

## The Intersection of the Local and the Translocal at a Sacred Site

### The Case of Osorezan in Tokugawa Japan

MIYAZAKI Fumiko and Duncan WILLIAMS

*Osorezan is often portrayed today as a remote place in the Shimokita Peninsula, a borderland between this world and the other world, where female mediums called itako communicate with the dead. This article is an attempt to sketch the historical development of Osorezan with evidence from local archives, travel records, temple collections, and inscriptions from stone monuments. With newly available local historical data, despite what temple pamphlets claim, we will establish that the cult of Jizō (and the death-associated rituals associated with the bodhisattva) was a late Tokugawa-period development and that the female mediums who have made the site so famous only began their communications with the dead at the mountain in the twentieth century. Indeed, what the historical evidence suggests is that Osorezan was a complex site that developed late for a major pilgrimage destination, in which the other-worldly concern with the dead (through the worship of Jizō) was only one aspect of the Osorezan cult. Major patrons of Osorezan in the Tokugawa period prayed for the success of their commercial enterprises there and local people viewed the site primarily as a place of hot spring cures. This article will examine the history of Osorezan from its emergence as a local religious site during the mid-seventeenth until the end of the Tokugawa period, when it became a pilgrimage destination known throughout Japan. In addition to its institutional history and its cult of Jizō, we will highlight three factors that contributed to its growth: the healing Jizō motif (especially in the context of hot spring cures); the salvation-from-hell Jizō motif (especially of children and women at the Sai no Kawara and the Chi no Ike Jigoku); and the protection-at-sea Jizō (who served to protect merchants and fishermen from the dangers of the rough seas of the western sea coast).*

**Keywords:** Osorezan — *itako* — pilgrimage — Jizō — hot springs — hell — healing

It is a terrain deathly enough to deserve its name, for the object of dread or terror (*osore*) at this place is death. In northeastern Japan, Mount Osore has long been the final destination of the spirits of the dead, the ultimate home where the dead continue to live a parallel life. Yet more than just the home of the dead, the mountain is a place of practices for consoling, pacifying, and communicating with them, particularly during one delimited period of the summer.... Blind female mediums (*itako*) become critical in these allegories of loss and recovery through their spirit recollections... through their bodily voicings of the words of the dead.... Although Mount Osore now operates within a national, mass-mediated array of images and ideas about the folkic marginal, historically it was a specific, local topos of death.

—Marilyn Ivy, *Ghostly Epiphanies: Recalling the Dead on Mount Osore*

OSOREZAN (OR MOUNT OSORE) 恐山, located on the Shimokita 下北 Peninsula at the northernmost tip of Honshū, is a mountain known to many contemporary Japanese through images from the mass media. Its unique volcanic landscape consists of sulfuric gas emanating from various locations and hot water gushing out into four springs as well as an acidic lake, strangely shaped rocks, and ponds of various colors. There are also many religious monuments, both permanent and temporary, such as stone Buddhist statues, wooden mortuary steles, and pebbles piled up in the shape of small mountains. At the center of this terrain is a temple-shrine complex called Bodai-ji, which is made up of several halls and buildings. Visitors are taught that the place was founded and developed as a religious site by a ninth-century Tendai Buddhist monk, Ennin 円仁, and that he enshrined a statue of the bodhisattva Jizō there. Today this spiritual place (*reijo* 霊場) is also portrayed as a site where folk traditions for managing unsettled spirits of the dead remain strong despite an overall decline in traditional, Buddhist temple-based ritualization of the dead in modern Japan.

Marilyn Ivy's description of Osorezan highlights the modern fascination with the mountain as a site where the dead can appear and communicate with the living, especially through the *itako*, the female mediums who congregate on the mountain particularly during the summer festival season, held in recent years between 20 and 24 July. Osorezan during the festival period is crowded with large numbers of pilgrims who hope to speak to loved ones who have passed away, offer them food and other items that the particular person would have loved during the time when they were alive, and perform memorial rites for them. Although Ivy and most contemporary writers portray Osorezan as a remote place of ghostly epiphanies and "Dread Moun-

tain,” many of the death-related associations of the mountain are of a relatively recent nature—during the late Tokugawa period, the Shimokita Peninsula was a thriving center of maritime commerce.

The dominant image of the site as a borderland between this world and the other world has prompted several decades of fieldwork about the mountain and its cultic practices by ethnographers, folklorists, religion specialists, and mass media reporters (see NAKAMICHI 1929; MORI 1975; SASAZAWA 1953; KUMAGAI 1967; KUSUNOKI 1968 and 1984; MIYAMOTO 1989; and TAKAMATSU 1983). However, historians have rarely ventured into the development of this site in part because a reliable historical record has been difficult to obtain.<sup>1</sup> This article is an attempt to sketch the historical development of Osorezan with evidence from local archives, travel records, temple collections, and inscriptions from stone monuments. With newly available local historical data, despite what temple pamphlets claim, we will establish that the cult of Jizō (and the death-associated rituals associated with the bodhisattva) was a late Tokugawa-period development, and that the female mediums who have made the site so famous only began their communications with the dead at the mountain in the twentieth century. Indeed, what the historical evidence suggests is that Osorezan was a complex site that developed late for a major pilgrimage destination, in which the other-worldly concern with the dead (through the worship of Jizō) was only one aspect of the Osorezan cult. Major patrons of Osorezan in the Tokugawa period prayed for the success of their commercial enterprises there and local people viewed the site primarily as a place of hot spring cures. (Before the name Osorezan was used, locals called the site “Mountain Hot Springs” [Yama no Yu 山の湯].)

This article will examine the history of Osorezan from its emergence as a local religious site during the mid-seventeenth century until the end of the Tokugawa period, when it became a pilgrimage destination known throughout Japan. In addition to its institutional history and its cult of Jizō, we will highlight three factors that contributed to its growth: the mountain’s healing hot springs, its cult of the dead, and its ability to provide protection to sea-faring fishermen and those engaged in maritime trade.

### *Osorezan’s Early Institutional History*

Osorezan was called Usorisan 宇曽利山 or Yama no Yu until the end of the eighteenth century. The term Usori, which has at times been

<sup>1</sup> This lack of documents is due, in part, to the change in the administration of this region during the early Meiji period as well as to the Meiji government’s religious policies affecting Shinto-Buddhist sites that resulted in the destruction of a substantial historical record.

interpreted to refer to the *u* of the cormorant that supposedly guided the Tendai monk Ennin to discover the site, seems to have come from the name of a sub-region of the Shimokita Peninsula that had a river designated by the same name (KUSUNOKI 1984, pp. 23, 140).<sup>2</sup> There is also evidence that Usorisan also referred to the volcanic area around a crater lake located to the north of the peak of Mount Kamafuse (Kamafusesan 釜臥山), the highest peak when viewed from the bay areas (NANBU SŌSHO KANKŌKAI Vol. 5, 1929, p. 396). When a shrine-temple complex was gradually constructed near the lake during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this volcanic area came to be recognized as the precinct of what would later in the nineteenth century be called the “Bodai-ji 菩提寺 of Kamafusesan” or the “Jizō Hall of Usorisan.” The clustering of mountains in the area and the subsequent conflation of naming the site now recognized as Osorezan suggests that the sacred site developed in stages. Known as a section of or an extension of Mount Kamafuse, or alternatively as a place of hot springs such as Yama no Yu (SUGAE 1971, 284, 341), it was not until the late eighteenth century that local residents as well as visitors from distant areas called the site Osorezan or “Dread Mountain.”

The origins of Osorezan as a religious site are unknown. According to legends the first to discover this site was either a daughter of Sakanoue no Tamuramaro 坂上田村麻呂, a general who pacified the Tōhoku region on behalf of the imperial court from the late eighth to the early ninth century, or Ennin, the well-known ninth-century Tendai monk.<sup>3</sup> Whoever the first to discover it may be, all the legends concur on the point that Ennin developed the site into a religious center, but that Osorezan was abandoned as a religiously significant site during the medieval period. The difficulty with these legendary accounts are that they were first compiled in the Tokugawa period and that there is no independent medieval sources to verify either the origins of the site or the manner in which it fell into disuse for the duration of the medieval period.

<sup>2</sup> During the Tokugawa period, Usori was the name of a river flowing into Mutsu Bay and the village near the mouth of the river. The place name, Usori, supposedly originated from an Ainu word, *usor*, meaning a “bay” used particularly by the native peoples of south-eastern Hokkaido (KUSUNOKI 1984, p. 140). The author of the *Kyūseki ibun*, compiled in 1806, describes a village called Usori facing Mutsu Bay and speculates that it was the origin of the name for Usorisan (NANBU SŌSHO, vol. 7, 1929, p. 70). The interpretation that the name Usori was derived from the *u* of the cormorant can be found in the 1810 *Ōshū nanbu Usorisan Kamafusezan Bodai-ji Jizō Taishi ryaku engi* 奥州南部宇曾利山釜臥山菩提寺地藏太子略縁起 (hereafter abbreviated as OBJE).

<sup>3</sup> The legend “Daughter of Sakanoue no Tamuramaro” can be found in the Tokugawa-period text *Tōhoku taiheiki* 東北太平記 (see FUKUSHI 1957). The Ennin legend can be found in OBJE and subsequent temple-founding legends commissioned by Entsu-ji.

Indeed, the earliest reliable information about the situation at Osorezan dates from as late as 1657: a copy of the signboard attached to the ridge beam of the roof of a hall built on the precinct of Entsū-ji 円通寺 (KUMAGAI 1967, pp. 101–102), a Sōtō Zen temple located in the town of Tanabu 田名部, close to Osorezan.<sup>4</sup> In the note attached to the board the following is written:

Usorisan is a sulfurous mountain with a lot of hot water gushing from it. Because of such circumstances metallic objects, such as copper and iron get corroded, and wooden boards quickly rot. Therefore, records inscribed on them earlier than the fifth abbot of Entsū-ji [in office, 1643–1651] are rarely extant. From the time of the sixth abbot [in office, 1651–1666] we stopped leaving records there.

This note helps explain the lack of records from the medieval period. Even if Osorezan had experienced some level of religious activity during the early part of the medieval period as the legends claim, the weather conditions at the mountain would have left little trace of that activity, either in the way of buildings, monuments, or even written records.

Therefore, it was an institution off the mountain, Entsū-ji, that held information on Osorezan's early institutional history. Although Entsū-ji was a Sōtō Zen temple and Ennin was a renowned Tendai master, it seems that by the early seventeenth century, the temple was able to exert managerial authority over the mountain.<sup>5</sup> This is not particularly surprising considering the larger pattern of the take-over of *yamabushi* 山伏 and formerly Tendai and Shingon affiliated institutions by priests of the Sōtō Zen sect in the Tōhoku region, who would act as *chūko kaisan* 中興開山 or founders who revived a dilapidated temple or hermitage (SUZUKI 1942). In the case of Osorezan's takeover by Entsū-ji, two strategies were used by the Sōtō Zen temple priests. The first was to establish a *honji-suijaku* 本地垂迹 (original source-trace manifestation) relationship; in this case, it was a hierarchical relationship between Entsū-ji's Buddhist deity and the local kami of Osorezan, namely Shakyamuni at the temple and Kamafusesan Daimyōjin 釜臥山大明神 at

<sup>4</sup> We can assert the reliability of the signboard, even though it is not extant, because an independent source with identical data can be found in the eighteenth-century text, *Kamafusesan yuishoki* 釜臥山由緒記, held at another Sōtō temple, Hōōn-ji, in Morioka.

<sup>5</sup> Although the temple-founding legend asserts that Osorezan and Kamafusesan Daimyōjin were managed from the inception of Entsū-ji in 1522, there is no independent evidence to support this. Like many temple legends, it could well be that a second- or third-generation abbot actually began the administration of the mountain but which was later attributed to the temple's founder. The earliest document that refers to the management of Osorezan by the founder of the temple dates from the mid-eighteenth century (KUMAGAI 1967, p. 28).

Osorezan, that would affirm the superiority and thus the authority of Entsū-ji over Osorezan.<sup>6</sup> With the aid of a wealthy Tanabu patron, Entsū-ji was not only able to consecrate the above-mentioned statue of Shakyamuni, but in 1689 the temple was able to purchase, through the Yoshida 吉田 line of Shinto, an imperial decree granting the first court rank to Kamafusesan Daimyōjin, which gave them imperial backing for their claims of managerial authority over the mountain and its deity. As a second strategy, the temple began the process of placing Entsū-ji-sponsored statues on the mountain as well as trying to link the temple to the Tendai monk Ennin.<sup>7</sup> For example, the seventh abbot of Entsū-ji, with the help of Tanabu merchants, acquired a *Lotus Sutra* allegedly copied by Ennin in gold on dark blue paper (KUMAGAI 1967, p. 100). Although Ennin was a priest of the Tendai sect, and thus without any connection to either Sōtō Zen or Entsū-ji, the temple collected statues and scriptures associated with Ennin throughout the Tokugawa period. With this second strategy, the temple probably wanted to stress the long history of Osorezan by linking it to Ennin, who had already been well known as the legendary founder of many other religious institutions as well as many other hot springs in north-eastern Japan (NISHIO 2000, pp. 217–33).

However, seeing the potential for developing Osorezan as a religious site, Entsū-ji faced a challenge to its managerial authority in 1698. According to the record of the officials of Nanbu 南部 Domain, the abbot of Tōeizan Kan'ei-ji 東叡山寛永寺, the highest-ranking Tendai temple based in Edo, staked a claim over administering Osorezan on the basis of the legend of its founding by Ennin.<sup>8</sup> In the ensuing discussions with the government, Entsū-ji defended its authority over the mountain by citing the imperial decree they had just obtained in 1689, which they asserted gave them authority over the cult of the mountain. With this, the Tendai Kanei-ji abbot gave in and withdrew his claim. This incident might be interpreted as a move against an effort by a group of mountain ascetics based on Mount Haguro 羽黒 in near-by Dewa Province to extend its influence over the local religious sites

<sup>6</sup> The signboard mentioned above notes that a “metal statue of Shakyamuni as the original body of Kamafusesan Daimyōjin has been made and enshrined” and that statues of a Deva, Taishakuten, Monju, Fugen, and a Kannon were also enshrined there.

