Sacred Charnel Visions: Painting the Dead in Illustrated Scrolls of
*The Demon Shuten Dōji*

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Around the year 1522, Kanō Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476-1559) painted his seminal *Shuten Dōji* 酒呑童子 handscrolls, known to scholars today as the “Kohōgen-bon” 古法眼本 (old hōgen text) after Motonobu’s honorary Buddhist title of hōgen, “Eye of the Law,” and as the “Suntory picture scrolls” after their current owner, the Suntory Museum of Art in Tokyo. The founder of the Kanō school of painting, Motonobu was not the first artist to depict the terrible tale of the demon Shuten Dōji—the story had been painted in the late fourteenth-century Óeyama ekotoba 大江山絵詞 (also known as the Katori-bon 香取本, in the possession of the Itsuō Art Museum in Osaka)—but his rendition was surely the most influential. As the earliest extant set of *Shuten Dōji* picture scrolls in the Ibukiyama 伊吹山 textual line (which locates Shuten Dōji’s palace on Mount Ibuki, rather than on Mount Ōe as in the Ōeyama textual line), Motonobu’s work was adopted as a model for most later Ibukiyama *Shuten Dōji* scrolls and screen paintings, providing generations of painters in the Kanō and other schools with a template to be emulated for centuries to come.

Among the many striking scenes in Motonobu’s *Shuten Dōji* scrolls is one in which the human heroes discover a vast trove of dried, pickled, and decomposing human corpses: the bodies of Shuten Dōji’s numerous victims, whom he and his demon retainers had abducted from the human world for food. The scene takes place in the third scroll, after Raikō 頼光 and his men have poisoned Shuten Dōji and decapitated him in his bed. As we can see in Fig. 1—an image from the Freer

![Fig. 1. Raikō and his men discover the Horie Minister’s daughter. From the *Shuten Dōji emaki* painted by Kanō Shōun, dated Genroku 13 (1700). Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase—Friends of Asian Arts, F1998.26.3 sec 23.](image-url)
...) Sacred Charnel Visions

Fig. 2. Human skulls, bones, and tubs of dismembered body parts. From Ōeyama ekotoba. Late fourteenth century. Courtesy of the Itsuō Art Museum, Osaka.

Gallery’s Shuten Dōji emaki, painted by Kanō Shōun 狩野昌運 (1637-1702), dated Genroku 元禄 13 (1700), and closely based on Motonobu’s original—Raikō and his five men stand in an open space among the rocks.³ Dressed in distinctive red armor, Raikō stares down at the partially dismembered body of the Horie 城江 Minister’s daughter, whose leg he helped to eat at a boisterous party several hours earlier. Five other abducted women gaze down at her as well; two hold sleeves to their faces, as if weeping or blocking out the stench, and another, toward the right, stares and points. There is a cavern in the upper right-hand corner packed with women’s corpses, and another to the left containing bodies in a later state of decay. Bones and skulls are scattered around the foreground. The narrator of the Shuten Dōji emaki in the Iwase Bunko collection (Ibukiyama textual line) explains:

Looking around the demon’s vast dwelling in the rocks, the men found thousands upon thousands of human skeletons, some old and some new. There were corpses pickled in vinegar, and others drying in the sun. There were also the dismembered heads, arms, and legs of beautiful young ladies. Taking in the sight, the men pitied Shuten Dōji’s captives even more than they had before.⁴

Although it is impossible to discern the pickling and drying processes in Motonobu’s painted scene, we can imagine that in an age without refrigeration, they were excellent ways of preserving meat.

Unlike Motonobu’s illustration, the narrator’s explanation may show the influence of the fourteenth-century Ōeyama ekotoba or some other early rendition of Shuten Dōji’s tale. In Ōeyama ekotoba, Raikō and Hōshō 保昌 explore a part of Shuten Dōji’s palace compound before taking the demon’s life. A slightly faded illustration shows two of Shuten Dōji’s palace buildings (Fig. 2), the left of which contains several human captives imprisoned in a cell. Between the two structures—in the shade of orange blossoms, it seems—we can see three large tubs of assorted human body parts,
as well as skulls and bones scattered on the ground. The narrator describes the natural beauty of the summer scene, after which he focuses on the "food":

Gazing toward the south, [Raikō and Hōshō] saw orange blossoms blooming near the eaves. Their wistful fragrance wafted on the breeze, reminding them of scented sleeves of old. On the forest floor, even the lowly, leafy mint grew in lush profusion. A patchwork of carnations spread out before the men, and the flowering faces of lilies were a wondrous sight to see.

