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"Hanayo no hime," or "Blossom Princess" A Late-Medieval Japanese Stepdaughter Story and Provincial Customs

"Hanayo no hime" or "Blossom Princess" is often likened to a Japanese Cinderella story. Among the "stepchild stories" of otogizōshi (companion stories) to which the "Blossom Princess" belongs, the "Blossom Princess" has a particularly deep relationship with mukashibanashi (folktales), folk beliefs, and customs. This article highlights some of the noteworthy elements, such as the legends of "Obasute" (Deserted Old Woman) reflected in the figure of a yamauba (a mountain crone), the custom of inheritance, and the ritual of shūto-iri (the first time the bride's father enters his son-in-law's house). A complete translation of "Blossom Princess" accompanies this article and is available on the Asian Ethnology website.

KEYWORDS: "Hanayo no hime"—"Obasute"—yamauba—otogizōshi—mukashibanashi—Kannon—inheritance—marriage customs

THE TALE "Hanayo no hime" 花世の姫 or "Blossom Princess" (ca. late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century) belongs to the genre called otogizōshi お伽草子 (companion stories), short stories written from the fourteenth to the mid-seventeenth century intended as both entertainment and moral or religious edification.¹ Among some four hundred otogizōshi, three stories—"Blossom Princess," "Hachikazuki" はちかづき ("The Bowl Girl"), and "Ubakawa" うばかわ ("The Bark Gown")²—may be identified as Cinderella-type stories because these three stories have suspected folklore origins and abundant fairy-tale motifs (Mulhern 1979, 409). In these three otogizōshi stories the stepdaughter receives from Kannon 観音 (Avalokiteśvara, Bodhisattva of Compassion) or yamauba 山姥 (a mountain crone) clothes or a bowl that hides the girl's beauty until her true lover appears. The Cinderella-type stories, particularly "Blossom Princess," are known for their strong association with folklore.³

One of the main purposes of the tale is to preach Kannon's blessing; the miracle associated with Shō Kannon 聖觀音 (Aryavalokiteśvara, a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara) and Fuji Daibosatsu 富士大菩薩 (Great Bodhisattva of Mt. Fuji) is given prominence in "Blossom Princess." The narrator also gives a significant role to a local *miko* (diviner) whose divination for the princess's survival and future happiness gives the father and caretakers of the princess hope and encouragement to live. An innocuous and effective narration of Kannon worship throughout the text and the influential function of the *miko* may reflect the role of preacher(s) and the *miko* in their community, and possibly their involvement in the process of the creation of the text.

Notable contemporary manners and customs such as *shūto-iri* 舅入り (literally "entrance of the father-in-law") and female inheritance are also described in "Blossom Princess." While examining the relationship between the texts of "Blossom Princess" and three *mukashibanashi* 昔話 (folktales), namely "Ubakawa," "Komebuku Awabuku" 米福栗福 (The Komebuku and Awabuku Sisters), and "Obasute" 姨捨 (Deserted Old Woman), I shall also look at "Blossom Princess" as a text replete with contemporary customs and beliefs, especially in the area of Suruga province (present-day central Shizuoka prefecture).

## A SUMMARY OF THE PLOT OF "BLOSSOM PRINCESS"

The heroine, Blossom Princess, is born in answer to her parents' prayers to Kannon. Her mother dies when she is nine years old. Moritaka, her father, dotes on her and continues to pray for his wife's happiness in the afterlife, but he remarries upon the urging of his relatives. The stepmother hates Blossom Princess because Moritaka pays attention only to his daughter. While Blossom Princess's father is away from home, the stepmother has a samurai kidnap and abandon her on a remote mountain near Mt. Fuji. The Moritaka household grieves the loss of Blossom Princess, but unbeknown to the stepmother, Moritaka and the princess's nurses are consoled when a miko predicts the safety of Blossom Princess. In the meantime, on the mountain the princess meets a yamauba who gives her a small bag of treasures and an ubakinu 姥衣, or yamauba's transforming clothes, to make the wearer look old. The yamauba also gives directions to a certain human habitation where she can work. While the princess works as a hearth maid at the mansion of a chūnagon 中納言 (Middle Councilor), Saishō, the youngest son of the Middle Councilor, falls in love with her. Saishō soon takes her to his nurse's house where he can see her at his ease. Realizing that the son is visiting a woman, Saishō's mother holds a "bride contest" so that the son will be embarrassed and leave Blossom Princess. But on the day of the competition, the bag the yamauba has given to Blossom Princess produces fine clothes for her to wear and other valuable treasures. Blossom Princess's beauty and gifts impress everyone at the contest. She is happily married to Saishō and reunited with her father. The stepmother and her nurse in the meantime clandestinely leave Moritaka's house for whereabouts unknown. Saishō moves to Blossom Princess's father's estate to inherit the lordship and manage the estate with Blossom Princess. The couple is blessed with many children and Blossom Princess's father marries the Middle Councilor's niece and lives happily ever after.

Of the Cinderella-type stories, "Blossom Princess" is by far the longest. Unlike "Hachikazuki," which includes many rhetorical descriptions of scenery and feelings, it is the elaborate plot of "Blossom Princess" that makes the text long (MATSU-MOTO Ryūshin 1968, 26). The reader follows the story from two perspectives: one considers the heroine, and the other, Moritaka's household. The major plot tracks the events surrounding Blossom Princess, and the reader is informed on a regular and timely basis what is happening to Blossom Princess's family and nurses during her absence. It is "closest to the classical novel in its graceful fluid style, characteristically Japanese in its vocabulary and imagery" (MULHERN 1979, 446).

#### Yamauba and Kannon

One term requiring explanation that is "characteristically Japanese in its vocabulary and imagery" is yamauba. The medieval Noh text aptly entitled Yamamba<sup>4</sup> describes yamamba (yamauba) as "a female oni [鬼; demon or ogre] living in the mountains." Even now, to many contemporary Japanese, the word

yamauba conjures up images of an ugly old woman who lives in the mountains and devours humans. The witch in the Grimm Brothers' Hansel and Gretel and Baba Yaga of Russian folklore can be considered Western counterparts of the yamauba figure. The Konjaku monogatari shū (URY 1979; ca. 1120) depicts one such yamauba in the story titled "Sanseru onna minamiyamashina ni yuki oni ni aite nigetaru koto" 産女南山科に行き鬼に値ひて逃ぐる語 (How a woman with child went to South Yamashina, encountered an oni, and escaped).6 A young, pregnant woman secretly gives birth in the mountain hut of a seemingly kind old woman, only to discover that the she is actually an *oni* with plans to eat her newborn baby. In "Blossom Princess," the heroine is extremely frightened about encountering the yamauba primarily because of the yamauba's reputation for eating people.

