

Intertextuality and Corporality in Chikamatsu Monzaemon’s *Shutendōji makurakotoba*

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The Development of the Shutendōji Legend

The Shutendōji 酒呑童子 legend prototype is believed to have taken shape during the Nanbokuchō 南北朝 period (1336–1392). The oldest known surviving text containing the legend is the *Ōeyama emaki* 大江山絵巻 (Illustrated Scroll of Ōeyama), produced in the latter half of the fourteenth century and now held at the Itsuō Museum of Art 逸翁美術館. The legend was thereafter widely disseminated through numerous other later *emaki* versions (e.g., *Ōeyama emaki*, *Ōeyama ki* 大江山記, and *Shutendōji ezōshi* 酒呑童子絵草子).¹ It was also presented in formats ranging from Muromachi *monogatari*² 室町物語 (i.e., *otogi-zōshi* 御伽草子) to illustrated manuscripts among the group of texts known as *Nara ebon* 奈良絵本 (e.g., *Ōeyama* 大江山). It is also one of the twenty-three short works collected in the famous *Otogi bunko* 御伽文庫 series by Shibukawa Seiemon 渋川清右衛門, published in illustrated woodblock-print editions during the early modern period.³

However, the Shutendōji story, which was reworked into various depictions in illustrated scrolls and books, did not take only visual forms. It was also brought to three-dimensional life through the performing arts, including noh, puppet

¹For primary sources listed in the notes, the holding institution is the National Institute of Japanese Literature if none other is specified.

Shutendōji ekotoba, Kuchinashi Bunko 支子文庫, Kyushu University. Full-color images available on the Kyushu University Library website. See **fig. 1** below.

Shutendōji ezōshi, Shizuoka Prefectural Central Library 静岡県立中央図書館: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100065412>.

Shutendōji emaki, *Oeyama kotoba*, Osaka Otani University Library 大阪大谷大学図書館. Full-color images available at NIJL’s “Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works.” See **figs. 2a and 2b** below.

²For example, *Shutendōji*: <https://doi.org/10.20730/200006787>.

³Satake, *Shutendōji ibun*, pp. 1–246; Takahashi, *Shutendōji no tanjō*, pp. 1–234; Komatsu, *Ikai to Nihonjin*, pp. 31–44.

theater (*ningyō jōruri* 人形浄瑠璃), and kabuki. In the latter, the image of the dark world created by the medieval imagination eclipsed a number of the story's earlier aspects, such as demon (*yōkai* 妖怪) exterminations, hero adventures, and fantastic tales with main characters carrying out heroic exploits; light was to be shed now also on the existence of various subversive characters. The drama of the protagonist himself became more attractive material for these staged works, in which engaging drama was combined with themes of power, cruelty, and grief. As part of this trend, by way of noh dramas (particularly *Ōeyama*) and various old puppet dramas (*kojōruri* 古浄瑠璃, “old” *jōruri*, i.e., texts that predate the era of the playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon), the Shutendōji legend—which had by then incorporated elements of the Rashōmon 羅生門 legend as told in noh and *otogi-zōshi*—came at length to be adapted as *Shutendōji makurakotoba* 酒吞童子枕言葉 by the *jōruri* and kabuki playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653–1724).⁴

Chikamatsu wrote more than one hundred *jōruri* plays, two of which feature the Shutendōji legend as their main theme:

- *Shutendōji makura no koto no ha* (*Shutendōji makurakotoba*), which premiered at the Osaka theater Takemoto-za 竹本座 in 1709⁵
- *Keisei Shutendōji* 傾城酒吞童子, which premiered at the Osaka Takemoto-za in 1718.

Shutendōji makurakotoba is a dramatic work that presents a story from the complex and unique imaginary world developed by Chikamatsu, while also referencing earlier works focused on the Shutendōji legend. *Keisei Shutendōji*, the latter work, is a partial modification of the first. Based on the true story of Ibarakiya Kōsai 茨木屋幸齋, the manager of a house of courtesans in Osaka's Shinmachi 新町 area who was punished in 1718 for his luxurious life, the play compares this real person and contemporaneous events to the Shutendōji legend.⁶

In this article, I would like to focus on the puppet drama *Shutendōji makurakotoba*, narrated at its first performance by Takemoto Gidayū 竹本義太夫 (Chikugonojō 筑後掾; 1651–1714) as main narrator. I would like to examine the relationship of Chikamatsu's work to earlier works and to other literary sources that interpret the Shutendōji legend—focusing in particular on the noh *Ōeyama* and the key themes and narrative elements which that work introduced. Finally, I would like to analyze the distinctive characteristics of Chikamatsu's *Shutendōji makurakotoba* itself, especially its depiction of the protagonist, and consider the role of corporality in the work's narrative and staging.

⁴ Uchiyama, “Shutendōji makurakotoba: kaisetsu,” pp. 112–113; “Shutendōji makurakotoba Onigajō taimen no dan,” pp. 101–115.

⁵ Uchiyama, “Shutendōji makurakotoba Onigajō taimen no dan,” pp. 101–115.

⁶ Ōhashi, “Ibarakiya Kōsai ikken to Kaion, Chikamatsu,” pp. 17–30.

The Components of the Shutendōji Story in Previous Works and in the Noh *Ōeyama*

There are many texts containing some version of the Shutendōji story, which was widely disseminated during the Muromachi period (1392–1573). These works can be grouped roughly into two lines of transmission, depending on where the protagonist Shutendōji is said to live: (A) the Ōeyama 大江山 line (after a mountain in the Tanba 丹波 region) and (B) the Ibukiyama 伊吹山 line (after a mountain in the Ōmi 近江 region), which originated later. A famous Ibukiyama-line work is Kanō Motonobu's 狩野元信 (1476–1559) *Shutendōji emaki* 酒吞童子絵巻, in the collection of the Suntory Museum of Art.

Several noh dramas also feature the Shutendōji story. These generally fall into the “living noh” (*genzai nō* 現在能) and “dream and apparition noh” (*mugen nō* 夢幻能) categories. The work that seems to have the deepest relationship with Chikamatsu's work, however, is the still-currently performed noh *Ōeyama*.⁷ Said to have been written by Miyamasu 宮増 (dates unknown), *Ōeyama* seems to be close to the Ōeyama line, especially the Katori-bon 香取本 manuscript of *Ōeyama ekotoba* 大江山絵詞 (Itsuō Museum of Art).⁸

Amano Fumio 天野文雄 has summarized the basic elements of the *Ōeyama* play's overall plot as follows:

1. Minamoto no Raikō 源頼光 (or Yorimitsu, 948–1021), having received an order from the Emperor to exterminate the Mt. Ōe demon, heads with his more than fifty vassals to Mt. Ōe, all of them disguised as mountain ascetics, or *yamabushi* 山伏.
2. The group encounters a woman washing clothes in a mountain river, and with her guidance, they find Shutendōji.
3. Shutendōji recounts his personal history to Raikō and his men, including: (a) the origin of his name, (b) his pursuit by the Buddhist monk Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師 (Saichō 最澄, 767–822) and subsequent flight from Mt. Hiei 比叡, and (c) his wandering through the mountains of various provinces.
4. Raikō and Shutendōji's banquet, including the episodes of: (d) “child first, Sannō second” (*ichi chigo, ni Sannō* 一稚児二山王), (e) the “enumeration of grasses and flowers,” and (f) the poem “red (complexion) is the work of the sake, not my sin” (*akaki wa sake no toga zo* 赤きは酒の咎ぞ).

