

Nam-lin HUR

## Invitation to the Secret Buddha of Zenkōji

### *Kaichō* and Religious Culture in Early Modern Japan

In early modern Japan, for Buddhist temples endowed with famed “secret Buddhas,” the *kaichō* was a lucrative means of public fundraising. In particular, at a time when a large-scale project such as building or repairing a Main Hall required sizable funding, many temples often turned to holding *kaichō* events, during which lay Buddhists evinced a spectacular enthusiasm for the secret Buddhas that were on display. Through the example of Zenkōji, this article reveals that the popularity of *kaichō*, which was unique to Japanese Buddhist culture, was fostered as well as manipulated within traditional Japanese ideas regarding *yorishiro* (lodging place), *saijitsu* (ritual date), and *marebito* (visitor-deity). The aura of secrecy and mystery surrounding, and inseparable from, *kaichō* deities was used not only for the benefit of *kaichō* temples but also for the benefit of *kaichō* visitors.

KEYWORDS: fundraising—Zenkōji Triad—*yorishiro* (lodging place)—*saijitsu* (ritual date)—*marebito* (visitor-deity)

Nam-lin HUR is a professor in the Department of Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia.

**T**HE MAIN HALL (Nyorai Hall) of the Zenkōji 善光寺 Temple in Nagano, completed in 1707 and now designated a national treasure, represents the Buddhist architectural style of the mid-Edo period, with its thatched roofing composed of layers of cypress bark (*hiwadabuki* 桧皮葺き). The magnitude of the building is imposing: its T-shaped wooden bell hammer (*shumoku* 撞木) measures 24 meters long, 54 meters deep, and 30 meters high. In constructing this building, Zenkōji spent 24,577 *koban* gold *ryō* (KOBAYASHI 1979, 41–42).<sup>1</sup>

Given that it only held a land grant of 1,000 *koku* in 1707, which would yield no more than 500 *koban* gold *ryō* a year as a regular source of income, how was Zenkōji able to raise the huge amount required for building expenses? The answer lies in the *kaichō* 開帳 (lit. “opening of a curtain”), which was conducted for five and a half years between 1701 and 1706. These *kaichō* exhibitions, which were known as “all-around-the-country” (*kaikoku* 回國) *kaichō*, enabled the Zenkōji administration to generate an income of more than 23,000 *koban* gold *ryō* during this time (KOBAYASHI 1979, 39–40). With this money, Zenkōji was able to rebuild its Main Hall, which had been lost to a fire in 1642 and replaced with a temporary structure in 1650 and again in 1666.

Throughout the late seventeenth century, Zenkōji made vigorous efforts to erect a new Main Hall. Prior to the major endeavor launched in 1701, in 1692–1694 Zenkōji officials had thrown themselves into a *Santo kaichō* 三都開帳 (a tri-city *kaichō* held at Ekōin 回向院 in Edo for 55 days, at Shinnyodō 真如堂 in Kyoto for 66 days, and at Tennōji 天王寺 in Osaka for 54 days). The *Santo kaichō* of 1692–1694 turned out to be quite successful, netting more than 25,000 *koban* gold *ryō*. However, despite this, the attempt to build a new Main Hall failed miserably. In 1694, Zenkōji officials secured a site for the new hall north of the existing temporary hall, and three years later they began building it. In 1700, during construction, a massive fire broke out in the front district of the temple. It consumed almost all of the temple buildings as well as the piles of lumber that were to be used for the construction of a new Main Hall (McCALLUM 1994, 171).

Luckily, in 1700, the newly installed leaders (Keiun 慶雲 of Daikanjin 大勧進 and Chizen 智善 of Daihongan 大本願) of Zenkōji were related to Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu 柳沢吉保 (1658–1714), Shōgun Tsunayoshi’s right-hand man in the *bakufu* (Keiun was his nephew and Chizen was his daughter). Thus, they were able to secure a permit from the *bakufu* and to launch an all-around-the-

1. One *koban* gold *ryō* was worth about 1 *koku* of rice (1 *koku* = 180.39 liters).

country *kaichō* in 1701.<sup>2</sup> During this nationwide fundraising campaign, Keiun exercised strong leadership, and this eventually led to the successful construction of Zenkōji's towering Main Hall.

*Kaichō* events, which, in theory, were designed to provide people with special opportunities for worship in the context of Buddhist merit-making, were used mainly for fundraising purposes. Whenever possible, the Zenkōji administration made good use of *kaichō* events to raise funds for building and other major projects. The *bakufu* and local domains, which were finding it increasingly difficult to provide funding to temples, began to allow the latter to collect "clean monies" from their lay followers. This system was known as *kange* 勸化 (exhortation of Buddha's teachings), and it enabled Buddhist temples to solicit donations directly from the populace by holding a *kaichō* or even by demanding specific donations from a given area or region. This type of fundraising, which posed an extra burden upon the public, was subject to the approval of the government. For example, when a temple wanted to hold a *kaichō* in Edo, Osaka, or Kyoto, it had to appeal to the *bakufu*'s Magistrate of Temples and Shrines, who, through permission-granting procedures, would try to regulate the frequency and duration of a *kaichō*. *Bakufu* officials tried to ensure that temples did not depend too heavily on these events for their finances. In Edo, the government tried to grant only five permits per season and to limit exhibitions to sixty days per permit. Furthermore, the *bakufu* stipulated that an institution could hold a regular *kaichō* only at thirty-three-year intervals. In practice, however, these policies did not mean much. It was not uncommon for a *kaichō* to last sixty to eighty days, and there were often five to ten simultaneous "exhibitions" occurring at any given time.<sup>3</sup> It seemed to be quite easy to persuade *bakufu* officials to grant "special" permission to prominent temples to hold special *kaichō* events.<sup>4</sup>

As a matter of fact, the *bakufu*'s leniency toward special *kaichō* events was not entirely incompatible with its own interests. As Hiruma Hisashi points out, the *bakufu*'s policy toward *kaichō* was related to its attempts to deal with its own financial woes. Due to fiscal constraints, the *bakufu* found it increasingly difficult

2. Since Zenkōji had successfully completed a special *kaichō* only six years previously, it was not easy for it to obtain permission for another special *kaichō* so soon. Permission for a special *kaichō* involving multiple domains and jurisdictions was especially hard to get because the final decision had to come from the Shogun through the mediation of state elders. And this was far beyond the level of the Magistrate of Temples and Shrines. The lobby of Daikanjin and Daihongan, who had blood connections with Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, was a decisive factor in Zenkōji's ability to secure permission from the *bakufu*. For more details, see KITAMURA 2001, 32–35.

