Sekkyô and the Tale of Terute in Oguri Hangan: Authorizing the Role of Women (Part 1)

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...until sekkyô-bushi, images of such brave, strong women had never been presented before.

Muroki, Katarimoto no Kenkyû 317.

This paper is Part One of a two part series that concerns the role of females and female spirituality in the sekkyô canon and in particular, in the sekkyô known as Oguri or Oguri Hangan. In this paper (Part One) I will discuss sekkyô, the formation of the sekkyô canon and the role that women played in the development of the genre as well as in the formulation of the sekkyô narrative Oguri Hangan. I will demonstrate through a review of the literature that female religious entertainers were instrumental in creating and promulgating significant portions of the narrative of Oguri Hangan. Having established that women were indeed responsible for the creation and circulation of significant portions of the tale (and in so doing I do not mean to rule out the presence of men, but to indicate the participation of women) in Part Two I will read the figure of the female hero of Oguri Hangan as a fictional representation of female spiritual practice in medieval Japan. In doing so I will rely on the work of Dee Dyas to explore the interesting and surprising ways in which the dynamic of interior, moral and place pilgrimage are integrated into Terute’s spiritual practice.

The Genre of Sekkyô

In 1973, Sekiyama Kazuo [who was born and raised in a temple and was a proponent of sekkyô (sermon ballads) from the point of view of religious history,] published an account of institutional sermon ballads titled Sekkyô no Rekishi-Bukkyô to Wagei. Sekiyama takes the reader through the development of sekkyô from the first known performance in 598 C.E. on the occasion of a request by Emperor Shôtoku Taishi and notes that four years later, an entry in Nihon Shoki records that Shôtoku Taishi had another sekkyô performed from the Lotus Sutra. From these earliest beginnings, Sekiyama follows the development of sekkyô through the Heian period, when sekkyô was a profession not only for men but also for women who were affiliated with religious institutions and who were required to “master waka with a beautiful voice” (64). He notes a frequently quoted passage from Makura no Sôshi (1002 C.E.) where the summoning of a sekkyô-shi (説経師) is recorded. The character shi is important, and would indicate the presence of a religious affiliation. Both Sekiyama, and Ishii Nobuko, in her article in Monumenta Nipponica (1989), note that the term, sekkyô-sha (者), is a much later designation. Ishii points out that during the Edo period, sekkyô-shi specifically denotes a priest, whereas sekkyô-sha, as the term first appears in Edo period chronicles, indicates an itinerant chanter with no religious affiliation. The term sekkyô-shi becomes confusing when discussed in an historical context, as Ishii maintains – in contradistinction to Sekiyama - that sekkyô-shi in the Heian period (784-1185) were not priests at all, but laymen who performed sekkyô as secular entertainment. From Sekiyama’s point of view, all sekkyô performers are ‘shi’; i.e. priests, though some may be considered artists, and others considered as religious missionaries.

The term sekkyô can be written as: 説経; literally, explanation/sutra, or 説教; literally, explanation/teaching. While the former is translatable specifically as sutra explanations and maintains a strong religious connection, the latter is translatable as a broader term for teaching explanations that may or may not
include religious dogma. According to Sekiyama, the latter version was introduced and became prevalent in the Meiji period (1868-1912) though he uses both terms interchangeably. For the purposes of this article I will propose that sekkyô-shi (説経師) maintained strong religious affiliations and performed sekkyô (説経) while sekkyô-sha (説教者), as itinerant artists, performed sekkyô (説教), reflecting a later development in the history of sekkyô; from religious sermon to dramatic literature. However, the distinction between laymen and clerics is often difficult to maintain in Medieval Japan, and sekkyô-shi, particularly in the Heian through the Kamakura (1185-1333) and Muromachi periods (1333-1573), in all likelihood had no formal religious affiliation. Sekkyô-sha, on the other hand, are invariably laymen or laywomen who appeared in the Edo period, and probably existed before that time.

According to Sekiyama, sermon ballads began with tight religious affiliations to Tendai and Shingon sects in the Nara and Heian periods in Japan. With the growth of Jôdo-shû (Pure Land Sect) under Hônen (1133-1212) and Shin-shû (True Pure Land Sect) under Shinran (1173-1262), sekkyô grew increasingly important in promulgating religious teachings to the general public. Within the history of sekkyô, an important contributor, Chôken (1126-1203), was trained as a Tendai priest and noted for the exceptional use of his voice. Chôgen married and moved to Kyôto, where he lived in Agui. Chôken had an important influence on both Hônen and Shinran, and Sekiyama notes the reported healing properties of a sekkyô performance whereby Chôken is said to have cured Hônen of a serious illness by performing sekkyô at Hônen’s bedside in 1205. With Chôken, sekkyô became associated with Agui, and the Agui school (Agui ryû) of sekkyô was established. Chôken’s son, Seikaku (1167-1235), carried on in the Agui tradition of sekkyô, and as a result of their relationship, as well as that of his father’s relationship with both Hônen and Shinran, sekkyô played an important role in the dissemination of religious teachings of both the Pure Land and True Pure Land faiths; i.e. those Buddhist faiths which are based on intoning the nenbutsu as a vehicle for salvation. Sekiyama maintains that it was Shinran, under the influence of sekkyô and in his efforts to promulgate his religious teachings to the masses, who attached fushi (chant patterns in the historically effective pattern of five and seven syllables found in waka poetry,) to wasan (four line stanzas) in order to aid his listeners in remembering True Pure Land doctrine.

