

The Image of Woman in Sermons
— Anju in "Sanshō Dayū"—

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WOMAN AS SPIRITUALLY PREDOMINANT

In our dreams, in our fantasies, we may encounter people with a power, difficult to grasp, to stir our emotions. I will borrow a term from analytical psychology and refer to these internal images of inexplicable power as the "spiritually predominant."

These internal images we experience come from the so-called "unconscious" part of the psyche, a level removed from the realm of immediate experience. These images are the figures transmitted by archetypes and seized by our consciousness. Archetypes, in turn, are the guiding principles that give direction to the undertakings of our psyches, crystallizing our individual experiences in their surroundings and building up our complexes. Among these images, the spiritually predominant are those who incorporate two traits: as anima or animus they first define our relationships with members of the opposite sex, then as the supra-ordinate personality they give direction to the relationships we have with members of our own sex.

Our internal images are indeed the source of "reality" for most of us. One could even go so far as to say that, compared to these inner images, people from the outside world—the one generally considered "real"—are themselves real only insofar as they reflect our inner images.

We will find images of the spiritually predominant in

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all social groups, regardless of size or composition. They define the interactions between members of the group, and they give form to the socio-psychological life shared by these members. Or, perhaps, it would be more correct to state this in somewhat different terms, namely that cultures or groups are made up of a series of diversified paired opposites which spring primarily from a central core of familial relationships. In these terms we would be talking of those with a high degree of spiritual power and those with a lower degree. But in another way, the pair would be made up of those whose power extends to the supernatural and those who are affected by this power. Seen in these terms, we might say that each culture or group is made up of shared paired images, and the image of the spiritually predominant is therefore one of the variations of a single archetype.

In this essay I will attempt first a description of the spiritually predominant people who control both the most fundamental layer of Japanese culture and the psyches of the Japanese people, and then use that description to shed light on one small area of the the world of belief to which it belongs. In such an endeavor it is necessary to first mention the work of the Jungian analyst Kawai Hayao, whose analysis of Japanese myths and folktales has centered on the image of the spiritually predominant and attempted to go from there to a general investigation of the psychic structure of the Japanese and, by extension, of the problems endemic in Japanese culture (see Kawai 1976a, 1976b and 1977).

According to Kawai, Japanese culture is supported at its basic level by the so-called "Great Mother," who is paired with a son he calls the "Eternal Youth." Neither this Great Mother nor her eternally youthful son should be thought of as having an original physical existence, and neither are they consciously patterned after any actual physical existences.

The mother is rather an archetypal image of the unconscious, encompassing the positive aspect giving birth to

ego-consciousness in the form of a child on the one hand and the negative aspects of clinging to and devouring this child on the other. The Eternal Youth, is the archetypal image of an ego that is born as the son of the Great Mother and who stops his development in her care, making no attempt to achieve eternal liberation.

The thesis that Japanese culture is maternal has been advanced by a number of scholars and is not new to Kawai. It is difficult to say that these theories are in error. On the other hand, it is also difficult to say that this is an area which no longer has any room for questions, that it is an all-encompassing theory from which we can explain all of Japanese culture.

Psycho-cultural systems function as a whole, and can be regarded as an extremely dynamic process of transformation, driven by various archetypes which themselves are in a constant state of mutually complementary relationships.

Accordingly, we can postulate the existence of another archetype, an archetype which, while different from those that determine the core culture, nonetheless makes possible dynamic changes in the cultural system as a whole. In this sense it is an archetype that must not be overlooked.

Even if we grant that the psychological attitudes shared by the Japanese are in general based on the power of this Great Mother archetype (together with the Eternal Youth), we must also recognize—or at least need to consider the possibility of—yet another archetype. For better or worse, this is an archetypal image that makes possible an even wider range of psychological attitudes. In this respect the so-called "Unari-gami" (a sister deity) offers us an extremely fascinating and very suggestive image of the spiritually predominant person. This belief was formerly widespread on the Okinawan Islands and continues to survive even today.

Its core is in the relationships between Unari (a sister deity) and Ihiri (her brother). Unari is said to have the power to protect her brother Ihiri spiritually and even to

occasionally curse him. She is, in short, believed to be spiritually superior to her brother. Following the pattern set above with the Great Mother/Eternal Youth archetype, I will refer to this as the Unari/Ihiri, or Sister/Brother archetype. This archetype can be found in the Japanese main islands as well. It appears clearly, for example, in the characters of the story "Sanshō Dayū," a tale which first gained popularity in the chanted preaching that was popular among the common people from the late medieval period and which continued to speak to the hearts and imaginations of the Japanese people even during a later age, when preaching itself had lost most of its vitality.

I believe that the story of the sister Unari as one of the spiritually predominant had an important role in the culture of the main Japanese islands as well as on Okinawa. In what follows I will analyze the story and look carefully at the Unari/Ihiri archetypal image.