3. For a comprehensive chronology of major *kaichō*, including *degaichō*, held in Edo during the Tokugawa period, see NISHIYAMA et al, 1994, 776–849.

4. For a comprehensive list of *kaichō* permissions given by the *bakufu*'s Magistrate of Temples and Shrines from 1733 to 1852, see ASAKURA 2001, 1–34.

to provide direct grants-in-aid even to temples of national importance. Instead, it allowed them to raise funds through *kaichō* events or other forms of direct, albeit decorous, public solicitation (HIRUMA 1973, 24–26).

The Zenkōji administration was quite successful in persuading the *bakufu* to permit it to hold special *kaichō* events in the Santo and along Japan's major travel routes. Among Zenkōji's special *kaichō* events, the most successful was the all-around-the-country *kaichō* of 1701 to 1706, which eventually enabled it to rebuild its Main Hall. Lay Buddhists who responded to this special *kaichō* event transformed Zenkōji into one of the most prominent religious fundraisers in early modern Japan. What led to people's religious interests and the *kaichō* enterprise being so seamlessly fused? The cultural context of *kaichō* poses a puzzle. By exploring some specific examples of Zenkōji's *kaichō* events, this article reveals that the religious worship and economic enterprise that merged so spectacularly during these events were grounded in Japan's distinctive religious culture.

### *The Kaichō of Zenkōji*

*Kaichō*, or “opening of a curtain,” refers to the special public exhibition of a *hibutsu* 秘仏 (secret Buddha) which is otherwise enshrined in a sealed receptacle and kept “secret” behind its “curtain.” A *kaichō* is therefore a special religious event that provides an opportunity for worshippers to come face to face with a secret Buddha and to appeal directly to its compassion. A *kaichō* could be held either at the home temple (*ikaichō* 居開帳) or at an outside temple (*degaichō* 出開帳). If it were held at the latter, this entailed moving the sealed receptacle from its home temple.

The *kaichō* held at the home temple of Zenkōji was called *goekō* 御回向 (transference of Buddhist merit). During the Edo period, Zenkōji conducted sixteen *goekō* events: the first was held in 1730 and the last was held in 1865. The intervals between these events did not follow any particular schedule. There were three basic reasons (sometimes occurring separately, sometimes in combination) for holding them: (1) the completion of continuous major multi-year devotional rituals involving diurnal and nocturnal *nenbutsu*-chanting (1730, 1762, 1773, 1785, 1799, 1811, 1821, 1832, 1847, 1865); (2) the completion of a major *degaichō* (1742, 1799, 1804, 1811); and (3) the completion of major construction or repair projects involving the Main Hall, entrance gates, roofs, or the canon storage area (1745, 1759, 1791, 1832, 1840, 1865) (KOBAYASHI 1973, 153–55).

There were two categories of *degaichō*: (1) Santo (tri-city) *kaichō* and (2) *kai-koku* (all-around-the-country) *kaichō*. In the case of the former, the format was fixed: it was first held in Edo and then moved to Kyoto and Osaka in the following year or the year after. Altogether, there were three Santo *kaichō* during the Edo period (1692–1694, 1740–1741, and 1778–1780), and the levels of income from these events reflected the changing economic strengths of the three

cities.<sup>5</sup> The *kaikoku kaichō*, which were held four times during the Edo period (1701–1706, 1745–1748, 1780–1782, and 1794–1798), required a large amount of preparatory work, and were very expensive, proved to be quite lucrative.<sup>6</sup> In the *kaikoku kaichō*, the duration of *hibutsu* exhibitions in a given place did not usually exceed five days.

### *What is Kaichō for?*

In 1829, the subtemple (*jinaï* 寺内) and residents (*monzen* 門前) who lived in front of it petitioned the Zenkōji administration, which, at that time, was planning to hold a *kaikoku kaichō*.

Over the past few years, the economy has been in bad shape. All merchant families are hard pressed for money and their businesses have not prospered. Due to this, some families in trouble even sell their wives and children as prostitutes or abandon their old parents and run away to Edo.... We earnestly ask that a *goekō* of the Nyorai be held next year. If so, money will pour in from other provinces, and the residents will naturally be stabilized and people's minds will calm down.

(KOBAYASHI 1973, 156)

Daikanjin Kōdō 晃道, the top administrator of Zenkōji, accepted the petition, and he soon abandoned his plan to hold a *degaichō*. In its stead, a *kaichō* at the home temple was held in 1832, and the “bad” economic situation of the Zenkōji community was considerably improved.

In 1835, however, Kōjun 光純 was newly installed as Daikanjin and announced another plan to conduct a massive *kaikoku kaichō*, the aim being to kick-start his tenure with considerable fanfare. The residents of subtemples immediately appealed to Kōjun. Here, again, we see clearly how *kaichō* events were intricately entwined with the Zenkōji economy.

The people of subtemples (*jichū* 寺中) are very poorly paid. In ordinary times, they run inns for the visitors' guides, and conduct, through the mediation of those guides, merit-making rituals for the ancestors and parents [of lay worshippers] through the mediation of these guides, or offer rites of Buddhist lineage connection (*kechimiyaku* 血脈) [for lay worshippers]. They make a living by conducting services like these, which generate income. If a *kaikoku kaichō* is conducted, all those merit-making rituals, rites of Buddhist karmic connection, *goinmon* 御印文 (stamping the seal), and so forth will be moved away

5. In 1803 and 1820, respectively, a Santo *kaichō* was planned, but it was limited to Edo due to the need to shorten the time the *hibutsu* was away from home.

6. For more details, see ASAKURA 2001, 146–52. For which items were carried, displayed, and transacted at a *degaichō*, see AMBROS 2004, 10–17.

from the home temple. If that happens, the people of subtemples will not be able to survive. (KOBAYASHI 1973, 156–57)

The “front-district” residents delivered a similar petition to the head monk, asking that the Nyorai not be taken away from the Main Hall for a *degaichō* event. The petitioners even threatened to use force to ensure that this did not happen. Clearly, tensions ran high.

