

Haruo SHIRANE

Defilement, Outcasts, and Disability in Medieval Japan Reassessing *Oguri* and Sermon Ballads as Regenerative Narratives

This article explores four major types of defilement in premodern Japan—what I call contact defilement, transgressive defilement, Buddhist defilement, and cyclical defilement—that are critical to understanding a wide range of premodern Japanese cultural and social phenomena and that lie behind the emergence of outcasts and the belief in serious illness as defilement from the mid-twelfth century. I demonstrate how these different types of defilement and corresponding purification rites intersect and form the backbone for such notable sermon ballads as *Shintokumaru* and *Oguri*, which flourished in the late medieval and early Edo period and which can be understood as “regenerative narratives” in which the protagonist suffers from a series of defilements and social ostracization before being purified and resurrected. The article unpacks the significance of pilgrimage to Kumano that represents both pollution and purification, and reveals the revolutionary roles that the Jishū mendicants and itinerant women (like Kumano nuns) had in pushing back against established notions of defilement and aiding those considered to be most polluted. Finally, I look at the role of original-ground stories, a new medieval paradigm in which gods/deities first suffered as human beings before deification, an excruciating experience that enabled them to understand and aid the deprived and the outcast.

KEYWORDS: defilement—purification—outcast—disability studies—Jishū—Kumano
bikuni—*sekkyōbushi*

Haruo SHIRANE is Shincho Professor of Japanese Literature in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University.

DEFILEMENT (*kegare* 穢) is context dependent. What is considered defiling at a shrine is not necessarily defiling at the imperial court, and what is defiling for one Buddhist sect may not be for another. Multiple, sometimes contradictory, concepts of defilement coexist and their treatment changes over time. One consequence is that defilement, while central to the understanding of a wide range of Japanese cultural and historical phenomena, has remained an elusive topic for scholars of all disciplines. The first part of this article outlines four key types of defilement: what I call contact defilement, transgressive defilement, Buddhistic defilement, and cyclical defilement.¹ All four are critical for understanding medieval narratives such as *Shintokumaru* しんとく丸 and *Oguri* 小栗 (also called *Oguri hangan* 小栗判官), two sermon ballad (*sekkyōbushi* 説経節) masterpieces, that depicted outcasts (*hinin* 非人) and social marginals as protagonists.

Contact defilement (*shokue* 触穢) in Japanese aristocratic society through the medieval period is generally divided into four subtypes. The first and most prominent is “death defilement” (*shie* 死穢), resulting from touching a corpse, digging a grave, attending a funeral, and the like. The second is “birth defilement” (*san'e* 産穢), resulting from menstruation, abortion, pregnancy, or birth. The third is “animal defilement,” specifically the death of a domesticated animal such as a horse, an ox, a dog, or a pig. The fourth is “fire defilement,” resulting from an accidental fire. Generally, contact defilement is a physiological process related to the body, particularly blood defilement from death, birth, and menstruation.

Associated symbolically with contact defilement are women (because they menstruate and give birth) and animals. In the medieval period, professions that handled ox hide, human corpses, or executions were considered defiled. The *Kōnin shiki* 弘仁式 placed a ban on eating the meat of the “six animals” (*rokuchiku* 六畜): horses, oxes, sheep, dogs, pigs, and chickens. Eating the meat of these animals, which were in close proximity to humans, meant that animal defilement would reside inside the human body (IDE and USHIYAMA 2016, 91–92). The hearth symbolized the house, with fire being a central pillar of human life. Damage to or destruction of the house by fire meant destruction of that central pillar (YAMAMOTO 1986, 29–32).² Contact with defilement, which was transmissible,

1. I am indebted to Jayne Sun KIM's (2004, 191–258) use of the terms “touch defilement” and “transgression defilement.”

2. YAMAMOTO Kōji (2009, 236) notes that crime (*hanzai* 犯罪) was considered a “defilement” and that the houses of criminals were burned or destroyed as a form of “purification” (*harae* 祓).

called for abstinence (*imi* 忌), usually a fixed period of confinement. According to the rules of the *Engishiki*, the period of abstinence for death defilement was thirty days while that for birth defilement was seven days.³ Enclosed spaces, such as a funeral room (*moya* 喪屋) or a birthing hut (*ubuya* 産屋), were constructed to isolate the corpse or birthing mother from others (YAMAMOTO 2009, 30).

Transgressive defilement is caused by a transgression or wrongdoing (*tsumi* 罪) that calls for compensation for a loss suffered. The paradigmatic example most often cited by scholars is Susanoo's expulsion from Takama no hara 高天原 (Heavenly Plain).

According to the *Kojiki*, when Susanoo ascends to take leave of Amaterasu, his sister, he "raged with victory, breaking down the ridges between the rice paddies of [Amaterasu] and covering up the ditches. Also he defecated and strewed the feces about in the hall where the first fruits were tasted" (PHILIPPI 1968, 79). Susanoo's misdeeds did not cease, but became even more flagrant. Seeing this, Amaterasu was afraid and shut herself in a heavenly rock-cave, bringing darkness to Takama no hara and the Central Land of the Reed Plains (Islands of Japan). "Because of this, constant night reigned, and the cries of the myriad deities were everywhere abundant, like summer flies; and all manner of calamities arose" (PHILIPPI 1968, 81). Amaterasu is drawn out of the cave by the performance of Ame no Uzume, bringing back light to the world. At this time, the gods "imposed on [Susanoo] a fine of a thousand tables of restitutive gifts, and also, cutting off his beard and the nails of his hands and feet, had him exorcised and expelled..." (NKBZ 1: 85; PHILIPPI 1968, 85–86).

The story of Susanoo's expulsion differs according to the text, but three elements remain consistent: (1) forcing Susanoo to pay a fine of a thousand tables of restitutive gifts (*chikura no okido* 千座置戸), (2) cutting off the beard and the nails of the hands and feet of Susanoo, and (3) exiling Susanoo from Takama no hara. The first action (a fine of a thousand tables of restitutive gifts) is a *harae tsu mono* 祓物 (property to pay off debt), a compensation for injury or loss. The second penalty (cutting off hair and nails) was a form of corporal punishment. The third measure, exile from the Heavenly Plain, means expulsion from the community. YAMAMOTO Kōji (2009, 240) argues that all three actions occur simultaneously and, taken as a whole, constitute key components of the purification ritual (*harae*).

Saigō Nobutsuna observes that Susanoo's sins, such as "breaking down the ridges between the rice paddies of Amaterasu and covering up the ditches," are very limited agricultural transgressions. These actions are related to the management of the rice fields and the rice harvest necessary for the Daijōsai 大嘗祭 (Great New Food Festival), a major ceremony held at the enthronement of the

3. Along with death, menstruation and childbirth were particularly abhorred by Shinto deities.

emperor. In this regard, Susano's "heavenly sins are a direct violation of the preparations for a central court ceremony" (SAIGŌ 1967, 67). FUKUDA Tokuzō (1910, 1020–1021, 1025) argues that the purpose of "the purification rite [*harae*] is to settle the obligation that one has incurred from having committed a transgression [*tsumi*] and the debt that one has taken on from causing that pollution."⁴ YAMAMOTO (2009, 238–239) links *harae* to the word *harau* 払う (to pay); that is, *harae* is a means of settling one's debt, a restitution or compensation for past wrongs.

Contact defilement is physiological and generally concerns the body (as in death, birth, and blood pollution). Scholars of ancient Judaism—which bears some resemblance to these Japanese beliefs with its stress on impurity and prohibition—refer to these as "ritual impurities," centered on the body and primarily unintentional: "This impurity is temporary, creating some degree of disruption to social life; purification rituals return the default status of purity.... The moral dimension of this impurity is significant but indirect: *it delineates the borders of society's structures and safeguards the sacred*" (BLIDSTEIN 2015, 449). Jonathan KLAUANS (2000, 32–38), a scholar of ancient Judaism, argues for two types of defilements: tolerated defilements and prohibited defilements. He sees them as two kinds: one is concerned with biological functions and the other with sin, with some overlap (see also BLIDSTEIN 2017, 18–20). For our purposes, contact defilement and transgressive defilement in Japan are best regarded as two ends of a spectrum, beginning with contact defilements, which are temporary, tolerated, and removable, and ending with transgressive defilements, which are prohibited and require restitution by the transgressor.

Purification Rituals

An important purification rite for contact defilement was abstention (*imi*, *saiki* 齋忌). As Okada Shigekiyo has shown, the fundamental meaning of *imi* is a sense of fear and extreme danger, a warning against the frightening misfortune that will befall someone if he or she violates a holy presence or comes in contact with defilement. As a noun, *imi* refers to a sacred space, a space of purity, while the verb *imu* is used to refer to an impure space marked by transgression, defilement, or disaster (*wazawai* 災). Two different graphs are used: 齋, meaning purified, tends to be used for the holy or sacred space occupied by or dedicated to a kami, and 忌, implying avoidance, is used for violated or defiled space (OKADA 1982, 435). The graph 齋 is used consciously and purposely to stress the purity of holy

4. FUKUDA (1910) argues that offerings to the gods or to rulers were widely used as money. *Harae* in criminal law and religious law were originally the same. In both, payment took the form of property (*harae tsu mono*).

space or presence, but it also appears frequently in combination with 忌 to stress the danger of defilement.⁵

Kami, a higher power commonly recognized and worshiped by a community, represents a state of purity (*shōjō* 清浄), and the sacred ceremony (*saishi* 祭祀) that honors the kami requires the participants to be ritually pure. In the ancient period, a complex relationship existed between sacrilege—that is, transgression of sacred law or space—and disaster. When a disaster (for example, an earthquake or plague) occurred, it was interpreted as a sign (*tatari* 祟り) of a god's unhappiness or anger with human actions (for instance, cutting down trees in a sacred area). This kind of offense or transgression, which aroused the anger of the gods and resulted in disaster, required atonement and ritual purification of the kind that we find in the Susanoo expulsion myth (OKADA 1982, 435).

One key means of eliminating contact defilement was lustration (*misogi* 禊). The roots of lustration, which is usually defined as pouring water on the body, are typically traced to the myth in which Izanagi visits Izanami in the Land of Death, breaks the taboo of not looking at her corpse, and then flees and closes off the pass, leaving Izanami on the side of death. Afterward (in the *Kojiki* version), Izanagi says, “I have been to a most unpleasant land, a horrible, unclean land. Therefore I shall purify myself” (PHILIPPI 1968, 68), and then cleans himself by ablution. The myth of Izanagi/Izanami can be regarded as an example of contact defilement, which results from proximity to death and which calls for a lustration or abstinence. The Susanoo myth, by contrast, is an example of transgressive defilement and requires compensation or restitution, which can take three forms: material payment (restitutive gifts), corporeal payment (nails, beard), and social payment (exile).

The Ōharae 大祓 (Great Purification) rituals were first instituted under Tenmu 天武 (ca. 631–686) and held at court twice a year, on the sixth month. On New Year's Eve at the end of the twelfth month, the ceremony was carried out in front of the gate to the Imperial Palace where male and female officials gathered and where the Nakatomi 中臣, who belonged to the Jingikan 神祇官, read out the ritual words (*norito* 祝詞) and then transferred the defilement of the participants to the paper wands (*nusa* 幣) that the diviners (*urabe* 占部) from the Jingikan had handed out. Ōharae is usually described as a state rite to remove contact defilements and purify the realm, but as YAMAMOTO Kōji (2009, 271–334) points out, the word “pollution” almost never appears in regard to the Ōharae. Instead

5. The graph 齋 is used as a prefix for holy objects, as in *igaki* 齋垣 (holy fence, which surrounds a space of a kami). Analogous words for 忌 are *yume* (the imperative form of the verb *yumu* [to abstain]) and *yuyushi* (frightening). From the Heian period, the graph 忌 has been used in words such as *imibi* 忌日 (a day of abstinence) and *imi no mi* 忌の身 (someone in mourning) as a sign of danger of defilement.

the word “transgression” appears repeatedly in the ritual words, suggesting the Ōharae also dealt with transgressive defilements.

The Ōharae was originally intended to purify the realm, but by the middle of the tenth century the ritual had become hollowed out. This did not reflect a loss of interest in purification rites; on the contrary, by the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Heian aristocracy, now living in a crowded city, had become obsessed with pollution. *Onmyōji* 陰陽師 (yin-yang masters) emerged to take the place of the Nakatomi and the Urabe, who had worked for the Jingikan and were not available for private services. In a famous passage (Section 31) in the *Makura no sōshi*, Sei Shōnagon lists “an *onmyōji* with a good voice who goes out on to the bank of a river and performs a purification (*harae*) to get rid of a curse” (*juso* 呪詛) (NKBT 19: 72–73). *Juso* did not mean a curse so much as the cause of an illness; the exorcism/purification (*harae*), which drove out that curse, functioned as a kind of medical treatment (SAITŌ 2014, 39–41). The aristocracy depended on these *onmyōji*, the most famous of whom was Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明 (921–1005), who became a legendary figure in demon-quelling narratives.

One difference between the yin-yang method of purification and that of esoteric Buddhism was that the *onmyōji* employed, among other techniques, a *nade-mono* 撫物 (rubbed or stroked object), usually a doll made of metal or wood. The defilement was transferred to the *nademono*, which then was thrown or floated away (KOMATSU 1995, 196). In the Purification at the Seven Rivers (Nanase no harae 七瀬の祓え, also called the Nanase no misogi 七瀬の禊), which was held monthly or on special occasions, various kinds of defilements that had accumulated in the body of the emperor were transferred to dolls (*hitogata* 人形). Seven imperial messengers then took the dolls to seven places on riverbanks or seashores in neighboring provinces—such as Ōmi 近江, Yamashiro 山城, Naniwa 難波, Ōshima 大島, and Karasaki 唐崎—thus dumping the pollution outside the capital. This purification rite was imitated in the Heian period by the Fujiwara regents and in the Kamakura period by the military government.

In medieval tales and legends, demons (*oni* 鬼) along with *tengu* 天狗 and demonic foxes become personifications of pollution and carriers of defilements, disease, and natural disaster. In demon conquest narratives (*oni taiji* 鬼退治), such as Shuten Dōji 酒吞童子, brave warriors such as Minamoto Raikō 源 頼光 (948–1021; also known as Minamoto no Yorimitsu) and *onmyōji* such as Abe no Seimei act as the “exorcists,” killing or driving out the demons that bring disease and plague to the city. In the version of the Shuten Dōji legend called Ōeyama Shuten Dōji 大江山酒吞童子, Raikō’s party, having paraded the demon’s decapitated head throughout the capital, waits on the banks of the Katsura River in the eastern part of the capital. An imperial messenger arrives, telling them that the emperor wants a viewing of the head; after they paint a picture of Shuten Dōji’s head, they are told: “Burn every part of the demon’s

head and flush it away on the Katsura River. Abe no Seimei has agreed to carry out a purification (*harae*) rite” (quoted in KOMATSU 1997, 38). In the *Tamamo no sōshi* 玉藻の草子, the demonic fox, which has been killed by the warriors, is “placed in a boat carved out of a large tree (*utsuobune* うつお舟) and washed away” (quoted in KOMATSU 1997, 44–45).⁶ Likewise, in the noh play *Nue* 鵜, the body of Nue, the monster-bird that is shot and killed by Minamoto no Yorimasa 源 頼政 (1104–1180), is placed in a hollowed-out-tree boat and floated away. In both cases the killing or destroying of a demon is not sufficient; the pollution associated with the demon must also be flushed away, as in a purification rite.