There were scores of large tubs aligned in rows, containing people pickled in vinegar. A rotten, fishy stench filled the air. The sight was endlessly sad. Looking to the side, the men could see moldering old human remains and fresh blood-smeread bodies heaped up like hills or burial mounds.\(^5\)

The tubs are for pickling, of course, and considering their presence in Ōeyama ekotoba, it appears that something has been lost in Kanō Motonobu's ca. 1522 illustration of the corresponding scene.

As we have seen, the Ibukiya Shuten Dōji texts also speak of corpses "drying in the sun," and there are graphic visual representations of this in at least a few Edo-period Shuten Dōji scrolls in both the Ōeyama and Ibukiya textual lines. For example, in the painter Kaihō Yūchiku's 海北友竹 (1654-1728) late seventeenth-century Ōeyama Shuten Dōji in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library (Fig. 3),\(^6\) there is an illustration of Raikō's discovery of the Horie Minister's dismembered daughter, to the left of which we can see two human bodies drying in the branches of a tree. The narrator of a Shuten Dōji manuscript (Ōeyama textual line) in the former collection of Asō Takakichi 麻生太賀吉 (1911-1980) explains:

Examining the area around Shuten Dōji's sleeping chamber, the men found rows of sun-dried
bodies hanging in the branches of trees. Other corpses were pickled in vinegar and salt, and there were casks full of blood-wine standing side by side. The stench was endlessly awful. The grass and leaves were all stained with blood, and bleached bones lay in the path.\

A painted scene in the exquisite seventeenth-century *Shuten Dōji emaki* in the possession of Manshuin 曼殊院 Temple in Kyoto (ibukiyama textual line, based on Kanō Motonobu’s *Shuten Dōji* scrolls) likewise shows several bodies hanging from the branches of a tree at the far left of an otherwise close reproduction of Motonobu’s iconic charnel scene.\

Although there may be some discord between text and image in Motonobu’s *Shuten Dōji* scrolls—a discrepancy that the unknown painter of the Manshuin *Shuten Dōji emaki* may have sought to remedy by appending the dangling, desiccated bodies to the left of Motonobu’s earlier design—as an independent painting, considered free of its accompanying textual explanation, Motonobu’s depiction of the human warriors’ grisly discovery of a cache of human remains is both aesthetically balanced and, as I will argue, compositionally complete. Because considered in the context of early sixteenth-century artistic trends, Motonobu’s illustration might be recognized as a creative reformulation of a traditional *kusō-e* 九相絵—graphic Buddhist paintings of the so-called “nine stages” of bodily decay, employed in centuries of temple-based preaching on the topics of impermanence and the horrors of the flesh, and mass-produced in seventeenth-century woodblock-printed editions—or, at the very least, as being allusive to one. And as I will seek to show, Edo-period audiences’ likely recognition of Motonobu’s charnel scene as a kind of *kusō-e* (or as an image that is even merely suggestive of one) has intriguing implications for the ways in which the *Shuten Dōji* story was read and understood in the seventeenth and later centuries.

**Dead Women in Medieval Japan**

Probably the most famous set of *kusō-e* paintings in Japan today is the early fourteenth-century *Kusōshi emaki* 九相詩絵巻 (Picture Scroll of Poems on the Nine Stages), in the former possession of the art historian Nakamura Tanio 中村淡男 and now owned by the Kyūshū National Museum. As the oldest extant *kusō-e* in an emaki “picture scroll” format, the Nakamura *Kusōshi emaki* depicts a living, seated lady in elegant Japanese court attire, followed by nine images of the same woman—now deceased—in generally consecutive stages of bodily decay. Although the dead woman is initially represented as a beautiful, semi-naked corpse with long hair, white skin, blackened teeth, and two legs and a breast alluringly exposed, the overt sexuality of her depiction is immediately subverted by an unpleasant image of her as a brown, bloated body. In the succeeding paintings her eyeballs bulge from their sockets, her flesh rots, her entrails are exposed, her hair falls away, and dogs, crows, and a hawk feast on her various parts. At the end of the single scroll, the woman is reduced to a jumble of bones and hair.

