his poetic exchanges with the monk, and in Toshiyori's *Sanboku kika shū* 散木奇歌集 (c.1128) where he lists poems composed while visiting Ungo-ji.<sup>473</sup> Sensai, was therefore, notably well-connected with not only fellow poets but members of the powerful Fujiwara and Minamoto families in the Heian capital.

---

<sup>471</sup> Sawada Shikyo, "Aki no yo Naga Monogatari: A Lengthy Story for an Autumn Night," MA Thesis, (University of British Columbia, 1976): 12-14.

<sup>472</sup> Sawada, 15-16; "Ungo-ji kechien-gyō kōen utaawase," in GR vol. 213, 258-262.

<sup>473</sup> Sawada, 16. 藤 *Fujiwara no Mototori kashū*, GR, vol. 255, 95-104; *Sanboku kika shū*, GR vol. 254, 1-79.

As a monk and avid poet, Sensai was clearly aware of potential tensions between religious practice and secular entertainment. To circumnavigate the potential karmic drawbacks of writing secular poetry, Sensai suggested that the Sumiyoshi *kami* was the *suijaku* of Kōkitokuō 高貴徳王 a variant of Kannon. Sumiyoshi's identity as the *kami* of *waka* poetry was thus justified through Buddhism by appealing to the notion that *kami* were local traces of Buddhist divinities.<sup>474</sup> Mototoshi helped to solidify this in religious practice by writing a preface to a set of poems that Sensai offered to the Sumiyoshi divinity along with an image of Kōkikuō while on pilgrimage in 1106:

If one inquires into Sumiyoshi's origins, one finds out that the deity is none other than the Kōkiokuō bodhisattva, who, to identify him, gathered the sutras when the Buddha died in the Sala forest and later explained them. The language of the sutras is simple and easy but it is the highest order of excellence... I draw a portrait of the bodhisattva and write a sutra on it and, facing the picture, I expound the meaning of the sutras and pay homage to it in order to repent of my sins. I beg that the sins I committed in life by composing poems will have the contrary effect of bringing me to enlightenment. That is all.<sup>475</sup>

所以住吉明神爲諷諭垂跡。後代詞人慣微言繼塵。倩尋此明神之本地。寧非高貴徳王菩薩哉。追訪此菩薩之對揚。則是雙林拈捨之說教也。經演龜言及輕語。皆歸第一義之文。誠哉此言。予止觀之餘。坐禪之隙。時々有和歌之口號。春朝戲指花稱雲。秋月啣假月云雪。龜言之咎難避。綺語之過何爲。仍圖彼菩薩之像。寫此經典之文。向像講經。禮經謝罪。請以一生中之狂言。翻爲三菩提之因緣而已。<sup>476</sup>

Anne Commons has identified that this preface directly references a similar preface by the Chinese poet Bo Juyi 白居易(772-846) in which he expresses a desire that his secular writings would

---

<sup>474</sup> Anne Commons, *Hitomaro: Poet as God* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 91-2.

<sup>475</sup> Translation by Herbert Plutschow in *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*, (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 161.

<sup>476</sup> “Ungōji shōnin zan kyōgen-kigo waka jo,” in Kuroita Katsumi, *Honchō bunshū* vol. 55 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), 236.



similarly pave the way to his salvation and not function as a karmic block.<sup>477</sup> Tachibana Narisue 橘成季 (thirteenth century) records in *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 (1254) that during the same pilgrimage, Sensai created a *waka mandara*, which was comprised of the seven buddhas of the past (*kako shichibutsu* 過去七仏) as well as the names of the Thirty Six Immortal Poets (*Sanjū rokka sen* 三十六歌仙), which was then copied onto a screen. Narisue notes that the *mandara* was sold to Tosa Chikatsune and was currently in the possession of his grandson at the time when he was able to view it.<sup>478</sup>

Romance and Buddhism seem to mix in another instance recorded in Fujiwara no Kiyosuke's 藤原清輔 (1104-1177) *Zoku shika wakashū* 続詞花和歌集. The anecdote records an instance when Sensai was interrupted during a religious service by water leaking through his roof, prompting him to compose the poem:

In the days gone by,  
If I seek, I'll find a case  
Aha, now I see...  
A house with a leaky roof  
Is certainly the Law's foe.<sup>479</sup>

いにしへを  
尋てもきく  
今もみる  
もるやはのりの  
かたき成けり<sup>480</sup>

---

<sup>477</sup> Commons, 93-94.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid. 94-5. *Kokon chomonjū*, NKBT vol. 84, 152-153.

<sup>479</sup> Translation by Sawada Shikyo, in "Aki no yo Naga Monogatari: A Lengthy Story for an Autumn Night," 18.

<sup>480</sup> *Zoku shika wakashū*, GR vol. 148, 84.

The meaning of the poem largely rests on the dual meaning of Sensai being interrupted by the water from the roof, but also the trope of his sleeves soaked with tears of loneliness for lack of a romantic partner, a desire which also functions as a religious block, and demonstrates the monk's intermixing of Japanese poetic conventions within Buddhist practice.<sup>481</sup> This poem alone may point to a kind of literary justification for inventing a romance tale about Sensai's enlightenment through an ill-fated romance with a *chigo*. As a monk, he already confesses to the difficulties of a samsaric tie of romantic desires but given the historical records noting his prestige as a monk this particular block did not set him back in his religious works. Inventing a romance early in Sensai's life where he falls disastrously in love with a *chigo* manifestation of Kannon fills in a potential biographical gap. Given the monk's close association with Japanese literary forms, a dramatic romantic affair with the Ishiyama-dera Kannon who presided over the site when Murasaki Shikibu began to write the *Tale of Genji* on the back of a sutra is the most logical choice.

In short, *Aki no yo naga monogatari* has almost nothing in common with the actual biographical information we know about Sensai or his literary or religious works, with the exception that one of his poems being included in the narrative. The tale purports to be a story from early in the monk's life when he went by the name Keikai, with the events of the narrative leading to his establishment of Ungo-ji.<sup>482</sup> Despite this, Sensai's reputation during the Edo period became directly associated with *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, specifically in the eyes of Kitamura

---

<sup>481</sup> Sawada, 18.

<sup>482</sup> *Aki no yo naga monogatari* concludes noting that the events covered in the tale led Sensai to establish Ungo-ji, specifically due to his increased reputation as a holy man. While not an *engi*, but rather, a tale of Buddhist awakening, the narrative attributes all of the events that prompted Sensai to establish Ungo-ji to the Ishiyama-dera Kannon.

Kigin 北村季吟 (1625-1705), who included the one poem written by Sensai found in *Aki no yo naga monogatari* in his own anthology of literature including male-male love named *Iwatsutsuji* which was compiled in 1676 and eventually published in 1713.<sup>483</sup> In this section, Kigin lists Sensai's poem noting the original is recorded in *Shin Kokinshū* (1205) and continues to include a partial summary of *Aki no yo naga monogatari*. His telling of the story emphasizes the sexual nature of the relationship, and ends the tale shortly after Umewaka's death, making no mention of the divine revelations found in the fourteenth century version of the tale.<sup>484</sup> Both *Iwatsutsuji* and *Aki no yo naga monogatari* note that this poem was included in the *Shin Kokinshū*. However, the preface to the poem in this earlier anthology is vague concerning the dedicatee of this particular poem:

Composed after someone's death at the time of the service to establish a bond for enlightenment, on the text, "go directly to the realm of supreme bliss"

With the light of that  
Moon you saw so long ago  
Serving as your guide  
Surely tonight you must be traveling toward the west<sup>485</sup>

人の身まかりにけるのち、結縁経供養しけるに、即往安楽世界のこゝろをよめる  
むかし見し月のひかりをしるべにてこよひや君がにしへゆくらん<sup>486</sup>

---

<sup>483</sup> Paul Gordon Schalow, "The Invention of a Literary Tradition of Male Love: Kitamura Kigin's 'Iwatsutsuji,'" *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 48, no. 1 (Spring 1993), 1.

<sup>484</sup> For a translation of Kitamura Kigin's retelling of *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, see Schalow, "Iwatsutsuji," 17-20; Asakura Haruhiko, *Kana zōshi shūsei* vol. 5 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1984), 355-358.

<sup>485</sup> Laura Rasplica Rodd, trans. *Shinkokinshū: New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* vol. 2, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 805.

<sup>486</sup> *Shin Kokin wakashu*, vol. 20, no. 1978, NKBZ.

As Kigin directly included this earlier poem with a summary of the fourteenth century tale, by the Edo period, Sensai's poetry was being clearly linked to *Aki no yo naga monogatari* as a matter of literary and historical fact. Documents written during Sensai's life, however, do not mention Umewaka, or the other primary figure in the tale, Umewaka's attendant Keiju.<sup>487</sup> In 1964, Hirasawa Gorō examined *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, with an eye to how the events related to, and departed from, historical figures and events recorded in the written record. He specifically documented instances where Sensai Shōnin's life and works were recorded as well as documents that referenced the other historical events in the tale, specifically the skirmishes between Mii-dera and Enryaku-ji. Hirasawa points to the last burning on Mii-dera in 1319 as likely the battle that takes place within *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, as historical documents as well as the narrative itself note that the two temples had major skirmishes six times before this final destruction of Mii-dera.<sup>488</sup>

Mixing biographical details of a monk who died in 1127 with a specific fourteenth century battle that occurred between two temples who had been at loggerheads since at least the twelfth century either seems to reflect a chronological mistake on the part of the author or one that developed accidentally through changes made when copies of the text were produced. On the other hand, it may have been a deliberate attempt to relate the miraculous conversion of Keikai through his romance with Umewaka as relevant in the time when the story was written. Sawada Shiko suggests that during the fourteenth century, there may have been a legend about a warrior monk named Keikai from Mount Hiei who took part in this latest battle in 1319, which merited his

---

<sup>487</sup> Hirosawa Goro, "Aki no yo naga monogatari kō," *Shidō Bunko Ronshū*, no. 3, (1964): 237.

<sup>488</sup> Hirasawa, 246.

inclusion within *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, although there is not much surviving evidence to point to this possibility.<sup>489</sup>

*Long Tale* notes clearly that “[t]he [youth’s] relinquishing his life had been the work of Kannon and the destruction of the temple an expedient [方便] to lead men to salvation.<sup>490</sup>” With this in mind, it is likely that pairing the religious devotions of a Heian period figure with the contemporaneous fourteenth century disasters was meant to encourage belief in Kannon’s involvement and reframe these ongoing battles as a kind of expedient means to salvation. While the tale itself is significantly more dramatic and complex in its plot than either *Kokawa-dera engi* or *Chigo Kannon engi*, the entire tale similarly concerns itself with the works of Kannon as a *chigo*, and attributes all the positive outcomes from the disasters in the tale to Kannon. Not only does Keikai transform into a highly successful monk, the thirty monks at Mii-dera who instigated the battle with Mount Hiei are prompted to take on more austere devotions, leading them to their own religious awakenings. If the Kokawa-dera Kannon can lead a village and a wealthy man’s family to devote themselves to Buddhism through personal miracles, the Ishiyama-dera Kannon works in more dramatic world events, leading to significantly higher numbers of religious awakenings. All in all, the religious reframing of disaster in *Aki no yo naga monogatari* and the emphasis on reimagining the Ishiyama-dera Kannon as a miracle-working *chigo*, are highlighted in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s *Aki no yo naga monogatari* handscroll by specifically

---

<sup>489</sup> Sawada, 25-26.

<sup>490</sup> Childs, “Chigo Monogatari: Love Stories or Buddhist Sermons?” 150. サテハ若公ノ身ヲ擲玉フモ観音ノ變化也、寺門ノ焼ケルモ濟度ノ方便也, Ichiko Teiji, ed. *Otogi Zōshi*, NKBT vol. 38, 484.

repeating the imagery of Keikai's first vision of the Ishiyama-dera Kannon's manifestation as a *chigo* in his miraculous dream/vision.

### 5.12 The Surviving *Aki no yo naga monogatari* Handscrolls

Written records point to the possible existence of other illustrated versions of the text beyond the Metropolitan Museum's fourteenth century example, including Eisei Bunko's later Muromachi period handscrolls. Premodern interest in illustrated handscrolls of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* is documented in surviving diaries, notably Prince Sadafusa's 貞成 (1372-1456) diary *Kanmon gyoki* 看聞御記 (1416-1448) and Yamashina Tokitsune's 山科言経 (1543-1611) *Tokitsune kyō ki* 言経卿記 (1576-1608).<sup>491</sup> *Kanmon gyoki* records a wealth of information regarding the exchange of illustrated handscrolls, as well as various instances of his viewing and commissioning copies of specific works. In a short entry for the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1438 (Tenshō 4), Sadafusa notes that Go-Hanazono looked at one of a two scroll set of *Aki no yo naga monogatari*.<sup>492</sup> Tokitsune additionally records the exchange and circulation of *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, noting that on the 27<sup>th</sup> of the third month of 1576, he requested to view the work, but provides little additional information.<sup>493</sup>

This entry in *Kanmon gyoki* concerning a two-scroll version of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* provides more insight into which set of the handscrolls he examined. Being only a two-scroll version of the tale, it is possible that this version was that currently housed at the Eisei Bunko or

---

<sup>491</sup> Yamashina Tokitsune *Tokitsune kyō ki* vol. 1, Dai Nihon Kokiroku, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1959-1991), 39-40. 27/3/1576 (Tenshō 4) and 3/29/1576 (Tenshō 4), 38-40.

<sup>492</sup> KG, 579.

<sup>493</sup> *Tokitsune kyō ki*, vol. 1, 38.

at least that it shared a similar format as a two-scroll edition of the tale, and not the longer version held at the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>494</sup> Brock notes the diversity of romantic and sexual works commissioned by Sadafusa and Go-Hanazono listed in *Kanmon gyoki*, including a copy of the now-lost *Ashibiki-e* scrolls from Mount Hiei, an unknown work titled *Chigohō no gei-e* 児方芸絵, which Brock suggests may be thematically similar to *Chigo no sōshi*, and an erotic *Genji-e* scroll which has been lost.<sup>495</sup> While *Aki no yo naga monogatari* has come to be considered the progenitor of other *chigo monogatari*—including *Ashibiki-e*—it is of note that it seems of less interest to Go-Hanazono than the *Ashibiki-e* scrolls from Mount Hiei, which he had copied. It is difficult to conclusively argue that Sadafusa and Go-Hanazono were interested in either *Ashibiki* or *Aki no yo naga monogatari* for their subject matter rather than their artistic or antiquarian merits, given the wide variety of genres they commissioned to have copied.

In addition to those owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, other examples of the *Aki no yo naga monogatari* handscroll survive, including a two-scroll version housed at the Eisei Bunko Museum from the fifteenth century, a later three-scroll example owned by the University of Tokyo dated to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, as well as one formerly in the collection of Tanaka Shinbi 田中親美 (1875-1975), although its current whereabouts are unknown.<sup>496</sup> In addition, at least three *Nara ehon*—books that were illustrated either with painting

---

<sup>494</sup> The exact history of the Metropolitan Museum’s handscroll is unclear. It was owned by Kōsetsu Shizuhiko but was previously in the Imperial Collection until 1438. While the date of Go-Hanazono requesting a copy of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* and the scroll leaving the imperial collection in the same year is an intriguing coincidence, the differences in length suggest that these were two separate illustrated versions of the tale.

<sup>495</sup> Karen Brock, “Shogun’s Painting Match,” 469-471, note 119.

<sup>496</sup> Ōkura Ryūji, “Eisei Bunko zō: Aki no yo naga monogatari emaki,” *Bijutsushi* vol 33, no. 2 (1984), 116; Fujita, “Metoroporitan bijutsukan zō ‘Aki no yo nagamonogatari emaki,’” 52.

or printing from as early as the Muromachi period—were produced, including copies primarily owned by academics, specifically one by Takeda Yūichi 武田祐吉 (1886-1958) that was destroyed in a fire, as well as others in the collection of the specialist in medieval Japanese literature Yokoyama Shigeru 横山重 (1896-1980), Tokue Gensei 徳江元正 (1931-2016), Seoul National University, and Ishikawa Tōru 石川透 (1959-).<sup>497</sup>

The *Aki no yo naga monogatari* scrolls at the Metropolitan Museum demonstrate the painter's skillful use of *iji dōzu* continuous narrative, creating some rather complex compositions that visually reproduce the events of the narrative without much invention or departure from the text. The scenes themselves punctuate the text at frequent intervals, in many cases providing a very literal translation of the text into images. The figure painting and almost cinematic dynamism of the illustrations, particularly in the battle scenes, point to a skilled artist composing the scenes and the main elements. However, the landscape painting throughout is often clumsily handled. Masako Watanabe notes that the black ink used to describe the texture of the cliffs and rocky landscape is a somewhat unskilled attempt at Chinese style brushwork as found in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) Zhe School, likely drawing from other Japanese imitations of the style.<sup>498</sup> On one hand, this

---

For a black and white digital copy of the Tokyo University handscroll, see: “Aki no yo naga monogatari,” *Shin Nihon koten seki sōgō dētabēsu*, accessed June 28, 2022,

<https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100000164/viewer/1>.

<sup>497</sup> Kim Yujin, “Aki no yo nagamonogatari’ no emaki to nara ehon ni tsuite: Tokyo Daigaku Bunkabu Kokubungaku Kenkyūshitsu zō no emaki o chūshin ni,” *Kokusai Nihon bungaku kenkyū shūkai kaigiroku*, no. 38, 85-86. Copies of the text that are not illustrated include a 1378 edition of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* in Daigo-ji’s collection, that additionally includes *Taiheiki*, a pairing that points to a common interest in *Aki no yo naga monogatari*’s military themes, “Taiheiki reihon/Aki no yo naga monogatari,” *Shin Nihon koten seki sōgō dētabēsu* <https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/200014572/viewer/4?ln=en> accessed June 30, 2022.

<sup>498</sup> Masako Watanabe, *Storytelling in Japanese art*, 110.



perhaps points to the presence of multiple artists working on the scrolls with varied skill levels. On the other, it perhaps sheds light on the artistic interests of the patron, who not only seems to have enjoyed Japanese tales that drew from romance, war and hagiographic literature, but also Chinese painting styles imported during the Muromachi period. This stylistic combination further points to an interest in framing a narrative concerning a Heian-period monk within a contemporary fifteenth century style, and broadly reflects the narrative mix of medieval warfare with a Heian period monk.

A brief comparison between the earliest extant *Aki no yo naga monogatari* scrolls at the Metropolitan Museum along with the later versions at Eisei Bunko, the University of Tokyo, and Seoul National University further shed light on how understandings of the tale changed over time, with a significant lack of emphasis on the Buddhist elements of the work in later illustrated versions of the tale. The set at the Metropolitan Museum is by far the most extensively illustrated, although many of the scenes are directly taken from the text with few additional details adding further complexity to the narrative. These four illustrated versions of the tale all highlight the major plot points in their illustration, with the Metropolitan Museum's example providing additional minor scenes and repeating the imagery of Keikai's dream/vision in significant illustrations of Umewaka (fig. 5.17 a-c).<sup>499</sup> Additionally, the third scroll concludes with a final scene depicting a

---

<sup>499</sup> With the exception of the Seoul example which ends partway through the narrative, the primary scenes shown in all extant examples are: Kaikei on Mount Hiei, Kaikei's first sight of Umewaka; Kaikei sending a letter to Umewaka through Keiju; Keikai and Keiju meeting while traveling; Keiju arranging a meeting for Kaikei and Umewaka; Keiju delivering a message to Kaikei; Yamabushi-*tengu* kidnapping Umewaka and Keiju; Destruction of the Hanazono Residence; Mii-dera planning the next battle; Kaikei leading the assault on Mii-dera; the destruction of Mii-dera; monks fleeing Mii-dera's destruction; Umewaka and Keiju kidnapped by *tengu*; Umewaka and Keiju escaping captivity with the thunder *kami*; Umewaka sending Keikai a farewell letter; Keikai searching for Umewaka; Discovery of Umewaka's personal effects on a bridge; discovery of Umewaka's death; funerary rites for Umewaka; Kaikei/Sensai's retreat at Iwakura. See Kim Yujin "Aki no yo naga monogatari" no emaki to nara ehon ni tsuite,"

*raigō* procession across a bridge, reiterating the Buddhist elements of the tale through its illustrations. The Eisei Bunko scrolls largely eliminate all Buddhist elements in their illustrations, with the exception of the final scene where Umewaka's divinity is hinted at by a gathering of auspicious Buddhist clouds over Kaikei/Sensai's retreat at Iwakura (fig. 5.18). The Tokyo University scroll similarly ends with this scene, although the auspicious clouds are significantly reduced in scale and prominence in the composition, perhaps reflecting the lesser importance that Buddhism had in the narrative during the Edo period (fig. 5.19).

