

Shamanism in Japan

HORI Ichirō

ORIGIN AND DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF JAPANESE SHAMANISM

What are the distinguishing characteristics of shamanism in Japan, and what formative influences has it exercised during the course of its history on the spiritual structure of contemporary Japanese people? This is the general problem to be explored in this paper. The perspective adopted is that of the history of religions.

Shamanism is by no means a phenomenon peculiar to primitive societies. Among the founders of new religious movements in Japan are several with shamanistic characteristics. Even in the higher religions with their metaphysical and theological embellishments, “enlightenment” or “conversion” at bottom appear, despite the erudition of their philosophical elaborations, to possess a structure remarkably similar to that of shamanism.

In 1913 Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男, under the pen name Kawamura Haruki 川村香樹, published a series of twelve articles en-

For permission to print this article, the International Institute for the Study of Religions wishes to express appreciation to the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, which is scheduled to publish it in vol. 12 of the series *Philosophical studies of Japan* but has kindly agreed to its prior publication in this journal. The translation is by David REID.

Of the six sections into which this inquiry is divided, the first was specially written for the above-mentioned series. The remaining five constitute the substantive sections of the article “Nihon no shāmanizumu” 日本のシャーマニズム [Japanese shamanism] which first appeared in *Sekai* 世界, no. 272 (1968), pp. 216-226, later revised by the author and published in his *Nihon shūkyōshi kenkyū 3: Minkan shinkōshi no shomondai* 日本宗教史研究 3: 民間信仰史の諸問題 [Studies in the history of Japanese religion, vol. 3: Problems in the history of folk religion] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1971), pp. 137-169.

titled “Fujo kō” 巫女考 [Monograph on shamanesses]¹ in the first volume of the journal *Kyōdo kenkyū* 郷土研究 [Village studies], of which he was editor. This was, I believe, the first time the scalpel of religious folklore studies had been applied to shamanism in Japan.

In this monograph Yanagita divides Japanese shamanesses into two types. “In the district west of Kobe once known as Harima, shamanesses or *miko* fall into two classes. One is comprised of women attached to large shrines who perform sacred dances at festival times, making use of boiling water believed to possess purifying power. The other is constituted by women called ‘drumming shamanesses’ (*tataki miko*) or ‘mediums’ (*kuchi-yose*). Where they live is not usually known. A shamaness simply walks into a village from some place ten or twenty miles away, holds seances for those who come to her, and moves on.”² According to Yanagita’s classification, there are in effect “shrine shamanesses” (*jinja miko*) and “spiritualist shamanesses” (*kuchi-yose miko*). He hypothesizes, however, that both derive from a single source which he thought could be identified as the *mikogami* 御子神 or “child of the kami.” Particularly in the two sections entitled “Kami no kuchiyose o gyō to suru mono” 神の口寄せを業とする者 [People who make a profession of communicating with the kami] and “Takusen to matsuri” 託宣と祭 [Oracles and festivals], Yanagita suggests that the word *miko* comes from *mikogami*. In tracing the changes the root word has undergone, he pays considerable attention to the shamaness as a “mediator” between the world of men and the world of gods and spirits—a Japanese folk tradition of great antiquity. Making reference to corruptions such as *Ebisu oroshi* (“calling down Ebisu”), *inari sage* (“calling down the fox god”), and *tsukimono* (a spirit that attaches itself to a person, family, or lineage), phenomena that came into being when shamanistic elements entered

1. Later republished in *Yanagita Kunio shū* 柳田國男集 [Collected works of Yanagita Kunio], vol. 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969), pp. 221-301.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

into folk religion, Yanagita proposes that the term *miko* gradually took on degenerate forms. He suggests that the way to reconstruct it is to recognize that while the shamanesses of the earliest period had a recognized position in the clans, their position became weak during the medieval period, at which time they drifted to the provinces and there reestablished themselves. Such was the conclusion Yanagita had reached at the time of writing his monograph on Japanese shamanesses.