SACRIFICE IN ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY

The widespread fascination with preaching in medieval Japan is generally thought to lie in the elements that made the genre into a dramatic production. These include new elements, such as the use of musical instruments like the shamisen, or puppets and other elements, such as narrative method, the way the stories were chanted, and the like.

This is not, however, all the genre had to offer. It is certain that the heroines of these stories, single-minded, strong-willed women, attracted a considerable following.

These were women such as Sayo Hime of "Matsura Chōja," who sold her body so that her father might attain Buddhahood, and offered herself as a sacrifice to a serpent; or Terute Hime, who remained faithful to Oguri Hangan after he was poisoned, then reborn as a hair-raisingly frightening demon; or Oto Hime, who by remaining faithful to Shintoku Maru, made a leper by the curse of his stepmother, provided him with salvation from his sufferings.

This preaching taught that the deities had once lived in this world as human beings, and that the sufferings they

had known here became the motivation for their offer of salvation to mortals. That which generated this salvation was nothing less than the suffering of their selfless and unassertive egos, their self-sacrifice—it was, in short, the act by which they willingly gave themselves up as sacrifices. This sacrificial act can be seen as the single most important role these heroines played in the religious literature.

Jung himself expended a good deal of paper on sacrifice in *Symbols of Transformation* (Jung 1956), the work which stands at the beginning and the end of the process of the systematization of his theory, from the perspective of the concept of libido. Jung's idea of the libido was considerably broader than that of Freud, a general sort of psychic energy that he used to explain all psychic phenomena, be they healthy or unhealthy, apparent or hidden.

Jung came to think of the psyche as being in a continual state of motion and that it furthermore as being a system of libido (equivalent to psychic energy), relatively closed off, self-controlled and oriented toward the idea of realizing psychic wholeness. This means that all psychic phenomena presuppose conflicts among the values and various contents of the psyche. Knowing this, Jung thought, was effective in the understanding of psychological phenomena and the healing of psychic wounds.

Consciousness, in most instances, feels the conflict among the various psychic factors as suffering. The living psyche, however, has a structure which makes it rely unavoidably on the principle of conflict among these factors. The ultimate goal of the psyche is limitless progress toward a state of integration. Accordingly, in order to attain a higher psychological stage, there are times when it is necessary to break through its stagnated state and make positive steps to bring about conflict and the suffering which accompanies conflict.

That which makes value differences among the various psychological elements and gives direction to the flow of libido as a psychological attitude is the symbol. These

symbols are by no means the selfish productions of the consciousness, but rather belong to the realm of the unconscious in which archetypes have their own autonomy. As I noted above, the flow of the libido, by the very construction of the psyche, is constantly adapting itself to an ever changing outside world, and thus must itself change. At such times the psyche as a matter of course brings about transformations of symbols, those things which govern the flow of psychic energy.

The generation, of a new flow of libido, based on these transformations of symbols, is due to the renunciation of the libido, which until that time has been held by the symbol that had given it direction. By "sacrifice," Jung meant the renunciation of the libido by a current symbol, in response to a symbol that is about to emerge.

We experience the process of transformation carried out by our own or others' psyches as an inner drama. Within that drama, however, sacrifice may be expressed as sacrifice itself, as suffering, as a variety of struggles, or as the death of something. The best way to remove the libido is to murder its possessor. There is no symbol other than death available for expressing the renunciation of the libido. The hero presses for the renunciation of the libido of his enemy. The hero, however, is also faced with this demand. As the inner drama works relentlessly for the transformation of the hero, these heroes are unable to avoid falling to the fate of becoming sacrifices.

ANJU OF SANSHŌ DAYŪ

The tale "Sanshō Dayū" begins with these words: "The story we are about to tell takes place in the land of Tango, and is about the original trace [*honji*] of the Branded Jizō—this deity, too, was once a mortal" (text from Muroki 1977). Before proceeding, I will present a brief outline of the story to facilitate the analysis which follows.

I. The journey. Masauji, an official in Iwaki of Ōshū Province and father of Anju and her brother, Zushiomaru,

is exiled by imperial command to Tsukushi. Zushiomaru yearns after his father and vows to restore his property. When their mother hears this she takes brother and sister and, with a nursemaid, sets out for the capital. Reaching the bay of Echigo after a difficult journey, the party is tricked by a local merchant called Yamaoka Dayū, and mother and nursemaid are sold to the barbarians. The brother and sister are sold to Sanshō Dayū at the port of Yura, in Tango province, as servants.

II.1 Sufferings. The two are taken to Sanshō Dayū's mansion, and he demands to know their names, but Anju makes no move to respond. They are given names there and assigned menial jobs—Anju to the sea to draw water, and her brother to the mountains to cut firewood. Unaccustomed to hard work, the two are pitied by the people working at the sea and the mountains, and finally by the second son, Jirō, of Sanshō Dayū, but Saburō, the third son of the Dayū, persists in his cruelty to them. Unable to bear their sufferings, the two decide on suicide, but they are dissuaded from this through the encouragement and help of the woman Kohagi, who has suffered a fate similar to theirs.