### 5.13 Dream Visions: Umewaka as The Nyoirin Kannon at Ishiyama-dera

Unlike *Kokawa-dera engi e* or *Chigo Kannon engi*, none of the illustrated versions of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* depict Umewaka as the iconographically standard form of the Nyōirin Kannon at Ishiyama-dera, despite being identified as such within the text (fig. 5.20).<sup>500</sup> In all likelihood, this is a result of the narrative not being about the miraculous origins of the Kannon *hibutsu* at Ishiyama-dera, rather attributing the awakening of a historical figure to Kannon's intervention. However, the depictions of Umewaka in the Metropolitan Museum's edition of the tale repeats the same imagery found in Keikai's miraculous dream/vision of the Ishiyama-dera Nyōirin Kannon leaving their shrine in the guise of a *chigo*.

---

for a comparison of the Eisei Bunko, Tokyo University and Seoul National University illustrations.

<sup>500</sup> While the Ishiyama-dera Nyōirin Kannon is a *hibutsu*, it is regularly displayed at least every thirty-three years, with the last regular unveiling in 2016. The sculpture itself dates to the late eleventh century and is an unusual variant of the Nyōirin Kannon in that it only has two arms, and not the more common six. This two-armed Nyōirin Kannon became associated with Ishiyama-dera in later ritual manuals. The icon was constructed as part of the rebuilding of Ishiyama-dera after it was destroyed in a fire, purportedly encasing the original bronze icon inside the Heian period wooden one. See Washio Henryū and Ayamura Hiroshi, ed., *Ishiyama-dera no shinkō to rekishi*, (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2008), 57-58.

This emphasis is unique to the Metropolitan Museum's version of *Aki no yo naga monogatari*. While the three surviving illustrated editions of the tale at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Eisei Bunko and Tokyo University all place relatively equal emphases on paintings of the courtship between Keikai and Umewaka as the battles, the Metropolitan Museum's example stands out from later examples in its frequent depiction of Umewaka. Not counting his repeated figure in *iji dōzu* illustrations, the youth appears at least ten times, almost double that of his appearances in the Eisei Bunko edition. Fairly minor scenes that are fleetingly mentioned in the text are illustrated in detail, such as Keiju presenting his master with letters from Keikai, Umewaka in his garden being secretly watched by Keikai, various scenes of Umewaka and Keiju traveling, and Umewaka's final tearful farewell to his servant before he takes his own life.

While the Metropolitan version never fully visualizes the youth as the Nyoirin Kannon, this emphasis on viewing Umewaka's figure similarly allows the viewer to connect with the Ishiyama Kannon by sharing Keikai's amorous gazing at the *chigo* as a proxy for direct interaction with the divinity itself. Crucially, the Ishiyama-dera Kannon is kept hidden as a *hibutsu*, a practice likely beginning when the temple switched sectarian affiliations from Kegon to Shingon in the ninth or tenth century.<sup>501</sup> Therefore, the repeated depictions of Kannon as a *chigo* functions similarly to the repetitions of the divinities in *Kokawa-dera engi e* and *Chigo Kannon engi*. Instead of a *chigo* turning into a sculpture, however, *Aki no yo naga monogatari* depicts the opposite, of the main icon transforming into Umewaka.

Various depictions of Umewaka within the Metropolitan Museum of Art's version of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* directly draw imagery from Keikai's dream/vision of the divinity leaving its shrine at the temple to manifest as the object of his desire:

---

<sup>501</sup> Morrissey, "Memorializing Imperial Power," PhD diss., (University of Pittsburgh, 2018): 6.

On the evening of the seventh day [of his vigil], he pillowed his head on the dais, and when he dozed, he dreamed that a beautiful youth of indescribably noble appearance emerged from behind the brocade curtain in the chapel [and went to] stand in the shade of a cherry tree whose blossoms fell in confusion about him...It seemed to Keikai that cherry trees were in bloom again on a distant mountain. Petals drifted down on the youth like snow, and gathering them up in his sleeves, he disappeared into the growing dusk as if unaware of the direction he was taking. When he realized that the youth had vanished, Keikai awoke from his dream.<sup>502</sup>

七日満ケル夜、礼盤ヲ枕ニシテチトマドロミタル夢ニ、佛殿ノ錦ノ張ノ内ヨリ容色華麗ナル児ノ、イフ計ナクアテヤカナルガ立出テ、散マガヒタル花ノ木陰ニ立ヤスライタレバ、[...]遠山ニ花ニ度咲キタルカト疑レテ、雪ノ如クフリカハリ、是ヲ袖ニツゝミナガライヅ方エ行トモ覺ヌニ、暮行クケシキニ消ヘ、サテ見ヘズナリヌト見エテ、夢ハスナハチ覺メニケリ。<sup>503</sup>

The basic imagery is repeated in textual descriptions of Umewaka within the narrative and they are visualized on three separate occasions. By repeating this vision, a kind of iconography for the Ishiyama-dera Kannon specific to this narrative is created, deployed in moments of heightened desire, longing, or sexual tension.

Keikai's falling asleep before the shrine at Ishiyama-dera as well as the repetition of the imagery found in his dream/vision specifically references the practice of dream incubation, or intentionally sleeping in a sacred area with the goal of producing dreams. Ishiyama-dera was known to produce these sorts of dream/visions—the Ishiyama-dera *engi* e includes multiple examples of miraculous dreams being retold and visualized as paintings—and the Metropolitan Museum's *Aki no yo naga monogatari* seems to function as encouragement to seek out these direct experiences with the Ishiyama-dera Kannon. Ivo Covaci has noted that while modern theorization

---

<sup>502</sup> Childs, "Chigo Monogatari," 134. While this pictorial framing of Umewaka in the Metropolitan Museum's *Aki no yo naga monogatari* handscrolls is distinct among the illustrated versions of the text, a similar visual motif is found in the sixteenth century illustrated edition of *Chigo ima mairi*, pointing to the possibility that this means of illustrating a *chigo* became somewhat conventional later in the Muromachi period. See McCormick, "Mountains, Magic and Mothers: Envisioning the Female Ascetic in a Medieval Chigo Tale," in *Crossing the Sea*.

<sup>503</sup> Ichiko Teiji, ed. *Otogi Zōshi*, NKBT vol. 38, 461-462.

of dream incubation requires the dreamer's intention, physical location and direct epiphany, within Japanese Buddhist traditions, explicitly stated desires for a dream/vision were not frequently expressed directly as they were a generally expected form of communication from the divine, particularly when the practitioner stayed at a site known for revelatory dreams. She further adds that being physically present at a specific religious site is less important if the practitioner consecrates a ritual space and installs an icon where they may sleep and receive their dream/vision.<sup>504</sup> With this in mind, *Aki no yo naga monogatari* would not have been used specifically in the ritual preparations for dream incubation, but certainly may have encouraged readers to seek out such connections with the Ishiyama-dera Kannon, facilitating a particular vision of Kannon in the guise of a *chigo*.

Dreaming of the Ishiyama-dera Kannon as a *chigo* may well have intentionally included an erotic component. *Aki no yo naga monogatari* does not shy away from the belief that Kannon may aid devotees through sex, and directly links the iconography established for a *chigo* manifestation of the Ishiyama-dera Kannon with these erotically charged scenes in the narrative. In effect, *Aki no yo naga monogatari* takes the precedents set by other myths and legends of Kannon's miraculous interventions and simplifies them into an example of Kannon's ability to save its followers through sexual encounters.

---

<sup>504</sup> Covaci notes that while the term *komoru* 籠る may be the closest in meaning to current understandings of dream incubation as it refers to the practice of performing devotions while secluded in a sacred space, it encompasses a broader set of practices than just dreaming. She also notes that it does not appear in texts discussing practitioners of ritual dreaming. See Ive Covaci "Ishiyama-dera and the Representation of Dreams and Visions in Pre-Modern Japanese Art," PhD diss., (Yale University, 2007), 69-70; Kimberly Patton, "A Great and Strange Correction: Intentionality, Locality, and Epiphany in the Category of Dream Incubation," *History of Religions* vol. 43, no. 3 (2004) 194-223.

The first repetition of imagery is illustrated when Keikai first encounters Umewaka in his garden underneath a cherry tree in full bloom (fig. 4.17a). Similarly, the youth has emerged from behind a bamboo screen to come into full view of the monk, recalling the exit of Kannon from their shrine in the monk's dream. The final scene of the first handscroll illustrates an earthly version of Keikai's miraculous vision. The text itself notes that Keikai found himself "distracted by the memories of both the dream and reality... [passing] his days in a daze, neither awake nor asleep," providing the opportunity to illustrate his vision.<sup>505</sup> The painting itself depicts Keikai's frequent visits to Umewaka's chambers before Keiju had an opportunity to arrange a meeting between the two. The illustration shows Umewaka in an *iji dozu* illustration pulling back the blind from his window and walking through a bank of clouds in his garden, all while Keikai stealthily watches from the rocks below, hidden behind a pine tree (fig. 4.17b). This final scene visually reiterates what the monk saw in his first vision of the Ishiyama-dera Kannon. Umewaka's chambers are shown as a small pavilion, completely covered in blinds, reminiscent of the dark enclosed space of a *hibutsu* shrine. Imagining the youth's movement from inside his shrine/quarters, Umewaka passes through the drooping branches of the flowering cherry tree, likely scattering them as he passes into the bank of clouds. The second scroll begins by narrating the hours leading up until Keikai and Umewaka's first in-person meeting (fig. 4.17c). The first illustration shows Umewaka under yet another flowering tree and drooping willow branches as Keiju hangs a lantern of fireflies under the eaves of the chamber where Keikai had been staying. Umewaka is on full visual display for both Keikai within the narrative and the viewer of the scroll, knowing that this scene forms the start of the monk and *chigo*'s first physical encounter.

---

<sup>505</sup> Childs, "Chigo Monogatari," 136.

The narrative interest in this moment in the tale has two overlapping meanings: First, reading the work purely as a romance, it marks Keikai and Umewaka's first and only physical interactions which establishes the future mutual longing for each other that eventually leads to warfare. A second, a religious interpretation suggests that this is Keikai's direct encounter with the Nyoirin Kannon who is fulfilling their to appear as a sexually available figure and lead devotees to the Pure Land, as recorded in Shinran's dream. With this dual interpretation in mind, it functions as the sexual and religious climax of the story.

By understanding Umewaka's dual identity as both a *chigo* and Kannon while through the scroll, the emphasis on viewing the youth shifts from purely erotic imaginings to witnessing a manifestation of the Ishiyama-dera Nyoirin Kannon. The illustrations of Umewaka place a strong pictorial emphasis on the youth to a degree that the images almost jarringly depart from the overly literal illustrations found throughout the scroll. The first of these three repeated illustrations depicts Keikai's first glimpse of Umewaka, and yet it emphasizes our view of the youth over that of the monk. We all-seeing viewers are provided with a frontal view of the *chigo* clad in bright red and encircled by the willow and cherry trees. Banks of mist cross through the scene, obscuring the top and left portions of the illustration, visually framing the youth's body and emphasizing Umewaka more so than any other detail of the scene. Keikai, who is crouched along a fence at the bottom of the painting, is hardly visible at first glance, as the dark calligraphic lines of his robes and hood camouflage him against the lines delineating the fence. While technically a *kaimami* scene, the emphasis is less on seeing what Keikai sees, but rather, the illustration presents us with a better view than that of the monk. It seems that the illustration is specifically for the viewer to visually absorb the vision from Keikai's dream that repeats throughout the scroll. Umewaka, or Keikai's vision of the Ishiyama-dera Kannon, is primarily on display for the viewer, with the monk included

almost as an afterthought. In this instance, the *kaimami* scene is less about voyeuristically viewing the monk's desire for a *chigo*, but rather, provides the viewer with the scene from Kaikai's miraculous vision, layering senses of religious and romantic desire.

This is not the case in either the fifteenth century Eisei Bunko version of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* or later copies of it (fig. 5.21). In the Eisei Bunko edition of the scroll, Keikai stands before a prominently illustrated white wall dividing the paper in half before the top end becomes obscured in a bank of clouds. The monk bends dramatically to look through a gap in the gate, his blue-gray robes visually contrasting with the brown doors. The division of the paper forms a clear visual break where it becomes clear to the viewer that Keikai is observing the following scene inside the gate, forcing us to reckon with or revel in the voyeuristic nature of the scene. The viewer becomes aware that what he views is, to some degree, for his own eyes and we only participate in the scene from our privileged vantage point as the viewer of the scroll. Beyond Keikai and the gate lies a more diminutive Umewaka dressed in a predominantly white robe beneath four of the trees in his courtyard. In relation to the veranda surrounding his dwelling, the youth seems implausibly short, and is visually overwhelmed by all of the surrounding elements of his domestic space. The Tokyo University and Seoul National University editions follow a similar compositional format as the Eisei Bunko version of *Aki no yo naga monogatari*, with Keikai prominently shown peering through the gap in the doors of the wall, albeit with Umewaka shown in a less ornate garden in each work (fig. 5.22; fig. 5.23).

This repeated unobstructed view of Umewaka as a youth surrounded by cascading flower blossoms in the Metropolitan Museum's *Aki no yo naga monogatari* scrolls suggests a function of the handscroll that layers literary interest with religious, much like the mixing of genres in the tale itself. This visual repetition, while less tedious than that in *Kokawa-dera engi e*, visually reiterates



a similar focus on the miracle-working locus of the scroll. Therefore, Keikai's vision, and its repetition throughout the handscrolls functions as a kind of proxy for the *hibutsu* Nyoirin Kannon icon at Ishiyama-dera. The efficacy of the icon is reiterated throughout the text, noting that despite the disasters, it was all caused for the benefit of the monks involved, as well as the continuation of Buddhist practice. Therefore, *Aki no yo naga monogatari* may function as a work that allowed viewers a personal connection with the Ishiyama-dera Kannon through the combination of romantic and religious desires.

Like Kokawa-dera and Hase-dera, Ishiyama-dera was associated with providing male heirs or disciples, and as such becomes a logical site where Kannon would manifest as a *chigo*. *Aki no yo naga monogatari* does not specifically involve anyone asking for a child or heir but given the connection between *chigo* manifestations of Kannon at other sites related to childbirth, the Ishiyama-dera Kannon taking the form of a youth would likely not have been unexpected. The narrative includes a similar role reversal as that found in *Chigo Kannon engi*, in which it is expected that the youth would care for his senior after his death, but tragically dies before being able to fulfill that duty. Like *Chigo Kannon engi*, the protagonist monk is no longer in need of an heir to serve him after his own death, for he has already achieved salvation through his interactions with Kannon as a *chigo*. However, *Aki no yo naga monogatari*'s emphasis on the monk and *chigo*'s romantic entanglement shifts the emphasis from filial duties and the obligations of discipleship to more erotic ones.

The readers of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* would likely not have direct access to the Ishiyama-dera Kannon sculpture in any real physical or optic way, even on pilgrimage to the site. Therefore, *Aki no yo naga monogatari* allows the viewer to engage with the divine's romantic exploits that lead to salvation. The repetition of Keikai's dream of Kannon as an alluring *chigo*

surrounded by scattering flowers throughout the illustrations provides a clear transcription of miraculous vision into tangible image that the viewer may consume. If a reader of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* dreamt of Kannon manifesting as a *chigo* based on the iconography established in the tale, surely there would be a sense of Kannon's power extending from Ishiyama-dera to the viewer. A dream may have the same possibility of a direct, powerful encounter with Kannon, much like the erotic dream of Kichijōten in *Nihon ryōiki*. Therefore, Kekai/Sensai's romance with Umewaka becomes a blueprint for others to follow.

All in all, while *Aki no yo naga monogatari* has primarily been understood as a romance framed with Buddhist elements, I argue that early illustrated editions of the tale point to a similar interest in depicting the miracle-working *chigo* as a means of religious engagement for the viewers. The tale's combination of a medieval hagiography for Sensai, as well as references to fourteenth century battles and disasters points to a broader context where relying on the doctrine of expedient means may still be an efficacious path to salvation. Despite these religious themes found in both the text and the earliest surviving illustrated handscroll, the popularity of *Aki no yo naga monogatari* primarily as a romance tale that led to the creation of numerous later *chigo monogatari* has greatly overshadowed the work's relationship to earlier Buddhist tales surrounding Kannon's manifestation as a *chigo*, as well as the role of sexual desire in Kannon legends.

## 5.14 Conclusion

This chapter has examined three works—*Kokawa-dera engi e*, *Chigo Kannon engi*, and *Aki no yo naga monogatari*. All of them depict Kannon's manifestation as a *chigo* and they are all concerned with conveying the miraculous deeds of specific icons of Kannon and emphasizing the physical, live presence of the bodhisattva at these three sites. Each work uses a variety of means to convey this living presence of the divine in each site, but also creates a strong and well-

established legends involving Kannon's willingness to appear as *chigo*, romantically available or otherwise. From the late Heian period and onwards, manifestations of Kannon as a *chigo* were used to promote interest in specific religious sites, and while *chigo* gradually gained sexual associations throughout the medieval period, these existed largely as secondary concerns in Kokawa-dera engi e, Chigo Kannon engi, and early versions of *Aki no yo naga monogatari*.

This development of a sexualized reading of Kannon as *chigo* drew from notions of Kannon as willing to perform sexual acts for Shinran, as well as Chinese tales, such as those surrounding Fish Basket Guanyin (Gyoran Kannon 魚籃觀音), where the bodhisattva manifests as a beautiful woman who promises to marry a man who can memorize various Buddhist texts within a set amount of time but dies during her wedding preparations.<sup>506</sup> On a practical level, the associations between sex and Kokawa-dera, Kōfuku-ji, Hase-dera and Ishiyama-dera stem from the belief that these sites were particularly beneficial in providing male heirs. Naturally, a petition for a child sent to any of the Kannon's residing at these sites requires a sexual component if the woman were to become pregnant.

This particular association between male youths and penile-vaginal sex continues throughout the Edo period in erotic woodblock prints. Yet in these works, the youth is not engaged in sexual activity, but plays a symbolic role. Usually, the depictions of male youths (usually under seven) in shunga serve as humorous commentators on the two copulating adults. However, the inordinate emphasis on male youths, and not simply children in general, points to a desire for a male heir if pregnancy were to occur, functioning as a kind of apotropaic imagery ensuring the

---

<sup>506</sup> Chün-fang Yü, "Feminine Images of Kuan-yin in Post Tang China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* vol. 18, no. 1, (1990), 66-67; The similarities of the Fish Basket Guanyin as a beautiful figure who leads a lover to salvation through Buddhism and then dies has striking similarities with many *chigo* tales.

safe delivery of a child and a successful continuation of the family lineage.<sup>507</sup> For monks and *chigo*, there was a parallel need for a disciple to serve them and tend to their spiritual gains in the afterlife through the performance of specific devotional rites. The inevitable deaths of *chigo* manifestations of Kannon point to the divinity's overwhelmingly compassionate response to a monk's requests, providing him with not only a temporary disciple, but also granting him the assurance that he need not fear a lack of a disciple to perform post-mortem rites, as the monk has been saved through their interactions.

Even if we wish to believe that a *chigo*'s death and subsequent revelation as Kannon is an ad hoc justification for monks' inordinate desires for sexual encounters with *chigo*, these works are still couched in significant religious and mythological beliefs that have been largely overlooked. These tales of Kannon manifesting as a *chigo* likely formed a mythological and doctrinal basis that led to the development of later Muromachi period *chigo kanjō* rituals as discussed in Chapter Two. The combination of a monk encountering the divine through a physical manifestation of Kannon as a *chigo* may easily have been translated into consecrating a *chigo* as a living manifestation of Kannon, who practically speaking, is capable of a sexual encounter unlike an enlivened Buddhist sculpture, and thus allows for spiritual gain through expedient means of a compassionate deity.

---

<sup>507</sup> Akiko Yano, "Children in Shunga," in *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art*, 404-405.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

The prevailing scholarly understanding of *chigo* rituals, literature and imagery as part of an elaborate scheme to allow monks to have sex with youths is not borne out by an analysis of *chigo* icons. Over the previous four chapters, I have examined the images of *chigo* most commonly associated with of the argument that representations of *chigo* were a direct result of monks' inordinate sexual fascination with youths, and instead suggested that sex may not have been a primary concern for the creation of these works. Rather, a variety of symbolic associations were harnessed in the development of these iconographies and in the creations of these works, that while occasionally acknowledging that *chigo* were sexually available to monks, did not function as the primary meaning for these works. *Chigo* imagery drew broadly from various associations with youths, such as filiality to their parents and Buddhist masters, their semi-sacred status as non-adults, as well as their iconographic precedents found in religious texts produced on the Asian continent.