⁷ Various texts of this play (under various titles) can be consulted online:

Shutendōji (nō no hon) 能の本, Yamanouchi Bunko 山内文庫, Kōchi Castle Museum of History 高知城歴史博物館: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100104625>.

Shutendōji (nō no hon), Yamanouchi Bunko, Kōchi Castle Museum of History: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100078305>.

Ōeyama (nō no hon): <https://doi.org/10.20730/200001192>; <https://doi.org/10.20730/200002472>.

Ōeyama (nō no hon), Ukai Bunko 鵜飼文庫, National Institute of Japanese Literature: <https://doi.org/10.20730/200017937>.

⁸ Amano, “‘Shutendōji’ kō,” pp. 16–17.

5. Shutendōji becomes drunk and falls asleep. (This is followed by an intermission, or *nakairi* 中入).
6. Raikō and his vassals, with the help of the women being held captive by Shutendōji, enter the demon's sleeping alcove and defeat him.⁹

Within this general plot scheme, the focus of the play is on elements 3 and 4. It omits episodes found in other versions, such as the divination by Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明 (921–1005), which occurs between elements 1 and 2, as well as Raikō's propitiatory visits to the Hachiman 八幡 and Sumiyoshi 住吉 Shrines, and the assistance given to Raikō by various gods in the mountains. It also excludes the second half of the narrative as told in the Muromachi *monogatari* version, with episodes such as Raikō's triumphant return to the Capital, which takes place after element 6 in the plot outline above.

Regarding the noh *Ōeyama*'s theme, Nogami Toyochirō 野上豊一郎 has stated, "It is a tale of heroic military exploits whose protagonist is Minamoto no Raikō and which deals with the demon extermination on Mt. Ōe; but this piece's distinctive feature is that it places greater emphasis on the humanity of the main character (*shite* シテ) rather than on making that character a demon."¹⁰

Ōeyama focuses on these main scenes: Raikō (the secondary character role, or *waki* ワキ) and his companions, the "Four Heavenly Kings" (Shitennō 四天王)—including Hōshō 保昌 (or Yasumasa, in the role of *waki* attendant, or *wakiszure* ワキツレ)—enter the scene, all disguised as *yamabushi*, and leave for Mt. Ōe, traveling through an autumn landscape (as presented in the journey scene, or *michiyuki* 道行). Along the way, they meet the aforementioned woman washing bloodied clothes. They meet Shutendōji (the *shite* role), in the form of a human child, and Raikō begins to converse with the demon. Their conversation unfolds over several climactic high-tension moments (a, b, c; then d, e, f): Shutendōji tells Raikō the origin of his name, but having revealed his background, nature, and place of refuge, he feels afraid that he will lose his power and asks Raikō not to reveal his refuge to others. In trusting Raikō and the others with his secrets, Shutendōji relies on the belief that *yamabushi*, like monks, treasure "boy first, the god of the mountain [Sannō] second" 一稚児二山王 (a saying based on a legend that when Saichō first climbed Mt. Hiei, where he founded a Buddhist temple (Enryaku-ji 延暦寺), he encountered there a boy before he met Sannō Gongen 山王権現). Shutendōji therefore believes that the apparent "religious visitors or pilgrims" will venerate and respect him, an apparent boy (*chigo*). Finally, Shutendōji, with the words "red (complexion) is the work of the *sake*, not my sin," confides that his redness is due to a passion for *sake* and not because he is a demon. When the banquet gets lively, Shutendōji starts to dance, with uncertain steps, but then the effect of the *sake* makes itself felt and he retires to his sleeping alcove.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 16–17.

¹⁰ Nogami, *Yōkyoku zenshū*, p. 499.

During the *nakairi*, while the actor playing Shutendōji is offstage (or hidden in the alcove on stage), Raikō and his vassals, wearing armor, prepare for the assault. Meanwhile, in the interlude (*aikyōgen* 間狂言), a certain low-ranking vassal (the primary *kyōgen* role, or *omoai* オモアイ) courts the woman who guided them (the secondary *kyōgen* role, or *adoai* アドアイ)—whom he already knows—and the two flee and return together to the Capital.

In the second part of the play, Raikō and his vassals enter the sleeping alcove and attack Shutendōji, who during his sleep has assumed the appearance of a demon, showing his true nature. They then strike the demon down, aided by the power of Sannō Gongen.

Looking back over the above synopsis, we can emphasize the following points: (1) Raikō and his vassals disguise themselves as *yamabushi* and enter “another world.” (2) They meet a woman (the one later appearing in the *aikyōgen*) washing bloody clothes, who then guides them to the abode of a child/demon (aside from the depiction of washing bloody clothes, *Ōeyama* does not include any scenes of cruel violence). (3) Shutendōji does not show hostility toward the *yamabushi* and welcomes them without resistance. (4) Even though he possesses a special power, he talks about himself and his fears of losing that power. (5) He explains that he was exiled from Mt. Hiei after Saichō established Enryaku-ji Temple. (6) He recounts how he subsequently wandered through the mountains and took refuge in many places. (7) He expresses his worries and his sadness that revealing his true nature and weaknesses will cause him to lose his strength. (8) However, because Enryaku-ji monks consider children to be more important than the god of Mt. Hiei (“child first, Sannō second”), he trusts that the *yamabushi*, as “religious men,” will have consideration and pity for him. (9) There is a pronounced contrast between Shutendōji’s appearance in the first part of the play, when he appears as a child (the actor wears one of the *doji* 童子, *daidoji* 大童子, or *jido* 児童 masks, used for boy roles, along with a black-haired, *kurogashira* 黒頭 wig), and in the second part, when he appears as a demon (the actor wearing one of the *shikami* 鬘 or *shishiguchi* 獅子口 masks used for demon or deity roles, together with a red-haired, *akagashira* 赤頭 wig). (10) He feels betrayed by the deceitful *yamabushi*, in whom he had trusted and confided, and he succumbs to their attack.

Shutendōji is a creature that must be defeated and conquered as a dangerous demon, but he resists conquest by the central government. Despite his demon-like nature, he is eternally a young boy (*dōgyō* 童形, literally “child shape”) who does not age. Shutendōji is a land-protecting deity (*jinushi no kami* 地主神), like the territorial guardians and gods who had settled on Mt. Hiei before Saichō constructed Enryaku-ji Temple, and perhaps now he also represents something like an outcast (*senmin* 賤民) who lives in the mountains, an outsider who lives outside of civilization, feared or despised by the people of the Capital.¹¹ Such

¹¹ Kanai, *Nō no kenkyū*, pp. 348–352.

figures are manifestations of a “different world,” and everything that is different and hostile must be exterminated—all opponents are evil. Even disorder in governance is regarded as the work of some demon-god, in the eyes of central powers and rulers (in this case, the Kyoto imperial court).¹² Therefore, many primordial land gods, earth spirits, or other fallen deities who have become troublesome suffer discrimination, exclusion, and conquest: “Since both the earth and the trees are our Great Lord’s land, wherever there could be refuge for demons.”¹³

In the *noh* drama, however, Shutendōji is depicted as a human being, rather than as a demon or a villain. He is portrayed as a creature that makes others feel his sincerity. Shutendōji is not an evil monster but a good and sincere “demon”: he confesses his fate of continuous exile and discrimination, showing resistance against oppression. The final aspect of his depiction that would have impressed the audience is Shutendōji’s indignant and enraged verbal counterattack against Raikō and his men, in whom he had confided his heart and by whom he feels betrayed.