II.2. Failure of the escape plan. In order to celebrate what should be an auspicious New Year, the Dayū angered by the children because they do nothing but weep, has them isolated in a hut of the type used for those who have been polluted. Anju is humiliated and plans an escape with her brother, but Zushiomaru is panic stricken. Saburō overhears their conversation and drags the two before the Dayū, who orders that they be branded and that no food be given to them. Jirō, however, secretly brings them food, and they avoid the fate of starvation.

II.3. The escape of Zushiomaru and the death of Anju. The Dayū grants Anju's petition that she be given the same work as her brother, and the two go to the mountains. There they pray to an image of the Bodhisattva Jizō that

Anju's mother has given her, and their painful brand marks disappear, becoming engraved on Jizō's body. Anju argues that this manifestation of the miraculous protection of Jizō should be taken as an omen, and persuades the reluctant Zushiomaru to take the Jizō and escape. Anju, however, is subsequently tortured by the Dayū and his son Jirō, and dies of her wounds.

III. Zushiomaru becomes the adopted son of Umezuin. After fleeing the village Zushiomaru seeks help from a holy man at a prefectural temple.* While he is hiding in a leather box, it appears that he will be discovered by Saburō, who has come in pursuit. At this point, however, the Jizō which Anju gave him emits a golden light and drives Saburō away. The holy man gives in to Zushiomaru's wishes and, putting Zushiomaru back in the box, carries it on his back to just outside the capital. Zushiomaru, however, is now unable to stand, and is put in an earthen cart by a kind person who pulls him as far as Tennōji. When he clings to the stone *torii* at Tennōji he is miraculously able to stand again, and is adopted by a holy man from that temple, who makes him into a tea server.

Umezuin, an aristocrat in the capital, has no child and has asked the Kannon at Kiyomizu-dera for a gift child, and is told in a dream to visit Tennōji. There are many urchins wishing to become adopted into an aristocratic family, but Umezuin chooses Zushiomaru over all of them, and, having him washed and dressed in beautiful new clothing, convinces the urchins, who had scorned Zushiomaru, that he is the most suited to become the child of an aristocrat.

IV. Zushiomaru's revenge and repayment of his gratitude. Zushiomaru is eventually called to the imperial presence with his new father, and, overcome by the shame that his

* A "Kokubunji," or temple financed by the government. Below it is referred to as "Kokubunji." *Translator.*

new father feels before the other aristocrats for having adopted a boy whose antecedents are unknown, pulls out a family tree given him by his mother to prove his roots and redeem his new father. He also recovers his original father's property.

Even during this joy, however, he feels a heightened longing for his sister, and searches for news of her. He is told by the Kokubunji monk of her death, which he deeply grieves. Then he goes among the barbarians in search of his mother, finding her blinded, with the tendons in her legs cut, living by driving birds away from the rice drying in the fields. Due to the miraculous intervention of Jizō, his mother's sight is restored. Afterwards Zushiomaru completes his revenge, plotting to have the head of the man who caused his own suffering and killed his sister, Sanshō Dayū, cut off by his own child, Saburō, with a bamboo saw.

His father's crime pardoned, Zushiomaru then greets Kohagi as a sister, but he is still unable to control his grief, so he constructs a Buddhist temple in the province of Tango for the Buddhahood of his sister, and here he enshrines the Jizō as a substitute for his sister. People continue to worship this, and call it the "Branded Jizō."

Anju as anima. The symbolic psychic meaning of women to men is, naturally enough, somewhat different from their meaning to other women. Leaving aside for the moment the question of who is the true hero of "Sanshō Dayū," told as a tale of the original life of the Buddha, in this section I would like to consider the question of what meaning the figure of Anju has to men.

If we assume that a male audience to this story would identify with Zushiomaru, then we can see Zushiomaru as a symbol of ego, or the subject of consciousness, and Anju as a symbol of anima. My interest is in just how this anima has participated in the process of transformation in the subject of consciousness.

It is necessary to pay particular importance to the opening of this tale as I have outlined it in Part I above.

The fact that the story begins with the siblings' father in exile, with them and their mother setting off on a journey to restore him and his possessions, tells us that one purpose of this tale is to be the salvation and integration of the father's symbolic value made by Zushiomaru.

At this stage of the story both Anju and Zushiomaru are mere children, in need of protection from their mother and wetnurse. The siblings do nothing that is particularly striking, and should be thought of as one character rather than two; this shows that the hero—which is to say, the ego—is still in an infantile, undifferentiated state.