Furthermore, by examining how *chigo* have been discussed in scholarship, I have argued that the primacy placed on *chigo*'s relationship to monks' sexual practices is a direct result of early modern understandings of sex and not those found in medieval Buddhist texts that attest to the salvific benefits of a sexual encounter with a manifestation of the divine. The understanding of *chigo* as primarily the objects of a monk's sexual desire dates to the early Edo period, concurrent with a broader seventeenth-century increase in interest in images and literature concerning *nanshoku* outside of monastic environments. Intriguingly, these early examples are directly

associated with medieval texts or attributed to earlier literary figures, thus situating these parodic works under a veneer of historicity. The primacy placed on sex first emerges in the last years of the sixteenth century, as recorded in *Kōbō Daishi ikkan no shō* in 1598. The belief that Kūkai, as inspired by Monju, invented *nanshoku* first appears in the early-to-mid seventeenth century in the parodic work *Inu Tsurezure* (1619), in a poem attributed to the fifteenth century monk Ikkyū Sojun. In all likelihood, *Chigo no sōshi* was produced within this context, as its colophon claiming the work was copied in 1321 offers a similar claim to historical authenticity, either to be believed by an unwitting Edo period art collector or understood as part of the satirical nature of the work.

Other sexual fantasies of male-male sexual encounters taking place outside of monastic institutions were produced as images and literature as early as the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Hasegawa Tōsen's *Hanazono shunga emaki* (late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth century) offers early depictions of two scenes of sexual encounters between men, *wakashū* and women (fig. 2.10). In the first, two males share a kiss while one penetrates a woman who fellates the other. The subsequent scene shows another young male penetrating a woman, himself being penetrated by an older monk. At this point, the sexual desire of monks for youths was being highlighted in *shunga* that had nothing to do with monk-*chigo* practices, suggesting that monks' sexual desires were considered erotic themselves. Other illustrated works such as the 1675 *Wakashū asobi kyara no makura* 若衆遊伽羅枕, similarly depicting male-*wakashū*, male-female, and *wakashū*-female sexual encounters has been examined by Mostow, point to the demand for mass-produced erotica featuring a diverse assortment of participants in various sexual acts.<sup>508</sup> *Iwatsutsuji* (discussed in Chapter Five) was compiled the subsequent year, and reflects a desire for

---

<sup>508</sup> Mostow, "The Gender of Wakahsū and the Grammar of Desire," in *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*.

historical examples of historical male-male sexual desire in literature rather than the spuriously dated examples found earlier in the century. Finally, Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693) published *Nanshoku Ōkagami* 男色大鏡 (*The Great Mirror of Male Love*) in 1687, an anthology of male-male romance tales, pointing to a demand for *nanshoku* tales set during the Edo period.<sup>509</sup>

It is crucial to note that while Edo period demand for parodic and pornographic works increased during the seventeenth century, *chigo kanjō* rituals were still being performed in Tendai institutions throughout Japan.<sup>510</sup> Therefore, the rise in parodic works concerning monks and *chigo* during this period were not produced exclusively as imaginations of an erotic past, but rather, parodies of contemporaneous practices. Thus, these understandings of monk-*chigo* sexual practices as primarily sexual and not the logical religious conclusion of centuries of Buddhist writings on divinity and sex points directly to the Edo period's fascination with sex in its multitudes of expressions.

Throughout this dissertation I have bracketed out these sexualized understandings of monk-*chigo*, as all of the extant *chigo kanjō* documents, *chigo monogatari* literary texts and *chigo* iconographies of Buddhist divinities discussed were developed well before these Edo-period associations arose. The considerable wealth of narratives, beginning in the Nara period, expounding on the spiritual benefits of a sexual encounter with the divine form a logical textual source for the future development of *chigo kanjō* wherein sexual acts are recreated as part of a ritual to benefit from sex as expedient means. By problematizing the dating of *Chigo no sōshi*—

---

<sup>509</sup> Paul Gordon Schalow, trans. *The Great Mirror of Male Love* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

<sup>510</sup> Manuscript E *Chigo kanjō shiki* 稚児灌頂私記 was copied by the initiate during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century after the monk Gikō Taishin 義広大進 (n.d.) performed the ritual. See Porath, “The Flower of Dharma Nature,” 116.

the singular medieval work that speaks of monk-*chigo* sexual practices as not couched in religious belief—the majority of surviving documents appear to relate monk-*chigo* sex within the broader doctrine of expedient means. *Chigo* iconographies of Monju and Kannon directly drew from pre-existing beliefs of these divinities manifesting as youths. The development of *Chigo* Monju imagery was the direct result of a confluence of increased devotions to Monju during the Kamakura period, the divinity's veneration on Mount Wutai as a youth, as well as the identification of the Wakamiya of Kasuga as Monju. Kannon's manifestation as a Japanese *chigo* directly stems from one of the canonical thirty-three manifestations of the divinity as outlined in the *Lotus Sutra* noting that the divinity may appear as a youth. This interpretation of youth specifically as “*chigo*” allowed for the gradual merging of the understandings of living *chigo* as sexually available figures with Kannon's vow to Shinran, creating an iconography of Kannon who filled both roles simultaneously. Lastly, *Chigo* Daishi icons illustrate Kūkai's first miracle that demonstrated his role as a sacred figure from his early years, highlighting an important moment in his hagiography, and were not produced with the associations of Kūkai as the progenitor of *nanshoku*.

While male youths had been understood as sexually available since at least the Heian period, both within and without religious institutions, these sexualized interpretations of *chigo* were only one of many possible symbolic associations a *chigo* icon may generate. Self-sacrificial, filial behavior seems to have been an overarching characteristic of both historical *chigo* and *chigo* manifestations of divinities, including dedication to one's parents as well as ones Buddhist master. The understanding of *chigo* manifestations of divinities as sexual is primarily harnessed in aid of serving a larger purpose, specifically as a means of conveying a sense of the animated quality of hidden Buddhist sculptural icons as discussed in Chapter Five. While works such as *Chigo Kannon engi* and *Aki no yo naga monogatari* have been primarily understood as monk-*chigo* romances,



with the revelation of the youth's true identity as Kannon viewed as a minor plot point that justifies the monks' romantic interests, by situating these works within broader context of the miraculous works of Buddhist icons, romance emerges as one of many possible means to engage with the divine at specific religious sites.

The initial findings of this dissertation point to further intriguing questions that remain unanswered. While I have sketched out an outline for the iconographic origins of Chigo Monju and Chigo Daishi images, their medieval ritual uses remain unclear. Reconstructing a ritual context through reverse-engineering an iconography has many obvious limits, as does the expectation that medieval rituals were static and unchanging over the centuries in which they were conducted. Examining the variety of contexts in which these works are still used in shrines and temples, their possible pairings with other works, or even their miscategorization in other museums and archives may further illuminate how these works were understood throughout the centuries. Furthermore, questions of patronage, circulation and ownership surrounding *Chigo Kannon engi* and the various surviving *Aki no yo naga monogatari* volumes remain unanswered, as do close comparisons between the texts included in the various illustrated editions of the latter work. Finally, basic art historical information concerning the specific details concerning the construction of the Daigo-ji *Chigo no sōshi* handscroll that may help with dating concerns will remain unanswered as long as Daigo-ji forbids viewers from accessing the original work.<sup>511</sup>

Lastly, by untethering *chigo* from the somewhat simplistic interpretation of these figures as primarily objects of sexual desire and examining the broader possible connotations these images

---

<sup>511</sup> These include, and are not limited to: the full text of the original scroll and its relationship to later copies; the size of each individual sheet of paper comprising each section of the scroll; condition of the paper and pigments; evidence or documentation of previous remounting prior to the Meiji-period conservation work; documentation included in materials associated with the scroll, such as boxes, previous authentications, and the like.

may have generated opens other avenues in which to explore these works. Shifting the categorization of *chigo* from sexually available youths to the broader category of pre-adulthood would likely facilitate the excavation of other commonalities between *chigo* and other youthful figures. For the purposes of this dissertation, youths that were not directly implicated in monk-*chigo* sexual practices were excluded but may foster beneficial comparisons in the future. Examining Hachiman as a Wakamiya along with Chigo Monju/Wakamiya of Kasuga would likely highlight shared understandings and roles of youth within *kami* practices that have gone unexamined within this study. Furthermore, medieval depictions of Shōtoku at crucial moments in his hagiography—particularly those showing the prince at the moment of his first miracle at the age of two, or at the age of sixteen—would benefit future discussions of Chigo Daishi icons due to their shared interest in highlighting specific incidents in religious lives. Broadening this conceptual net further to include images of infancy as shown in Buddhist art included as attributes in icons of Kishimojin 鬼子母神 or Kariteimo 訶梨帝母 (C: Guizimu; Skt: Hārītī; the female divinity known to aid in pregnancy, childbirth and protect children) or as infants reborn on lotus blossoms appearing in some Taima mandara may further shed light on understanding pre-adulthood in relation to sacralty more broadly. Alternatively, shifting the conceptual framework from male-male sexual practices to include sexual desire for women in Buddhism would include icons of Kichijōten as well as certain manifestations of Kokūzō, as well as a sixteenth-century icon Murasaki Shikibu, linking the author, *Genji monogatari*, sexual desire and Buddhism.<sup>512</sup>

---

<sup>512</sup> Melissa McCormick, “Sacred Icon of Murasaki Shikibu,” in *The Tale of Genji: A Japanese Classic Illuminated*, eds. John Carpenter and Melissa McCormick (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019.), 130.

As *chigo kanjō* and *chigo monogatari* have long been cited as examples of ad hoc justifications of monks' sexual desires and subsequent breaking of their precepts, I have argued that the symbolic use of *chigo* imagery extends far beyond this sexual interpretation, pointing to a complex network of associations as well as diverse ritual uses for icons of Buddhist divinities appearing as *chigo*. While limited, the selection of works examined in this dissertation point to broader understandings of the roles of proper *chigo* and their behavior as devoted, self-sacrificial filial youths, considerations that appear to have overshadowed their roles as sexually available youths for monks. Interpretations of *chigo*-related literature, rituals and images have reflected various beliefs and anxieties about sex throughout the centuries, ranging from neutral to celebratory or condemnatory. As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, these interpretations rarely reflect the complex and multifaceted medieval understandings of these icons, literary works, ritual practices or figures themselves. While it has been impossible to uncover the voices of *chigo* involved in *chigo kanjō* or represented in painting and literature, this examination has pointed to various ways in which *chigo* may have been valued beyond issues of monks' sexual gratification, including benefiting from their personal sacrifices.

## Figures

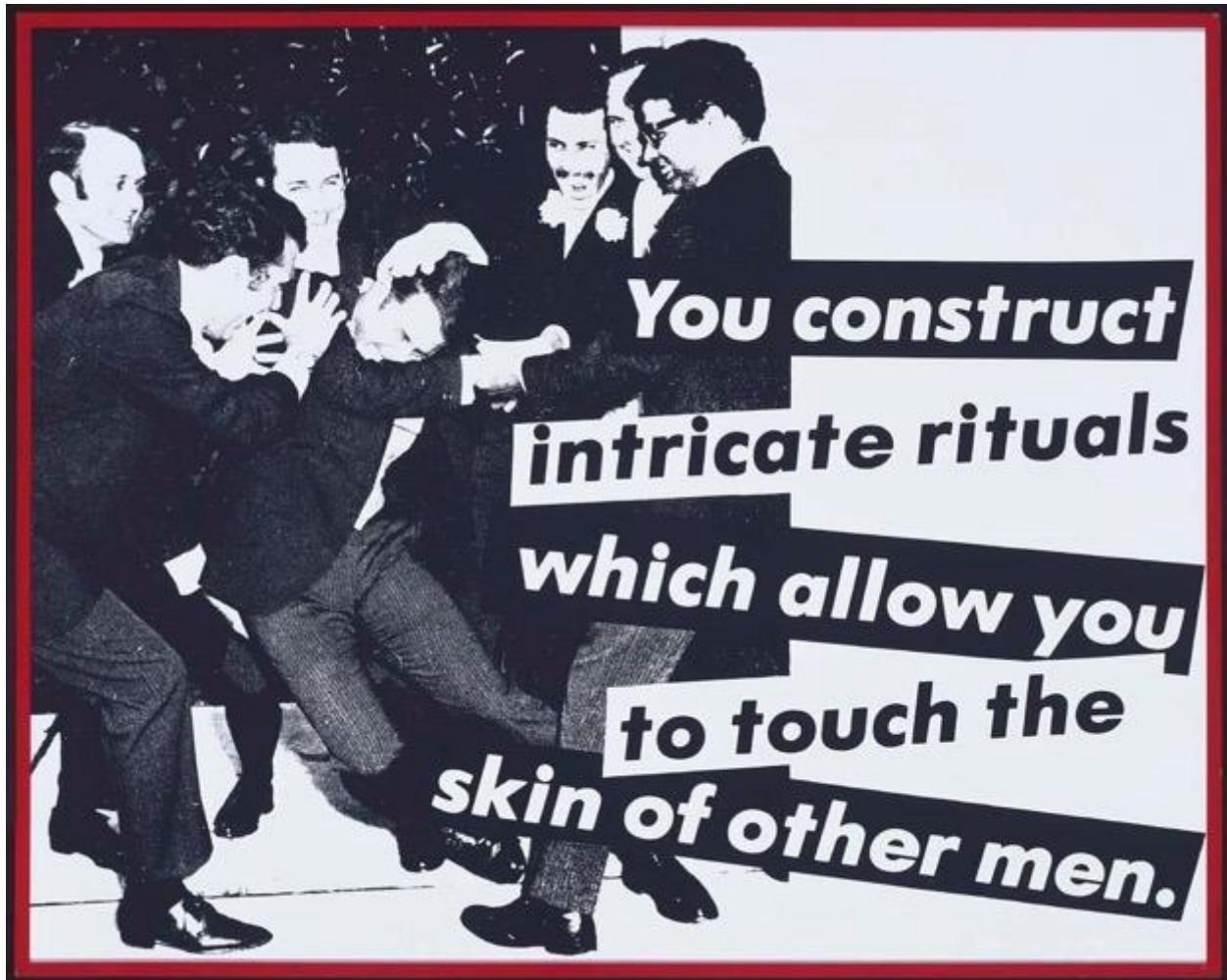


Figure 2.1 *Barbara Kruger, Untitled (You Construct Intricate Rituals), 1989, photograph, gelatin silver print, 101.6 × 127.2 cm Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,*

[https://collections.mfa.org/objects/35582.](https://collections.mfa.org/objects/35582)



Figure 2.2 a-d: Kachi-e emaki, Heian through Muromachi periods, ink and light color on paper, 13.0 x 1200.2 cm, Mitsui Memorial Museum, Tokyo.

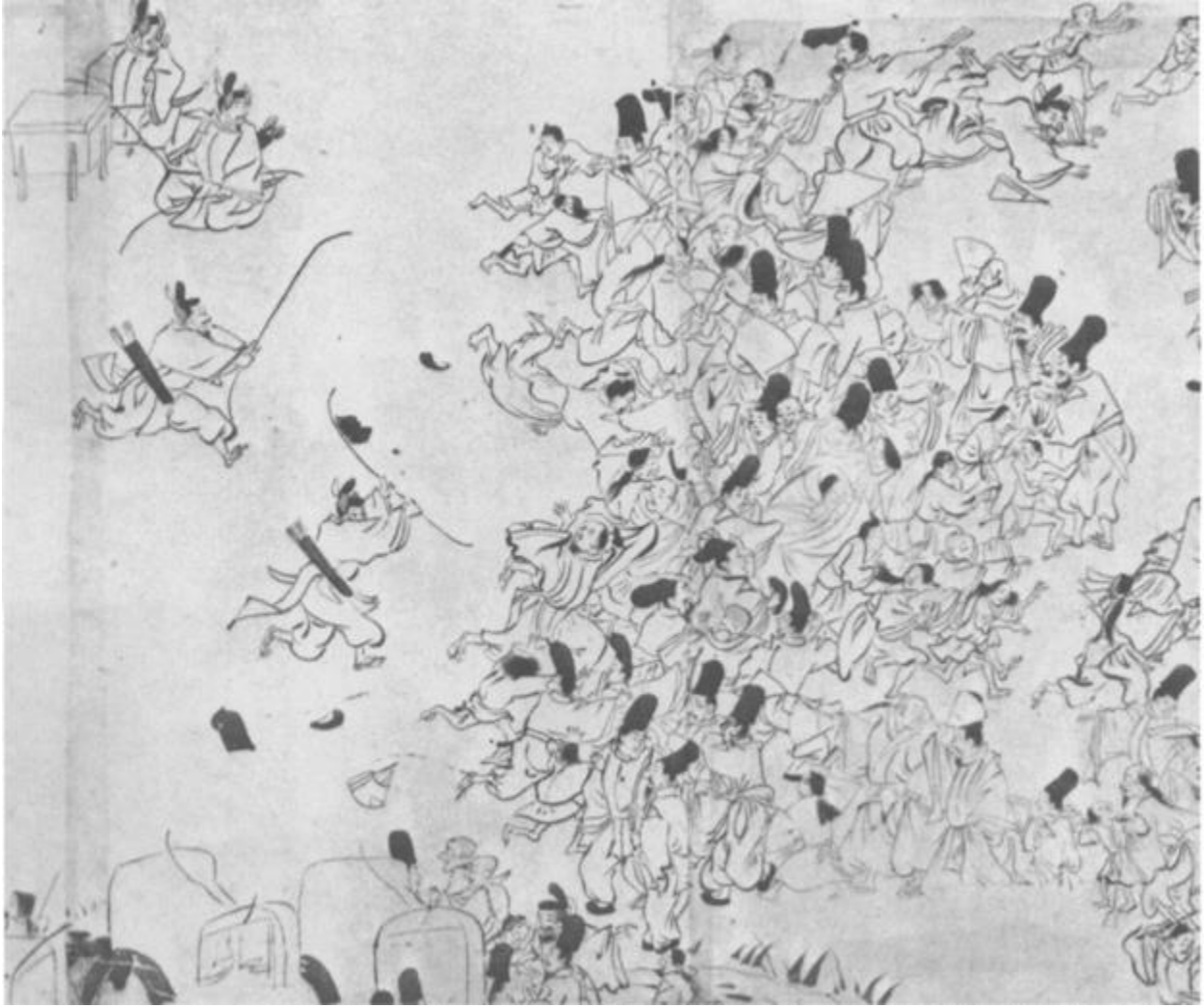


Figure 2.3 *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, ink and light color on paper,



Figure 2.4 *Roku-do e*, thirteenth century, ink and color on silk, Shojuraigo-ji, Ōtsu, Shiga Prefecture, Japan.



Figure 2.5 *Roku-do e*, thirteenth century, ink and color on silk, Shojuraigo-ji, Ōtsu, Shiga Prefecture, Japan.













Figure 2.6 a-o *Chigo sōshi*, nineteenth century, ink and light color on paper, 33.3 x 1418 cm, London, The British Museum.

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A\\_2013-3001-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_2013-3001-1).

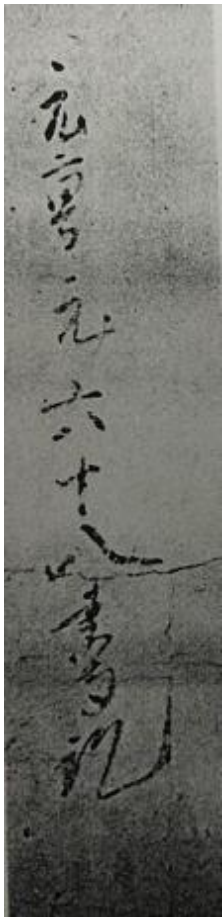


Figure 2.7 a-c: *Chigo no sōshi*, dated 1321, colors on paper, Sanbō-in Temple, Daigō-jo, Kyoto, Japan.



Figure 2.8 Takashina Takakane, *Kasuga gongen genki e* (detail: section three of volume one), 1309, ink and color on silk, The Museum of the Imperial Collections, Tokyo, Japan.



Figure 2.9 *Scenes of Paradise and Hell* (detail), fourteenth century, pair of two folding-panel screens, Konkai-Kōmyō-ji, Kyoto, Japan, Important Cultural Property.





Figure 2.10 Hasegawa Tōsen, *Hanazono shunga emaki*, Azuchi-Momoyama period to Edo period, Michael Fornitz Collection.



Figure 2.11 Torii Kiyonobu, *Courtesan with a Young Man Watched by a Young Attendant*, from a group of seven prints, 1704-1711, woodblock print on paper, 22.50x33.50 cm, London, The British Museum.

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A\\_OA-0-68](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_OA-0-68).



Figure 3.1 *Gokei Monju, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, with his Hair Arranged in Five Knots*, latter half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, ink, color and gold on silk, 83.7x41.3 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/24543>.