Buddhistic Defilement

Significant overlap exists between transgressive defilement found in early native practices and Buddhistic notions of defilement caused by transgressions in this life or the previous life. As SATŌ Hiroo (2008, 49–50) has argued, the main objective of early Buddhism was not to send the spirit or soul to the other world so much as to extinguish accumulated sins (*metsuzai* 滅罪), a process in which the *Lotus Sūtra* and buddhas and bodhisattvas such as Yakushi 藥師 and Kannon 観音 were believed to be extremely effective. In the Nara period, Yakushi was the main object of worship in the Yakushi repentance ritual (*keka* 悔過) in which the believer confessed (*zange* 懺悔) and repented to the statue of Yakushi, thereby eliminating his or her accumulated sins. The Kannon repentance ritual served a similar role, with the statue of the Kannon bodhisattva serving as the main object of worship.

The *Nihon ryōiki* 日本霊異記 reveals the consequences of past actions in this life. Here the practice of eliminating accumulated sins is also carried out by the living for those who have died and fallen into hell, depicted as a defiled space with tortured and maimed bodies. Sin and transgression are understood in the context of karmic causality and reincarnation (*rinne* 輪廻) of past, present, and future lives in which sins in the past life or this life had consequences for the next life. Kawaguchi Eryō argues that in the *Nihon ryōiki* the early kami-based practice of purification took on the Buddhist form of repentance rites, which in turn led to the practice of chanting and copying of Buddhist scriptures (primarily the *Lotus Sūtra*) as an efficacious means of erasing accumulated sins. In this case, the *Lotus Sūtra* was not received as a Buddhist text to be read so much as a means of washing away past transgressions and defilement (KAWAGUCHI 1972, 643). As Sherry Ortner observes,

6. In the case of *Ōeyama Shuten Dōji*, Komatsu cites a manuscript owned by Asō Takakichi 麻生太賀吉. For *Tamamo no sōshi*, he cites the Keio University Library manuscript.

On the whole, purity seems to be equated with whatever a culture considered to be the most advantageous mode of being and functioning for achieving the paramount ideals of that culture. Thus, throughout most Asian religions (e.g., Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Taoism), purity is equated with calmness (physical, mental, and emotional equilibrium) in keeping with the ideal goal—at least for religious adepts—of achieving spiritual transcendence or liberation. (ORTNER 2018)

This applies in large part to early Buddhism in Japan. Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集, the highly influential description of Buddhist cosmology, stressed turning away from the defiled world in disgust (*onri edo* 厭離穢土) and set up a stark contrast between the six realms of samsara regarded as defiled and a pure land (*jōdo* 淨土), a place of calmness and purity. The human realm is not only a world of suffering, it is a dirty, polluted world, and even more so for the lower three realms of hell, hungry ghosts, and animals. A major Buddhist sin was violence, particularly killing, murder, hunting, and warfare, all of which were related to blood and death. Other major Buddhist sins were aggressive emotions (that is, greed, anger, hatred, and deep envy) that caused attachment and suffering.

Cyclical Defilement

Another major type of defilement is cyclical defilement, which follows the cycle of the calendar year beginning with spring and ending with the close of winter. This particular view of pollution has been advanced by modern scholars in ethnographic studies (*minzokugaku* 民俗学), who argue that the Japanese *kegare* etymologically means the “withering” (*kare* 枯れ) of “life spirit” (*ki* 気) (NISHIGAKI 1984, 101).⁷ The accumulation of defilements, particularly at the end of the winter, called for rituals of purification and renewal.

On New Year's Eve, the demon-expelling ceremony (*tsuina* 追儺), which was imported from China by Onmyōdō and carried out at the imperial court as early as the eighth century, drove out the negative spirits that may have settled within the palace over the calendar year.⁸ The demon-expelling observance immediately followed the Ōharae, which can be considered part of cyclical pollution or purification, to prepare for the New Year. Following the lead of the *onmyōji*, esoteric Buddhist priests incorporated the demon-expelling ceremony into the Shushōe 修正会 and the Shunie 修二会, two major rites at Tōdaiji 東大寺 and other temples that can be considered a Buddhist form of purification. At the

7. In this model, *kegare* is combined with two other key terms, *ke* 褻 (everyday time) and *hare* 晴 (auspicious, formal occasion) which were highlighted by Yanagita Kunio.

8. In the Nara period, the ritualist drove away the demons, who represented pollution, but by the tenth century, it was also the ritualist, dressed as a demon, who was driven away.

Shunie at Tōdaiji, *sarugaku* 猿楽 (early noh) actors performed the roles of both the demon and the exorcist.

The demon-expelling rite was absorbed on the popular level into Setsubun 節分 (which originally meant a point between seasons), an annual observance that marks the last day of winter and the end of the lunar year. Setsubun is followed, on the first day of spring and the beginning of the New Year, by another major observance in which *senzu manzai* 千秋万歳 (literally, thousand autumns and ten thousand years), originally outcast performers, bring good fortune. The Ōharae also occur at the end of the sixth month, when the natural world reaches its zenith and begins its descent, and at the end of the twelfth month, when the natural world reaches its nadir and begins its ascent.

Cyclical defilement and renewal are also embedded in Buddhist annual observances such as the Butsumyōe, which now begins on 19 December and continues to 3 January. As already noted, during this annual observance, which began in the Heian period and continues today, the names of the different buddhas are recited in order to repent and eliminate the sins that have accumulated over the course of a year. A similar Buddhist annual observance, held at the beginning of the new year to repent and eliminate accumulated sins, is the Shushōe and the Shunie, both of which include a prayer for peace and rich harvest in the new year.

As Mary Douglas has put it in *Purity and Danger*, “dirt is essentially disorder”: “There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder.” Douglas argues that “rituals of purity and impurity create unity of experience” and that “ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgressions have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience” (DOUGLAS 2002, 2, 4). The four major types of defilement sketched out here represent the crossing of different borders: (1) borders between the realm of the kami (the sacred) and the everyday; (2) borders in the cycle of life (birth and death); (3) moral borders supporting a particular social order or community; and (4) temporal borders of the seasons (particularly crossing from one year to the next). Significantly, while all these borders are dangerous, they also include borders (such as the birth of a baby and arrival of spring) that imply the possibility of renewal or “reset.” In literary narratives such as sermon ballads, the protagonist may transgress the established borders (causing pollution) and suffer the consequences, but they still have the opportunity to be purified and return to the community, often in a stronger position than before.

Outcasts, Karmic Causality, and Serious Illness

We now turn to another major category of pollution: the social classification of outcasts (*hinin*, literally, “nonhumans”). Two key spaces for understanding the relationship of defilement to outcasts are the riverbed or riverbank and the sharp

slope or hill. Outcasts were often referred to as “riverbank people” (*kawara mono* 河原者). According to Amino Yoshihiko, the term “riverbank people” can be traced, at least in part, to feed gatherers (*etori* 餌取り), who killed animals as food for hawks and hunting dogs through the Office of Hawking (Taka no Tsukasa 鷹の司) under the *ritsuryō* 律令 system. Another group, in the Office of Raising Horses (Umakaibe 馬飼部), dealt with the hides of horses and oxen. Both groups were low officials who were not originally subject to serious discrimination. When the *ritsuryō* system broke down in the late Heian period, they formed their own occupational groups. Since water was necessary for softening hides, they may have settled in dry riverbeds or on riverbanks and taken on an identity like “riverbank people.” The “riverbank people,” who worked for major shrines and temples such as Gion 祇園 Shrine (Yasaka 八坂 Shrine), Kitano 北野 Shrine, and Daigoji 醍醐寺, were in charge of tanning horse and ox hides as well as making footwear, which required leather. A major job of the “riverbank people” was to deal with the defilement resulting from contact with dead horses and oxen. Probably for that reason, they had names like Kiyome 清目 (literally, “purifier”), someone who deals with defilement (AMINO 2012, 140–146).⁹

Another, related, group were dog-shrine people (*inujinin* 犬神人), low-level workers at Gion Shrine who made shoes, bows and arrows, purified the grounds of the shrine, disposed of corpses, and erased the pollution caused by criminals. The dog-shrine people became managers (*chōri* 長吏) of outcast groups and were responsible for the destruction of a house where a crime had been committed. NIUNOYA Tetsuichi (1986, 44–45) notes that “when a person comes in contact with defilement, if the person waits or abstains for a specified number of days, he or she is freed from the defilement, but discriminated groups such as outcasts are never liberated from defilement.” The sovereign and the aristocrats in the capital, in order to keep themselves “pure,” created a disposable and discriminated class that could deal with the defilements. In this way, the outcasts became indispensable to the rulers, temples and shrines, and the aristocracy, and were strictly regulated. Ironically, the defiled became one of the key “purifiers” in the capital.

Niunoya divides outcasts into five categories: (1) those who were involved in the cleaning of sacred areas, specifically the Imperial Palace and the grounds of shrines and temples; (2) those who worked in death-defilement occupations, such as funeral services and disposal of animal remains; (3) those who were involved with transgressive defilement, such as convicts and executioners; (4) lepers (*raisha* 癩者), the physically impaired (*fugu* 不具), beggars, and others who were regarded as the object of karmic retribution (*gōhō* 業報); and (5) per-

9. *Kiyome* (purifier) was both a personal name and a generic category, an alternative name for outcasts (AMINO 1994, 197–206; 2002, 171–216).

formers and entertainers who participated in purification ceremonies and festivals (*saibatsu* 祭祓) (NIUNOYA 1994, 220). Lepers meant not only those with leprosy, or Hansen's disease, but other skin diseases such as scabies (*kaisen* 疥癬) (KURODA 1986, 239–243). Of these five groups, only one (lepers/invalids) would be considered physically impaired; the others were *hinin* as a result of their occupations or contact with defilement.

Niunoya notes that the first two categories, which focus on specific occupations (such as leather-making), became the basis for early modern formations of outcasts (called *eta* 穢多). The last three groups, which he calls “primary outcasts,” are the most representative of medieval outcasts. The first two outcast categories are directly related to contact defilement and to the maintenance of a sacred order, particularly a kami-based, emperor-centered order. The third and fourth categories are related to transgressive defilement viewed primarily from a legal order and a Buddhist moral order, respectively. The fifth category, those who participated in rituals such as demon-expelling (*tsuina* 追儺), included *sarugaku*, *dengaku* 田楽, and sermon ballad performers. They tended to live on slopes (such as Narazaka 奈良坂) and were often called scattered places (*sanjo* 散所 or *sanjo hōshi* 散所法師) and worked at the lowest level for powerful institutions such as Kōfukuji 興福寺 in Nara. Considerable overlap occurs among these groups. For example, the blind *biwa* 琵琶 (lute) minstrels, such as the legendary Semimaru 蟬丸, belong to the category of performer and to that of the physically impaired. All groups were the object of the periodic Buddhist practice of offerings to outcasts and mendicants to earn merit (*hinin segyō* 非人施行), which began in the tenth century and was carried out by aristocrats, by Buddhist leaders (such as Eizon 叡尊 ([1201–1290]), and sometimes by the state when faced with disaster (NIUNOYA 1980). As we shall see, these offerings for merit became a critical part of the life of beggars and invalids.

In the Heian period, illness or physical impairment was thought to be caused by angry gods or evil spirits (*mono* or *mononoke* 物の気), which invaded from outside. But with the gradual penetration of the Buddhist notion of the “three periods” (*sanze* 三世, past, present, and future lives) and karmic causality (*inga ōhō* 因果応報), illness increasingly came to be regarded as the result of past transgressions or lack of devotion in the previous life. For many Buddhists, serious illness was the result of something within. This view of illness as punishment has been traced back to Buddhist scriptures such as the *Lotus Sūtra*, the most influential sutra in Japan (KASUYA 2017, 132), which describes the punishment for slandering this sutra:

Because he slandered this sutra,
this is the punishment he will incur.
If he should become a human being,

his faculties will be blighted and dull,
 he will be puny, vile, bent, crippled,
 blind, deaf, hunchbacked.
 The things he says
 people will not believe,
 the breath from his mouth will be constantly foul,
 he will be possessed by devils,
 poor and lowly,
 ordered around by others,
 plagued by many ailments, thin and gaunt,
 having no one to turn to.

(WATSON 1993, 75–76)

By the mid-twelfth century, a convergence of different factors—notably fear of death defilement and linkage of serious illness to karmic causality—meant that the seriously ill, specifically lepers, came to be regarded as defiled and were referred to by such terms as “invalid outcast” and “serious invalid outcast.”

The association of outcasts with serious illness is revealed in popular stories about the priest Eijitsu 叡実 (d.u.), beginning with the *Hokke genki*, where Eijitsu’s discovery of a sick person is described:

A sick person was lying on the street, soiled by his excrement which had a terrible odor. The passers-by ran away, closing their eyes and holding their noses. Eijitsu remained with the sick person, covered him with a robe, held him and lay beside him while reciting the *Hokekyō*. Thanks to the power of the sūtra and Eijitsu’s influence, the sick person recovered.

(DYKSTRA 1983, 88–89)

In the same story in the *Hosshinshū* written a century later, Eijitsu is summoned by the emperor, who has fallen ill. On the way to the palace, he comes across a sick person in the street and decides to care for that invalid rather than help the emperor. His stated reason is:

This is an outcast (*hinin*) who can not be treated lightly.... When it comes to praying for the emperor, there are many efficacious priests who will, if summoned, come from the mountain temples to attend to his needs. If I don’t go, nothing will be missed. But when it comes to this sick person, there are only people who will find him repugnant and dirty, and no one will approach him. If I abandon him, he will die very soon.

(SNKS 4, 4: 175)

Unlike the mid-eleventh century *Hokke genki*, in which the seriously sick person is treated as a human being, the early thirteenth-century *Hosshinshū* regards the same sick person as a *hinin*, a “nonhuman,” whom passersby find repugnant and refuse to approach. Fujiwara Toshiyuki, a historian of medieval Japan, argues that this change reflects a major shift in the view of illness in Japanese history.

From the mid-twelfth century onward, the seriously ill, particularly lepers, were widely regarded as defiled outcasts (FUJIWARA 1986, 98–99).¹⁰

Kiyomizu Slope and the Kamo River as Borders

A major gathering place for outcasts was Kiyomizu Slope, the steep road leading up to Kiyomizudera 清水寺 that overlooked the capital and was connected to a major cemetery, Toribenno 鳥辺野, where funeral services were in constant demand. In the Enryaku 延暦 era (782–806), when Kiyomizudera was built, a road was constructed for pilgrims from the bank of the Kamo River to the temple at the top of the slope. A bridge called the Gojōbashi 五条橋 (now called Matsubara Bridge) crossed the Kamo River from the capital to the base of Kiyomizu Slope, where the Nagamunedō 長棟堂, a dwelling for lepers, was built (SHIMOSAKA 2003, 151–160). The *Shōyūki* 小右記, a diary written by Fujiwara Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046), indicates that aristocrats gave alms to beggars and outcasts gathered at the bottom of Kiyomizu Slope (MIEDA 2016, 52).