The Zenkōji front-district residents, who depended upon the temple economy, argued that even the temporary absence of its central object of worship—the Nyorai—would increase their economic woes. They insisted that their best shot at reviving the distressed economy would be to hold a *kaichō* at home as that would get “monies pouring in from other provinces.” For them, the *kaichō* was simply a means of attracting customers. Similarly, the subtemple residents—that is, the managers of and workers at subtemple lodges and religious halls—argued that their livelihood, too, was dependent upon external worshippers who visited the Zenkōji Nyorai and, in particular, upon their guides, who channeled Zenkōji followers to Zenkōji rituals and worship activities (KOBAYASHI 1973, 120–21).

As far as those who made a living in the Zenkōji community (including monks, workers, merchants, and temple personnel) were concerned, more than anything else, the *kaichō* meant an opportunity for financial gain or loss. In 1835, under mounting pressure from all sides, a group of temple officials submitted the following letter to Daikanjin Kōjun:

If you proceed to go ahead with your plan of *kaikoku* [*kaichō*] at a time like this, it would certainly invite a great disturbance. In such a case, some 4,000 or 5,000 people in the temple land would start a riot and it would be beyond what the temple monks could possibly handle. There are so many people who rely for a living upon outside visitors of worship for a living, along the entering routes leading to Zenkōji. So nobody knows what kind of trouble is going to happen [if you insist on the *kaikoku kaichō*]. (KOBAYASHI 1973, 157)

The threat was real. In distress, Kōjun gave up his plan, using the excuse that the disease in his leg would not allow him to travel. Three years later, he resigned from his position. For Zenkōji worshippers, however, *kaichō* was primarily a religious event. When a *kaichō* was held, laypeople visited the temple to worship and view the secret Buddha, which was normally hidden from the public gaze. When visitors attended a *kaichō*, they would customarily pay an admission fee at the entrance and toss an offering, usually consisting of coins, into the offertory box set up at the display site. But the core of their activity involved face-to-face worship of the *kaichō* deity.<sup>7</sup> After having engaged in worship and prayer activi-

7. For the temple holding the *kaichō*, numerous small donations in the form of entrance fees and offertory coins usually proved to be far more lucrative than did the few large donations that

ties, visitors usually proceed to enjoy the *kaichō* as a recreational opportunity, a diversion from their daily routines. Not surprisingly, when a *kaichō* was held, its temple site was quickly transformed into a bustling market and place of entertainment, where all kinds of sellers and street performers catered to visitors.

### *Questions about Kaichō*

The *kaichō* exhibition, which prospered from the early modern period, is an idiosyncratic Buddhist cultural event most commonly found in Japan. *Kaichō* is certainly inseparable from Buddhism; however, interestingly, it betrays the very spirit of Buddhism. We cannot find any Buddhist scripture that suggests that the image of a Buddhist deity can be locked up in a feretory and kept from public view. It appears even more antithetical to Buddhist teachings to suggest that the doors of that feretory can occasionally be opened and that the iconic image within can be put on display for the purpose of financial gains.<sup>8</sup> In other words, the *kaichō* is premised on the notion that a special type of Buddhist compassion, exercised by the *kaichō* deity on special occasions, is extendable only to those worshippers who can afford entrance fees or who can make financial contributions to the deity's home temple. In the *kaichō* setting, Buddhist compassion is turned into an object of financial transaction.

So far, with regard to *kaichō* events, scholars of Tokugawa religion have looked at administrative procedures, preparations, advertisements, the setting up of facilities, the collection of entrance fees and offerings, the functions of temple personnel and confraternity members, and markets and entertainment activities. Much attention has also been paid to the social infrastructure of *kaichō* events as they relate to travel, transportation, and the economy.<sup>9</sup>

Questions that remain less explored are: What is the origin of the idea of secrecy attached to the *kaichō* Buddha? How was the secrecy surrounding a Buddhist image nurtured and manipulated? How was the divinity of a secret Buddha associated with and represented by its iconic image? We also need to pay attention to the fact that a *kaichō* was held only on scheduled dates and that visitors attached special meaning to their face-to-face worship of *kaichō* deities.

---

it collected at other times. For their part, *kaichō* visitors found this type of offering, which could be made without their being hampered by formality, time constraints, or congestion, to be the simplest and most convenient.

8. For a doctrinal position that runs counter to the scheme of *kaichō*, see *Konkōmyōkyō* 金光明經 (念七仏品), *Bussetsu kanbutsu zanmaikaikyō* 仏説観仏三昧海經 (念七仏品) in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, no. 643, 15.693a.

9. For major works on *kaichō* in this category, see HIRUMA (1980), KITAMURA (1989), and EDO TOKYO REKISHI ZAIDAN (1993).

*The “Secret Buddha” in Zenkōji Kaichō*

The origin of the Zenkōji Triad (Amida, Kannon, and Seishi)—the object of the Zenkōji *kaichō*—first described in the *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 of the late Heian period, has seen many versions (McCALLUM 1994, 39–41). The most commonly known version goes like this: In ancient India there was a wealthy man named Gakkai 月蓋, who had a beautiful daughter named Nyoze 如是. Nyoze died suddenly but was resurrected thanks to the intercession of Amida Buddha. Out of gratitude, Gakkai sculpted an image representing the Amida Triad and venerated it.

Nearly one thousand years later, the story evolved into a scene in Paekche, an ancient kingdom on the Korean peninsula, where Gakkai was reincarnated as King Sōngmyōng 聖明 and the Amida Triad flew to preach to him the way of compassion. Another time, the Amida Triad traveled to Japan, where Gakkai and King Sōngmyōng were now reincarnated as Honda Yoshimitsu 本田善光 (his first name is read as “Zenkō”), who would bring the Triad to Shinano, enshrine it in a newly built temple, and venerate it. But Yoshimitsu soon encountered a tragedy. His son Honda Yoshisuke 本田善佐 and his wife Yayoi 弥生 suddenly died and fell to the other world, where they suffered agonies. Through the compassionate power of the Triad, they were saved from hell and ensured rebirth in paradise. Upon hearing this, Empress Kōgyoku (r. 642–645) awarded father and son with governorships and provided them with funds to build a grand temple named Zenkōji to house the Triad.