This innovation; i.e. the addition of rhythmic elements as mnemonic devices to religious teachings, had a profound effect on the history of sekkyô, and engendered a new development, that of fushizuke sekkyô, or fushidan sekkyô. For Sekiyama, the development of fushidan sekkyô in the late Kamakura (1185-1333) early Muromachi period (1333-1573) was born of a marriage between the practical needs of gaining religious adherents, and the dissemination of religious teachings, particularly in the True Pure Land tradition under Shinran. With the exception of Sekiyama, many scholars use sekkyô as an inclusive term which may, or may not, include sekkyô-bushi.

As the Muromachi period progressed, Sekiyama notes that sekkyô-shi began to be influenced by artistic and performative elements in society at large, and the use of bells and drums while chanting, in addition to the use of the sasara (small drum) and the biwa (Japanese lute), became prevalent. Sekiyama maintains that sekkyô-bushi arose from fushidan sekkyô, enduring throughout the Muromachi Period in Japan, and into the Edo period. Within sekkyô-bushi there developed two more types of performance; the first, an art of itinerant performers, and the second, an art of performers in a fixed location. Uta sekkyô and kado sekkyô were performed by wandering artists, while sekkyô-bushi were performed in shelters, and incorporated the use of puppets. Interestingly, at this point Sekiyama drops all reference to sekkyô-shi, preferring to refer to those performers of sekkyô-bushi from the beginning in the early Muromachi period as wandering artists, claiming that they simply imitated the sekkyô of sekkyô-shi and turned it into a profession, intimating that we have left the elite
purvey of sekkyô proper, and digressed into a popular (and degenerate) art form. The samisen (a stringed instrument resembling a banjo), a popular new import from Okinawa, replaced the sasara in approximately 1631, and there developed what had now become a fully secularized form of sekkyô.

Jôruri (浄瑠璃) or ballad dramas, as a genre of chant intoned to the music of the samisen incorporating the use of puppets, began to eclipse sekkyô in popularity by about 1660, primarily, according to Iishi in her 1989 article, because the formulaic compositional devices of orally based narratives of the sekkyô repertoire were unable to adopt techniques of literary composition incorporated by jôruri, and were therefore unable to sustain the interests of an increasingly literate audience. Though sekkyô and sekkyô-bushi are often called sekkyô-jôruri, they are not the same genre of performance. The confusion exists, in part, perhaps, because both genres adopted the use of puppets and existed concurrently in the 17th century.

Araki Shigeru and Yamamoto Kichizô, in their compilation, Sekkyô-bushi (1973) note that sekkyô-bushi tales were incorporated into jôruri performance by dropping the honji (religious) format and by shortening the length of the chant [which was quite long, and not structured in a dan (chapter) format], to six dan, the characteristic length found in a jôruri text. Iwasaki Takeo uses the term, sekkyô ayatsuri shibai in his book, Sanshô Dayû Kô (1973) for sekkyô that incorporate the use of puppets, in order to distinguish the genesis of the sekkyô (puppet) genre of performance from that of jôruri. The use of puppets in the genre of sekkyô has been noted in performances of Higurashi Kodayû in Kyôto in the mid 1660’s. While jôruri benefitted tremendously from the compositional and artistic skills of Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725), and continued to prosper into the 18th century, sekkyô had no such champion, and appears to have receded into obscurity by the late 17th century, after enjoying a burst of popularity in the middle 50 years of the 17th century. In the absence of textual evidence for sekkyô previous to the 1600’s, it is possible to surmise that sekkyô may have enjoyed a great deal of popularity long before the middle of the 17th century.

In her 1989 article in Monumenta Nipponica, titled “Sekkyô-bushi,” Ishii discusses sekkyô from the point of view of dramatic literature, and consequently maintains a very different perspective from that of Sekiyama. While Sekiyama maintains that sekkyô existed prior to the Kamakura period in a purely religious context, Ishii outlines a very different picture for the history of sekkyô and sekkyô-bushi, claiming that as early as the late Heian period, the term sekkyô was used to “denote interesting, and often humorous, sermons or anecdotes about priestly teaching” (296). She bases her conclusions on references found in Chûyâki, Ôkagami, Konjaku Monogatari, Shaseki-shû, and Uji Shûi Monogatari. Ishii concludes that these early references to the entertaining character of sekkyô indicate that sekkyô had developed into a popular form in the Heian period, and that during the Kamakura period, sekkyô was used to denote secular entertainment as performed by laymen. According to Ishii, sekkyô-bushi originated as early as the mid-Heian period, and had become secularized by the late Heian. She uses this early conflation of the terms sekkyô and sekkyô-bushi to explain why the term sekkyô (re) emerged in Edo period chronicles. Sekiyama concedes that the term sekkyô is also used as a short form for sekkyô-bushi, but he differs from Ishii in maintaining that this is a misnomer, for the two are, in his view, quite different. In addition, Ishii disagrees with Sekiyama by disputing the notion that sekkyô-bushi are derived from fushidan sekkyô (fushizuke sekkyô) because of a lack of evidence to that effect, and due to “the absence of any account of sekkyô-bushi chant in the early medieval period” (298).

