



**Komatsu Kazuhiko** 小松和彦, *Izanagi-ryū no kenkyū: Reki-shi no naka no Izanagi-ryū tayū* いざなぎ流の研究—歴史のなかのいざなぎ流太夫— [Studies on Izanagi-ryū: A historical survey of Izanagi-ryū tayū]

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KOMATSU KAZUHIKO is not only an eminent folklorist, but is also famous as an expert on the study of Japanese supernatural beings known generally as *yōkai* 妖怪. He is also the current director of the prestigious International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken). Some may have noticed that the Nichibunken home page now provides links to databases on *yōkai* that can be accessed from around the world, and it was Komatsu who supported the construction of these databases. He was acclaimed as a talented researcher from the time he was still young, and now has a formidable resumé, including field research for over forty years on the folk traditions called Izanagi-ryū of the village of Monobe 物部村 in Kochi Prefecture (currently the town of Monobe in the city of Kamishi).

The book under review is not only a robust compendium of Komatsu's fieldwork, but it also includes the local history (from medieval times to the present) of the

area around Makiyama 横山, a hill in the middle of Monobe. Komatsu discusses the religious knowledge and rituals performed by religious specialists called *Izanagi-ryū tayū* いざなぎ流太夫 as a central part of local history. Based on sparse historical records and oral transmissions by the *tayū*, he puts together an explanation of the performance of festivals, rituals, and prayers, thus attempting to identify the “origins” of *Izanagi-ryū*. He then painstakingly reconstructs how these “origins” developed and were formed through history, resulting in a grand historical drama. On the basis of very limited evidence, Komatsu puts together the pieces like a puzzle to form a broad picture of the whole, admittedly requiring quite a bit of imagination. On the other hand, he has absorbed the results of recent research to describe in detail the history of *Izanagi-ryū*, especially that of the Edo and modern periods. The result is an extraordinary book that provides a good mix of imagination and stoic evidence, and which can be read both as academic research or as a historical novel. In addition to the Introduction and Conclusion, the book consists of five parts: 1. society and life around Makiyama; 2. the history of Makiyama; 3. the ancestors of the *Izanagi-ryū tayū*; 4. legends of fugitive Heike warriors; and 5. the ritual activities of the *Izanagi-ryū tayū* in the modern era.

The first section records the industry, annual events, and rites of passage in the local society of Makiyama based on ethnographic fieldwork; historical discussions begin in Part 2. In the medieval period, Makiyama was an estate (*shōen* 莊園) and part of a shrine-temple complex in which social groups called *myō* 名 centered around the land-holding “lord” (*myōshu* 名主) vied for influence. In the “warring-states” period a man named Chōsokabeshi 長宗我部氏 came into power and ruled over Makiyama when the Sendō family 専当家 of the current *myōshu* was victorious in battle as Chōsokabeshi’s retainer. Formerly, the Okanouchi family had wielded more power than the Sendō family by adopting a member of the Sendō family and forming a branch family. However, at the crucial battle of Sekigahara, which marked the end of the warring-states period and ushered in the Tokugawa-ruled Edo period, Chōsokabeshi aligned himself with the ultimately defeated “Western” forces, after which a man named Yamauchi became lord of the Tosa domain. Yamauchi preserved the *myō* structure of the medieval “village” community, and appointed a village official called Namoto to the post of *myōshu*. This marks the important transition from the medieval period *myō* community to the premodern “village” community, while the basic residential structure was preserved. As it entered the Edo period, however, the Okanouchi family (formerly a “branch family”) replaced the head family by being promoted by the domain lord Yamauchi to “head of the *myō*” 名本, thus becoming top village head 大庄屋. In the modern period the Okanouchi family took on the family name “Komatsu,” thus transmitting the lineage of the Taira family.