In addition to the absence of the father, from the time that the mother and children are fooled by flattery and sold to separate places, it is clear that even the power of the mother has disintegrated. Although I did not mention it in my recounting of the plot, the wetnurse who is sold with the mother is drowned. The wetnurse can be thought of as representing in a stronger form the nurturing function of the mother. If, for example, the biological mother should die, the wetnurse often appears as the woman who can be trusted, the one who would protect the hero from hostile acts from his step-mother during the time he is growing to manhood. With the death of this wetnurse the ego is deprived even of the possibility of protection from its second mother, and grows more and more weak.

It would not do, however, to assume that the fact that the ego is in the position of a child which has lost its parents and has nothing to rely on is necessarily totally negative. Because the infant is undifferentiated it is one of the archetypal images that expresses the potentiality of growth, self, psychic wholeness and individuation, traits inherent in all human beings (Jung 1959).

Part II.2, then, is the section of the story that reveals the function of the various sufferings levied against an ego with nothing to protect it, namely the powerful archetype that violates the ego.

At this stage in the story the siblings are made the servants of Sanshō Dayū. This expresses the fact that the

ego complex has been placed under the control of another complex. Important here is that this condition urges the ego toward an actual liberation from the condition of slavery and a move toward freedom, that the ego itself has become the master of the libido. The siblings have been placed in a position of virtually complete powerlessness, and it would appear that there is no chance of their ever regaining control of their libido.

When Sanshō Dayū asks their names, however, it is worth noting that Anju refuses to divulge their real identities. The Dayū gives them temporary names which, to be sure, seems to place them under his control. But Anju's deliberate act of hiding their true names prevents him, however tenuously, from gaining complete control over them. The libido which the ego is holding on to in this scene is certainly a weak one. It is not, however, brought completely to heel, and enough strength remains to cause us to anticipate the possibility of its later growth.

In this story Sanshō Dayū is cast as the most important enemy of Anju and Zushiomaru, the person who causes them the most suffering. To his five sons he is a father, and to his servants he is an evil and cruel master. A peculiarity of the character of the Dayū in this tale is that he has virtually no female relatives, a daughter or even his ineffective wife, to have any direct communication with him. This is because he represents the negative father, and is the reflection of the father archetype of the period, given the coloring of the historical period in which the work was written.

It is precisely this negative father shadow, then, that is the archetypal image the hero Zushiomaru must at all costs, in order to grow as a male, integrate. Sanshō Dayū, accordingly, demands trials—sacrifice, the renunciation of the ego from the brother and the sister.

At this stage the ego does not yet have the power to resist Sanshō Dayū or to destroy him. When the ego is weak and for the moment must supplement the libido, it is necessary to lend a hand to the libido's growth. Assistance

from characters such as Kohagi of Ise and Sanshō Dayū's son Jirō show that the ego is not a totally isolated and helpless existence.

The ego, however, is not something that can long enjoy the privileged existence of a protected party. Two types of strength are necessary for the ego to progress to a higher level of existence. The first of these is a power sufficient to defend the ego from danger but not so strong as to impede the very possibility of its development; and the second is a power sufficient to drive the ego from its present stage of development, but this power cannot be so strong as to destroy the life itself. It doubtless seems strange that the highly benevolent Jirō should be the son of the frightening Sanshō Dayū, but this fact itself could be said to hint at the essential nature of the archetype. Both the power that protects the hero and that which torments him come from the same source, and make up a libido which is unified through conflict.

In section II.2 we see an intensification of the function of the archetype of the negative father, and also the development of a resistance to that archetype.

That which first works to cause action is anima. The ego (Zushiomaru) is reluctant to act, however, and the two must suffer great pain. Depending on the situation, it is sometimes necessary to wait positively, for the reinforcement of the libido. If, however, despite the fact that it is already time that the ego was moving to a new stage, one ignores the internal urgings toward change and clings tightly to the old stage, this invites personal harm.

At this point in the tale, then, the two characters of part I of the tale become isolated from each other and begin to act as individual units. The differentiation of anima necessary to the ego/hero's transformation has now begun.

Section II.3 relates the decisive transformation in this anima. Although this also appeared to be the case in Part II.2, it is not the ego that is working to resist difficulties. Anima is the first to transform, and it is almost as though

the ego was waiting to be pursued by that anima.

A miracle occurs, in which Jizō accepts himself the brand that Sanshō Dayū has ordered Saburō to give the siblings. What has happened here is that the persecution by the negative father has caused a manifestation of that power in anima, in the form of a **miracle bestowed by Jizō**.

The fact that Anju herself eventually later appears as Jizō is due to the demands on the anima that protects the ego to transcend the boundaries and standards of humanity. Considerable sacrifice is required for a human being to become a Buddha. At the time Anju requests to Sanshō Dayū that they both be allowed to go to the mountains her hair—the symbol of her life as a woman of supernatural powers—is cut and taken from her. This in itself, however, is not enough to constitute a sacrifice. If Anju is to become Jizō, if she is to shine with the power of the supernatural, she must give up her life as a human being.

