“Transmitting Myth and Magic: Early Modern Adaptations of the Dōjōji Legend in Jōruri Puppet Plays”

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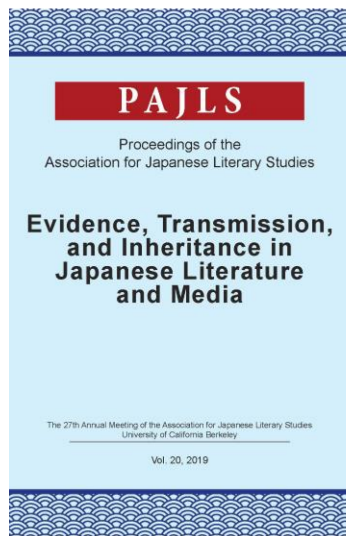

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TRANSMITTING MYTH AND MAGIC: EARLY MODERN ADAPTATIONS OF THE DŌJŌJI LEGEND IN JŌRURI PUPPET PLAYS

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INTRODUCTION

The medieval myth of Dōjōji, in which a woman's attachment to a beautiful priest transforms her into a large serpent and destroys the priest, became popular source material for literature, theater, and art. The image of the serpent woman, Kiyohime,[2] accreted over time through numerous retellings.[3] In picture scrolls and illustrations, Kiyohime's transformation into a serpent became iconic, depicting her as gradually turning into a threatening monster who burns the priest, Anchin,[4] to death. The original myth's strong religious nature is preserved in the *nō* play adaptations *Kanemaki* and *Dōjōji*, but this nature waned in later adaptations in the early modern period. Dōjōji-related stories became particularly popular at this time, especially in performative genres, such as *kabuki* and *jōruri*, from the Genroku period (1688–1704).

Originally, the aggressive image of Kiyohime is used in the story in two ways—as a cautionary message and a driving force to achieve Buddhist enlightenment. As a cautionary tale, it was used to warn priests to stay away from women, and women not to become too attached. As a means for enlightenment, Kiyohime's sin and her eventual enlightenment with Anchin through the power of the Lotus Sutra represented the Buddhist idea of *gyakuen*, that any connection (*en*), even a backwards one (*gyaku*), can lead to salvation. The two *jōruri* puppet plays based on the Dōjōji legend that this paper discusses, *Dōjōji genzai uroko* (*Present Scales of*

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2 Originally, the serpent woman was nameless. The name "Kiyohime" first appeared much later in Namiki Sōsuke's *jōruri* play, *Dōjōji genzai uroko* (1747), which I discuss in this paper, and quickly became popular. In addition, strictly speaking, Kiyohime is not her name, but her reference: *hime* (daughter) of Kiyo(tsugu). This paper refers to the serpent woman as "Kiyohime" to keep things simple.

3 The official website of Dōjōji Temple lists 259 performative works that are related to Dōjōji, ranging from *nō* to contemporary rock music. See "Dōjōji mono ichiran," Dōjōji Temple, last modified Feb 1, 2018, http://www.dojoji.com/kabuki/dojojimono.pdf.

4 The name "Anchin" first appeared in a medieval text on Buddhist history entitled *Genkō shakusho* (early fourteenth century).

Dōjōji, 1742, hereafter referred to as *Genzai uroko*) and *Hidakagawa iriai zakura* (*Cherry Trees Along the Hidaka River*, 1759, hereafter referred to as *Hidakagawa*), ostensibly share this overall image of Kiyohime by directly quoting from the script of the *nō* play *Dōjōji*. Their inheritance from the Dōjōji legend is also clear in posters (*tsuji banzuke*) and pamphlets (*ezukushi*) that are filled with visual allusions to iconic scenes of Kiyohime as a snake monster in picture scrolls. The performances themselves can be inferred to contain the same visual allusions, since the pamphlets purport to depict scenes from the performances. However, these plays also depart from the original medieval legend's religious cautionary tale by introducing plot twists and incorporating visual twists.