By the thirteenth century, the beggars and outcasts at the bottom of Kiyomizu Slope had been organized into groups under outcast managers. According to an autobiography by Eizon, the founder of the Ritsu school in the early Kamakura period, the managers in Kyoto managed the severely ill and outcasts, providing shelters for lepers in the capital. Those suffering from these diseases were gathered by the managers at the borders of the capital, such as Kiyomizu Slope, a busy intersection connected to the Tōkaidō 東海道 where the outcasts, particularly the seriously ill who could not work in sanitation or the funeral business, depended on alms from pilgrims, travelers, merchants, and passersby to survive (MIEDA 2016, 55).

Kiyomizu Slope also attracted outcasts and lepers because of the belief that the “pure water” (*shimizu* 清水) of Otowa 音羽 Falls, now inside the Kiyomizudera compound, could cure leprosy and other serious diseases (HOSOKAWA 2010, 70–75). In a famous legend recounted in the *Kenkyū gojunreiki*, Empress Kōmyō 光明 (701–760), who is closely associated with Kiyomizudera, bathes a loathsome beggar at Kiyomizu Slope who miraculously transforms into a buddha (ABE 1998, 23). At the end of *Shintokumaru*, a late medieval sermon ballad, the protagonist Shintokumaru, who has been reduced to a blind leper, makes a pilgrimage to Otowa Falls, where he purifies himself, and then is healed by Otome 乙姫, who draws on the power of the Kannon at Kiyomizudera.

10. FUJIWARA (1986, 98–99) also notes that the phrase “people of the Kiyomizu Slope bottom” (*Kiyomizuzaka shita no mono* 清水坂下ノ者), which was used in the eleventh century, was replaced by the phrase “Kiyomizu Slope outcasts” (*Kiyomizuzaka hinin* 清水坂非人) in a 1158 document.

The word “riverbed,” or “riverbank,” was often used to mean the bank of the Kamo River, which flowed south on the eastern border of the capital. Lustration and purification rituals were held on the bank of the river. The Kamo River was where the newly appointed emperor was purified during the lustration rites (*gokei* 御禊) preceding the Daijōsai and where the female vestal virgin (*saiin* 齋院) offered to the Kamo Shrine was purified before the Kamo Festival.

The same Kamo River was where riverbed people, outcasts and beggars, gathered and lived. At the end of the Miidera 三井寺 Scroll in the *Tengu sōshi*, a *tengu*, a long-nosed goblin or human-bird hybrid (often used to satirize degenerate Buddhist priests), is caught in a trap and killed by an *eta*,¹¹ an outcast working on the banks of the Kamo River:

A certain *tengu*, having had too much to drink and losing his senses, wandered into the area of the riverbed at Shijō [Fourth Ward] and tried to eat some meat. Not knowing that an outcast had stuck a needle into the meat, the *tengu* grabbed the meat and the needle went into his hand. The outcast caught the *tengu* and twisted off his head. (SNEZ 27: 91)

This section of the painting scroll shows a dwelling with a small vegetable garden, on a bank of the Kamo River, with one *eta* boy drying the skin of a horse or cow, and the other *eta* boy hunting birds with a falcon. On the other bank of the river, beneath a falcon soaring in the air, a seated man in an *eboshi* 烏帽子 hat is carving up captured birds, saying, “Today, the hunting is good” and “These young birds have good wings” (YOKOI 1975, 231–235; SNEZ 27: 91). The inebriated *tengu*/priest, who breaks the prohibition on eating meat, is killed by an *eta* who provides bait for falcons and tans horse and ox hides in a riverbed at Shijō (just north of Kiyomizu Slope). Upon hearing of the death of the *tengu*, the arrogant *tengu*/priests at the temple are shocked and deeply regret their past behavior, discuss the Buddhist path, and finally achieve enlightenment.

Zegaibōe, another painting scroll on *tengu*, also ends at the banks of the Kamo River, in a hot bath where *Zegaibō*, an evil *tengu* from China, his body badly battered by his encounter with powerful Japanese esoteric (Tendai) priests, is recuperating. In a rare depiction of hot-water bathing in the medieval period, the second scroll shows water being carried from the Kamo River, boiled, and then funneled into a large tub, where the injured *Zegaibō* soaks, attended by two *tengu* (SNEZ 27: 94–94). The bathhouse (*yuya* 湯屋) serves as a place not only for rest and recovery, but also for the purification of defilements. The makeshift bathhouse on the Kamo River “cleanses” the polluted *tengu*, which is an animal (*chikushō* 畜生) and considered evil (*ma* 魔), giving it new life, an opportunity to be saved or even enlightened (ABE 1998, 41–44). As we can see here, the physical border of the cap-

11. This is the earliest example of the word *eta*.

ital (the Kamo River and the bottom of Kiyomizu Slope) embodied many of the borders associated with pollution, particularly those associated with death, serious illness, outcasts, and border (defiled) occupations, but it was also the place where defilement could be treated by purification rites, lustrations, and hot baths.

Sermon Ballads as a Genre

Sermon ballads were a form of oral storytelling (*katari mono* 語物) that became popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Sermon ballads probably emerged from Buddhist preaching (*shōdō* 唱導) as oral sermons put to rhythm or music. Originally, the word *sekkyō* was written with only kana. Later, either one of two graph compounds was used: “sutra explication” (*sekkyō* 説経) or “preaching” (*sekkyō* 説教), with the characters for “sutra explication” becoming standard. Sermon ballads can refer to the performance or to the performers, who are also called *sekkyōsha* 説経者 (*sekkyō* person) or *sekkyō toki* 説経説き (*sekkyō* explicator). Sermon ballad performances flourished in the cities in the Edo period, particularly in the mid- to late- seventeenth century, when it reached a peak (MATISOFF 1992; ISHII 1989; MORRISON 2013).

Paintings of the time show *sekkyō* performers standing outside under large umbrellas or sometimes trees, telling their stories to a small crowd of commoners. Sermon ballad texts such as *Sanshō dayū* 山椒大夫, *Oguri*, and *Shin-tokumaru*, while surviving only in their manuscript and print versions from the seventeenth century, give us some sense of *kado* 門 *sekkyō* (gate sermon ballads), performed on the side of a road. The reader “hears” the voice of the storyteller more directly than in other written genres. The narration is dominated by dialogue, as if it were live theater, and the language is very colloquial. The narrator or chanter also shows respect for the characters, using honorifics to describe them, even after they lose their status.

Sermon ballads are marked by extreme pathos. The listeners, including women, are often depicted as weeping as they listen to the story. Repeating the phrase “*Ara itawashi ya*” (“Ahh, how pitiful”), the *sekkyō* narrator sympathizes with the characters, who are usually placed in horrible circumstances. The sermon ballad performance borrowed key elements from the oral sermon. The ultimate objective of the preacher was to praise the virtues or powers of a buddha or kami, but to reach that objective most effectively, the preacher told a story in which the human protagonist plunged to the lowest and most painful position possible, including serious physical impairment, thereby creating overwhelming pathos and inducing the audience to weep for the protagonist. The buddha, god, or spiritual intermediary usually appears at the nadir of the protagonist’s fortunes.

The period of the Northern and Southern Courts (1336–1392) represents a major turning point in the status and character of performance arts and their

practitioners. In the preceding Kamakura period, there were what Yamaji Kōzō calls “performers of the way” (*michi no geinōsha* 道の芸能者; the original term is *michi michi no tomogara* 道道の輩), backed by or belonging to major institutions, who generally remained in one place, and what he calls “hand performers” (*te no geinōsha* 手の芸能者), itinerant performers without established patrons. The “performers of the way” concentrated on one art or way (*michi* 道), the secrets of which they closely guarded and passed down from parent to child, or from teacher to disciple; they formed guilds (*za* 座) or family schools that did not encroach on other ways and enabled their transmission over generations. “Performers of the way” were patronized by the court, powerful aristocratic families, major temples or shrines, and, later, warlords and the shogunate, for which they performed and carried out rituals (YAMAJI 1990, 17–40).

In the course of the fourteenth century, the supporters of these performers—the emperors, retired emperors, and large temples and shrines—collapsed or lost power, causing many of the professional performers to fade or become itinerant performers. In his *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*, the Portuguese Jesuit priest João Rodrigues (ca. 1561) describes “seven types of beggars” (*shichi kojiki* 七乞食): *sarugaku*, *dengaku*, *sasara* 簞 *sekkyō* (that is, sermon ballads), *aoya* 青屋 (blue dyers), riverbed people, *kawaya* 皮屋 (leather-goods people), and *hachi tataki* 鉢叩 (gourd-bowl beater). These “hand performers” engaged in what are now called “varied arts” (*zatsugei* 雑芸)—such as *shōmonji* 声聞師 (variety performers), *tekugutsu* 手傀儡 (puppeteers), *kane tataki* 鉦叩 (bell ringers), *hachi tataki*, *hōka* 放下 (dancer, singer, musician), *etoki* 絵説き (picture-telling), and sermon ballads—and did not hesitate to absorb one practice into another. In the seventeenth century, the sermon ballad oral narration was usually accompanied by a *sasara* (bamboo instrument that created a scraping sound) and sometimes by a *kane* (gong) or a *kakko* 鞆鼓 (two-sided drum).

The medieval sermon balladeers, who performed at crossroads or in front of temples and shrines, were social marginals, and their storytelling showed deep concern and sympathy for lepers, beggars, and outcasts. In the early seventeenth century, the sermon ballad texts used by the storytellers were printed. The earliest printed versions, which contain illustrations, retain oral and possibly musical markings, indicating that the narrator (storyteller) altered his tone and oral style (or the rhythm of the musical accompaniment) according to the mode. The later printed versions of sermon ballads dropped the musical or performance markings, making them primarily books for reading. Sermon ballads later became a favorite material for the comic-book style red books (*akahon* 赤本) and black books (*kurohon* 黒本), aimed ostensibly at children or young adults, and their stories were absorbed by *jōruri* and kabuki, becoming part of popular culture.

Slaves, Outcasts, and Sanshō dayū

A distinction must be made between a “low person” (*genin* 下人), a status that appears from the Heian period, and an “outcast,” a word that emerged prominently in the medieval period.¹² A low person, similar to a bonded servant, serf, or slave, belonged to his or her owner and could be bought and sold as property. The causes for bondage were varied. One was birth: if the father was a slave, the son was a slave; and if the mother was a slave, the daughter was a slave. Another reason was debt: if someone fell into debt, he could pay off the debt by selling his children. Commoners often chose to become slaves as an alternative to death by starvation. Criminals could also be enslaved. Most of all, slaves were the result of abduction. Kidnappers, following in the wake of battling armies in the late medieval period, abducted peasants who then were bought and sold by slave traders for profit. Of the many examples of slaves in late medieval literature, the two most famous probably appear in the sermon ballad *Sanshō dayū* and the *noh* play *Jinen koji* 自然居士, in which a young woman sells herself to pay for an offering to her deceased parents.

In contrast to low persons who belonged to a family or slave owner, outcasts either were abandoned or lived and worked with other outcasts. They could be found wandering around the capital or lying in the streets, but they were generally brought by the manager to such places as the riverbed or hill-bottom areas. Unlike a low person, who could be bought out and regain freedom, if a person fell into outcast status as a result of suffering an illness or committing a crime, he or she could not escape that position.

This distinction between a slave and an outcast is critical to understanding *Sanshō dayū*, which was made famous in the modern period by Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862–1922) who adapted it into a short story, and by the director Mizoguchi Kenji 溝口健二 (1898–1956) in a film of the same title. In *Sanshō dayū*, Anju and Zushiō are kidnapped and become low people, or slaves. Zushiō is saved from his captors by the holy man, but when he is taken out of the leather basket, he is physically impaired and must be carried on a dirt cart, which is used for invalids. The term “outcasts” does not appear in *Sanshō dayū*, but Zushiō’s physical impairment and the need for the dirt cart symbolize his new condition as an invalid outcast. Zushiō thus escapes one kind of marginality (low person) to fall into another, that of an invalid outcast.

The activities of the outcast were concentrated overwhelmingly in the western part of Japan, in Kyoto, Nara, and the surrounding Kinai area, where a number of asylums (*shuku* 宿) were created (AMINO 1994, 25–180). Both Eizon and his successor Ninshō 忍性 (1217–1303) were active in creating shelters and offering

12. I owe this distinction between “low person” and outcast to Takahashi Noriyuki 高橋典幸, a historian of medieval Japan, who responded to my lecture on *Oguri* at Tokyo University.

aid to invalid outcasts and lepers (QUINTER 2007). Their base of operations was Saidaiji 西大寺 in Nara. The provincial temples in the Kokubunji system (first established in the Nara period), such as Kokubunji in Tango 丹後 Province, where Zushiō takes refuge, also provided asylum for outcasts.

The critical turning point in *Sanshō dayū* is Zushiō's arrival at Tennōji 天王寺 in Settsu 摂津 Province (now Osaka). In the late medieval and early Edo periods, Tennōji not only was an important Buddhist temple that drew people of both high and low status, but it also became a major gathering place for outcasts. In *Shintokumaru*, Shintokumaru, a blind leper, is abandoned at Tennōji, where Nakamitsu (his father's retainer) leaves Shintokumaru the accoutrements of a beggar (thin cane, straw cape, straw hat, round straw mat).

As the *Ippen shōnin eden* (48–51) reveals, Tennōji was both a sanctuary and a sacred place for outcasts and beggars. The west gate at Tennōji, where the sun set on the waters of Naniwa Bay, was associated with Amida's Pure Land. When Zushiō touches the stone gate (west gate) at Tennōji, it connects him to the power of the Pure Land. The stone gate scene in *Sanshō dayū* shows that the condition of the invalid outcast was thought to be so irreversible that only divine intervention could make a change. Tennōji also became a major gathering place for sermon ballad performers. The earliest *Sanshō dayū* performances may have been carried out at Kokubunji in Tango Province and Tennōji, where the *sekkyōbushi* performers featured stories that revealed the efficacy of these two temples.

Karmic Causality, Volatile Deities, and Shintokumaru

In examining the complex interaction of outcasts, defilement, and purification in sermon ballads, I follow a distinction made in disability studies between impairment and disability. Impairment is an anatomical, biological, or physical condition that affects a person's body. Disability is a social construct that is laid on top of this physical condition (METZLER 2011, 45). Disability activists refer to those who are not physically or mentally impaired as “temporarily able-bodied” as a reminder that disability “is a porous state; anyone can enter or leave at any time. Live long enough and you will almost certainly enter it” (SIMON 2013). I argue that sermon ballads are socially critical in drawing attention to the plight of outcasts and invalids, while providing hope for the marginalized through what I call a “regenerative” narrative.¹³ Many literary and religious texts engage in what has been called “narrative prosthesis” in which the storyteller resolves to correct or “prostheticize” a disability through, for example, the discovery of a

13. A similar phenomenon has been observed in regard to medieval Europe, in which physical resurrection “highlights the difference between impaired body in this life and physically perfect body in the afterlife” (METZLER 2011, 47).

divine cure or the rescue of the despised sufferer from social censure (MITCHELL 2002, 20). Here, disability serves as a stock trope and character type, rarely as an experience of serious social consequence. While miracles are a key part of sermon ballad narratives, these ballads challenge in various ways the social status and physical condition of disablement and shift the perspective to that of the ostracized. That said, there was no concept of disability in the premodern period. Instead, we must understand concepts such as deformity or corporeal incompleteness, defilement, transgression, ritual purification, and abstinence.