Although the Nakamura *emaki* contains no textual explanation—indeed, no text of any kind—its images clearly represent the nine stages of human decomposition as described in various Buddhist sources, particularly Zhiyi’s *Mohe zhiguan* (Jp. *Maka shikan* 摩訶止観) of 594. Paintings of this sort seem to have been created as aids to meditation, allowing for the contemplation of corporeal impurity (*fujōkan* 不浄観, or “meditation upon filth”) without having to observe an actual putrefying corpse. Graveyard meditations have a long history in Indian monastic practice,
and although it is unclear to what extent such contemplations were performed in Heian and medieval Japan, vernacular Buddhist sources contain anecdotal accounts of monks meditating on the bodies of dead, decomposing women as a means of overcoming sexual desire.\textsuperscript{13} Fusae Kanda writes that although “no Japanese medieval tales mention the use of pictorial images of the decaying corpse for meditation,” such images are known to have been used in China, and that the Japanese Zen monk Musô Soseki 夢窓疎石 is reported by one of his disciples to have contemplated a painting of the nine stages of decomposition in 1288, at the age of fourteen.\textsuperscript{14}

Judging from three particular examples, there seems to have been a florescence of \textit{kusō-e} handscroll painting in the early-to-mid sixteenth century. Whether or not these works were intended for practical (meditational) or purely aesthetic purposes is unknown, but considering that Kanô Motonobu painted his famous \textit{Shuten Dōji} scrolls around the year 1522, their timing is significant. The earliest of these works, a \textit{Kusōshi emaki} recently acquired by the Kyûshû National Museum, bears a colophon dated the twenty-ninth day of the seventh month of Bunki 文亀 1 (1501). The artist is unknown, but Aizawa Masahiko 相澤正彦 suggests that it was produced by a member of the Tosa 土佐 school.\textsuperscript{15} The second of these works—the \textit{Kusōshi emaki} in the possession of Dainenbutsuji 大念佛寺 Temple in Osaka—bears a colophon dated the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of Daiei 大永 7 (1527), only five years after Motonobu’s composition of the \textit{Shuten Dōji} scrolls. Aizawa identifies the calligrapher as Jôhōji Kôjo 定法寺公助 (1453-1538; also the calligrapher of the second of Motonobu’s three \textit{Shuten Dōji} scrolls), and, more significantly, he attributes the paintings to Motonobu’s own studio.\textsuperscript{16} The third of the three works is a colorful handscroll that Aizawa dates to the middle of the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{17} Unlike the early fourteenth-century Nakamura Kusōshi emaki, which contains no written text, the three sixteenth-century artworks include a Chinese poem (\textit{kanshi}) attributed to the Northern Song poet and calligrapher Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (but likely composed in Japan in the fourteenth century),\textsuperscript{18} as well as a set of unattributed Japanese poems (\textit{waka}) accompanying images of the nine stages of decay. Insofar as Motonobu produced the 1527 \textit{Kusōshi emaki}, it stands to reason that he was familiar with the pictorial conventions of the \textit{kusō-e} genre and may have drawn upon them in formulating the ghastly charnel scene in his \textit{Shuten Dōji} scrolls.

With the three sixteenth-century \textit{Kusōshi emaki} in mind, one can begin to see Motonobu’s \textit{Shuten Dōji} charnel scene as a kind of \textit{kusō-e} in its own right. Except for slight variations in their order, the nine stages of decomposition in the sixteenth-century scrolls are generally the same: (1) newly deceased (\textit{shinshi-sō} 新死相), (2) distension (\textit{bōchō-sō} 膨張相), (3) exudation of blood (\textit{ketsuzu-sō} 血塗相), (4) putrefaction (\textit{hôran-sō} 方乱相・肪乱相), (5) discoloration and desiccation (\textit{shôo-sō} 青瘀相), (6) consumption by birds and animals (\textit{shokutan-sō} 食蝟相), (7) whole skeleton (\textit{hakkotsuren-sō} 白骨連相), (8) disjointed bones (\textit{hakkotsusan-sō} 白骨散相), and (9) turning to dust (\textit{jôkai-sō} 成灰相).\textsuperscript{19} Not all of the nine stages are visible in Motonobu’s painting or its many copies (including Fig. 1), but beginning with the dead woman at the center of the scene and reading in a spiral fashion, one can see a progression from “newly deceased” (\textit{shinshi-sō}) to “exudation of blood” (\textit{ketsuzu-sō}, in the cavern at the upper right), “discoloration and desiccation” (\textit{shôo-sō}, in the cavern at the upper left), and “disjointed bones” (\textit{hakkotsusan-sō}, in the lower left and lower middle). The living women to the left and right are contrasted with the newly deceased woman in the center—a juxtaposition that we can see in the early fourteenth-century \textit{Kusōshi emaki}, but not in the three sixteenth-century examples—and the men look around, point, and appear to speak.
Sacred Charnel Visions

among themselves. What could they be saying? "It's like stepping into a kusō-e," the warrior on the right might be telling his friend. Or, perhaps, given the conventions of fujōkan contemplation and non-meditative encounters with fujō "impurity" as represented in medieval textual sources, they might be remarking upon the Buddhist truths that the surrounding scene suggests.