The image of the yamauba is complex. In stark contrast to the yamauba's representation in the woman-with-child story, some tales represent a yamauba as a nurturing character. Orikuchi Shinobu writes that a yamauba was originally a virgin offered to a mountain deity. The maiden nursed the deity to health and later became his wife (ORIKUCHI 1995, 363). The yamauba's nurturing image is often associated with motherhood. Hori Ichirō writes, "In the popular belief of rural areas, the mountain deity is believed to be a goddess who gives birth to twelve children every year. She is therefore called Mrs. Twelve (*Jūni-sama* 十二様), and her twelve children symbolize the twelve months of the year" (HORI 1968, 167). Indeed, in the fifteenth century, the Zen priest Zuikei Shūhō 瑞谿周鳳 (1391–1473) recounts in his diary entitled Gaun nikkenroku 臥雲日件録 that a yamauba gave birth to four children. "The reason why the summer of that year had lots of rain was because the yamauba gave birth to four children, namely, Haruyoshi (Good Spring), Natsusame (Summer Rain), Akiyoshi (Good Autumn), and Fuyusame (Winter Rain)" (TOKYO DAIGAKU SHIRYŌ HENSANJO 1961, 125). The year's abundant rainfall, the priest suggests, is the result of the yamauba's multiple childbirth. The children's names seem to reflect an expression of reverence to a higher power and hope for good seasonal weather to come.

An interesting parallel appears in a folktale that describes a yamauba giving birth to a baby boy. In this story titled "Yamauba hōon" 山姥報恩 (Yamauba's Gratitude), the yamauba comes to a married couple in a village and asks for shelter while giving birth, which the sympathetic couple gives her (MIYAZAKI 1969, 428-30). After the safe birth of her baby, the yamauba asks the couple to name the baby as well as her other nameless children. The couple feels honored, and names the first child Natsuyoshikō (Good Summer), the second Akiyoshikō (Good Autumn), and the third one Fuyuyoshikō (Good Winter)—names very similar to those in the Gaun nikkenroku. The yamauba rewards the couple with two boxes—one that magically produces abundant gold and one filled with yarn.8 Here, the yamauba as an oni-woman is clearly a bringer of wealth. As Yoshida Atsuhiko points out, the roots of the yamauba can be found in various female deities in Japanese myths such as Ōgetsuhime in Kojiki 古事記 (712; Ancient matters, trans. PHILIPPI 1969) and Ukemochinokami in Nihongi 日本紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720; trans. ASTON 1956), who produce food from different parts of their bodies (YOSHIDA 1992, iii, 108-112).

Thus, the *yamauba* may be identified as a dichotomous primordial goddess, the Great Mother, who brings fertility and wealth, as well as death and destruction, similar to other mythico-religious figures such as Isis and Kali. In medieval Europe, the pagan archetype of the Great Mother who always possesses two aspects is no less complicated as it falls influence of Christian civilization: the light side is represented by the officially-worshipped Virgin Mary, and the dark side, excluded from the image of Mary and maintaining much of its pagan influence, degenerates into a witch (VON FRANZ 1974, 105, 195).9 Hayao Kawai regards Kannon as the positive image of the Great Mother in Japan, and the yamauba, who appears in fairy tales as an all-devouring mountain witch, as the negative image (KAWAI 1996).

Compared with yamauba, Kannon is widely known in East Asia as the Bodhisattva of Compassion. One of the most important and influential sutras of Mahayana Buddhism, the Lotus Sutra or Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma (Jp. Myōhō Renge Kyō, 妙法蓮華経), devotes an entire chapter for the salvific powers of Kannon. Blossom Princess and her parents always recite the chapter titled "Kanzeon bosatsu fumonhon" 観世音菩薩普門品 (The Universal Gateway of the Bodhisattva Perceiver of the World's Sounds; see Watson 2002), which is widely circulated separately as Kannon kyō 観音経 (Kannon sutra). According to the Lotus Sutra the Buddha declared, "suppose there are immeasurable hundreds, thousands, ten thousands, millions of living beings who are undergoing various trials and suffering. If they hear of this bodhisattva Perceiver of the World's Sounds and single-minded call his name, then at once he will perceive the sound of their voices and they will all gain deliverance from their trials" (WATSON 2002, II9-20) and "this Bodhisattva Perceiver of the World's Sounds has succeeded in acquiring benefits such as these and, taking on a variety of different forms, goes about among the lands saving living beings (WATSON 2002, 123). In other words, Kannon "will come to the rescue of anyone who appeals to him for his aid, whatever the nature of his or her distress. Moreover... [Kannon has] the ability to manifest himself in whatever shape, male or female, is best for accomplishing his salvific miracles" (IDEMA 2008, 6). As mentioned earlier, Kannon's efficacy is explained throughout "Blossom Princess." For example, Blossom Princess was born in response to the Moritaka couple's plea to Kannon. Moritaka believes he owes his reunion with his daughter to Kannon's protection; he says, "With your grateful vow to save Blossom Princess, I could see my daughter once again. I am very thankful. Please continue to protect her in the future" (MJMT IO: 556).

While Kannon worship is prevalent in the three otogizōshi stories, a yamauba appears only in "Blossom Princess," and many scholars widely consider the yamauba of "Blossom Princess" to be an assistant to, or a manifestation of, Kannon (see Okada 1977, 70). This interpretation is reasonable because Kannon has the ability to transform into any shape and to save anyone who calls Kannon's name. The readers may have been expected to equate Kannon to the yamauba as a heroine's miraculous helper in time of needs. But it should be noted that nowhere

in the text does it say that Kannon gives the ubakinu (or ubakawa) clothes and a treasure bag to someone; it is the familiar yamauba in the mukashibanashi who gives the miraculous gifts to the heroine (MATSUMOTO Ryūshin 1968, 27).