Figure 3.2 *Chigo Monju* (listed as *Mandala of the Wakamiya of Kasuga*), early fourteenth century, ink, color and gold on silk, 75.6 x 38.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/39482>



Figure 3.3 *Hachiman Wakamiya* (listed as *The Deity of Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine*), fourteenth century, ink, color and gold on silk, 85.7 x 40 cm, National Museum of Asian Art, Washington D.C.

<https://asia.si.edu/object/F1964.13/>.



Figure 3.4 *Hachiman Wakamiya*, thirteenth or fourteenth century, ink and color on silk, 85.3 x 39.6 cm, Private collection.



Figure 3.5 Kōen, *Seated Monju Bosatsu and Attendants*, 1273, wood, color, gold and crystal, 193.7 cm, Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo, Important Cultural Property.

[https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=ja&webView=&content\\_base\\_id=100434&content\\_part\\_id=0&content\\_pict\\_id=0](https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=ja&webView=&content_base_id=100434&content_part_id=0&content_pict_id=0).



Figure 3.6 *Frontispiece of Kongō hannya haramitsu kyō*, 1273, color on silk, 22.0 x 629.0 cm, Daitokyu Memorial Library, Gotoh Museum, Tokyo, Japan.





Figure 3.7 *Kasuga Shrine Mandala with the Bodhisattva Monju (Mañjuśrī)*, fourteenth century, ink and colors on silk, 98.3 x 34.6 cm, Nara National Museum, Nara.

<https://www.narahaku.go.jp/english/collection/1243-0.html>.



Figure 3.8 *The Legend of Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine at Nara*, fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, ink and color on paper, 95.4 x 34.2 cm, Sansō Collection, Peter F. and Doris Drucker, California.



Figure 3.9 *Chigo Monju* (listed as *Shotoku Riding a Lion*), sixteenth century, ink and color on paper, 138.43 x 52.07 cm, Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis.

<https://collections.artsmia.org/art/8647/shotoku-riding-a-lion-traditionally-attributed-to-ashikaga-yoshitane>.

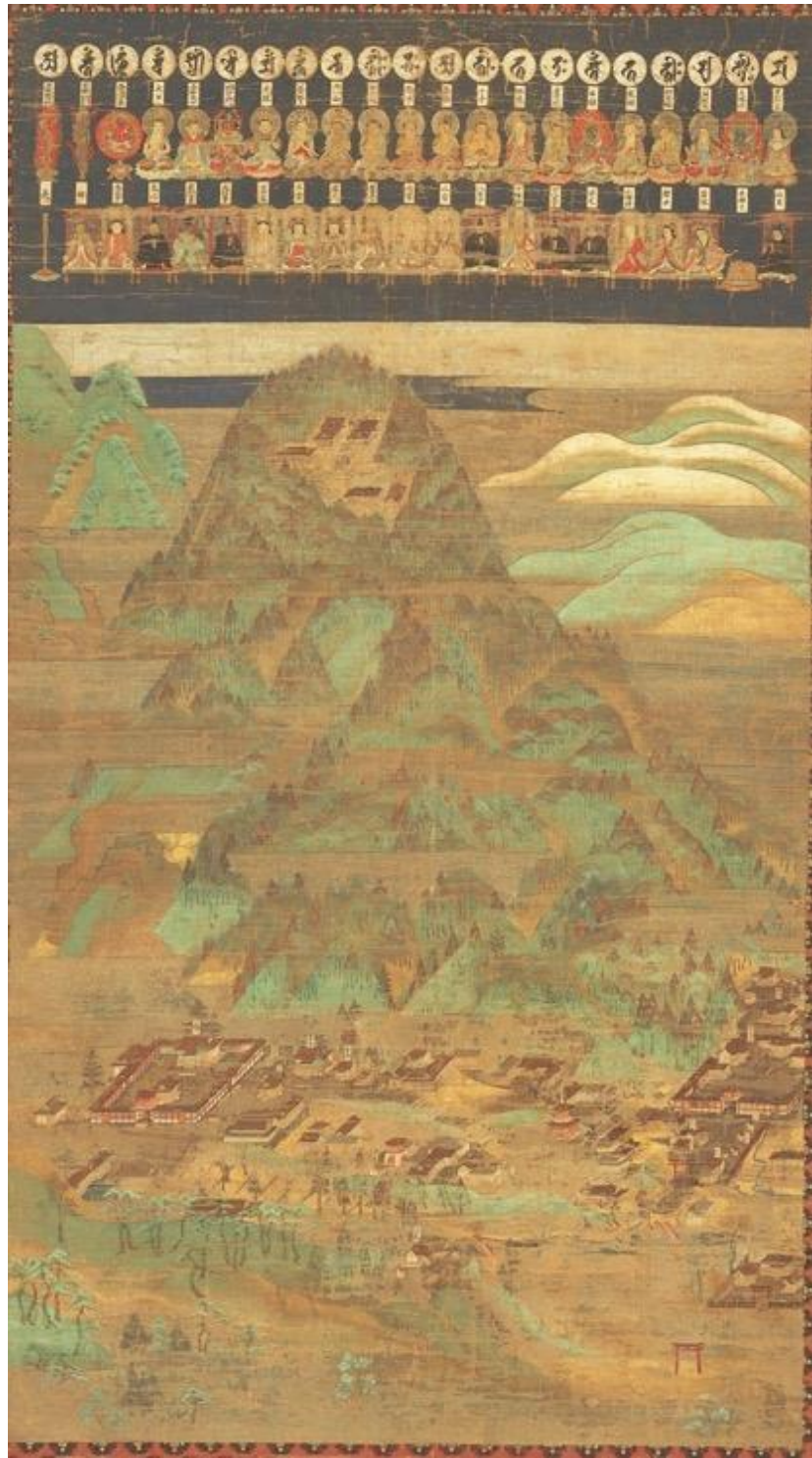


Figure 3.10 *Sannō miya mandara*, 1447, ink and color on silk, 120.7 x 68.1, Nara National Museum, Nara.

[https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=en&webView=&content\\_base\\_id=100043&content\\_pict\\_id=0&content\\_pict\\_id=0](https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=en&webView=&content_base_id=100043&content_pict_id=0&content_pict_id=0).



Figure 3.11 *Chigo Monju* (listed as *Manjushri Riding a Lion*), ink and color on silk, 58.2 x 32.8, National Museum of Asian Art, Washington D.C.

<https://asia.si.edu/object/F1904.344/>.



Figure 3.12 *Chigo Monju*, fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, color, gold on silk, Century Akao Collection, Keio University, Tokyo, Japan.

<https://objecthub.keio.ac.jp/ja/object/1621>.



Figure 3.13 *Chigo Monju*, fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, ink and color on silk, 68.2 x 38.5, Private collection.



Figure 3.14 *Chigo Monju*, fifteenth century, ink and color on silk, 109.4 x 61.0 cm, Nezu Museum of Art, Tokyo.





Figure 3.15 *Chigo Monju*, fourteenth century, color on silk, 61.7 x 34.4 cm, Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.



Figure 3.16 *Chigo Monju*, fourteenth or fifteenth century, color on silk, 62.4 x 35.7, cm, Hara Sankei Collection, Yokohama, Japan.



Figure 3.17 *Chigo Monju* (listed as *Monju as a Child Riding on a Lion*), fifteenth century, ink and color on silk, 61.7 x 38.7 cm, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

<https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1992.385>



Figure 3.18 *Monju Pentad*, 1302, wood with color and gold, Saidai-ji, Nara.



Figure 3.19 Monkanbō Kōshin *Daily Drawings of Monju (Nikka Monju)*, thirteenth century, ink on paper, 12.9 x 39.6 cm, National Museum of Asian Art, Washington DC.

<https://asia.si.edu/object/F2015.5a-e/>.



Figure 3.20 Kōshun Kōkei *Monju* from *Monju Pentad*, 1324, wood with color, 45.0 Hannya-ji, Nara.



Figure 3.21 Monkan, *Gokei Monju*, 1334, color and gold on silk, 90.8 x 41.6, Nara National Museum, Nara.

<https://www.narahaku.go.jp/collection/1011-0.html>



Figure 3. 22 *Kasuga miya mandara*, fourteenth century, ink and color on silk, 160.0 x 60.2 cm, Shizuoka, MOA Museum.





Figure 4.1 *The Bija-A, Representing Vairocana*, fourteenth through fifteenth centuries, color and gold on silk, 120.7 x 42.4 cm, National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian, Washington D.C.

<https://asia.si.edu/object/F1898.509a-d/>



Figure 4. 2 *Chigo Daishi*, mid-thirteenth century, ink and color on silk, Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe, Japan. Important Cultural Property.

<https://www.kosetsu-museum.or.jp/mikage/collection/kaiga/kaiga07/index.html>



Figure 4.3 *Chigo Daishi*, mid-thirteenth century, ink and color on silk, Daigo-ji, Kyoto, Japan.



Figure 4. 4 *Chigo Daishi*, Edo period, ink and color on silk, 74.2 x 42.0, Miho Museum, Kōka, Japan.

<https://www.miho.jp/booth/html/artcon/00000008.htm>



Figure 4.5 Portrait of Minamoto no Yoritomo, twelfth century, colors on silk, Jingo-ji, Kyoto, Japan.



Figure 4.6 Shinkai, *Fudō Myōō*, 1282, ink on paper, Daigo-ji, Kyoto, Japan.



Figure 4. 7 *Chigo Daishi*, Edo period, ink and color on silk, 86.7 × 48.9 cm, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

<https://www.artic.edu/artworks/11146/kobo-daishi-kukai-as-a-boy-chigo-daishi>



Figure 4. 8 *Chigo Daishi*, 1930s, ink and color on silk, Newark Museum, Newark New Jersey.





Figure 4.9 *Chigo Daishi*, late-Kamakura period, ink and color on silk, 66.04 x 38.1 cm, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

<https://art.nelson-atkins.org/objects/18369/chigo-daishi-the-great-master-kukai-as-a-child>



Figure 4.10 *Chigo Daishi*, Muromachi period, ink and color on silk, 186 x 64.5 cm, National Museum of Asian Art, Washington D.C.

<https://asia.si.edu/object/F1905.267/>



Figure 4.11 *Chigo Daishi*, last half of the Muromachi period, ink and color on silk, formerly in the collection of Chōkai Seiji.



Figure 4.12 *Chigo Daishi*, Edo period, ink and color on silk, Shizuoka Municipal Serizawa Keisuke Museum, Shizuoka Japan.



Figure 4.13 *Chigo Daishi*, first half of the Muromachi period, ink and color on silk, 98.2 x 44.0 cm, Hikone Castle Museum, Hikone, Japan.



Figure 4.14 *Chigo Daishi*, first half of the Muromachi period, ink and color on silk, Shōjōshin-in, Kōya, Japan



Figure 4.15 *Chigo Daishi*, late-Kamakura period, ink and color on silk, Kōrin-ji, Imabari, Ehime Prefecture, Japan. Important Cultural Property.



Figure 4.16 *Chigo Daishi*, late-Kamakura period, ink and color on silk, Shōchi-in, Kōya, Japan.





Figure 4.17 *Chigo Daishi*, Edo period, ink and color on silk, Tokyo, Private Collection.



Figure 4.18 *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki*, late 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> century, ink and color on paper, Honolulu Museum of Art.



Figure 4.19 *Kōbō Daishi den emaki*, 1319, ink and color on paper, Hakutsuru Fine Art Museum, Kobe.



Figure 4.20 *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō ekotoba*, 1374-1389, ink and color on paper, Tō-ji, Kyoto.



Figure 4.21 *Textile Fragment with boys in floral scrolls*, Northern Song dynasty, eleventh through twelfth centuries, silk twill damask, 29.2 x 33, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/39708>



Figure 4.22 *Nine panel Kesa, Associated with Wuhan Shifan, Southern Song Dynasty, thirteenth century, Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto, Japan; (Detail) Lily, Five-Petal Flower and Jasmine Arabesques, twill damask.*



Figure 4.23 *Seven panel Kesa Associated with Huiguo transmitted to Kūkai*, Tang Dynasty, ninth century, Tō-ji, Kyoto, Japan; (Detail) *Peony arabesques*, silk twill damask.



Figure 4.24 *Brocade with Lotus Flowers*, thirteenth to mid fourteenth century, Mongol Period, tabby, brocaded; silk and gold thread 58.4 x 67 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.

<https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1994.293>





Figure 4.25 *Textile with Rabbits*, thirteenth through fourteenth century, silk and metallic thread, Chinese.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/70998>



Figure 4.26 *Kinran (Gold Brocaded Silk) With Deer Under the Moon*, Jin Dynasty, twelfth to thirteenth century, plain weave foundation with gold weft patterning, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto.



Figure 4.27 *Gold Brocaded silk (Kinran) with Rabbits and Flowers*, Yuan dynasty, 13<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, plain weave foundation with gold weft patterning, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto.

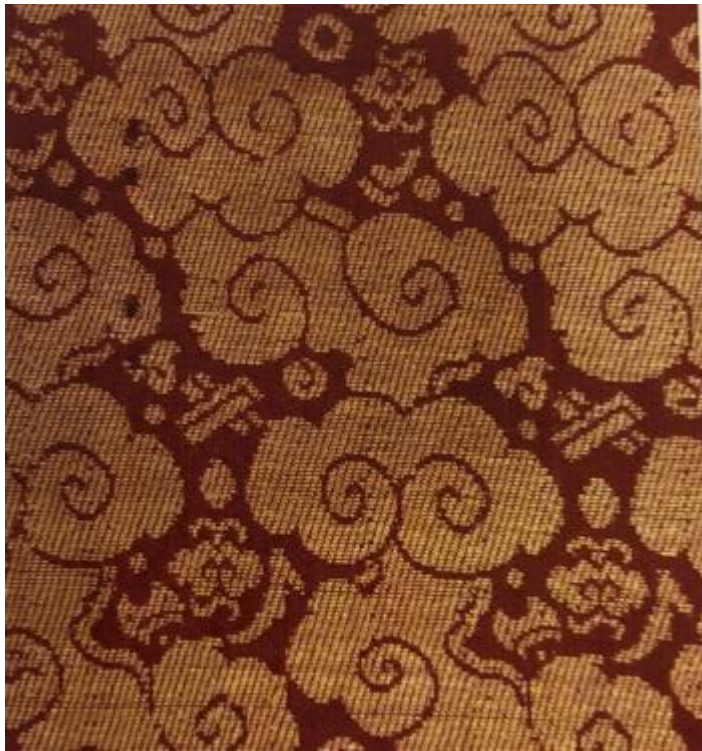
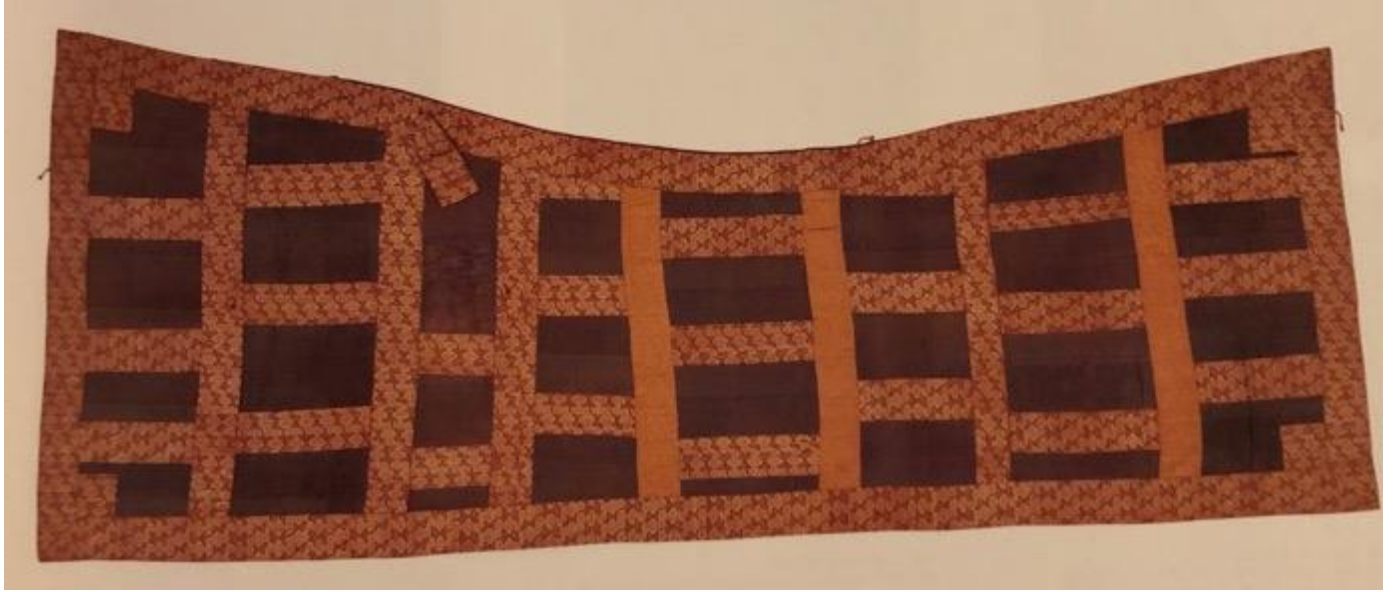


Figure 4.28 *Nine Panel Kesa*, Associated with *Kūkoku Myō'o*, Ming Dynasty, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Jisai'in, Kyoto; (detail) *Tomita Kinran*, twill with supplementary gold wefts.



Figure 4.29 *Nine Panel Kesa, Associated with Musō Soseki*, Yuan Dynasty, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Tenryū-ji, Kyoto; (detail) : *Double Stemmed Peony Arabesques*, Yuan Dynasty, 14<sup>th</sup> century, lampas, 2/1 Z twill with supplementary gold wefts in tabby binding, Tenryū-ji, Kyoto, Japan.



Figure 4.30 *Portrait of Musō Soseki*, fourteenth century, Rokuō-in, Kyoto, Japan.



Figure 4.31 *Uwagi*, Muromachi period, inscribed 1458, Atsuda Jingū, Nagoya.



Figure 4.32 *Fringed Tunic with Double Vined Peony Arabesque Pattern*, Nanbokuchō period, 1378, Tokyo National Museum.

[https://colbase.nich.go.jp/collection\\_items/tnm/I-2269?locale=ja](https://colbase.nich.go.jp/collection_items/tnm/I-2269?locale=ja)





Figure 4.33 *Kujō* (nine horizontal cloths), robe with gold-leaf arabesque pattern on purple-red base, Yuan Dynasty, fourteenth century, ra (gauze-like thin silk) with gold leafed pattern, reverse side: plain silk, 231.5 x 89.8 (right), 92.0 (left), Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo. Important Cultural Property.

[https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=en&webView=&content\\_base\\_id=100894&content\\_art\\_id=0&content\\_pict\\_id=0](https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=en&webView=&content_base_id=100894&content_art_id=0&content_pict_id=0)



Figure 4.34 *Portrait of Shun'oka Myōha*, c. 1383, ink, color gold on silk, 200.7 x 75.6, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/59669>



Figure 4.35 *Inkin (Gold Printed Fabric) With Peony Scrolls with Double-Line Stems*, Ming Dynasty, fifteenth through sixteenth centuries, plain weave silk with imprinted gold, 73.8x9.4 cm, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto.



Figure 4.36 *Tsujigahana with Flower Designs*, Muromachi period, sixteenth century, plain weave silk, *shibori* dyeing, 40.0 x 18.0 cm, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto.



Figure 4.37 *Screen with Two Kosode*, late 16<sup>th</sup> early 17<sup>th</sup> century, silk textiles mounted on paper with ink and colors.



Figure 4.38 *Surihaku (Gold Foil Stencil Imprint) Flowers with Shibori Plums*, Momoyama period, sixteenth century, glossed weft plain weave silk (*nerinuki*), *shibori* dyeing, gold imprinting, red drawing, 26.2x29.3, Gion Saito Collection, Kyoto.



Figure 4.39 *Nishiki: Alternately Inverted and Staggered Rows of Dragon Medallions*, mid Edo period, satin ground with continuous supplementary flat gold threads and discontinues patterning wefts, The Bauer Collection, Geneva.



Figure 4.40 *Kochiki and hakama*, Edo period, Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.

<https://webarchives.tnm.jp/imgsearch/show/C0097582>



Figure 4.41 *Kochiki and hakama*, Edo period, Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.

<https://webarchives.tnm.jp/imgsearch/show/C0097582>





Figure 4.42 *Robe (Kosode) with Mandarin Orange Tree and Auspicious Characters*, second half of the Edo period, dyed and embroidered silk crepe with couched gold-wrapped threads, 127 x 165.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/65008>



Figure 4.43 *Nishiki: Kikkō Pattern of Repeated Hexagons Enclosing Large Floral Medallions on a Red Ground*, med-Edo period, silk, lampas 4/1 satin ground, continuous supplementary patterning wefts held by supplementary warps in  $\frac{1}{2}$  Z binding: flat gold thread, The Bauer Collection, Geneva.