<sup>7</sup> For example, in 1669 the seventh abbot of Entsū-ji had a stone statue of Kannon placed in Osorezan (SASAZAWA 1953, p. 59). For other Buddhist statues enshrined there, see the lists of the temple treasures compiled in 1743, 1762, and the 1870s, as well as the documents concerning the enshrinement of the statue of Ennin in 1817 (KUMAGAI 1967, pp. 28–29, 41, 62, 100–102).

<sup>8</sup> For documents relating to this incident, see the *Goryōbun shadō* 御領分社堂, a compilation of handwritten manuscripts held at the Morioka City Chūō Kōminkan.

and institutions in the northern Tōhoku region. The Haguro mountain ascetics often successfully used the authority of Kanei-ji in their expansion efforts, but were rebuffed in their attempt to seek jurisdiction over the mountain.<sup>9</sup> When the sole Tendai temple in Tanabu was destroyed in a fire some decades later, the influence of the Tendai sect and the Haguro mountain ascetics declined dramatically (KUSUNOKI 1984, pp. 76–77), which left Entsū-ji as the sole proprietor of the mountain. What made Osorezan such an attractive site, to the extent that different parties vied for control over the mountain and its cultic activities? The answer lies in both the skillful use of the legend of Ennin and his supposed enshrinement of statues of the bodhisattva Jizō on the mountain as well as in the sheer physical landscape of the mountain, with its healing springs and volcanic activity which evoked scenes of hells.

#### *Osorezan's Cult of Jizō*

The 1657 signboard mentioned above describes the installation of a statue of Shakyamuni, Kannon, and several other minor Buddhist deities at Osorezan. Yet today, the mountain is most well known for its cult of the bodhisattva Jizō. When did the cult of Jizō come to dominate the physical and religious landscape of the mountain and what was so appealing about the bodhisattva?<sup>10</sup>

It is not until the year 1700 that we have the first evidence of a cult of Jizō at Osorezan. In that year, the ninth abbot of Entsū-ji wrote a Chinese poem describing the history of the mountain and remarkable objects found there. After describing the founding of Kamafusesan Bodai-ji by the Tendai monk Ennin, he refers to the subsequent visits to the site by two monk-sculptors during the Heian period—Eshin 恵心 (better known as Genshin 源信) and Jōchō 定朝:

Eshin and Jōchō visited this mountain upon learning about Ennin's great deeds [at the mountain]. The two made 1,000 Buddhist statues and enshrined them here. Many years have past since then. The halls and statues from that time have already disappeared except for one Jizō statue made by Eshin.

(KUMAGAI 1967, pp. 20–21)

From this, we can see that in 1700, the Entsū-ji abbot linked not only

<sup>9</sup> MIYAMOTO Kesao (1989, p. 89) argues that some local Shimokita mountain ascetics allied themselves in this incident with Entsū-ji.

<sup>10</sup> For English-language works on the cult of Jizō in Japan, see DE VISSER 1914; DYKSTRA 1978; LAFLEUR 1992; RUCH 1992; and WILLIAMS 2000.

Ennin, but two other monks from the Heian period to the site. Although he had to admit that there was almost no evidence for this past history of religious practice at the mountain, he claims a Jizō statue allegedly carved by Eshin still remained. This reference to an ancient Jizō statue is the first mention of a cult of Jizō at Osorezan. In addition, the poem also mentions a small mountain behind the Bodai-ji precinct that he calls Karadasen 加羅陀山 (Mount Karada), the name of a mountain appearing in the apocryphal, but well-known Jizō scripture, the *Bussetsu enmei Jizō bosatsu kyō* 仏説延命地藏菩薩經 (hereafter *Enmei Jizō Sutra*).<sup>11</sup> According to the sutra, the bodhisattva revealed himself to human beings for the first time emerging from Mount Kyarada.<sup>12</sup> What this suggests is that by 1700, it was thought that the hill behind the main precinct was the physical manifestation of the place mentioned in the sutra and that therefore Osorezan was the site from which Jizō appeared into this world.

Although this poem indicates some cultic activity related to Jizō at Osorezan, this bodhisattva had not yet occupied the dominant position at the mountain during the early eighteenth century. Instead, the Kamafusesan Daimyōjin's correlate Buddha was Shakyamuni and the mountain was dotted with statues and chapels dedicated to other members of the Buddhist pantheon—Kannon, Amida, Dainichi—with Jizō conspicuously absent. However, according to lists of Osorezan's treasures kept by the temple, in the period 1740–1759, there was a sudden proliferation of Jizō statues on the mountain.<sup>13</sup> The 1759 list includes four Jizō statues: the main Jizō statue (approximately six feet tall) that was believed to be the work of Ennin, another smaller Ennin Jizō statue, and two smaller Jizō statues made by Eshin and Jōchō that flanked the main one.<sup>14</sup>

This means that there were at least four Jizō statues at Osorezan by

<sup>11</sup> Other more "orthodox" Jizō sutras refer to the mountain as Karadayasen (KUSUNOKI 1984, pp. 103–107).

<sup>12</sup> In China, on the basis of other sutras, Jizō was thought to create a pure land in this world and possibly in the shape of natural phenomena. William POWELL (1987) has discussed the case of Jizō and Mt. Jiuhua. For another case of the identification of a mountain and the cult of Jizō, see BOUCHY's study on Mt. Atago (1987, p. 257).

<sup>13</sup> The list of treasures from 1740 can be found in KUMAGAI 1967, pp. 28–29. It lists three treasures—the statue of Kamafusesan Daimyōjin, the imperial decree granting the first court rank to the deity, and the *Lotus Sutra* allegedly copied by Ennin. The list from 1759 is included in the *Kamafusesan yuishoki*, which seems to be the same list as that contained in KUMAGAI 1967, pp. 100–102.

<sup>14</sup> The main statue is probably the same one mentioned by Sugae Masumi in his travelogue based on his visit to Osorezan in 1792, in which he wrote that the main Jizō statue was about seven *shaku* (or about seven feet) tall (SUGAE 1971, pp. 287–88). This list also includes several other statues supposedly made by Ennin: a statue of himself, a statue of Amida, and one of Datsueba.



the mid-eighteenth century, all of which were thought of as being the works of the great masters from the Heian period, which served to legitimize the growing cult of Jizō by presenting the cult as having existed for centuries. Among the four Jizō statues, the larger Ennin Jizō became the central object of worship of the Bodai-ji temple by the late eighteenth century. By calling it Karadasen Jizō and by placing it in a Jizō Hall<sup>15</sup> located at the base of Osorezan's Mount Karada, the priests completed the link between Ennin, the Jizō of the *Enmei Jizō Sutra*, and the physical geography of Osorezan.

The eighteenth-century growth in the cult of Jizō at Osorezan reflects a corresponding boom in the cult of Jizō, especially the Enmei (or Life-Prolonging) Jizō 延命地藏 throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As MANABE Kōsai has suggested in his classic *Jizō bosatsu no kenkyū* (1960), by the late medieval period, worship of Jizō had developed widely not only on the basis of canonical texts such as the *Jizō bosatsu kyō* 地藏菩薩經 or the *Jizō hongankyō* 地藏本願經, but through clearly apocryphal texts such as the *Enmei Jizō kyō* 延命地藏經,<sup>16</sup> which expounded on the miraculous and limitless powers of Jizō to prolong life.<sup>17</sup>

Certainly by the Tokugawa period, Jizō had become pluriform as evidenced in the association of this deity with a multitude of buddhas (Amida and Mahāvairocana most commonly), bodhisattvas (Kannon or Fudō), and other non-Japanese deities (Bishamonten or the guardian of hell, Enma), as well as being the *honji* 本地 (original source) of Japanese kami such as Atago Myōjin 愛宕明神, Kasuga Dai-myōjin 春日大明神, and Tateyama Gongen 立山権現. Also by this period, Jizō comes to be associated with a variety of roles such as reviving believers from death, salvation from the hell realms, a protector of crossroads and travelers, a protector of women and children, and a healer of a wide range of diseases.

Especially in the case of the cult of Enmei Jizō, the forms in which

<sup>15</sup> The name "Jizō Hall" (Jizōdō) appeared for the first time in a document submitted by the Entsū-ji abbot to bakufu officials who were charged with compiling information on the provinces in 1761 (NAKAMICHI 1929, pp. 144–45).

<sup>16</sup> The authenticity of the sutra was questioned by certain Buddhist scholars during the Tokugawa period when its popularity began to reach its peak. For discussions on this topic see KUSUNOKI 1984, pp. 116–20.

<sup>17</sup> Three Jizō "sutras" are commonly dealt with as a set: 1) *Jizō bosatsu hongankyō* 地藏菩薩本願經 (T. 13, 777–90; Chin. *Ti-tsang p'u-sa pen-yüan ching*) or the "Sutra on the Original Vow of the Bodhisattva Jizō" said to have been translated from the Sanskrit by Sikṣānanda (652–710) but probably of Central Asian or Chinese origin, outlines Jizō's past lives and the benefits of his cult; 2) *Jizō jūringyō* 地藏十輪經 (T. 13, 721; Chin. *Ti-tsang shih-lun ching*) or the "Jizō Ten Rings Sutra" supposedly translated by Hsüan-tsang, describes how Jizō will serve to save all beings in this world until the appearance of Miroku (Maitreya); and 3) the *Sensatsu zen'akugyō kyō* 占察善惡行經 (T. 17, 901; Chin. *Chan-ch'a shan-e yeh-pao ching*).

the bodhisattva enables the prolonging of life took many shapes. The *Enmei Jizō Sutra*, in particular, states that the bodhisattva provides believers with ten kinds of happiness (easy delivery, freedom from disability, exemptions from all kinds of diseases, long life, wisdom, wealth, winning the love of everybody, good harvest, the protection of deities, and the attainment of nirvana) and eight kinds of protections (from dangerous situations; stormy wind and rain; attack from the outside; rebellion from within; eclipse of the sun and the moon; astrological disorder; demons, hunger and thirst; and diseases spreading throughout the nation) (NIHON DAIZŌKYŌ HENSANKAI 1915, vol. 3, pp. 5–6). While one of the most well known of the Enmei Jizō type was the cult of Togenuki Jizō とげ抜き地蔵 (the Splinter-Removing Jizō) based at Kōgan-ji 高岸寺, located in the city of Edo, by the end of the Tokugawa period the Osorezan Enmei Jizō also came to be well known (see TAMAMURO 1992 and 1999; TANAKA 1980 and 1992; and WILLIAMS 2000, ch. 4).

These miraculous powers of Jizō to protect people and improve their condition in this world were chronicled in a genre of texts known as *Jizō setsuwa* 地蔵説話. Although a number of these compilations of miraculous tales of Jizō have been dated to the medieval period (such as the *Jizō bosatsu reigenki* 地蔵菩薩靈驗記),<sup>18</sup> most of these texts with such titles as *Jizō bosatsu kan'ōden* 地蔵菩薩感応伝 (1686 by Kaigen 晦巖), *Jizō bosatsu rishōki* 地蔵菩薩利生記 (1688 by Jōe 淨慧),<sup>19</sup> *Jizō bosatsu riyakushū* 地蔵菩薩利益集 (1691 by Jōe; see WATARI 1989), *Bussetsu enmei Jizō bosatsu kyō jikidanshō* 仏説延命地蔵菩薩經直談鈔 (1696 by Jōe; see WATARI 1988), *Jizō bosatsu ōgen shinki* 地蔵菩薩応驗新記 (1704 by Mushō), and the *Enmei Jizōson inkō riyaku ki* 延命地蔵尊印行利益記 (1822 by Hissai) were compiled roughly during the span of the Tokugawa period.<sup>20</sup>

The 1810 *Ōshū Nanbu Usorisan Kamabusezan Bodai-ji Jizō Taishi ryaku engi* (OBJE), compiled by the fifteenth abbot of Entsū-ji, was Osorezan's own version of miraculous legends concerning its Jizō. With the combination of an abbreviated history of the origins of Osorezan as a sacred site featuring Ennin (which functions as an *engi* 縁起) and its

<sup>18</sup> The *Jizō bosatsu reigenki* was compiled by Jitsuei of Mii-dera in the mid-Heian period, although the fourteen-volume version (with 152 stories) edited by Ryōkan was published in Jōkyō 1 (1684). For a partial English translation see DYKSTRA 1978.

<sup>19</sup> On the *Jizō bosatsu rishōki*, see WATARI 1991. On the role of the Ōbaku Zen priest Jōe (Myōdō Zenji) in the spread of the Jizō cult through his compilations of miracle stories, see NISHIDA 1991 and WATARI 1988.

<sup>20</sup> For a brief introduction to these early modern *Jizō setsuwa*, see MANABE 1960, pp. 157–70. WATARI Kōichi (1986) has also provided an important account of the development of *Jizō setsuwa* literature from the medieval versions to the early modern ones that tend to have closer associations with temples wanting to provide miraculous origins to their Jizō (*Jizō engishū*).

glorification of Jizō as the main image of worship by that point (which functions as a *reigenki* 靈驗記), this text helped explain the site to visitors. Here we shall include a full translation of the text:

A Brief History of the Jizō Taishi of Bodai-ji at Mount Kamabuse  
or Mount Usori in Nanbu District, Ōshū Region

The founding of this mountain stretches back to the ancient times of the fifty-fourth emperor, Ninmei [r. 833–850]. Ninmei, who was called Fukakusa no Mikado during his seventeen-year reign, was the second son of Emperor Saga. According to Ninmei, during the reign of Emperor Kanmu [r. 781–806], two monks were chosen to study the Buddha Dharma in a foreign land. The two monks were Dengyō Daishi [Saichō] and Kōbō Daishi [Kūkai] respectively. Ninmei also wanted to send a promising monk to China to study the Buddha Way. Thus, he searched throughout Japan and Jōki [the well-known monk, Ennin, who later received the imperially-bestowed name, Jikaku Daishi] was chosen.