#### "BLOSSOM PRINCESS" AND MUKASHIBANASHI

The three *otogizōshi* stories are widely recognized as sharing similar plots to the "Ubakawa"-type stories and "Komebuku Awabuku"-type mukashibanashi that are grouped under the "stepchild stories" (mamako-tan 継子譚). Interestingly though, Kannon does not appear in either the "Ubakawa"- or "Komebuku Awabuku"-type of mukashibanashi (OKADA 1976, 145-46). Again, it is a yamauba who gives the heroine wealth and assistance. In the "Ubakawa"-type stories the yamauba (or a frog) gives the stepdaughter ubakawa or clothes that transform her appearance from a youthful heroine to an old crone. The summary of "Ubakawa" goes as follows:

A stepdaughter is driven away from her home. The girl, who is to be married to a serpent bridegroom, flees from him. The heroine meets with an old woman in the woods, or she stops at a solitary house in the woods, where an old woman is. The old woman (who really is the frog saved by the heroine's father) gives her an old woman's skin (or frog skin or hood, or a magic broom or towel) which makes the wearer dirty or old. She wears the old woman's skin and is employed in a rich man's house as an old kitchen maid or hearth maid. The rich man's son catches a glimpse of her in her natural form, when she is in her room alone. He becomes sick. A fortune-teller tells the rich man that his son's illness is caused by his love for a certain woman in his house. All the women in the house are taken before the son one by one to offer tea or medicine to him. When he sees the heroine in the old woman's skin, he smiles at her and takes a drink from the cup she offered him. She takes off the old woman's skin and becomes the son's wife (MAYER 1986, 48-49; Seki 1953, 899-911; Seki 1966b, 114-15).

For the "Komebuku Awabuku"-type stories, the yamauba gives Komebuku a treasure box of fine clothes because she picks lice out of the yamauba's hair. A summary of "Komebuku Awabuku" is as follows:

A mother gives a broken bag to her stepdaughter named Komebuku, and a good bag to her real daughter named Awabuku, and sends them to the woods to fill their bags with chestnuts (or acorns). The two daughters stop at a yamauba's house in the woods. The stepdaughter takes lice off the yamauba's head, while the real daughter does not. When they leave the yamauba's house, she gives them each a basket. The stepdaughter's basket contains pretty dresses, and the real daughter's basket contains frogs or dirty things. The mother takes her real daughter to a play (or festival) and has the stepdaughter stay at home to perform tasks of carrying water and separating millet, rice, and other grains. The stepdaughter's friend (or a priest) and a sparrow help her perform the tasks, and then she goes to the play with her friend. While they are watching the play, (a) the stepdaughter is discovered by her stepsister, or (b) the stepdaughter throws something at her stepmother and stepsister. A young man who sees the stepdaughter at the play proposes marriage to her. Her mother tries to procure him for her real daughter, but the young man marries the stepdaughter. The real daughter wants to be married, and her mother goes to seek a suitor, carrying her in a mortar. They fall into a stream and turn into mud snails (MAYER 1986, 44-46; SEKI 1953, 822-44; 1966b, 111).

Another mukashibanashi that seems to have a strong relationship with "Blossom Princess" is "Obasute" or "Ubasute" 姥棄て (Abandoned Old Women), or "Ubasuteyama" 姥棄て山 (The mountain where old women are abandoned). Compared with the studies done on the aforementioned two mukashibanashi—the "Ubakawa" type and the "Komebuku Awabuku" type—the amount of research on "Obasute" is very small in relation to "Blossom Princess." 10

The stories of "Obasute" vary in detail, but they all include as part of their plot structure the occurrence of an old man or woman being abandoned on a mountain. 11 It is the *yamauba*'s personal story that makes me believe in the "Obasute" influence. The yamauba of "Blossom Princess" tells Blossom Princess,

Listen, I was human once. But I've outlived all my children. After that, my grandchildren and great-grandchildren were taking care of me, but they hated me so much and would not let me in their house. So I made the mountain my home, picking up nuts for food. One day an oni came and felt affection for me. He usually journeys from the peak of Mt. Fuji and sleeps in this cavern at night. During the day he cuts firewood and piles it at the cavern's entrance, and during the night I make a fire and warm myself by it. Even now when I have the mind of an ordinary human, I try to be compassionate. (MJMT IO: 530-31)

The extremely old woman lives on the mountain called "Ubagamine" (Old Women's Peak) because her kin abandoned her. Her voice is that of a lonely, deserted woman, who wants someone to hear her story. The yamauba in the "Ubakawa"or "Komebuku Awabuku"-type mukashibanashi do not offer any personal stories. As to why old folks are deserted on a mountain, mukashibanashi present various explanations, including the following: the old person is useless, superfluous, and consumes food; a law to abandon the old folk is imposed by a regional lord; it is a custom of the village; an old person is unsightly; or a wife dislikes her motherin-law and urges her husband to get rid of her. 12 In an attempt to understand the yamauba's circumstances, let us examine the "Obasute" stories of these mukashibanashi more closely.

According to both YANAGITA (1971) and MIHARA (1977), "Ubasuteyama" is a folktale in complete form that belongs to the "Cleverness at Work"-type of tales (YANAGITA 1971, 173-75; MIHARA 1977, 110-11; for an English translation, see MAYER 1986, 168-71). "Ubasuteyama" stories are often divided into four types: 13

The first type involves a middle-aged man with a son who abandons one of his own parents by carrying him/her in a mokko (rope basket). The middle-aged man takes his son and his elderly parent to the mountain where he plans to abandon his own parent. But just as he is about to do this, his son says that he is going to bring the *mokko* back home to use for the next time. Realizing that the next time will be his turn, the middle-aged man brings back his elderly parent to their home.

The second type concerns the wisdom of an old person in solving difficult problems. A lord imposes a law to abandon old folks but a filial man is unable to do so and hides his parent in the cellar. One day, a neighboring country's king threatens to invade the lord's country unless the lord solves some difficult questions. The lord is unable to answer and issues an order that anyone who can solve the problems will be rewarded. The man tells the questions to his hidden elderly parent who easily solves the problems. The lord learns of the old parent's wisdom and rescinds the edict to abandon old people.

The third type is the breaking of branches to make marks on the mountain. On a journey to the place of abandonment, an old parent breaks branches of trees as a mark for their son to return home safely. Moved by his parent's love for him, he takes the parent back home. The fourth type is the attainment of wealth by a deserted old woman. An old woman who is abandoned by her son on the mountain becomes wealthy with help from an oni or mountain deity, and her son and his wife are punished.