Figure 4.44 a-i, *Illustrations of the Nine Stages of Decay*, Muromachi period, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, Nakamura family collection.



Figure 4.45 *Nude Jizō*, Kamakura period, 1228, Denkō-ji, Nara.





Figure 4.46 *Nude "Testicle" Jizō*, Kamakura period, 1238, Shinyakushi-ji, Kyoto.

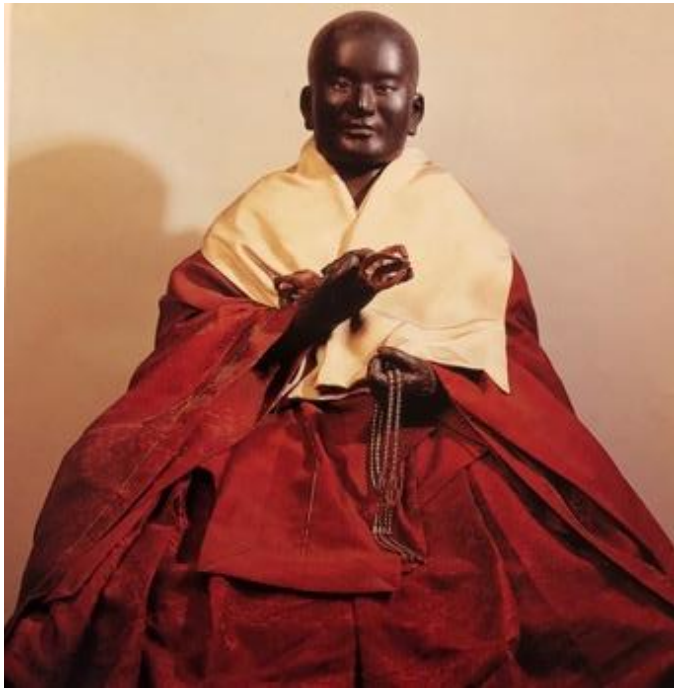
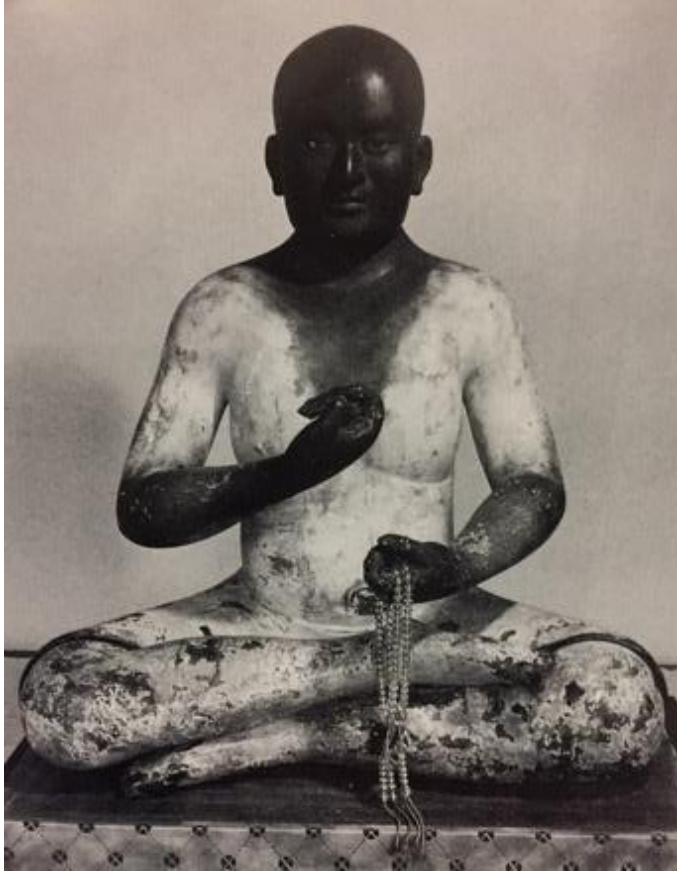


Figure 4.47 a-b, *Nude Kūkai*, Kamakura period, Shōrenji, Kamakura.

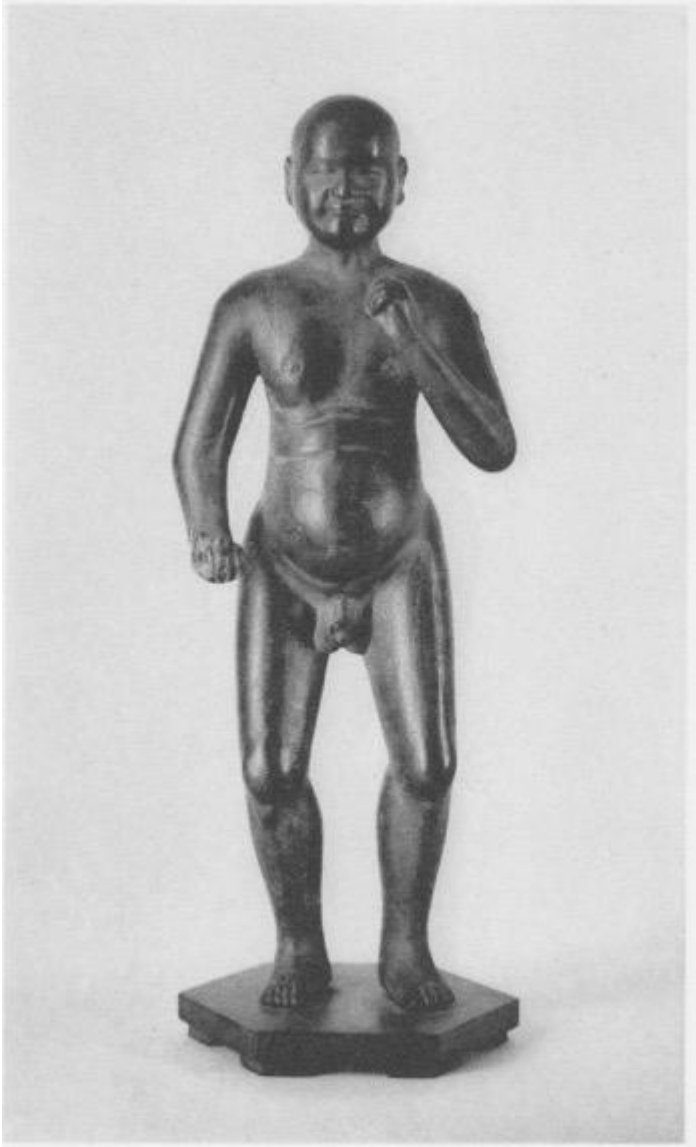


Figure 4.48 *Nude Kūkai*, Kamakura period, Saikō'in, Nara.



Figure 4.49 Suzuki Bokushi, *Illustration of Kōchi Hōin*, Edo period, 1837.



Figure 5.1 *Descent of Amida Triad*, fourteenth century, hanging scroll, color on silk, 112.7 cm x 49.0 cm, Miho Museum.





Figure 5.2 a-c *The Buddha Illuminates the Universe: Frontispiece Illustration to a Handscroll of the Lotus Sutra*, fourteenth century, gold and silver ink on dark-blue paper, 27.6cm x 79.6cm. Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library.











Figure 5.3 a-d *Kokawa-dera engi e*, late Heian period (twelfth century), handscroll, color on paper, 30.8 cm x 1984.2 cm, Kyoto National Museum, Kyoto.

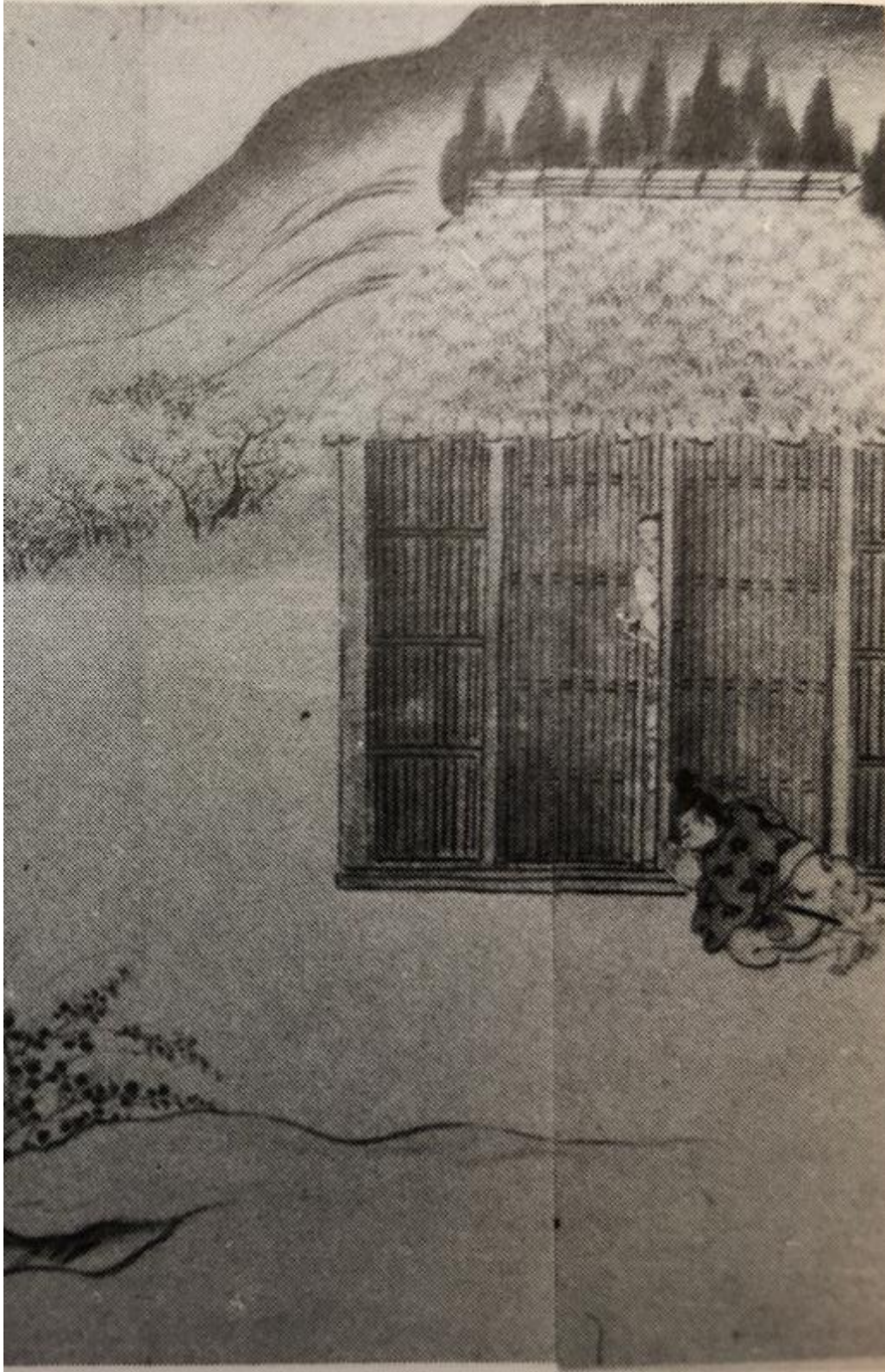


Figure 5.4 *Kokawa-dera engi e*, Genroku period, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, ink and color on paper.



Figure 5.5 *Senjū Kannon*, late Heian period, wood, Kokawa-dera, Kokawa, Wakayama Prefecture.



Figure 5.6 *Senjū Kannon*, late Heian period, wood, Kokawa-dera, Kokawa, Wakayama Prefecture, (detail).



Figure 5.7 Seated Amida Nyorai, Heian period, with Muromachi period head, Bodai'in, Kōfuku-ji, Nara, Nara Prefecture.



Figure 5.8 *Standing Chigo Kannon Sculpture*, c. Nanbokuchō or Muromachi periods. See *Rekishi Kaido—romanhe no tobira—*.

<https://www.asahi.co.jp/rekishi/04-10-13/01.htm>



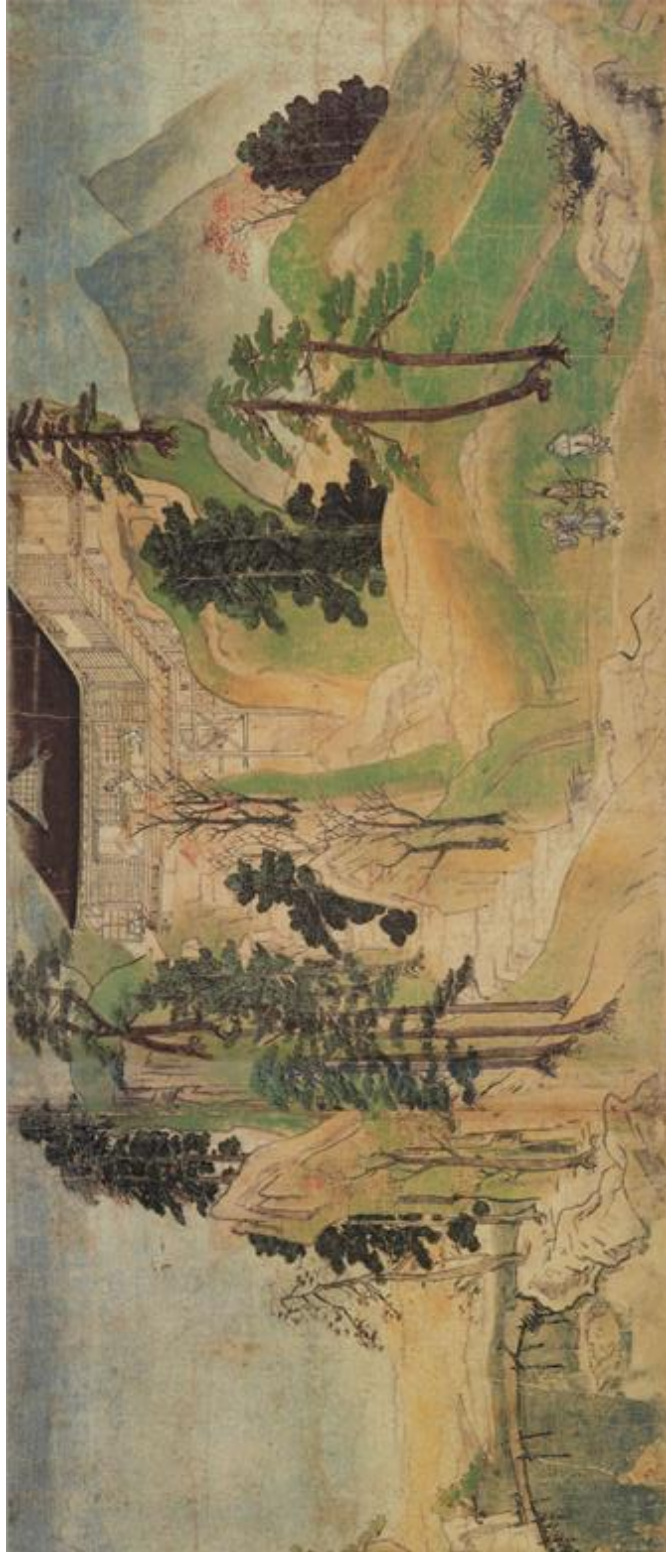


Figure 5.9 *Chigo Kannon engi*, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Landscape with Hase-dera (detail).



Figure 5.10 *Chigo Kannon engi*, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Chogen Encounters Chigo at the Foot of Mount Obuse (detail).



Figure 5.11 *Chigo Kannon engi*, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Concert Scene (detail).

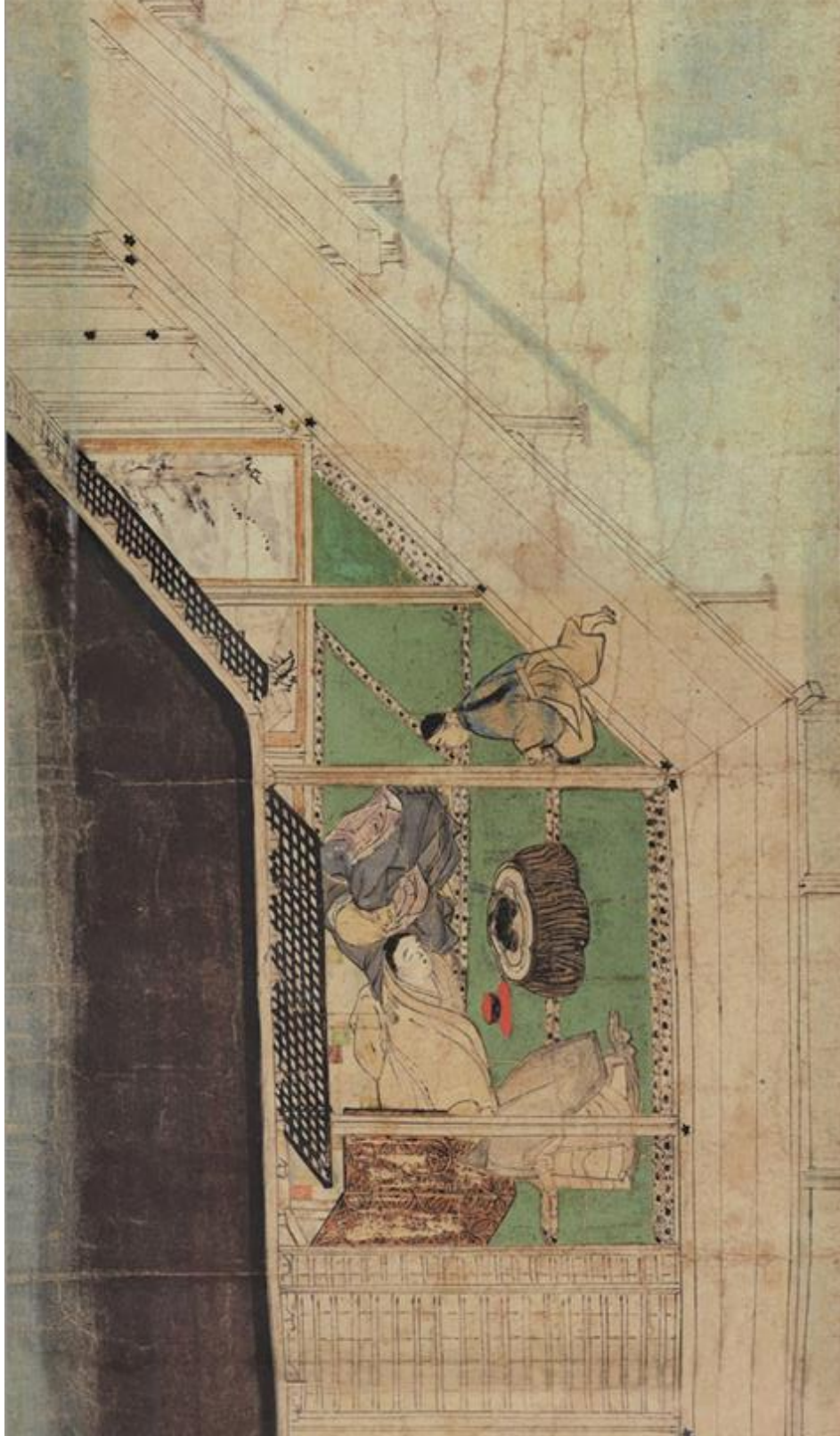


Figure 5.12 *Chigo Kannon engi*, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Chigo Falls III (detail).