It can be said that even sacrificed animals (the most emblematic example being in Zeami’s *Nue* 鶴) and demons destined to be subdued could become the main characters in *noh* drama: placed at the center of the drama as its protagonists, they have the opportunity to express their deep suffering and sorrow, as creatures whose hearts are full of sadness.

Shutendōji in the Early Modern Period

In the Edo period (1603–1867), the legend of Shutendōji’s demon extermination—a story well known from illustrated scrolls and *otogi-zōshi* since the Muromachi period, although set in the Heian era—came to be depicted in numerous formats, such as illustrated books¹⁴ and *nishiki-e* 錦絵 woodblock prints, gaining wide popularity, in particular through the genre of popular illustrated fiction known as *kusa-zōshi* 草双紙.¹⁵ The mysteriously charming legend spread also to early modern theater, specifically to *jōruri* (starting with the narrator Satsuma Jōun 薩摩浄雲, 1595–1672) and kabuki, where the plot developed greater breadth and complexity.

¹² Ibid., pp. 350–351.

¹³ Nogami, *Yōkyoku zenshū*, p. 517.

¹⁴ For example, *Ōyama Shutendōji* (*ebon* 絵本). Images available at NIJL’s “Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works.” See **fig. 3** below.

Shutendōji (Muromachi *monogatari*), Ukai Bunko, National Institute of Japanese Literature. Full-color images available at NIJL’s “Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works.” See **figs. 4a and 4b** below.

Shutendōji yuraiki: <https://doi.org/10.20730/200020048>.

¹⁵ Arakawa, “Kusa-zōshi ni okeru Shutendōji setsuwa no riyō,” pp. 47–82. For example, there is the work *Raikō Ōyama iri* 頼光大江山入 by Chikuyōsha Kinpei 竹葉舎金瓶, images of which are available at NIJL’s “Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works.” See **fig. 5** below.

Here I list just a few examples of *kojōruri* plays based on the legend:¹⁶ (1) *Shutendōji wakashakari* 酒典童子若壯 by Edo Satsumadayū 江戸薩摩太夫 (1660) tells the story of Shutendōji's childhood and upbringing; (2) *Shutendōji* (in five sections, or *dan* 段), narrated in 1676 by Yamamoto Kakutayū 山本角太夫 (later Tosanojō 土佐掾), contains texts and chapters that are almost identical to those of another *kojōruri* play; and (3) *Shutendōji tsuketari Raikō yamairi* 酒顛童子付頼光山入 by Itō Dewanojō 伊藤出羽掾 (dates unknown, active around the years 1658–1681). Tosanojō's *Shutendōji* text also corresponds to this same genealogy and to the *e-iri jōruri Raikō yamairi* 頼光山いり (in six *dan*, published in 1721) by Satsumadayū.¹⁷

The story in (2) the Yamamoto Kakutayū text is as follows:

In the first *dan*, Watanabe no Tsuna 渡辺綱, Raikō's vassal, cuts off one of the demon's arms at Rashōmon Gate, but the demon disguises himself as Tsuna's aunt and returns to take back his severed arm.

In the second *dan*, Shutendōji's ally, the demon Ishikumadōji 石くま童子, taking advantage of the conflict between Ikeda Chūnagon 池田中納言 and the Fujiwara 藤原 clan, disguises himself as a messenger of the rival Nijō 二条 family and kidnaps Ikeda Chūnagon's princess daughter.

In the third *dan*, on the emperor's orders, Raikō and his five friends (Hirai Yasumasa/Hōshō 平井保昌, Usui Sadamitsu 碓氷貞光, Urabe Suetake 卜部季武, Watanabe no Tsuna, Sakata no Kintoki 坂田公時)—known as the Five Heroes—disguise themselves as *yamabushi* and head off to exterminate the Mt. Ōe demon.

In the fourth *dan*, Raikō and his companions arrive at Shutendōji's fortress and are greeted with a big banquet where, in order to dispel the demon's suspicions of them, the men drink the blood of human women and eat their flesh.

In the fifth *dan*, Raikō and his colleagues rescue the women and brilliantly exterminate Shutendōji with help from three deities.

In this manner, as a further evolution of the plot, the Ōeyama legend was merged with the Rashōmon legend (first *dan*), beginning around the Kanbun 寛文 era (1661–1673).¹⁸ Furthermore, in *kojōruri* plays, the fourth act involves a large banquet where both the demon and the heroes drink blood and eat women's

¹⁶ *Shutendōji (jōruri)*, Hirosaki City Public Library 弘前市弘前図書館: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100193239>.

Shutendōji (jōruri), Tōkyō Daigaku Kokubungaku Kenkyūshitsu 東京大学国文学研究室: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100018424>.

Shutendōji (jōruri), Ninchōji Bunko 忍頂寺文庫, Osaka University Library 大阪大学附属図書館: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100080782>.

Shutendōji (jōruri), Okimori Bunko 沖森文庫, Hiroshima Bunkyo University Library 広島文教大学図書館: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100048675>.

Shutendōji 酒顛童子 (*jōruri*), by Tosanoshōjō 土佐少掾, Okimori Bunko, Hiroshima Bunkyo University Library: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100048677>.

¹⁷ Torii, “Tosa jōruri no kyakushokuhō,” pp. 115–119; “Kojōruri ni okeru yōkai henge taiji mono,” pp. 23–38.

¹⁸ Sakaguchi, “Shutendōji,” p. 298.

flesh. Such a spectacle of cruelty and horror is not found in *noh*, but it became one of the highlights in puppet theater works.

We see a similar plot in the *otogi-zōshi* version of the legend: Raikō, ordered to defeat Shutendōji, disguises himself as a *yamabushi* and infiltrates the Onigajō 鬼が城 (Fortress of the Demons) on Mt. Ōe. He gives the demon poisoned *sake* and kills him. He then rescues the princesses whom Shutendōji had kidnapped, including the daughter of Ikeda Chūnagon, and returns to the Capital in great triumph.

Kabuki was another popular genre for dramatic renditions of the Shutendōji legend. For example, *Shutendōji* was among the ceremonial performances (*waki kyōgen* 脇狂言) performed by the Nakamura-za 中村座 theater in Edo. The works selected to be presented as *waki kyōgen*—which were performed early in the morning on the day of each kabuki performance—were those popular at the time of a theater’s establishment, that is, old plays from kabuki’s earliest days. Furthermore, the “world” (*sekai* 世界) of tales centered on Minamoto no Raikō was established as a *kaomise* (“face-revealing”) *kyōgen* 顔見世狂言. Shows of this type were used to introduce a new acting troupe after they had been contracted by a playhouse for the coming year, and were staged in a production beginning in the eleventh month of the lunar calendar. Regarding, however, the story of Shutendōji itself—i.e., the core of the drama—a shift in focus seems to have occurred in order to highlight the adventures of the Four Heavenly Kings because of their popularity.¹⁹

The abovementioned works and sources of imagery constitute the varied foundations on which Chikamatsu built his play.