While there are a number of works that look into the development of Dōjōji-related *kabuki* plays and their lineage, Dōjōji-related *jōruri* plays tend to be mentioned merely as an aside. However, compared to *kabuki*, which did not publish their scripts and were appreciated as actor-centric performances, *jōruri* was more like a mixed medium that could be received both as performances at the theater and as literature to be circulated in the form of books. Performances were also accompanied by publications of posters and pamphlets. Building upon the existing scholarship on the development of Dōjōji in *kabuki*, this paper focuses more on the literary representation of Kiyohime and the plays' main themes through textual analysis, rather than performance tradition. How did *jōruri* make use of the conventional image of Kiyohime, how did it make changes without completely abandoning the preexisting image, and what do these changes mean? This paper considers how *jōruri* addressed the early modern concerns of human emotion versus social duty and class issues through adhering to, yet twisting, the well-known tale of Dōjōji.

THE MEDIEVAL DŌJŌJI LEGEND

The earliest version of the Dōjōji legend is recorded in *Dainihonkoku Hokkegenki* (*Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra*), a collection of *setsuwa* anecdotes compiled in the mid-eleventh century (1040–1044). The story also appears in other Buddhist collections of anecdotes, as well as different versions of *emaki* picture scrolls from the medieval and early modern periods. The story depicts a woman's attachment to a beautiful priest on pilgrimage. When she is rejected, she chases the priest while transforming into a snake. She swims across Hidaka River and catches him at Dōjōji Temple where he is hiding inside a temple bell. The snake woman wraps her body around the bell and breathes fire. The monk is burned to death inside the bell, and the snake woman drowns herself in the river. The Buddhist anecdote is accompanied with praise of the Lotus Sutra or a

teaching that warns against female attachment.[5] The warning against female attachment is preserved in many other renditions.

GENZAI UROKO AND *HIDAKAGAWA*

In reaction to the threat of being censored and banned, *jōruri*, particularly *jidaimono* period plays, became overtly didactic, celebrating the Neo-Confucian ideals and hierarchical social order the *bakufu* government wished to promote. Nevertheless, authors sometimes slipped in elements that were subversive or even subtly critical of these values and the established social order—and these elements are often the most intriguing aspects of *jōruri* plays from a modern perspective.

Jōruri's conscious didacticism manifests in the overall plots of period plays: invariably a villain seeks to overturn the existing order, and nearly succeeds, only to be thwarted after heartrending sacrifices made by low-rank heroes on the good (pro-status-quo) side, thus preserving the status quo. It also manifests in the invariable depiction of characters on the good side as moral exemplars who always uphold Neo-Confucian values.

Genzai uroko is based on the Dōjōji legend, with more elaboration and some additional characters. The largest frame is typical for a period play—the emperor is sick, and aristocrats are split into two groups—those who support the evil first prince and those who support the good second prince. In order to become a spy for the good prince, a high-ranking aristocrat disowns his son Yasuyoshi. Yasuyoshi is forced to leave his fiancée and becomes a traveling priest, Anchin. Kiyohime is introduced in Act 2, and falls in love with Anchin. Anchin and Kiyohime are reunited in Act 3, promising to meet again in Kumano when Anchin makes pilgrimages. Act 4 makes the most use of the Dōjōji legend. Kiyohime's older brother brings Anchin's fiancée, Nishiki-no-mae, to visit his home, since he formerly served her family. Anchin is reunited with Nishiki-no-mae, and Kiyohime becomes furious when she finds out. Her mother and brother try to persuade Kiyohime not to pursue Anchin, because of their difference in rank. Kiyohime does not listen, becomes a snake, follows Anchin across the river, and kills him in a temple bell. However, this is revealed to have happened in her dream. Kiyohime repents and sacrifices

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[5] For example, the version in *Konjaku monogatari shū* (*Tales of Times Now Past*, late Heian period) ends with: "You see, therefore, the strength of the evil in the female heart. It is for this reason that the Buddha strictly forbids approaching women. Know this, and avoid them. So the tale's been told, and so it's been handed down." Here I cite the translation by Marian Ury, in Haruo Shirane, ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 545.

herself to save Anchin and Nishiki-no-mae from evil pursuers. Her death is acknowledged, mourned, and praised, and her sacrifice helps bring victory to the good side.