Whether sekkyô-bushi existed as early as the Heian period or had its inception in the early Muromachi period, scholars agree that sekkyô, and specifically, sekkyô-bushi, thrived throughout the medieval period in Japan as a form of didactic entertainment born of popular culture. Barbara Ruch, in her article “Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature (1977) distinguished two types
of Muromachi literature; one based upon aesthetic theory which was “practitioner-oriented canonical literature” (e.g. *waka* and *renga*) and another, based wholly on eliciting an emotional response. This latter form, to which *sekkyō-bushi* belongs (along with *heikyoku*, *etoki*, and *jōruri*), Ruch calls “audience-oriented repertory literature” because the appeal of *sekkyō-bushi* “was direct and emotional”, and not based on aesthetic principles (284). As a vocal literary art, Ruch categorizes *sekkyō-bushi* (and *sekkyō*) as *onsei bungaku* (vocal literature) (286). Other scholars, such as Araki and Yamamoto, have denied *sekkyō-bushi* (along with *jōruri* and *kowakamai*) their status as literary or musical, categorizing *sekkyō-bushi* as *shōdō bungaku*, or religious advocacy. Araki and Yamamoto attribute *sekkyō-bushi* to an art of beggars, to the outcasts of society who could eke out their subsistence by offering their *gei* (literally, art; i.e. *sekkyō-bushi*) in return for food, shelter, and/or other desirable materials. In this vein, Araki and Yamamoto also note *sekkyō-bushi* as indicative of the voice of the weak, the oppressed, and the tyrannized segments of society who grapple with pain, and through the performance of *sekkyō-bushi*, receive condolences in the form of redemption. The oft-noted tragic nature of the tales reflects the living conditions of the men and women who heard and performed *sekkyō-bushi*. Muroki Yatarō, as well, in his work, *Katarimono no Kenkyû* (1970) has characterized *sekkyō-bushi* as an art of beggars.

Yet, as evocations of popular culture in the Muromachi period, there can be no doubt that *sekkyō-bushi* played a prominent role in the fashioning of a national literature for Japan. An image of a *bushi* of the Muromachi period, there can be no doubt that such as Araki and Yamamoto have denied *sekkyō-bushi* (along with *jōruri* and *kowakamai*) their status as literary or musical, categorizing *sekkyō-bushi* as *shōdō bungaku*, or religious advocacy. Araki and Yamamoto attribute *sekkyō-bushi* to an art of beggars, to the outcasts of society who could eke out their subsistence by offering their *gei* (literally, art; i.e. *sekkyō-bushi*) in return for food, shelter, and/or other desirable materials. In this vein, Araki and Yamamoto also note *sekkyō-bushi* as indicative of the voice of the weak, the oppressed, and the tyrannized segments of society who grapple with pain, and through the performance of *sekkyō-bushi*, receive condolences in the form of redemption. The oft-noted tragic nature of the tales reflects the living conditions of the men and women who heard and performed *sekkyō-bushi*. Muroki Yatarō, as well, in his work, *Katarimono no Kenkyû* (1970) has characterized *sekkyō-bushi* as an art of beggars.

By the Edo period *sekkyō-sha* also worked as makers of straw sandals, as spinners, dancers, doctors, and pharmacists. Though there are no extant *sekkyō-bushi* texts as old as extant *jōruri* texts (i.e. before the 17th century), Muroki notes the language of *sekkyō-bushi* performances appears to have been fixed before entering the urban centers of Kyōto, Osaka and Edo during the 1600’s. Muroki claims that the language of the texts that has come down to us from Ôsaka, Kyōto and Edo are all similar, employing similar phrases and formulaic expressions. He surmises that the language of *sekkyō-bushi* constitutes a dialect native to Ise. Araki and Yamamoto speculate that perhaps a group of *sekkyō-bushi* chanters from either Mount Koya or Ise gained prominence in the genre and that their dialect, as well as their style of delivery, was copied by other chanters, becoming the standard for *sekkyō-bushi* as a whole.

Iwasaki Takeo, in his *Sanshō Dayû Kô* (1973) writes that Tennô-ji and Zenkô-ji were temples where *sekkyō* were chanted frequently, and that, in addition to *kado sekkyō* which were performed at gates and corners, *sekkyō* performances occurred inside as well as outside temples and shrines, and at festivals or ritual
occasions. He notes the depth of the content of sekkyō-bushi and draws particular attention to the ability of the tales to reflect the lives and the character of the Japanese people, while also emphasizing the religious aspects of sekkyō as deriving from the influence of miracle tales and religious legends; with stories associated with temples and shrines. Susan Matisoff, in her 1994 article, “Holy Horrors: The Sermon Ballads of Medieval and Early Modern Japan,” agrees with Iwasaki in noting the influence of a collection of stories contained in the Shintō-shū on medieval sekkyō.