In 1940 Yanagita published the study *Imōto no chikara* 妹の力 [The power of the younger sister].³ In this study he called attention to the fact that since the earliest times, Japanese women have on occasion been possessors of spiritual power. The clue of particular importance to him in this connection was the Okinawan belief in the kami Onari. The word *onari* signifies a man's sisters, both older and younger, and Onari faith has made these sisters divine. In Okinawa when a man is about to set out for Japan proper or embark on a long trip, for example, he will receive from his younger or older sister one of her handkerchiefs or combs and keep it on his person wherever he goes. The object so employed thus becomes a kind of amulet with the function of a guardian spirit.

This subject had earlier been taken up by Iha Fuyū 伊波普猷 in his famous treatise *Onarigami no shima* をなり神の島 [The island of the kami Onari].⁴ Drawing on this study, Yanagita wrote his little work *Imotō no chikara* and in it went on to explore the subject of the *tamayori hiko* and *tamayori hime*. In early Japan the latter term was associated with the belief that a kami might possess a pure and holy virgin and that she might become aware of this divine power and give birth to a child of the kami—a “Mary-type” belief, as it were. Classic examples of this belief pattern are the Kamo and Miwa legends and the belief in Hachiman. The Hachiman form, even at places like Usa and Otokoyama,

3. Later republished in *ibid.*, pp. 1-219.

4. First published in 1938. [Presently being reprinted in vol. 5 of the *Iha Fuyū zenshū* 伊波普猷全集 (Collected works of Iha Fuyū) (Tokyo: Heibonsha). TRANSL.]

in time became extremely complex and difficult to comprehend, but Yanagita had the idea that at least during the Nara period, this belief centered in two kami: the male Hachiman-dajjin 八幡大神 and the female Hime-gami 比売神. He further held that this belief went through a development that eventuated in two major roles: that of the central kami Hachiman and that of the woman who acted as his agent or mediator—the shamaness.

Yanagita also noted that the term *tamayori hime* occurs three times in the classics. It is not, however, a proper name. Broken into its constituent parts, the term suggests that a spirit (*tama* 玉) enters into (*yoru* 依る) a worthy young woman (*hime* 姫). It is, therefore, a general designation for young women selected by kami or spirits. He infers that the corresponding term *tamayori hiko*, referring to a male, may indicate a priest.

It is appropriate at this point to consider the Chinese historical work *Wei chih* 魏志 (in Japanese, *Gishi*) [History of the Wei dynasty] with its account of the Japanese people or *wajin* 倭人, particularly the famous description of Himiko 卑彌呼, queen of the land of Yamatai. According to this account, the queen, who is said to have served the spirit realm and often led the people astray, appears in the role of a shamanistic priestess. She closed herself up in her room and, though of a mature age, would not take a husband. Her younger brother presided over the affairs of state. Into her room only one man was allowed, a man whose job it was to communicate her messages and serve meals to her. In other words, through three people—the queen as the servant of the kami, the man who consistently had access to her and transmitted her messages, and the younger brother who held actual governmental authority—the land of Yamatai was unified and administered.

Till premodern times, this same pattern could be seen in the Shō 尚 family which long reigned in the Ryukyu Islands. The king was responsible for governmental affairs, and beside him was a woman with religious responsibilities. This woman, who bore the title *kikoe ōkimi* 聞得大君 (“the minister of state who

hears and receives [spirit messages]”), was the king’s younger sister—or if necessary, his niece or aunt.

In early Japanese society, influenced as it was by China with its strong tradition of male succession, sovereign power was seized and held by male emperors, and the traditions compiled in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were rewritten accordingly. But certain bits and pieces permit the inference that ancient Japanese society included in its structure a post filled by a female medium and that the governing of the country was carried out in accordance with her oracles. The Emperor Sujin 崇神 (97-30 B.C.) and his mother-in-law Yamato-totohi-momoso-hime 倭迹迹日百襲姫 or the Emperor Chūai 仲哀 (A.D. 192-200) and the Empress (later Regent) Jingū 神功 may be taken as examples. In the latter case, when Empress Jingū acted as a medium, in order to invoke an oracle she would have the emperor play the zither while the Prime Minister Takeshi-uchi-no-Sukune attended her as *saniwa* 審神者 (“interpreter of the divine words”). This pattern not only tallies with that described in the *Wei chih* account of the *wajin* but also resembles the relationship between the *kikoe ōkimi* and the Shō monarch in the Ryukyus.