Hidakagawa features a similar frame and plot development as *Genzai uroko*: a political intrigue set roughly in the tenth century that is unrelated to the Dōjōji legend and leads to a prince fleeing in disguise as a priest named Anchin who encounters Kiyohime in Act 4. The play also revolves around a triangular relationship between Anchin (the prince), Kiyohime, and the prince's original fiancée; Kiyohime's "killing" of the prince and his fiancée; and ends with a big twist that results in Kiyohime's sacrifice and the victory of the good side.

While maintaining the overall structure of a didactic framework in which a proper heroine sacrifices herself for the sake of the public good (to save a minister's son and his fiancée), *Genzai uroko* pays surprising attention to the "improper" human emotions of Kiyohime's jealousy, anger, and attachment, by giving Kiyohime enough opportunity to speak of her desire, and also by depicting surrounding characters' sympathetic attitudes towards her. It also depicts the development of Anchin and Kiyohime's romantic relationship more fully over multiple acts, which makes Kiyohime's attachment more understandable.

In contrast, *Hidakagawa*'s Kiyohime is much less ferocious and more exemplary from the beginning, closer to a conventional proper *jōruri* heroine. It eliminates the scenes in which Anchin and Kiyohime develop their love, and instead puts more emphasis on subverting the legend in Act 4. In the end, a powerful male character explains away all the magical aspects of the Dōjōji legend as his plot to bring victory to the good side, and by doing so, strips Kiyohime of her mythical power from the medieval *setsuwa*, as well as her agency to choose death on her own as depicted in *Genzai uroko*.

Both plays depart from the religious aspects of the Buddhist anecdote to condemn women and praise the Lotus Sutra, but in different ways. *Genzai uroko* focuses on Kiyohime's passion and dark feelings to make a convincing case about her will to choose sacrifice, while *Hidakagawa* focuses on Kiyohime's powerlessness as a victim of a political conflict.

GENZAI UROKO: RECOGNITION OF HUMAN EMOTIONS AND PASSION

Linda Hutcheon points out that part of the pleasure of adaptations is "repetition with variation, from the comfort of ritual combined with the piquancy of surprise." [6] The audiences of adaptations expect to see

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[6] Linda Hutcheon, *Theory of Adaptation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 4.

something familiar and find joy in recognizing the familiarity. Before introducing the surprising twists, both *Genzai uroko* and *Hidakagawa* build upon such expectations by strongly relying on iconic visual images of Kiyohime as highlights, especially in advertising materials and in performances that made use of cutting-edge puppetry techniques.

In addition, the traditional medieval image of Kiyohime as a strongly jealous woman is emphasized in the text of *Genzai uroko*. She has one extra tooth, which is a sign that she is abnormally jealous and attached to things by nature.[7] Her age, sixteen to seventeen, is described as "at the height of one's passion."[8] Her passionate nature is also reinforced throughout the act by the repeated uses of words such as "*kataiji* (stubbornness), *shūchaku* (attached), *shitto* (jealous), *shin'i* (extreme anger)," all of which she was born with.