Here we see the constant themes of the *Zenkōji engi* 善光寺縁起 (Zenkōji chronology)—death, the other world, and rebirth—all of which find expression in the salvific power of the Zenkōji Amida. As Gakkai, Nyoze, King Sōngmyōng, and the Honda family all experienced, the Zenkōji Amida was able to rescue the dead from hell and to ensure their rebirth in paradise. Over time, due to its miraculous compassion, which transcended both time and space, the Zenkōji Amida came to be seen as a living Buddha who could maintain the warmth of the body, speak, write, and sing hymns (YAMANOI 1987, 238). People believed that, as the saviour of dead spirits who were suffering in hell, the Zenkōji Amida could reach anyone at any time and in any place.

But the Zenkōji Amida was soon made into a “secret Buddha” (*hibutsu*), and worshippers were expected to use the occasion of *kaichō* to gain direct access to its compassion. Legend has it that, in 645, Emperor Kōtoku (r. 645–654) ordered the Zenkōji Triad images to be kept away from public view. The following year, Honda Yoshimitsu sculpted and erected a “front-standing” replica of the original Triad images and sealed the originals away in a locked feretory (YAMANOI 1995, 114).

As far as history goes, it is known that, at least from the thirteenth century to the present, only one person has seen the original Zenkōji Triad. This occurred



in 1702, when the rumor that the Zenkōji Triad had been stolen shook the foundation of Zenkōji worship. Deeply concerned, and in an attempt to quash the damaging gossip, the Rinnōji *monzeki* 輪王寺門跡 (who oversaw the Zenkōji institution) dispatched a deputy monk, Genryūin Keitan 現龍院敬謙, to Zenkōji to inspect the secret Triad images. Keitan ascertained, with his own eyes, that the Zenkōji Triad was indeed well preserved in the sealed receptacle (KOBAYASHI 1973, 33–36). The original Zenkōji Triad was never shown, even on the occasion of a *kaichō*, which was supposed to “open up the curtain.”

As was the case at many other *kaichō* temples, so it was at Zenkōji: the *kaichō* event never actually featured the exhibition of the original Triad images. Instead, a replica of them—a set of bronze-gilt images known as Maedachi Sanzon 前立三尊 (the Triad that Stands in Front)—was put out for display and served as the locus of worship. The original Triad, which permanently vanished from public sight, still dwells in secrecy behind the curtain.

Nevertheless, the Maedachi Sanzon of Zenkōji provided viewers with an awe-inspiring presence. The central figure is the Amida Buddha. It stands on a pedestal, is approximately forty-three centimetres tall, and is the focal point of popular worship and prayer. The worshippers have neither doubted the authenticity of this replica nor questioned the veracity of its genesis. The mysterious aura of the original Triad, explicated in a variety of Zenkōji chronicles, has been somehow transplanted into the Maedachi Sanzon. The latter has, without fail, fulfilled the function of the former on the occasions of *kaichō*, even though it is not clear how the replica could be equated with the original.<sup>10</sup>

### *Kami in the Kaichō Buddha*

What made lay Buddhists uphold the secrecy of *kaichō* Buddhas? Why did *kaichō* visitors believe that the secret Buddhas released special salvific grace on the occasion of public display? How did this secret Zenkōji Triad become so popular throughout the country?

Stories about the miraculous power of *kaichō* Buddhas were abundant, and they caught people’s attention and attracted visitors to the *kaichō* sites. For example, the widely circulated Zenkōji chronicles, boasting more than eighty-five versions from the Nara period (710–784) to the Taishō era (1912–1926), promoted the extraordinary compassion of the Zenkōji Triad to a nationwide audience (YAMANOI 1995, 115–16). In addition, one-page paintings featuring the Zenkōji Triad in various sizes and colors catered to the religious curiosity of laypeople

10. On the question of how the copies succeeded in functioning as the original, McCALLUM (1998, 213–14) suggests that “there is some ambiguity in the conceptualization of the prime object/replication relationship, a vagueness that was perhaps purposely designed to direct attention away from the somewhat problematic status of the copies.”

throughout the country. These paintings, which were available at an affordable price during a *kaichō*, were particularly popular. In 1799, when a *kaichō* was held at Zenkōji, more than 200,000 copies of this sort of single-piece painting were sold at the Main Hall alone (KOBAYASHI 1973, 155).

The Zenkōji Triad, which was better known as the Zenkōji Amida, generated a fever of worship throughout the country in the early modern period, thanks particularly to peripatetic proselytizers known as Zenkōji *hijiri* 善光寺聖, who carried a replica of the Zenkōji Amida on their backs. The proselytizing activities of the traveling Zenkōji *hijiri*, who were associated with subtemples or lodging facilities in the Zenkōji complex, were critical in elevating the sacred aura of the secret Zenkōji Amida. Furthermore, the Zenkōji *hijiri* were instrumental in establishing branch temples of Zenkōji; they made copies of the Zenkōji Triad and established or helped to build temples for enshrining them, all of which were to be named Shin Zenkōji or, simply, Zenkōji. Currently, there are over one hundred branch temples carrying the name of Zenkōji or Shin Zenkōji, and these function as the local hubs of a nationwide Zenkōji cult.<sup>11</sup>

In addition, unlike other temples, Zenkōji did not have *danna* 檀那 (temple patrons) who were exclusively associated with it. In other words, Zenkōji differed from other temples, which were primarily devoted to serving their local patrons. The Zenkōji *hijiri* only loosely maintained their “territories of right” (known as *kasumi* 震) for local Zenkōji believers. As a matter of fact, during the Edo period, Zenkōji maintained the system of *kasumi* territories (which were also called *mochigōri* 持郡 [possession of counties]), in which the country’s counties were divided into thirty-nine groups that corresponded to its thirty-nine subtemples. Each of these subtemples had its own accommodations and was associated with its own *sendatsu* 先達 (guides) and proselytizers. As these religious affiliates of Zenkōji subtemples also worked for other local temples and religious halls, it follows that the local patrons of Zenkōji subtemples were free to pursue religious activities not related to Zenkōji. Without maintaining any exclusive claim to patronage, the Zenkōji Amida was open to anyone, regardless of sectarian affiliation, gender, or age.