Chikamatsu’s *Shutendōji makurakotoba*: The Plot

In Chikamatsu’s play, Taira no Yasumori 平保盛, assistant governor of Hitachi Province, recommends Chūnagon Takafusa’s 中納言高房 daughter, San no Kimi 三の君, as consort to the retired emperor Kazan 花山, who is in mourning for the death of his beloved consort Kokiden 弘徽殿. Yasumori hopes to attain the position of *chinjufu shōgun* 鎮守府将軍 (commander-in-chief) as a reward for arranging this match. Yet San no Kimi, who hopes rather to marry Torikai no Shōshō 鳥飼少将, escapes. She seeks refuge at the residence of Watanabe no Tsuna, her go-between (*nakōdo* 仲人), but is subsequently kidnapped by demons.

This case of San no kimi, however, occurs against a series of similar incidents in which many young women have disappeared from the city, leading to investigations and trials conducted under Minamoto no Raikō’s supervision. From the words of Kokiden’s ghost, Raikō learns that the disappearances are the work of a demon called Shutendōji, who lives on Mt. Ōe. Raikō and his vassals set out to annihilate the dangerous being.

¹⁹ Art Research Center Virtual Museum, “Kabuki no Shutendōji.”

Thus while the rivalry between the Minamoto clan and the Taira clan may provide the setting for Chikamatsu's drama, its main plot revolves around Raikō's killing of the demon Shutendōji.

The plot unfolds as follows:

In the first *dan*, Watanabe no Tsuna cuts the arm off of a demon he meets at the Rashōmon Gate in the Capital. The demon, however, manages to retrieve his arm (cf. the Ibarakidōji legend, the *Zen Taiheiki*, the noh *Rashōmon*, and the "Tsurugi no maki" episode in *Heike monogatari*, also in the *Taiheiki*, vol. 23).

In the second *dan*, the climax is the appearance of Kokiden's ghost, in the hermitage where Kazan has retired due to the pain of the loss of San no Kimi. Kokiden holds a grudge against the lady-in-waiting Ukon 右近—who has taken San no Kimi's place as Kazan's consort—because of certain unfounded accusations about Kokiden communicated by her to the retired emperor (on Taira no Yasumori's instigation). From the words of the ghost of Kokiden, whose spirit speaks by taking possession of Ukon's body, we learn that San no Kimi has been kidnapped by Shutendōji. (This *dan* also incorporates scenes from the 1673 *kojōruri* play *Kazan-no-in kisaki araso* 花山院后諍 (Quarrel Between Imperial Consorts of the Retired Emperor Kazan)).

In the third *dan*, we see unfold the tragedy involving the poor widower Katō Hyōe 加藤兵衛 and the masterless samurai (*rōnin*) Hirobumi/Hirobun 広文, as well as their respective daughters, Yokobue 横笛 and Kotoji ことぢ. As young women in the Capital go missing one after another, and as complaints and investigations continue under Raikō's supervision, it turns out that a man named Hirobumi, in need of money, took advantage of the confusion ensuing from the kidnappings and has sold Katō Hyōe's daughter Yokobue to a house of prostitution. Even as Katō is accusing Hirobumi, however, the latter's daughter, Kotoji, decides to sacrifice herself: she offers to take Yokobue's place to save her father, who only committed such a crime out of poverty. Yet when Kotoji, her mother, and the two fathers rush to the house of prostitution, they find Yokobue near death, having just completed her suicide attempt. To make atonement, Hirobumi tries to commit suicide himself along with Kotoji, but Yokobue, before dying, begs her father to save Kotoji's life: a deeply moved Katō changes Kotoji's name to Yokobue and makes her his own daughter. Hirobumi, immensely grateful, thanks Katō and then kills himself, but only after revealing that he was formerly a vassal punished by Taira no Yasumori, and also bequeathing to Katō the treasure sword used in the demon extermination at Mt. Togakushi 戸隠 (cf. the noh *Momijigari* 紅葉狩), inherited by the Taira family generations ago. (This act introduces the legend of the demon extermination at Mt. Togakushi.)

In the fourth and fifth *dan*, Raikō and his vassals, who have headed to Mt. Ōe to exterminate Shutendōji, enter the mountains there ("Raikō yamairi" 頼光山入). They pretend to be *yamabushi* who have lost their way, and guided by a woman whom they encounter washing blood-stained clothes, they enter the demon's fortress. Shutendōji confides in Raikō and the others and reveals his origin story:

he has been changed from a human being into a demon. He expresses sadness at having committed terrible deeds and grieves that he cannot stop himself from committing the sin of killing people. After drinking the poisoned *sake* that Raikō has offered him (this *sake*, which Abe no Seimei prepared for Raikō, is poisonous only to the demon), Shutendōji falls into a deep sleep. Later in the night, Raikō and his vassals, with the help of a child messenger of the Iwashimizu Hachiman 石清水八幡 god, defeat the demon and rescue the captured women, including San no Kimi.

The Overall Composition and Subject of Chikamatsu's Work

[This is a] work of the period when *jōruri* had lost the temporal and spatial unities and presented dramatic scenes in each *dan* that were almost independent of one another. The first and fifth *dan* present the main plot of the story and the play's conflicting beginning and end: it is a manner of composition that concentrates dramatic scenes in the second, third, and fourth *dan* in the middle, and all of these *dan* display a pattern of focusing on stories of familial love, such as between husband and wife, father and daughter, or mother and child.²⁰

Among Chikamatsu's works, however, as Uchiyama Mikiko 内山美樹子 points out,²¹ *Shutendōji makurakotoba* is in fact well-organized, with consistent through-lines and connections visible in the dramatic scenes of each *dan*.

As mentioned above, Chikamatsu's work incorporates various legends about Minamoto no Raikō and the Four Heavenly Kings, based on other demon extermination stories which feature Raikō and the Five Heroes as the main characters and which come to form the prototype of a hero-adventure series.

In the first *dan*, the confrontation and debate between Watanabe no Tsuna and Hirai Yasumasa shows affinities with previous *kojōruri*, in particular the genealogy of works known as *Kinpira jōruri* 金平浄瑠璃 (a sub-genre of puppet dramas named after a popular protagonist called Sakata no Kinpira 坂田金平) originally popularized by the narrators Izumidayū 和泉太夫 (dates unknown) in Edo and Inoue Harimanojō 井上播磨掾 (d. 1685) in Osaka (such as the play *Raikō atomeron* 頼光跡目論 written by Oka Seibee 岡清兵衛 (dates unknown) and others). And it is works such as these, together with the noh *Rashōmon*, that seem to be the main sources of inspiration for *Shutendōji makurakotoba*. In addition, the first and second *dan* of Chikamatsu's work incorporate scenes from *Kazari-no-in kisaki araso*, especially the gripping scene in which Kokiden's ghost, in her resentment against her rival Ukon, comes to life out of an image.²² This ghost, moreover, reveals Taira no Yasumori's conspiracy—to attain the position of *chinjufu shōgun* (commander-in-chief)—and the real nature of the spate of kidnappings, of which San no Kimi was also a victim.

