

博士論文の要旨

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論文題目 From Old Hag in Hell to Guide to the Pure Land: An Examination of the Representation of Datsueba in Literature and Visual Imagery Together with Rituals and Worship Practices

Datsueba 奪衣婆, usually represented as an old woman with long, straggly hair and sagging breasts, figures prominently in popular conceptions of Buddhist hell in Japan. She is said to take off the clothes or skin of the deceased on the bank of the Sanzu River (Sanzu no kawa 三途の川; lit. River of Three Crossings or River of Three Lower Rebirths) which they are supposed to cross after death. This river metaphysically flows through *chūu* 中有 or *chūin* 中陰 (Sk. *Antara-bhava*, T. *bardo*), the intermediate state between death and rebirth. Although the general concept of a transitional state is recognized in Buddhist traditions in Tibet, China, and Japan, it has developed unique features in each country. While the intermediate state is described as a psychological experience in the Tibetan scripture *Bardo Thodol* (Tibetan Book of the Dead), the *Foshuo yuxiu shiwang shengqijing* 仏説預修十王生七經 (Jp. *Bussetsu yoshū jūō shōshichi kyō*; hereafter referred to as the *Scripture on the Ten Kings*) composed in China describes the state as a bureaucratic judicial process administrated by the Ten Kings of Hell. The latter perception was adopted in Japan, but as it absorbed indigenous elements it was further developed and reinterpreted. Technically the intermediate state is not yet “hell”, yet it is often incorporated into the landscape of hell in both China and Japan due to its ghastly atmosphere in which deceased individuals are condemned for their past deeds and tortured. Datsueba may be unique to the Japanese imagination of this transitional stage, for she does not appear in Buddhist scriptures originating in other countries such as India, Tibet, and China.

References to Datsueba started appearing in scriptures and religious stories in eleventh-century Japan, but in these early texts, she does not seem to be a major character. However, over the centuries Datsueba came to assume more conspicuous roles as a deity marking the border with the otherworld, as a counterpart of the King of Hell Yama (Jp. Enma 閻魔), and as one who saves the condemned from hell. Not only did she play a significant role in rituals and practices related to death and salvation, but by the seventeenth century, Datsueba also came to be worshipped as a miraculous deity who grants various worldly benefits including safe childbirth and fertility. In this dissertation, I attempt to unravel and reveal the layers of her persona

while highlighting her roles in developments of hell imagery as well as in local beliefs in Japan. Since previous studies of Datsueba have focused primarily on certain aspects of her in a limited context, I seek to achieve an all-inclusive understanding of this figure. My research method involves looking at Datsueba from multiple angles, investigating a wide range of materials such as texts, paintings and woodblock prints, sculptures, and veneration practices.

This dissertation consists of five main chapters along with an Introduction and Conclusion. Chapter 1 surveys the development of hell in Buddhist Asia, providing the critical background information for my research topic. The first half of the chapter discusses the basic concept of hell in Buddhism, referring to various descriptions of hell in scriptures and to surviving examples of early pictorial representations of hell in India and Central Asia. The second half of the chapter examines Chinese adaptations of hell imagery, focusing particularly on belief in the Ten Kings of Hell embodied in the *Scripture on the Ten Kings*. I investigate how Daoist and folk ideas as well as the Confucian notion of filial piety came to be incorporated into this scripture, and compare the landscape of hell depicted in the Japanese version of the Ten Kings scripture (*Jizō jūō kyō* 地藏十王經) with that of the tenth century *Shi wang jing tu juan* 十王經圖卷 (Illustrated Scripture on the Ten Kings) discovered at Dunhuang. Although Datsueba herself does not appear in the *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, the text includes many elements related to her, such as the Nai he River attended by a pair of guardians. Moreover, among visual narratives in the Illustrated Scripture on the Ten Kings, different ways of crossing the river and a tree hung with clothes recall the image of Datsueba recounted in the *Jizō jūō kyō*.

In addition, I examine a Daoist version of the Ten Kings scripture (*Yuli baochao* 玉歷寶鈔), paying specific attention to the elderly female deity Meng po 孟婆 who erases memories of the deceased in order to prepare them for the next life. Considering Datsueba's close association with hell and death, I also look closely at goddesses in Hinduism and Buddhism who are related to the underworld: King of Hell Yama's twin sister Yami, who governs the abode of the female dead in Indian mythology; the *dakini* clan who inhabit burial grounds and devour dead bodies; and the cannibal *yaksa* Hariti, who purportedly gave birth to five hundred children and later converted to Buddhism. All of these female deities are associated with hell or death as well as with fertility and reproduction. They embody the dual aspects of creation and destruction since both are indispensable to the worldview based on the idea of *samsara*. I argue that Datsueba's later association with reproduction and childrearing may be derived from the idea that creation and destruction, or birth and death, represent two sides of the same coin. However, I also point out that at least in the scriptures, Datsueba herself does not take or restore life; rather, she prepares the deceased for a transition to the next life. In this sense, Meng po in the Daoist belief in

the Ten Kings plays a role similar to Datsueba.