Iwasaki, rather than relegate sekkyō performances as exclusively an art of outcasts and beggars, prefers to locate the sekkyō performers, particularly those of Oguri Hangan, under the category of hyōhakumin, wandering bands of men and women, some of whom abandoned their homes and dwellings for religious purposes. To this diffuse and intriguing phenomenon of medieval Japan there belonged a specific group of men and women with religious aspirations known as yûgyômin, who espoused the teachings of Ippen (1239-1288), founder of the Jishū faith; a Buddhist sect also known as Jisshû (literally, time/sect) because practitioners followed a strict time schedule for intoning the nembutsu. It is to this particular group of men and women that recent scholarship, in particular the work of Imai Masaharu in the 1990’s, has attributed the development and circulation of the sekkyō-bushi tale of Oguri and Terute.

Women’s Role in the Composition and Performance of Sekkyō

There are consistent (Orikuchi Shinobu, Shigeru Araki, Yamamoto Kichizō, Iwaki Takeo, Barbara Ruch, Imai Masaharu), and insistent (Usuda Jingorō, Fukuda Akira, Takada Mamoru, Muroki Yatarō, Susan Matisoff) claims on the part of scholars that promulgators of sekkyō in the Muromachi period were women. Ruch notes that sekkyō-bushi (among other performing arts of Muromachi Japan) “bears the distinctive marks of a female entertainer” (“Other Side” 530-531). Araki and Yamamoto note the role of kumano bikuni (Buddhist nuns associated with Mt. Kumano) in circulating sekkyō-bushi, but emphasize the need to examine each tale individually, as the tale’s development is most likely unique to each narrative.

Both Araki and Yamamoto note that the “magico-religiousness” found in sekkyō-bushi is a characteristic which they find to be “miko-like” in flavor, noting the influence of miko in the composition and/or performance of the tales as a genre (340-343). Oguri, in particular, is cited by Araki and Yamamoto as part of the repertoire of goze, blind hand drum-playing women who were religio-secular performers, and itako (also idako), female shamans who wandered the landscape of Japan in the medieval period. Muroki suggests that miko who wandered (aruki miko) the west coast of Japan along the Japan Sea may have chanted Oguri and Sansho Daiyû, and, is strongly supportive of the notion that the bikuni (Buddhist nuns) of Yûgyô-ji were instrumental in composing Oguri (Sekkyō-shū 396). By the Edo period, Muroki notes textual evidence that records the existence of many female chanters (女大夫) in the city of Edô (Katarimono 246). The remarkable absence from recorded history of the presence of these women who formed and performed the genre of sekkyō may be, in no small part, due to a ban on female performers enforced by the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1629, then renewed in 1640.

Review of the Sekkyō Canon

The earliest collection of sermon ballads, titled Sekkyō-bushi Shōhonshū, was published in 1937 and was compiled by Yokoyama Shigeru. This two volume set was expanded and reissued in 1968 in three volumes under a new title, Sekkyō Shōhonshū. In 1973, Araki and Yamamoto published their compilation titled Sekkyō-bushi, and finally, Muroki published his compilation of sekkyō in 1977 under the title, Sekkyōshū. Scholarly attention to sekkyō texts proliferated in the 1970’s, most notably with Muroki’s Katarimono no Kenkyû, published in 1970, and Iwasaki’s Sanshô Dayû kô, published in 1973.

The oldest extant shōhon (‘true text’ used to indicate a sekkyō repertoire text) in the sekkyō canon is titled Sekkyō Karukaya, and is dated 1631, followed by Sanshô Dayû dated 1639, Sekkyō Shintokumaru dated
1648, and Sekkyō Sanshō Dayû dated 1656 (Araki and Yamamoto 309). According to Araki and Yamamoto, the term go-sekkyō (literally five/sermon ballads) indicating the canonic “five sekkyō” of the sekkyō-bushi repertoire, was established by the Kanbun period (1661-1673). The term, go-sekkyō, first appeared in a shōhon titled Oguri/Terute Yume Monogatari attributed to the chanter, Higurashi Kodayû (Sekkyō Shōhon-shū 493). Though the titles of these five sekkyō were not noted, it would appear reasonable to include Oguri among them, as it was with this text that the term first appeared.

Both Matisoff (1992) and Ishii (1989) refer to an entry in the diary of Lord Matsudaira Yamamoto (dated 1661) wherein he records 11 titles as sekkyō: Aigo no Waka, Sanshō-dayû, Oguri, Shintoku-maru, Mokurenki, Sumidagawa, Sesshōsei, Toida, Amida no Honji, Shaka no Honji, and Karukaya (Ishi 289). Ishii also notes a reference in Biyō Kejō Jishi which states that Higurashi Kodayû chanted the following tales in Nagoya in 1665: Kosui Tennō, Sanshō-dayû, Aigo no Waka, Karukaya, Oguri no Hangan, Shintoku-maru, Matsura no Chōja, Ikenie, and Kazarashi Monogatari. Ishii also notes that Yokoyama in his Sekkyō Shōhon-shū (1968), appears to have established the canon of sekkyō by including the five sekkyō-bushi which occur in both lists. Both Muroki (Katarimono 255) and Matisoff (“Holy Horrors” 241) refer to Karukaya and Sanshō-dayû as emblematic of sekkyō-bushi, and these two tales, in addition to Shintoku-maru, Oguri, and Aigo no Waka, form the five sekkyō tales that constitute the “nucleus of the genre” (Ishii 288).