Paradoxically, this emphasis on the iconic image of Kiyohime as a jealous woman with strong feelings of attachment is also where *Genzai uroko* pivots away from the spirit of the medieval Buddhist anecdote. Despite a similarly straightforward depiction of female passion, *Genzai uroko*'s representation of Kiyohime's passion is more extensive, relatable, and sympathetic than traditional depictions. In contrast to the *setsuwa* that strongly rebukes women's feelings of attachment as a dangerous hindrance to enlightenment, Kiyohime embraces this nature, and does not wish to discard it when she is presented with the chance. When Kiyohime's mother tells her that pulling out the extra tooth would cure her illness caused by extreme attachment, Kiyohime brushes it off as silly and refuses to pull out "a precious tooth that she was born with."[9] Her mother responds with a degree of understanding for Kiyohime's embrace of her natural body and emotion.

By embracing her emotion, Kiyohime explicitly defies the contemporary Neo-Confucian norms for proper behavior. When her mother told Kiyohime that she must give up her love, because of familial obligation and their difference in rank, Kiyohime insists that high and low should not matter in the way of love.[10] This contravenes proper women's conduct as prescribed in contemporary textbooks for women such as *Wazoku dōji kun* (*Precepts for teaching children as the Japanese custom*, 1710) that claim calmness and obedience are the most important female qualities. Kiyohime openly questions the natural course of a *jōruri* heroine

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[7] Asada Itchō and Namiki Sōsuke, *Dōjōji genzai uroko*, in Yamada Kazuhito, ed., *Toyotake-za jōrurishū* vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1995), 68.
[8] Ibid, 70.
[9] Ibid, 68.
[10] Ibid, 73.

as an exemplary woman to instead prioritize human emotion and personal feelings.

Female characters—exemplary samurai mothers, righteous prostitutes, self-sacrificial wives, and filial daughters—have always been at the center of *jōruri* puppet theater and create the dramatic tension that draws forth the audience's sympathy. Compared to male characters, whose public duty is their highest priority because of their direct connection to the public realm through their class, social status, and master's position, female characters' primary concern is generally the people they love, and their public duty is an extension of their love. *Jōruri* depicts women who would gladly sacrifice themselves to fulfill their husband's duty, such as Kinshōjo in *Kokusen'ya kassen* (*Battles of Coxinga*, 1715). As Uchiyama Mikiko characterizes them, female characters in *jōruri* are "the ones who seek love from men," while the male characters "only pay great attention to fulfilling their duty of loyalty, showing bravery, and upholding their reputations as samurai, and the existence of their lovers is secondary."[11] The theme of this disunion between the female realm of love and the male realm of public duty is one of the major drivers of tragedy in *jōruri* puppet theater. Female characters, whose love needs to be suppressed or ignored for the sake of a greater political goal, show their emotions (especially sorrow and grief) more explicitly than men.

However, this does not mean that emotion, while female-associated, is the exclusive purview of women, and thus only appealing to female audiences. In *Ashiwake obune* (*A Small Boat Punting Through The Reeds*, 1757), the early modern *kokugaku* (Japanese nativist) scholar and fan of *jōruri*, Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), says:

> [T]he expression of human emotions reveals weakness like that of a woman or child. Manly and proper steadfastness does not represent human emotion... When a dearly beloved child dies, the parents are extremely saddened, and both father and mother surely must feel the same sadness. But while the father appears little affected, the mother is overcome by grief and lost in tears. The reason is that the mother does not suppress her true emotions and expresses them just as they are, while the father is concerned about how he appears to others.[12]

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[11] Uchiyama Mikiko, "Jōruri ni arawareta josei," *Rekishi kyōiku* 8 (August 1965): 55.

[12] Motoori Norinaga, *Ashiwake obune* (*A Small Boat Punting Through The Reeds*, 1757), in Shirane Haruo, ed., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600–1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 615.

In this sense, female characters who express their emotions more explicitly than male characters speak to the emotions of everyone in the audience. Namiki Sōsuke (1695–1751), the main playwright of *Genzai uroko*, sought to depict human emotions that were not supposed to be straightforwardly manifested under the prevailing social constraints. Kiyohime's articulation of her feeling of jealousy is quite expected in this context. Through Kiyohime, the play highlights the importance of human emotions and the unnaturalness of the moral value system that forces people to prioritize their obligations over emotions.