According to various works of medieval Buddhist literature, human encounters with death and the deceased naturally lead to an epiphanic awakening to the nature of ephemerality (mujo 無常) and the insubstantiality of the body. For example, in a famous tale in the twelfth-, thirteenth-, and fifteenth-century setsuwa collections Konjaku monogatari shū 今昔物語集, Uji shii monogatari 宇治拾遺物語, Hosshinshū 発心集, Sangoku denki 三国伝記, and other sources, the court poet Ōe no Sadamoto 大江定基 (Jakushō 寂照; d. 1034) clings to his young dead lover in the days after her death, only to awaken to a desire to take monastic vows after kissing her putrescent mouth.20 If the effects of such experiences were necessarily profound, then within the Shuten Dōji story, too, Raikō and his retainers are likely to have been affected by their encounter with the many dead and decomposing women. In the following section, I will argue that due to the seventeenth-century profusion of woodblock-printed texts on the topics of fujōkan and the nine stages of human decay, Edo-period audiences were likely to have recognized the allusive aspect of Motonobu's charnel scene (in its many painted reproductions, that is), and to have intuited the Buddhist implications that it held for the story as a whole.

Interpenetrating Worlds

In Shuten Dōji no kubi (Shuten Dōji’s Severed Head), Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦 argues that in the fourteenth-century Ōeyama ekotoba, when Raikō and his men pass through the craggy cave on their way to Shuten Dōji’s mountain palace, they leave the human realm behind. Entering an otherwise demonic domain, the men come to a river where they encounter an old woman washing out the blood-stained robe of one of Shuten Dōji’s recent victims. Following Takahashi Masaki 高橋昌明, Komatsu argues that the woman was meant to suggest Datsueba 奪衣婆—the "clothes-snatching hag" at the bank of the Sanzu River in the afterworld—and that by crossing the river, Raikō and his men appear to be marching on King Enma’s palace in hell.21 The contraposition of worlds (the human realm against the demon realm, and the land of the living against the land of the dead), as well as their mutual interpenetration (Shuten Dōji’s incursions into the former, and Raikō’s retaliatory strike against the latter), is one of the more interesting characteristics of the Shuten Dōji tale. It allows for the possibility that when Raikō and his men survey the cache of decaying women’s corpses near the end of the story, they do so not from our side of the “great divide,” so to speak, but as living human visitors to the plane of death.

The seventeenth century saw a proliferation of woodblock-printed kusōshi texts, and these, too, tend to be remarkable for their juxtaposition of parallel worlds. Bridging the lay and monastic realms in their popular printed forms, these kanbun (Sino-Japanese) and vernacular Buddhist books confront the living with the dead, accosting the reader with death and decay. Moreover, like the 1501, 1527, and mid-sixteenth-century Kusōshi emaki, they typically oppose the worlds of Chinese and Japanese poetry by including both the aforementioned kanshi attributed to Su Dongpo and its traditional set of accompanying waka (two for each of the nine stages of decay).22 In the earliest of these woodblock-printed works, simply titled Kusōshi (Poems on the Nine Stages)
and dating to around the Keian 慶安 period (1648-1652), the multi-stanza kanshi and its corresponding waka are placed on opposing pages in different scripts (Fig. 4), accentuating the linguistic and cultural gulf between the two. Other seventeenth-century works on the nine stages of human decomposition include Kusōshika 九相詩歌 (Chinese and Japanese Poems on the Nine Stages), published in Jōkyō 貞享 2 (1685); Hannya kusō zusan 淑若九相図贊 (Illustrated Odes on the Nine Stages According to the Prajñāpāramitā Sutra), published in Genroku 5 (1692); and Kusōshi genkai 九相詩詮解 (Poems on the Nine Stages, Simply Explained), published in Genroku 7 (1694). Judging from these four kusōshi texts, as well as Suzuki Shōsan’s 鈴木正三 kanazōshi 仮名草子 Ninin bikuni 二人比丘尼 (The Two Nuns), which includes an illustrated explanation of the nine stages of decomposition and which was likely published posthumously in the Meireki 明暦 or Manji 万治 period (combined years, 1655-1661), there appears to have been a kusō-e boom in the mid-to-late seventeenth century.