²⁰ Aoki, "Shutendōji makura no koto no ha," p. 298.

²¹ Uchiyama, "Shutendōji makura kotoba Onigajō taimen no dan," pp. 101–102.

²² Suwa, "Chikamatsu seinenki no jussaku," pp. 133–137, 142–143.

The third *dan* combines the story of a disgraced and impoverished *bushi* father and his daughter involved in the sale of humans with the legend of the noh *Momijigari*, in which the protagonist Taira no Koremochi 平維茂 (early eleventh century) is granted a magic sword by the divinity Takeuchi no Kami 武内の神.

In the fourth and fifth *dan*, Chikamatsu resumes and rewrites the tale of the heroic feats accomplished by Minamoto no Raikō and the Four Heavenly Kings—along with the noh *Ōeyama*—intertwining his lyrics with an abundance of intertextual references and images. Combining earlier works of fiction and noh and *jōruri* plays, Chikamatsu weaves his web of intertextual quotations into a well-crafted new story.

In particular, in the fourth and fifth *dan*, the story has been rewritten, and endowed richly with allusions to other works, along the lines of the noh *Ōeyama*. Following the prototype's story and *Ōeyama*'s plot-structure, Raikō and his vassals are transformed into *yamabushi*. A beautiful kind of *michiyuki* (which was very popular in Chikamatsu's time)²³ then unfolds: while the journey scene depicts nature, painting the landscape in autumn, it leads to a different world. Elements of the natural world gradually take on an air of danger suffused with images of power: rocks and metals—especially iron—appear in the form of a bastion, with rock ramparts, a fortress, and castle portals, all of which are juxtaposed with the familiar and natural world.

Accessing the world of demons, however, requires the presence of intermediary figures. Raikō and his vassals meet an old man, an inhabitant of the mountains, who gives them information about the path leading to the mountain where the demons' fortress is. They are then guided by a certain woman to Shutendōji's refuge, as in *Ōeyama*. In the end, the men are helped by divine powers in opening the iron-rock door that guards access to Shutendōji's alcove. Indeed, during the final assault on Shutendōji, the gods of the three shrines (gods and buddhas appearing in various forms), to whom they address their prayers, manifest themselves in the guise of a boy messenger of the divinity Shōhachiman 正八幡, patron and divine protector of warriors and the Minamoto 源 family, who ultimately helps Minamoto no Raikō and the heroes.

This is the context in which Raikō's encounter with Shutendōji takes place, after a perilous journey. In the given scene, even the dialogue between the two protagonists is comprised of material reweoven by Chikamatsu from different sources. It alternates between, on one hand, a feeling and attitude of hospitality suffused with welcome trust and confidence and, on the other, an undercurrent of suspicions and doubts, which are gradually dispelled by Raikō's rhetorical skills in cunning and deception. Shutendōji, in his child form, questions Raikō about how he and his company arrived at his home, what drove them there, and so on. Raikō replies that they had become lost while on pilgrimage and busied with performing austerities, demonstrating that he can always find a suitable answer.

²³ Uchiyama, “Shutendōji makura kotoba Onigajō taimen no dan,” pp. 103, 112.

This scene then develops like a thriller, oscillating between tension and surprise, suspenseful horror and pathos—yet it is also a drama of deception. When the reception banquet begins, a description of the most cruel and atrocious, violent and bloody scenes is given. When the *yamabushi* manage to remain impassive even in the face of these brutalities and indeed accept the blood *sake* they are offered, Shutendōji's surprise is tremendous. Once again faced with Shutendōji's skepticism, Raikō explains their reaction and behavior through Buddhist philosophy.

However, the “child,” in the face of the justifications with which Raikō explains their participation in the bloody banquet, drinking human blood as if that were perfectly normal behavior, reacts with words full of surprise, astonishment, and sadness, and warns them against the sort of escalating violence that once weighed down upon, and ultimately overwhelmed, his own destiny. And so begins Shutendōji's story, the reenactment of his life up to that point—thus it is that the “child,” in the grip of alcohol, pours out his heart to Raikō and talks about his past. As in *Ōeyama*, he recounts having been on Mt. Hiei, which had been his home for generations, when Saichō founded Enryaku-ji Temple. Although he resisted the invasion with all his strength, he was at length forced to leave, wandering from place to place among many vicissitudes: the fact that he was a human being, that he once served as a *chigo* at a Buddhist temple in the Echigo 越後 region (as in earlier *jōruri*), how he came at length to be a demon, etc.

Although Shutendōji has been convinced to confide in Raikō, doubt again arises when San no Kimi enters the scene and he sees the way Raikō's eyes light up upon the princess' appearance. However, Raikō once again succeeds in deceiving him through skillful words.

In the fifth *dan*'s finale, the warriors, along with the women who hope to be freed, address their prayers to the gods. Their prayers are answered, with divine protection being granted to the warrior-heroes sent by the central government. At last the heroic deed, and the killing of the demon “child,” with the sacred magic sword given by Hirobumi to Katō and by Katō then to Raikō, is accomplished.

This drama represents a dramatic shift, transition, and epochal change in the relationship between various divinities. A new order is created, with the rise and establishment of some gods who, possessing new powers and offering potent help and protection, become the new reigning deities, and with the downfall—indeed the extermination—of other ancient/primordial gods who become demons or monsters.

It can also be said, however, that Chikamatsu's work at the same time highlights the drama of Shutendōji, who has, in spite of himself, become now a demon, a monster, but who began life likewise as a fellow *human being*.

The Portrait of Shutendōji

In *Shutendōji makurakotoba*, a demon inherited from an earlier source-work appears as the protagonist, but different aspects taken from other earlier works can also be recognized. A fearsome and dangerous demon, Shutendōji is defeated by Raikō, but Chikamatsu goes beyond *Ōeyama* in developing a sense of sympathy for the demon. He digs deep into the sadness of Shutendōji, who as a man fell, against his will, into the abyss of having become a demon/monster.²⁴

From the standpoint of folklore, as hypothesized by Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男, *yōkai* (demons/monsters) are “fallen gods.” According to this theory, “Many of the gods are deities whose cults have been lost and have decayed and declined”²⁵ but have also since developed and deepened.²⁶ By this same theory, Shutendōji can be recognized as having once been a primeval divinity on Mt. Hiei before Saichō settled there and built Enryaku-ji Temple.

Looking at it this way, we can see some similarities between the Shutendōji legend and the ancient Greek myth of Polyphemus, son of the sea god Poseidon and the sea nymph Thoosa. He is a one-eyed giant of a lower god-clan, the Cyclopes, who being hated by their father Uranus, the primordial deity personifying the sky, were cast by him into the abyss of Tartarus. But Polyphemus is a particularly famous figure in the voyage taken by Odysseus in Homer’s epic the *Odyssey*, where the Cyclopes are described as uncivilized shepherds who live in caves, and Polyphemus as a violent monster that eats travelers. In the Ninth Book of that work, Odysseus stops at the Cyclopes’ island on his way home from the Trojan War, where he and his twelve men enter Polyphemus’s cave only to become trapped inside. In fright, as two of his subordinates are eaten, Odysseus gives Polyphemus the wine he had brought with him. When Polyphemus becomes drunk and falls asleep, Odysseus and his men together crush the giant’s eye. Then, hiding themselves under the bellies of Polyphemus’s sheep, they escape the cave and return to the ship to leave the island. On the point of doing so, however, a crowing Odysseus ridicules Polyphemus and reveals his true name, which he had cunningly concealed until then. Polyphemus prays to his father to punish Odysseus, and Poseidon subsequently hinders Odysseus’s return home. In this case, as in the Shutendōji story, Odysseus uses intelligence, cunning, and rhetoric to gain advantage over the brute strength of Polyphemus, who violates every rule of welcoming and hospitality toward travelers and foreigners and every ideal of humanity known to Greek civilization. In other words, both Polyphemus and Shutendōji are not only fallen divinities but also negative (barbaric) manifestations of the concepts of humanity held by, respectively, the ancient Greeks and Japanese: that is, they are presented as antisocial and antimoral “human beings.”