This monk, Ennin, was forty-five years old at the time when he received his imperial sanction on the twenty-second day of the sixth month, Jōwa 5 [838]. Together with the highest ranking member of the Council of State, Kanezane, and the head of clerical office of the right, Fujiwara Tsunetsugu [who had also been the governor of Sagami Province], Ennin left for China. When they finally reached China, they first went to Mt. Tien-t'ai and then to Mt. Wu-tai, where they met many great teachers, who taught them both the exoteric and esoteric teachings.

One night, Ennin had a mysterious dream. In the dream, there suddenly appeared a holy monk who told him, "When you return to Japan, you should find a sacred mountain located in the east, about a thirty-day walk from the imperial capital. On this mountain are numerous hot springs, which have the power to cure all sorts of ailments. Also fiery flames erupt all across the mountain, which makes it look like a scene from hell. No one knows of the existence of this mountain. You should go to this mountain and establish a temple there, installing in it a statue of the bodhisattva Jizō, carved by your own hands. At this temple, you must first repay a debt of gratitude to the four quarters,<sup>21</sup> then save all beings in the three worlds, and ceaselessly undergo Buddhist disciplines. Long ago, I appeared before Shakyamuni Buddha at Mt. Karada and vowed to save all beings [living in a world without a Buddha]." The monk then disappeared.

With this, Ennin woke up from his dream. He smelt a mysterious fragrance and discovered to his astonishment, a copy of the *Jizō Sutra* in his room. [Note: When Ennin later made the statue of Jizō, he placed the sutra into a hollow section of the image.] At that moment, Ennin realized that he had seen the bodhisattva Jizō in the auspicious dream and he prayed to the bodhisattva from the bottom of his heart.

Then, in the tenth month of Jōwa 14 [847], Ennin returned to Japan.

<sup>21</sup> Heaven and earth, the king, one's parents, and all beings.

(Note: Although he experienced various mysterious incidents on his way back and had an accident at sea, they are not referred to here.) Thus for the sake of enlightenment for all beings, Ennin traveled here and there to realize enlightenment and teach the people Buddhism. Having completed his spread of the Buddhist teachings in the east, his propagation campaign reached the frontier land in the north. Having gone through the northern regions to arrive at Matsushima, where he built a temple named Seiryū-ji 青龍寺 (Note: This temple later fell into disuse, but was revived by Makabe Heishirō, who became a monk, trained in China, and renamed the temple Zuigan-ji 瑞巖寺). Then, Ennin went to Yamagata Domain in Dewa Province and established Ryūseki-ji 立石寺 on top of a mountain. Ennin went on to establish many other temples in this manner, but none of them were located at a sacred mountain with hot springs as ordered by Jizō Taishi in the dream. But finally, he came upon some moss on a craggy rock whereupon he realized the teaching that Buddha-nature is inherent in all. The grasses of the desolate and wild plains of this place also enlightened him to the mysterious teachings of the non-duality of the Absolute and Relative. So he climbed up to the top of this mountain, which seemed to fit the description [as the sacred mountain ordered by Jizō]. This mountain was what we today call “Upside-Down Cauldron Mountain” (Kamabusesan).

In the morning, Ennin recited the *Lotus Sutra* and in the evening, he practiced esoteric Buddhism. At other times, from morning to night, he copied scriptures and fasted. Seeing this, the mountain deity came to visit him with delicacies. Further, he became close to the bears and monkeys of the mountain. And with their assistance, he [was able to establish himself at this site] and came to build a small thatched hermitage there.

One day, a cormorant swooped toward the northern side of the mountain. Seeing this, Ennin thought that the area the bird flew to was far from ordinary. Thinking that there must be something special there where he could fulfill his mission, he walked toward that area. When he got there, there was a pure water lake with a range of mountains, covered in woods that rustled in a breeze, in the background. While the rest of the mountain seemed like hell with fiery flames erupting all across the landscape, this place was so serene that Ennin felt like he was looking at the Pure Land. Furthermore, seeing the pure hot springs gushing out, he thought that any and all ailments could be cured by them. Thus, he concluded that this was indeed the place that [Jizō had indicated] in his dream.

Then, he decided to observe strict monastic disciplines and perform the *goma* 護摩 ritual. (Note: The stone meditation platform and the *goma* ritual altar still remain today.) And just as ordered in the auspicious dream, he carved one statue of the bodhisattva Jizō and constructed a temple [for the statue], which he named Bodai-ji. (He also attached to the temple the so-called mountain name, Kamabusesan or “Upside-Down Cauldron Mountain,” because the mountain appeared to be in the shape of an upside-down cauldron.) The term “Upside-Down Cauldron” also refers to the fact that Ennin had no need for eating and drinking utensils, such as a cauldron, because of

the mysterious foods brought by the mountain deity. The naming of the site is also connected to the cormorant [*u*], who had strayed ["soared"] to the mountain to lead Ennin to the place. It was thus originally called Usorezan [Straying Cormorant Mountain], though it was known to local people as Usorizan. However, today, because the mountain is covered with the sights and sounds of hell, it has come to be known as "Fear Mountain" or Osorezan. Also, because the mountain is shaped like an upside-down cauldron, the locals have also called the place "Upside-Down Cauldron Mountain" or Kam-abusesan (although the character "fuse" really means to be tipped to the side instead of upside-down)."

Later, at age seventy-one, Ennin passed away at Ryūseki-ji in Dewa Province on the fourteenth of the first month, Jōgan 6 [864]. Two of his disciples, Eshin [also known as Genshin, 942–1017] and Jōchō [?–1057], out of respect to their master, carved one thousand buddha statues and installed them in shrines built half way up the mountain (Osorezan). However, as the years passed, both the shrines and the buddhas deteriorated, and today there is nothing left except the statue of Jizō that was originally carved by Ennin. (Note: Another statue carved by Ennin of himself is located at the Entsū-ji, which now manages Bodai-ji.)

At this temple of Jizō, there is a mysterious scent. Whomever comes to sit at this training temple on nights when the building is flooded with moonlight, will be able to let go of their illusions, just like clouds floating away into the distance. On stormy mornings when pine trees sway, one is able to awaken from a delusional dream.

Furthermore, there are numerous hot springs bubbling up on the temple grounds. If one bathes in these springs, one is able to immediately cure all illnesses and be free from them ever after. The miraculous powers of this bodhisattva is also recounted in a sutra, "Every day in the early morning, I [Jizō] will place myself in the state of mental concentration. I will go to various hells to save sinners from suffering. To save them I will take the form of a healing bodhisattva. I [will also supply] herbal medicines to save merchants, farmers, or those on the vast ocean."

Still today, it is clear that [the bodhisattva] has the power to take the place of all those who suffer, as he walks around the hells at this mountain ringing the metal rings attached to his walking stick. This is attested to by the abbot of the temple, who was very moved when he opened the door to the Jizō statue one morning and saw that the bottoms of Jizō's robe were wet and his staff burning hot [from having gone to hell for the sake of others]. And on a different night, some pilgrims, who were staying at the temple, were startled to hear the sound of the ringing of Jizō's staff. This [sign from Jizō] has occurred numerous times since.

Pilgrims who visit the temple to pray for healing, are immediately cured. Those wishing for a child, but who cannot conceive, are able to have a safe childbirth if they pray here. People who pray for victory in battle, a good harvest of the five grains, protection from fire, theft, lightning, or accidents, and for any and all other things will not have their wishes denied. In addition,

those who pray for safe passage at sea will receive it and favorable winds. Examples are too numerous to cite of people who have received safe passage for their boats and rafts. There is also a bird [a broad-billed roller] that sings *buppōsō* 仏法僧 [Buddha-Dharma-Sangha] and never leaves this mountain [Note: The birds can be heard from the eighth of the fourth month to the fifteenth of the eighth month every year.] Anyone who hears this bird is moved and this is evidence that this sacred place is unique in Japan and embodies the Three Treasures [Buddha-Dharma-Sangha]. There is no other place of such miraculous powers and it is impossible but to recount a few of these examples. This place is as rare as finding a single strand of hair among nine cows. The existence of this place must be made known far and wide.

Reprinted Bunka 7 [1810] by Kichijō-zan 吉祥山 Entsū-ji

### Appended

#### A List of Prayer Talismans at the Mountain

- \* Large and Small Talismans of Jizō [the Main Image of Worship]
- \* Talisman of the Jizō Who Provides Easy Childbirth [Koyasu Jizō 子安地藏]
- \* Talisman of the Figure of Jikaku Daishi 慈覚大師 [Ennin] Made by Himself
- \* Talisman for Extended Victory at War
- \* Talisman to Prevent Fire and Theft
- \* Four Directional Talisman to Avoid Lightning
- \* Talisman to Prevent Accidents
- \* Talisman for Safety at Sea
- \* A Ticket to Paradise
- \* A Map of the Mountain
- \* Those who donate “eternal lanterns” [expenses to cover lamp oil for the Buddhist images] can have prayer rites or memorial dedication services performed eternally on their behalf. There is also a Great Hungry Ghost Festival held at the mountain during the period from the twenty-second to the twenty-fourth of the sixth month. We accept applications for eternal prayer rites or memorial dedication services from people with a sincere and faithful heart during this period.
- \* A piece of the Jizō statue’s robes and a set of clothes for going to the Pure Land will be provided to those with a sincere and faithful heart.

#### The Hot Springs on the Mountain

There are five springs:

- \* The Spring of Yakushi [Yakushi no Yu 薬師の湯]: Good for eye diseases and hot flashes.
- \* The Spring of the Ancient Waterfall [Kotaki no Yu 古滝の湯—has been named this way because of the ancient waterfall at the site]: Good for acute stomach pain and other problems with the digestive organs. By making the stomach healthy, eye problems are also cured. An overall sense of well-being and appetite for food is gained [at this spring]. One can experience this by bathing in the spring.
- \* The Spring of Colds [Hie no Yu 冷え (or 比恵)の湯]: In the olden days, it used to be called the Spring that Removes Colds [Hienuki no Yu]. Good

for removing excess water from the body.

- \* The Spring of the Flower-Dye [Hanazome no Yu 花染の湯]: Good for sword cuts, cuts in general, bruises and swelling, and scabies. The minerals in this hot spring are different from those of others. When one bathes in this spring, one's body turns red as if dyed by a *benibana* flower.
- \* The Spring of the New Waterfall [Shintaki no Yu 新瀧 (滝)の湯]: Good for headaches, light-headedness, and hot flashes.

The OBJE, then, includes both an expanded version of the Ennin founding legend as well as a set of miraculous benefits that the Osorezan Jizō can offer to believers and pilgrims. These benefits include both this-worldly benefits such as healing, military victory, safety at sea, or protection from theft or fire, safe childbirth, and so on as well as other-worldly benefits such as salvation of believers from the hell realms and ensuring a passage to paradise. Compared to the ten kinds of happiness and eight kinds of protections detailed in the *Enmei Jizō Sutra*, the OBJE is much more concrete in its description of the powers of Jizō and linked to the daily lives of the fishermen, merchants, and others who would come to patronize Osorezan. Indeed, during the Tokugawa period, among all of these supposed benefits of the Osorezan Jizō, the growth of the cult at the mountain focused on three elements that we will take up next: healing at the hot springs, salvation from hell, and protection at sea.

### *Buddhism, Bathing, and Healing Springs*

The connection between Buddhism and healing through bathing has a long history in Japan. On the basis of Chinese apocryphal texts and practices, and on the idea that cleansing the body simultaneously purifies the mind, the major Buddhist temples in Nara and Kyoto opened their baths, usually restricted to the clergy, to the general populace. In a practice called *seyoku* 施浴, both the clergy and wealthy lay patrons offered money to sponsor the opening of baths to the general public with the hope that the merit thereby accrued would result in a better life in this world and salvation in the world beyond. Well-known monks such as Chōgen 重源, Ninshō 忍性, and Eison 叡尊 specifically designated bathing on temple compounds as a meritorious act and invited all segments of society, including those suffering from leprosy, to use temple baths for healing and hygiene (MATSUO 1993; KUNIHARA 1998). From the early medieval period users of these temple baths (*jiyu* 寺湯) made small donations to the Buddhist chapel that was adjacent to the bathhouse. These temple baths were the precursors to the later medieval public baths (*machiyu* 町湯) run by townspeople, which

in turn were the models for the communal bathhouses now known as *sentō* 銭湯.

The early spread of the culture of bathing in Japan through the charitable acts of large Buddhist temples has in its background the economic reality that a household needed to be very wealthy to purchase the firewood and bathing equipment necessary to build a bath. So it comes as no surprise that freely available hot springs that gushed out from the earth, which combined both the cleansing dimension of bathing as well as the healing properties of minerals, were seen as a gift from the gods. Indeed, most founding legends of premodern hot springs in Japan feature these springs as being gifts from a miraculous animal or bird, hot spring kami (*onsengami* 温泉神), or a Buddhist deity (the Buddha of healing, Yakushi, being the most often cited, but also including Jizō, Kannon, and Fudō, among others). In practice, this has resulted in the presence of a Yakushi Hall or a shrine dedicated to a local hot spring deity in virtually every hot spring site in Japan (KATŌ 1933; NISHIO 1987, 1994, 2000; NUMA 1986 and 1996). While Jizō is less frequently found, the nearby Hijiori Onsen 肘折温泉 in the Shōnai region of Yamagata, was said to be found by a man who had broken his elbow (*hiji-ori*) guided by Jizō in a dream. Even today, because of this legend, one is supposed to chant *Namu Jizō Taishi* three times before entering the waters of this old healing springs (SAKUMA 1985).