THOUGH he had to be urged on by his sister the ego (Zushiomaru) does, finally, begin his flight. Generally speaking, flight is not an example of the bravery in battle desirable in the hero. It is, however, an act more necessary for the occasion than a battle, for it is the first act of pulling the self free of the powers of darkness and must be valued highly. The impetus to flight is not the will of the subject of consciousness, and furthermore, his escape from the close pursuit of Saburō is also due to Anju, in her substitute form of Jizō. From this we can see that Zushiomaru is an existence that has always been protected. The appearance of assistance from males, however, in the form of the Kokubunji holy man or the monk from Tennōji, is an important change in circumstances. Anju's sacrifice has contributed to the invigoration of a supraordinated male personality who possesses a positive strength competing with a negative one.

It is, further, impossible to overlook the change in Zushiomaru himself. He reveals his real name to the Kokubunji monk, and invokes the help of an outsider so that he will have the assistance he needs to fulfill his

original purpose of restoring his father's property.

This change in Zushiomaru's psychic attitude (the psychic attitude of the ego) becomes even clearer with the appearance of Umezuin as his second father. This second father cleanses the body of Zushiomaru and gives him clothing appropriate to the aristocrat, but all this is nothing more than a phase in an initiation to a new existence. The second father strengthens the masculinity of the ego, and performs a socializing function.

Furthermore, when, in the presence of the emperor, his adoptive father is misunderstood and about to fall into disgrace because of Zushiomaru's antecedence, Zushiomaru makes it clear in public that he is of a respectable status himself, and saves both himself and his adoptive father from the brink of discredit. At this we can see that the ego has gradually come to the point of facing other complexes and dealing with them directly, and has found the strength—that is, the strength of will—to be master of itself.

In section IV the family tree is accepted and Zushiomaru, rewarded by the recognition of the emperor, is given custody of his father's property. This is property that his father once owned, but its recovery signifies the fact that the ego has been able to recover and integrate as its own the positive strength that it had been separated from and which had given it no help. From this point, the transformations in the hero demand our careful attention and become clear in his series of truly positive acts.

The actions of Zushiomaru after this can be adequately summed up in two words: revenge and repayment. The revenge is made first against Yamaoka Dayū, who sold him, and then against his greatest enemy, Sanshō Dayū. Having already learned of his sister's death, Zushiomaru resolves to inflict a heavy punishment and has Sanshō Dayū brought to him. Just when it appears that he will take his revenge, he says that he has compassion for his enemy and will send him away. He asks whether Sanshō Dayū would prefer a large land or a small one.

As Zushiomaru had anticipated, Sanshō Dayū wants a large land, but what Zushiomaru has in mind is the Land of Yomi.* Here we have no vestige of the old, weak Zushiomaru, who could only waver in the face of his sister's urgings. Now there is a powerful strength of mind to accomplish his purpose, one which inspires awe in those who hear him and which will not be defeated even by Sanshō Dayū. "Will" here refers to the absolutely essential power of the psyche which controls the libido so that the ego can control its own surroundings. And this ability in Zushiomaru is not like that in Sanshō Dayū, where it functions to intimidate; in Zushiomaru it functions to realize the idea of certain punishment and certain reward, a high-level ethical concept in vogue at period of history.

The negative power that in the hands of Sanshō Dayū was used to persecute others now supports the establishment of the ego, and has been integrated as an effective power for a higher quality of acts. It is the power that first repays the debts of gratitude accumulated toward persons such as Kohagi and the Kokubunji holy man, and then is able to extend salvation to Zushiomaru's mother and father.

Is the new condition the hero finds himself in, however, able to restore all that has been lost to this point? The overall makeup and structure of this drama depicts, as we have seen, the process of passage of the male hero from youth to maturity. An outstanding analysis by Iwasaki Takeo calls our attention to the historical nature of the lives of the common people which passed from the sacred to the profane, in the background of this story, and also makes this point (Iwasaki 1973, pp. 31-93).

But even so, this story seems to be concerned with more than singing the praises of a successful initiation. Even more than the salvation of the parents or the glory of Zushiomaru, the story places great weight in its relating of

* "Yomi" is the world of the dead presided over by Izanami no Mikoto in Japanese mythology. *Translator.*

the revenge taken against Sanshō Dayū. Why must the hero dedicate so much of the power he has gained into his revenge against Sanshō Dayū?

The greatest reason for the revenge against Sanshō Dayū lies in his crime of hounding Anju to death. What we should note here is that the action that contrasts with the punishment of Sanshō Dayū, which is motivated by anger at the murder of Anju, is the revering of the Jizō who substituted for Anju so she could attain Buddhhood, and not the salvation of the parents.