Indeed, the popularity of Zenkōji *kaichō* spread across the country. In particular, the *degaichō*, which provided local people with a rare opportunity for a face-to-face encounter with the renowned Zenkōji Amida, delivered a powerful message of universal salvation. The *degaichō* booth, which was set up along the *kaichō* route, was a miniature of Zenkōji’s Main Hall. The multiple curtains that enveloped its secret Buddha were open, facing the worshippers; the spatial

11. According to McCALLUM’s (1994, 89) study, the distribution of Zenkōji, or Shin Zenkōji, is nationwide, with only Kōchi, Nagasaki, Saga, and Okinawa Prefectures lacking traces of Zenkōji establishments.

arrangements of the altar replicated the sacred geography of Zenkōji; and all necessary offertory boxes and entrance gates were in place. The *degaichō* booth, with the Amida Triad at its center, was a mobile entrance to the other world, or the Western Paradise, transplanted from Shinano (NAGANOKE 1982, 715). At this sacred entrance, which was guarded by the Amida Buddha, worshippers were able to pray directly to the Living Buddha of Zenkōji Amida for rebirth in Paradise—as long as they could pay an entrance fee, of course. Needless to say, for the Zenkōji administration, the Zenkōji Amida, which was enormously popular and carefully moved along the heavily populated routes of the country, offered tremendous opportunities for public fundraising.

But no matter how popular or how appealing it might be, the original Zenkōji Amida remained strictly out of the public view. Its ultimate mystery was communicated only by proxy, through the Maedachi image. For their part, worshippers paid attention to the compassion of the Zenkōji Amida when it was on “display,” despite the fact that the motivating force behind *kaichō* ran counter to Buddhist teachings. They believed that the original Zenkōji Amida’s “secret” divinity was present in the image on exhibition, thus enabling them to connect with it directly through an act of worship or prayer. In fact, the structure of worship at a *kaichō* resembled that at a Shinto shrine, in which visitors stood in front of the ritual hall (*haiden* 拜殿) and prayed toward the deity that was present in the Main Hall (*honden* 本殿) or the inner hall (*okumiya* 奥宮). Traditionally, when a ritual of worship or prayer was conducted on a scheduled date, the Japanese believed that the deity in question came down from its unknown residence and manifested itself in the Main Hall.

The secrecy of a *kaichō* Buddha is grounded in the psychic structure of worship, which itself is steeped in indigenous religious ideas and practices. Yamaori Tet-suo has examined the *Shunie* 修二会 ritual (also known as the *Omizudori* お水取り ritual) held at Tōdaiji Nigatsudō 東大寺二月堂 and featuring the procession of the two secret Kannon images (the *hibutsu* of Tōdaiji) enshrined in the *Naijin* (inner hall) to the *Reidō* (worship hall) and then back to the *Naijin*. He suggests that the whole structure of the ritual for the Kannon *hibutsu* resembles the procession format of a portable shrine (*mikoshi* 神輿) in the *matsuri* (祭り, Shinto festivals), which moves from the Main Hall (*honden* 本殿) to a temporary lodge (*otabisho* 御旅所) and then back to the Main Hall (YAMAORI 1987, 169–72). The *matsuri* is premised on the belief that the deity is invited to the lodging place (*yorishiro* 依代) of a portable shrine and that the latter is then carried and temporarily installed in the *gotabisho*, where local parishioners can pay homage to their tutelary deity.

As the Tōdaiji’s *Shunie* ritual indicates, the divinity of a *kaichō* Buddha is *kami*-like: it is invisible, divisible, and amorphous, dwelling behind a veil of secrecy, yet it is associated with a specific hidden Buddhist image of which it is the temporary manifestation. Thus, while being a supernatural being, the *kaichō*

Buddha is also endowed with a certain physicality. When the hidden Buddhist image is temporarily incarnated in its iconic representation—that is, on the occasion of its *kaichō*—worshippers are delighted by the prospect of connecting with it directly.

#### *The Kaichō Buddha and Yorishiro*

Despite the *kami*-like traits of secret Buddhas, it should be noted that worship activities in the *kaichō* were not directed toward an abstract divinity but, rather, toward a specific Buddhist deity that was incarnated in a specific image. Another famed *kaichō* deity in early modern Japan, the Asakusa Kannon of Edo's Sensōji Temple, is exemplary of this phenomenon.

The Asakusa Kannon refers to a small golden image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kannon), which was allegedly found by two fishermen in the Sumida River in 628. This tiny Kannon image, enshrined in a house that became the future Sensōji Temple, was later kept out of public sight and made “secret.” Since then, this image has elicited enormous religious veneration throughout the country (HUR 2000, 5–10). However, this particular Kannon image was not the only such image enshrined at Sensōji. In the Edo period, for example, the Sensōji precincts contained five other minor Kannon halls, all of which enshrined Kannon images of various sizes and shapes. Furthermore, flanking the Asakusa Kannon image in the Main Hall were six additional Kannon images positioned shoulder to shoulder (MATSUDAIRA 1939, 53–63). However, in terms of religious efficacy, none of these was considered comparable to the tiny Asakusa Kannon image.

Buddhist doctrine makes no mention of a deity's efficacy or salvific power being dependent upon the size or shape of its image. In fact, it makes no mention of a deity's needing to be represented by an image at all. Nevertheless, images were the primary source of religious veneration and worship. And some of them were given particular prominence, as may be seen in the Zenkōji Amida. The extraordinary power of the Zenkōji Amida image, whose reputation exceeded that of all the other Amida images to be found at Zenkōji as well as throughout the country, had little to do with Buddhist doctrine. Indeed, its secret nature was contrary to Buddhist teachings pertaining to universal salvation.

Throughout its history, Zenkōji has been struck by several disastrous fires; yet it is claimed that its original Amida image somehow mysteriously survived. However, in the late sixteenth century, it was taken from the temple and kept temporarily at different places until finally being returned to Zenkōji (OKUNO 1986, 106). Interestingly, the issue of whether the original image had been lost, or possibly replaced with a new one, did not seem to trouble the believers, who prayed to their “ever-present” icons at Zenkōji. As Donald McCALLUM (1994,

166) suggests, “what really traveled around was a concept, the concept of the ‘Living Buddha’ who could offer salvation to believers.” This concept of the “Living Buddha” (*shōjin nyorai* 生身如来), which served as the agent of miracles and salvation, was graphically revealed in the secret image of the Amida at Zenkōji. Zenkōji was the site of a cult whose concern was a specific image of the Zenkōji Amida—an image that was imbued with the power to perform miracles—not the abstract, universal divinity of the Buddha Amitābha.