As Ishii discusses in her article, Yokoyama is primarily responsible for establishing sekkyō-bushi as a genre with his compilation, Sekkyō-bushi Shōhon-shū (first published in 1937 and reissued as Sekkyō Shōhon-shū in 1968.) Yokoyama succeeded in delineating the shared characteristics of sekkyō, both linguistic and thematic. Araki and Yamamoto published their compilation, Sekkyō-shû, in 1973, and note the presence of two motifs as characteristic of sekkyō tales; the birth of a môshigo (miraculous birth of a child as the result of prayer), and the honji

(religious) framework, where a protagonist is situated as a man or woman undergoing tremendous trials in this life; their last life before attaining salvation and being reborn as a god, goddess or bodhisattva. The world of sekkyō-bushi is characteristically that of the family; of parents and children, couples, siblings, and locates these relations as the source of tragedy that will eventually culminate in redemption.

When commenting on the common themes within the genre, Ishii notes the heroic pattern of the male; in its most basic form, that of initiation, separation, and return. Matisoff points out in her article (“Holy Horrors”) that among the three sermon-ballads which she analyzed (Karakaya, Shintoku-maru and Sanshō-dayû), there is a common pattern of estrangement, death, rebirth and reunion; reflecting, perhaps, the reality of the itinerant lives of the tellers, as well as affecting a symbolic appeal to the needs of the audience in successfully negotiating ritual passage through childhood, adolescence, adulthood, marriage, birth and death.

The Male and Female Protagonists in Oguri

Orikuchi Shinobu initiated scholarly inquiry into the tale of Oguri and Terute in the 1930’s by postulating that Oguri Hangan was told by shamaness Buddhist nuns (miko nenbutsu bikuni) as well as by blind monks and wandering priests who intoned the nenbutsu prayer (nenbutsu hijiri) at Shinto performances. Orikuchi bases his claim, in part, on his claim that the name, Terute (照手), is a misrendering of the name, Teruhime (照日), a name given frequently to female companions and followers of miko. The name, Teruhime, and its variant, Teruhi, appear frequently in medieval literature, for example, in the Nô play, Aoi no Ue, and in medieval fiction (chûsei monogatari) such as Tsuru no Okina, Tama no Sôshi, and Nekomatachi no Monogatari. Orikuchi’s initial investigations into the figure of Terute inaugurated a line of inquiry among scholars which has since led to the notion that the image of Terute (Teruhi) is derived from the image of women doing the missionary work of the Teruhi lineage, that is, those women who worshipped and attended the sun goddess, Amaterasu no Ōmikami.
According to myth, this supreme goddess of the Shintō faith is responsible for the creation of the Japanese archipelago and is enshrined at the Grand Shrine at Ise, said to be built in 5 B.C.E. by Emperor Suinin to house the imperial mirror, a symbol, perhaps, for the feminine nature of the deity.

In the same way that Orikuchi’s research contributed to our knowledge of the image of Terute, Imai has researched the historicity of the figure of Oguri and published his findings in 1990. According to Imai, the name, Oguri (小栗), also appears in relation to the Grand Shrine at Ise, as noted in 1192 in a document titled *Ise Jingū Shirin'yō Chûmon*, contained in *Jingū Zassho*. According to this source, the clan Oguri is designated as responsible for bearing tribute to the shrines at Ise. The Oguri lands in Hitachi were known as *naigû*, the same name used for the Inner Shrine at Ise, and though hundreds of miles from the shrine at Ise, they were considered as integral to the Ise Shrine as the Inner Shrine itself. The Oguri clan and its domains provided valuable tribute to the Ise Shrine such as silk, horses, oil, cotton and cloth. These goods were put to use in festivals, rituals and celebrations, in addition, perhaps, to providing for the daily needs of the shrine attendants. According to Imai, the Oguri clan was of the Taira lineage and, by the end of the Heian period, was an established clan of the warrior class responsible for administration in the local government of the province of Hitachi. Though the tribute lands of Oguri were transferred to the empress of Go-toba in 1204, it appears that the lands continued to be referred to as those of the Oguri clan, and the connection of the Oguri clan with the Ise Shrine continued to be recognized after the transfer.

There is also textual evidence that the Oguri clan was not only active in local politics but also engaged in public service under the bakufu in the early 1180’s and into the 1190’s. The Oguri clan and others attacked the castles of those who stood with the Ashikaga in 1337. Imai cites a *Kamakura Ōniki* reference to Ashikaga Mochiuji leading an attack on the Oguri forces (consisting of Oguri Mitsushige, his son Sukeshige and their supporters) in 1423, and he notes that Mitsushige and his son were defeated and routed from their domains in Hitachi. After Mitsushige died, his son Sukeshige appealed to the bakufu to have the lands in Hitachi returned, and the Hitachi domains were restored to the Oguri clan in 1441. Nevertheless, Sukeshige again clashed with the power elite, and in 1455 he was permanently vanquished in battle by Ashikaga Mochiuji’s son, Shigeuchi.