In addition, many such hot spring legends feature its discovery by Buddhist monks. The most frequent among these legends feature Gyōki 行基 (among the many hot springs that claim him as their founder, Arima 有馬 Onsen is perhaps the most famous; see YONEYAMA 2000) or Kōbō Daishi Kūkai 弘法大師空海 (whose discoveries allegedly include Shuzenji 修禪寺 Onsen and numerous hot springs named after him as “Kōbō no Yu” 弘法の湯; see KOIKE 1991). The fact that Buddhist monks were the most well-traveled individuals in medieval Japan and that they likely had the most intimate knowledge of the mountains and waterways where they often practiced their disciplines, probably resulted in them becoming acquainted with the hot springs, mountain herbs, and other curative powers of nature. Another well-known hot-spring monk, the Sōtō Zen Gennō Shinshō 源翁心昭, was known for preaching to and converting local hot spring deities to Buddhism wherein the deity in their gratitude would offer the springs to Gennō and his temple (HIROSE 1997; YOKOI 2000 and 2001). In the case of Jigen-ji 示現寺, for example, after one such conversion by Gennō, the temple came to oversee the hot spring source at Atsushio 熱塩 Onsen where the temple was located. Even to this day, the temple receives revenue from the inns that draw from the town’s hot spring source located on temple grounds. This type of hot spring manage-



ment by Buddhist temples can also be seen in the phenomenon of Onsen-ji (Hot Spring Temples), which exist in many regions of Japan, including Arima Onsen (Kobe), Shibu 渋 Onsen (Nagano), Kinokuni Onsen (Hyōgo), Ryūjin 龍神 Onsen (Wakayama), and Nikkōzan 日光山 Onsen (Tochigi) (Irō 1992 and 1999).

Putting aside the question of whether these monks actually founded the hot springs or not, later chroniclers made a point of linking the local hot spring with well-known Buddhist monks because it would heighten the sacrality and thus the medical efficacy of the springs through an association with either a Buddhist deity or a famous monk. Osorezan was no different. By the 1810s when the OBJE was compiled, Osorezan's hot springs were linked both to a Buddhist deity (Jizō) and to a famous monk (Ennin). In addition, as the section on the hot springs suggests, its curative powers (for eye diseases, for stomach problems, for removing excess water from the body, for cuts and bruises, for scabies, for headaches and hot flashes) were many. In particular, one spring (Yakushi no Yu) linked to the Buddha of healing, Yakushi, was said to be effective for eye diseases and hot flashes (OBJE).

That the hot springs at Osorezan were central to its cult is evidenced not only by the locals calling the mountain Yama no Yu as mentioned above,<sup>22</sup> but in its growing fame as a place to be visited for its hot springs.<sup>23</sup> A report submitted to bakufu inspection officials from as early as 1762 states, "The hot springs here are as old as the foundation of this religious site. The evidence for this fact is found in old records." The best source of information about the hot spring cures at Osorezan of this period are the essays of a traveling scholar, Sugae Masumi 菅江真澄, who visited the mountains springs in 1792 and 1793. In his essay, *Maki no Fuyugare* 牧の冬がれ he wrote about what he witnessed in an entry from the early winter of 1792 (SUGAE 1971, pp. 284–89):

The Thirtieth of Tenth Month:

Today I left for Yama no Yu at about ten o'clock in the morning with the guidance of Agemaki. We struggled our way through the deep snow toward the mountain to the west of the town [of Tanabu]... [Translator's note: When Sugae reached the shore of the lake at Osorezan, the sun was already setting.] The reflection of the setting sun was about to disappear from the surface of the lake. The wind blew around the thin clouds

<sup>22</sup> In addition to Sugae's reference cited above, a wooden signboard "Tanabu kaihen sanjūsanban fudasho" that calls the mountain "Yama no Yu" still remains at Entsū-ji.

<sup>23</sup> A gazetteer from the late eighteenth century, the *Gohonai gosonshi* 封内郷村志 by Ōmaki Shusen 大巻秀詮, notes the great number of pilgrims who went to Osorezan to receive hot spring cures (NANBU SŌSHO KANKŌKAI 1929, vols. 5–6).



**Figure 1. Kotaki no Yu hot spring.**

streaming over the peaks, through which we can see the fading blue tinge of the sky....

The doors of many of the halls were closed already. Some halls were covered with reed mats. It is lonesome here when all beings, including the buddhas and bodhisattvas, confine themselves indoors because of the winter cold. Only the sounds of hot water gushing and flowing out of the bathtubs and burning volcanic ejecta erupting and bursting into flames echoed throughout these mountains and valleys....

There were several hot springs, Hie no Yu, Yakushi no Yu, and Furutaki no Yu [Translator's note: This is the same hot spring as Kotaki no Yu; see Figure 1]. Behind the hill was Hanazome no Yu, the water of which was light yellow. I heard that there was another spring, called Shintaki no Yu somewhere in these mountains as well. There were many huts dedicated to the visitors staying here to bath in the hot springs. There were also toilets for them built over a small stream. Although they were small, there are many buildings of this kind scattered here and there throughout the precinct. All of them were covered with deep snow. Just like clouds appearing from the folds of the mountains, the smoke from the burning volcanic ejecta and the steam from the hot springs rose up into the sky and were blowing in the morning wind....

A merchant from Settsu Province, who had visited the mountain, composed a comical verse, “The water is hot thanks to the Buddha Dharma, without being heated in a cauldron covered lid (*kama-fuse*). By soaking their bodies in the hot water, patients recover from illness.”

What this entry from Sugae Masumi’s essay suggests is that by the late eighteenth century, Osorezan was a destination for hot spring pilgrims, who came from places as far away as Settsu Province, even in the winter months when the religious institutions were closed. In another of his essays, *Oku no Uraura* 於久能宇良宇良, Sugae writes of other visitors who came to Osorezan specifically to use the healing springs, including a female entertainer from the Nanbu Domain port town of Miyako and a man who had just come back from Ezo, today’s Hokkaido (SUGAE 1971, pp. 342–43). This implies that news about the hot springs’ efficacy to treat various types of ailments, which was linked with the corresponding rise in the cult of Enmei Jizō that promised healing, had begun to spread beyond the Shimokita Peninsula. Even a man belonging to an outcaste group from as far away as Musashi Province made a trip to Osorezan in the late eighteenth century (SAITAMAKEN DŌWA KYŌIKU KENKYŪ KYŌGIKAI 1978, p. 58).<sup>24</sup>

One important text in the dissemination of information about Osorezan’s springs as well as the cult of Jizō at the mountain was an account of a pilgrimage to this sacred site by the popular writer Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765–1831).<sup>25</sup> Ikku was one of the most successful writers of late Tokugawa Japan, who began his rise to fame with a comical account of the fictional pilgrimage of two Edo commoners to Ise Shrine. He was a prolific writer and published a multi-volume series of travel books as well as books of other genres of literature. His account of a pilgrimage to Osorezan was published as one volume in a series of illustrated travel books, the *Muda shugyō kane no waraji* 方言修行金草鞋 published in 1830.<sup>26</sup> This series included accounts of pilgrimages to famous sacred sites, such as Zenkō-ji 善光寺, Mount Tateyama, Mount Hakusan, and Mount Haguro, as well as the thirty-three Kannon temples in Saigoku, and the Shikoku eighty-eight temples pilgrimage devoted to Kōbō Daishi. Osorezan was included as one of these famous sacred sites.

<sup>24</sup> For more on pilgrimage to shrines and temples by members of the outcaste group, see KASHIWAURA 2000.

<sup>25</sup> For an English translation of one of Ikku’s most famous works, see SATCHELL 1960, and for commentary on it see MERTZ 1996. On Ikku’s travels to another sacred site in the Kantō region, Daiyūzan Saijō-ji, see WILLIAMS 2000, ch. 3.

<sup>26</sup> This series was published from 1813 to 1834. The photocopy of the original text was compiled by IMAI 1999, vol. 6.

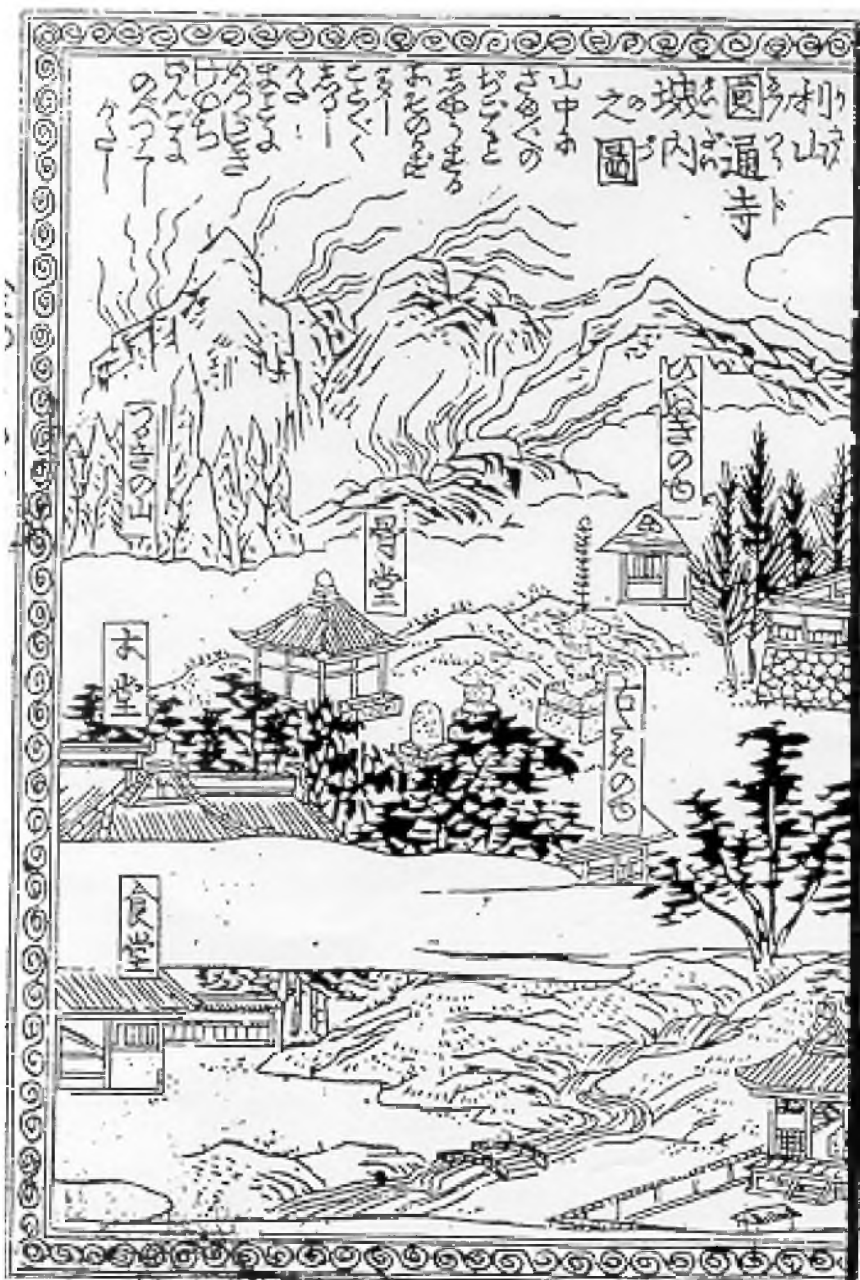
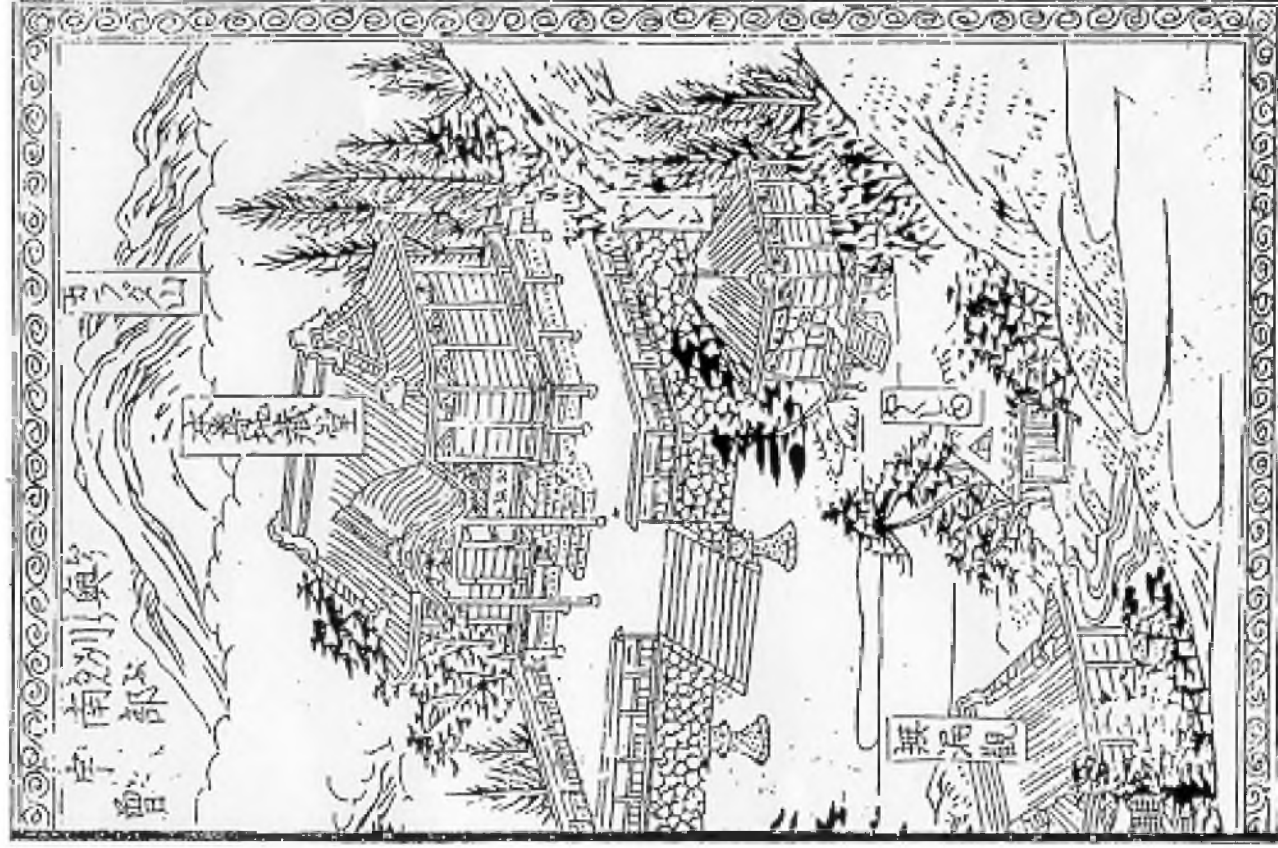