The gifted Okinawan Sakima Kōei 佐喜眞興英 (now deceased) made a study of the religious and political charismatic power of the women of ancient times in his *Nyonin seiji kō* 女人政治考 [A study of female rulers].⁵ By collating the data in Iha Fuyū’s *Onarigami no shima* and Sakima Kōei’s *Nyonin seiji kō*, not only in relation to the *Wei chih* description of the *wajin* and Himiko but also in relation to Yanagita’s conception of the *tamayori hiko* and *tamayori hime*, one may perceive that the shamaness in ancient Japan held a position of extraordinarily high status.

In 1930 Nakayama Tarō 中山太郎 published his *Nihon fujo shi* 日本巫女史 [History of Japanese shamanesses].⁶ Whereas Yanagita in his “Fujo kō” had stressed the degeneration shaman-

5. Tokyo: Oka Shoin, 1926.

6. Tokyo: Ōokayama Shoten, 1930; reprinted in 1974 by Yagi Shoten, Tokyo.

ism underwent as it spread among the masses, gradually taking on superstitious and plebian characteristics such as those of the stone-throwing at Ikebukuro or the burdock-seed belief found at Hida,⁷ Nakayama's distinctiveness lay in his focusing on the combination produced by the fusion of shamanism with Buddhism. Nakayama divided the shamanesses of Japan into two classes: the *kannagi* 神和 ("shrine shamanesses") and the *kuchiyose* 口寄せ ("mediums"). Both, he averred, sprang from the same root. Following a period of pure shamanism, the ancient period when shamanism had full opportunity to exercise its functions, there came a time when shamanism and Buddhism coalesced. In consequence shamanism changed greatly, then taking on its many superstitious and vulgar characteristics. The deterioration process shamanism went through can be divided, according

-
7. Yanagita cites two stone-throwing legends associated with the Tokyo district of Ikebukuro. One has it that if a young woman from Ikebukuro is hired as a maid, a shower of stones thrown from all directions falls into the house of her employer—not when she begins her work there but when he first makes improper advances. In this case the stones are said to be the work of the local guardian kami (*ujigami*) who dislikes seeing those under his care abused by outsiders. The other legend has it that if an Ikebukuro family makes arrangements to marry a daughter off to a non-Ikebukuro family, it will suffer the same misfortune. The reason given is that the local tutelary deity (*ubusunagami*) dislikes any reduction in the number of people in his charge.

The burdock-seed belief of Hida (former name of the district around the city of Takayama in Gifu Prefecture) has to do with the malevolent power that allegedly runs in certain families. According to this tradition, anyone who incurs the hatred or illwill of a member of such a family invariably becomes possessed by that person's spirit and suffers serious trouble such as falling prey to disease. When this happens, the victim speaks of his calamity as "the work of the burdock seed." The spirit that possesses one is driven off in one of two ways. One is for the victim to walk from his bed to his own front door and prostrate himself on the ground. The other, employed in cases where the victim is so seriously disabled that he cannot walk, is to seek out the burdock-seed person and get him (or her) to nurse the victim, ignoring his disavowals and dragging him to the victim's home by force if need be.

See Yanagita *Kunio shū*, vol. 9, "Fujo kō," especially the section "Ikebukuro no ishi uchi to hida no gonbo dane" 池袋の石打と飛騨の牛蒡種 [Ikebukuro stonethrowing and Hida burdock seeds], pp. 254-260. TRANSL.

to Nakayama, into three periods. The section devoted to the account of the second of these periods, a period which should be called that of the intermingling of Buddhism and shamanism, is a section of exceptional importance in Nakayama's voluminous work. As a result of his study, the *kannagi* and *kuchiyose* classification method has long held sway in studies of Japanese shamanism.

But as shrine shamanesses came to lose their shamanistic functions and become mere dancers, ethnologists and scholars of religion have increasingly turned their attention to the *kuchiyose* or spiritualist shamanesses. Surveys and analyses of such women in the Tōhoku (northeast Honshū) area, where they are known as *itako* or *gomiso*, have been carried out quite extensively. "Miko markets" (*miko ichi* ミコ市), that is, places where *miko* assemble on festival days, places like Mt. Osore, Kanagi, and Hachinohe in the southern Tōhoku, have come in for especially concentrated study. According to the *Shinpen aizu fudōki* 新編会津風土記 [Account of the features and customs of the Aizu district, new edition],⁸ *miko* have long gathered at Hachiyō temple 八葉寺 on occasions like the Bon festival and communicated messages from the spirit world. This image has been taken over as somehow representative of Japanese shamanism generally. The dominant idea is that Japanese shamanesses are mediums.