**Women’s Role in the Development of the Narrative of Oguri Hangan**

In the early 1960’s, two articles appeared in *Kokugakukai Zasshi*, one by Usuda in 1960, and one in 1965 by Fukuda specifically regarding the role of women in creating the narrative of Oguri Hangan. Usuda was one of the first scholars (post Orikuchi) to take an interest in the dynamic image of Terute by calling attention to her spiritual encounter with Kannon (the Buddhist bodhisattva of compassion), and claiming that Oguri was told by *kumano bikuni* as part of their missionary work while traveling to Sagami province from Kumano. Fukuda’s research interests (beginning with his article in 1965) are directed toward his concerns with the figure of the horse (Onikage), the figure of Yokoyama (Terute’s father), as well as with the rebirth motifs that were incorporated into the development of the tale.

Fukuda, in his 1965 article, brings up the notion of ‘additive plots’ as a useful means to conceptualize the process through which the tale of Oguri and Terute developed. The earliest written account of Oguri and Terute is found in *Kamakura Özōshi*, a document thought to have been written after 1479 and which purports to recount historical events that occurred during 1423. A portion of this document records the fall of Oguri Mitsushige at the hands of Ashikaga Mochiuji and notes that Oguri Mitsushige and his son, Sukeshige, fled southwards toward Mikawa province. This account, presented as a chronicle of historical events, relates that Sukeshige took refuge at an inn where a band of thieves had congregated. The thieves, wishing to kill Sukeshige and make off with his belongings, plotted to kill him with poisoned sake. Terutehime, one of the courtesans at the inn, informs
Sukeshige of their plan so that Sukeshige only pretends to drink the sake. Sukeshige then flees into the forest and encounters a man-eating horse that he mounts and manages to ride to the residence of the head priest of Fujisawa. The Fujiwasa Shônin, or Buddhist head priest of the Ji sect, takes pity on Sukeshige and sends him on with two Jishû attendants to Mikawa. In the meantime, Teruhime is found out, and the thieves rob her of her belongings and submerge her in a river in an attempt to drown her, but some of the thieves take pity on her and she is saved. During the Eikyô period (1429-1441) Sukeshige returns from Mikawa to look for Teruhime and they are reunited. Sukeshige punishes the thieves and returns to Mikawa with Terute.

It was in 1423 with the fall of the Oguri castle that, as Imai so succinctly put it, the world of the Oguri legend began (Oguri Densetsu 26-36). Imai surmises that in the years between 1423 and 1479 the first stirrings of sympathy and consternation began for Oguri, as the only clan opposed to Ashikaga Mochiuji that was completely wiped out, and off, the annals of recorded history. Imai has noted that the addition of Hangan (Lord) to the clan name Oguri occurred sometime between the Muromachi (1333-1600) and Edo periods (1600-1868), and is a reflection of a growing fondness for Oguri, as well an indication of his rising status among the Japanese people.

Keeping the events related in Kamakura Ōzôshi in mind, research through the 1960's and 1970's into the tale of Oguri and Terute developed primarily concerning the two most notable of these additive plots; the first involving the mastering of the man-eating horse, Onikage, and the second involving the rebirth motif of Oguri. With regard to the former, Fukuda proposed that tales of horses (Uma no Monogatari) as tales told by female shamans of the Teruhi lineage, are the source for the image of Onikage and for the development of the plot surrounding the man-eating horse. According to Fukuda, horses (as well as birds) in medieval Japan were thought to be capable of being ridden by spirits, therefore to manage; i.e. to tame a horse one had to tame the spirits that possessed the horse. The magic of horses and the image of Onikage is, for Fukuda, an indication that at least a portion of the tale of Oguri and Terute was developed and promulgated by female diviners (Fukuda refers to these women as fugeki) who, on certain nights under a full moon, gathered in the pastures of field stewards in order to commune with the spirits of the dead made manifest by the magic of horses. The incorporation of the image of these field stewards in the figure of Yokoyama in the tale is a development that Fukuda attributes to these female diviners, since these field stewards, as those responsible for the care and welfare of horses, played an important role in the lives of these women.

Interest in the figure of the horse grew during the 1970's and a number of articles appeared in Nihon Bungaku; two written by Fukuda and five by Mamoru Takada. Fukuda continued to build on his research into the connection between women and horses by examining a document titled Oguri Ryaku Engi, thought to date sometime between 1688 and 1704, and kept at Chôshô-in, a subtemple of Yûgyô-ji where the figure of Terute had been enshrined and where the Fujiwasa Shônin acted as head priest. This document relates a story of Oguri and Terutehime in which the protagonist is the father, Oguri Mitsushige, and not his son, Sukeshige. According to Oguri Ryaku Engi, Oguri Mitsushige flees from the forces of Ashikaga Mochiuji and takes refuge at the mansion of the Yokoyama clan. Here he meets Terutehime. Mitsushige manages to ride Onikage, but he and his ten retainers are subsequently killed by Yokohama with poison sake. The Fujiwasa Shônin, here identified specifically as Taiku, has a dream and receives a letter from Enma (the king of hell), as a result of which the Shônin takes Oguri to Kumano where Oguri is immersed in the waters and reborn. Terutehime escapes from the Yokoyama residence, and after enduring hardships while under the protection of Kannon, she arrives at a town called Aohaka. Terutehime is reunited with Oguri Mitsushige in Ôei 33 (1336) and becomes a nun at Chôshô-in in Eikyô 12 (1440).