Among these works, Dokuan Genkō’s 独院玄光 Hannya kusō zusan is unusual for its elision of Su Dongpo’s kanshi and its accompanying waka. Dokuan Genkō (1630-1698) was a monk in the Sōtō Zen Buddhist sect. In his afterword, he claims to have written Hannya kusō zusan as an alternative to Su Dongpo’s verse, having been inspired by two of his young disciples who had recently reached puberty and whom he feared would be tempted to break their monastic vows of celibacy. His treatise is written entirely in Chinese, and despite its being a Japanese publication by a Japanese monk, even its illustrations depict corpses in China, as we can see from the presence of a meditating Chinese man or woman in eight of the nine scenes, as well as unrelated passersby (many of them holding their noses against the stench) dressed in distinctively Chinese attire. Strangely, Japan has been effaced from Genkō’s composition, eliminating the traditional contrast between the native and foreign spheres. At least one Japanese publisher seems to have been bothered by this, as we can see from a copy of Hannya kusō zusan in my own personal collection. In this particular copy of Genkō’s work, an unidentified reader has pasted small paper slips into four of the nine woodblock-printed illustrations, providing instructions, it seems, for revisions for the sake of re-publication. In the first illustration (Fig. 5),
where a Chinese man is shown meditating over the bodies of two dead women in the “distension” stage of decomposition, the unknown commentator has affixed a handwritten note to the image of the meditator stating that “this individual should be drawn as a lusty Japanese man.” Likewise, in the third illustration, a paper slip has been pasted to the figures of two Chinese women (apparently unrelated bystanders) stating that “these two people should be drawn as Japanese.” There is no way to tell when or by whom the instructions were added, and there are no known reprints of Genkō’s images that incorporate the suggested changes, but the curious notes demonstrate that someone—perhaps a contemporary or later publisher—wished to reincorporate the missing Japanese element into Genkō’s kusō-e publication.

In traditional Japanese kusō-e scrolls and printed illustrations, the corpse is always female, and the viewer (or voyeur), who purportedly seeks to escape sexual desire, is posited to be male. Contemporary scholars have questioned the implications of such strictly gendered representations of human death and decay, as well as the dehumanizing effects of the objectifying gaze. For example, in discussing a pair of twelfth-century accounts of two men’s contemplations of their dead wives, Hitomi Tonomura asks, “what does it mean to illuminate the Buddha’s truth consistently through the female body? Does it not configure the female body as an object of observation, an entity dissociated from her own humanity?” More recently, Charlotte Eubanks has destabilized the issue, pointing out that in the reception of such stories, the attentions of audiences “were focused as much on the reactions of male monastic bodies as on the putrefaction of female lay ones. The question of audience thus complicates the notion of a male-monastic-voyeur/female-laity-object dichotomy, and points instead to medieval society’s intense concern with clerical capacities to feel and act on sexual arousal, as well as to curtail and control it.” Eubanks contends that these tales “reveal as much about the laity’s visual probing of monastic bodies as they do about monastic viewings of lay bodies.” Eubanks’s observation is borne out in Hannyō kusō zusan, in which the unidentified Chinese observer (in some cases a man, and in others a woman) is shown meditating upon the increasingly unstrung woman’s corpse in nearly every scene. With Eubanks’s insight in mind, we might also say that in the case of Motonobu’s Shuten Dōji emaki and its many copies, audiences are likely to have contemplated not only Shuten Dōji’s dreadful trove of female victims but also Raikō’s and his men’s scrutiny of the hoard.