From another angle, however, the shamanism found in Okinawa—the shamanism that was studied by Iha Fuyū and Sakima Kōei and that stimulated Yanagita Kunio and Origuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 to make it the object of field research, as a result of which many people came to look at it with new eyes—this kind of shamanism has also become the focus of considerable attention. One may even go so far as to say that in consequence of the field research of a sizable number of ethnologists, the Okinawan shamanistic system has largely been covered.

The results may be summarized as follows. The shamanesses of Okinawa formed in effect an organization. At the top stood the previously mentioned *kikoe ōkimi*. Immediately under her

8. 5 vols. (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1962).

were the shamanesses called *noro* 祝女 who lived in the villages. The *noro* correspond to the shrine priestesses of Japan proper. Assisting the *noro* was a class of priestesses called *tsukasa* ツカサ or *niigami* 根神. When the Shō family established itself over the Ryukyus as the ruling dynasty, it divided Okinawa Island into districts: Shinajiri in the south, Kunigami and Nagazato in the north, and in the middle the Nakagami district with Naha as its chief center. In each district was established a major shrine called an *ōamurera* (オオアムレラ) or *ōamushirare* (大アムシラレ). These major shrines were to oversee the *noro* throughout the kingdom. This organizational structure continued many years, giving institutional form to the idea that religion and politics were to be divided between women and men. In addition, at the popular or folk level are the *yuta* ユタ and *zuri* 尻類. The *zuri* differ little from prostitutes, but the *yuta*, in contrast to the *noro* who receive their vocation as a matter of inheritance, are shamanesses who become so unexpectedly and abruptly. It is among this class that authentic shamanesses are to be found.

Both *noro* and *tsukasa* positions are treated as subject to hereditary succession. Strictly speaking, the *noro* role is inherited from an aunt by her niece. In this order of succession, however, the cooperation of someone in the male line is essential. Thus the role played by the brothers of the aunt becomes highly important, for in this way the transfer of hereditary vocation from aunt to niece is effected.

The function of the shamaness as priestess is preserved institutionally to a degree that hardly permits of comparison with the shrine shamanesses of Japan proper. When a person becomes a *noro*, the *kikoe ōkimi* authorizes the rite of installation and bestows on the initiate a license and a symbolic fan, both conveyed through the major shrines to the *noro* of the various villages. In this sense it can be said that while the shrines of Japan proper had no central administrative organization and while their *miko* were not under the jurisdiction of an overarching institutional structure until the promulgation of the Meiji government shrine policy in

the nineteenth century, the *norō* system in Okinawa was consolidated under a central authority as early as the fifteenth century.

The *yuta* correspond to the *kuchiyose* shamanesses of Japan proper, but unlike the Tōhoku *itako*, the *yuta* are said to include some genuine shamanesses. The term *yuta* is tentatively derived from *udagan*, the Ural-Altaic word for shaman, but the question as to the validity of this view may here be left open.

In contrast to Okinawa in the south, Korea in the north can be referred to as the home of shamanism. Many years ago the Korean historian of religion I Nūng Hwa 李能和 published in Chinese the work *Chaohsien wusu k'ao* 朝鮮巫俗考 (in Japanese, *Chōsen fuzoku kō*) [Monograph on shamanistic practices in Korea],⁹ and the folklorist Son Jin T'ae 孫晋泰, in the journal *Minzoku* 民族 and elsewhere, has made public several studies relating to Korean shamanism.¹⁰ Again, Dr. Torii Ryūzō 鳥居龍藏 devoted particular attention to a comparison of Korean shamanistic festivals and Shinto festivals in his *Nihon shūi minzoku no genshi shūkyō* 日本周回民族の原始宗教 [Primitive religions among the peoples around Japan],¹¹ while the former Seoul University professor Akamatsu Chijō 赤松智城 and his assistant at that time Akiba Takashi 秋葉隆, acting on a request from the Government-General of Korea, made a survey of Korean folk customs and shamanism. The results were published as a report issued by the Government-General of Korea. In this report Akiba drew his materials together in systematic form under the title *Chōsen fuzoku no genchi kenkyū* 朝鮮巫俗の現地研究 [A field study of Korean shamanistic practices].¹² As for early Korea, written records are few, so it was necessary to rely on works written by Chinese people, works

9. Recently reprinted as vol. 2 in the series 韓國漢籍民俗叢書 [Korean folklore texts in Chinese characters] (Taipei: Tungfang Wenhua Shuchū, 1971). TRANSL.