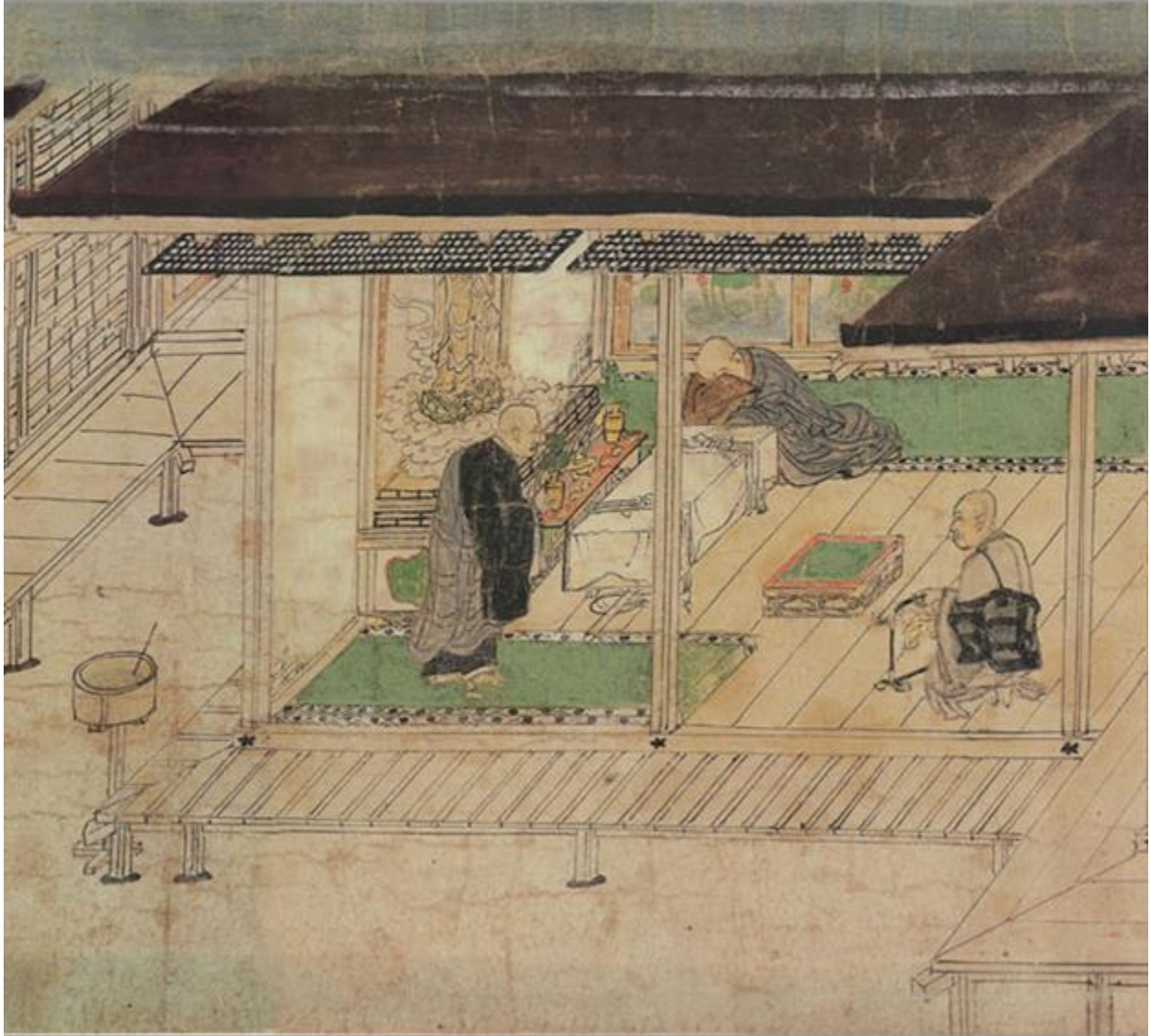


Figure 5.13 *Chigo Kannon engi*, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Funerary Preparations (detail).



Figure 5.14 *Chigo Kannon engi*, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Funerary Preparations (detail).



Figure 5.15 *Chigo Kannon engi*, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Kannon's Miraculous Transformation (detail).



Figure 5.16 *Chigo Kannon engi*, fourteenth century, ink and color on paper, 31.5 cm x 983.6 cm, Kōsetsu Museum, Kannon Departing (detail).









Figure 5.17a-c *Long Tale for an Autumn Night* (details from scrolls one and two), Muromachi period, c. 1400, ink, color and gold on paper, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/65038#:~:text=built%20with%20ACNLPatternTool-.A%20Long%20Tale%20for%20an%20Autumn%20Night%20\(Aki%20no%20yo,1400&text=A%20Long%20Tale%20for%20an%20Autumn%20Night%20became%20popular%20in,younger%20male%20acolyte%20\(chigo\)](https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/65038#:~:text=built%20with%20ACNLPatternTool-.A%20Long%20Tale%20for%20an%20Autumn%20Night%20(Aki%20no%20yo,1400&text=A%20Long%20Tale%20for%20an%20Autumn%20Night%20became%20popular%20in,younger%20male%20acolyte%20(chigo))



Figure 5.18 *Long Tale for an Autumn Night*, Muromachi period, fifteenth century, Eisei Bunko Museum, Tokyo, *Auspicious Clouds Over Iwakura* (detail).

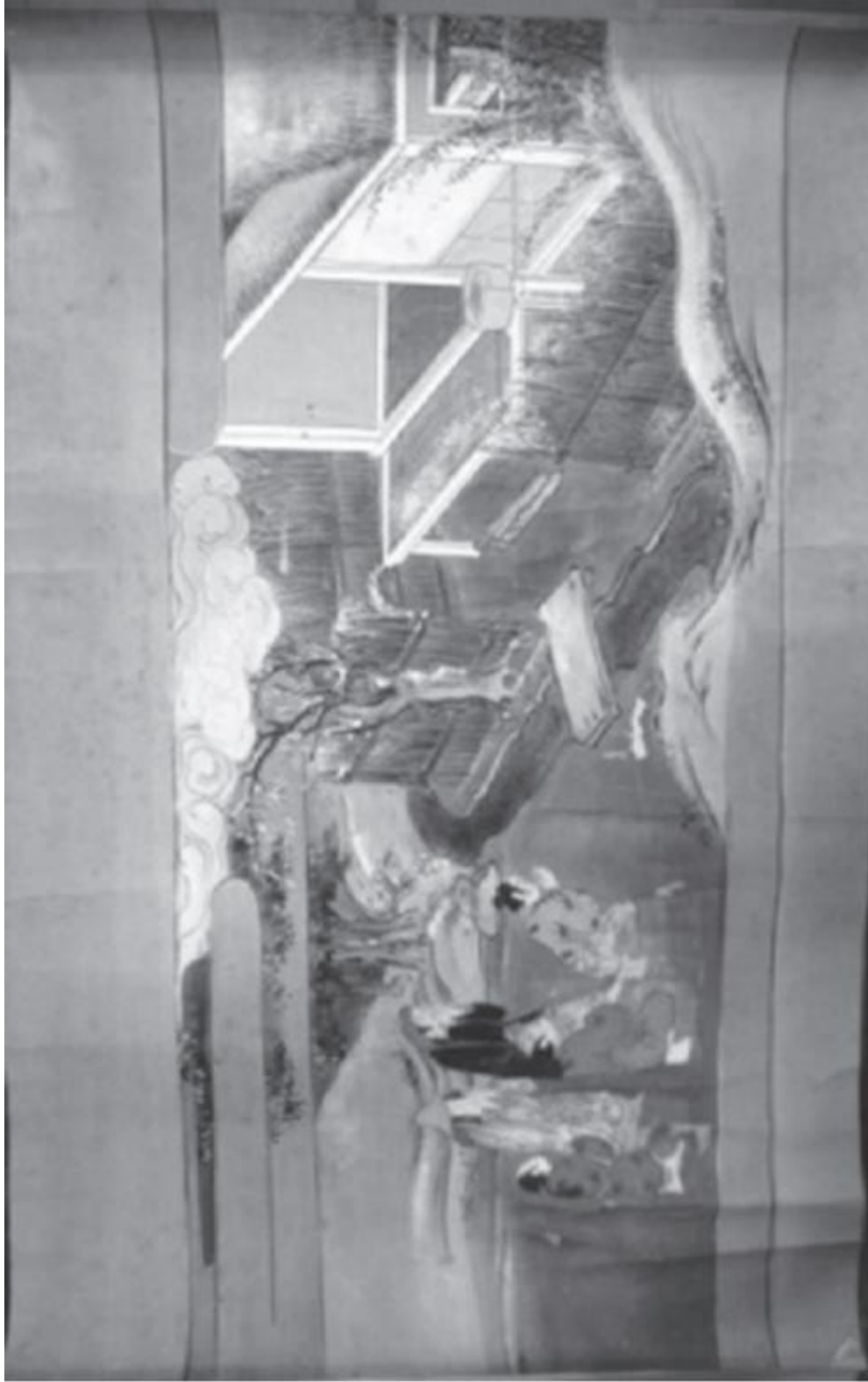


Figure 5.19 *Long Tale for an Autumn Night*, Edo period, late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, ink and color on paper, *Auspicious Clouds Over Iwakura*, (detail).



Figure 5.20 *Nyoirin Kannon at Ishiyama-dera*, Heian period, eleventh century, Ishiyama-dera, Ōtsu, Japan.



Figure 5.21 *Long Tale for an Autumn Night*, Muromachi period, fifteenth century, Eisei Bunko Museum, Tokyo, *Kaimami* Scene (detail).



Figure 5.22 *Long Tale for an Autumn Night*, Edo period, late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, ink and color on paper, *Kaimami* Scene (detail).



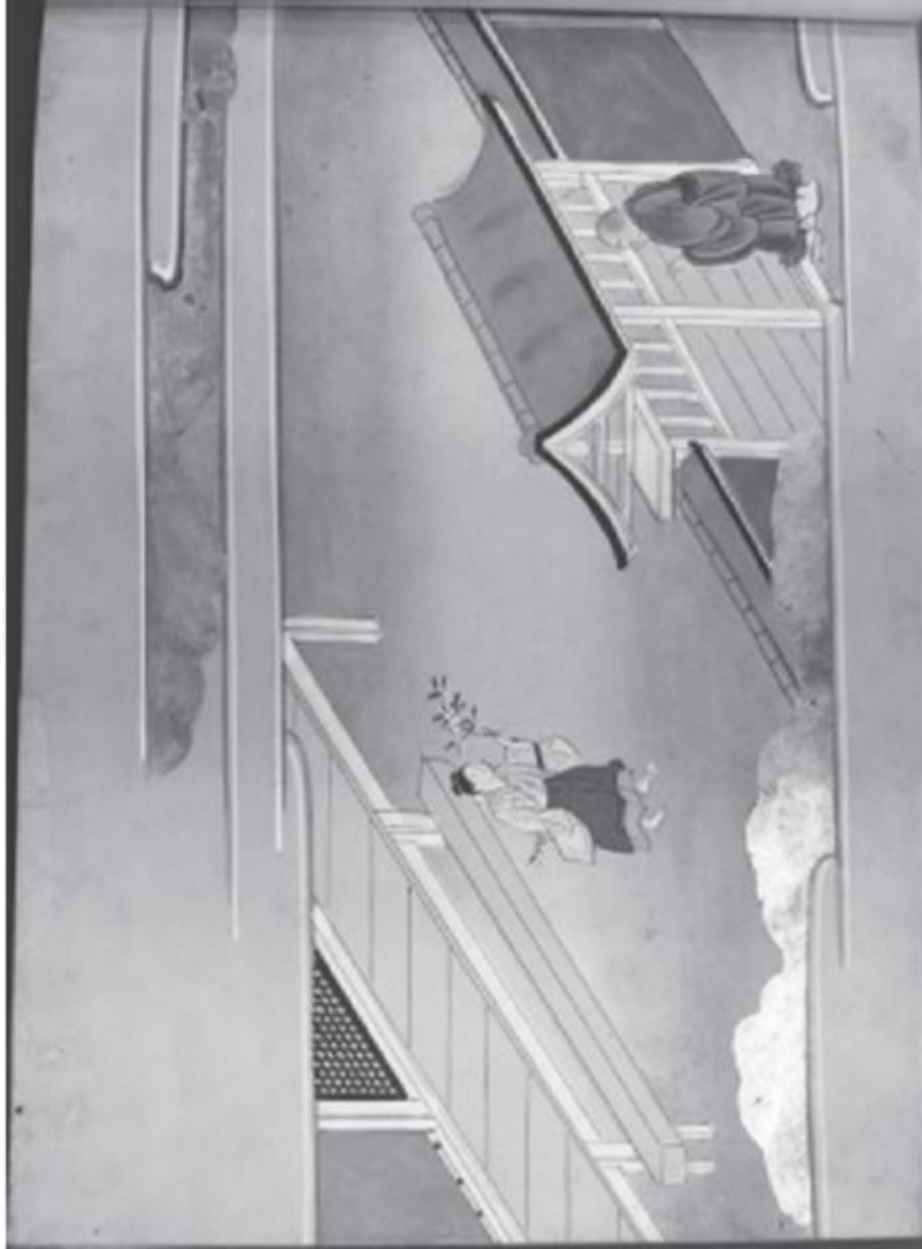


Figure 5.23 *Long Tale for an Autumn Night*, Seoul National University, Edo period, *Kaimami Scene* (detail).

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources and Translations

- A.B.L., “The Best from Japan,” *New York Times*; Jan 25, 1953. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, SM18.
- Adlow, Dorothy. “Article 8—No Title.” *The Christian Science Monitor* (Dec. 10, 1953) 14. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Aki no yo naga monogatari* 秋夜長物語. *Otogi Zōshi*, edited by Ichiko Teiji. NKBT 38.
- Ban Naokata 伴直方 *Gazen hinrui* 画図品類. *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan: Dijitaru raiburarī*. Accessed June 30, 2022.  
<https://webarchives.tnm.jp/dlib/detail/2383;jsessionid=825F55D3E6608DF7690D7B9E34ACB7AA>.
- Chikamatsu, Monzaemon 近松門左衛門, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu*. Translated by Donald Keene. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Chikamatsu, Monzaemon 近松門左衛門, *Shinju mannenso* 心中万年草 *Chikamatsu Monzaemon shū* 2, SNKBZ 75.
- Cloistered Prince Shukaku’s 守覚法親王, *Uki* 右記, GR 444: 673.
- D. E. Mills trans., *A Collection of Tales from Uji*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, 1970.
- Eison 叡尊, *Kongō busshi Eison kanjin gakushōki* 金剛仏子叡尊感身学正記. In *Saidai-ji Eison denki shūsei*. Edited by Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1977: 166.
- Ennin 円仁. *Ennin’s Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, translated by Edwin O. Reischauer. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955.
- Ennin 円仁, *Nittō guhō junrei kyōgki* 入唐求法巡礼行記. Vol. 157 *Tōyō Bunko*. Edited by Atachi Kiroku, Shioiri Ryōdō. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1970-1985.

- Fujiwara no Kanezane 藤原兼実, *Gyōkuyo* 玉葉, Edited by Kokusho Kankō kai. Tokyo: Kokosho Kankō kai, 1898-1907.
- Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔, *Zoku shika wakashū* 続詞花和歌集, GR148.
- Fujiwara no Mototoshi 藤原基俊, *Fujiwara no Mototori kashū* 藤原基俊家集. GR 255, 95-104;
- Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長, *Taiki* 台記, vol. 1. Kyoto, Rinsen Shoten, 1966.
- Genmu monogatari* 幻夢物語. Vol. 4, *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei*, edited by Matsumoto Ryūshin and Yokoyama Shigeru. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1981.
- Genshin 源信, *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集. T2682\_.84.
- Hakeda, Yoshito S. *Kūkai: Major Works*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.
- Hase-dera reigenki* 長谷寺靈驗記, ZGR 799.
- Hayashi Sōha 林宗甫, in *Washū kyūseki shūkō* 和州旧跡幽考. ZZGR.
- Heike monogatari* 平家物語. Edited by Yamada Yoshio. Tokyo: Hobunkan, 1933.
- Honcho e no koto* 本朝画事. National Diet Library Digital Collection. Accessed June 30, 2022, <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2541293>.
- Jitsue 実慧, *Aji kan yōjin ketsu* 阿字觀用心口決. T. 2432.
- . *Tsuikai bunsō* 追懷文藻. KZ 5.
- Khan, Robert Omar, trans. “Partings at Dawn [Ariake no Wakare].” In *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature*, edited by Stephen D. Miller and Paul Gordon Schalow, 21-30. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1996.
- Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟. *Iwatsutsuji* 岩津々志. *Kana zōshi shūsei* vol. 5. Edited by Asakura Haruhiko. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1984.
- Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 NKBT 84, 316-317.
- Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集. SNKBT, 33-37.
- Kōzuke kimi no shōshoku* 上野君消息. *Kokubun Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho: Denki bu dai 2 shū* vol. 7. Edited by Washio Junkei. Tokyo: Tōhō Shoin, 1928.
- Kūkai 空海, *Hizō hōyaku* 秘藏寶鑰. KZ 1: 469.

- . *Sokushin jōbutsugi* 即身成仏義. KZ 1.
- . *Shōji jisshōgi* 声子実相義. KZ 1
- . *Unjigi* 子吽義. KZ 1.
- Kuzu* 国栖. *Yōkyokushū* II, NKBZ 34.
- Kyōkai 景戒. *Nihon Ryōiki* 日本靈異記. GR 447.
- Kyōkai 景戒. *Record of Miraculous Events in Japan: the Nihon Ryōiki*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Maka hannya haramitsu kyō* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, T. 223.
- Mañjuśrī parinirvāṇa Sūtra* 文殊師利般涅槃經. T. 463.14.
- Marcell, Arik V. et al., “Male Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Healthcare.” *Pediatrics* vol. 128 no. 6 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2011-2384>.
- McCullough, Hellen Craig trans. *The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- . *The Tale of Heike*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Minamoto Masasuke 源満佐. *Masasuke shōzokushō* 満佐須計装束抄 GR 112.
- Minamoto no Toshiyori 源俊頼 *Sanboku kika shū* 散木奇歌集 GR 254: 1-79.
- Mishima Yukio, *Forbidden Colors*, translated by Alfred H. Marks. New York: Vintage Books, 1999.
- Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫. *Kinjiki* 禁色. Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1964.
- Mōri Baien 毛利梅園 *Honchō gazu hinmoku* 本朝書図品目. *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan: Dijitaru raiburarī*. Accessed June 30, 2022, <https://webarchives.tnm.jp/dlib/detail/2432>.
- Nijō Kawara rakugaki* 二条河原落書. Ishii Susumu, “Kenmu ki” in *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol 2. Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1994.
- Nijūshikō* 二十四孝. “The Twenty-Four Filial Exemplars,” translated by R. Keller Kimbrough, *Japan Review* 34 (2019):69-94.
- Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝. *Chigo monogatari burui* 児物語部類. *Zoku shiseki shūran* 続史籍集

- vol. 6, edited by Kondō Heijō. Tokyo: Chikafuji Shuppanbu, 1930.
- Portner, Leslie Judd. "Japanese Show Opens Today." *The Washington Post* (Jan. 25, 1953)  
ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Prince Sadafusa 貞成, *Kanmon gyoki* 看聞御記. KG vol. 1-2.
- Rasplica Rodd, Laura trans., *Shinkokinshu: New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* vol. 2  
Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Reischauer, A. K. "Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū*: Collected Essays on Birth into Paradise." *The  
Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, second series, vol. VII, (1930): 16-97.
- Samon Shūsei 沙門宗性. *Gokajō kishōji* 五箇条起請事. *Kamakura ibun*, vol.7, edited by  
Takeuchi Rizō. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2018.
- Schalow, Paul Gordon. *The Great Mirror of Male Love*. Stanford: Stanford University Press,  
1990.
- Shin Kokin wakashu* 新古今和歌集. NKBZ 20.
- Shinran 親鸞, *Shinran muki* 親鸞夢記. *Teihon Shinran Shōnin zenshū*, vol. 4. Edited by Shinran  
Zenshū Kankōkai. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1969-1970.
- Suzuki Bokushi 鈴木牧之. *Hokuetsu seppū* 北越雪譜. Edited by Okada Takematsu. Tokyo:  
Iwanami shoten, 1936.
- Taiheiki* 太平記, Kokumin bunko kankō, vol. 18. Edited by Kokumin bunko kankōkai. Tokyo:  
Kokumin bunko kankokai, 1910-1911.
- Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助. *Rokuon nichiroku* 鹿苑日録. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai,  
1934-1937.
- Uji shui monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語. SNKBT vol. 42.
- Ungo-ji kechien-gyō kōen utaawase 雲居寺結縁經後宴歌合. GR213: 258-262.
- Ury, Miriam, trans. *Tales of Times Now Past: Sixty-Two Stories from a Medieval Japanese  
Collection*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1993.
- Yamashina Tokitsune 山科言經, *Tokitsune kyō ki* 言經卿記. Vol. 11 *Dai Nihon Kokiroku*  
Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1959-1991.
- Yūkai 有快, *Hyōkushō* 宝鏡鈔 T 2456.