In *Genzai uroko*, Anchin is also deeply involved in the female realm of love, before resolving to go back to the male realm of politics. This is significant in at least two respects. First, Anchin's expanded role as initiator in their romance legitimates Kiyohime's feelings and attitude and makes them appear more reasonable. Second, having a very high-rank male protagonist embrace and articulate proscribed emotions, even temporarily, reinforced the implied criticism of the prevailing Neo-Confucian norm that such emotions must be suppressed. *Genzai uroko* departs from the medieval legend in which Kiyohime one-sidedly falls in love with the priest and harms him for rejecting her. The play twists a cautionary tale for men to stay away from dangerous women into a tragic love story between a low-rank woman and an aristocrat.

Unlike in the medieval story, Kiyohime's claim that her love with Anchin should overcome class differences is not one-sided, but is justified by Anchin's willing participation in this romantic relationship earlier in the play in Act 2. There, Anchin encounters Kiyohime and actively seduces the innocent girl, (falsely) telling her he had recently lost his fiancée to attract her sympathy. This seduction scene was an allusion to a popular scene from Act 4 of the contemporary popular *kabuki* play *Narukami Fudō Kitayama zakura* (*The God Fudō and the Kitayama Cherry Trees*, 1742) in which a young woman seduces a priest, with a gender reversal. The seduction scene not only entertains the audience for its familiarity, but the reversal of gender roles makes Anchin responsible for starting their romantic relationship, justifying Kiyohime's logic that high and low should not matter in the world of love, and questioning the social pressure for prioritizing social obligation over emotions.

Even though Anchin ultimately chooses his aristocratic fiancée in the end, the play follows the romantic relationship between Kiyohime and Anchin more thoroughly than between Nishiki-no-mae and Anchin. In Act 4, Anchin shows more attachment to Kiyohime than his fiancée. When Kiyohime accused Anchin of deceiving her, Anchin explains that his relationship with Nishiki-no-mae was arranged by their parents and the

emperor, while his feelings for Kiyohime are "true love."[13] Although this could be interpreted as a mere excuse to appease Kiyohime, Anchin's attitudes towards his fiancée and Kiyohime are consistent throughout the play: obligation towards Nishiki-no-mae and genuine attachment and sympathy towards Kiyohime. Even when Nishiki-no-mae tried to commit suicide so that Anchin and Kiyohime could be together, the reason why Anchin stopped her had to do with social obligation to not cause his father trouble.[14] While it is clear that he knows the social order and does not intend to abandon Nishiki-no-mae for Kiyohime, it is also remarkable that Anchin does not disregard his emotional side. His acknowledgment of rather extensive emotional involvement with Kiyohime is this play's departure from the medieval depiction of women as one-sidedly seducing. It highlights love as something that exists outside of social obligation, that affects high and low, as well as men and women. Although the play preserves the traditional structure of prioritizing obligatory relationships, the extent of the attention that it pays to Anchin's genuine love towards Kiyohime is unusual, and unusually subversive of *jidaimono jōruri* conventions and the norms these conventions ostensibly celebrated.

DANGEROUS AGGRESSOR TO DEVOTED LOVER

The iconic crossing-the-river scene and burning-Anchin-inside-of-the-temple-bell scene are both depicted vividly in Act 4. Kiyohime desperately mourns her transformation into a snake, but she also maintains her anger and "chases Anchin, transforms into a snake, coiling around the bell and making it into hot iron, and steams Anchin to death."[15] This scene was a visual highlight of the play, making use of trick puppetry techniques. However, the play introduces a big twist at the end by revealing that these iconic scenes only occurred in Kiyohime's dream and reshapes Kiyohime into a proper *jōruri* heroine.[16]