This drama relates the division and integration of the father archetype and the sister anima. The structure of this story is based on the very conflict that the ego must reconcile, and is symbolized by Sanshō Dayū and Anju; for Zushiomaru to progress to a higher psychic level it is necessary for these two together to forsake the libido. It seems to me that here we have the principle that two elements have gone to make up the drama of the transformation of the libido. First is the destruction of the old possessor of the libido by the new one, and second is the grieving over that—the calling for the repose of the soul—in one form or another.

In "Sanshō Dayū," Sanshō Dayū is beheaded by his real son, Saburō, at the order of Zushiomaru; he is mourned by Jirō who is also his son. And it is Zushiomaru, naturally enough, who mourns Anju. In his yearning for his lost and unrecoverable sister, Zushiomaru's tears of sorrow fall on the beach of his happiness at having attained a new psychic level. That which brings about the fulfillment of the "Sanshō Dayū" story is first the revenge against Sanshō Dayū and then the enshrining of the Branded Jizō.

To this point I have located the ego in Zushiomaru, and have given a reading of "Sanshō Dayū" that stresses the differentiation and integration of the shadow of the father archetype and the sister anima. This process does not involve a battle with the ego itself, but rather means the laying of new ground through the self-sacrifice of anima. The subsequent integration with the shadow of the father

takes the shape of revenge for the murder of the sister. It is here that we find the main characteristic of the function of anima in this story.

PSYCHIC MEANINGS OF THE UNARI-IHIRI ARCHETYPE

Let us now consider the tale "Sanshō Dayū" from the perspective of Anju, that is, as being concerned with the process of inner transformation in a woman. In this case the problem of the conflict between Sanshō Dayū and Anju that I touched on above presents, in my opinion, the question of the differentiation and reintegration of animus and a spiritually predominant person of the same sex. To men, Anju is the spiritually predominant anima, but to women she symbolizes the supraordinated personality. In what follows I would like to consider the psychic meaning of Anju in terms of both her position as anima and also as supraordinated personality.

Anju is the older sister of Zushiomaru, and sacrifices herself in order to save him. Should we consider her as a Great Earth Mother? Iwasaki Takeo, who, as I have noted, sees the story "Sanshō Dayū" as being primarily about the initiation of Zushiomaru, considers her as a shaman, or a Great Earth Mother whose job it is to protect the young dying god and provide his rebirth.

If Anju is a Great Earth Mother, then we can also use precisely the same logic to call Zushiomaru a Great Earth Mother. This is because the characters who appear as symbols in a drama can all be thought of as representing the various complexes within a single psyche, or as the whole of the psyche (which equals the self); in this case, they are all alter egos of one another, and all have the same origin. In the sense, however, that this psychic complex works toward the realization of the self and must occasionally differentiate to meet the circumstances of the moment, the parts of the complex have wills that are mutually contradictory. Symbols do have origins, but they also have purposes. The meaning of a symbol should not be explicated solely in terms of its origins.

Internal femininity is expressed in this drama by the mother and the nursemaid, and its masculinity by the father, Sanshō Dayū, Jirō, Saburō and Zushiomaru. Although these symbols have a secrete unity, we must not make light of the significance of the fact that they are also differentiated. Anju is, to be certain, a type daughter for the great mother goddess. But this tale does not describe her as a mother deity.

That which makes this tale the story of a previous existence of Buddha—that, in other words, which gives the story its basic structure—is Zushiomaru's yearning after his dead and departed sister, and not in any way the reunion he is later able to have with his mother. We need to inquire into the meaning of Anju just as she is described.

Lumping without hesitation all female figures who assist the male hero together as mother figures might conceivably tell us that the anima images of those today who would analyze the story—primarily males—are bound up in the Great Mother. It does not, however, help us approach those people who knew the tale as a living tradition.

The anima which exists as the spiritually predominant draws its first influence from the mother, who is the closest woman to the character. The ego/male, in order to free himself of this influence, must transfer the object of his projections from his mother to a lover or a spouse, someone outside the family. Kawai holds that the sister anima is a midway phase in this transfer from mother to lover (Kawai 1977, p.120). The sister anima, however, has a meaning that transcends that of merely being conquered and then discarded, which is what a midway phase would hold.

Anju, as sister anima, is much like the belief in Unari, that I have analyzed earlier (Igeta 1981, pp.95-97): rather than giving birth, she represents the sibling of the opposite sex with whom the ego shares an origin and who is with the ego throughout its life. Her gruesome death, moreover, means that she will have an eternal existence as a spirit-

ually predominant person, as an undefiled holy virgin. As the archetype of the sister anima she will never diminish. No matter what the actual age of the ego might be, Anju is the archetypal image guarding the ego eternally about to step out into a new phase of consciousness, like a youth who has attained maturity. The sacrifice of the virgin Anju and her subsequent transformation into Jizō crystallizes the image of the sister anima as eternally beautiful and young, never to become the wife of another man.