In the last type, the attainment of wealth is particularly relevant to what I have described beforehand and wish to focus on. An old woman is considered unproductive and disliked to the point of being abandoned, but as if to compensate or redeem the negative treatment by the family members and/or villagers, after desertion she is endowed with the power to produce material wealth to make people, usually compassionate strangers, happy. An exemplar story transmitted in Iwate prefecture goes as follows:

A son has a wife, who initially is nice to her mother-in-law. As years go by, the wife increasingly treats her mother-in-law as a hindrance and speaks ill of her to her husband. Looking at her elderly mother-in-law chewing up lice from her hair, the wife slanders the mother-in-law to her husband that his mother steals and eats their precious rice. She then tells her husband to make a hut in the mountain, leave his mother there, and set fire to the hut. He does as instructed by his wife, but his mother escapes from the hut and warms herself by the fire with her legs wide open. Several oni children come there, see her genitals and ask what they are. The old woman replies that they form a mouth that eats oni. Believing the old woman, the oni's children offer her their wish-granting mallet to save their lives. With the oni's mallet, the woman builds a town and becomes its lord. The wife learns the status of her mother-in-law and tries to do the same. But instead of getting rich, she burns to death in a hut in the mountain [SASAKI 1964, 43-45]. Just as the old woman in mukashibanashi becomes wealthy, the abandoned woman as a yamauba in "Blossom Princess" is bestowed with miraculous power.14

First, as mentioned earlier the yamauba of the "Ubakawa"-type or "Komebuku Awabuku"-type tales do not specify the reason why they are on the mountain. In contrast, the yamauba of "Blossom Princess" and the old woman of "Oba-

	"Blossom Princess"	"Obasute"	"Ubakawa"- type	"Комевики Аwabuku"-түре
Reason(s) for being on the mountain	Lives long and is hated by grandchildren, so she comes to the mountain	Lives long and is hated by her daughter-in- law	No task	Makes the hero- ine take lice off her head
Yamauba's task for the heroine	Makes the heroine take worms off the <i>yamau-ba</i> 's head	No task. The old woman takes lice off her hair by herself	No task	Makes the hero- ine take lice off her head
What the <i>yamauba</i> does on the mountain	Makes a fire in the cave and warms herself by the fire	Escapes from the hut on fire and warms her- self by the fire	Makes a fire in the hut	Makes a fire in the hut
Yamauba's relation to oni	An <i>oni</i> is the <i>yamauba</i> 's husband	An <i>oni</i> 's children visit the old woman at the fire place	The yamauba's hut is an oni's house	The yamauba's hut is an oni's house
Yamauba's status	Supernatural being, but formerly human (an assistant to or manifestation of Kannon, or an <i>oni</i> )	Human being	Supernatural being	Supernatural being
Yamauba and gifts	The yamauba gives a small bag with treasures, ubakinu, and hanayone (rice offering)	The yamauba receives a wish-granting mallet from the <i>oni</i> children	The yamauba gives ubakawa	The <i>yamauba</i> gives a treasure box with fine clothes in it

TABLE I. Comparative table of "Blossom Princess" and the mukashibanashi stories of the "Obasute" type, "Ubakawa" type, and "Komebuku Awabuku" type based on MATSUMOTO Yuriko 1975.

sute" are on the mountain because they are both disliked and abandoned by their family members. One should add there are few examples of an old woman going to the mountain by herself in mukashibanashi (Yoshikawa 1998, 123). In comparison, the yamauba in "Blossom Princess" probably walked to the mountain by herself to survive. In both cases, she is abandoned by her kin. The figure who is deserted in the mountain and expected to die is actually reflected in Blossom Princess. Blossom Princess is carried by a samurai on his back, as is often seen in other "Obasute" stories. Indeed, the samurai who kidnaps her from the verandah of her house "determinedly abandoned her there and returned without even looking back once."15

Second, as for the yamauba's task for the heroine, this part exists only in "Blossom Princess" and the "Komebuku Awabuku"-type. The heroine of "Komebuku Awabuku" takes lice from the yamauba's hair whereas the yamauba in "Blossom Princess" makes her take snake-like worms from her head. Head lice are believed to be a more day-to-day phenomenon than snake-like worms in the hair, but as the lice turn into more frightening snake-like worms in "Blossom Princess," the reward for Blossom Princess is greater than those of the heroines in "Komebuku Awabuku"-type tales. 16 Head lice also appear in "Obasute"—the old "Obasute" woman eats lice from her hair. This becomes the major cause of her desertion in an "Obasute" story. Further, eating lice has a commonality with the yamauba in "Blossom Princess" eating the coiled worms in her head; after the yamauba made the heroine kill the coiled worms, "the yamauba picked them up and ate them saying, 'Ah, yummy.'" A mix of various mukashibanashi elements seem to appear in "Blossom Princess," and it could be that some elements of "Blossom Princess" have been influenced by these mukashibanashi.

Regarding the third and fourth points, a fire in the mountain and oni are involved in all the stories. The heroines of "Blossom Princess," "Ubakawa," and "Komebuku Awabuku" are all lost in the woods or mountains, and see a faint light in the distance. As the heroines walk in the direction of the light, they find a house or a cave in which a yamauba is making a fire. The place is also inhabited by (an) oni. In the case of the "Obasute" story, the oni children are attracted by the fire and they come to the fireplace. Okada Keisuke explains that the yamauba in mukashibanashi appears as a keeper of a sacred fire, which is a fire that either casts away evil or fire to welcome a mountain deity. As mentioned earlier, according to Orikuchi Shinobu, a yamauba was originally a virgin consecrated to a mountain deity. Okada notes that the relationship between an oni and a yamauba is based upon this notion of a mountain deity and a maiden who serves the deity. In the text of "Blossom Princess," when the heroine prays for the mountain deity, she encounters a yamauba, and then the oni. As the narrator uses the word kijin 鬼神 (oni and deities), this oni himself suggests a mountain deity. The yamauba can be also considered a maiden who serves the mountain deity (OKADA 1976, 160-61; 1977, 69-70).