Genzai uroko makes this dream a pivotal moment for Kiyohime's character change into a self-sacrificial heroine and a devoted lover. Depicting Kiyohime's iconic transformation and destruction scenes as a dream mitigated her otherworldly fierceness in real life, and makes her less

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[13] *Genzai uroko*, 71.
[14] Ibid, 74.
[15] Ibid, 82.
[16] Sōsuke used a dream as a way to depict supernatural transformation of women out of jealousy in his earlier *jōruri*, *Karukaya Dōshin Tsukushi no iezuto* (*Karukaya Dōshin and a Souvenir from Tsukushi*, 1735). In it, the hair of a man's wife and his mistress transforms into snakes that fight while the women are sleeping, which inspires the husband to renounce the world.

harmful than the Kiyohime in the medieval tales. Contrary to the strong image of Kiyohime in the dream, this scene right after the dream portrays Kiyohime's vulnerability; the vividness of the dream was so shocking for Kiyohime that she "could do nothing but cry."[17] By giving an explanation that it only happened in a dream, the snake demon is interpreted as a symbolic representation of women's psychology, rather than a mythical power of women, highlighting women more as human beings, worthy of sympathy, than demons. In addition, the dream is so vivid that it prompts Kiyohime to repent and transform into a proper *jōruri* heroine. In this sense, Kiyohime is simultaneously a snake woman and the female audience of her own cautionary story (Buddhist sermon).[18] In the end of the act, Kiyohime sacrifices herself for Anchin and his fiancée, and her honor is redeemed. Through the filter of a dream, Kiyohime's dangerous jealousy that is harmful to men is rewritten into the root of a desire to support a man.

It is important that Kiyohime chooses to sacrifice herself of her own will. This accords with many other female characters in *jōruri* period plays, who willfully sacrifice themselves for their husbands, lovers, or families' masters, such as the earlier example of Kinshōjo. The willful sacrifice by female characters creates a highlight of the play—it gives the woman a chance to speak her mind before her death, redeems her honor, and the sacrifice is acknowledged by the male characters engaged in the central political conflict. Kiyohime in *Genzai uroko* is acutely aware of the importance of being recognized after her death. Before she pretended to attack Nishiki-no-mae with the intention of being killed, Kiyohime prepared a letter, explaining her true intention, and presented it to her mother to prove her innocence before committing suicide.[19] If she were acting solely for the sake of others, her intention did not have to be explained. Kiyohime's death is as self-serving as it is selfless. In addition

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[17] *Genzai uroko*, 82.

[18] Tsutsumi Kunihiko, "Jikai suru jashin: Dōjōji engi no yukue," *Kyoto Seika daigaku kiyō* 30 (2006): 237–217.

[19] Kiyohime's mother and brother were discussing killing Kiyohime to use her as a decoy to save Nishiki-no-mae when Kiyohime and Nishiki-no-mae appeared, fighting with knives. When Kiyohime's brother was about to kill Kiyohime to stop her, Kiyohime explained her true intention. Kiyohime said she overheard her brother and mother's discussion, and thought that it would be hard for them to kill their family member. So she pretended to attack Nishiki-no-mae, intending to be killed by her and become her decoy. But she knew no one would believe her, because of the way she was so attached to Anchin and hated his fiancée, so she had written a letter in advance to prove that her attack was indeed coming out of a good intention.

to the letter, Kiyohime explains her change of heart fully after stabbing herself:

> Even if I don't die to become your substitute, I must die anyway. Here's the reason. Please listen. I fell in love with Anchin for whatever destiny from my past life, and from my passionate heart beyond myself and this world, I saw a dream this morning. I felt a strong grudge against the man who chose to be with you, ditched me, and ran away from me, I transformed into a snake, chased him into Dōjōji temple, coiled around the bell and burned Anchin to death. I thought that dream must become reality one day. How sad, how scary! I grew tired of myself, and decided to cut my hair to become a nun. But then again, human hearts easily go astray. Even if I become a nun, if I see Anchin's face, I would certainly grow the horns of anger, scales will grow on my body, I would spit fire, and become more and more sinful. It's so sad to pave the path to hell by becoming a beast in this life. Now that I've come to my senses, I should leave this world and end my life as a human being. When I was thinking that, I overheard about becoming your substitute. I would at least feel satisfied if my death could be useful. How happy I am.[20]