Considering the extraordinary number of Shuten Dōji handscrolls and screen paintings that survive from the first part of the Tokugawa era, the seventeenth century appears to have been a great age of Shuten Dōji-related artistic production, particularly for works in Kanō Motonobu’s Ibukiyama textual line. Motonobu’s illustrations were widely emulated, exposing his designs to an unprecedented number of viewers throughout Japan. As we have seen, the mid-to-late seventeenth century was also a great age of kusōshi-related publishing. As a result of the dissemination of kusōshi texts and commentaries and other popular works, including woodblock-printed editions of medieval setsuwa anthologies and contemporary kanazōshi, even general readers would have been familiar with traditional artistic representations of the nine stages of human decomposition and the notion of fujōkan as an ascetic Buddhist practice. By reading Suzuki Shōsan’s Ninin bikuni, which tells of a woman’s decision to take monastic vows after observing her dead friend’s decaying corpse, or by hearing the story of Ōe no Sadamoto’s religious awakening as a result of kissing his dead lover’s lips, audiences would have understood that in the world of writing, encounters with the dead—the putrid dead—could and often did impose significant spiritual consequences.
Reception history can be difficult to deduce, but in the case of *Shuten Dōji*, if readers recognized Motonobu’s iconic charnel scene as a kind of *kusō-e* (or as even merely allusive to one), then they must have imputed meaning to it. Encountering the dismembered daughter of the Horie Minister and surrounded by piles of bones and bodies in the surreal landscape of Motonobu’s painting, Raikō and his retainers are confronted by the fact of impermanence and the horrors of the flesh. Upon leaving Shuten Dōji’s palace in the mountains—returning to the human realm, as it were—could they have been inspired to pursue the monastic path? Or might they have simply wondered at the insignificance of their triumph in the face of Buddhist ephemerality? Although it may exert only a subtle pull on the reader’s perception of the story, Motonobu’s apparent allusion to the *kusō-e* pictorial genre (or, rather, the reader’s recognition of it) adds a philosophical Buddhist twist to the end of what is otherwise a plot-driven, action-oriented tale of a notorious demon and the warriors who kill him.

Notes
2. Art historians have traditionally dated Ōeyama ekotoba to the Nanbokuchō 南北朝 period (1333-1392), but Takahashi Masaaki 高橋昌明 argues that it was composed no earlier than 1374. Takahashi Masaaki, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō: mō hitotsu no Nihon bunka* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), 227.
7. Yokoyama and Matsumoto, eds., *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei*, vol. 3, 212b. On page 185a, Yokoyama and Matsumoto describe this work as a mid-Edo-period transcription of the textual portions of a set of *Shuten Dōji* picture scrolls containing probably 54 illustrations.


15. Aizawa argues that the artist was someone other than Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (d. ca. 1522). Aizawa Masahiko, “Muromachi jidai no futatsu no *Kusōshi emaki*: Kyūhaku-bon to Dainenbutsu-ji-bon wo megutte,” in Yamamoto and Nishiyama, eds., *Kusōzu shiryō shūsei*, 215b-16a.


18. Aizawa, “Muromachi jidai no futatsu no *Kusōshi emaki*,” 212c, and Yamamoto, “Kusō-zu ni kansuru ikkōsatsu,” 171a. The Su Dongpo poems are translated in Kanda, “Behind the Sensationalism,” 45-46. Kanda argues (page 33a) that because a late thirteenth-century painting of the nine stages at Šōjō Raigō 寺来迎寺 Temple seems to allude to the poems, it “may allow us to date the Su Dongpo poem to as early as 1300.”

19. Translations modified from Kanda, “Behind the Sensationalism,” 36. For a chart comparing the nine stages in eight extant kusō-e from the late-thirteenth through seventeenth centuries, see Yamamoto and Nishiyama, eds., *Kusōzu shiryō shūsei*, 193-95.


22. The eighteen waka are of unknown origin. Both they and the kanshi are translated in James H. Sanford, “The Nine Faces of Death: ‘Su Tung-po’s *Kuzō-shi*,” *The Eastern Buddhist* 21, no. 2 (Au-


24. All of these works are photographically reproduced in Yamamoto and Nishiyama, eds., *Kusōzu shirō shūsei*.


27. *Kono hito wo Ninon no danshi shikijōtai no hito ni kakubeshi* コノヒトヲニホンノダンシシキジョタノヒトニガクペシ.


31. As far as I am aware, the only other *kusō-e* book or painting that includes a voyeur in each of its nine scenes is the *Kusōshi emaki* painted by Kanō Einō 狩野永納 and dated Keian 慶安 4 (1651). The work is in the possession of Butsudōji 仏道寺 Temple in Shiga Prefecture and is photographically reproduced in Yamamoto and Nishiyama, eds., *Kusōzu shirō shūsei*, 48-57.

32. Minobe Shigekatsu 美濃部重克 attributes this to “the large demand of *daimyō* 大名, bannermen (*hatamoto* 旗本), and high-ranking samurai, as well as the activity of the Kanō-school painters.” Minobe Shigekatsu and Minobe Tomoko 美濃部智子, *Shuten Dōji e wo yomu: matsurowanu mono no jikū* (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 2009), 132. Also see the related discussion on pages 148-49.


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