Fifth, regarding the status of the yamauba of "Blossom Princess," while the old woman of "Obasute" remains human after her encounter with an oni or deity, the yamauba in the "Blossom Princess" became a supernatural being after she began living on the mountain. This is revealed when she says, "I was a human before." The yamauba of the "Ubakawa"-type and the "Komebuku Awabuku"-type are supernatural beings from the beginning. One may ask, what kind of supernatural being has the yamauba of "Blossom Princess" become? She could be an assistant to—or a manifestation of—Kannon, as many scholars believe. Or she could be a symbolic maiden who serves the mountain deity, as Okada interprets. Chieko Mulhern, who assumes "Blossom Princess" was written to proselytize Christianity, writes that the yamauba may represent a Japanese Jesuit Brother (MULHERN 1985, 15). Interestingly, Takahashi Mariko points out that the author of "Blossom Princess" seems to consider the yamauba to be an oni. After the happy marriage of Blossom Princess, the narrator notes, "Moritaka also revered the yamauba's wondrous clothes and had the priests hold a memorial service. The mound was built near the Kannon and a wooden grave tablet with a divine name and was erected for the clothes so that the [clothes'] oni's nature be transformed to a Buddha and rest in peace" (MJMT 10: 556). A popular belief dictates that a religious service should be held for the departed souls of one's ancestors so that these ancestors

will protect their descendants. On the other hand, unattended souls are considered to roam in this world to do harm to people as oni. Takahashi notes that the yamauba=oni, who does not have anyone who prays for her, can rest in peace for the first time after a memorial service is held for her (TAKAHASHI 1975, 30). Earlier in the article, I introduced a yamauba as a female oni. It is not unreasonable to surmise that the long-living yamauba of "Blossom Princess," who roams in the mountains, has become an *oni*. Belief in the *yamauba*, who is portrayed as a female oni and a bringer of wealth in mukashibanashi, is reflected in the story of "Blossom Princess" along with popular Kannon worship.

As for the wondrous gifts the yamauba of "Blossom Princess" gives, they include the *ubakinu* of the "Ubakawa" type, the fine clothes of the "Komebuku Awabuku" type, and many more items such as swords, gold and silver, and other valuables. As the task Blossom Princess did for the yamauba is more frightening or grotesque—taking off the snake-size worms of her head—the reward could be substantial. Further, the yamauba of "Blossom Princess" gives the heroine hanayone 花米, 17 rice grains offered to the Great Bodhisattva of Mt. Fuji. One grain of hanayone keeps Blossom Princess from starving for twenty days. The fact that the yamauba possesses the offering suggests that she is somehow related to the Great Bodhisattva of Mt. Fuji.

During the medieval period, the Great Bodhisattva of Mt. Fuji, another name for the Great Bodhisattya of Sengen, was largely considered to be the Senju Sengen Kannon 千手千眼観音 (thousand-arms-and-eyes goddess of mercy) (TAKEYA 2006, 131-41). Senju Sengen Kannon is one of the six Kannon or six basic forms of Avalokiteśvara. Shō Kannon, to whom Blossom Princess's parents prayed for a child, is also one of the six Kannon. 18 After the happy reunion, the narrator continues, "[Moritaka] had a residence hall and pagoda built on a hill and employed twenty Buddhist priests to conduct religious services for Shō Kannon every morning and evening. Because of this miraculous Kannon, many people came to visit" (MJMT 10: 556). There may be a connection between Shō Kannon and the Great Bodhisattva of Mt. Fuji, though it may simply reflect the local worship of Mt. Fuji—the holy mountain of Suruga province, the setting of the story.

The story of "Blossom Princess" ends with Kannon worship: "If you rely on the grateful Kannon single-mindedly, your desire will materialize in the end and your life in this world will be peaceful. Further, you will be born into a good place in your next life. Repeatedly think of compassion from morning till night" (MJMT 10: 559). As mentioned earlier, Kannon's efficacy is advocated throughout the text. This may indicate some involvement of the Buddhist priest(s) in the process of creating this text. Likewise, it is noticeable that the miko or diviner who happens to be in Suruga province plays a significant role in the story. Without her prediction, the father and princess's nurses would have believed that the princess was dead, and the story would have ended quickly. The story ended happily because everyone believed in her divination. Moritaka "gave the diviner one hundred koku of rice and one hundred kan of currency, saying, 'You foretold well. I couldn't have known happiness or hardship without your divination" (MJMT 10: 556). Likewise,

"the princess also sent a gift of a quilted silk garment and one hundred gold coins to the diviner with a note that read, 'Because of your divination, I could see my father and nurse once again. How can I not be delighted?" (MIMT 10: 556). The miko's role is indeed crucial, and she is a focal point. The narrator then states that the princess becomes the diviner's long-term patron, as if soliciting the readers or audience to do the same. Miko, itinerant and/or temple-based preacher(s), may be involved in the formation of this otogizōshi text. 19

# CONTEMPORARY BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS REFLECTED IN "BLOSSOM PRINCESS"

The text of "Blossom Princess" also reveals some interesting contemporary beliefs and customs. One such custom is shūto-iri, or the first time the bride's father enters his son-in-law's house. After the wedding, the bride's father goes to the bridegroom's house and there is a banquet; note that the shūto-iri customs vary according to region. According to Yanagita and Ōmachi, the term shūto-iri is widely used as one of the marriage rituals. For example, in Awa (present-day Tokushima prefecture), on the day after the wedding, the bride's parents and the go-between make courtesy calls at the bridegroom's house and his neighborhood. In the Shimoda area of Izu (Izu peninsula in present-day Shizuoka prefecture), shūtoiri means that the parents of both bride and bridegroom go to each other's houses to exchange expressions of gratitude (YANAGITA and ŌMACHI 1975, 200-201). The author of "Blossom Princess" spends several pages on a description of the custom, focusing on Moritaka's actions with a detailed list of the gifts Moritaka brings to the Saishō family. As Moritaka happily travels to see his long-lost daughter at Saishō's residence, the Middle Councilor (Saishō's father) brings his grown-up children with him to meet Moritaka, and the parents exchange greetings with saké. Moritaka gives each member of Saishō's family luxurious presents such as scrolls of gold brocade, a fine horse with a gold saddle, and a golden sword. Saishō's family members are not the sole recipients of the gifts, but those "from the ladies-in-waiting to lowly servants received numerous and diverse gifts. The clan's men and household retainers, without omission, from the old to the young, were given horses, saddles, armor, and swords," so much so that the narrator exclaims, "'What a splendid entry of the father-in-law!' said the people of the Middle Councilor's quarters" (MJMT IO: 553).