Why did the Japanese people pay so much attention to and venerate these images? The religious icon can be viewed as a representation of the deity, a symbol of the deity, or the deity itself, but none of these interpretations fully explains why, with regard to the same deity, certain icons attract such strong religious piety while others do not.<sup>12</sup> Needless to say, there were hundreds of thousands of icons representing the Buddha Amida, but they did not all have equal religious efficacy or powers of salvation. Only a few were singled out to enjoy nationwide religious veneration, and the Zenkōji Amida image topped them all. So from where did the religious power of the Zenkōji Amida come?

In order to understand this, we need to pay attention to Japanese ideas regarding a deity’s manifestation, which requires a specific *yorishiro* 依代, or lodging place. Traditionally, the Japanese people believed that a deity’s religious efficacy was most effective when it was invited into a specific lodging place and was worshipped there directly. The term *yorishiro*, also known as *tamashiro* 霊代, *yori-mashi* 依坐, or *kamishiro* 神代, refers to a specific distinctive object into which a deity is invited to enter to receive worship (NISHIMURA 1985, 45–55).

The most archaic forms of *yorishiro* were rocks, trees, plants, or other natural objects, which were usually cordoned off from their surroundings. During religious ceremonies, the deity in question would be invoked and would manifest itself in a specific *yorishiro* object, and then people would worship it. Over time, permanent structures for honoring deities were built, and the *yorishiro* was placed at the altar of the inner space of those structures. Eventually, the *yorishiro*

12. The icon as a representation of the Buddha, for example, refers to various anthropomorphic depictions of it, whether as part or whole. As such, it provides the worshiper with a sense of direct access to the Buddhist deity. The icon is “a symbolic substitute for the deity,” which cannot be represented in physical form due to its transcendent nature, and, for the worshipper, “can serve as a direct stimulus and as an aid to meditation.” On the other hand, the icon refers to the object in which the deity is incarnated, an idea that suggests that the deity has become the icon. Among these possibilities, McCALLUM (1994, 181–82) believes that the last interpretation “delineates the situation of the Zenkōji Amida Triad”—the image as “an exact representation of the deity” as a Living Buddha—even though he admits that “these three categories can and do overlap, and of course, a single icon can be interpreted in terms of different conceptualizations at various times or by diverse individuals.” But this interpretation still does not fully explain the intrinsic traits of *kaichō* as prescribed by the factors of time and space and that affect the religious faculties of the deity involved.

took the form of a *shintai* 神体, or “deity-body,” which was often represented by such objects as a sword, a spear, a mirror, or curved jewels. All these deity-bodies, sealed in a container or placed on a stand, were hidden from public sight and kept in the inner hall. Without a *yorishiro*, or *shintai*, a deity could neither be invoked nor directly worshipped. For this reason, when a *matsuri* was held in the community, the parishioners made *yorishiro* objects such as a pine tree, a bamboo basket, an umbrella, a spear, or a float, and they performed *fūryū* 風流 (entertainment) to welcome the entry of their tutelary deity into the *yorishiro* in question. Under Buddhist influence stemming from the Nara period, some shrines installed anthropomorphic images or portraits (*shinzō* 神像) of deities, which were also understood as *yorishiro* (HUR 2000, 5). It was commonly believed that deities that maintained permanent dwellings far away came down to these *yorishiro* objects when invoked for purposes of worship.

It follows that most rituals involved a three-part procedure: (1) inviting a deity to a specific *yorishiro*, (2) worshipping it, and (3) sending it back to its permanent residence (SUEKI 1989, 37–38). When anthropomorphic Buddhist statues were introduced, the Japanese understood them less as visual representations of Buddhist deities and more as particular places within which those deities were lodged when called upon. Through stories, symbols, politics, and an appreciation of cosmological wonders, generations of Japanese people created layers of religious meaning around these *yorishiro* representations (ITŌ 1983, 175–226). Seen from within this tradition, the Zenkōji Amida may simply have been a special—indeed, probably the most prominent—*yorishiro* into which the compassionate divinity of the Buddha Amitābha entered and manifested (*suijaku* 垂迹) itself. The Zenkōji divinity of the Buddha Amitābha was believed to reveal itself and to offer compassion to its worshippers when they contacted it directly by worshipping at its *yorishiro*.

#### *Kaichō Dates and Saijitsu*

For Zenkōji worshippers, the Buddha Amida portrayed in the Buddhist scriptures remained an abstract, remote, and amorphous deity. On the occasion of a *kaichō*, the divinity of the Buddha Amida was transformed into a Living Buddha specific to Zenkōji, and the revelation of the latter was represented by the clan-destine “lodging place” of the Zenkōji Triad, which was opened to the public.

Traditionally, the Japanese believed that a deity would most strongly exercise its divine power if it were worshipped at a designated lodging place and at a designated time. By securing direct contact with a deity at a specific time, the Japanese believed that they could establish a personal salvific connection with it—a karmic connection that would allow them to accumulate special religious merit and thereby be ushered into the world of the deity’s miraculous power. In

doctrinal Buddhism, on the other hand, any day on which one worships a Buddhist deity is one's *ennichi* 縁日, or "connection day." In other words, the religious merit gained by worshipping should not vary according to date. Despite this, as we have seen, Buddhist preachers promoted the idea that if one were to worship a Buddhist deity on a special date and in a direct manner, then one would acquire far greater religious merit than would be the case on an ordinary day.

In the case of Zenkōji, temple officials emphasized that, by worshipping the Zenkōji Amida on the seventh to fifteenth day of the first month for *goinmon* 御印文 (which refers to receiving on one's forehead a vermilion stamp representing the Zenkōji seal) and on the anniversary (Goeshiki 御会式) of the day on which the Zenkōji Triad had been moved to the current site (the fifteenth day of the third month), one could double and even triple the religious merit that could be gained on an ordinary day. The idea of enhancing one's religious merit reached its highest point at the time of a *kaichō*: one could attain hundreds or thousands of times more merit with a single act of worship than could be attained on a non-*kaichō* day.