Figure 2. Woodblock prints of Osorezan by Ikku



Ikku wrote about a new form of travel that was developing throughout all of the provinces and among all classes—tourism in the form of pilgrimage. Even pilgrimages to sacred mountains, which often involved hardships associated with the travel to the site as well as the climb itself, was viewed by Ikku primarily as a form of recreation: “Mount Myōgi, Mount Haruna, Mount Fuji, Mount Ōyama... People visit these places seventy percent for pleasure and thirty percent out of faith” (from Ikku’s *Ōyama dōchū hizakurige* of 1832). In parallel with such developments in tourism, the volumes of the *Muda shugyō kane no waraji* put an emphasis on the enjoyable factors of pilgrimage rather than its ascetic elements. In his widely-read book, Ikku used an amusing writing style to guide the reader to the towns and other notable places along the route of his journey, starting from the castle town of Tsuruoka in the southern Tōhoku region and ending with Osorezan. Regarding Osorezan, Ikku introduces the reader to the legends of the mountain’s founding, the Buddhist statues enshrined there, the extraordinary landscape of the mountains, and the ponds of boiling mud, as well as the hot springs gushing out in the precinct. This section is but a copy of an entry on Osorezan found in the well-known early eighteenth-century encyclopedia, *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (see TERASHIMA 1980).<sup>27</sup> However, Ikku adds a very interesting series of three woodblock prints and a description attached to them (see Figure 2). Here Osorezan is dealt with as if it were a scenic spot. The first picture shows a peaceful scene of Lake Usori surrounded with pine trees and two rafts floating on the water. The following pictures show the central parts of the precinct: the buildings and halls, including the beautiful Jizō Hall, a large stone lantern, and a big *torii* at the entrance. Of course, the hot springs are highlighted with all five bath-houses, where many pilgrims were said to have taken hot spring cures.

<sup>27</sup> The fact that Osorezan was taken up as one of the entries in this encyclopedia indicates the growing interest in this sacred site. However, as the traveling scholar of the nineteenth century Furukawa Koshōken criticized, the encyclopedia’s account of Osorezan was not very accurate because it was composed without the author having visited the area (FURUKAWA 1964, p. 198). Indeed, the description of Osorezan that appeared in the encyclopedia is strikingly different from other accounts. According to this encyclopedia, Ennin made one thousand stone statues of Jizō, one large statue measuring roughly five feet and 999 smaller ones. It also states that although most of these statues had been lost, Enkū, a famous Buddhist sculptor of the seventeenth century, made statues for Osorezan to replace those that had become lost over the years. The Enkū story is rather suspect because the only extant statue known to be made by Enkū held by Entsu-ji is a single Kannon statue. According to the *Kumagai tōkafu utsushi* 熊谷統家譜写シ, which provides us with the only documentation for why an Enkū Kannon statue was enshrined at Entsu-ji, the statue was donated by the head of a locally powerful family, Kumagai Masatsugu, to the temple in the mid-seventeenth century. The encyclopedia entry also mentions that two bronze statues of Amida and Dainichi were donated by a merchant called Takeuchi Yohei.

Finally, although the woodblock prints do not depict it, Ikku describes an other-worldly scene in the text portion: “There are countless hells on the mountain. Such a scene is hardly found anywhere else. It is beyond words... The astonishing scenes of hells encourage visitors to develop faith.” While the prints seem to only indirectly refer to such scenes with depictions of smoke rising behind some rocks, it is clear that by 1830, a incipient cult of the other world and its corresponding cult of the dead had begun to take hold at Osorezan.

*Visible Salvation: Hells and the Cult of the Dead*

Just as the hot springs were an integral part of Osorezan’s physical landscape, its bubbling ponds and sulphurous smells that evoke images of hells in the Japanese mental landscape were equally important as one of the central features of the mountain. The inscribing of hell into Osorezan’s geography began with the naming of certain sites as specific hells or as marking the borderland between this world and the other. In the same way that Mount Karada, as the residence of Jizō in this world, became associated with a certain section of the mountain, various hells and heavens were transposed onto physical space at Osorezan.

Although mountains have often been associated with the resting place or the realm of the dead in Japanese religions (HORI 1966), Osorezan’s cult of the dead was not only based on a localized belief in the other-world character of the mountain, but based on the transposition of specific Buddhist ideas already developed elsewhere at the site.<sup>28</sup> The mapping of hells and heavens onto physical space, especially mountains, has been a topic of growing interest among scholars of sacred space in Japan (AMBROS 2002; FOWLER 1997; GRAPARD 1982, 1986, 1993, 1994, and 1998; SEIDEL 1992–1993). At Osorezan, this geography of hells and heavens most prominently featured the Sai no Kawara 賽の河原 (the Dry Riverbed of Sai found along the Sanzu River 三途の川 located at the boundary of hell), the Chi no Ike Jigoku 血の池地獄 (the Blood Pool Hell), and eventually the Gokuraku no Hama 極楽の浜 (the Shore of Paradise). These cosmological elements were tied to the notion that Jizō was a bodhisattva who had the ability to appear in any of the six realms of existence (*rokudō* 六道), including the hell realm, to save suffering beings. At Osorezan, then, the generalized notion that Jizō was a savior of the deceased and that the mountain

<sup>28</sup> From as early as the 1670s some people prayed for the repose of the souls of the deceased there, as evidenced by some stone stupas dedicated to help the deceased attain salvation in the precinct (DOI 1997, p. 287).

was a place where the dead resided came together in the mid- to late Tokugawa period.

Although the earliest reliable evidence of Osorezan's hell geography, in particular the Sai no Kawara and the Chi no Ike Jigoku, does not appear until 1762 (TACHIBANA 1988, p. 87), it is not likely that such ideas could have existed too much earlier at Osorezan because it was not until the early Tokugawa period that such notions began to be prevalent nationwide (MANABE 1960, pp. 59-61; WATARI 1999).<sup>29</sup> In the case of the Sai no Kawara, a feature of hell geography developed rather late, children who had died young gathered at the boundary between this world and the next, piling up small stones at the riverbed of Sai in the shape of stupas. They did this, according to the Buddhist hymns (*wasan* 和讃) that made the notion of this zone popular, to pray for their salvation from the hell realms as well as the salvation of their family members (MANABE 1960, pp. 171-249; WATARI 1999). In these hymns, Jizō is depicted as taking the place of a dead child's parent to save the soul of children from their fate.<sup>30</sup> At Osorezan from the late eighteenth century, an open space covered with stones near the lake located on the temple precincts came to be called Sai no Kawara. Furthermore, by the late eighteenth century, a Jizō statue was enshrined in that zone of the mountain, followed by a full-fledged Jizō Hall in the mid-nineteenth century (NAKAMICHI 1929, pp. 154-56).

The connection between the Osorezan Jizō and salvation of the dead, children in the case of the Sai no Kawara, became just as important as this-worldly benefits to the cult at the mountain by the late eighteenth century. A 1798 manual for the guides at Osorezan illustrates what visiting pilgrims were probably told:

This is the Sai no Kawara. They say that children who die before they reach the age of seven come here and pile up small stones. However, they are often in tears, frightened by the hell demons.... The Karadasen Jizō [of this mountain], who continuously tours the 136 hells, saves those children who cling to the bottom of his robe. Why don't you pay a visit to the main hall and look at the Jizō statue therein. You will find the torn hem and sleeves of his robe there. Some of you might have unwillingly said good-bye to your children or grandchildren. It is said that Jizō will swiftly save such a child whose par-

<sup>29</sup> The earliest reliable evidence comes from the report of the thirteenth Entsū-ji abbot to the bakufu's inspectors (KUSUNOKI 1984, pp. 87-88). As mentioned above, the reference to these sites in the *Wakan sansai zue* is not reliable, as its author never visited the site and there is no other source for verifying its information.

<sup>30</sup> For an English translation of one such hymn, see LAFLEUR 1992, pp. 63-64.



ents or grandparents visit the Jizō enshrined here at this mountain and offer him prayers and occasional donations for three years from the death of your child.

(NAKAMICHI 1929, pp. 154–55)

The guide's manual suggests that by the late eighteenth century, the Sai no Kawara had become a prominent zone at Osorezan, drawing pilgrims to the stone-filled area by the lake as well as the main Jizō Hall (which would be supplemented by the Sai no Kawara Jizō Hall in the nineteenth century) where evidence of Jizō's salvation of children (i.e., the torn robe) could be seen by all.<sup>31</sup> The motif of visible salvation, where a ghost or some suffering being in the world beyond leaves behind evidence of his or her salvation, becomes a major one during the Tokugawa period.

Especially in the case of temples affiliated with the Sōtō Zen sect, as Entsū-ji was, such stories of ghosts or other beings leaving behind evidence that could substantiate a person's salvation by a Buddhist deity or a monk proliferated. For example, the ghost of a concubine that the Sōtō Zen founder Dōgen 道元 had saved, allegedly left behind a sleeve (*katasode* 片袖) as did the ghost of a feudal lord whom Dōgen, in a different legend, saved with a *kechimyaku* 血脈 (Zen lineage chart). While the sect's head temple of Eihei-ji never deigned to exhibit such other-worldly objects, a number of Sōtō Zen temples exhibited ghost sleeves in an effort to demonstrate to laypeople the power of their monks to save those suffering in the world beyond (TSUTSUMI 1999b, pp. 138–41). Enjō-ji (Iwate Prefecture), for example, periodically exhibited the sleeve of a certain Shikauchi Hyōbu, who became a ghost after his death because his descendants did not respect his last wishes that a Shakyamuni statue be donated to the temple (ŌIKAWA 1983, legend no. 3471).<sup>32</sup>

Sōtō Zen temples, along with some other sects, displayed other such mementos from the world beyond as proof of the power of their ability to console and save the dead. In a list of their temple treasures compiled in 1862, Tokun-ji 徳運寺 in Tōjō Village (Hiroshima Prefecture) included demon and goblin (*tengu* 天狗) horns as evidence left by these otherworldly creatures, attesting to their salvation. These treasures would occasionally be exhibited for lay believers through

<sup>31</sup> For late Tokugawa-period references to priests and guides highlighting this Jizō robe, see SUGAE 1971 (p. 288), the *Osorezan kikō* 恐山記行, and the *Okujun no nikki* 奥巡の日記.

<sup>32</sup> A similar ghost's sleeve piece can also be found at Gankō-ji (Ehime Prefecture) and an illustrated scroll of such a sleeve can be found at Tokushō-ji (Niigata Prefecture). For the story of the salvation of a jealous wife who was turned into a ghost by the Tokushō-ji abbot, see TOKUSHIŌ-JI GOJIKAI 1994, pp. 18–20.

*kaichō* 開帳 or public displays of usually hidden treasures on special days (TSUTSUMI 1999a, pp. 181–83). Other temples held such mementos as animal claws and teeth (allegedly from beings saved from their animal form), dragon scales (from dragon girls who were saved), or crab shells (from crabs defeated by Zen masters in Dharma combat) (TSUTSUMI 1999b, pp. 133–34). The basic message seems to have been that if Sōtō Zen priests could have saved such lowly beings, that power could also be transferred to ordinary human beings. And certainly if Zen priests could save the deceased in this manner, it was not hard to imagine that the bodhisattva Jizō, whose long-standing association with salvation of beings in the hell realms, could accomplish the same.

Salvation made visible was reinforced by the physicality of Osorezan's Sai no Kawara where pilgrims would pile stones near the lake area as if to symbolically imitate the acts of their lost children. Another zone, located near the Sai no Kawara, was the Chi no Ike Jigoku, the so-called Blood Pool Hell. As suggested by its name, this hell was visually imagined as a large pool full of blood. At Osorezan and at other physical manifestations of this particular hell on earth, the physical correlate was often a red-colored pool of hot water that was tinged by various mineral substances.<sup>33</sup>

This was a hell reserved specifically for women as related in the *Ketsubonkyō* 血盆經 (Blood Pool Sutra). This sutra, formally known as the *Bussetsu daizō shōkyō ketsubonkyō* 仏説大藏正經血盆經, is a very short 420-character apocryphal sutra (*Manji Zokuzōkyō* 1-87.4, 299) developed in medieval China. In this text, the Buddha's disciple Mokuren (in most variants), after having seen the immense suffering of women in the Blood Pool Hell, asked the Buddha for help which resulted in the *Ketsubonkyō*.<sup>34</sup> Women are condemned to this hell, the sutra explains, because of "their sin of having polluted the earth deity with their parturition (or menstrual) blood, or of having washed their blood-soiled garments in the water of a river, which others would have drawn inadvertently to prepare tea to offer to worthy Buddhists, thereby polluting them." According to the sutra, its recitation and reverence

<sup>33</sup> The Chi no Ike at Osorezan, because of the changes in the contents of its mineral substances, has not always been red (NAKAMICHI 1929, pp. 144–45).