The very elaborate description of Moritaka's gift-giving to each member of the Middle Councilor's family is quite notable. The enumeration of the presents could simply indicate how wealthy Moritaka is—Moritaka is introduced at the beginning of the story as "an exceptionally wealthy man [who] lived in a mountain village near the foot of the famous Mt. Fuji in Suruga province" and had "all the abundant treasures any man could desire." It could, however, also be interpreted as a record of the nuptial gifts or instructions for the wealthy families in the countryside to emulate. In other words, the author or narrator may have intended to introduce a list of ideal gifts for shūto-iri for those who have the financial ability to do it but do not know the exact etiquette to follow. It could also be that the author or narrator simply wanted to exhibit their cultural knowledge. In either case, the author or narrator may have belonged to the cultural elite and was familiar with customs and manners.

It should be noted that Suruga province, the setting of the story, was famous for its flourishing aristocratic Imagawa culture (Imagawa bunka 今川文化), named after the Imagawa clan who ruled Suruga province and created that culture. After the Ōnin War (1467–1477), a number of aristocrats and cultural elites of the capital went to Suruga and Tōtōmi 遠江 (present-day western Shizuoka prefecture) to avoid the chaos of Kyoto, and brought their cultural heritage with them. Imagawa culture is called one of the "Three Great Cultures of the Warring Periods," the other two being the Ouchi culture of Suō (present-day Yamaguchi prefecture) and the Asakura culture of Ichijodani of Echizen (present-day Fukui prefecture). One of the similarities of the three cultures is that all three warlords—Imagawa, Ōuchi, and Asakura—invited aristocrats from Kyoto to pursue aristocratic customs and traditions (OWADA 2004, 213).<sup>20</sup> Imagawa culture reached its peak with Imagawa Yoshimoto 今川義元 (1519–1560), whose mother was a Kyoto aristocrat, and he himself spent part of his childhood in a Zen temple in Kyoto. Sunpu, the capital of Suruga province, is called the "Kyoto of the eastern provinces."

The Middle Councilor, who is "an aristocrat formerly attending the Imperial Court in the capital" and "moved to this [Suruga] province because there was something unpleasant happening in the capital," could be applied to the situation of an aristocrat who went to Suruga (or heard about things in Suruga) to avoid the inconvenience of Kyoto. Social gatherings held at the Middle Councilor's house also seem to reflect the time. An example is the gathering for the incense-smelling ceremony—a fashionable pursuit among aristocrats in the late medieval period. It is recorded that at Sunpu, Imagawa Yoshimoto's mother, Jukeini 寿桂尼 (?-1568) and her ladies enjoyed the incense gatherings, particularly an activity called  $Iuch\bar{u}k\bar{o}$  + 炷香 in which the participants would guess the correct name of a selected incense (OWADA 2004, 229-30).<sup>21</sup> In "Blossom Princess," too, the Middle Councilor's family, originally from Kyoto, often gathers around to enjoy the incense-smelling activity. Blossom Princess herself produces her own incense at the "brides contest." By enumerating marriage gifts, the author or narrator appears to be exhibiting cultural knowledge of proper customs.

Another custom that requires mentioning is the women's right to an inheritance. The inheritance of land for the warrior class began to change to primogeniture around the fourteenth century, but if there was no male child, a female was permitted to inherit the estate(s) as long as the property was not divided. Even after the fourteenth century, the right to possess property was not totally denied to a female of the warrior class (NAGAHARA 1982, 152-56). This custom is reflected in "Blossom Princess" as well. Moritaka does not have any children other than Blossom Princess, and she seems to be able to inherit Moritaka's land and properties just as Blossom Princess's mother's request for Moritaka at her deathbed—to marry Blossom Princess to someone appropriate and have her succeed Moritaka. Blossom Princess is, however, not the sole manager of her properties, as can be seen from her nurse's comment: "It will be difficult for the princess to succeed you and maintain this house all by herself. If you ask your former mother-in-law, there may be some appropriate suitor in her clan to marry our princess and succeed this house with her" (MJMT 10: 519-20). Obviously Blossom Princess is to manage the estate with her husband, and Saishō is adopted into Moritaka's family to lead Moritaka's clan. The narrator describes that "Moritaka makes Saishō succeed to his lordship, and hands over his fiefdom, his residence, and his many warehouses to both Blossom Princess and Saishō, who is renamed Tango no kami Moriie to succeed Moritaka" (MIMT 10: 557).

As Moriie succeeds the lordship and moves to Moritaka's land, the correct way of shochi-iri 所知入り (the lord's first entry to his land after he receives his fief) is described as a serious concern: "The Middle Councilor came out with his two children to see the party off as a celebration of Moriie's first entry to his inherited fief. It was a serious matter. The Middle Councilor's party rode a long way with Moritaka's entourage. However, at last Moritaka urged them to return as the distance they had ridden together was already too far-thus being polite and respectful to each other, both entourages parted ways" (MJMT 10: 557). This, again, seems to show the author's knowledge of customs and manners.

Above, I have described a close relationship between "Blossom Princess," one of the three Cinderella-type stories of the otogizōshi genre, and three mukashibanashi of similar plots or related situations. The association of "Blossom Princess" with mukashibanashi is close, especially in terms of the yamauba who has a dichotomous role of destruction, as well as bringer of wealth. The yamauba of "Blossom Princess" also represents an old woman who is abandoned in the mountain as the story of "Obasute" portrays. The story of "Blossom Princess" also introduces some interesting contemporary customs at great length. The elaborate accounts of such customs as shūto-iri make one speculate that the author, be it aristocrat or preacher, wrote "Blossom Princess" not only for entertainment and religious or moral edification but also as an instruction for affluent provincial lords to emulate certain customs. "Blossom Princess," a Cinderella-type story of the late medieval otogizōshi, is an entertaining and instructional tale.