This confession illustrates Kiyohime's agency in controlling her own fate. By depicting Kiyohime's transformation into a snake and killing Anchin as a dream, *Genzai uroko* shifts Kiyohime from an aggressor into the heedful audience of a cautionary tale. Interestingly, the way Kiyohime is molded into a typical *jōruri* heroine in the end does not undermine her passionate and jealous personality earlier in the play. Jealousy is a key element that motivates Kiyohime into self-sacrifice. She confesses that her passion is so strong she cannot get rid of it even if she becomes a nun, and only death can stop her anger. In the end, the clear manifestation of jealousy works to depict her sacrifice more convincingly. The way she chooses to sacrifice herself in order to save her lover, on the one hand, highlights her own agency and affirms the power of human emotions in a non-religious way. She preserves her agency to die for her lover in the end, and that is well-recognized by Anchin. On the other hand, this also echoes the Buddhist idea of *gyakuen*, that her sinful attachment to Anchin leads to her redemption. This is reflected in Anchin's words after Kiyohime's death that "her feelings of grudge and jealousy were also Kiyohime's

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[20] *Genzai uroko*, 88.

genuine sincerity. Not knowing that our relationship could not last long, she yearned for me and loved me for life, and died for me... such sincere love is heartrending."[21] Here, Anchin literally rewrites the negative emotions of "grudge and jealousy" into the positive emotion of "sincere love." Through such recognition, Kiyohime in *Genzai uroko* is rewritten from the medieval demonic woman who harms a man out of her passionate love into a self-sacrificial *jōruri* heroine who helps a man out of her passionate love. Kiyohime's fierce nature in the first half of the act, as well as her dream, help portray her sincere love, and this serves to highlight the tragedy and solicit greater sympathy from the audience in the end when she decides to sacrifice herself.

CONCLUSION

The above analysis showed how the *jōruri* adaptations of the medieval myth of Dōjōji were built upon preexisting iconic images of the myths while not breaking the conventions and rules of the genre of *jōruri* itself. In the medieval myth, female passion and jealousy are manifested in the transformation of the female protagonist into a serpent, and are presented as a danger to men, but also as a catalyst to enlightenment via *gyakuen* (backwards-connection). While the fundamental view of female passion and jealousy as dangerous is consistent in the *jōruri* plays, *Genzai uroko* highlights these emotions as understandable and sympathetic. In addition, the transformation of Kiyohime into a snake that is depicted in the dream through which she realizes her sin, and chooses to sacrifice herself, is similar to the idea of *gyakuen*, but without the religious connotation. While the depiction of Kiyohime as a self-sacrificial woman is conventional in the genre of *jōruri*, the recognition and strong acknowledgment of her emotions is unique and noteworthy. Although omitted from this paper,[22] *Hidakagawa* diverges from the medieval myth and *Genzai uroko* in a different direction that highlights the tragedy of Kiyohime whose feeling of jealousy was used to empower men. Both *jōruri* simultaneously inherit from the lineage of the preexisting images of the Dōjōji legend in Buddhist anecdotes that convey religious messages and transform them into new dramas that center around human emotions, agency, and political conflicts to entertain popular audiences.

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[21] Ibid, 89.

[22] Please refer to my article in Japanese "Daija kara teijo e: Dōjōji mono ningyō jōruri ni egakareta Kiyohime zō" in *Jendā kenkyū* 21 (Jan 2020): 21–44 for the discussion of *Hidakagawa* along with *Genzai uroko*.