The idea of special dates for merit-making was compatible with what occurs on a Shinto worship day, which is referred to as *saijitsu* 祭日 (ritual date)—a day when the deity is invited to its temporary lodging place, worshipped, and then sent back to its permanent residence.<sup>13</sup> Preparation for greeting the *saijitsu* usually began the day before, with an *okomori* お籠り (confining oneself in a closed space), which involved worshippers being sequestered in a shrine for an entire night.<sup>14</sup> This ritual conduct was designed to greet the descent of the deity to its "lodging place" or "deity-body," the premise being that worshipping such a deity required a tangible space, time, and object. All these ideas combined to produce a culture of *kaichō*, which featured the scheduled public exhibition of a deity who had descended to its closeted *yorishiro*.

The blossoming of *kaichō* culture, fostered by Japan's traditional ideas of *yorishiro* and *saijitsu*, had no parallel in the Buddhist world. Some records suggest that the divine body of a deity was kept away from the public gaze and used for a *kaichō* in China. Nonetheless, as far as we know, this happened only on a few occasions and never developed into a religious fashion of the kind seen in Japan.<sup>15</sup> In contrast, in early modern Japan, which was blessed with hundreds of secret Buddhas, *kaichō* events were innumerable and lucrative. Any time a famous secret

13. In Shinto, on the occasion of a *matsuri*, a deity was believed to descend to its *shintai* (for example, a mirror, a rock, a sword, a bell, or a comma-shaped bead), which was encased in the inner space of the main hall. For more details, see ONO 1963, 209–10.

14. For a detailed discussion of *saijitsu*, see YANAGITA 1963, "Saijitsu kō."

15. In T'ang China, the term *k'ai-chang* (J. *kaichō*) was used to refer to the display of a Buddhist relic—allegedly one of the finger bones of Śākyamuni. See FOWLER (1991–1992, 137–38). Some *dhāraṇī* Buddhist texts cite examples of secret images, but their citations are brief and almost meaningless. For details, see FOWLER 1991–1992, 139.

Buddha was supposed to manifest itself at a *kaichō*, people eagerly anticipated making face-to-face contact with it and appealing directly to its compassion.

### *Degaichō and Marebito*

The beginning of a *kaichō*, which featured the opening of the Amida receptacle curtains, was an occasion for dramatizing the manifestation of the secret Zenkōji Amida through the notion of descent. In particular, when a *degaichō* was held at a location removed from the home altar, the descent of the Zenkōji Amida represented the manifestation of the Buddha Amida, who had traveled all the way from the beyond. The path of this secret deity was twofold: (1) from India through the Paekche Kingdom on the Korean peninsula, in what was known as Sangoku *denrai* 三国伝来 (Three Kingdom Transmission), and (2) from Shinano. The story of the Zenkōji Amida's visit from the continent as well as from Shinano was compelling, and it moved local worshippers.

At the *degaichō* event, the Sankoku *denrai* legend, which overlapped with the visit of the Amida from Shinano, reinforced the popular belief that the Zenkōji Amida was a deity from the other world who visited in order to save worshippers from suffering in this world. For local worshippers, the descent of the Zenkōji Amida from a distant realm resonated with the traditional idea of *marebito* 𪛗レビト (visitor-deity). According to folk beliefs, the *marebito* referred to a deity who visited the village from *tokoyo* 常世 on a regular basis, usually annually, in order to bring blessings (and warnings) and good harvests to the villagers. Although the *tokoyo* originally denoted a realm beyond this world, or the other-world of the dead, it gradually came to include the sea, heaven, or a vast mountain where ancestral spirits were believed to dwell. When a *marebito* visited the village, often in the guise of an old man with a long white beard or as a young child, the villagers greeted it with a *matsuri* and prayed for good harvests (ORIKUCHI 1964, 3–5; KOMATSU 1985, 39–43; SUWA 1992, 47–48). For *kaichō* viewers, the Zenkōji Amida was a very powerful and miraculous *marebito*.

The concept of *marebito*, then, provided another layer of sacred meaning to the Zenkōji Amida while the latter was on tour. As the *Fusō ryakki* describes it, the Zenkōji Amida arrived from beyond the sea—a realm of *tokoyo*. Its transmission from *tokoyo* over the sea thus corresponds with religious folk beliefs regarding visitor-deities (YAMANOI 1987, 245–46).<sup>16</sup> In this context, Gorai Shigeru even

16. Itō Yuishin suggests that the ancient Japanese regarded deities from abroad, including Buddhas and bodhisattvas, as *marebito*. The names of these deities as found in ancient records are various (for example, *daitō no kami* 大唐神 [deities of Great T'ang] in the *Fusō ryakki*; *ada-shikuni no kami* 蕃神 [barbarian deities] in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀; *takokushin* 他国神 [deities of foreign countries] in the *Gangōji engi* 元興寺縁起; and *marōdo no kami* 客神 [visitor-deities] in the *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記), but their divine powers were almost identical. See Itō 1983, 177–80.



suggests that the Zenkōji Amida Triad “returned to Japan” and that, through the event of *degaichō*, the Triad kept returning to the villages of Japan from Shinano, a remote Japanese holy place (GORAI 1988, 68–69).

### Conclusion

During the Edo period, the *kaichō* at Zenkōji was embedded within layers of beliefs and practices rooted in traditional religious culture. The religiosity of the early modern Japanese, which was not necessarily bound to a particular locality or sectarian affiliation, ensured the prosperity of many temples that were blessed with owning unusual secret Buddhas. The nationwide Zenkōji cult, which was most dramatically demonstrated on the occasion of *kaichō* events, reinforced the belief that the Zenkōji Amida offered an entrance to the Western Paradise.

At the site of Zenkōji, on the occasion of a *kaichō*, worshippers appealed to the manifestation of the Buddha Amida and secured their salvific connection with the divine compassion of the Living Buddha of Zenkōji Amida. In doing so, they also ensured salvation for themselves and their loved ones in the other world. In this tradition, many families sent the teeth or hair of the deceased to Zenkōji and enshrined them at its charnel house, honoring the long-held custom of “depositing ashes,” or *nōkotsu* 納骨. Those who could not afford to make a trip to Shinano enthusiastically greeted the Zenkōji Amida on a *degaichō* tour. The sacred seat of the Zenkōji Amida was mobile, and its mobility catered to the religious customs of local worshippers.