In a story in the *Konjaku monogatari* *shū*, a priest from Mount Hiei 比叡 becomes extremely jealous (jealousy being a serious sin in Buddhism) and is punished in this life by being afflicted with *shirahadake* 白癩, a type of leprosy. Even his wetnurse, who was like a mother, would not approach him, considering him to be defiled (NKBT 23: 141). Karmic causality, however, was not the only cause of serious illness. Matters of health and illness were also believed to lie in the hands of gods and Buddhist deities. This complex relationship of karmic causality, illness, and the divine is revealed in *Shintokumaru*, a noted sermon ballad.

Shintokumaru starts with two dreams explaining why the rich couple (Shintokumaru's future parents) have no children. In one dream, the father learns that in a previous life, he was a mountain person who burned the grass in the fields, killing parental pheasants. The second dream shows that in a previous life, the mother was a serpent that ate the eggs of a swallow. The rich couple have no children, because they deprived others of children in their past lives. The present woes are explained in the Buddhist context of the three periods—past life, this life, and next life—in which actions in a previous life determine one's fate in this life.

In the medieval period a rich person was called a “person who possesses virtue” (*utokunin* 有徳人), someone who had done virtuous deeds in a previous life. By contrast, a person who was seriously ill or had a physical impairment had failed to do good in a previous life. Those born as outcasts in this life had been evil (*akunin* 悪人) in a previous life; they had broken the precept against killing, failed to make offerings to buddhas and kami, or somehow had not fulfilled their obligations. *Shintokumaru* is born to a wealthy person, but he falls to the position of a blind leper, or an outcast.

To atone for their previous sins, outcasts often wore the priestly robes (*hōshi* 法師) of priests who were disparagingly known as “degenerate priests” (*ransō* 濫僧) and “outcast priests” (*hinin hōshi* 非人法師) (WAKITA 2002, 9, 188). In the *noh* play *Semimaru*, Semimaru, a blind prince who plays the *biwa*, is abandoned by his father, the emperor, at Ōsaka 逢坂 Barrier and is told to shave his head in priestly tonsure. The father makes the blind son take holy vows so that he will be saved in the next life. As Semimaru notes, “I was born blind because I was lax in my religious duties in a former life. That is why the emperor, my father, ordered you to leave me in the wilderness. Heartless this would seem, but it's his plan

to purge in this world my burden from the past, and spare me suffering in the world to come” (*Semimaru* 3: 1676; MATISOFF 2006, 179). *Semimaru* is left with a straw cloak, rainhat, and cane—the tools of a beggar. *Semimaru* does not resent being abandoned and believes that his time as a priest at Ōsaka will help in his next life.

Medieval sermon ballads such as *Shintokumaru* imply that the fate of outcasts is not of their own making; it is punishment that they inherit from their past lives and from the actions of their parents. *Shintokumaru*’s mother is blessed by Kannon, who gives her a child, but the mother disregards Kannon’s warnings and has her life taken away by Kannon, leaving *Shintokumaru* at the mercy of his stepmother, who curses him and makes him a blind leper. *Shintokumaru* is thus not simply the victim of a wicked stepmother, but implicitly bears his mother’s sin, and his exile and suffering atone for her past transgressions (IWASAKI 1973, 102–104). After he is cured, *Shintokumaru* has pagodas and temple halls built for his mother’s spirit, so that she may finally be saved.

As WAKITA (2002, 190) points out, the Buddhist three-period view justified the dirty work of and discrimination against the outcasts as atonement or punishment for previous sins. It thus comes as no surprise that in these sermon ballads, the protagonist (once fallen into outcast status) appears helpless, and the outcast cannot save himself. Instead, the abject protagonist must be saved by a spiritual intermediary or by the power of a deity.

In *Shintokumaru*, that deity is the Kannon from Kiyomizudera, an unreliable, highly emotional deity who brings both good fortune and illness. Kiyomizu Kannon responds to *Shintokumaru*’s parents’ plea for a child, which she gives them despite their evil actions in a previous life. At the same time, when the stepmother comes to Kannon and asks that *Shintokumaru* be killed or at least cripple him with “a disease that people find despicable,” a set phrase for leprosy (SNKS 8: 181), Kannon responds by giving *Shintokumaru* the “disease that people find despicable” and making him blind. Now an outcast, *Shintokumaru* is abandoned by his father at Tennōji, and left with the implements of a beggar.

Social attitudes toward lepers in medieval Japan are manifested in the *kishōmon* 起請文, a written vow in which the participants swear that if they break the oath they will be punished by the gods and Buddhist deities. One *kishōmon* from 1318 states that the penalty for breaking the oath will mean suffering capital punishment and damnation in hell or becoming a leper, incurring *kokurai* 黒癩 and *shirahadake*, two types of skin disease (IWASAKI 1973, 123). These *kishōmon* from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries reveal that the fear of the gods/Buddhist deities and the fear of leprosy became one, enforcing a widespread discrimination against lepers (YOKOI 1975, 311–312). In *Sanshō dayū*, Zushiō is physically impaired after he is taken out of the leather basket at Kokubunji and is carried in a dirt cart to Tennōji. Implicitly, Zushiō is paying for the sins of the

holy man at Kokubunji who deliberately gave a false oath to the gods and Buddhist deities, violating a *kishōmon*, in order to save Zushiō's life.

Shintokumaru questions this attitude toward lepers and the logic of the Buddhist deities. Except for the sins of his parents, Shintokumaru has done nothing to deserve the terrible punishment of leprosy and blindness (IWASAKI 1973, 122–123). Kiyomizu Kannon does take some pity on Shintokumaru:

Feeling sorry for her special ward, the Kiyomizu Kannon appeared to Shintokumaru in a dream. “Dear Shintoku,” he said, “your disease doesn’t spring from within—it comes from someone’s curse. Now go out and beg in the streets to sustain your life,” and he vanished without a trace....

The Kiyomizu Kannon spoke to Shintokumaru from the sky: “Hello there, Shintokumaru. Your kind of disease can be cured in the Kumano hot springs. Hurry to Kumano and bathe.” Having delivered this instruction, he disappeared into the air. (KIMBROUGH 2013, 114–115; SNKS 8: 191–192)

Though Kannon is known as the bodhisattva of infinite compassion and mercy, here she is a two-sided, contradictory deity, bringing blessings as well as leprosy and blindness. Under such a deity, Shintokumaru is totally lost; in the end he does not go to Kumano and returns to Tennōji, where he intends to die of starvation.

Shintokumaru's savior is ultimately a woman who resembles a “walking shaman” (*aruki miko* 歩き巫女), who traveled between Kumano and Tennōji. Walking shamans, who appear as early as the *Ryōjin hishō* (SNKS 31, 153) engaged in divination, prayer, and communication with local gods and the spirits of recently deceased family members. In the late medieval period, the mendicant *aruki miko* served as spiritual intermediaries for commoners, developing new ways of engaging with and drawing on the power of the divine. Here, Otohime channels the power of the Kiyomizu Kannon to the lowest of all commoners, a blind leper, to cure him.

IWASAKI Takeo (1973, 138–170) has suggested that when Otohime takes leave of her parents to search for Shintokumaru, she takes on the appearance of a Kumano nun, a type of *aruki miko* known for their picture-telling who traveled around the countryside raising funds for Kumano Shrine. When Otohime arrives at Tennōji, she visits the Kondō 金堂, the Kōdō 講堂, and the Rokujidō 六時堂, Kannon stations within the temple. One objective of the Thirty-Three Station Kannon pilgrimage was to atone for past sins. Otohime's visit to Kannon pilgrimage stations in Tennōji can thus be read, as IWASAKI (1973, 109–112) argues, as a means of atoning for Shintokumaru's sins, helping to purify him.

In the climactic scene, Otohime finds the blind Shintokumaru beneath the veranda at Tennōji and carries him on her shoulders. Shortly afterward, Otohime cures Shintokumaru's leprosy by touching his body with a feather

brush, strongly reminiscent of the feather brush used by Kumano nuns when they narrated with paintings. Otohime's female prototype is Empress Kōmyō, who, in the legends found in a series of texts such as the *Hōbutsushū* 宝物集, *Kenkyū gojunreiki*, and *Genkō shakusho* offers to bathe lepers (ABE 1998, 18–31). In *Shintokumaru*, Otohime similarly ignores the pollution and horror that society associated with the leper and touches the defiled body, carrying Shintokumaru on her shoulders. But unlike Empress Kōmyō, who is a woman of the highest rank, Otohime is a wandering beggar, a lowly *aruki miko*, who has a close emotional bond with Shintoku. In the Kōmyō legend, the focus is on the royal giver of alms, the merits of bathing lepers, and on the miraculous transformation of a leper into a buddha. In *Shintokumaru*, by contrast, the focus is on the shame in having to beg for alms and being blind. In a key scene, Shintokumaru unknowingly goes to Otohime's residence, where he is laughed at and thoroughly humiliated. After Shintokumaru is cured, he generously distributes his wealth, giving alms at Abeno 阿倍野. Among the beggars is his blind father, Nobuyoshi, who is jeered at and attempts to flee. Shintokumaru stops him and cures his blindness with the feather brush. Nobuyoshi is as guilty as the stepmother for Shintokumaru's suffering, having abandoned him to the life of a beggar. But having atoned for that transgression as a wandering blind beggar, Nobuyoshi is saved by Shintokumaru while the stepmother is punished (SNKS 8: 206–207).

Oguri, Gaki ami 餓鬼阿弥, and Atonement

Oguri, a narrative of epic proportions and complexity, explores the plight of the serious invalid (deaf, mute, and immobile) in relation to the warrior, hell, and the outcast. The plot of the *Oguri emaki* (painting scroll) version is as follows:

Kaneie, a *dainagon* 大納言 (major counselor) in the capital, receives Oguri as a *mōshigo* 申し子 (a godsent child) from the Bishamonten 毘沙門天 deity at Kurama 鞍馬. One day, on a pilgrimage to Kurama, Oguri encounters a serpent at Midorogaike Lake who is attracted to him. When rumors spread about a possible tryst between Oguri and the serpent, Kaneie sends him into exile to Hitachi 常陸 Province. One day, a merchant called Gotōsaemon mentions the beauty of the only daughter (Terute 照手) of Yokoyama 横山. Oguri has Gotō deliver a love letter to her. Without warning, Oguri enters the Yokoyama residence and becomes involved with Terute. Yokoyama, greatly angered by the forced courtship, tries to kill Oguri and makes him ride a man-eating horse called Onikage, a dangerous task that Oguri manages skillfully. Yokoyama invites Oguri to a banquet. Terute has a series of vivid dreams that portend Oguri's death, and she forbids him from attending the banquet, but Oguri disregards the warnings and goes with his ten retainers to the banquet, where

they are all poisoned to death. The ten retainers are cremated, while Oguri is buried.

Deciding that the rumors of the affair are dangerous, Yokoyama orders his retainers to drown her, but they put her in a palanquin and let her float away. Terute is picked up by Muragimi, a human trafficker. An old woman, the wife of Muragimi, becomes jealous and tries to suffocate her, but Terute is protected by Kannon. Frustrated, the old woman sells Terute to traders at Rokuura, and from there, she is sold from one owner to another, until she is sent to a brothel, the Yorozuya 万屋, in Mino 美濃 Province. The manager orders Terute to work as a prostitute, but she refuses and works instead as a scullery maid. Meanwhile, moved by the loyalty of his retainers, King Enma 閻魔 allows Oguri to return to this world, where he appears before the holy man of Fujisawa 藤沢. Blind and physically immobile, Oguri is given a placard to wear in Enma's hand that says, "Take this person to the main shrine at Kumano and place him in the hot bath at the peak." Named Gaki ami by the holy man of Fujisawa, Oguri is placed in a cart and pulled along the Tōkaidō and finally comes to the Yorozuya. Not knowing that Gaki ami is her husband, Terute pulls the cart to Sekidera. Finally, Gaki ami is carried by a mountain ascetic to the peak at Kumano, where he bathes, convalesces, and is restored to his original body.

Under the protection of the god (*gongen* 権現) of Kumano, Oguri receives a gold staff, takes the garb of a mountain ascetic, and visits the house of his father, Kaneie, where he is reunited with his parents. Oguri and Terute return as a married couple to Hitachi Province, where they live as a wealthy couple. Finally, Oguri passes on to the Pure Land at the age of eighty-three. The gods praise Oguri, and he is worshiped as the "wild-human god" of Shōhachiman, in Mino Province, and after her death Terute is worshiped as the god of trysts.

The key elements of this complex plot are: (1) a violent warrior protagonist; (2) his forced marriage to Terute, who becomes a shaman-type of woman; (3) his death by poisoning; (4) his fall into hell; (5) his resurrection as Gaki ami; (6) help from the holy man of Fujisawa; (7) the long journey to Kumano, pulled in a dirt cart; (8) bathing in the hot springs at Kumano; and (9) becoming a wild-human god (*arahitogami* 荒人神).

Oguri's title of *hangan* 判官 (lieutenant in the imperial police) evokes another famous *hangan*, Yoshitsune 義経, the brother of Minamoto no Yoritomo, who had a meteoric rise during the Genpei War as a warrior leader only to fall out of favor, go into exile, and be killed by his father's troops.¹⁴ Like Oguri, Yoshitsune was skilled in both arts and learning and is associated with Hachiman 八幡 and Kuramadera 鞍馬寺, where he trained to become a warrior. One large difference is Oguri's violent behavior, which causes him to be killed by Yokoyama and fall

14. KOMATSU (1997, 125) goes so far as to say that the Oguri legend is a variation on the Yoshitsune legend.

into hell. In the context of pollution, Oguri combines transgressive defilement and Buddhistic defilement, particularly the excess violence of the warrior. As King Enma states, “When he (Oguri) was in the world, he was far from good; in fact, he was very evil” (*dai akunin* 大悪人) (SNKS 8: 268). In the following key passage, King Enma sends Oguri back to the world of the living with a handwritten placard addressed to the mendicant from Fujisawa with instructions to take Oguri to Yu no mine 湯の峰 at the main shrine at Kumano:

Then, using the Ninna staff, he (King Enma) beats the void, and, ah, how gratifying! Oguri’s grave was constructed three years earlier. Now it splits open on all four sides, the grave marker tumbles forward, and a flock of crows cackle.

The Holy Man of Fujisawa wonders what is happening. . . . His hair is white; his arms and legs are thinner than strings; his stomach is like a ball tied to his body; and he is crawling around this way and that. He presses his palms together, raises them, then gestures as if writing something. “*Ga ze ni ya o i*,” he writers. This should perhaps be read to mean “my six senses are maimed.” . . .

The Holy Man looks at the placard hanging on Oguri’s chest. He sees the judgment Great King Enma wrote with his own hand. “I send this man to Meitō, the principal disciple of the Holy Man of Fujisawa. Have him bathed at Hotspring peak of the main shrine at Kumano. If he is bathed at Hotspring peak at the main shrine of Kumano, surely medicinal waters will well up there from the Pure Land.” This is the judgment written by great King Enma’s own hand.

“Ah, how gratifying!” thinks the Holy Man. He adds some lines to the placard on his chest. “Pulling this person for one day equals offerings of a thousand priests. Pulling him for two days equals offerings of ten thousand priests,” he adds.

(MATISOFF 2011, 83–84; SNKS 8: 218–220)

The name Gaki ami associates Oguri with *gaki* 餓鬼 (starving ghosts), one of the lower realms in the Buddhist six-realm (*rokudō* 六道) cosmology and who roam around the fields and mountains in a constant state of hunger (ORIKUCHI 1954–1957). The resurrected Oguri (Gaki ami) is no longer dead, but he is not yet a person of this world. He cannot hear, see, or speak, and he lacks the five senses, evoking the image of the invalid outcast.