<sup>34</sup> There are a number of extant Chinese, Korean, and Japanese variants that are analyzed by TAKEMI 1983. The *Ketsubonkyō*'s origins in China (its Taoist version as well) are explored by SOYMIÉ 1965. Extant *Ketsubonkyō* texts in Japan have been catalogued and categorized most broadly into the Gankō-ji type, the Genshō-ji type (which cites childbirth blood as the reason for women falling into the Blood Pool Hell), and the Wage type, which includes both the sutra and commentary, and cites both childbirth and menstruation as reasons. For these classifications, see MATSUOKA 1998, pp. 259–64. For the best overview of *Ketsubonkyō* studies, see KODATE and MAKINO 1996. A partial English translation of the sutra can be found in TAKEMI 1983, pp. 230, 232.

has the power to rescue women from this Blood Pool by lifting them out of the pool with lotus flowers that miraculously emerge from within the pond.

Although monks and nuns from other Buddhist traditions had been involved in the propagation of the *Ketsubonkyō* and its ideas—Kumano *bikuni* 熊野比丘尼 in the late medieval period, Jōdo sect monks<sup>35</sup> in the early Edo period, and monks at sacred mountains like Mount Tateyama<sup>36</sup>—Sōtō Zen priests were one of the most active proponents of this sutra during the mid- to late Edo period. It is quite likely that the Sōtō Zen temple Entsū-ji promoted the idea of the Chi no Ike at Osorezan influenced by the activities of another Sōtō Zen temple, Shōsen-ji 正泉寺. Shōsen-ji, which claimed the title of the birthplace of the sutra in Japan, was one of the largest centers of *Ketsubonkyō*-related activity during the Tokugawa period. This temple circulated its temple-founding legend throughout Sōtō Zen temples around the country that highlighted the powers of the Shōsen-ji Jizō to save all women who were condemned to this hell.

This teaching of the damnation of all women to a specially-reserved hell was popularized by the Sōtō sect and was accompanied by the notion that salvation from this fate was only possible if people (Buddhist priests and relatives of the deceased women) interceded by performing ritual activity connected with the *Ketsubonkyō* and thereby petition Jizō for help. These activities ranged from copying the sutra to placing it in coffins at funerals, or, in the case of Blood Pool Hells located in mountains, such as at Mount Tateyama or Osorezan, throwing copies of the text into the waters on behalf of the dead female relative. A pilgrim to Osorezan in 1862, for example, noted that many pieces of paper with the posthumous names of the deceased had been thrown into the pond (OHASHI 1862).

While the Sai no Kawara was a site to ritualize dead children and the Chi no Ike a focal point for the salvation of dead women, Osorezan eventually grew into a site generally known as an efficacious place

<sup>35</sup> Jōdo school monks in the early Edo period connected their special funerary ceremonies for women who died during childbirth to ceremonies to be used for all women through the ideology propounded in the *Ketsubonkyō*. For a study of Jōdo school propagation manuals such as the 1698 *Jōka shōhō hōkan* 浄家諸回向宝鑑, which connect funerary ritual with faith in the *Ketsubonkyō*, see KODATE 1989 and MATSUOKA 1998, p. 269.

<sup>36</sup> Mt. Tateyama was another major site for *Ketsubonkyō* ritual activities from the early Edo period because of its well-known Chi no Ike Jigoku at the sacred mountain into which copies of the sutra were placed. For a detailed study of Tateyama and the *Ketsubonkyō*, see KODATE 1997. On the influence of Tendai-affiliated Shugen practitioners in the spread of the ideas in the *Ketsubonkyō*, including their presence at Mt. Tateyama (a Tendai-affiliated site), see TOKIEDA 1984. For research on Tateyama in English, see FORMANEK 1993 and SEIDEL 1992–1993.

to memorialize and communicate with the dead. In one of his essays, the *Oku no uraura*, Sugae Masumi recorded what he witnessed at Osorezan during the Jizō festival, a particularly auspicious time to commune with the dead, on the twenty-fourth of the sixth month of 1793.

Many people from many villages arrived at Osorezan in the early afternoon of the previous day. Ascetics from many provinces chanted the name of Amida Buddha beating metal gongs or ringing bells. Shelves for offerings were made in front of the memorial stupas.... The temple issued wooden memorial tablets in exchange for offerings of six copper coins. Visitors, old and young, men and women, all placed the tablets on the shelves, offered water and rice balls, and called out to the deceased, "How ephemeral! My grandchild, my flower, you have become as such!" "My brother!" "My sister!" "My wife!" "My child!" Their cries and their chanting of Amida's name echoed throughout the mountains. Towards the dawn of the following day visitors prayed to the Jizō saying, "Homage to the Enmei Jizō Bodhisattva of Mount Karada who reveals himself in all six realms! Please exempt me from the sufferings after death. Please give me joy."... On the following morning, the abbot of Entsū-ji walked around the temple grounds to chant sutras at every corner, including both Mount Karada and the hells. (SUGAE 1971, pp. 346-47)

Here we can see how pilgrims from afar came to Osorezan seeking to communicate with a dead relative through the intercession of the mountain's Jizō, Amida Buddha (which has no basis at Osorezan, but was a common deity to pray to for salvation to the Pure Land), and Entsū-ji's priests who recited sutras and prepared memorial tablets for the deceased. The Jizō festival, like the more generic Obon festival, became an occasion when the dead were thought to be particularly accessible to the living. Another pilgrim in a little later period wrote, "They say that those who hope for a reunion with the deceased should stay overnight there [at the Sai no Kawara at Osorezan]. They should offer incense and flowers, chant the name of Amida, and call on the name of the deceased continually. Then that deceased person will appear in front of them. However, the temple forbids staying overnight there because some pilgrims become insane from experiencing too much sorrow" (ŌHASHI 1862). What this notation suggests is that at a certain point in the Tokugawa period, it was no longer simply the Entsū-ji priests who were promoting the cult of Jizō at Osorezan, but that by word of mouth, the site was becoming well known as a place where the dead would appear if called upon. Despite the priest's instruc-

tions not to go to the Sai no Kawara at night, nighttime was apparently the most likely time the dead would appear to the living. By the nineteenth century, the physical features of Osorezan's landscape—its hell geography—had combined with a notion of temporal efficacy—the Jizō festival or nighttime—in which Osorezan stood both symbolically and physically at the cusp of this world and the world beyond.

*Protecting the Seafarers: Merchants and Fishermen*

The third component in Osorezan's growth into one of the major sacred sites of northeastern Japan by the nineteenth century was the popularity of the Osorezan Jizō among those engaging in maritime transportation. Protection of merchants and fishermen on the sea by Japanese kami as well as Buddhist deities had been a function of local shrines and temples located near the sea since the medieval period. In addition to these local religious institutions, which called upon their divinities to provide safe passage at sea for their believers, two institutions in particular, Konpirasan on Shikoku Island and Zenpō-ji in the Tōhoku region, developed into national centers for this type of maritime protection during the late Tokugawa period. Indeed, the dragon deities at these two institutions are the major deities associated with water, rainfall, and control of the waterways, including the sea. In contrast, the bodhisattva Jizō is rarely associated with such a function, but as we saw with the OBJE above, the temple provided talismans for safety at sea (*kaijō anzen* 海上安全) based on a Jizō vow to help those on the vast ocean. The *Enmei Jizō Sutra* claims that Enmei Jizō can manifest himself as either the land, the mountain king, or the ocean, and the sutra guarantees that Jizō, on seeing a man dropping into the water or a ship about to sink, will appear to save them. On the basis of this vow, Osorezan highlighted a minor attribute of Jizō into a major attribute of the Osorezan Jizō. The priests of Entsū-ji developed this point further in their discourse on the benefits granted by the Osorezan Jizō in the OBJE, noting “those who pray for safe passage at sea will receive it and favorable winds. Examples are too numerous to cite of people who have received safe passage for their boats and rafts.”

The emphasis of the Osorezan Jizō's powers to protect those seafaring merchants and fishermen coincided with a rise in the use of the maritime routes around the ports of the Shimokita Peninsula, especially with a trade route that extended all the way from Osaka along the coasts of the Inland Sea and the Japan Sea to the northern end of Honshū and sometimes even up to Ezo and the Kuril Islands. This development of trade and transportation along the Japan Sea side of Honshū starting from the late eighteenth century featured a new type

of long-distance boat called the *kitamae-sen* 北前船. Indeed, we can find the name of one of the most famous *kitamae-sen* owners as a major donor inscribed on the surface of a stone lantern at Osorezan (TAKASE 1997, pp. 149–57). The owners of this type of ship were not mere forwarding agents but traders carrying goods on their ships and conducting trade at every port their ships entered (MAKINO 1989, pp. 16–17). In their eyes, the ports of Shimokita had special importance, since they were at the juncture of the three major sea routes, the western (*nishi-mawari* 西廻り) route, the route between Honshū and Ezo, and the route along the Pacific coast side to Edo as well as farther ports. Because many *kitamae-sen* entered the ports of Shimokita Peninsula and conducted trade there, it is no wonder that the owners and sailors of these ships heard about sea protection benefits granted by Osorezan Jizō.

Apart from the *kitamae-sen*, other factors that encouraged the development of maritime transportation involving the ports of the Shimokita Peninsula included the transportation of the region's well-known Japanese cypress trees for the lumber trade (SASAZAWA 1953, p. 19). When the lord of the domain restricted the felling of Shimokita's trees, the shipping merchants of this region then began exporting dried seafood to Nagasaki and onward to China (NARUMI 1977, pp. 62–64). What was also noteworthy was the bakufu's policy to develop Hakodate as a new political center of the land of Ezo and to designate the sea routes between Hakodate and the ports of Shimokita Peninsula as the main sea routes to sail across the strait. This policy encouraged the growth of Hakodate as a new economic center of the land of Ezo, while more and more merchant ships, including *kitamae-sen*, entered the ports of Shimokita (HAKODATESHI 1980, pp. 510–11). Such developments in traffic and transportation formed the basic necessary condition for the growing popularity of the Osorezan Jizō among the shipping merchants and sailors.

Their devotion to the Osorezan Jizō is best understood against the sense of problems the shipping merchants and mariners commonly faced at that time. Since the owners of *kitamae-sen* could gain large profits engaging in long distance trade, they betted on beating their competition with fast boats loaded to capacity with as many profitable goods as possible and with the fewest number of crew members on board (MAKINO 1989, pp. 358–60). The type of a boat chosen for this purpose was a sailboat designed to speedily sail through high waves. And because this type of boat had no hard and fixed deck, the crew could pile up the goods in the open deck area and cover them with straw mats (MAKINO 1985, p. 26). Ships of this type were, of course, much more vulnerable in stormy weather compared to most boats. The crew, if faced with life-threatening storms, had to abandon their

anchor, draw down their sails, or cut down their mast, which meant that they could not control the course of the drifting ship and were left to the mercy of the sea (MAKINO 1989, p. 360). In the case of a shipwreck, the owner's damage was much larger than that of a mere forwarding agent, since he lost not only his ship but also his goods. Many owners went bankrupt as a result. Moreover, the lives of the captain and sailors were often exposed to danger. With such a situation, *kitamae-sen* owners and the sailors prayed for protection while at sea, invoking buddhas, bodhisattvas, and deities enshrined in their homelands as well as those near the ports their ship entered (MAKINO 1989, p. 327). It was against this background that these seafarers attached importance to the worship of the Osorezan Jizō.

When these merchants made large profits, as they often would when a trade mission went well, Osorezan became one of their beneficiaries. For example, when the Jizō Hall was reconstructed in 1826 and again in 1857, among the thirty-six figures appearing on the roll of major donors, ten are identified as merchants engaging in trade in the land of Ezo and one as a merchant from Yoshizaki, a port town on the Japan Sea (USORIZAN MONJO n.d., pp. 9–12). The organizer of this fundraising campaign was Yamamoto Rizaemon, a large scale merchant dealing in goods loaded and unloaded at the ports of Shimokita Peninsula (NARUMI 1977, p. 126). Further, when in 1831 the abbot of Entsū-ji hoped to make a replica of the statue of Ennin, an Osaka merchant, Tachibana-ya Kichigorō, funded the project in Osaka and had another Osaka merchant ship the finished statue to Ōminato, the closest port town to Osorezan.<sup>37</sup>

From 1862, the Entsū-ji abbot hoped to celebrate the one thousandth anniversary of Ennin's founding of Osorezan. To mark the occasion, from 1846 to 1861, more than a hundred patrons donated 48 stone lanterns to be placed in the precinct of Osorezan, 33 stone statues of Kannon to be placed along the pilgrimage route from Ōminato to Osorezan, and 124 stone guideposts to be placed at intervals along another pilgrimage route from Tanabu to Osorezan (see Figure 3). From the inscriptions on these stone monuments we learn that most of them were donated either by local notables or the merchants based at the port towns either on the Shimokita Peninsula or along the sea routes linking the land of Ezo and the coasts of Japan Sea and the Inland Sea.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> This information can be found in USORIZAN MONJO n.d., pp. 5–6, as well as on the stone lanterns that remain in front of the Jizō Hall at Osorezan today.

<sup>38</sup> For example, among the 37 stone lanterns with names of the donors, 21 were donated by the residents of the land of Ezo, 4 by the merchants of the port towns facing the Japan Sea, 4 by those from the Inland Sea, and 3 by those of Shimokita Peninsula. What is also



**Figure 3. Stone lanterns in front of Jizō Hall.**

These financial contributions from seafaring merchants built the physical structure of the Osorezan cult, including its Jizō Hall, the stone lanterns within the precinct of the mountain, as well as the guideposts along the various pilgrimage routes. While the hot springs and the cult of the dead may have persisted into the modern period as characterizing Osorezan, the role of the sea-protection Jizō cannot be ignored if we are to understand how Osorezan developed not only in the imagination, but in terms of the physical structures that would come to mark the mountain as sacred.