For Zenkōji officials and associates as well as *monzen* merchants, the *kaichō* offered an economic opportunity. In particular, given that building maintenance was a major financial challenge and that government support for Buddhist temples was very limited, Zenkōji officials realized that *kaichō* offered a very tempting solution to their financial problems. For most temples, building repairs became a private task to be addressed through recourse to landed property, *danna* patrons, public fundraising, and other business operations. As far as Zenkōji was concerned, *kaichō* events proved to be the most effective method of fundraising. The upkeep of the magnificent national treasure that is Zenkōji’s Main Hall has owed much to the fusion of beliefs and practices intrinsic to traditional Japanese religious belief.

### REFERENCES

AMBROS, Barbara

- 2004 The display of hidden treasures: Zenkōji’s *kaichō* at Ekōin in Edo. *Asian Cultural Studies* 30: 1–26.

ASAKURA Haruhiko 朝倉治彦

- 2001 “Kaichō sashimen-chō” saimoku 「開帳差免帳」細目. *Sankō shoshi kenkyū* 55: 1-37.

EDO TŌKYŌ REKISHI ZAIDAN 江戸東京歴史財団

- 1993 Hakuran toshi Edo Tōkyō: Hito wa toshi ni nani o mita ka: Kaichō, sakariba, soshite bussankai kara hakurankai e 博覧都市江戸東京—ひとは都市になんを見たか—開張、盛り、そして物産会から博覧会へ. Tokyo: Edo Tōkyō Rekishi Zaidan.

FOWLER, Sherry

- 1991-1992 Hibutsu: Secret Buddhist images of Japan. *Journal of Asian Culture* 15: 137-61.

GORAI Shigeru 五来重

- 1988 *Zenkōji mairi* 善光寺まいり. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

HIRUMA Hisashi 比留間尚

- 1980 *Edo no kaichō* 江戸の開帳. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.  
1973 Edo no kaichō 江戸の開帳. In *Edo chōnin no kenkyū* 江戸町人の研究, ed. Nishiyama Matsunosuke 西山松之助, vol. 2: 273-472. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

HUR, Nam-lin

- 2000 *Prayer and Play in Late Tokugawa Japan: Asakusa Sensōji and Edo Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.

ITŌ Yuishin 伊藤唯真

- 1983 Bukkyō no minkan juyō 仏教の民間受容. In *Nihon minzoku bunka taikei*, 4, *Kami to Hotoke: Minzoku shūkyō no shosō* 日本民俗文化大系 4: 神と仏—民俗宗教の諸相, ed. Miyata Noboru 宮田 登, 173-226. Tokyo: Shōgakkan.

KITAMURA Gyōon 北村行遠

- 1989 *Kinsei kaichō no kenkyū* 近世開帳の研究. Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan.  
2001 Nengen miman no kaichō kyōka o megutte 年限未滿の開帳許可をめぐって. *Risshō daigaku bungakubu ronsō* 114: 27-46.

KOBAYASHI Keiichirō 小林計一郎

- 1973 *Zenkōji san* 善光寺さん. Nagano: Ginga Shobō.  
1979 Kinsei Zenkōji no degaichō 近世善光寺の出開帳. *Nihon rekishi* 370: 34-48.

KOMATSU Kazuhiko 小松和彦

- 1985 Shiten, bunka jinruigaku: Marebito 視点・文化人類学—異人. *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 国文学解釈と教材の研究 30/1: 38-43.

MATSUDAIRA Kanzan 松平冠山

- 1939 *Sensōji shi* 浅草寺志 (1813). Repr. 2 vols. Tokyo: Sensōji Shuppankai.

MCCALLUM, Donald F

- 1994 *Zenkōji and Its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- 1998 The replication of miraculous icons: The Zenkoji Amida and the Seiryōji Shaka. In *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Religious Traditions*, ed. Richard H. Davis, 207–26. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- NAGANOKEN 長野県, ed.  
 1982 *Naganoken shi kinsei shiryōhen: dai-nana kan (san) Hokushin chihō* 長野県史 近世史料編 第七卷(三)北信地方. Naganoshi: Naganokenshi Kankōkai.
- NISHIMURA Tōru 西村 亨, ed.  
 1988 *Orikuchi Shinobu jiten* 折口信夫事典. Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten.
- NISHIYAMA Matsunosuke 西山松之助 et. al, ed.  
 1994 *Edogaku jiten* 江戸学事典. Tokyo: Kōbundō.
- OKUNO Takahiro 奥野高廣  
 1986 Shinano Zenkōji nyoraibutsu: Ōbō to buppō 信濃善光寺如来仏—王法と仏法. *Nihon rekishi* 452: 104–7.
- ONO Motonori 小野祖教  
 1963 *Shintō no kiso chishiki to kiso mondai* 神道の基礎知識と基礎問題. Tokyo: Jinja Shinpōsha.
- ORIKUCHI Shinobu 折口信夫  
 1965 *Orikuchi Shinobu zenshū* 折口信夫全集, vol. 1. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.
- SUEKI Fumihiko 末木文美士  
 1989 Kami to hotoke 神と仏. In *Zusetsu Nihon no bukkūyō 6: Shin-butsumō shūgō to shugen* 図説日本の仏教 6—神仏習合と修験, ed. Tanabe Saburōsuke 田辺三郎助, 33–48. Tokyo: Shinchōsa.
- SUWA Haruo 諏訪春雄  
 1992 Kiseki ni raihō suru kami: Marebitoron, ijinron saikō 季節に来訪する神—まれびと論・異人論再考. *Shisō* 814: 45–60.
- YAMANOI Daiji 山ノ井大治  
 1987 Zenkōji reijō to degaichō 善光寺霊場と出開帳. In *Bukkyō minzokugaku taikai 3: Seichi to takaikan* 仏教民俗学大系3—聖地と他界観, ed. Sakurai Tokutarō 桜井徳太郎, 227–47. Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan.
- 1995 Hibutsukō: Zenkōjibutsu o megutte 秘仏考—善光寺仏をめぐって. *Taishō daigaku kenkyū kiyō ningengakubu bungakubu* 80: 99–125.
- YAMAORI Tetsuo 山折哲雄  
 1987 Hibutsu to kami 秘仏と神. *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 15: 157–83.
- YANAGITA Kunio 柳田国男  
 1963 Saijitsu kō 祭日考. In *Yanagita Kunio zenshū dai-11 kan* 柳田国男全集第11卷. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.