10. See, e.g., his "Shiberiya hakuchō densetsu no ichi tokuchō ni tsuite" 西伯利亞白鳥伝説の一特徴について [A distinctive feature of the swan legend of Siberia] *Minzoku*, vol. 2 (1926-27), pp. 55-72. TRANSL.

11. Tokyo: Oka Shoin, 1924.

12. Tenri: Yōtokusha, 1950.

such as the *Tung i ch'uan* 東夷伝 (in Japanese, *Tōi den*) [Account of the eastern barbarians]. I Nūng Hwa devoted his efforts to the collection and study of writings in Chinese script, while Akiba concentrated on the analysis of materials gathered in actual field research. At the present time, the collecting and studying of shamanistic songs, together with field studies of shamans and shamanesses, appear to be proceeding apace in Korea.

The place where shamanism can be found today in a form spoken of as "classical," the kind of shamanism that gives rise to such phenomena as trance and ecstasy, is northern Korea. Here male shamans are comparatively numerous. South of the thirty-eighth parallel, however, shamanism has been reduced to the level of public entertainment and is in many cases only a shadow of its former self.

In early Korean history the realm called Chosōn 朝鮮 (referred to in Japanese as *kochōsen* 古朝鮮 or "Old Korea") was established at the northern end of the peninsula by Wiman 衛滿 (in Chinese, Wei Man; in Japanese, Eiman). About the beginning of the Christian era, this country became a colony of the Han Empire and was divided into two administrative districts, Nangnang 樂浪 (in Chinese, Lèlang; in Japanese, Rakurō) and Taebang 帶方 (in Chinese, Taifang; in Japanese, Taihō). In this general vicinity the dominant cultural influence was that of the Tungus.

Three kingdoms grew up in early southern Korea. To some extent cultural influence from the north doubtless existed, but about the sixth century A.D., a sizable settlement was established in the Sandong peninsula of southwestern Korea—in the ancient kingdom of Paekche. The existence of this settlement may be confirmed by looking at Ennin's *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 [Diary of a pilgrimage to T'ang China in quest of the Buddhist law].¹³ Along the southwest shore, partly due to the influence of the warm Tsushima current, the culture that made itself felt most notably was that of south China. In that area of China

13. Translated into English by Edwin O. Reischauer under the title *Ennin's diary* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955). TRANSL.

between Fuchou and the Kowloon peninsula, for example, the custom of washing the bones of departed ancestors is practiced even today. In Japan this custom exists only in the area bounded by Amami Ōshima on the north and the Ryukyus on the south. I am informed, however, that this bone-washing custom continues to the present day along the southwest shore of Korea.

Again, there is a place in Okinawa where festivals are held, a place called Otaki 御嶽. In this place are three symbolic stones and incense burners. Rites employing these symbols, rites in the so-called Otaki style, are held at specific festival locations from the island of Iki in the Tsushima Straits to south Korea. Various named *shige*, *mori*, etc., they are widely diffused over this area. Here too there appears to be a movement of culture from south to north.

Izumi Sei'ichi 泉靖一 is one scholar who has sought to comprehend the flow of culture between southern Korea, the Ryukyus, and south China. With the Tungus culture moving in from the north and the south Chinese and southeast Asian cultures moving up from the south, Korea was a place where cultures met and mingled. In this respect it can be said to have taken shape on the same basis as early Japan.

Akiba divided the shamans and shamanesses of Korea into three classes: the *mudang* 熟巫, *sangmudang* 生巫, and the *pansu* 覘, blind men who go into shamanism for financial reasons. The first is regarded as hereditary and in form is much like the Okinawan *noro*. Shamans of this type possess no magical charisma. They inherit their position from their mother or aunt and observe the stated rites at hereditarily established shamanic chapels. The shamans who serve at government-administered "state shamanic chapels" also come from the *mudang* class.