### *Conclusion*

The cult of Osorezan appeared in the historical record for the first

noteworthy is that all of the extant stone lanterns were made of two special kinds of stones, one produced in Echizen Province facing the Japan Sea, and the other produced in Harima Province facing the Inland Sea. The inscriptions on them tell us that they were carried to Shimokita on the ships of the merchants of Osaka, Kaga, and Matsumae. Among the 124 stone guideposts, about 60 were donated by two patrons, a merchant from Matsumae and another merchant from Ōmi Province, who had much influence over maritime transportation. These lanterns were surveyed as a part of a project to ascertain the cultural assets of Mutsu City in 1982, the results of which can be found in NARUMI 1977 and 1981. For the 33 Kannon statues, see TACHIBANA 1988. Miyazaki Fumiko has undertaken the most recent survey of these stone lanterns, which she started in the summer of 2000.



time in the mid-seventeenth century and developed into one of the most famous pilgrimage sites in Japan by the end of the nineteenth century. Although it was initially only known to locals as a mountain with healing hot springs, the institutional management of the site by the Sōtō Zen priests of Entsū-ji helped to identify the site both with a well-known priest (Ennin) and a well-known deity (Jizō). Although Osorezan is often identified today with the cult of the dead and as a site where the dead can communicate with the living through the medium of the *itako*, these are relatively recent developments. And further, although Jizō is most commonly associated with his function as a savior of the dead, in the formative Tokugawa period, the cult of the Osorezan Jizō was known not only for salvation in the world beyond, but also for a wide range of benefits in this world. Indeed, this paper argued that it took three interconnected elements for the Osorezan Jizō cult to flourish: 1) the healing Jizō motif (especially in the context of hot spring cures); 2) the salvation-from-hell Jizō motif (especially in regards to children and women at the Sai no Kawara and the Chi no Ike Jigoku); and 3) the protection-at-sea Jizō (who served to protect merchants and fishermen from the dangers of the rough seas of the western sea coast).

This new image of the Osorezan and Jizō cults were made possible through local archival documents recently made available, as well as the use of material evidence such as stone markers and inscriptional data. This paper suggests that a new type of social history of a particular religious site can be written with attention to hitherto neglected local sources, such as temple logbooks and financial records, pilgrims' diaries, local gazetteers, and inscriptions. As we look at Osorezan in the particularity of its growth period, the mid- to late Tokugawa period, we can see just how much Osorezan continues to evolve. The prayers for safety at sea, for example, which was so well known in the Tokugawa period, has become only a minor element in the present-day cult of the mountain. On the other hand, the communication on the mountain with the dead through the medium of the *itako*, for example, which is today regarded as an indispensable element of the festivals of Osorezan, began to flourish from the late 1950s, and by the 1960s *itako* began gathering at the Osorezan festivals (KUSUNOKI 1984, pp. 165–67).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> No reference to these female mediums is found in NAKAMICHI 1929 or even in SASAZAWA 1953. According to the current abbot of Entsū-ji, *itako* mediation between the living and the dead became observed at Osorezan after his father became the abbot in 1938. He also says that until the late 1950s there were only five or six *itako* visiting Osorezan at the time of the festival (MUTSUSHISHI HENSAN INKAI 1986, p. 436). KUSUNOKI states that when he surveyed Osorezan in the early 1950s, he did not meet *itako* from Shimokita, but those from another region, Tsugaru (1984, pp. 165–67).

More recently in the 1970s and 1980s, new rites such as prayers for the unmarried dead and their fictional spouses in the afterlife as well as prayers for aborted or miscarried fetus, known as *mizuko*, have been introduced at the mountain (HARDACRE 1997, p. 164; MATSUZAKI 1993, pp. 64–65; TAKAMATSU 1983, pp. 27–29).

Osorezan as a sacred site evolved in each period to respond to the spiritual needs of each period. Both local and translocal notions of sacred space and religious practices have intersected at this mountain, which has flourished through highlighting its physical proximity to the sea, its hell-like landscape, and its healing springs.

## REFERENCES

### HANDWRITTEN PRIMARY SOURCES

*Goryōbun shadō* 御領分社堂 (eighteenth-century). Held at the Morioka City Chūō Kōminkan.

*Kamafusesan yuishoki* 釜臥山由緒記, Hōon-ji (eighteenth century). List in the *Sōtōshū shūhō chōsa mokuroku kaidaishū* 曹洞宗宗報調査目録解題集, vol. 2, Sōtōshū Shūhō Chōsa Inkai, ed. 曹洞宗宗報調査委員会, p. 130. Tokyo: Sōtōshū shūmuchō, 1994.

*Kumagai tōkafu utsushi* 熊谷統家譜写シ (1689). In Sasazawa Royō 笹澤魯羊 collection held at the Ōhatachō Chūō Kōminkan.

*Okujun no nikki* 奥巡の日記. By Urushido Shigeki 漆戸茂樹 (1857). Held at the Iwate Prefectural Library.

*Ōshū Nanbu Usorisan Kamafusezan Bodaiji Jizō Taishi ryaku engi* [OBJE] 奥州南部宇曾利山釜臥山菩提寺地藏太子略縁起 (1810). Held at the Morioka City Chūō Kōminkan.

*Osorezan kikō* 恐山記行. By Ōhashi Seihyō 大橋青瓢 (1862). Held at the Morioka City Chūō Kōminkan.

*Usorisan monjo* 宇曾利山文書 (n.d.) Held at the Morioka City Chūō Kōminkan.

### PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

FUKUSHI Nagatoshi 福士長俊

1957 *Tōhoku taiheiki* 東北太平記. In Aomori-ken Bunkazai Hogo Kyōkai 青森県文化財保護協会, ed., Tokyo: Aomori-ken Bunkazai Hogo Kyokai.

FURUKAWA Koshōken 古川古松軒

1964 *Tōyū zakki* 東遊雜記. Ōtō Tokihiko 大藤時彦, ed. Tokyo: Heibonsha Toyō Bunko.

ISHIKAWA Ken 石川 謙

- 1967 “En sekisai” 燕石齋 and “Osoreyama mōde” 於曾礼山詣. In *Nihon kyōkasho taikai* 日本教科書大系, vol. 10. Ishikawa Ken, ed. Tokyo: Kōdansha.

JIPPENSHA Iku 十返舎一九

- 1830 *Muda shugyō kane no waraji* 方言修行金草鞋. IMAI Kingo 今井金吾, ed. (1999), Tokyo: Ōsorasha.

NANBU SŌSHO KANKŌKAI 南部叢書刊行会

- 1929 *Nanbu sōsho* 南部叢書. Nanbu: Nanbu Sōsho Kankōkai.  
[Vol. 5, Ōmaki Shūsen 大巻秀詮, “Gohōnai gōsonshi” 封内郷村志 (late eighteenth century)]  
[Vol. 7, Miwa Shūfuku 三輪秀福, et. al., eds., *Kyūseki Ibun* 旧蹟遺聞 (1806)]

NIHON DAIZŌKYŌ HENSANKAI 日本大藏經編纂会, ed.

- 1915 Enmei Jizōkyō 延命地藏經. In *Nihon Daizōkyō* 日本大藏經, vol. 3, pp. 9–10. Tokyo: Nihon Daizōkyō Hensankai.

SUGAE Masumi 菅江真澄

- 1971 “Maki no fuyugare” 牧の冬がれ and “Oku no uraura” 於久能宇良宇良. In *Sugae Masumi zenshū* 菅江真澄全集, vol. 2, Uchida Takeshi 内田武志 and Miyamoto Tsuneichi 宮本常一 ed. Tokyo: Miraisha.

TERASHIMA Ryōan 寺島良安

- 1980 “Wakan sansai zue” 和漢三才図会. In *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* 日本庶民生活史料集成, vol. 29, Tanigawa Ken'ichi 谷川健一, et. al., eds. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobō.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

AMBROS, Barbara

- 2002 *The Cult of Ōyama in Early Modern Japan*. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

BOUCHY, Anne-Marie

- 1987 The cult of Mount Atago and the Atago Confraternities. *Journal of Asian Studies* 46: 255–77.

DE VISSER, Marinus Willem

- 1914 *The Bodhisattva Tītsang (Jizō) in China and Japan*. Berlin: Oesterheld and Co.

DOI Takuji 土井卓治

- 1997 *Sōsō to haka no minzoku* 葬送と墓の民族. Tokyo: Iwata Shoten.

DYKSTRA, Yoshiko Kurata.

- 1978 Jizō, the most merciful: Tales from *Jizō Bosatsu Reigenki*. *Monumenta Nipponica* 33: 178–200.

FORMANEK, Susanne

- 1993 Pilgrimage in the Edo period: Forerunner of medieval domestic pilgrimage? The example of the pilgrimage to Mt. Tateyama. In *The Culture of Japan as Seen through Its Leisure*, Sepp Linhart and Sabine Frühstück, eds., pp. 165-94. Albany: SUNY Press.

FOWLER, Sherry

- 1997 In search of the dragon: Mt. Murō's sacred topography. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24: 145-62.

GRAPARD, Allan

- 1982 Flying mountains and walkers of emptiness: Toward a definition of sacred space in Japanese religions. *History of Religions* 21: 195-221.
- 1986 Lotus in the mountain, mountain in the lotus: *Rokugō Kaizan Nimmon Daibosatsu Hongi*. *Monumenta Nipponica* 41: 21-50.
- 1993 The textualized mountain-enmountained text: The Lotus Sutra in Kunisaki. In *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*. George Tanabe and Willa Tanabe, eds., pp. 159-90. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- 1994 Geosophia, geognosis, and geopiety: Orders of significance in Japanese representations of space. In *NowHere: Space, Time, and Modernity*. Roger Friedland and Deirdre Boden, eds., pp. 372-401. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1998 Geotyping sacred space: The case of Mount Hiko in Japan. In *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land*. Benjamin Kedar and Zwi Werblowsky, eds., pp. 215-49. New York: New York University Press.

HAGIWARA Tatsuō 萩原龍夫

- 1980 Kumano bikuni no seitai 熊野比丘尼の生態. In *Nihon minzoku fūdorōn* 日本民俗風土論. Chiba Tokuji 千葉徳爾, ed., pp. 269-82. Tokyo: Kōbundō.
- 1983 *Miko to Bukkyōshi* 巫女と仏教史. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

HAKODATESHI 函館市

- 1980 *Hakodate shishi, tsūshihen* 函館市史, 通史編, vol. 1. Hakodateshi: Hakodateshi.

HARDACRE, Helen

- 1997 *Marketing the Menacing Fetus in Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

HAYASHI Masahiko 林 雅彦

- 1982 *Nihon no etoki* 日本の絵解き. Tokyo: Miai Shoten.

HIROSE Ryōkō 広瀬良弘

- 1997 Sōtōshū no tenkai to chiiki shakai (4): Zensō no shinjin kedo to onsen 曹洞宗の展開と地域社会(4)—禅僧の神人化度と温泉. *Chōryū* 562: 25-31.

## HORI Ichirō

- 1966 Mountains and their importance for the idea of the other world in Japanese folk religion. *History of Religions* 6: 1–23.

## IMAI Kingo 今井金吾, ed.

- 1999 *Muda shugyō kane no waraji* 方言修行金草鞋, vol. 6. Tokyo: Ōsorasha.

## ITŌ Katsumi 伊藤克己

- 1992 Chūsei no onsen to “Onsenji” o megutte 中世の温泉と「温泉寺」をめぐる. *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 639: 2–10.
- 1999 Onsen no rekishi: Chūsei no onsen 温泉の歴史—中世の温泉. *Rekishi to chiri* 527: 37–46.

## IVY, Marilyn

- 1995 *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

## KASHIWAURA Katsuyoshi 柏浦勝良

- 2000 Kinsei hisabetsumin no jisha sankei 近世被差別民の寺社参詣. *Nihon rekishi* 626: 56–72.

## KATŌ Genchi 加藤玄智

- 1933 Onsen jinja no kenkyū 温泉神社の研究. In *Nihon no shūkyōgaku: Dainikai Nihon shūkyōgaku taikai kiyō* 日本の宗教学—第二回日本宗教学大会紀要, 308–13. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha.

## KŌDATE Naomi 高達奈緒美

- 1988 Chi no ike jigoku no esō o meguru oboegaki: Kyūsaisha to shite no Nyoirin Kannon no mondai o chūshin ni 血の池地獄の絵相をめぐる覚書—救済者としての如意輪観音の問題を中心に. *Etoki kenkyū* 6: 53–76. (Reprinted in *Jigoku no sekai* 地獄の世界, Sakamoto Kaname 坂本 要, ed., pp. 667–90. Tokyo: Keisuisha, 1990.)
- 1989 Shiryō shōkai “Ketsubonkyō wage”: Kinsei Jōdoshū ni okeru Ketsubonkyō shinkō 資料紹介『血盆経和解』—近世浄土宗における血盆経信仰. *Bukkyō minzoku kenkyū* 6: 59–91.
- 1990 Gikyō “Ketsubonkyō” o meguru shinkō no shosō 偽経『血盆経』をめぐる信仰の諸相. *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 55/8: 42–51.
- 1991 “Ketsubonkyō” to nyonin kyūsai: “Chi no ike jigoku no katari” o chūshin to shite 『血盆経』と女人救済—「血の池地獄の語り」を中心として. *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 56/5: 124–28.
- 1997 Ketsubonkyō shinkō reijō to shite no Tateyama 血盆経信仰霊場としての立山. *Sangaku shugen* 20: 75–84.