Fujiwara Yoshiaki, a historian of medieval Japan, draws an analogy among sinners living in hell, convicts in the imperial police jail, and outcasts under the managers. As the late Heian *Konjaku monogatari* notes, the court of King Enma “closely resembles imperial police headquarters” or the magistrate’s office (NKBZ 22: 379). A parallel also exists between the hell officials (*myōkan* 冥官) at the court of King Enma who keep track of the sentencing of the sinners and the jailers (*hōmen* 放免) in the police headquarters who were ex-convicts employed by the imperial police to arrest criminals, manage prisoners, and execute convicts. The convicts (*shūjin* 囚人), who had committed a crime (that is, transgression

defilement), were treated as outcasts. As noted earlier, the outcasts were gathered together at places like the bottom of Kiyomizu Slope and were managed by the outcast managers, who were assigned by powerful temples and shrines. Fujiwara notes that all three—hell officials, jailers, and managers—wore red clothing, the symbolic color of transgression. Red is also the skin color of demons (*oni* 鬼) in Japan.

King Enma's Court	Hell Officials	Sinners in Hell
Magistrate's Office	Jailers/Executioners	Convicts
Kiyomizu Slope	Bottom Managers	Outcasts

The above homology implies that outcasts under the control of the managers are similar in their fate to the convicts serving time in jail under the jailers as well as the sinners suffering in hell; all three groups are being punished for and are atoning for past transgressions. As the *Kiyū shōran* 嬉遊笑覧, a collection of essays written in 1830, notes, “As for *hinin* (nonhumans), they have committed an evil act (*akugyō* 悪行) and bear a name that reveals that they are not human” (quoted in FUJIWARA 1986, 94–96). Read against this background, Oguri's fall into hell and his resurrection as Gaki ami, an immobile deaf mute, represent two different stages of atonement for earlier transgressions: first as a sinner in hell and then as an outcast in this world.

Bodily deformity was considered a form of karmic retribution and an impediment to salvation. Pure Land Buddhism stressed that the body had to be whole to be reborn in Amida's Pure Land. In a notable episode in the *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡, during the Jōkyū Disturbance (1221), the aristocrat Takakura (Fujiwara) Norishige 高倉範茂 (d. 1221) is captured by the bakufu and is about to be executed on the way to Kamakura: if he is decapitated, he will suffer from an “incomplete body” (*gotai fugu* 五体不具), an impediment to salvation. He therefore asks to drown himself instead and is given that opportunity at Hakone, where he drowns himself in a rapid river (YAMAMOTO 2009, 209). Corporeal mutilation (for example, theft resulting in the amputation of a leg) was a mark of the sinners in hell, convicts, and outcasts (FUJIWARA 1986, 94–96).

Ippen, Jishū Mendicants, and Outcasts

The Ritsu school led by Eizon and his disciples was the Buddhist sect most active in looking after outcasts (*hinin*) in the Kamakura period. But the impact of the Ritsu sect had faded by the fourteenth century, and during the Northern and Southern courts period and the Warring States period, Zen priests and Jishū mendicants came to the forefront in charity work, in caring for outcasts and “evil people,” whose occupations violated the Buddhist prohibition against killing sentient beings. The resurrected Oguri is met by the holy man (*hijiri* 聖) of

Fujisawa (in southeast Kanagawa Prefecture), the home of Yūgyōji 遊行寺 (officially known as Shōjōkōji 清浄光寺), which was founded in 1325 and became the headquarters of the Jishū school.

Ippen 一遍 (1239–1289) was a Pure Land practitioner and the founder of the Jishū school, which grew in the late Kamakura period and became extremely popular beginning in the Northern and Southern courts period. A key scene in the *Ippen hijirie* is Chishin's 智真 (later called Ippen) visit to Kumano, the three sacred mountains on the southern tip of the Kii Peninsula, in the third scroll, where Chishin has a revelation:

In Bun'ei 文永 11 (1274), Chishin passed Mount Koya and visited Kumano, on the southern half of the Kii Peninsula, where he offered a priest a *fuda* 札, a paper talisman, saying “Awaken your faith in the one *nenbutsu*, chant ‘Namu Amida Butsu,’ and receive this *fuda*.” The priest answered, “At present, I do not have a heart faithful to the one *nenbutsu*. To receive this would be hypocrisy.” Chishin continued, “Don’t you believe in the teachings of the Buddha? Why don’t you take this?” The priest answered, “I have no doubts about the scriptures or the teachings, but my lack of a faithful heart comes from my inabilities.” Chishin ended up handing the amulet to the priest, but the priest’s words deeply disturbed him. When Chishin arrived at the Hongū (Main Shrine) at Kumano, the Kumano god, a manifestation of the Amida Buddha, appeared to him in a dream as a white-haired *yamabushi* 山伏 (mountain ascetic) and said, “*Hijiri* who propagates the *yūzū nenbutsu* 融通念仏, why do you propagate it wrongly? All beings are not to be reborn for the first time by your propagation. With Amida’s perfect enlightenment ten kalpas ago, the rebirth of all beings by Namu Amida Butsu was established. Do not choose between believers and non-believers. Do not distinguish between the pure (*jō* 浄) and impure (*fujō* 不浄). Distribute your *fuda*. When Chishin awoke from this dream, a hundred children came to him, raising their hands and asking for the *nenbutsu*, and he handed out the amulets. (SNEZ 2: 66)

The revelation at Kumano made clear to Chishin that handing the *fuda* (*nenbutsu* paper amulet) to a believer was not the means by which he or she is finally saved and reborn in the Pure Land. Amida had already determined that all sentient beings are saved. Whether people have faith or not, whether they are pure or “impure,” a Buddhist term for defilement, Amida’s perfect enlightenment ten *kalpas* ago has already saved them. Rebirth in the Pure Land is immediate in this life (*sokuben* *ōjō* 即便往生) and is identical with rebirth at death.

As a result of Chishin’s awakening, Kumano became sacred ground for the Jishū mendicants. Chishin changed his name to Ippen in 1274, the founding year of the Jishū school. From 1279, Ippen, also called Yūgyō Shōnin (Wayfarer Saint), added the *odori nenbutsu* 踊り念仏 (dance prayer), making the handing out of the *nenbutsu* amulet and the dancing *nenbutsu* the twin pillars of Jishū

practice. The *odori nenbutsu* shrank the distance between the body and Amida Buddha in a rhythmic ecstasy that reached across gender and social station. From the mid-fourteenth century, itinerant Jishū mendicants became active in fundraising (*kanjin* 勧進) for Kumano shrines. James FOARD (2020) points out that medieval Jishū should be remembered as an order rather than a sect, since it had no base at a major temple, no written doctrine, and no clergy. Instead, Jishū combined belief and practice—the distribution of the *fuda* and the *nenbutsu* dance—with the severe lifestyle of a mendicant restricted to the dress and possessions of a beggar.

The Jishū school differed from Eizon and the Ritsu school in not observing the Buddhist prohibition against killing and in actively seeking out salvation for “evil people”—hunters, fishermen, and warriors—whose occupations involved killing sentient beings. In the late medieval period, villagers often left the management of the spirits of the dead to Jishū mendicants, who traveled around the provinces and were patronized by warriors. During the fourteenth century, the Jishū became battle priests (*jinsō* 陣僧), who followed warriors into battle and chanted the *nenbutsu*, especially the “last ten thoughts” (*saigo no jūnen* 最後の十念), so that the dying warriors could be reborn in the Pure Land. Appropriately, the Jishū mendicant from Fujisawa meets Gaki ami, a former warrior, as he pops out of a grave.

Ippen’s revelation at Kumano highlights several key points in *Oguri*. First, with faith in Amida Buddha, one could achieve salvation in this life, and not have to wait to be reborn in the Pure Land. Even “evil people,” who have broken the Buddhist prohibition on killing, can be saved. Ippen also embraced the idea that women could be saved in this life. While older Buddhist sects believed that women were impure due to blood defilement, which sent them to hell, the Jishū school believed that both men and women could achieve rebirth in the Pure Land. Two of the striking aspects of the *Ippen hijirie* are its depiction of two mendicant nuns walking together with Ippen when he meets the god at Kumano (a sacred place where women normally would have been banned due to contact defilement) and the extensive portrayal of outcasts and lepers, many of them living in makeshift huts alongside the street or sitting outside a shrine/temple and seeking alms.

Terute and the Nenbutsu Nun

Like Otohime in *Shintokumaru*, Terute in *Oguri* evokes aspects of an *aruki miko*, a mendicant female shaman. When Terute unknowingly rejoins Gaki ami to help pull the dirt cart to Kumano, she wears an old *eboshi* hat worn by male aristocrats and associated with crossdressing female *shirabyōshi* 白拍子 dancers; holds in her hand a *sasa* 笹, young bamboo branches used by shamans to

connect to kami; and pulls like a “madperson” (*monogurui* 物狂), a common trope for female shamans possessed by a kami (SNKBT 90: 225; SAKURAI 1985, 8). Terute here resembles Kumano nuns, many of whom originally belonged to the Hi no kuma 日前 Shrine on the Kii Peninsula and traveled around the country raising funds for the Kumano Shrine (FUKUDA 1965, 31). *Aruki miko* practiced divination and were clairvoyant, as is Terute (MATISOFF 2001). Terute’s name—literally “shining hand” (*terute* 照手), a common name for female shamans—can also be written with the graphs for “shining sun” 照日 and “shining heaven” 照天, which suggests that Terute also has the ability to purify and shed light on darkness (KOMATSU 1997, 127–128). By aiding Gaki ami and pulling him toward the hot springs at Kumano, she implicitly atones for his sins, preparing his deaf-mute body for the purification that occurs at the springs.

Terute’s tribulations at the Yorozyua in Aohaka 青墓, a post town in Mino Province along the Tōkaidō, forms a central pillar of the Terute narrative. After she escapes from her father, Terute finds herself sold into slavery multiple times until she is sold to the Yorozyua, an inn-brothel, where she takes the name Hitachi Kohagi 常陸小萩. Refusing to have sex with the inn guests pushed on her, she works as a lowly scullion. As the *Ryōjin hishō* reveals, many mendicant female entertainers who sang, danced, and used puppets lived in Mino Province, particularly in Sunomata 墨俣 (near where Terute is later revered as a god) and in Aohaka, which was known for its many prostitutes. One way that Terute survives her near-prostitute existence, which would be considered defiling, is by chanting the *nenbutsu*. Terute is nicknamed Nenbutsu Kohagi by her co-workers: “Ah, how sad, poor Terute! Without even complaining over her difficulties, she is always reciting the name of the Amida Buddha” (SNKBT 90, 215; MATISOFF 2011, 82). Here, Terute recalls a *nenbutsu bikuni* 念仏比丘尼, a female nun-entertainer who chanted “Hail Amida Buddha” to the accompaniment of a bell and brought salvation to commoners in the manner of the Jishū mendicants. For both *nenbutsu* nuns and Jishū mendicants, the *nenbutsu* overcomes defilement.

One of the most famous *nenbutsu* nuns in late medieval literature is Tora Gozen 虎御前, a woman of pleasure (*yūjo* 遊女) at Ōiso 大磯 in Kanagawa Prefecture and the mistress of Soga Jūrō 曾我十郎 (Sukenari) in the Manabon version of the *Soga monogatari*. Tora takes holy vows after Jūrō’s death, and she travels to Kumano and other holy places, including Tennōji, devoting herself to prayer for Jūrō’s salvation and finally depositing his ashes at Zenkōji in Shinano (*Manabon Soga monogatari*, 142–163). Tora Gozen is both a proper name, a female character in *Soga monogatari*, composed in the fourteenth century by Buddhist preachers in the Hakone-Izu areas, and the generic name of the blind female storytellers, also called *mekura goze* 盲御前 (blind lady) or *goze* 御前, who became popular in the Muromachi period. The *goze* traveled, sang, and played the shamisen for food and alms and orally disseminated the story of the Soga

brothers (FUKUDA 1965, 31), probably creating the character of Tora Gozen, who embodied their own spiritual ideals. The activities of the *goze*, centered around the gods at Hakone and Izu, became the western counterpart of the activities of the Kumano *bikuni* nuns centered around the gods at Kumano in the east. *Oguri* appears to have been part of the repertoire of the *goze*, which would make *Oguri* and the Terute narrative a significant component of the female performative tradition (MORRISON 2013, 13).

The earliest textual example of *Oguri* as a warrior appears in *Kamakura ōzōshi* 鎌倉大草子, a military chronicle that covers events from 1379 to 1479 and is thought to have been completed by the end of the Muromachi period. *Oguri Mitsushige* 小栗満重, the leader of the *Oguri* clan in Hitachi Province, joins a rebellion against Ashikaga Mochiuji 足利持氏 (1398–1439), a warrior leader, that fails. Certain aspects of the story—the setting, the assistance offered to *Oguri* by a woman called Teruhime, *Oguri*’s mastery of a violent horse—find rough correspondence in the *Oguri emaki* text that we have now. As Susan MATISOFF (2011, 50–51) suggests, this type of story may have been narrated by shamanic women to pacify the angry spirit of the defeated warrior. Fukuda Akira speculates that this early kernel of the story of *Oguri* as a warrior who is pursued and persecuted came into the hands of the Jishū mendicants, who added the narrative of *Oguri*’s return from hell; his resurrection as Gaki ami, aided by a Jishū mendicant from Fujisawa; and his purification at the hot springs at Kumano, thus expanding the *Oguri* story into an epic narrative. The Aohaka nuns were storytellers who had devoted female audiences, and they may have woven Terute and her love story with *Oguri* into the earlier *Oguri/Kumano* narrative (FUKUDA 1965, 57–58). At the end, after Terute passes away, she is worshiped as a “god that binds together lovers,” a god who caters to the needs of women. We will never know the exact stages of composition, but the Jishū mendicants and the female shaman-storytellers, both of whom looked to Kumano as the source of spiritual power, no doubt had a major hand in shaping the *Oguri* narrative.

Bathhouse Offerings, Empress Kōmyō, and Kumano Nuns

The dirt cart (*tsuchiguruma* 土車), a small flat car originally used for moving sand, stones, and dirt, took on special significance in the late medieval period as a vehicle for carrying beggars (*kotsugainin* こつがいにな), the physically impaired, and invalid outcasts. In *Oguri*, pulling a dirt cart becomes part of a larger Buddhist practice called *segyō* 施行, a charitable act that gained merit for the giver usually in the form of salvation for one’s deceased parents. Making offerings to the destitute and outcasts to aid in rebirth in the Pure Land became popular among Heian aristocrats. In 1027 when Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027), the most powerful man in Japan, was on his deathbed, he ordered

that rice, fish, and seaweed be given to the invalids and beggars at the Hiden'in 悲田院, an asylum for beggars, and at Rokuharamitsu 六波羅蜜, later known as Kiyomizu Slope. When the mendicant from Fujisawa saw the placard with King Enma's message hanging from Gaki ami's chest, he added some lines to it: "Pulling this person for one day equals offerings of a thousand priests. Pulling him for two days equals offerings of ten thousand priests" (SNKBT 90: 220; MATISOFF 2011, 84). In one of the most famous scenes in *Oguri*, Terute pulls the cart toward Yu no mine, not realizing that she is pulling her husband. *Oguri* thus urged listeners to be charitable to outcasts, beggars, and serious invalids, stressing that such actions would help both the recipients and the givers.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, *seg'yō* took the form of giving rice, salt, fish, sake, medicine, and clothing. But in the twelfth century, following the development of bathhouses in the cities, bathhouse offerings (*seyoku* 施浴) became a major form of *seg'yō* for outcasts and lepers who were gathered at asylums such as Hiden'in and at slopes and riverbeds (KURODA 1986, 244–245). In the medieval period, diseases were thought to be the result of invasion by evil spirits or *mononoke*, poisonous winds (*akufū* 悪風), plague gods (*ekijin* 疫神), vengeful spirits of the dead (*onryō* 怨霊), and other external forces into the body. Skin, particularly hair pores, was regarded as the vulnerable part of the body, where dangerous spirits could enter. The bathhouse practice of scrubbing the skin in a hot bath addressed this extreme attention to body cleanliness, particularly that of the skin (KURODA 1986, 252–253). After a period of abstinence due to contact defilement, people took hot baths to wash off any remaining impurities.