²⁴ Kamakura, “Chikamatsu Monzaemon no oni,” p. 24.

²⁵ Yanagita, *Minzokugaku jiten; Yōkai dangi*, pp. 105–106.

²⁶ For example, Komatsu, *Yōkaigaku shinkō*, pp. 184–187, 193.

In the world of opera, the Polyphemus myth is frequently rewritten and combined with a myth narrated in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which the giant, whose love is unrequited by the sea-nymph (Nereid) Galatea, kills the shepherd Acis, Galatea's beloved. Particularly famous are the following works: in French, *Acis et Galathée* (Acis and Galatea, 1686), by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), libretto by Jean Galbert de Campistron (1656–1723), and in Italian, *Gli amori di Polifemo* (The Loves of Polyphemus, 1702) by Giovanni Bononcini (1670–1747), libretto by Attilio Ariosti (1666–1729?), who incorporates also the unfortunate love story of Scylla for Glaucus. One magnificent version is *Polifemo* (1735) by Nicola Porpora (1686–1768), libretto by Paolo A. Rolli (1687–1765), which combines the myth of Odysseus with myths of the tragic loves between Acis and Galatea and between Odysseus and Calypso. The serenade *Acis, Galatea, and Polifemo* (1708), libretto by Nicola Giuvo (1680?–1749?), set to music by George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), focuses in contrast only on the Polyphemus-Galatea-Acis triangle: an angry Polyphemus, having suffered Galatea's repeated refusals, tears away a piece of mountain and throws it at Acis, killing him. Galatea appeals to her father, Nereus, who turns the blood flowing from Acis's body into a river so it will forever rejoin the sea, thereby making the lovers' bond eternal. The traces of Polyphemus's horrible crime remain as the rock stacks in the bay of Aci Trezza, where the nine villages there bearing Acis's name stand guard over the relics of his body now torn to pieces. Handel followed this serenade with a very famous expanded version in English: *Acis and Galatea* (1718, 1731).

In these musical works based on the Polyphemus myth, the origin story of a place is joined to the theme of love, as in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. This, in some ways, attenuates and softens (sometimes with comic results) the brutality and coarseness of Polyphemus, making him a more multifaceted dramatic character in the boundless pains of his love.

By contrast, Mt. Ōe, where Shutendōji and his demons have settled, is a place that is neither fully part of, nor subject to control by, the human world—it is a world altogether different. The existence of such another world is seen as a danger to the central powers and rulers (the imperial court in Kyoto), one that must be exorcised and eliminated. The central government, which is trying to expand its political and religious control over the territory, does everything it can to depict as evil any entity that might constitute a hostile opposition. And the turmoils in the Capital, which can no longer be governed, are regarded as the work of the demon-gods, rebels against the legitimate order of the sovereign.²⁷ Primordial land gods/earth spirits who originally dwelt in this land come to be seen as the most dangerous beings and were subjected to discrimination, exclusion, and conquest. Shutendōji, who was once the god of this land, becomes for those in power a villain, and must therefore be exterminated.²⁸

²⁷ Komatsu, "Shutendōji."

²⁸ Kanai, *Nō no kenkyū*, pp. 347–350.

However, it seems that the noh drama *Ōeyama*, and Chikamatsu's *jōruri* play *Shutendōji makurakotoba*, try to shed light not only from the central government's point of view, and not merely in celebration of its political domination of the people and lands around the Capital: apparently they try also to show things from the demon's point of view—through Shutendōji's eyes—to underscore his own personal tragedy and drama. The humanity that emerges, even in this demon-monster-former god, helps to create a dramatic character. The psychological recognition of the demon who was once a human being, of his horror and his sadness, impress the audience, giving life to the play itself. As a result, the play is no longer simply the story of a victim and a hero-protagonist of courageous exploits.

Changes in Mind, Changes in Body

Yet what stands out from the body language and the illustrations that we have seen in relation to these dramas?

In the dramas we have examined, the descriptions and illustrations of his body point to an important quality about Shutendōji: he is a double figure. He has two sides to his nature and appearance. As depicted in illustrated scrolls and other illustrated works of fiction, Shutendōji is at first beautiful and talented, but after he gets drunk and falls asleep, a different body is revealed: an enormous, ugly demon with fifteen eyes and five horns (figs. 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3, 4a, 4b, 5). The figure of Shutendōji has thus become the incarnation of a fearsome, ugly demon, with the terrifying attributes of superhuman strength, ruthlessness, and cruelty. Shutendōji has, in other words, two physical states: the incarnation of an eternal child-deity on the one hand, and, on the other, the degraded form of a demon, due to the evil that arises from his anger, fear, and jealousy. In the noh *Ōeyama*, the child figure—the *shite* in the first act (*mae-shite* 前シテ)—dramatically transforms while sleeping in an alcove into the figure of the demon—the *shite* in the second act (*nochi-shite* 後シテ). Despite, however, this extreme transformation in the noh drama—altering the child's appearance, with the resulting appearance of the demon—the perspective is not limited to the mere contours and confines typical of works in the “ending noh” (*kirinō* 切能) category—spectacular and impressive dramas of non-human creatures. The noh drama also conveys the human aspects of the “child” in the banquet scene, producing an extreme effect of contrast with the terrifying and imposing stage presence of the demon in the finale.

The demon extermination legends are at the core of each *dan* of Chikamatsu's play as a unifying element. Yet if we focus on the character of Shutendōji, another theme emerges: the substitution, replacement, exchange, and sale of human beings; the tragedy of human beings (namely women) who are kidnapped, replaced, or sacrificed, one in place of another.

Indeed, it can be said that the main theme of Chikamatsu's drama, along with the character-image of Shutendōji, is the fate of humans beings subject to substitution



Figure 1a. *Shuten-dōji ekotoba* 酒吞童子絵詞 (3 *kan* 卷), vol. 2 (*chū* 中). Kuchinashi Bunko 支子文庫, Kyushu University.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2324/1445911> (image 17).



Figure 1b. *Shuten-dōji ekotoba* (3 *kan*), vol. 3 (*ge* 下). Kuchinashi Bunko, Kyushu University.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2324/1445912> (image 8).



Figure 2a. *Shuten-dōji emaki* 酒吞童子絵巻 (3 *kan*), vol. 2 (*chū*). Osaka Otani University Library.
<https://doi.org/10.20730/100313935> (image 38).



Figure 2b. *Shutoji emaki* (3 kan), vol. 3 (ge). Osaka Otani University Library.
<https://doi.org/10.20730/100313935> (image 48).