Building on his research on the figure of
Yokoyama that appears in this *Oguri Ryaku Engi*, Fukuda proposes that Yokoyama is an image reflecting another clan who, like the images of Oguri, Terute and the Fujisawa Shōnin, play a role not only in the fictive space of *Oguri Hangan*, but in Japanese history as well. According to Fukuda, the Yokoyama clan were appointed as field stewards in 1004 and were responsible for pastures and for the care and welfare of horses, supplying 40 horses every year to the government beginning in 1159. Though the Yokoyama clan disappeared from history in the conflict of Wada no Ran in 1213, their name has been incorporated into the fictional world of the tale in the figure of Terute’s father.

Takada, in his 1970 series of articles, examines the image of Onikage shedding more light on the figure of the horse and drawing connections between the image of the horse and those women responsible for the development of the tale. Focusing on the description of the horse and his hooves, Takada notes that the designation *tsune* (爪: which in the tale are described as thick and long) is actually a word used to describe a claw or talon. Onikage is not, for Takada, a horse, but a conflation of the image of a horse and a serpent; a *ryūma* (竜馬: literally dragon/horse); not quite a horse, nor fully a serpent, but a fearsome beast that lives near water. Referring to a collection of stories titled *Santô Mindanshû* (山島民談集) which contains accounts of *ryūma*, Takada develops Fukuda’s notion of horses as spirit bearing entities by discussing the role of these entities in guiding the descent of a god, and also in bearing the spirits of the dead to and from another world; intimating that the portion of the tale concerned with Onikage may be a rebirth motif in disguise.

Takada feels that itinerant religious practitioners (*yūgyōmin*: 遊行民) who populated many areas of Japan during the medieval period, identified with the image of Oguri in controlling and managing Onikage through the use of magic and incantations. He feels that *yūgyōmin* were responsible for developing this portion of the tale, as the power of their words (manifested in the telling of the tale itself) was believed by those in the villages and the communities whom the *yūgyōmin* encountered to control the water god (竜神: literally, dragon/god), a god closely connected with the figure of the *ryūma* (竜馬) and instantiated in the figure of Onikage. This water god/ryūma/Onikage figuration was an essential deity in village communities for the production of food and crops. Controlling Onikage was akin to controlling the forces of life and death, and provided *yūgyōmin* with a sense of empowerment in the face of death and disaster.

Takada also makes the claim that Onikage is representative of a local god of village women, Sahe no Kami, responsible not only for guiding the descent of gods, but also for providing divine protection for the spirits of the dead. Takada’s formulations have led to an interpretation that Oguri’s ability to ride Onikage is a direct result of his relationship with Terute, since the image of Terute is drawn from that of a *miko* who is capable of interpreting dreams (see Matsiﬀ, “Reflections of Terute”) and of communicating with those spirits who control horses. According to this line of thinking, the image of the serpent/woman in the tale who resides at Mizogoro Pond is another aspect of the image of Terute, and a manifestation of a *miko’s* powerful relationship with horses, serpents, water, and *ryūma*. Oguri is able to tame Onikage as a direct result of his pledge to this *daija* (大蛇: literally, great/snake) of Mizogoro Pond, an image of a serpent that, like that of Onikage, is closely tied to the image of Terute. Takada feels that medieval audiences may have understood the constellation of images found in the *daija*, Onikage, and Terute, and would have perceived the serpent and the horse as two aspects of one multifaceted entity; a *ryūma*, known for its intimate relationship to water, women, and especially to Terute.

Fukuda published two more articles in the 1970’s where he developed an interesting account of the development of the tale of Oguri and Terute based upon his own understanding of the institutional relationship between the Shrine at Ise and the temple, Taiyō-ji. Taiyō-ji, according to Fukuda, belonged to the Oguri...
clan, and was located on Oguri lands in Hitachi until the Ōei period (1394-1428) when it was moved in
1425. According to Fukuda, it was this temple which
was responsible for the Oguri family legacy, and where
Oguri’s effigy (bodai) is housed, along with markers
commemorating the deaths of Oguri’s ten retainers.
Fukuda proposes that miko and later, bikuni of Taiyô-
ji, whose livelihood consisted in communicating
and pacifying the spirits of the dead, were not only
responsible for administering to the spirits of the dead
of the Oguri clan, but were also cognizant of the close,
tribute bearing relation which had existed between the
Oguri clan and the shrine at Ise. With this in mind, the
telling of the tale of Oguri not only pacified the spirit
of Oguri, but also amounted to participating in worship
at the Grand Shrine of Ise. The Oguri clan, claims
Fukuda, were known as horsemen, and participated in
yabusame competitions at festivals at the Ise Shrine.
Yabusame (archery performed on horseback) occurred
at a festival held two times every year at Ise on the
21st day of the fourth month, and the 10th day of the
tenth month. In Fukuda’s view, shinmei miko, female
shamans who may have travelled on pilgrimage routes
between Taiyô-ji and the Grand Shrine at Ise, first told
the tale of Oguri and Terute for the magical/religious
support of the riders (who may or may not have been
of the Oguri clan) in order to enable the horsemen to
successfully manage their horses while they performed
archery on horseback at Ise.