The bathhouse offering, which included the construction of bathhouses for outcasts and lepers, is usually regarded as a form of charity, but it could also be a self-serving act by the social and military elite. In 1438 Ashikaga Yoshinori 義教 (d. 1441), the third Ashikaga shogun, had an outcast bath built in the corner of Honnōji 本能寺 in Kyoto. Yokoi Kiyoshi calls attention to the fact that the outcast bath was built in the northeast corner, which, according to Onmyōdō beliefs, was the demon's gate (*kimon* 鬼門), the direction from which demons entered. The surrounding wall and fence protected the temple from the pollution, but the northeast corner, as in all residences in Kyoto, was the most feared and avoided direction (YOKOI 1975, 281–282). Here, the building of the outcast bathhouse was an act of compassion, earning the donor merit for the next life, as well as a cushion against defilement.

Making an offering to a beggar or outcast was a ritual act that required showing respect not only to the beggar but to the higher power to whom the good works were an offering. In the *Konjaku monogatari* *shū*, Gishō 義紹 sees a priest lying down, his waist wrapped in a straw mat, in the shade of a grave, on a cold winter evening. When Gishō, on horseback, calls out to him, the man replies that he is a beggar and that he is freezing. Feeling sorry for him, Gishō takes off his

robe and throws it to him. The beggar-priest throws it back, saying that Gishō must dismount from his horse and bow before making such an offering (*se* 施), and he disappears. Gishō is moved to tears, thinking “This person could not have been an ordinary person. He was probably a human manifestation (*ke'nin* 化人) of a divine being” (NKBZ 22: 154).

In reality, outcasts and lepers were regarded as filthy beings, but in certain Buddhist literature they are presented, as the Gishō story suggests, as human incarnations of a Buddhist deity in order to stress compassion and the merit of bathhouse offerings. In the story of the priest Jakushō 寂昭, a filthy woman with a skin disease accompanied by a child and a dog enters a bathhouse where the priests are horrified and try to drive her out. When Jakushō responds to the request to bathe her, she suddenly transforms into light and a purple cloud, turning out to be a human manifestation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Eizon held ceremonies in which he gathered large numbers of outcasts so that the monks and donors could actually see the “living Mañjuśrī” (*shōjin Monju* 生身文殊). Eizon notes, “You should know that compassion and Mañjuśrī are two words for the same thing. To promote compassion, Mañjuśrī appears in the form of a suffering being” (QUINTER 2007, 441).

The Empress Kōmyō legend, which came to the fore in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, builds on this earlier Buddhist discourse on bathhouse offerings. In the *Kenkyū gojunreiki*, the empress, having built Tōdaiji and Hokkeji 法華寺, believes that she has earned all the merit for both the present and future that she possibly can when a voice from the sky tells her that her merit (*kudoku* 功德) is still insufficient. When she asks what is missing, she is told, “the merit of the bathhouse.” In response, the empress builds a bathhouse and vows to bathe as many as possible “without discrimination” (*musha* 無遮), regardless of status. Just then, a male leper appears, asking her to suck the puss from his skin and testing her resolve. After sucking the puss from his skin, Kōmyō asks the leper not to tell anyone about this. The leper answers that she must not tell anyone about himself and transforms into the Buddha: “The light spread, the air filled with fragrance, as he climbed into the sky. From the pores of the leper came golden light, filling the air with fragrance” (ABE 1998, 19). The touch, sight, and smell, which were so repugnant earlier, now turn into the most positive sensations and light, sensations similar to the signs of rebirth in the Pure Land. Similar Buddhist bathhouse legends, in which a holy person (such as Gyōki) is tested by a repugnant leper, appear in the *Konjaku monogatari shū* (NKBZ 23: 65–70; DYKSTRA 1983, 36–37) and *Kokonchomonjū* (SNKS 5: 75–77). None of these miraculous bathhouse stories reveal the perspective of the outcast or the leper; instead, the leper, as an object of horror and repulsion, becomes a test of the will of the donor.

In these legends, the saintly priest incurs a defilement in the bathhouse. In the story of Gyōki, the invalid asks Gyōki to get him fresh fish and has Gyōki taste it, thereby causing him to break his vows. Gyōki then acquiesces to the invalid's request to lick his body, at which point the invalid miraculously transforms into the Medicine Buddha. As ABE Yasurō (1998, 18–64) points out, Empress Kōmyō differs significantly from the male Buddhist priests in her gender: her founding of Hokkeji, a temple for nuns in Nara; her extremely high position; her reputation for beauty; and the sexual implications of her encounter with a male leper-beggar. A scene in the last scroll of the *Daibutsu engi emaki* 大仏縁起絵巻 shows a striking contrast between the leper-beggars, with their dark and naked bodies, and the empress, in the finest of court dress, washing a leper-beggar's back. Women's association with pollution as a result of childbirth and menstruation is further deepened in the legend of Empress Kōmyō by her association with erotic sexuality (ABE 1998, 27). In an episode that appears in both the *Tōdaiji engi ekotoba* 東大寺縁起絵詞 and the biography of the Heian priest Jitchū 実忠 in the *Genkō shakusho*, Empress Kōmyō, aroused by the sight of the statue of the bodhisattva Jizō, attempts to embrace Jitchū, a beautiful priest who resembles Jizō. While dreaming of making love to Jitchū, she realizes that his features are those of the Eleven-Faced Kannon; awakening from the dream, she repents. In Abe Yasurō's words, this Jitchū legend is not just an example of reverse link (*gyakuen* 逆縁), in which a sinful move leads to a spiritual awakening. Rather, Empress Kōmyō straddles purity and pollution (ABE 1998, 27). As Bernard Faure observes, the bathhouse story of Kōmyō “mediates between sacredness and defilement by a quasi-sexual transgression. In such a ‘rhetoric of contrast,’ sacredness appears where we least expect it, in a leper, or *hinin*, and in a woman” (FAURE 2003, 193).

Early medieval *engi* 縁起 (record of divine origins) of Kumano also reveal a deep intersection of defilement and purification. The *Shozan engi* 諸山縁起, which traces the origins of Ōmine 大峰, Katsuragi 葛城, and other holy mountains in the Yamato region and which was written during the early development of Shugendo, includes an extended section on Mount Kumano called *En no gyōja Kumano sankei nikki* 役行者熊野参詣日記 in which En no Gyōja leads a group of Kumano pilgrims who are blocked by various defilements on their way to the holy site. First, they encounter a road filled with “the blood of impurity” (*fujō no chi* 不浄の血). This is followed by confrontations with a dead person (death pollution), a woman who has just given birth (birth pollution), the corpses of multiple oxen and horses (dead animal pollution), and a woman eating the carcass of a horse or an ox (meat pollution):

On the road the pilgrims found many dead horses and oxen. An old woman, who was eating one of the carcasses, sat in the middle of the path and would not leave, nor could she stand. When the pilgrim told the woman to leave

quickly, she answered: "I am an old person with a broken hip. I cannot get up. If you want me to stand, then fill the air with incantations and pray for me." The pilgrim prayed, and before the magical incantations were finished, a light burst into the air, flying in myriad directions, and she disappeared.

The pilgrims then came across a dark spirit (*onjin* 隠神), a demon-like woman with four horns on her head, at the crossing of a large river at the base of Yamaguchi Mountain. Shocked by her presence, various pilgrims asked, "Who are you?" She replied, "I am the owner of this place. Believe in what I have to tell your leader. If you bathe in the water of this river, you will be released from the curses of this world and the next world and be able to hear the words of Maitreya, Bodhisattva of the Future. Tell this to the pilgrims to come. For those traveling to the holy mountain of Kumano, this is the water that erases karmic sins." With that, she disappeared. (NST 20: 106)¹⁵

Each encounter with a defiled woman teaches the pilgrims a technique for purification or lustration. The Kumano pilgrims have to cross over the peak of Yamaguchi Mountain to reach the holy site. The demon-like woman is the "owner" of the place, who reveals the secrets of the river and teaches the pilgrims about the salvic powers of the Kumano waters, particularly the power to erase "karmic sins." These encounters with corporeal pollutants reveal that the pilgrimage is simultaneously a journey to a holy site and a journey in which the pilgrim must erase karmic sin and defilement. In the climactic section, we are told:

The river to the right is where one prays to the Kannon. The river to the left is the water that cures illness. It flows from the buddha Ashuku. When those burdened with deep sins cross this water, all the water and trees in the mountain become the medicine of immortality. The purification (*harae*) at Chikatsu-yu truly eliminates all pollution (*fujō*), turning the water pure. The water of purification at Yukawa River destroys all future karmic sins, and the water of Otonashi River is the fragrant water of purification, the same as attending the three sermons of the Maitreya. The water that flows from the holy mountain at Kumano emerges from the knees of Maitreya. Otonashi River is the water that flows from the side of the Thousand-Armed Kannon. (NST 20: 107)

Corporeal purification and elimination of sin (*metsuzai* 滅罪) become one and the same. Overall, the pilgrimage consists of stages: (1) separation from secular society, (2) encounter with defilement and danger (ritual death), (3) purification and washing away of sins, and (4) return to society with renewed life and a clean body and spirit. Significantly, as ABE Yasurō (1998, 55) points out, the

15. For a close analysis of the text, see NANAMI (1987). The *Minooji himitsu engi emaki* 蓑面寺秘密縁起絵巻 illustrates En no Gyōja and his fellow pilgrims' encounter with a demon-like old woman with a broken hip, sitting alongside a river and eating the carcass of a horse. The illustration is reproduced in ABE (1998, 54).

different women who block the pilgrims' path appear to be deeply defiled, but they also turn out to be spirits who teach the pilgrims and lead them to the other shore. Women along a mountain path are associated with demons, animals, and the body (blood), but they know how to transform the pollution into purity.

The barring of women from sacred sites called *nyonin kekkai* 女人結界 was widespread in the medieval and early Edo periods (MIYAZAKI 2005). Kumano differed from other pilgrimage sites in that it allowed people of any status or gender to enter. Indeed, the presence of women became an essential feature of Kumano, as reflected in the phenomenon of the Kumano nuns, who, according to the *Bikuni engi* 比丘尼縁起, trace their inception back to Empress Kōmyō, who made pilgrimages to Ise and Kumano and whose legend straddled the sacred and the defiled (ABE 1998, 349). At other sacred sites, strict rules were in place with regard to abstinence, purification rites, and ascetic practice (*gon-shū* 勤修), but at Kumano, they were, according to visitors, “astonishingly lax” (ABE 1998, 55). The mixed purity/pollution nature of Kumano is encapsulated in *Kumano no honji* 熊野の本地, a Muromachi-period tale that exists in many painting-scroll variants. The *Kumano no honji* was addressed to a largely female audience and was used by the Kumano nuns to attract pilgrims to Kumano.¹⁶ In the central story, Lady Gosui 五衰 is decapitated by her enemies while giving birth to a prince. The infant sucks on the breast of his dead mother and survives to become one of the founding gods of Kumano, together with his father and resurrected mother. Thus a key god of Kumano emerges from the pollution of birth and of a dead body. For female audiences, the message is clear: divinity is born from defilement.

Many Kumano *bikuni* were female shamans who transmitted messages from the gods and performed purification rites (*harae*) for the pilgrims. The *Nachi sankei mandala* 那智参詣曼荼羅, a visual guide for pilgrims to one of the three Kumano shrines, shows that women stood at the bottom of bridges and other key transit points with *hei* 弊 (bamboo or wooden sticks with paper cuttings) to purify the pilgrims.¹⁷ As the *En no gyōja Kumano sankei nikki* suggests, women, while considered defiled, were an essential spiritual component of the Kumano pilgrimage. When Terute, who works at a brothel, pulls Gaki ami's dirt cart while

16. The calligraphic text in the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation version of the *Kumano no honji emaki* notes: “If you once travel there, you will be protected from all afflicting boils and painful disasters. The ten evils and the five sins will vanish when you once set foot on that holy site. And peace, in this world and in the next, is guaranteed to whomever makes pilgrimage there.” The scroll was included in “Pilgrimage and Buddhist Art,” an exhibition at the Asia Society, New York, 16 March–20 June 2010. A picture of the scroll is available at: <http://pilgrimage.asiasociety.org/artifacts/picture-scroll-origins-kumano-deities-kumano-no-honji-aki>.

17. The women appear in the bottom left of the *Nachi sankei mandala*.

holding a *sasa*, acting as if she were “mad,” she directly echoes those Kumano nuns in helping a pilgrim (Gaki ami) along a difficult journey amid defilement.

From the ancient period, hot springs were also regarded as a cure for illness. In the medieval period, sacred mountains had hot springs where, following *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (original ground and manifest trace) belief, the local god manifested the power of a Buddhist deity. In *Oguri*, the Kumano god, whose *honji* is Amida, manifests itself at Yu no mine at Kumano, where the waters of Amida cure Gaki ami’s impaired body and eliminate defilement. This transformation stands in sharp contrast to earlier practices. In the early medieval period, Mujōdō 無常堂 were created to aid “unattached invalids” (*muen byōsha* 無縁病者), the ill who had no one to care for them. In 1261, the Kamakura bakufu, in a directive to the city of Kamakura, prohibited the abandonment of the sick in the streets, and those who had been abandoned were sent to the Mujōdō. Yōkan 永観 (1033–1111), a pioneer of Pure Land Buddhism and a *nenbutsu* monk known for giving aid to invalids, took the name Mujōdō from the Mujōin at the sacred Gion shōja (Jetavana) temple complex in India. As FUJIWARA Yoshiaki (1986, 84–88) points out, the purpose of the Mujōdō was not to heal or to extend the patient’s life, but to prepare the ill for a proper death. The “care” concentrated on the *nenbutsu* as a means of salvation. The Mujōdō became a transit point between this world and the Pure Land. One was located in Rendaino 蓮台野, the largest cemetery in Kyoto. By contrast, *Oguri* is a “regenerative” narrative, and Gaki ami’s purification at the hot springs at Kumano, like Zushiō’s arrival at Tennōji in *Sanshō dayū*, is a means of returning to this world as a fully functioning social being and leader. The rebirth occurs not in the Pure Land but through pollution and purification in this world.