Chapter 2 offers a critical review of diverse representations and roles of Datsueba and Datsueba-like figures in Japanese religious texts and popular stories. I concentrate on three groups of texts: the story of Renshū in the *Hokke genki* and related literature, the *Jizō jūō kyō* scripture and commentaries, and selected *otogizōshi* stories. In analyzing these texts, I focus particularly on the following issues: What is the old woman by the river referred to as? Where and how does she reside? Why does she take the clothes of the sinners? In what context is she depicted in the story? How does the representation of the old hag in literary works correspond to the representations in paintings? Through investigating these literary works, I show that even though there is some disparity in the way in which Datsueba is characterized and described, one can still define essential, shared features.

Chapter 3 concentrates on the development of Japanese hell imagery as well as visual representations of Datsueba. Surviving examples suggest that images of her started appearing in the landscape of hell around the thirteenth century, one or two centuries after her emergence in written texts. The first section briefly surveys examples of hell imagery datable to the Nara and Heian periods. In particular, I examine the physical characteristics of female hell guards appearing in the *Jigoku zōshi* 地獄草子, which anticipate some ogre-like Datsueba images included in later hell paintings. The second section focuses on paintings based on the *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集 and the *Jizō jūō kyō*, since they are generally regarded as the most influential texts for the development of Japanese hell imagery. The third section analyzes Datsueba images appearing in *Rokudō jūō zu* 六道十王図 (Paintings of the Six Realms and the Ten Kings). Although the inclusion of Datsueba can be explained by the popularity of the *Jizō jūō kyō*, I argue that her manner of representation does not always correspond to the scriptural narrative; she is not necessarily associated with her male counterpart Ken'e-ō or the second of the Ten Kings. Instead, Datsueba is often positioned in liminal spaces and marks the border between distinct realms. The last section of this chapter looks into some unique representations of Datsueba and explores the reasons and background underlying them. As indicated in Edo period iconographic texts such as the *Butsuzō zui* 仏像図彙, she is generally depicted as a terrifying female ogre. However, there are some cases where she is not illustrated in such a manner. I discuss two exceptional cases in which the visual representation of Datsueba was intentionally modified: the young noblewoman-like Datsueba image included in the *Shidoji engi-e* 志度寺縁起絵 (Illustrated Origin Story of Shidoji) and the humorously deified Datsueba images by Utagawa Kuniyoshi appearing in late Edo period woodblock prints.

Chapter 4 explores the way in which Datsueba is represented in pilgrimage mandalas (*sankei mandara* 参詣曼荼羅) depicting three different religious sites: the

Ise Shrines, Zenkōji, and the Tateyama Mountains. Some of these mandalas show an image of Datsueba inside an Uba Hall that is assumed to have existed in the precincts; others seem to depict her as part of extended narrative stories. The stories and messages conveyed by these mandalas are distinct from one another, and my investigation sheds light on several developments of Datsueba, such as her border-marking function and her role in indicating salvation. In so doing, I attempt to demonstrate how she was reinterpreted within different religious traditions and came to take on other connotations. One new development I highlight is the expansion of Datsueba's characteristic as a deity at the threshold.

Chapter 5 investigates beliefs connected with Datsueba sculptural images and explores the development of Datsueba devotional cults in the Edo period. I have selected several representative images from the numerous examples scattered across the country, and use them to elucidate three noteworthy aspects of Datsueba veneration. The first section discusses Datsueba's function as a border marker. While the previous chapter highlighted this role in the context of pilgrimage mandalas, here I address Uba Halls with enshrined images of Datsueba and their contribution to the conceptualization of actual religious space. The second section focuses on the significance of cloth. As demonstrated in her name "Datsueba" (Clothes-Snatching Old Hag) and visualizations of her holding a piece of cloth, cloth has been a symbolic attribute since her earliest appearance in religious texts narrating her signature role of taking clothes of newly deceased people. However, cloth used in rituals and devotional practices is not merely a reference to the clothes of the deceased; rather, it is often associated with the notion of salvation granted to worshippers. I investigate how meanings of cloth came to be reinterpreted while examining some devotional practices in which cloth plays an important role. The last section focuses on Datsueba's association with other Japanese female deities or historical figures. As pointed out by scholars of folk religion, the relationship between Datsueba and Ubagami is conspicuous in many Datsueba cults. Focusing on examples in Fukushima prefecture where Datsueba is widely worshipped, I look into how different divinities merged and came to be identified with one another through shared features. I will also examine one image whose original identity as Datsueba shifted to represent the Heian poetess Ono no Komachi, and consider how negative attitudes towards women in Japanese Buddhism possibly facilitated this transformation.

This dissertation argues that, despite her quasi-heterodox origins, Datsueba became an important and distinctive figure in the popular conception of hell. While she consistently appears as an old hag by the Sanzu River throughout the centuries, the conception and roles of Datsueba expanded when she appeared outside hell or was worshipped as an individual deity. The under-representation, and lack of detailed descriptions of Datsueba in authorized religious texts may have contributed to these

diverse developments, allowing worshippers to imagine and interpret her more freely. The dearth of detail also facilitated her associations with various sacred figures, leading her to be widely accepted by people from diverse religious affiliations as a deity who could help one navigate through the uncharted world of life and death.