## Websites and Ephemera:

- Bonhams, Lot 1071: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1768), Chigo Monju Bosatsu. January 16, 2020.  
<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/24862/lot/1071/?category=list&length=10&page=8>.
- Brightwells, Summer Two Day Fine Art Sale, July 2019. January 16, 2020,  
<https://www.brightwells.com/lot-details/423033> (website discontinued).
- “Chigo no sōshi,” The British Museum. September 10, 2022,  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A\\_2013-3001-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_2013-3001-1).
- “Coloured Bondage: Jacolby Satterwhite x Danshoku at Asakusa, Tokyo.” *ArtNews*. April 8, 2020: <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/coloured-bondage-jacolby-satterwhite-x-danshoku-asakusa-tokyo-10982/>
- Edo Senke 江戸千家. “Dai 66 kai: Tōkyō Fuhakukai Haru no Sakai” 第 66 回 東京不白会春の茶会 (April 5, 2015). November 9, 2018,  
<http://www.edosenke.jp/gyouji/2015/haruchakai15/index.html>.
- Hausser Christine and Maggie Astor. “The Larry Nassar Case: What Happened and How the Fallout is Spreading.” *The New York Times (Online)*. Accessed April 22, 2020,  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/25/sports/larry-nassar-gymnastics-abuse.html>.
- Hōsō-shū Daihonzan Kōfuku-ji 法相宗大本山 興福寺. “Kizukuri Amida Nyorai zazō” 木造阿弥陀如来坐像. June 30, 2022, <https://www.kohfukuji.com/property/b-0041/>.
- Kōyasan Shingonshū Sōhonzan Kongōbu-ji 高野山真言宗 総本山金剛峯寺. *Kōyasan kaisō sennihyaku nen* 高野山開創 1200 年. July 28, 2018,  
<http://www.koyasan.or.jp/en/k1200/>.
- Kunishitei bunkazai dō detābēsu 国指定文化財等データベース. “Kizukuri Amida Nyorai zazō” 木造阿弥陀如来坐像. June 30, 2022,  
<https://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/heritage/detail/201/3979;>
- . “Shihon choshoku Chigo Kannon engi” 紙本著色児観音縁起. June 30, 2022,  
<https://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/bsys/maindetails/201/1721>.
- Nara-shi: Bunkazai 奈良市文化財. “Kizukuri Jūichimen Kannon ritsuzō,” 木造十一面観音立像 (March 28, 2022). March 31, 2022,  
<https://www.city.nara.lg.jp/site/bunkazai/138676.html>.
- “Portrait of Chigo Daishi (Kobo Daishi as a Child) The Newark Museum.” Enfield: Springbok Editions, Inc., c. 1970.

Shin Nihon koten seki sōgō dētabēsu 新日本古典籍総合データベース. “Aki no yo naga monogatari,” 秋夜長物語. *Shin Nihon koten seki sōgō dētabēsu*. June 28, 2022, <https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100000164/viewer/1>.

———. “Taiheiki reihon/Aki no yo naga monogatari,” 太平記零本/秋夜長物語. *Shin Nihon koten seki sōgō dētabēsu*. June 30, 2022. <https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/200014572/viewer/4?ln=en>,

Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 和歌山県立博物館. *Sōken 1250 nen kinen tokubetsu ten: Kokuhō Kokawa-dera engi to Kokawa-dera no rekishi* 創建 1250 年記念特別展国宝粉河寺縁起と粉河寺の歴史. (Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2020). June 30, 2022. <https://www.hakubutu.wakayama-c.ed.jp/pressrelease/20201001.pdf>

———. “Tokubetsu chinretsu: Hatsukōkai Kokawa-dera no Senju Kannon tachizō—Kokawa no meihō totomo ni” 特別陳列「初公開・粉河寺の千手観音立像—粉河の名宝とともに—」. December 9, 2020. <https://www.hakubutu.wakayama-c.ed.jp/tounan2016/frameset.htm>.

———. “Tokubetsu chinretsu: Hatsukōkai Kokawa-dera no Senju Kannon tachizō—Kokawa no meihō totomo ni (6/11-7/10)” 特別陳列「初公開・粉河寺の千手観音立像—粉河の名宝とともに—」(6/11-7/10). Twitter, June 11, 2016. <https://twitter.com/wakayamakenpaku/status/741603456473923584>.

## Western Language Secondary Sources

Abe, Ryūichi. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Ahearn, Laura M. “Language and Agency.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* (2001): 109-137.

Ahn, Hwi-Joon. “Paintings of the Nawa Monju: Mañjuśrī Wearing a Braided Robe.” *Archives of Asian Art* 24 (1974): 36-58.

Ambros, Barbara “Liminal Journeys: Pilgrimages of Noblewomen in Mid-Heian Japan.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24, no. 3 (1997): 301-345.

“Art of Asia Recently Acquired by North American Museums, 1969.” *Archives of Asian Art* 24 (1970/1971): 86-117.

Atkins, Paul S. “Chigo in the Medieval Imagination.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 3 (August 2008): 947-970.

Bogel, Cynthia J. *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009.

- Boudot, Eric. *The Roots of Asian Weaving*. Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2015.
- Brock, Karen. "The Shogun's 'Painting Match'." *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 4 (Winter 1995), 433-484.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002.
- Carr, Kevin Gray "Evidence of Our Eyes: The Epistemology of Vision(s) in Early Medieval Japan." In *Crossing the Sea: Essays on East Asian Art In Honor of Professor Yoshiaki Shimizu*. Edited by Gregory P. A. Levine, Andrew M Watsky, and Gennifer Weisenfeld, 77-94. Princeton: P.Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Center for East Asian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Chigusa, Steven. "Hachizuki: A Muromachi Short Story," *Monumenta Nipponica* 32 no. 3 (1977): 303-331.
- Childs, Margaret Helen. "Chigo monogatari: Love Stories or Buddhist Sermons?" *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 2 (1980): 127-151.
- . "Influence of the Buddhist Practice of *Sange* on Literary Form: Revelatory Tales." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14, no. 2 (1987): 53-66.
- . *Rethinking Sorrow: Revelatory Tales of Late Medieval Japan*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1991.
- . "The Value of Vulnerability: Sexual Coercion and the Nature of Love in Japanese Court Literature." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 4 (November 1999): 1059-1079.
- Ching, Dora C. Y. and Louise Allison Cort, eds. *Around Chigusa: Tea and the Arts of Sixteenth Century Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.
- Chung, Young Yang. *Silken Threads: A History of Embroidery in China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 2005.
- Clark, Timothy, C. Andrew Gerstle, Aki Ishigami and Akiko Yano eds.. *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art*. London: The British Museum Press, 2013.
- Commons, Anne *Hitomaro: Poet as God*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Conlan, Thomas *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth Century Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Covaci, Ive "Ishiyama-dera and the Representation of Dreams and Visions in Pre-Modern Japanese Art," PhD diss., Yale University, 2007, ProQuest 3267232.



- Covaci, Ivo. *Kamakura: Realism and Spirituality in the Sculpture of Japan*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Dalby, Liza Crihfield. *Kimono: Fashioning Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Denney, Joyce. "Textiles in the Mongol and Yuan Periods" in *The World of Kublai Khan: Chinese Art of the Yuan Dynasty*, edited by James C. Y. Wyatt. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2010.
- Doo Lee, Kenneth. *The Prince and the Monk: Shōtoku Worship in Shinran's Buddhism*. Albany, State University of New York, 2007.
- Drott, Edwin R. *Buddhism and the Transformation of Old Age in Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.
- Dusenbury, Mary M. ed. *Color in Ancient and Medieval East Asia*. Lawrence: The Spencer Museum of Art, 2015.
- Dykstra, Yoshiko K. "Tales of the Compassionate Kannon." *Monumenta Nipponica* 31, no. 2 (1976):113-143.
- Elliston, Deborah A. "Erotic Anthropology: 'Ritualized Homosexuality' in Melanesia and Beyond." *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 4 (November 1995) 848-867.
- Eng, David. *Racial Castration: Managing Masculinity in Asian America*. Durham, Duke University Press, 2001.
- Eubanks, Charlotte. "Illustrating the Mind: 'Faulty Memory,' *Setsuwa* and the Decorative Sutras of Late Classical and Early Medieval Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 36, no. 2 (2009): 209-230.
- Farris William Wayne, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility and Warfare in a Transformative Age*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.
- Faure, Bernard "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze." *Critical Inquiry* (Spring 1998), 768-813.
- . *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity and Gender*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- . *The Red Thread: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- . *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

- Fowler, Sherry “Hibutsu: Secret Buddhist Images of Japan.” *Journal of Asian Culture* 15 (1991): 137-159.
- . *Murō-ji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005.
- The Freer Gallery of Art, *Masterpieces of Chinese and Japanese Art: Freer Gallery of Art Handbook*. Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1976.
- Frühstück, Sabine. *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Gerhart, Karen M. “Reconstructing the Life of Uesugi Kiyoko.” *Japan Review* no. 31 (2017): 3-24.
- Glassman, Hank “The Nude Jizō at Denkō-ji.” In *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, edited by Barbara Ruch. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003.
- Goble, Andrew Edmund. *Kenmu: Go-Daigo’s Revolution*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 199.
- Grapard, Allan G. *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Gute, Gary, Elaine M. Eshbaugh and Jacquelyn Wiersma. “Sex for You, But Not for Me: Discontinuity in Undergraduate Emerging Adults’ Definitions of “Having Sex.” *The Journal of Sex Research* vol. 45, no. 4 (2008): 329-337.
- Guth, Christine M. E., “The Divine Boy in Japanese Art.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 42, no. 1 (Spring, 1987): 1-23.
- Hare, Thomas. “Emperor’s Noh Clothes: Medieval Japanese Kingship and the Role of the Child in Noh Drama” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 13 (2002): 411-425.
- Harrison, Paul M. “Mañjuśrī and the Cult of the Celestial Bodhisattvas.” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, No. 13.2 (2000): 157-193.
- Heldt, Gustav. “Between Followers and Friends: Male Homosocial Desire in Heian Court Poetry,” *US-Japan Women’s Journal* no. 33 (2007), 3-32
- Herd, Gilbert H. *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Hille, Jessica J., Megan K. Simmons & Stephanie A. Sanders. “Sex” and the Ace Spectrum: Definitions of Sex, Behavioral Histories, and Future Interest for Individuals Who Identify

- as Asexual, Graysexual, or Demisexual.” *The Journal of Sex Research* vol. 57 no. 7 (2020): 813-823.
- Horton, Sarah J. *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan*. New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2007.
- Horowitz, Ava D. and Louise Spicer. “Having Sex” as a Graded and Hierarchical Construct: A Comparison of Sexual Definitions among Heterosexual and Lesbian Emerging Adults in the U.K.” *Journal of Sex Research*, vol. 50 no. 2 (2013): 139-150.
- Ishii Tatsuro. “The Festival of the Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine.” *Theatre Research International* 12, no. 2 (1987) 134-147.
- Itō Toshiko and Monica Bethe. *Tsujigahana: The Flower of Japanese Textile Art*. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985.
- Jackson, Reginald. *A Proximate Remove Queering Intimacy and Loss in The Tale of Genji*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2021.
- Kanda, Fusae. “Beyond Sensationalism: Images of a Decaying Corpse in Japanese Buddhist Art.” *The Art Bulletin* vol. 87, no. 1, (March 2005), 24-49.
- Kaneko Hiraku, “Unexpected Paths: Gift Giving and the Nara Excursions of the Muromachi Shoguns,” translated by Lee Butler, 24-47. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Kroll, Paul W. “In the Halls of the Azure Lad.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, no. 1 (1985), 75-94.
- Langlois, Lisa K. “The Miraculous Origins of Kokawadera: The Editor’s Role in the Production of a Narrative Picture Scroll.” MA Thesis, University of Michigan, 1996.
- Lee, Kenneth “Kannon: The Goddess of Compassion in Japan.” In *The Constant and Changing Faces of the Goddess: Goddess Traditions of Asia*, edited by Deepak Shimkhada and Phyllis K. Herman, 65-80. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 76.
- Leupp, Gary *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Loveday, Helen. *The Baur Collection, Geneva: Japanese Buddhist Textiles*. Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2014.
- Marra, Michelle F. *Representations of Power: The Literary Politics of Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1993.
- Mayuyama Junkichi, ed., *Japanese Art in the West*. Tokyo: Mayuyama & Co., 1966.

McCormick, Melissa “Mountains, Magic and Mothers: Female Ascetic in a Medieval *Chigo* Tale.” In *Crossing the Sea: Essays on East Asian Art In Honor of Professor Yoshiaki Shimizu*, ed. Gregory P. A. Levine, Andrew M Watsky, and Gennifer Weisenfeld, 107-136. Princeton: P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Center for East Asian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press, 2012.

———. *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009.

McCullough, William H. “Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27, (1967): 103-167.

Macintosh, Johnathan D. *Homosexuality and Manliness in Postwar Japan*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Meeks, Lori. “Buddhist Renunciation and the Female Life Cycle: Understanding Nunhood in Heian and Kamakura Japan.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 70 no. 1 (June 2010): 1-59.

Moretti, Laura. “Kanazōshi Revisited: The Beginnings of Japanese Popular Literature in Print.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 65 no. 2 (2010): 297-356.

Morrissey, Elizabeth “Memorializing Imperial Power Through Ritual in the *Illustrated Legends of Ishiyama-dera Handscroll*.” PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2018. ProQuest 10984400.

Morse, Samuel C. “Dressed for Salvation-the Hadaka Statues of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.” In *Human Figure in the Visual Art of East Asia: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural Property*. Tokyo: Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties.

Mostow, Joshua S. “The Gender of *Wakashu* and the Grammar of Desire.” *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, edited by Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson, and Marybeth Graybill, 49-70. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003.

Murakami Takashi ed., *Little Boy: The Arts of Japan’s Exploding Subculture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Murase, Miyeko. *Bridge of Dreams: The Mary Griggs Burke Collection of Japanese Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.

———. “Recent Acquisitions, A selection: 2002-2003: A Long Tale for an Autumn Night.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 61, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 63.

- Nagahara Keiji, "The Medieval Origins of the Eta-Hinin." *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 5, no. 2 (1979), 385-403;
- National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture*. Washington Press, 1953.
- Nicoloff, Phillip L. *Sacred Koyasan: A Pilgrimage to the Mountain Temple of Saint Kobo Daishi and the Great Sun Buddha*. Albany: State University of New York, 2008.
- Pandey, Rajyashree. *Tangled Hair and Perfumed Sleeves: Body, Woman and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.
- Patton, Kimberly. "A Great and Strange Correction: Intentionality, Locality, and Epiphany in the Category of Dream Incubation." *History of Religions* 43, no. 3 (2004): 194-223.
- Pflugfelder, Gregory. *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- . "Strange Fates: Sex, Gender and Sexuality in Torikaebaya Monogatari." *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 47, no. 3 (1992): 368.
- Plutschow, Herbert. *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1990.
- Porath, Or. "Cosmology of Male-Male Love in Medieval Japan: *Nyakudō no kanjinchō* and the Way of Youths." *Journal of Religion in Japan*, 4 (2015): 241-271.
- . "Nasty Boys or Obedient Children? Childhood and Relative Autonomy in Medieval Japanese Monasteries." In *Childs Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, edited by Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall, 17-40. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018.
- . "The Flower of Dharma Nature: Sexual Consecration and Amalgamation in Medieval Japanese Buddhism." PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2019. ProQuest 22620424.
- Quinter, David. "Creating Bodhisattvas: Eison, "Hinin", and the "Living Mañjuśrī." *Monumenta Nipponica* 62 no. 4 (Winter 2007): 437-458.
- . *From Outcasts to Emperors: Shingon Ritsu and the Mañjuśrī Cult in Medieval Japan*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- . "The Shingon School and the Mañjuśrī Cult in the Kamakura Period: From Eison to Monkan." PhD diss., Stanford University, 2006. ProQuest 3235326.
- . "Visualizing the Mañjuśrī Sutra as a Contemplation Sutra." *Asia Major* 23, no. 2 (2010): 97-128.

- Rappo, Gaétan. *Rhétoriques de l'hérésie dans le Japon médiéval et moderne: Le moine Monkan (1278–1357) et sa réputation posthume*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2017.
- Rawson, Phillip. *Erotic Art of the East: The Sexual Theme in Oriental Painting and Sculpture*. New York: Berkley Publishing Company, 1968.
- Rodríguez, Amaury A. García. *El control de la estampa erótica japonesa shunga*. Mexico City: Colegio de México, 2011.
- Rubin, Gayle “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality.” In *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*. Edited by Carol Vance, 1-28. New York: Pandora Press, 1992.
- Sanford, James H. “The Abominable Tachikawa Skull Ritual.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 46, no. 1 (1991): 1-20.
- Sawada Shikyo. “*Aki no yo Naga Monogatari: A Lengthy Story for an Autumn Night*.” MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1976. Retrieved from <https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0093928>
- Schalow, Paul Gordon. “Kūkai and the Tradition of Male Love in Japanese Buddhism.” In *Buddhism Sexuality and Gender*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón, 215-230. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.
- . “The Invention of a Literary Tradition of Male Love: Kitamura Kigin’s ‘Iwatsutsuji.’” *Monumenta Nipponica* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 1-31.
- . *A Poetics of Male Friendship in Heian Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007.
- Scharf Robert H. and Elizabeth Horton Scharf, eds. *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Schmidt-Hori, Sachi. “Hyperfemininities, Hypermasculinities, and Hypersexualities in Classical Japanese Literature,” PhD diss, University of Washington, 2012. ResearchWorks, <http://hdl.handle.net/1773/20629>.
- . *Tales of Idolized Boys: Male-Male Love in Medieval Japanese Buddhist Narratives*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2021.
- Scott, Shelby B., Lane Ritchie, Kayla Knopp, et al. “Sexuality Within Female Same-Gender Couples: Definitions of Sex, Sexual Frequency Norms, and Factors Associated with Sexual Satisfaction.” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* vol. 47 (2018): 681–692.
- Sewell, Jack V. “Notes on Two Recently Acquired Japanese Portraits.” *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly* 54 no. 2 (April, 1960): 8-11.

- Solomon Godeau, Abigail. *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997.
- Stern, Harold P, and Thomas Lawton. *The Freer Gallery of Art* vol 2. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1971 1972.
- Struve, Daniel “Stolen Glimpses: Convention and Variations.” *Cipango: French Journal of Japanese Studies. English Selection* 3 (2014). OpenEdition Journals, <https://doi.org/10.4000/cjs.697>.
- ten Grotenhuis, Elizabeth. *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geographies*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1999.
- Toshinori Ochiai. *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera: A Recently Discovered Treasure-House in Downtown Nagoya*. Kyoto: Istituto italiano di cultura, Scuola di studi sull’Asia orientale, 1991.
- Tonomura, Hitomi. “Black Hair, Red Trousers: Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan.” *The American Historical Review*. (1994): 129-154.
- Tonomura, Hitomi. “Coercive Sex in the Japanese Court: Lady Nijō’s Memoir.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 61, no 3 (Autumn 2006): 283-338.
- Trotter Eileah C., Kevin G Alderson. “University Students' Definitions of Having Sex, Sexual Partner, and Virginity Loss: The Influence of Participant Gender, Sexual Experience and Contextual Factors.” *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* vol. 16 1-2 (2007): 11 29.
- Tyler, Royall. *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Tyler, Susan. *The Cult of Kasuga Seen through its Art*. Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1992.
- van Steenpaal Niels, “Conflicting Paradigms of Moral and Biological Childhood: The biography of Tonematsu the Filial Boy.” In *Kindheit in der japanischen Geschichte: Vorstellungen und Erfahrungen*, edited by Michael Kinski, Harald Salomon and Eike Grossman, 215 236. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015.
- Vilbar Sinéad and Kevin Gray Carr, *Shintō: Discovery of the Divine in Japanese Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019.
- Ward, Elizabeth Jane. *Not Gay: Sex Between White Straight Men*. New York: New York University Press, 2015.
- Watanabe, Masako. *Storytelling in Japanese Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011.

- Watt, James C. Y. ed. *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010.
- Wyatt, James C. Y. Anne E Wardwell, Morris Rossabi, eds. *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.;
- Yano, Akiko. “Children in Shunga.” In *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art*, edited by Clark, Timothy, C. Andrew Gerstle, Aki Ishigami and Akiko Yano, 404-409. London: The British Museum Press, 2013.
- . “Historiography of the ‘Phallic Contest’ Handscroll in Japanese Art.” *Japan Review* 26, Special Issue Shunga, (2013): 59-82.
- Yoshihiko, Amino. *Rethinking Japanese History*, translated by Alan S. Christy. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2012.
- Yü, Chün-fang “Feminine Images of Kuan-yin in Post Tang China.” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 18, no. 1, (1990): 61-89.

### Japanese Secondary Sources

- Abe Yasuro 阿部泰郎. “Hōju no katadoru ōken—Monkan-bō Kōshin no ‘Sanzon Gōgyōhōshōgyō’ to sono zuzō,” 宝珠の象る王権——文觀房弘真の三尊合行法聖教とその図. *Shari to hōju* 舍利と宝珠, *Nihon no Bijutsu* 日本の美術 (2011): 80-93.
- . “Jidō setsuwa no keisei: Tendai Sokui hō no seiritsu o megurite” 慈童説話の形 天台即位法の成立をめぐるて. *Kokugo Kokubun* 国語国文 53 no. 8 (1984): 1-29.
- . Monkan chosaku shōgyō no saihakkan—Sanzon gōgyō-hō no tekusuto fuchi to sono isō,” 文觀著作聖教の再発見 — 三尊合行法のテキスト布置とその相 — *Nagoya daigaku bungaku kenkyū ka* 6 (2009): 117-132.
- . *Yuya no kōgō: Chūsei no sei to seinaru mono* 湯屋の皇后: 中世の性 聖なるもの Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998.
- Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦. *Chūsei no hinin to yūjo* 中世の非人と遊女. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1994.
- . *Igyō no Oken* 異形の王権. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986.
- Araki Yoshio 荒木良雄. *Chūsei Kamakura Muromachi bungaku jiten* 中世鎌倉室町文学事典. Tokyo: Shunjusha: 1966.