Scapegoating

The term “scapegoat” comes from a reference in the Hebrew Bible (Leviticus 16) to a goat upon which Aaron cast all the sins of Israel and then banished to the wilderness, together with its burden of sin. The goat, though presumably blameless, was essentially punished for the sins of the people of Israel. Similarly, in Japan, pollution was sometimes transferred to a surrogate, such as a doll in the case of the Ōharae. In the Edo period, prayer priests (*ganjin bōzu* 願人坊主), amateur “priests” who offered talismanic amulets and prayers, became scapegoats who, for a price, took on the pollution of customers and then soaked themselves in cold water (*mizugori* 水垢離) to purify themselves. In Osaka, when an epidemic broke out, rituals were held to drive out the “god of wind.” Large dolls representing the wind god or demons were constructed and then washed away. Social marginals and outcasts were hired to be the image of the wind god

and then dropped from a bridge. These actors were, in KOMATSU Kazuhiko's (1995, 210, 224) words, "live sacrifices."

In one major *Oguri* variant called *Oguri no hangan*, attributed to the chanter Sado Shichi Dayū 佐渡七大夫, *Oguri* takes on the function of a scapegoat. *Oguri no hangan* significantly expands on the story of the brief tryst that *Oguri* has with the serpent in the standard textual versions: here *Oguri* marries the serpent, who becomes pregnant. When her identity as a serpent is finally revealed, she decides to leave *Oguri* and enter the Shinsen'en 神泉苑, a park with a lake south of the Imperial Palace and the home of eight great dragon kings (*hachidai ryūō* 八大龍王) with whom she gets into a fight, causing severe wind and rain to sweep the capital and the palace to collapse. The terrified sovereign summons diviners who determine that the natural disasters were caused by *Oguri*'s illicit relationship with the serpent and that if *Oguri* is exiled, peace will return to the land (SAKURAI 1985, 12).¹⁸ While *Oguri* himself did not cause the natural disaster, he is expelled, taking with him the defilement, much like the effigy dolls that were washed away in water purification (KOMATSU 1997, 126–127).

Seta Katsuya has shown that in the medieval period, even gods functioned as scapegoats; they took on the burden of the defilement when a sovereign fell ill or a disturbance rocked the state. According to an essay in *Tankai* 譚海, whenever lightning struck the Imperial Palace or a fire broke out, the god on guard (*banjin* 番神) at the time, one of the thirty guardian kami (*sanjū banjin* 三十番神), was punished for having failed to protect the palace. The shrine gate was closed, the chief shrine priest tied up, and the shrine disowned (SETA 1986, 58–59). Section 203 of *Tsurezuregusa* notes, "When the sovereign is ill or when the world is shaken by an epidemic, the Tenjin god at Gojō (Fifth Ward) puts on a quiver as does the Quiver God at Kurama" (NKBZ 27: 251). Yuki Myōjin 鞠明神, the god of a sub-shrine at Kurama, and the Tenjin god at Gojō put on a quiver and went into exile. When the emperor or state recovered, the god was allowed to return to the capital and the quiver was taken off. As KOMATSU (1997, 131–132) argues, key parts of the *Oguri* story—his exile, his travel to the other world and pilgrimage to Kumano, and his return to the capital—strongly echo this phenomenon of the scapegoat god.

René GIRARD (1986) argues that a scapegoat is sacrificed to allow irreconcilable but indispensable elements to reunite or coexist. In late medieval and early modern performance, especially in sermon ballads, jōruri, and kabuki, the wooden or metal doll is replaced by bodily substitution (*migawari* 身代わり), which is violent, horrifying, and emotionally charged. In kabuki plays of the Edo period, such as the village school scene in *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami*, the vassal sacrifices

18. MATISOFF (2002, 367) observes that the Shinsen'en provides pure drinking water for the Imperial Palace, thus directly threatening the emperor.

a child to save the intended victim, the child of his master (JONES 2016, 221–254). This resolves the conflict and restores order. Such a bodily substitution minimizes further bloodshed. Oguri is a scapegoat in Girard's sense, in that his death by poisoning restores the communal order. Oguri is also a scapegoat in the sense of the prayer priest or the scapegoat god who takes on defilement and carries it away.

The *kyōgen* actor and writer Yasuda Noboru argues that Japanese culture is lustration or “reset” culture that enables a fresh start, an opportunity to be reborn. This “reset” often takes the form of exile or “wayfaring,” roaming or drifting, which becomes a means of washing away sins and impurities. Yasuda divides atonement into two types: (1) purification rites and (2) confinement or incarceration. In premodern Japan, punishment often entailed exile to an island, especially for high ministers (such as Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道実, 845–903), sovereigns, and retired emperors (such as Go Toba 後鳥羽, 1180–1239). Today, only incarceration remains as the form of legal punishment, but in the long history of Japan exile played a major role as a vehicle for both punishment and atonement (YASUDA 2011, 149–157).

Exile as a form of atonement is also central to what Orikuchi Shinobu calls the “exile-of-the-noble story” (*kishu ryūritan* 貴種流離譚), in which a person of high birth is exiled for a transgression and suffers in exile before returning to his or her community as a leader. Prominent examples include Susanoo, Kaguya hime in *Taketori monogatari*, Ariwara no Narihira in *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, and Genji in *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (ARAKI 1987, 197–198; KOMATSU 1997, 119). In the tenth-century *Taketori monogatari*, Kaguya hime, having committed a sin on the moon, is sent from her home on the moon to Earth, which is considered a dirty place. After a number of years in exile, she returns to the moon, leaving behind the emperor who longs for her. When the heavenly beings from the moon come for Kaguya hime, they explain to the old man, “Since the shining princess committed a sin, she had to spend time like this at your lowly and dirty place” (NKBZ 8: 103). When *Taketori* was written, the moon was regarded as a symbol of purity. The shining princess's exile to this “dirty” Earth can be seen as a period of atonement, at least from the perspective of the moon.

As Sonoda Takeshi argues, it is through Susanoo's exile, which serves as a purification process, that he is resurrected: when Susanoo is expelled from the heavenly sphere, he is ousted as a serious transgressor, but as a result of his exile and his visit to the Root Country (Ne no Kuni 根の国), he becomes a full god (SONODA 1963, 24). In *Oguri*, Oguri's long exile—his fall into hell, his resurrection as Gaki ami, and his long pilgrimage in a dirt cart to Kumano, which can all be seen as different stages of defilement—also enables his return to society as a powerful leader and sets the stage for his posthumous life as a violent-human god, a new paradigm of human-god relations.

Arahitogami, A Violent Human God

Many of the sermon ballads are framed as *honji mono* 本地物 (original ground stories) in which the storyteller describes the human-life backstory of a god/deity before he or she became divine.¹⁹ The *honji mono* are related to *honji suijaku* (original ground and manifest trace) belief in which Japanese gods became “manifest traces” of Buddhist deities, who were considered the “original ground.” In the *honji mono*, the “original ground” is not a Buddhist deity but vulnerable and often helpless humans, who become the original ground of the current gods and deities. Significantly, the *honji mono* does not depict the world of gods or deities so much as the suffering of human beings, particularly that of commoners and outcasts. The human protagonist meets terrible misfortune and discrimination, often ending up being tortured, maimed, killed, or crucified.

The *honji mono*, which gained popularity in the medieval period as a new commoner mythology, imply that gods and deities, having earlier suffered and been severely abused as humans, understand the plight of outcasts and the sick. The story of Jesus Christ—his life as a human before crucifixion and his resurrection as God—can, in fact, be considered a type of *honji mono*, and there are striking parallels to the Christian readings of the New Testament in which, for example, the idea that the “cross is not only God’s way of saying we are not alone in our suffering, but also God has entered our suffering through his own suffering” (WEHNER 2019).²⁰ In contrast to the earlier imperial (Yamato clan) mythology found in the early chronicles, which centered on the heavenly descent of the gods and their conquest of the islands of Japan, the deities and gods in *honji mono* emerge from below, as a result of ostracization, abusive power, and human suffering.

The *emaki* version of *Oguri*, which I have used as the base text, opens in the fashion of *honji mono* with the storyteller presenting the human life or origins of the god Shō Hachiman 正八幡, popular among warriors in the medieval period as a deity of war:

Now if you ask in detail about the origins of this story, the province is Mino, the place is Sunomata in the district of Anpachi (present-day Gifu Prefecture). The god-body of Tarui Onakoto is Shō Hachiman. If we speak in detail about the origins (*honji*) of the violent-human god (*arahitogami*), he, too, was once a human being.

(SNKBT 90: 160)

19. Many of these *honji mono* overlap with *jisha engi* 寺社縁起, legends about the origins of a temple or shrine.

20. In his history of European disability, STIKER (1999, 33) notes the shift from Abrahamic religion in the Hebrew Bible, which stresses prohibition, to Christian religion in the New Testament, which places the emphasis on relief and cure. A similar shift appears to have taken place in medieval Japan.

The name Tarui Onakoto is obscure, probably a local deity. The word “violent-human god” implies that Shō Hachiman, when he was a human, was a violent and dangerous person. Oguri is a *mōshigo*, a god-sent child, bequeathed to Kaneie, the Major Counsellor of Nijō, by Bishamon at Kuramadera. When Oguri has his coming-of-age ceremony at the age of eighteen, Shō Hachiman becomes his godfather (*eboshioya* 烏帽子親). After Oguri’s death, we are told:

At the age of eighty-three, he passes on to the next life. The gods and buddhas gather together and decide that such a true and powerful warrior should be revered as a god. So that he might be worshipped as a god by all in the age of the decline of the law, Lord Oguri is revered, transformed as Shō Hachiman, the god-body of Tarui Onakoto at Sunomata in Anpachi district of Mino Province.

(MATISOFF 2011, 94–95)

The word “violent-human god” frequently refers to Kitano Tenjin 北野天神, the god at Kitano Shrine, the dangerous spirit of Sugawara no Michizane, who met a tragic fate at the hands of the Fujiwara and whose angry spirit brought disaster to the capital. Michizane became a vengeful spirit (*onryō* 怨霊), but he was worshiped and honored as a venerable god (*goryō* 御霊), converted into Tenjin, a protective god. Oguri’s narrative arc is similar to that of Michizane, except that he is a ferocious and violent warrior (rather than a fallen minister) and his defilement is manifested in his body as Gaki ami, an invalid.

Hirosue Tamotsu argues that in the Edo period the village fear of the spirits of the dead, particularly as violent gods, became an urban experience, as is evident in kabuki theater. Ichikawa Danjūrō I 市川団十郎 (1688–1704) and his successors played the role of the violent-human god in *Yanone* 矢根, one of the eighteen classic kabuki plays. The Kamakura-period warrior Soga Gorō 曾我五郎 (1174–1193), who was executed for having avenged the unjust death of his father, was worshiped as a violent-human god. Through the Edo-based *aragoto* 荒事 (wild style) of kabuki dance/movement, Danjūrō embodied the “fury” of the deceased spirit of Gorō, thereby honoring him as a violent-human god (HIROSUE 1988, 22). The sermon ballad oral performance of *Oguri* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can similarly be regarded as both honoring and pacifying the spirit of Oguri. All these violent-human gods—of Michizane, Oguri, and Soga Gorō—have their origins in human violence and defilement, which, in turn, leads to some form of resurrection and then veneration as a god. As Komatsu Kazuhiko observes, many small shrines in the Japanese countryside, which are located on the outskirts of a village or at the edge of a large shrine, are dedicated to Wakamiya sama 若宮様, a child god. Many of the *wakamiya* were evil spirits or unruly gods who brought disaster to the village and were worshiped as a “child god,” sometimes placed under the main god to keep them under control

(KOMATSU 1995, 190). At the end of the *Oguri* sermon ballad, *Oguri* becomes a type of *wakamiya*, a kind of young, unruly god worshiped on the edge.

Conclusion

The maintenance of strict borders as protection against defilement was a key aspect of abstinence as it was established in the Heian period. The gate and the bush fence prevented defilement from entering the house and polluting the inhabitants. In a story in the twelfth-century *Konjaku monogatari* *shū*, a person called Atsuyuki 敦行 is living next to a house in which the owner died. Hearing that the gate of the deceased's residence is in a bad direction and the family cannot remove the body, Atsuyuki offers to take down the bush fence between the two houses so that the corpse can be taken out of the gate of his house. Atsuyuki's family vociferously opposes the idea, since it would pollute their house. Atsuyuki nevertheless proceeds with his plan, noting that "those who observe the rules of abstinence have short lives and no descendants. Those who do not observe abstinence, have good lives and their descendants flourish. Above all, one should think of one's obligation to others, without regard to one's own interests, and pay back that obligation."

Afterward, people heard of this incident, and everyone—high and low—praised Atsuyuki, holding him in high esteem. He was a person of rare and deep compassion. The Way of Heaven (*tendō*) must have been deeply moved. After that, the priest lived without any troubles until the age of around ninety, when he passed away. His descendants all had long lives and were blessed with fortune. Even today, that family in Shimotsuke continues to flourish.

(NKBZ 23: 164–165)

We glimpse here the beginning of a paradigm shift: the wrong does not lie in the exterior pollution; it lies in the conduct of one person toward another. In an age in which Onmyōdō largely determined the rules for abstinence in private life, Atsuyuki deliberately stresses human compassion and social obligation. Like Atsuyuki, Otohime and Terute transgress the social borders represented by outcasts and lepers and place human bonds (compassion and fidelity) over fears of defilement. The *Jishū* mendicants and the Kumano nun figures were similarly transgressive, even by the standards of the new Kamakura Buddhist school. The *Jishū*, with their embrace of women and outcasts, were heavily criticized by other sects as degenerate and heretical. The *Tengu sōshi*, for example, depicts Ippen's followers receiving his urine as medicine.

As medieval *noh* plays and anecdotal literature reveal, those who killed sentient beings for a profession (hunters, fishermen, and warriors) were considered evil people and ended up in hell-purgatory, with warriors going to a special hell-purgatory called *ashuradō* 阿修羅道. The *noh* play *Utō* 善知鳥 depicts a bird

hunter in hell-purgatory, and the plays *Akogi* 阿漕 and *Ukai* 鵜飼 portray fishermen in hell-purgatory, but the fisherman in *Ukai* is ultimately saved by the power of the *Lotus Sūtra*. This pattern of saving evil people appears throughout medieval Japanese literature and performance. But even these evil people, while committing a serious sin, were not considered defiled, as is the butcher who kills domesticated animals for falcon hunting and who appears in the *Tengu sōshi* as an outcast. As WAKITA Haruko (2002, 188) shows, the difference between an evil person and an outcast was that the outcast had been an “evil person” in the previous life and was now atoning for those past transgressions. Atonement—as revealed, for example, in the practice of the outcast monk—would enable the outcast to be reborn in a better life in the future. As such, outcasts became the object of *segyō*. The particular feature of *Oguri* is that the warrior protagonist falls into hell (as an “evil person”) and then revives as an outcast who endures a period of atonement. *Shintokumaru* and *Oguri* are unique in the manner in which they focus on the stigmatized body of the disabled, the ill, and the outcast, arousing the audience’s sympathy for the ostracized and drawing attention to the itinerant spiritual intermediaries and performers, both male and female, who aid those outcasts.

As we have seen, the axis of transgressive defilement and compensatory purification underpins the *Oguri* narrative, his fall into hell, and his resurrection as Gaki ami, but the final story of *Oguri* as a violent-human god provides a new twist, challenging a social order that has excluded and oppressed certain groups and has regarded bodily conditions as “dirt” and defilement. The emergence of a new kind of hero/god implies that the power behind *Oguri*’s violence and transgression, the voice of his angry spirit, can still be heard, a phenomenon that Avery GORDON (1997, xvi) calls “haunting,” “in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life.”