#### Notes

\* A note on the texts of "Blossom Princess": The number of extant "Blossom Princess" texts is quite small (MATSUMOTO Ryūshin 1968, 8), and basically "Blossom Princess" exists in a single version (MULHERN 1979, 447); four printed texts from woodblocks and two written copies exist (INAI 1986, 26-27). All four printed texts are from the same woodblocks, and the text consists of three books. They are in the possession of Akagi library (MJMT IO: 515-55), Tōhoku University affiliated library (SHIMAZU 1936, 55-98), Tenri library, and Tōyō library. One of the two written copies exists in Hiroshima University Japanese literature research room (広島大学国文学研究室), and its content is almost identical to the woodblock version (MJMT 10: 515). The whereabouts of the other copy, formerly in the possession of Takano Tatsuyuki, is not known (INAI 1986, 27). The translation that accompanies this article is from the Akagi library typeset in MJMT 10: 515-55. I also consulted SHIMAZU 1936, 55-98. The illustrations are

from the Hiroshima University Japanese literature research room text (HIROSHIMA DAIGAKU TOSHOKAN).

- \*\* A translation with notes and references of "Hanayo no hime," or "Blossom Princess" is available in online format only at http://nirc.nanzan-u.ac.jp/AsianEthnology (volume 70/I,
- I. According to MULHERN, otogizōshi are literary works "distinguished from transcribed folk tales by their substantial length and scope sophistication in plot structure, characterization, and style; gorgeous appearance in binding and illustration; and wide circulation. The origin, date, authorship, readership, means of circulation, and geographic distribution of the otogizōshi tales... remain largely nebulous" (1985, 1). While otogizōshi are literary works, their anonymous authorship, brevity, and context are indicative of an oral-derived literature (STE-VEN 1977, 304-305). Many works in this genre originated in history or legend and evolved in the oral tradition before being recounted in written form. The definition of otogizōshi as genre is still controversial among literary scholars. For the study of otogizōshi in English, see KIMBROUGH 2008; STEVEN 1977, 303-31; MULHERN 1974, 180-98; 1979, 409-47; 1985, 1-37; KEENE 1993, 1092-1128; SKORD 1991; CHILDS 1987, 253-88; ARAKI 1981, 1-20; RUCH 1977, 279-309; and PUTZAR 1963, 286-97.
- 2. For an English translation of "Hachikazuki" and "Ubakawa," see STEVEN 1977, 315-31, and MULHERN 1985, 31-36.
- 3. See, for example, ICHIKO 1955; MATSUMOTO Ryūshin 1968; TAKAHASHI 1975; MATSU-MOTO Yuriko 1975; OCHI 1976; and OKADA 1976 and 1977. According to Toelken, "[F]olklore is made up of informal expressions passed around long enough to have become recurrent in form and content, but changeable in performance" (TOELKEN 1996, 37). Further, "[I]ts primary characteristic is that its ingredients seem to come directly from dynamic interactions among human beings in vernacular performance contexts rather than through the more rigid channels and fossilized structures of technical instruction or bureaucratized education, or through the relatively stable channels of the formally taught classical traditions" (TOELKEN 1996, 32). In this article, "folklore," as in "their strong association with 'folklore'," a phrase frequently used when discussing Cinderella-type stories, specifically means minkan (folk) setsuwa (see Ichiko 1955; Matsumoto Ryūshin 1968; Takahashi 1975; Matsumoto Yuriko 1975; ÖCHI 1976; and OKADA 1976 and 1977). Setsuwa, a Japanese literary genre, broadly consists of myths, legends, folktales, and anecdotes. In the narrow sense of the term, they are "short Japanese tales that depict extraordinary events, illustrate basic Buddhist principles or, less frequently, other Asian religious and philosophical teachings, and transmit cultural and historical knowledge. These narratives were compiled from roughly the ninth through mid-fourteenth centuries in collections such as Konjaku monogatari shū 今昔物語集 (Tales of Times Now Past, ca. 1120)" (LI 2009, I). When Haga Yaichi used the term setsuwa in modern times in the introduction to his Kosho Konjaku monogatari shū (1913), he used it "in a general sense, to traditional stories passed down from one generation to another through many generations. This transmission can be oral or written" (Haga 1913, quoted in LI 2009, 19). However, setsuwa are now often considered to have an oral origin.
  - 4. Although the word has the same characters as yamauba, it is pronounced yamamba.
- 5. See YOKOMICHI and OMOTE 1963, 275-87, 279. An English translation is found in BETHE and BRAZELL 1998, 207-25. In Noh, there are five types of plays categorized according to the role of *shite* (the lead actor). These categories are plays that focus on gods, warriors, women, mad persons, and demons. The play Yamamba is categorized as a demon play. For the study of yamauba in English, see KAWAI 1996, and REIDER 2005.
- 6. This is the fifteenth story of volume twenty-seven. For the Japanese text, see SNKBZ 38: 54-58. An English translation is found in URY 1979, 161-63.
- 7. As Ōshima Tatehiko (1979b, 51) writes, there are many legends and associated sites that tell of *yamauba* giving birth to children and raising them.