Terute’s grave, as well as that of Oguri
(Mitsushige) and the horse, Onikage, are not only
found at Yûgyô-ji in the subtemple of Chôshô-in,
but are also found in the town of Kyôwa, at a temple
known as Ikkô-ji, founded in 1276
by Ikkô Shônin. The religious adherents of this temple
belonged to a sect known as Ikkô-shû, literally single-
minded/sect, due to practioners’ fervent dedication
to intoning the nenbutsu. These itinerent religious
practitioners also devoted themselves to itinerant
practice as yûgyômin while passing out prayer slips
(fuda). Fukuda feels that the image of the Fujisawa
Shônin in the tale appeared initially at Ikkô-ji. Ikkô-ji
was later enveloped by Yûgyô-ji and the yûgyômin of
the Jishû Sect of Fujisawa.

The Ikkô-shû are known, in part, for a series of
uprisings in the early 15th century under the leadership
of Rennyô, the 8th patriarch of Hongan-ji, a lineage
which began with Shinran. According to Fukuda, the
elders of the community in Kyôwa (in 1965) claimed
that they did not believe these graves to be those of
Oguri and Terute. The village elders also believed
that the grave of Onikage had been moved to Ikkô-
ji from some other location. Fukuda’s argument that
the Hitachi domains of Oguri were connected with the
Grand Shrine at Ise is supported by the date marked
on an inscription beneath the dais of Terute’s grave at
Ikkô-ji. This date, the 21st day of the 4th month, was
the same date as that of the festival of yabusame at
Ise. Fukuda believes that the tale of Oguri and Terute
circulated between the two temples of Taiyô-ji and
Ikkô-ji via itinerent religious practices of yûgyômin.

As mentioned, in addition to their grave markers
at Ikkô-ji; Terute, Oguri (Mitsushige), Onikage and the
ten retainers have grave markers located at Chôshô-in,
a sub-temple of Yûgyô-ji in Fujisawa. Imai expanded
on Fukuda’s notions during the 1990’s by proposing
that Oguri was told by itinerent religious practioners
(yûgyômin), and specifically by those yûgyômin who
were connected with the Ji sect, a Buddhist sect whose
inception began with Ippen (1239-89), an itinerent
holy sage (yugyô shônin) who traveled throughout
Japan. Yûgyô-ji in Fujisawa is the present day head
temple of the Ji sect. According to Imai the image of
the Fujisawa Shônin in the tale of Oguri and Terute
is a reflection of an actual Fujisawa Shônin known as
Ta-amidabutsu Taiku who, in 1412, and at 43 years of
age, became the 14th Shônin after Ippen, and the 8th
Fujisawa Shônin. Taiku maintained this position until
his death in 1439 at the age of 65. According to Imai,
Taiku was chosen by Ashikaga Mochiuji to care for the
souls of those men, women and children intentionally
and/or unintentionally killed in the campaigns
Mochiuji waged against his enemies. Imai refers to the
diary of Manzei Jugô, then chief priest of Daiko-ji in
Kyôto and the adopted son of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, to
point out that it was this same Taiku who was rumored
to have administered 10 recitations of the nembutsu to the spirit of Sanemori who appeared to Taiku in 1414. Zeami immortalized this occasion by building his Nô play, Sanemori around the image of this occurrence. In addition, the residence of the Fujisawa Shônin was located less than 10 kilometers from the Ashikaga residence at Kamakura.

Imai has proposed that Oguri was told by Jishû acolytes, some of whom were monks and nuns, and some of whom were lay people, and many of whom were associated with Jishû temples other than Yûgyô-ji. These men and women appear to have wandered (yûgyô) throughout Japan beating a gong while intoning wasan, nembutsu, and perhaps portions of the tale of Oguri Hangan. Kumano (where Oguri is immersed and reborn in the fictional world of the tale) is a meaningful site for members of the Jishû sect, as Ippen was reported to have had a revelation there which greatly impacted Jishû doctrine.

Matisoff has published her article “Reflections of Terute: Searching for a Hidden Shaman-Entertainer” in Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory (2001), in which she runs over much of the scholarly information noted above. Matisoff agrees with Muroki in claiming that aruki miko (wandering miko) “had a hand” (114) in the development of the tale of Oguri and Terute and that “Terute’s figuration reflects, as in her clouded mirror, the shaman-entertainer, chanting a tale which is a complex mix of realism and desire, singing a song of herself” (131).

The research of Usuda, Fukuda and Takada during the 60’s and 70’s has been pivotal in establishing the predominance of women religious practitioners (both Buddhist and Shintô) in forming the tale of Oguri and Terute, most particularly in creating those portions of the tale regarding the figure of Onikage and the rebirth motif of Oguri.

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説教と小栗判官の照手物語：女性の役割の重要性

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要約

本論文は二つに分れており、ここ Part 1 では日本の学者の研究をまとめて、説教と女性の役割を明らかにする。まず、説教（説経、または説経節）の歴史を見てから、説教者は女性であったことを明らかにする。女性であった説教者について、臼田甚五郎、福田晃、武田衛の研究を分析した上で、小栗判官を語った女性の姿に焦点をあてる。Part 2 では女性が語った小栗判官の主人公照手のイメージを考察し、中世の日本女性の精神性はどういう形であったかを詳しく論じる。

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