Figure 3. *Oeyama Shutendoji* 大江山酒吞童子 (*ebon* 絵本). National Institute of Japanese Literature.
<https://doi.org/10.20730/200007676> (image 8).

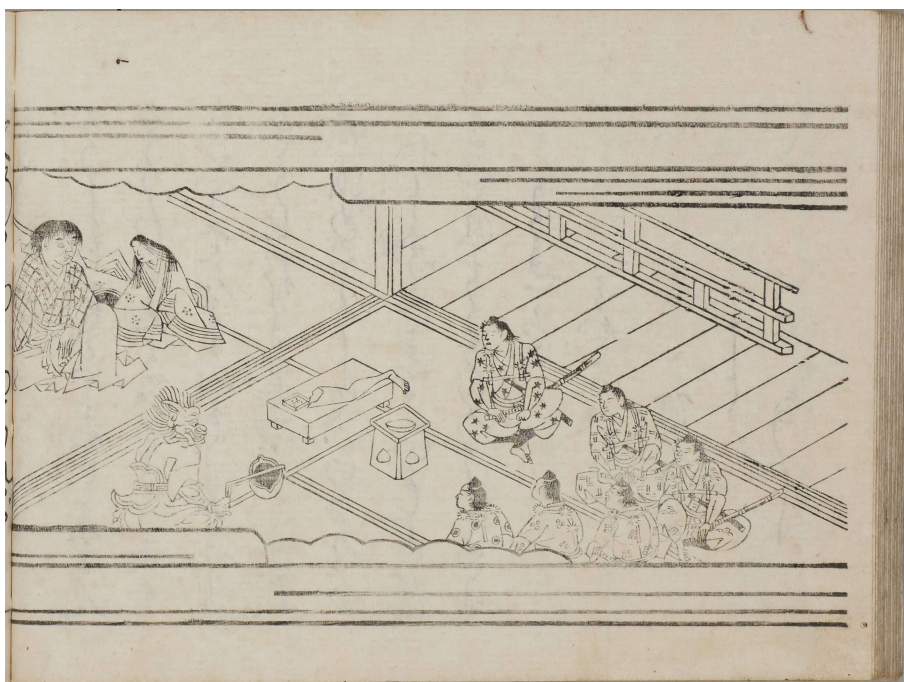


Figure 4a. *Shutendōji* しゆてん童子 (Muromachi *monogatari*). Ukai Bunko 鵜飼文庫, National Institute of Japanese Literature.
<https://doi.org/10.20730/200019890> (image 29).

(*migawari* 身替り), also translatable as “self-other exchange” or “exchange of person/body”). In the drama, certain human figures are forced to take the place of other more important characters: this characterizes the tragedy of the women who are sold to human traffickers, who are kidnapped, killed, and forced to sacrifice themselves, and who ultimately die. We can see this in Ukon, the lady-in-waiting who comes to Kazan’s hermitage to replace San no Kimi (kidnapped by Shutendōji’s vassals), and who is thereupon tormented by the spirit of Kokiden. We also observe this pattern in Katō’s daughter, Yokobue, who is sold to a house of prostitution by Hirobumi, and who, pessimistic about the future, ultimately commits suicide. It is even observable in Hirobumi’s own daughter, Kotoji, who decides herself to become a prostitute—taking Yokobue’s place—in order to save that same father. Yet the two fathers themselves also become tragic victims as a consequence: Hirobumi dies by *seppuku*, and Katō loses his daughter, although he finds another in Kotoji. In other words, Chikamatsu’s play is both the perpetrator’s drama and the drama of his victims.

The *migawari* theme or motif is a very important element in the historical development of puppet theater. It became a decisive and recurrent device

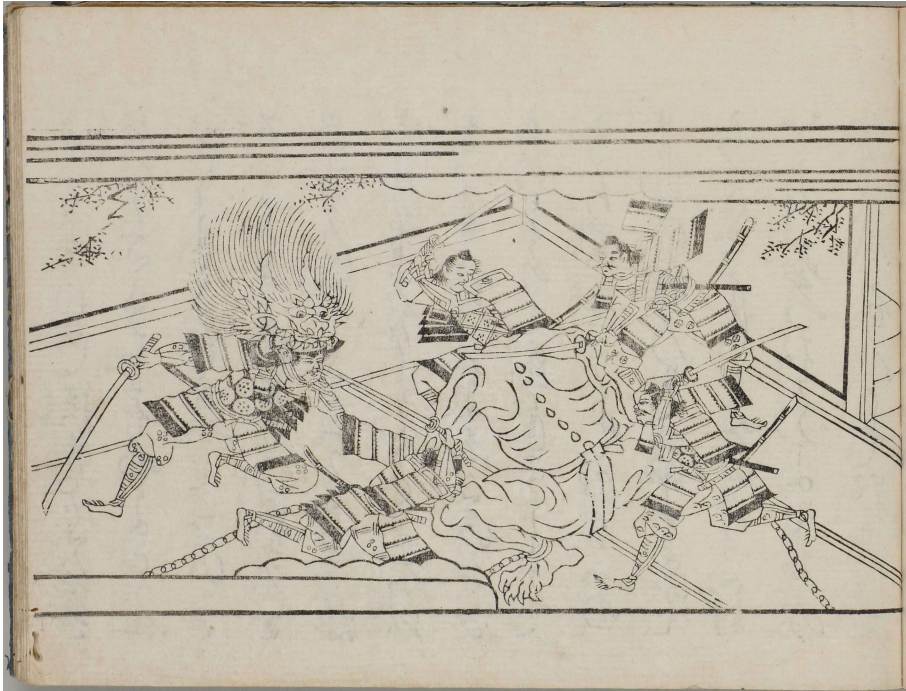


Figure 4b. *Shutendōji* (Muromachi *monogatari*). Ukai Bunko, National Institute of Japanese Literature.

<https://doi.org/10.20730/200019890> (image 40).

in Chikamatsu's theater²⁹ and grew increasingly more varied up until the dramatist Namiki Sōsuke 並木宗輔/Senryū 千柳 (1695–1751), whose works made it vain and useless, something without efficacy as a solution on the dramatic level, so that deaths and sacrifices are almost emptied of meaning, becoming charged instead with pessimism.

If the leading theme of the play is a series of *migawari*, the theme of corporality, of the person and his body, is together entwined with the *migawari* theme and appears even at its roots. Noh and *ningyō jōruri* may equally be genres among the performing arts. However, the scenes of cruel violence and depictions of atrocities and horrible actions that find no expression in noh are seen to powerfully conquer the stage in the puppet plays, and have a strong impact in the Edo period.

In the banquet scene where some kidnapped girls are victims of acts of quartering, laceration, live limb-dismemberment, and full-body compression, bloody violence is presented three-dimensionally on the stage. The physicality and the

²⁹ See, for example, Mukai, *Chikamatsu no hōbō*, pp. 7–22; Uchiyama, *Jōruri no jūhasseiki*, pp. 60–65.



Figure 5. *Raikō Ōeyama iri* 頼光大江山入. National Institute of Japanese Literature.

<https://doi.org/10.20730/200016651> (image 4).

brutality of people being killed, their bodies eaten, their blood drunken—all of it is shown to the audience. Performed by the puppets, such scenes become almost a Grand Guignol, or even a grotesque, but their impact remains for all that no less striking or intense.