- 8. YANAGITA (1978, 240) recounts a story of a family living on a mountain that finds a yamauba's tsukune (a ball of hemp yarn [dialect word]), which produces infinite yarn. The tsukune makes the family rich, but soon after the young wife gives birth to an oni's child with
- 9. VON FRANZ (1974, 104) interprets the witch in two of the Grimm fairy tales, The Two Brothers and The Golden Children, as an archetypal figure of the Great Mother and an archetype of the "unconscious." See also JACOBY et al. 1992, 205–206.
- 10. I could find only one article (TAKAHASHI 1975) that studies "Blossom Princess" in relation to the "Obasute" legends.
- II. For the "Obasute" stories of mukashibanashi and legends, see YANAGITA 1971, 173-75, and for English translations, see MAYER 1986, 168-71 and SEKI 1963, 183-86; see also SEKI 1958, 530-49; DORSON 1962, 222-25. Regarding the legend of "Obasute," scholars conjecture that the elders were abandoned because in the village where food was scarce, people who consumed precious food without laboring were considered burdens and useless and redundant to the family and to village life (NISHIZAWA 1973, 29, 65; KEENE 1961, xii-xiii). Ōshima Tatehiko, however, writes that although scholars have long considered the lore and legends of "Obasute" as a reflection of some customs, including the abandoning of old parents/caretakers, there is no confirmation of the actual custom of abandoning the elders in the mountains of Japan. The "Obasute" lore is grasped as a reflection of some customs of yakudoshi (an unlucky year), retirement, and/or funerals (OSHIMA 2001, 3-4; SEKI 1966a, 1-7). Similarly, Yoshikawa Yūko writes that "Obasute" stories are not tales of actually abandoning old people, but rather they are textualization of the rituals of disposing of taiyaku (great misfortune) held at the age of sixty years (kanreki, when one returns to the first year of the sexagenary cycle) and of the benefit of such rituals. It should be noted that in folktales the age of old people is generally between sixty and sixty-two. Yoshikawa notes that the two commonalities of mukashibanashi about "Obasute" are the age that old folks are deserted—either sixty or sixty-two years of age—and the ending of the custom of desertion at the story's conclusion. The age of sixty or sixty-two is one's yakudoshi, and a celebration or ritual of kanreki is held in order to exorcise or dispose of one's accumulated defilement and crimes. This celebration or ritual becomes both a commemoration of one's life and a prayer for longevity. She concludes that the folklore reflects the rituals and the benefit of the rituals rather than the actual custom of abandoning the old (YOSHIKAWA 1998). Indeed, after examining the population registers (shūmon aratamechō 宗門改帳) of the early modern period, Laurel L. Cornell concludes that "female geronticide does not seem to have existed" (CORNELL 1991, 84). Cornell reasons that the "Obasute" stories "appear so prominently in the portrayal of the Japanese elderly in traditional times" because "given what ethnographers report about tension between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, the peasant husband and his wife must have wished, often, that they could abandon grandmother on the mountain" (CORNELL 1991, 87).
- 12. These reasons are very bleak even if they are fictitious, but there are several advantages in being an old woman. "Ethnographic interviews with women in today's Japan find that many look forward to old age. What a relief to 'no longer to keep a low profile and display feminine reserve.' Is this last quote complete? Instead they can be bold, drink, and speak their mind, regardless of the company" (WALTHALL 1998, 156). From a viewpoint of gender studies, Mizuta Noriko considers yamauba as gender transcendent. She contrasts yamauba with the women of the village (sato 里). The sato was considered a safe place where people were protected and insulated from the various dangers of the mountains. According to Mizuta, the women of the sato are idealized and standardized—they are good mothers, good wives, chaste, humble, and obedient to their fathers and husbands (MIZUTA 2002, IO-I2). Conversely, a yamauba is someone who falls distinctly outside of the norm. Though she often had excessive fertility, she lacked the feminine traits ascribed to the women of the sato, namely, chastity, obedience, and compassion. Mizuta notes that the norm for the sato's women cannot be applied to yamauba, for her essential qualities are so nebulous and polysemous that

she nullifies it. In other words, the yamauba exists outside the sato's gender system (MIZUTA 2002, 12-15). She refuses to be assigned a household role such as mother or daughter and will not be confined. Mizuta emphasizes that while the women of the sato stay in one place, yamauba are comparatively nomadic, moving constantly through the mountains, appearing in an array of locales, often outside or away from a town's territorial boundary (MIZUTA 2002, IO). Oba Minako mentions this in her dialog with Mizuta in OBA and MIZUTA 1995, 141–42.

- 13. Yanagita Kunio first made this division of four in his article titled "Oyasute-yama" published in 1945. In the article he notes that the first two types have foreign origins whereas the third and fourth types are native Japanese stories. In YANAGITA 1971, however, he divides the stories into two categories: the first is about "a land of abandoned old people. The wisdom of an old person, hidden and cared for, helps solve problems and they became happy.... The second type is where children who take their parents to the mountains to abandon them are moved by the love of their parents and try to live with them again" (MAYER 1986, 168). Many scholars follow the division of four. Ōshima Tatehiko calls them four types independent of each other (ŌSHIMA 1979a, 513) and Mihara Yukihisa calls these four categories sub-types (Mihara 1977, 110).
- 14. Yanagita Kunio writes that the *mukashibanashi* of this type is perhaps born out of similar stories like "Obasute-yama" of Sarashina in Shinano province, which is best known as the one hundred and fifty-sixth episode of Yamato monogatari (Tales of Yamato, ca. mid-tenth century) (YANAGITA 1970, 300–302).
- 15. It sounds rather fantastic to modern readers how easily Blossom Princess is snatched away from a verandah of her own house, but it was probably relatively common during the ancient and medieval periods. There are many examples in literature where a young lady is kidnapped from her house. Among them, an episode in Konjaku monogatari shū that immediately precedes the episode of "Obasute" is noteworthy. It is a story in which a daughter of the Major Councilor is kidnapped by a guard from the verandah of her house, and is carried away to a remote place just like Blossom Princess (SNKBZ 38: 457-62). It is conceivable that the author(s) took the idea of kidnapping the princess from the verandah from this episode.
- 16. The task of taking something from the head is familiar from ancient times. For example, in Kojiki (712), Susanoo no mikoto commands Ōkuninushi no mikoto to take centipedes off his head.
- 17. Hanayone can mean two things: the first refers to rice grains wrapped in paper that is tied to a branch to be offered to a god. The second refers to sacred rice grains scattered before an altar to cast away evil.
- 18. Shō Kannon, who can be male or female, is the basic form of Kannon with one face and two arms and is in charge of the realm of hell.
- 19. Kimbrough describes in his insightful book the significant roles the itinerant and temple-based preacher-entertainers played in the formation and dissemination of otogizōshi texts (KIMBROUGH 2008).
- 20. For example, a high-ranking aristocrat, Ōgimachisanjō Sanemochi 正親町三条実 望 (1463–1530), who married Imagawa Ujichika's sister, spent twenty-one years in Sunpu. His son, Ōgimachisanjō Kin'e 正親町三条公兄 (1494-1578), spent a little over twenty years between 1521 and 1544 living there (OWADA 2004, 215).
- 21. Examining the history of Christian activities and Christian daimyo (Japanese feudal lords) of the sixteenth century carefully, Mulhern suggests that Blossom Princess's model is Hosokawa Gracia Tama 細川たま (1563–1600), and that the heroine's father is modeled after two samurai, Ōtomo Sōrin and Francisco Yoshishige, and the yamauba may represent a Japanese Jesuit Brother (MULHERN 1979, 416-17 and 1985, 15). "Blossom Princess" thus reflects contemporary thoughts and customs.

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SNKBZ Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 新編日本古典文学全集 [Newly compiled complete works of classical Japanese literature]. 88 vols. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994–2002.

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