- Dōmoto Masaki 堂本正樹“Chigo no sōshi: Honbun shōkai.” 稚児之草子』本文紹介 *Yasō* 想 15 (1985): 167-188.
- Ehime Kenritsu Bijutsukan 愛媛県立美術館. *Kokuhō Kōbō Daishi Kūkai ten* 国宝弘法大師空海展. Ehime Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 2000.
- Fujita Saki 藤田紗樹. “Metoroporitan bijutsukan zō ‘Aki no yo naga monogatari e,’ no kisoteki kōsatsu,” メトロポリタン美術館所蔵「秋夜長物語絵巻」の基礎的考察. *Chiba Daigaku Daigakuin Jinbun Kōkyōbu Kenkyū Purojekuto hōkokusho* 千葉大学大学院人文公共学府研究プロジェクト報告書 333 (2018): 52-64.
- Fukuchi Kayako 福地佳代子.“Shizuoka shiritsu Serizawa Keisuke bijutsukan zō ‘Chigo Daishi:’ Seisei o genken suru dōjigyō” 静岡市立芹沢銈介美術館所蔵「稚児大師」: 聖性を顕現する童子形. *Tohoku Fukushi University Serizawa Keisuke Art and Craft Museum Annual Report* 東北福祉大学芹沢銈介美術工芸館年報 1 (2009): 81-90.
- Fukuda Kazuhiko 福田和彦. *Enshoku ukiyo-e zenshū* 艶色浮世絵全集 1. Tokyo: Kawada Shobō Shinsha, 1994.
- Hashidate Ayako. 橋立矢子. “Chigo no sei” 稚児の性. *Tōkyō joshi daigaku kiyō* 東京女子大学紀要論 60 no. 2 (2010): 49-78.
- Hashimoto Osamu 橋本治. “Mazamaza to nikudai de aru yō na mono: *Chigo no sōshi*” まざまざ肉体であるようなもの「稚児の草子」 *Hiragana nihon bijutsushi* ひらがな日本の美術史 *Geijutsu shinchō* 芸術新潮 vol. 47, no. 6 (1996) 112-117.
- Hayashi Yoshikazu 林美一 and Richard Lane リチャード・レイン. *Higa emaki: Koshibagaki zōshi* 秘画絵巻 小柴垣草子 vol. 17. *Teihon Ukiyo-e shunga meihin shūsei* 定本浮世絵春画名品集成 vol. 17. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1995.
- Hikonejō Hakubutsukan 彦根城博物館. *Bijutsu no naka no dōj* 美術のなかの童子. Hikone: Hikone-shi Kyōikuiinkai, 2000.
- Hiramatsu Ryūen 平松隆円. “Nihon bukkyō ni okeru sō to chigo no nanshoku,” 日本仏教における僧と稚児の男色 *Nihon no kenkyū* 日本の研究 34 (March 2007).
- Hirosawa Goro 平沢五郎 “Aki no yo naga monogatari kō,” 秋夜長物語攷 *Shidō Bunko Ronshū*, no. 3, 斯道文庫論集 3(1964): 227-298.
- Hiromi Kihara, “Emaki no yuki kini miru Muropmachi jidai no kuge shakai—sono kōzō to bunka 絵巻の往き来に見る室町時代の公家社会 —その構造と文化の形成過程について *Bukkyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō*, vol. 23, 1995, p. 106-157.

- Horiguchi Sozan 堀口蘇山. *Kantō no rakeizō* 関東の裸形像. Geien Junreisha, 1960.
- Hosokawa Ryōichi 細川涼一. *Itsudatsu no Nihon chūsei: Kyōki, tōsaku, ma no sekai* 逸脱の日本中世：狂気・倒錯・魔の世界. Tokyo: JICC Shuppan Kyoku, 1993.
- Ichiko Teiji 市古貞次. *Chūsei shōsetsu no kenkyū* 中世小説の研究. Tokyo: Daigaku Shuppankai, 1955.
- Itō Masayoshi 伊藤正義. “Jidō setsuwa kō” 慈童説話考. *Kokugo Kokubun* 国語国文 49 no. 11(1980): 1-32.
- Itō Shinji 伊藤信二, ed. “Shubutsu,” 繡仏. *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 470. Tokyo: Shibundo, 2005.
- Iwata Jun'ichi 岩田準一. *Nanshoku bunken soshi* 男色文献書志. Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1956.
- Iwata Jun'ichi 岩田準一. *Honchō nanshoku kō* 本朝男色考. Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 2002.
- Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美. “Tachikawa ryū to Shinjō ‘Juhō yōjin shū’ o megute 立川流と心定『受法用心集』をめぐって. *Nihon Bukkyō sōgyō kenkyū* 日本仏教総合研究 2 (2004): 13-31.
- Kaiga Sōshibu 繪画會叢誌部. *Kaiga sōshi* 繪画叢誌. Tokyo: Kaiga shōshibu, 1887-1915.
- Kameda Tsutomu 亀田孜. “Kokawa-dera engi emaki sōkō,” 粉河寺縁起繪卷綜考 *Yamato bunka* 大和文華 27 (September, 1958): 1-18;
- Kanai Shiun 金井紫雲. *Geijutsu shiryō* 芸術資料. Kyoto: Unsōdō, 1936.  
<https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1906503>.
- Katano Taturō 片野達郎. “Kokawa-dera engi emaki ekotoba no kenkyū: Ekotoba no bungeisei ni tsuite,” 粉河寺縁起繪卷繪詞の研究--繪詞の文芸性について *Bungei kenkyū* 文芸研究 28 (March 1958): 33-45.
- Katō Osamu, “‘Chigo’ to ‘warawa’ no seikatsu shi: Nihon no chūko no kodomotachi 「ちご」と「わらは」の生活史：日本の中古の子どもたち. Tokyo: Keiō Tsūshin, 1994.
- Kim Yujin 金有珍. “Aki no yo nagamonogatari’ no emaki to nara ehon ni tsuite: Tokyo Daigaku Bunkabu Kokubungaku Kenkyūshitsu zō no emaki o chūshin ni” 『秋夜長物語』の繪卷と奈良繪本について—東京大学文学部国文学研究室蔵の繪卷を中心に—. *Kokusai Nihon bungaku kenkyū shūkai kaigiroku* 国際日本文学研究集會會議録 38: 138-155.

Kimura Saeko 木村朗子. *Koisuru mongoatari no homosekushuariti: Kyūtei shakai to genryoku* 恋する物語のホモセクシュアリテイ：宮廷社会と権力. Tokyo: Seidosha, 2008.

Kirihata Ken 切畑健. “Kūkoku Myōō shoyō kesa,”空谷明応所用袈裟. *Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Gakusō*: 京都国立博物館学叢 4 (1981): 103-14.

———. *Meibutsugire* 名物裂. Kyoto: Kyōtō Shoin, 1994.

Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美. *Gaki zōshi, Jigoku zōsh, Yamai no sōshi Kusōshi emaki* 餓鬼草紙・地獄草紙・病草紙・九相詩絵巻 vol. 7. *Nihon emaki Taisei* 日本絵巻大成. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977-1979.

———. *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō ekotoba* 弘法大師行状絵詞 vol. 5 *Zoku Nihon emaki taisei* 続日本絵巻大成. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1981-1985.

———. *Kokawa-dera engi* 粉河寺縁起, vol. 5. *Nihon no Emaki* 日本の絵巻. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1987.

———. *Kokawa-dera engi* 粉河寺縁起 vol. 5. *Nihon emaki Taisei* 日本絵巻大成. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977.

———. *Taima mandara engi, Chigo Kannon engi* 当麻曼荼羅縁起・稚児観音縁起 vol. 24. *Nihon Emaki Taisei* 日本絵巻大成. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977-1979.

———. *Taima mandara engi, Chigo Kannon engi* 当麻曼荼羅縁起・稚児観音縁起 vol. 20. *Zoku Nihon no emaki* 続日本の絵巻. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992.

Kōyasan Reihōkan 高野山霊宝館. *Kōbō Daishi no meihō: kono yo no jōdo to eien no inori* 弘法大師の名宝—この世の浄土と永遠の祈り. Kōyasan Reihōkan, 1984.

Kokka 國華 “Chigo Daishi zō kai” 稚児大師像解 *Kokka* 國華 539 (1935): 274-278.

———. “Nobuzane sho dōgyō daishi” 信實畫童形大師 *Kokka* 國華 42 (March 1893): 104-105.

———. “A Scroll Painting of ‘Chigo Kwannon,’ *Kokka* 國華 330 (1917): 108-109.

Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男. “*Emaki: kodomo no tōjō: chūsei shakai no kodomozō* 「絵巻」子どもの登場：中世社会の子ども像. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1989.

———. *Kyōkai no chūsei, shōchō no chūsei* 境界の中世・象徴の中世. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1986.

- Lane, Richard リチャード・レイン. *Nihon higa shikō: Ukiyo-e no shoki emaki* 日本秘画史考: 浮世絵の初期絵巻. Tokyo: Ebundō, 1979.
- Matsumoto Kaneo 松本包夫. *Jōdai gire: 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Century Textiles in Japan from the Shōsō-in and Hōryū-ji*. Kyoto: Shikosha, 1984.
- Matsuoka Eikyū 松岡映丘. *Zuroku emaki mono koshaku* 図録絵巻物小釈. Morikō Shōten, 1926. <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1839212>.
- Matsuoka Shinpei 松岡心平. *Utage no karada: Basara kara Zeami e* 宴の身体 :バサラから世阿弥へ. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991.
- Matsushita Kajita 松下隆章. *Zuhan yōgō: Chigo Monju shutsugen zu Kongō hanya haramitsu kyō mikaeshi e* 図版要項—稚児文殊出現図—金剛般若波羅蜜經見返絵. *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 美術研究 203 (1959).
- Megumi Tsuchiya 土谷恵. *Chūsei jūin no shakai to geinō* 中世寺院の社会と芸能. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001.
- Miho Museum. *Miho Museum, North Wing*. Shigaraki: Miho Museum, 1997.
- Mitsui Memorial Museum. *Nara Saidai-ji ten: Sōken 1250 toshi kinen Eison to ichimon meihō* 奈良西大寺展 : 創建 1250 年記念 : 叡尊と一門の名宝. Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 2017.
- Sawa Ryūken and Hamada Takashi 佐和隆研, 濱田隆. *Mikkyō Bijutsu Taikan* 密教美術大観. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1983.
- Nagahara Keiji 永原慶二. *Muromachi sengoku no shakai: shōgyō, kaihei, kōtsu* 室町戦国の社会 : 商業・貨幣・交通. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979.
- Nagashima Fukutarō 永島福太郎. “Kofuku-ji no rekishi,” 興福寺の歴史. *Bungaku geijutsu* 文学芸術 40 (1959).
- Nakanishi Susumu 中西進. “Miru: kodai teki chikaku” 中西進. “見る” - 古代的知覚. *Bungaku* 文学 43, no. 4 (1975): 479-489.
- Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan. *Shūri kansei kinen tokubetsuden: Ito no Mihotoke: Kokuhō tuzureori Taima mandara to shūbutsu* 修理完成記念特別展, 糸のみほとけ: 国宝綴織 當麻曼荼羅と繡仏. Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2018.
- Nara Shishi 奈良市史. *Nara shishi tsūshi 2* 奈良市史: 通史 2. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Bunkan, 1994.

- Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha 日本経済新聞社. *Mikkyo bijutsu meihō ten: Kōbō Daishi go-tanjō sen-nihyakunen Kinen* 密教美術 名宝展：弘法大師御誕生千二百年記念. Kyoto: Benridō seisaku, 1973.
- Nihon Kokushi daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 Second Edition. JapanKnowledge.
- Nishiguchi Junko, “Kii Kokawa-dera to sono engi: Jiien engo no seiritsu ni kansuru ichi shiron” 紀伊国粉河寺とその縁起. 西口順子. 寺院縁起成立に関する一試論. *Shisō* 史窓 21 (December, 1962): 47-65;
- Ōgushi Sumio 大串純夫. “Kokawa-derazō Kokawa-dera engi kaisetsu” 粉河寺蔵粉河寺縁起解説. *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 171 (November, 1953): 95-99.
- Okada Yasushi, ed., “Kōbō Daishi Ikkan no shō” 弘法大師一卷の書 *Kinsei shomin bunka kenkyūkai: Nanshoku bunken tokushū* 近世庶民文化研究会—男色文献特集号 13 (Tokyo: Oranda Shobo, 1952): 14-23.
- Ōkura Ryūji, 大倉隆二. “Eisei Bunko zō: Aki no yo naga monogatari emaki” 永青文庫蔵秋夜長物語絵巻. *Bijutsushi* 美術史 33, no. 2 (1984): 97-120.
- Otsuka Kogeisha 大塚巧藝社. *Catalogue of Art Treasures of Ten Great Temples of Nara, vol. 15 The Kofukuji Temple Part Two*. Tokyo: The Otsuka Kogeisha, 1933.
- Ozaki Kyūya cho 尾崎久彌. *Edo nanpa zakkō* 江戸軟派雑考. Tokyo: Shunyōdō, 1925.
- Saitō Teichirō 斎藤貞一郎 ed., *Fabric Tracing Passageways: Textiles from the Saito Collection*. Kyoto: Shikōsha, 2014.
- Sakamoto Tarō 坂本太郎 ed. *Shinto taikai, Jinja-hen* 神道大系. 神社編 13, Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1985.
- Shimada Shūjirō 島田修二郎 and Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, ed. *Zenrin Gasan: chūsei suibokuga o yomu* 禅林画賛：中世水墨画を読む. Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1987.
- Shimada Shūjirō 島田修二郎. *Kōbō Daishi den emaki* 弘法大師伝絵巻 vol. 31. *Nihon emakimono zenshu: Bekkai zaigai hen* 新修日本絵巻物全集：別巻：在外篇. Tokyo: Kakukawa Shōten, 1980.
- Shimizu, Yoshiaki 清水義明. “Kokawa-dera engi' fukugen e no ichi kōsatsu” 粉河寺縁起復元への諸問題 *Ars Buddhica* vol. 86 (1972).
- Sudō Yoshihito 須藤義人. “Kodomo bunka' no kisoteki kenkyū: Minzoku sairei no naka ni miru kodomo-zō no shosō.” 「子ども文化」の基礎的研究—民俗祭祀の中にみる〈子

ども像〉の諸相一. *Okinawa daigaku jibun gakubu kiyō* 沖縄大学人文学部紀要 8 (2006).

Tagawa Fumihiko 多川 文彦. “Jisha engi no zaiseisan to sono hen’yō: Chigo Kannon engi o megutte,” 寺社縁起の再生産とその変容-[稚児観音縁起]をめぐって. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*, vol. 52, no. 1 (2003), 234-235.

———. “Kōfuku-ji ni okeru Bodai’in no yakuwari to sono kinōsei ni tsuite,” 興福寺における菩提院の役割とその機能性について. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 53 no. 1 (2004): 95-97.

Takahashi Keiko 高橋佳子. *Inori no michi: Shiko no taiwa no tame ni* 新祈りのみち：至高の対話のために, (Tokyo: Sanbō Shuppan, 1999);

Takahashi Tōru 高橋亨. *Monogatari to e no enkinhō* 物語と絵の遠近法. Tokyo: Perikansha, 1991.

Tanaka Takako 田中貴子. *Seiai nihon no chūsei* 性愛の日本中世. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2004.

Tanaka Ichimatsu 田中一松 and Mizoguchi Teijirō 溝口禎次郎. *Kokawa-dera engi, Izumi Shikibu nikki emaki, Jūni innen emaki* 粉河寺縁・起紫式部日記絵巻・十二因縁絵巻 vol. 18. *Nihon emaki shūsei* 日本絵巻物集成. Tokyo: Yūankaku, 1931.

Tatsumura Kōhō, 竜村光峯. *Nishiki: hikari o oru* 錦：光を織る. Tokyo: Shohan, 2009.

Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku 東京藝術大学. *Kōfuku-ji kokuhōten: Kamakura fukkōki no mihotoke* 興福寺国宝展:鎌倉復興期のみほとけ. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2004.

Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物館 ed. *Kasuga Taisha: sennen no shihō: tokubetsuten* 春日大社：千年の至宝：特別展. Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 2017.

Tsuda Tetsuei 津田徹英. *Chūsei no dōjigyo* 中世の童子形. *Nihon no Bijutsu* 日本の美術 442 (March, 2003).

Tsuji Shōko 辻晶子. *Chigo kanjō no kenkyū: han to seisei* 稚児灌頂の研究: 犯と聖性. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2021.

———. “*Chigo kanjō no kisoteki kōsatsu: Giki no shōkai to seiri*” 稚児灌頂の基礎的考察: 儀軌の紹介と整理. *Jinbun bunka kenkyūka nenpyō* 人間文化研究科年報 27 (2011): 272-278.

———. *Chigo kanjō no kisoteki kōsatsu: Shohon no shōkai to seiri*” 稚児灌頂の基礎的考察: 諸本の紹介と整理 *Jinbun bunka kenkyūka nenpyō* 人文文化研究会年報 26 (2010): 362-370.

- . “Kon Tōkō ‘Chigo’ to ‘Kōchigo shōgyō hiten shi,’” 今東光『稚児』と『弘児聖教秘伝私』. *Nara Joshi Daigaku Nihon ajia gengo bunka gakkai* 奈良女子大学日本アジア言語文化学会 38 (2011): 215-226.
- . “‘Kō chigo shōgyō hiten shi’ saikō,” 『弘稚児聖教秘伝私』再考. *Chūsei bungaku* 中世文学 58 (2013):83-90.
- Tsuji, Nobuo 辻惟雄. “Okō-e no sekai: Nihon kaiga no yūsei ni kansuru ichi kosatsu,” 「をこ絵」の世界-日本絵画の遊戯性に関する一考察. *Higaku geijutsu kenkyū: Geijutsu to bikishi* 比較芸術学研究: 芸術と美意識. Edited by Yamamoto Masao 山本正男. Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1977.
- Tsujimura Taizen 辻村泰善. “Yuga dentō shō, ni mieru Monkan den” 瑜伽伝灯 鈔 にみる文観伝. *Gangōji bunkazai kenkyū* 元興寺文化財研究 69, (1999): 1-5.
- Umezu Jirō 梅津次郎. *Kokawa-dera engi e, Kibi Daijin nittōe* 粉河寺縁起絵・吉備大臣入唐絵 vol. 6. *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* 新修日本絵巻物全集. Edited by Tanaka Ichimatsu 田中一松. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1977.
- Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 和歌山県立博物館. *Sōken 1250 nen kinen tokubetsu ten: Kokuhō Kokawa-dera engi to Kokawa-dera no rekishi* 創建 1250 年記念特別展: 国宝粉河寺縁起と粉河寺の歴史. Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2020.
- Washio Henryū 鷺尾遍隆 and Ayamura Hiroshi 綾村宏, eds. *Ishiyama-dera no shinkō to rekishi* 石山寺の信仰と歴史. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2008.
- Watanabe Hajime 渡邊一. “Chigo Kannon engi” 稚児観音縁起. *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術の研究 no. 39 (March 1935): 13-15.
- Yamakawa, Aki 山川曉. *Transmitting Robes, Linking Mind: The World of Buddhist Kasaya*. Kyoto: Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2010.
- Yamane Yūzō 山根有三 Shimada Shūjirō 島田修二郎 Akiyama Terukazu 秋山光和, eds. *Nihon Āto Sentā. Zaigai Nihon no shihō: Bukkyō kaiga* 在外日本の至宝: 仏教絵画 vol. 1. Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1979-1981.
- Yanagisawa Taka 柳澤孝 “Chigo Daishi zo” 稚児大師像 *Kokka* 國華 810 (1959): 327-328.
- Yokohama Museum of Art, ed. *Hara Saneki no bijutsu: densetsu no dai korekushon* 原三溪の美術 伝説の大コレクション. Tokyo: Kyuryudo Art Publishing Co., Ltd., 2019.

Yusho Takushi, “Toba Sōjō Kakuyū no giga ni kansuru ichi shiryō,” 鳥羽僧正覺猷の虚画  
関する一史料. *Kokka* 國華 504 (November 1932): 305-6.