The second or *sangmudang* class is not made up of people who spring from a shamanistic family tree. This class comes from people who, in a time of crisis and quite apart from their own volition, fall into a state of spiritual anxiety, undergo initiation, and become shamanesses. Unlike the *mudang* shamanesses, the

members of this class are neither organized nor trained. They do not make their living from their shamanistic services. They do, however, fall into a trance and communicate messages from the spirit world, utter oracles, and perform divinations. Consequently, their influence among the common people is extraordinarily great. From the perspective of social stratification, however, their status is low. They have no family chapel handed down from generation to generation. They engage in meditation and prayer without being bound by prescribed forms, and when they act as spirit mediums, they chant prayers of which nobody knows the origin. The *sangmudang*, therefore, do not perform at shamanic chapels the songs and dances said to be typical of Korean shamanism.

The members of the third class, the *pansu*, are also called *hwarang* 花郎 (“men of refinement”) or *paksa* 博士 (“doctors”), much as the learned magicians of ancient Japan, men versed in astrological or yin-yang methods of divination, were spoken of as doctors. The *hwarang* originally constituted a kind of military organization that came into existence during the final period of the Silla kingdom. Brave, intelligent young men of good family were gathered together in various villages and formed into a *hwarang jiptan* 花郎集團 (“elite corps”). In normal times they lived lives of refinement, but when something happened that endangered the country, immediately they changed into a corps of fighters. Many of the songs sung by members of these groups when they held banquets with music and dancing are still preserved today. When one compares them with the songs of present-day Korean shamans, one finds many points of resemblance and many interconnections. The idea that suggests itself is that one segment of the *pansu* may have drawn some elements from the cultural stream deriving from the *hwarang*.

In Hokkaido one finds the Siberian type of shamaness known to Ainu as the *tsusu*. Unlike the shamanesses of Japan proper, Okinawa, and Korea who can be divided into various classes, the

Hokkaido shamanesses appear to have no type other than the *tsusu*. There are, it is true, the *imu*, a comparatively numerous class of women exhibiting pathological symptoms somewhat similar to the characteristics typical of *tsusu*.¹⁴ The psychopathological study by Uchimura Yūshi 内村祐之, son of Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三, has drawn attention internationally to “the *imu* phenomenon.”¹⁵ It is not known whether *imu* are people who failed to become *tsusu* or who constitute a different category altogether. It may be that *imu* and *tsusu* are constitutionally similar as regards psychological structure, but the two are not interchangeable. So far, at least, there have been no reports of women who manifest *imu* symptoms becoming *tsusu* or of people who have become *tsusu* later falling ill and turning into *imu*. There seems to exist a clear line of demarcation between the two. We are left, therefore, with the *tsusu* as the only shamanistic category among the Ainu.

Apparently there are no shamanesses in Hokkaido who serve as shrine shamanesses (*jinja miko*) or, originally at least, as mouth-pieces for the dead (*hotoke no kuchiyose*). Only as a result of their contact with the *wajin*, in response to requests made of them by Japanese people, did the *tsusu* first begin to act as mediums. But for the Hokkaido *tsusu*, this is an exceptionally new development. Since, however, indiscriminate conjuring up of the spirits of the dead is believed to pollute their guardian spirits, the *tsusu* do not particularly welcome requests to act as mediums. On the other hand, since in some parts of the Tōhoku having a shamaness perform as a medium is an important part of the funeral service, and since people have come to think that anyone who is a shamaness does this sort of thing, they make their way to the *tsusu* and de-

14. *Imu* are extremely suggestible women of abnormal personality who frequently do the precise opposite of what is suggested to them. Cf. Hori Ichirō 堀一郎, *Nihon no shamanizumu* 日本のシャーマニズム [Japanese shamanism] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1971), p. 21. TRANSL.

15. See his *Tensai to kyōki* 天才と狂気 [Genius and madness] (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1952), especially the chapter “*Imu no hanashi*” イムの話 [The story of the *imu*], pp. 86-94. TRANSL.

mand that the *hotoke* or spirit of the dead be called down.

In Hokkaido there appears to be no hereditary shamanism or turning to shamanism in order to make a living. At the present time, the Siberian type of shamanism, what Eliade calls the Arctic type, is still predominant.