The opposite sexuality that exists within the psyche complements the sexuality the ego displays to the world, and allows for a psychic wholeness. For that reason both anima and animus, working outside the realm of the conscious ego, must fulfill the purposes of the psyche as a whole, becoming and then appearing as a spiritually predominant person having a higher psychic essence. Frequently it strongly demands such experiences. If there are no preparations for the differentiation and reintegration of the internal image in the ego in such cases, there is a danger that this image might seize control directly from the inside, or that, as a result of some projection to the outside, ego might come to rely intimidatingly on that projection. In this tale Anju dies, then comes to be worshiped as the Bodhisattva Jizō, appropriate for the anima which serves as guide to the inner world. This fact functions as a device to allow Zushiomaru (the ego) to escape both the danger of being possessed by his inner image and the danger of coming to rely on the external reality of his sister.

The supraordinated personality of the same sex as the ego is, generally speaking, an image that perceives authority manifested after integration with the opposite sex and which is nonetheless androgenous and in an exalted position close to the self. Anju's metamorphosis into the Bodhisattva Jizō, spiritually predominant over her brother, can be thought of as having received sufficient credentials to become a supraordinated personality. Even so, sadly enough, the image of Anju as a female must be thought of

as lacking somehow in meeting the essential qualifications of a supraordinated personality.

In order for Anju to transform into a supraordinated personality, she herself must integrate animus, that masculinity having the power of the dark unconscious. But Anju does not, in the end, do this. Instead she sacrifices herself, becoming the guardian of animus, and the masculinity is integrated by her brother. Compared to the image of the female who has only the ability to be rescued by the swan prince who can play no role other than that of being protected by a male—and there are far too many of these—it is probably better for her to have wound up as "only" a spiritually predominant person, but to the woman herself it is impossible to become a truly meaningful supraordinated personality.

When the woman projects Zushiomaru (the ego) in the outside world—and historically, this did indeed happen—the limits of the image of Anju are illuminated quite clearly. Anju's actions in this world do not, as far as she herself is concerned, have any direct meaning. Even Anju herself, woman's internal image of a woman, can be thought to have served as a vessel for anima projection rather than to have been differentiated as a supraordinated personality. Because she has the potential to become an supraordinated personality, the female herself is easy to support.

Incidentally, in the story "Oiwaki-sama ichidai ki," which was circulated in the Tsugaru region and which could be considered as a variant of "Sanshō Dayū," the heroine Anjushime—who by her own strength saves her father after performing the impossible tasks assigned by Sanso Dayū, even though he, thinking her to have been disloyal to her mother, has buried her in the earth and is about to kill her—is integrated and eventually becomes the deity of Mt. Iwaki. The relationship of conflict between father and daughter in this tale is described more clearly in "Sanshō Dayū," but the fact that Anjushime is the elder sister, or Unari, has virtually no significance in the structure of this story. We must thus consider the psychic significance of

Anjushime from the perspective of its relationship to the structure of male-female conflict such as that between husband and wife or father and daughter, that comprises the essence of the tale. We can call this a better developed example of the superior potential that Anju has as a supraordinated personality.

Anju, a supraordinated personality, is paired with her younger brother's animus as a spiritually predominant person, and symbolizes the self in the form of an integration of the sexes, in the same way as in relationships such as mother-son or wife-husband. Even though I have said "in the same way," however, the psychic meanings of the bonds that tie up each of these pairs are, of course, different. These bonds indicate the fundamental feminine and masculine forms of existence that each have their own separate values. Each individual ego adjusts to its sex, appropriate age and outside environment, and allows for some kind of single, unified form of existence, but this does not by itself mean that the potential for other forms of existence is thereby gone.

Anju (Unari), the eternal virgin cherished and admired by Zushiomaru (Ihiri), is the essence of woman. This essence will never change, even though it might become the wife of a specific husband, or become a mother giving birth to a child. In this sense she is also the image of the supraordinated personality that is able to make us feel a sort of movement toward elevation and purity.

Kawai, whose theories I noted above, has criticized Japanese culture because its overly strong binding of the archetype of the Great Mother and Eternal Youth has made the formation of a western-style feminine image based on an equality in love and marriage impossible. Kawai would probably see someone like Anju or Kaguyahime, the heroine of *Taketori monogatari*, as an image of anima denying physical, or the feminine, because they were unable to become the object of marriage.

The true question concerning anima however, is not whether the archetype of the Great Mother and Eternal

Youth is **operating** in Japanese culture. The question is one of **being possessed** by them.

The danger of possession is not one that is limited to this archetype, for it is a characteristic inherent in all archetypes. What the ego is in search of is the internal establishment of a principle of movement, or, in other words, an ethical autonomy.