## KŌDATE Naomi and MAKINO Kazuo 牧野和夫

- 1996 Ketsubonkyō no juyō to tenkai 血盆経の受容と展開. In *Onna to otoko no jikū* 女と男の時空 3. Okano Haruko 岡野治子, ed., pp. 81–115. Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten.

## KOIKE Yōichi 小池洋一

- 1991 Kōyasan to Ryūjin onsen 高野山と龍神温泉. *Mikkyō bunka* 177: 1–27.

- KUMAGAI Tōzen 熊谷東全, ed.  
1967 *Osorezan Honbu Entsū-ji shi* 恐山本部円通寺誌. Mutsu: Entsū-ji.
- KUNIHARA Misako 国原美佐子  
1998 *Jūgoseiki no Daigo-ji ni okeru sennyū ni tsuite* 十五世紀の醍醐寺における潜入について. *Tōkyō Joshi Daigaku kiyō ronshū* 48: 1-38.
- KURUSHIMA Kōichi 来島浩一  
1995 *Mura ga yuisho o kataru toki* 村が由緒を語るとき. In *Kinsei no shakai shūdan: Yuisho to gensetsu* 近世の社会集団—由緒と言説. Kurushima Kōichi and Yoshida Nobuyuki 吉田伸之, eds., 3-38. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha.
- KUSUNOKI Masahiro 楠 正弘  
1968 *Shimokita no shūkyō* 下北の宗教. Tokyo: Miraisha.  
1984 *Shomin shinkō no sekai: Osorezan shinkō to Oshirasan shinkō* 庶民信仰の世界—恐山信仰とオシラサン信仰. Tokyo: Miraisha.
- LAFLÉUR, William  
1992 *Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- MAKINO Ryūshin 牧野隆信  
1985 *Kitamaesen to sono furusato* 北前船とそのふる里. Kagashi: Kagashi Kyōiku Inkai Shakai Kyōikuka.  
1989 *Kitamaesen no kenkyū* 北前船の研究. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku.
- MANABE Kōsai 真鍋広済  
1960 *Jizō bosatsu no kenkyū* 地藏菩薩の研究. Kyoto: Sanmitsudō Shoten.
- MATSUO Kōichi 松尾恒一  
1993 *Chūsei jūin no yokushitsu: Kyōō, katarai, geinō* 中世寺院の浴室—饗応・語り・芸能. In *"Ippen hijiri-e" to chūsei no kōkei* 「一遍聖絵」と中世の光景. Ippen Kenkyūkai 一遍研究会, ed., pp. 71-94. Tokyo: Arina Shobō.
- MATSUOKA Hideaki 松岡秀明  
1998 *Waga kuni ni okeru Ketsubonkyō shinkō ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu* 我が国における血盆経信仰についての一考察. In *Nihon joseishi ronshū 5: Josei to shūkyō* 日本女性史論集 5—女性と宗教. Sōgō Joseishi Kenkyūkai 総合女性史研究会, ed., pp. 257-79. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- MATSUZAKI Kenzo 松崎憲三  
1993 *Higashi Ajia no shiryō kekkon* 東アジアの死霊結婚. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin.
- MERTZ, John  
1996 *Close encounters of the first kind: Jippensha Ikku, Kanagaki Robun, and the literary construction of national identity*. *Asian Cultural Studies* 22: 43-58.

MIYAMOTO Kesao 宮本袈裟雄

1989 *Tengu to shugenja: Sangaku shinkō to sono shūhen* 天狗と修験者—山岳信仰とその周辺. Tokyo: Jinbun Shoin.

MORI Yūo 森 勇男

1975 *Reijō Osorezan monogatari* 霊場恐山物語. Mutsu: Namioka Shoten.

MUTSUSHISHI HENSAN IINKAI むつ市史編纂委員会, ed.

1986 *Mutsushishi: Minzokuhen* むつ市史—民俗編. Mutsu: Mutsushishi Hensan Iinkai.

NAKAMICHI Hitoshi 中道 等

1929 *Okugū kitan* 奥隅奇譚. Tokyo: Kyōdo Kenkyūsha.

NARUMI Kentarō 鳴海健太郎

1977 *Shimokita no kaiun to bunka* 下北の海運と文化. Hirosakishi: Hoppō Shinsha.

1981 *Ezochi, Shimokita Hantō no kōryū shikō* 蝦夷地・下北半島の交流史攷. In *Ezochi, Hokkaido: Rekishi to seikatsu* 蝦夷地・北海道—歴史と生活, Chihōshi Kenkyū Kyōgikai 地方紙研究協議会, ed., pp. 146–64. Tokyo: Yūzankaku.

NIHON FUKUSHI DAIGAKU CHITAHANTŌ SŌGŌ KENKYŪJO 日本福祉大学知多半島総合研究所, ed.

1997 *Kitamaebune to Nihonkai no jidai* 北前船と日本海の時代. Tokyo: Kōsō Shobō.

NISHIDA Kōzō 西田耕三

1991 *Myōdō Jōe: Shi no wakare* 妙幢浄慧—詩のわかれ. *Edo jidai bungakushi* 8: 11–45.

NISHIO Masahito 西尾正仁

1987 *Yakushi shinkō to kanjin shūdan: Arima onsen o meguru chūseiteki sekai* 薬師信仰と勸進集団—有馬温泉をめぐる中世的世界. *Mikage shigaku ronshū* 12: 67–86.

1994 *Onsen yakushi no tenkai* 温泉薬師の展開. *Mikage shigaku ronshū* 17: 1–28.

1995 *Jishū to onsen* 時宗と温泉. *Mikage shigaku ronshū* 20: 41–53.

2000 *Yakushi shinkō: Gokoku no hotoke kara onsen no hotoke e* 薬師信仰—護国の仏から温泉の仏へ. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin.

NUMA Gishō 沼 義昭

1986 *Onsen no gyōja Yakushi nyorai* 温泉之行者薬師如来. *Risshō daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo nenpō* 24: 44–57.

1996 *Onsen no kamigami to hotoke tachi* 温泉の神々と仏たち. *Risshō daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo nenpō* 34: 1–15.

ŌIKAWA Jun 大井川純, ed.

1983 *Hanamaki no densetsu* 花巻の伝説. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.

ŌMORI Keiko 大森恵子

1976 *Onsen to Yakushi* 温泉と薬師. *Meitoku kyōiku* 15: 3–20.

- 1986 Inaba Yakushi to San'in chihō no Yakushi shinkō 因幡薬師と山陰地方の薬師信仰. In *Yakushi shinkō* 薬師信仰, Gorai Shigeru 五来重, ed., 403–46. Tokyo: Yūzankaku.
- POWELL, William
- 1987 Mt. Jiuhua: The Nine-Florate Realm of Dicang Pusa. *Asian Cultural Studies* 16: 55–69.
- RUCH, Barbara
- 1992 Coping with death: Paradigms of heaven and hell and the six realms in early literature and painting. In *Flowing Traces: Buddhism and the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, James H. Sanford, William R. LaFleur, and Masatoshi Nagatomi, eds., 93–130. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- SAGA Suejirō 佐賀末治郎, et. al.
- 1983 Osorezan Bodaiji sekizōbutsu chōsa gaihō 恐山菩提寺石造物調査 概報. *Mutsushi bunkazai chōsa hōkoku* 9: 15–24.
- SAITAMAKEN DŌWA KYŌIKU KENKYŪ KYŌGIKAI 埼玉県同和教育研究協議会, ed.
- 1978 Saitamaken buraku mondai kankei shiryōshū: Suzuki-ke monjo 埼玉県部落問題関係史料集鈴木家文書, vol. 3. Saitamaken: Saitamaken Dōwa Kyōiku Kenkyū Kyōgikai.
- SAKUMA Kanshō 佐久間観正
- 1985 *Hijiori Onsen shiwa* 肘折温泉史話. Hijiori: Hijiori Onsen Chōsakai. (First published as *Hijiori onsen no rekishi* 肘折温泉の歴史, 1966)
- SASAZAWA Royō 笹澤魯羊
- 1953 *Usori hyakuwa* 宇曽利百話. Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan. (Reprinted in 1978)
- SATCHELL, Thomas
- 1960 *Shanks Mare*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co. (First published in 1929)
- SEIDEL, Anna
- 1992–1993 Mountains and hells: Religious geography in Japanese mandara paintings. *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 5-6: 122–33.
- SOYMIÉ, Michel
- 1965 *Ketsubonkyō shinkō no shiryōteki kenkyū* 血盆経信仰の史料的研究. *Dōkyō kenkyū* 1.
- SUZUKI Taisan 鈴木泰山
- 1942 *Zenshū no chihō hatten* 禅宗の地方発展. Tokyo: Azebō Shobō. (Reprinted by Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983)
- TACHIBANA Isamu 立花 勇
- 1988 Osorezan Ōminato sandō sanjū-san Kannon ni tsuite 恐山大湊参道三十三観音について. *Mutsushi bunkazai chōsa hōkoku* 17: 73–85.



TAKAMATSU Keiichi 高松敬一

- 1983 *Shimokita hantō no minkan shinkō* 下北半島の民間信仰. Tokyo: Gendai Jānarizumu Shuppankai.

TAKASE Tamotsu 高瀬 保

- 1997 *Kagahan no kaiunshi* 加賀藩の海運史. Tokyo: Seizandō.

TAKEMI Momoko 武見李子

- 1976 *Ketsubonkyō no keifu to sono shinkō* 血盆経の系譜とその信仰. *Bukkyō minzoku kenkyū* 3: 1–9.
- 1981 *Nihon ni okeru Ketsubonkyō shinkō ni tsuite* 日本における血盆経信仰について. *Nihon Bukkyō* 41: 37–49.
- 1983 “Menstruation Sutra” belief in Japan. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 10: 229–46.

TAMAMURO Fumio 圭室文雄

- 1992 “Enmei Jizō inkō riyaku ki” ni tsuite 「延命地藏印行利益記」について. *Meiji daigaku kyōiku ronshū* 243: 141–63.
- 1999 *Nihon ni okeru minzoku shinkō: Togenuki Jizō shinkō* 日本における民俗信仰—とげ抜き地藏信仰. In *Rekishi no naka no minshū bunka* 歴史の中の民衆文化. Meiji Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 明治大学人文科学研究所, ed., pp. 5–64. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō.

TANAKA Masaaki 田中正明

- 1980 “Ichimantai inzō Jizōson kannōki” (gen Sugamo Jizō) ni tsuite 『一万体印造地藏尊感応記』(現巢鴨地藏) について. *Bukkyō minzoku kenkyū* 5: 41–48.
- 1992 “Ichimantai inzō Jizō kannōki” no koto domo 『一万体印造地藏感応記』のことも. In *Minkan no Jizō shinkō* 民間の地藏信仰, Ōshima Tatehiko 大島建彦, ed., pp. 109–20. Tokyo: Keisuishu.

TOKIEDA Tsutomu 時枝 務

- 1984 *Chūsei Tōgoku ni okeru Ketsubonkyō shinkō no yōsō: Kusatsu Shiranesan o chūshin to shite* 中世東国における血盆経信仰の様相—草津白根山を中心として. *Shinano* 36/8: 28–45.

TOKUSHŌ-JI GOJIKAI 徳正寺護持会

- 1994 *Tokushō-ji engi to jihō* 徳正寺縁起と寺室. Niigata: Tokushō-ji.

TSUTSUMI Kunihiko 堤 邦彦

- 1999a *Kinsei setsuwa to zensō* 近世説話と禅僧. Osaka: Izumi Shoin.
- 1999b *Ano yo no shōkohin: Kinsei setsuwa no naka no katasode yūreitān* あの世の証拠品—近世説話の中の片袖幽霊譚. *Setsuwa denshōgaku* 7: 131–46.

WATARI Kōichi 渡 浩一

- 1986 *Kinsei Jizō setsuwashū to Jizō engi* 近世地藏説話集と地藏縁起. *Musashino bungaku* 33: 14–18.
- 1988 *Jōe to kinsei Jizō setsuwashū: “Enmei Jizō bosatsukyō jikidanshō” no haikai* 浄慧と近世地藏説話集—「延命地藏菩薩経直談鈔」の背景. *Setsuwa bungaku kenkyū* 22.

- 1989 “Jizō bosatsu riyakuki” no sekai: Jōkyō, Genroku jidai no minkan Jizō shinkō 「地藏菩薩利益記」の世界—貞亨・元禄時代の民間地藏信仰. *Bukkyō minzoku kenkyū* 6: 39-58.
- 1991 “Jizō bosatsu risshōki” ni tsuite 「地藏菩薩利生記」について. *Meiji daigaku kyōyō ronshū* 242: 39-59.
- 1993 “Jizō bosatsu mujukyō” ni tsuite 「地藏菩薩夢授経」について. *Meiji daigaku kyōyō ronshū* 257: 235-62.
- 1999 Osanaki mōjatachi no sekai: “Sai no kawara” no zuzō o megutte 幼なき亡者たちの世界—「賽の河原」の図像をめぐる. In “*Sei to shi*” no zuzōgaku 「生と死」の図像学. *Meiji Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo*, ed., pp. 197-243. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō.

## WILLIAMS, Duncan Ryūken

- 2000 Representations of Zen: A social and institutional history of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Edo Japan. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

## YOKOI Noriaki 横井教章

- 2000 Gennō oshō no densetsu to onsen 源翁和尚の伝説と温泉. *Zen no kaze* 21: 68-71.
- 2001 Nihon Bukkyō to yu no bunka 日本仏教と湯の文化. *Shūkyō kenkyū* 74/4: 360-61.

## YONEYAMA Takako 米山孝子

- 2000 Gyōki no Arima Onsen-ji sōsetsu setsuwa to Onsen-ji engi 行基の有馬温泉寺創設説話と温泉寺縁起. *Kobe joshi daigaku Seto tanki daigaku gakujutsu kiyō* 11: 1-9.