However, in Chikamatsu's play, these violent and grotesque scenes are not just spectacles or freak shows (*misemono* 見世物). The atrocious actions taken by Shutendōji and his demons are the result of the sadness and loneliness of a child who, since birth, has fallen ever deeper into certain physical sensations driving him increasingly to excess, in greedy crescendo towards a corporality pervaded by sensuality and cruelty. This escalation and growing perversion from an early age are highlighted in Shutendōji's account of his background and upbringing. He is nursed for years with his mother's milk, and excessive maternal doting and adoring affection result in an addiction that gradually pushes him to tragedy, even after he is accepted by a Buddhist temple. His preference for his mother's milk evolves into one for blood—human blood.

It is worth noting that Chikamatsu's interpretation also sharply highlights the dark side of *eros*, which manifests as terrible behavior and relentlessly, increasingly gruesome "habits." Chikamatsu mines the deepest, most painful, and hidden folds of Shutendōji's character and the other characters involved in this

drama. He portrays Shutendōji as possessing a tender and helpless humanity and fragility. The demon forms thus a stark contrast with Raikō, who demonstrates a shrewd, ruthless, and calculated cunning in his deception and refined argumentation, and who can immediately grasp the weaknesses in the strange creature.

Shutendōji's terrifying behavior, which causes him to feel miserable, is manifested in his condition and appearance: it has changed his very nature and modified his feelings, indeed thereby causing the demon's despair and "ugliness." It leads to his "perverted" sensations and to actions not condoned by society. Shutendōji sadly warns the false *yamabushi* (Raikō and his vassals) not to fall into the dark abyss that he himself has plummeted into.

Mediation and Representation by Puppets

Chikamatsu's dramas are conceived and written to be represented by puppets. In such a setting, the corporality of the puppet, which is made of wood and cloth and is not a human actor in the flesh, is foregrounded: it becomes the element that supports and enables the staged drama. With the recognition of the puppet-body's unique characteristics, it is possible to portray fantastic, magical, and otherwise unreal narrative elements, situations, and actions, including those involving the body.

A puppet represents a human figure, a human body—or possibly the body of a non-human (such as an animal, a monster, or a ghost) or some other fictional creature. But unlike humans, puppets are manipulated by puppeteers, and they are not limited by human corporality. In the context of a puppet play, their actions, their bodily movements and body parts, their appearance and transformations of appearance, indeed all of the actions exerted on the body (such as cutting off the head or an arm and so on) seem to have almost no limits. This creates almost endless narrative possibilities. A figure can freely transform and fly into the sky to express a mysterious world that exceeds the bounds of physical laws. A variety of illusions, conflicts, transformations, and metamorphoses can be portrayed, and every scene-setting and situation can be changed quickly and relatively easily.

During Chikamatsu's time, as is well known, the puppets used on the stage were still simple in their structure, operated by a single puppeteer. The stage, however, even while centered on single-person puppets, also made abundant and skillful use of mechanized puppets (*karakuri* からくり), which, thanks to various mechanisms and tricks, were able to entertain, amaze, and generate astonishment and emotional participation in the audience.³⁰ In addition, just as in *kojōruri*, plays produced during this period extensively and actively incorporated strange wonders, fantastic scenes, and multiple characters of different natures (such as animals and fictional creatures)—all of these being elements best portrayed

³⁰ Yamada, *Takeda karakuri no kenkyū*.

by puppets. These can, moreover, be represented and portrayed in an almost palpable manner, in a way at once grotesque yet also moving.

As a device for staging stories involving humans, puppets—as a form of doll—bring additional connotations to the drama. Such dolls have a primitive and primary ancestral meaning as “substitute forms or representations of a sacred object” (*katashiro* 形代). They can be worshipped in place of deities and can be used as substitutes for people undergoing purification. As images of gods and humans, dolls can easily become substitutes for people or living beings—they can serve as amulets that provide protection, or as objects capable of attracting spirits, of offering spirits and deities a natural lodging place (*yorishiro* 依り代). Dolls can thus replace the actions and roles of human beings, deities, animals, and spirits, including plant spirits.

Furthermore, in the world of a puppet drama and on its stage, each part of the human body can “act” even if it becomes separated from the whole. Even if body parts (in particular, the head and arms) are cut off, disassembled, or dispersed, the nature of puppets allows those separated parts to perform dramatic actions and other various functions as part of the character. And it is this fantastic and imaginative dimension, this theatrical world, that Chikamatsu seeks and pursues: a dramatic world that makes the most of the physicality and potential of puppets.

In the Chikamatsu repertoire, there are many works in which a severed head bounces up and soars into the sky and then plays an active role in the narrative—something only made possible by the corporality of puppets. The indigenous belief that the head of a being with superhuman power is animated by spiritual strength and energy—a belief that goes back to the legend of Taira no Masakado’s 平将門 (?–940) head—emerges in many of Chikamatsu’s plays. For example, we see it in the second *dan* of *Tenji tennō* 天智天皇 (Emperor Tenji, 1689) and in the second or fifth *dan* of *Taishōkan* 大職冠 (1712). It seems that this motif—a belief in the magical force of a fearsome being’s head—runs through all these sources. As Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦 has pointed out, “The head of Shutendōji, the head of Ōtakemaru 大嶽丸³¹ . . . were symbols of the ‘outside’ that threatened the power of the sovereign” and the worship directed towards these heads, venerated and exorcised in special tombs, was a sign of contemporary recognition of the magical, powerful, and violent energy of the spirit/vital nucleus that animated them—to the point that they were even kept as precious treasures, becoming “one of the sources of the vitality of the power of the sovereign.”³² This can also be seen in the legend of Shutendōji.

Yet in Chikamatsu’s play, as we have tried to explain, this world of ancient, medieval, and then early-modern imagery becomes a vital source and soil for the

³¹ A demon who is said to have lived in Suzukayama 鈴鹿山.

³² Komatsu, *Shutendōji no kubi*, pp. 47–53.

realization of a dramatic show in which the itinerary of the heroic deeds of Raikō, and the destiny of the character Shutendōji, give life to a masterpiece, one transfigured by the powerful tragic potential of the protagonist (Shutendōji) and his victims.

And it is precisely the representation of humans, animal- and plant-spirits, gods and buddhas, monsters (*yōkai*), and other beings *through puppets* that enables Chikamatsu's dramas to be embodied, that makes possible their extraordinary imaginative world, the dramatic and human situations found therein, their scenic solutions and representations—in short, all their complex evolution on the stage as living things.³³

³³The demon extermination scene in this Chikamatsu *jōruri* (fourth and fifth *dan*) was revived and performed in 1961. In 2005, thanks to the efforts of Professor Uchiyama Mikiko, the scene “Onigajō taimen no dan” 鬼が城対面の段 (The Face-to-face Encounter at the Fortress of the Demons) was reenacted in the form of a “pure narration” (*sjōruri* 素浄瑠璃) in the COE (Center of Excellence) for classical theater research course (Ningyō Jōruri Bunraku) at Waseda University's Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum. Here I would also like to express my thanks to Professor Uchiyama and the bunraku artists for the wonderful opportunity granted to all of us then.

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