During the period of abstinence, one must be apart and separated from the community and be exposed to dangerous and chaotic forces, which may bring about change (OKADA 1982, 436). As Mary DOUGLAS (2002, 96) observes, “The man who comes back from those inaccessible regions brings with him a power not available to those who have stayed in control of themselves and of society.” *Oguri*’s extended period of exile and atonement restores him to the community, but it also results in the birth of a *wakamiya*, a restless outlaw god. As we have seen, the key spiritual figures—the Jishū mendicants and the Kumano *bikuni* nun figures such as Otohime and Terute—not only are compassionate, but also violate the prescribed taboos on pollution, the outcast, and the seriously ill. The *honji mono* phenomenon, of which many sermon ballads are a dramatic example, represents a late medieval paradigm shift, marking the emergence of new gods who have suffered and have been oppressed but finally rise up, reflecting the larger sociopolitical movement of rising up from below that marks the

Muromachi period. Equally important, the new gods, like the violent-human god, are born of violence, which must be exorcised and controlled by society but which ultimately generates new energy and the start of a new social order.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系. 102 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1957–1968.
- NKBZ *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集. 51 vols. Shōgakkan, 1970–1976.
- NST *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系. 67 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1970–1982.
- SNEZ *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* 新修日本絵巻物全集. 30 vols. Kadokawa Shoten, 1975–1980.
- SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 新日本古典文学大系. 105 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1999–2005.
- SNKS *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* 新潮日本古典集成. 82 vols. Shinchōsha, 1976–1989.

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Engishiki* 延喜式. 2 vols. In *Shintō taikai* 神道体系, *koten hen* 古典編 11–12, ed. Torao Toshiya 虎尾俊哉. Shintō Taikai Hensankai 1991–1993.
- Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書. 2 vols. Comp. Kokan Shiren 虎関師錬 (1278–1346). In *Genkō shakusho zen'yakuchū* 元亨釈書全訳注, ed. Imahama Michitaka 今浜通隆. Shintensha, 2020.
- Hokke genki* 法華驗記. NST 7.
- Hosshinshū* 発心集. Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155–1216). SNKS 4.
- Ippen hijirie* 一遍聖絵. Shōkai 聖戒 (d. 1323). SNEZ 2.
- Jisha engi* 寺社縁起. NST 20.
- Kenkyū gojunreiki* 建久御巡礼記. In *Kōkan bijutsu shiryō* 校刊美術史料, *jiin hen* 寺院編 2–3, Fujita Tsuneyo 藤田経世 and Fukuyama Toshio 福山敏男, eds., 1950 (mimeograph).
- Kojiki* 古事記. NKBZ 1.
- Kononchomonjū* 古今著聞集. SNKS 59.
- Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集. NKBZ 21–24; NKBT 22–26.
- Makura no sōshi* 枕草子. Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (ca. 966–1017). NKBT 19.
- Manabon Soga monogatari* 真名本曾我物語. Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 468. Aoki Akira 青木晃 et al., eds. Heibonsha, 1987.
- Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄. SNKS 31.
- Sekkyōshū* 説経集. SNKS 8.

- Semimaru* 蟬丸. In *Yōkyoku taikan* 謡曲大観, vol. 3, ed. Sanari Kentarō 佐成謙太郎, 1671–1688. Meiji Shoin, 1964.
- Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* 菅原伝授手習鑑. Ed. Hayashi Kyōhei 林 京平. Hakusuisha, 1989.
- Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語. NKBZ 8.
- Tengu sōshi* 天狗草紙. SNEZ 27.
- Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草. Kenkō 兼好 (1283–1350). NKBZ 27.
- Zegaibōe* 是害房絵. SNEZ 27.

SECONDARY SOURCES

ABE Yasurō 阿部泰郎

- 1998 *Yuya no kōgō: Chūsei no sei to seinaru mono* 湯屋の皇后—中世の性と聖なるもの. Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai.

AMINO Yoshihiko 網野善彦

- 1994 *Chūsei no hinin to yūjo* 中世の非人と遊女. Akashi Shoten.
- 2002 *Rethinking Japanese History*. Trans. Alan S. Christy. Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.
- 2012 *Shokunin utaawase* 職人歌合. Heibonsha.

ARAKI Hiroyuki 荒木博之

- 1987 *Kishu ryūri no kōzō* 貴種流離の構造. In *Nihon bungaku no kōzō* 日本文学の構造, Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一 and Nakanishi Susumu 中西 進, eds., 165–206. Sōjusha.

BLIDSTEIN, Moshe

- 2015 Purity and defilement. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Abrahamic Religions*, Adam J. Silverstein and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds., 448–465. Oxford University Press.
- 2017 *Purity, Community, and Ritual in Early Christian Literature*. Oxford University Press.

DOUGLAS, Mary

- 2002 *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Routledge.

DYKSTRA, Yoshiko K., trans.

- 1983 *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra from Ancient Japan*. University of Hawai'i Press.

FAURE, Bernard

- 2003 *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender*. Princeton University Press.

FOARD, James H.

- 2020 Ippen and Pure Land Buddhist wayfarers in medieval Japan. In *Critical*

Readings on Pure Land Buddhism in Japan, vol. 2, ed. Galen Dean Ams-
tutz, 483–508. Brill.

FUJIWARA Yoshiaki 藤原良章

- 1986 Chūsei zenki no byōja to kyūsai: Hinin ni kansuru ichi shiron 中世前期の
病者と救済—非人に関する一私論. In *Retto no bunkashi* 列島の文化史, vol.
3, Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦 and Tsukamoto Manabu 塚本 学 et al., eds.,
79–115. Nihon Edeitāsukūru Shuppanbu.

FUKUDA Akira 福田 晃

- 1965 Oguri Terute tan no seisei 小栗照手譚の生成. *Kokugakuin zasshi* 46: 29–62.

FUKUDA Tokuzō 福田徳三

- 1910 Batsujo to kahei no kankei ni tsuite no gukō 拔除と貨幣の關係に就テノ愚考.
Kokka gakkai zasshi 24/7: 1019–1030.

GIRARD, René

- 1986 *The Scapegoat*. Trans. Yvonne Freccero. John Hopkins University Press.

GORDON, Avery

- 1997 *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. University of
Minnesota Press.

HIROSUE Tamotsu 廣末 保

- 1988 *Shinpen akubasho no hassō* 新編悪場所の発想. Chikuma Shobō.

HOSOKAWA Taketoshi 細川武稔

- 2010 *Kyoto no jisha to Muromachi bakufu* 京都の寺社と室町幕府. Yoshikawa
Kōbunkan.

IDE Maaya 井出真綾 and USHIYAMA Yoshiyuki 牛山佳幸

- 2016 Kodai Nihon ni okeru kegare gainen no keisei 古代日本における穢れ概念
の形成. *Shinshū Daigaku Kyōikugakubu kenkyū ronshū* 9: 81–93.

ISHII, Nobuko

- 1989 *Sekkyō-bushi*. *Monumenta Nipponica* 44: 283–307. doi.org/10.2307/2384610

IWASAKI Takeo 岩崎武夫

- 1973 *Sanshō dayū kō: Chūsei no sekkyō gatari* さんせう太夫考—中世の説経語り.
Heibonsha.

JONES, Stanleigh H., Jr.

- 2016 *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*. Columbia University Press.

KASUYA Makoto 加須屋誠

- 2017 Sōron “Yamai no sōshi” 総論「病草紙」. In *Yamai no sōshi* 病草紙, Kasuya
Makoto and Yamamoto Satomi 山本聡美, eds., 87–172. Chūō Kōron
Bijutsu Shuppan.

KAWAGUCHI Eryū 川口恵隆

- 1972 *Ryōiki no Hokekyō* 『靈異記』の法華經. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 20:
643–644. doi.org/10.4259/ibk.20.643

KIM, Jayne Sun

- 2004 *A History of Filth: Defilement Discourse in Medieval Japan*. PhD dissertation, Columbia University.

KIMBROUGH, R. Keller, trans.

- 2013 *Wondrous Brutal Fictions: Eight Buddhist Tales from the Early Japanese Puppet Theater*. Columbia University Press.

KLAWANS, Jonathan

- 2000 *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*. Oxford University Press.

KOMATSU Kazuhiko 小松和彦

- 1995 *Noroi to Nihonjin* 呪いと日本人. Kadokawa.
1997 *Shuten Dōji no kubi* 酒吞童子の首. Serika Shobō.

KURODA Hideo 黒田日出男

- 1986 *Kyōkai no chūsei, shōchō no chūsei* 境界の中世・象徴の中世. Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

MATISOFF, Susan

- 1992 Holy horrors: The sermon-ballads of medieval and early modern Japan. In *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, James Sanford, William LaFleur, and Masatoshi Nagatomi, eds., 234–261. Princeton University Press.
2001 Reflections on Terute: Searching for a hidden shaman-entertainer. *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 12: 113–134.
doi.org/10.1080/07407700108571355
2002 The log cabin emperor: Marginality and the legend of Oguri Hangan. *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 13: 361–377. doi.org/10.3406/asie.2002.1187
2006 *The Legend of Semimaru: Blind Musician of Japan*. Rev. ed. Cheng & Tsui.
2011 *Oguri*: An early Edo tale of suffering, resurrection, revenge, and deification. *Monumenta Nipponica* 66: 49–57, 59–97.

METZLER, Irina

- 2011 Disability in the Middle Ages: Impairment at the intersection of historical inquiry and disability studies. *History Compass* 9: 45–60.
doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2010.00746.x

MIEDA Akiko 三枝暁子

- 2016 Kiyomizuzaka no rekishi to keikan 清水坂の歴史と景観. In *Kyōto no rekishi o aruku* 京都の歴史を歩く, Kobayashi Takehiro 小林丈広, Takagi Hiroshi 高木博志, and Mieda Akiko, eds., 47–61. Iwanami Shoten.

MITCHELL, David T.

- 2002 Narrative prothesis and the materiality of metaphor. In *Disability Studies: Enabling the Humanities*, Sharon L. Snyder, Brenda Jo Brueggemann, and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, eds., 15–30. Modern Language Association.

MIYAZAKI, Fumiko

- 2005 Female pilgrims and Mt. Fuji: Changing perspectives on the exclusion of women. *Monumenta Nipponica* 60: 339–391.

MOERMAN, Max

- 2015 The Buddha and the bathwater: Defilement and enlightenment in the *Onsenji engi*. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 42: 71–87. doi.org/95r

MORRISON, Barbara

- 2013 *Sekkyō* and the tale of Terute in *Oguri Hangan*: Authorizing the role of women (part 1). *Utsunomiya Daigaku Kokusai Gakubu kenkyū ronkō* 35: 9–21.

NANAMI Hiroaki 名波弘彰

- 1987 Inseiki no Kumano mōde: Metsuzai, chinkon, gohōzuke o meguru girei to shinkō 院政期の熊野詣—滅罪、鎮魂、護法憑けをめぐる儀礼と信仰. *Bungei gengo kenkyū, bungeihen* 13: 146–70.

NISHIGAKI Seiji 西垣晴次

- 1984 Minshū no seishin seikatsu: Kegare to michi 民衆の精神生活—穢れと路. *Rekishi kōron* 10: 101–107.

NIUNOYA Tetsuichi 丹生谷哲一

- 1980 Chūsei ni okeru hinin segyō to kōbu seiken 中世における非人施行と公武政權. *Rekishi kenkyū* 17: 15–33.
- 1986 *Keibiishi: Chūsei no kegare to kenryoku* 検非違使—中世のけがれと権力. Heibonsha.
- 1994 Hinin, kawaramono, sanjo 非人、河原者、散所. In *Iwanami kōza Nihon tsūshi* 岩波講座日本通史 8, *chūsei* 中世 2, Asao Naohiro 朝尾直弘 et al., eds., 215–254. Iwanami Shoten.

OKADA Shigekiyo 岡田重清

- 1982 *Kodai no imi: Nihonjin no kisō shinkō* 古代の齋忌—日本人の基層信仰. Kokusho Kankōkai.

ORIKUCHI Shinobu 折口信夫

- 1954–1957 Gaki ami sosei tan 餓鬼阿弥蘇生譚. In *Origuchi Shinobu zenshū* 折口信夫全集, vol. 2, ed. Origuchi Hakushi Kinenkai 折口博士記念会, 341–352. Chūō Kōronsha.

ORTNER, Sherry

- 2018 Purification rite. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 22 January 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/purification-rite>

PHILIPPI, Donald L., trans.

- 1968 *Kojiki*. University of Tokyo Press.

QUINTER, David

- 2007 Creating bodhisattvas: Eison, *Hinin*, and the “Living Mañjuśrī.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 62: 437–458.

SAIGŌ Nobutsuna 西郷信綱

1967 *Kojiki no sekai* 古事記の世界. Iwanami Shoten.

SAITŌ Hideki 斎藤英喜

2014 *Onmyōjitachi no Nihonshi* 陰陽師たちの日本史. Kadokawa.

SAKURAI Yoshirō 桜井好郎

1985 Oguri hangan no sekai, jō 小栗判官の世界、上. *Bungaku* 53: 1–16.

SATŌ Hiroo 佐藤弘夫

2008 *Shisha no yukue* 死者のゆくえ. Iwata Shoin.

SETA Katsuya 瀬田勝哉

1986 Gojō tenjin to Gionsha: *Gikeiki seiritsu no koro* 五条天神と祇園社—『義経記』成立の頃. *Musashi Daigaku jinbun gakkai zasshi* 17: 49–70.

SHIMOSAKA Mamoru 下坂 守

2003 *Egakareta Nihon no chūsei: Ezu bunseki ron* 描かれた日本の中世—絵図分析論. Hōzōkan.

SIMON, Cecilia Capuzzi

2013 Disability studies: A new normal. *New York Times*, 1 November.

SONODA Takeshi 園田 健

1963 Susanoo no mikoto no “kamuyarahi” 須佐乃男命の「神夜良比」. *Kokugakuin zasshi* 64/10: 18–24.

STIKER, Henri-Jacques

1999 *A History of Disability*. Trans. William Sayers. University of Michigan Press.

WAKITA Haruko 脇田晴子

2002 *Nihon chūsei hisabetsumin no kenkyū* 日本中世被差別民の研究. Iwanami Shoten.

WATSON, Burton, trans.

1993 *The Lotus Sutra*. Columbia University Press.

WEHNER, Peter

2019 Opinion: What it means to worship a man crucified as a criminal. *New York Times*, 19 April.

YAMAJI Kōzō 山路興造

1990 *Okina no za: Geinōmintachi no chūsei* 翁の座—芸能民たちの中世. Heibonsha.

YAMAMOTO Kōji 山本幸司

1986 Kizoku shakai ni okeru kegare to chitsujo 貴族社会における穢と秩序. *Nihonshi kenkyū* 287: 28–54.

2009 *Kegare to ôharae* 穢と大祓. Kaihō Shuppan.

YASUDA Noboru 安田 登

2011 *Ikai o tabisuru nō: Waki to iu sonzai* 異界を旅する能—ワキという存在. Chikuma Shobō.

YOKOI Kiyoshi 横井 清

1975 *Chūsei minshū no seikatsu bunka* 中世民衆の生活文化. Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.