The degree of ethical dependency is not lessened by simply transferring the object of projection from mother to wife. Often, indeed, it is the case that the "equal" object of love is no more than an "equal" object of dependence. Without the harvest of an ethical autonomy, the bonds holding people together in equal human relationships will never take grip. This in turn, bears on the question of whether or not it can withdraw the projection and integrate the images of various images internally. The fact that Japanese culture has not realized an image of woman as marriage partner, one who combines the physical and the spiritual, doubtless gives us reason to grieve. But to say that Kaguyahime has denied the physical—and therefore denied her femininity—because she turns away the suitors who have come in droves and goes back to the moon is to place a large gap in the perceptions of Kaguyahime that are held by at least a large number of women.

Like Anju, the topic of this essay, Kaguyahime is the image of a woman who is blessed with noble femininity which cannot be reduced to the mere physical, an outstanding image of the supraordinated personality who will lead women to higher inner values. The fact, then, that her relationship with the inner opposite sex is not one of marriage, but rather is bound by the ties of sisterhood, has, I think, a positive—though there is also a significant number of cases in which the meaning can be negative—meaning, symbolizing the self-sufficiency connected to the unique values of the individual in which reproduction itself is not the purpose of the psyche.

The inner drive toward individuation not only begins of its own accord, when there are violent changes in the out-

side environment it demands changes in the general psychic attitudes of the members of the society. If this involves the annullment of the spiritually predominant person who until then had functioned as the psychic image of the psychic leadership principle, it is not surprising that a new spiritually predominant person will, at all costs, be manifested. But even if the worship of this personality is continued, it is necessary for the people to erect a different relationship with the old.

The "Honji mono" and accounts of miracles of the deities and buddhas of the so-called Gekokujō period were above all else the psychic attempts of the people to do just that. In a world of changes there arises a state of affairs that could be called a kind of drawing out of the archetypal image of the spiritually predominate person, and it is out of this that the Unari and Ihiri archetypes like Anju and Zushiomaru make their brief appearances.

Subsequent Japanese culture tended to impede the development of Unari-like archetypes such as Anju. I will leave a more documented treatment to a later occasion, but at this point I would like to briefly sketch the outline of the fate of the Unari-Ihiri archetype.

The Unari-Ihiri archetype is one held in common by people throughout the world, and as I have already noted, it had the potential to fulfill a particular psychic function in Japan as well. Since the Edo period, however, we have seen the development of the so-called *ie* ("house") system, and in the process this archetypal female image was buried just as certainly as Sanshō Dayū (Zushiomaru) killed Anju.

The ties between Unari and Ihiri come in some senses into conflict with the important inter-family relationships such as husband-wife or mother-son which were established by the "ie" system. Through the institution of marriage the Unari-Ihiri relationship also has the potential to bind "ie" to "ie" in a unified relationship.

As the continuity of the "ie" itself, however, and accordingly the incidence of value placed on a vertical relationships came to be stressed, women were seen merely

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as mothers, and valued as an authority figures within the "ie" only because they gave birth to the next generation. To be Unari was merely a step on the way to becoming a mother, and to make a woman a formal member of the "ie" it was necessary first of all to negate any identity she had as Unari. Japanese culture since the Edo period has killed neither father nor mother, but it appears to have done away with Unari.

RETURNING TO THE BEGINNING

The claim of analytical psychology's working hypothesis is that an investigation of the archetypal image will allow one to focus on the general and the culturally particular in the human spirit, and thus be an effective, practical method in both the curing of so-called diseases of the psyche as well as in understanding general human endeavors. The systemization of this hypothesis was made through the process of its experiments; the claim, thus, is not merely incidental to it.

If analytical psychology is to make corrections in its system and increase its accuracy, then it is necessary to continue to work in a reciprocating motion to clarify both the common and the particular in culture and the human spirit. This reciprocal motion, however, is vital not only to analytical psychology, but also to the search for mutual human or cultural understanding.

This paper first postulated the Unari (Ihiri) archetype of the spiritually predominant person then experimented with a brief consideration concerning the function of its psychic significance in the heroine Anju of the story "San-shō Dayū," a piece of religious literature based on the belief world experienced by the late medieval Japanese. Seen even from the premise of analytical psychology that the symbol can change its meaning depending on the attitude of those who are conscious of it, the interpretations made here are wholly relative.

Even so, in spite of the fact that there is no absolute interpretation, I have postulated that the images of women

who appear in all religious tales in Japan having to do with deities and buddhas, with matters of spiritual value should not all be thought of exclusively as Great Mothers.

Anju, for example, became the Bodhisattva Jizō and shows us the purity of feminity—which cannot be reduced to the Great Mother—of the Unari archetype. Granted this, in order to come to an even more correct understanding of the psychic meaning of the Anju image, it is necessary to expand our vision to include the unmistakably important structural element of Jizō belief and the developmental changes in family structure. Further, it is necessary, in order to complete a cycle of the reciprocal movement I discussed above, to examine the archetypal image that has been treated here itself in a variety of ways and across several cultures.

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