Part 3 examines historical records from 1497 concerning two priests named Sōnoichi 惣市 and Kōtō 勾当, presumed to be the progenitors of the *Izanagi-ryū tayū*. These two served at the shrine of the tutelary deity of Makiyama. Even through

the Edo period, these two families continued as hereditary priests of the shrine, and their rituals underwent little change. The Sōnoichi family was in charge of oracles (*takusen* 託宣), and the Kōtō family was in charge of the *kagura* performances, and both of these merged into the Izanagi-ryū rituals. These priests performed not only the rituals of the Makiyama tutelary shrine, but also incorporated rituals from other local tutelary shrines, thus becoming the progenitors of the Izanagi-ryū *tayū*, and so the current shrine rituals can be traced back to the medieval period. Next, Komatsu examines entries concerning shrine priests 神職, *onmyōji* 陰陽師, shrine mediums 神子, and *shugen* 修験 traditions in the *Makiyama fudoki* 岐山風土記 (1815) and the “Regulations” (*seiten jōrei* 政典条例) of 1848–1860, and considers the role of the Izanagi-ryū *tayū* within the social conditions of the late Edo period. Religious figures called *hakase* 博士 were found throughout the Tosa domain, and the Ashida family 芦田家 was officially recognized by the domain to have authority over them. These *hakase* performed healing and divinatory prayers with bows (*yumi-kitō* 弓祈祷), and can also be considered progenitors of Izanagi-ryū *tayū*. The distinction between the priests who performed shrine rituals and the *hakase* who performed prayers with bows was maintained through the middle of the Edo period, but a major change was brought about when the Yoshida family established a headquarters in Tosa for regulating shrine priests, and likewise the Tsuchimikado family established a headquarters for regulating *onmyōji*. As a result, the distinction between shrine priests and *hakase* was made ambiguous, and the *tayū* began to perform both shrine rituals and healing prayers. From this time, Izanagi-ryū *tayū* have performed both shrine rituals and healing prayers.

Part 5 explains how the legends of fugitive Heike warriors became crucial for the Okanouchi family to become head of the village in the modern period. By claiming to be descended from fugitive Heike warriors, they were able to claim a distinction from other local families. In addition, the Okanouchi family sponsored a large-scale festival for the deity of heaven (*ten-no-kami matsuri* 天の神祭り) by inviting powerful priests such as Sōnoichi and Kōtō, and the twelve *kagura* dancers who performed at the festival of the tutelary shrine. This festival for the deity of heaven celebrated both the deity of heaven and that of Onzaki 御崎 (the old local deity). The festival for the deity of heaven was started by the head of the village, but the village families and the farmers around Makiyama were forced to accept it, and thus both the festival for the deity of heaven and the Misaki festival spread among the old families.

The final section examines the impact of the Meiji Restoration and the religious policies of the Meiji and later governments on the *tayū*. Based on a detailed look at these religious policies, Komatsu shows that among the *tayū* there were those who maintained their activity by promoting Shinto (*shintō shūsei ha* 神道修成派). Recently, however, there has been a severe drop in local economic activity and serious depopulation, resulting in a lack of successors to the *tayū*, and the community is reaching its limits. Komatsu then considers the influence of a researcher on

the local community and on Izanagi-ryū itself, self-reflecting on the impact of a researcher's activities on the lives and consciousness of local residents.

I have outlined the contents of the book, but what can be said about the relationship between Izanagi-ryū *tayū* and *onmyōji*? In the past Komatsu has described Izanagi-ryū *tayū* as *onmyōji* who still live on in the present time. This is probably based on the fact that *tayū* perform exorcisms, and employ deities such as the *shikiōji* 式王子 that are reminiscent of the *shikigami* 式神. Komatsu does not explicitly claim that Izanagi-ryū *tayū* are *onmyōji* in the book under review, but he does point out that the spiritual knowledge of the *tayū* includes aspects that are similar to Onmyōdō. As research on Onmyōdō advances, it is my hope that these points will provoke an active discussion of the issues involved.

The truly groundbreaking aspect of this book is the historical portrayal of Izanagi-ryū against the backdrop of historical changes in a local area from medieval to contemporary times. Komatsu appears to have determined that it is impossible to understand Izanagi-ryū by studying just Izanagi-ryū alone. By expending great effort and time, Komatsu has painted an elaborate picture of the historical background, and paid close attention to minute details. The historical role and transformations have been placed in grand relief by carefully painting the historical background and placing Izanagi-ryū therein. It is inevitable that various readers will quibble over the interpretation of certain historical records, or challenge the appropriateness of this or that hypothesis, but Komatsu seems to anticipate and welcome such disagreements and discussion. Through this book Komatsu has clarified one solution to the grand puzzle that is Izanagi-ryū, and provided a monumental work. As we gaze on this monument and discuss its content, yet another new solution to the puzzle may present itself.

[translated by Paul L. Swanson]

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