The question that arises in view of these considerations is: to what classification does the Japanese shamanistic medium (*kuchiyose miko*) belong? James G. Frazer, in his *The belief in immortality and the worship of the dead*, reports with particular reference to Polynesia on the belief that the spirit of a deceased member of the household may be induced to possess a family member and reveal how to cure an illness, avert misfortune, or discover things heretofore unknown.¹⁶ Again, Mircea Eliade, in his *Shamanism: Archaic techniques of ecstasy*, contends that "phenomena of spontaneous mediumship, which are very frequent in Indonesia and Polynesia, are only superficially related to shamanism proper."¹⁷ He then proposes a classification system embracing a wide variety of religious specialists in Polynesia, lumping together those who conjure up spirits and the spontaneously possessed—and particularly designating those who invoke the spirits of the dead "necromancers." In 1958 when Eliade was in Japan to attend an international conference on religious studies and the history of religions, I took him to a place in the Tōhoku where there were *kuchiyose miko*. There the spirit of his deceased brother was conjured up. On the way back he told me that he thought these *miko* belonged to the Polynesian type. He was probably thinking of the necromancers who call forth the spirits of the dead as depicted in his *Shamanism*.

For my part, I am not ready to say that the Tōhoku *kuchiyose miko* are to be classified as belonging to the Polynesian or Indonesian type. To what Frazer and Eliade have indicated I will

16. Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1913), p. 309, citing F.S.A.de Clercq, "De West-en Noordkust van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea," *Tijdschrift van het Kon. Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2nd series, vol. 10 (1893), p. 631.

17. Willard R. Trask, transl. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 366.

add, however, that while no parallel to these *kuchiyose miko* is to be found among shamans of the north, many examples of this phenomenon can be found throughout Indonesia and Polynesia.

SHAMANISM AND MAGICAL CHARISMA

The next question to be considered is: what meaning is to be associated with the terms "shaman" and "shamanism"? Many scholars have offered definitions, but I am inclined to take my lead from Eliade's synthesis of shaman research and propose my own definition as follows: shamanism, a term with a broad range of significations, is the general name given that magical, mystical, often esoteric phenomenon that has taken shape around the shaman, a person of unusual personality who has mastered archaic techniques of ecstasy (trance, rapture, separation of the soul from the body, etc.).

Originally, shamanism clearly depended on an animistic psychology, but beyond this, the classical, institutionalized shamanism seen in Siberia and northeast Asia has exercised since pre-historic times an immense religio-cultural influence over south-east China, south India, Tibet, and western Iran. Underlying this development was a primitive monotheistic idea, the idea of a supreme heavenly deity. On this basis, it may be surmised, the various tribal groups, each in its own way, shaped their theocratic institutions and myths, their symbols, world views, and ritual structures. It is particularly important to note that although shamanism received many influences from Buddhism, especially that stream of Tantric Buddhism known as Lamaism, not to mention influences from the Mithraism of the Mediterranean area, borrowing features from both,¹⁸ its deep-rooted vitality led it, conversely, to become a source of cultural influences in its own

18. Sergei M. Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1935); N.D. Mironov and S.M. Shirokogoroff, "Śramaṇa-shaman: Etymology of the word 'shaman,'" *Journal of the north China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 25 (1924), pp. 110-130; Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 495-507.

right. Shamanism introduced remarkable changes into the substructure of these higher religions. Outwardly little more than a latent substratum of society, shamanism, responding to situations in which the masses are exposed to continuous or even sudden anxiety as well as to situations of social anomie, sometimes breaks forth into history as a visible stratum consistently present as the latent power that supports one wing of mass religious movements.

In my earlier work *Nihon shūkyō no shakaiteki yakuwari* 日本宗教の社会的役割 [The social role of Japanese religion]¹⁹ I put forward a historical argument for the view that at the turning points in Japanese social history, when the populace was anxious and disturbed, when customary norms fell away and the established order was tottering, in other words in situations of social anomie, Japanese shamanism, as regards its general form and functions, offered a means of adjustment. The existence of numerous shamanistic elements in the various religious movements of modern Japan has already been pointed out by many scholars, such as Oguchi Iichi 小口偉一, Takagi Hirō 高木宏夫, Saki Akio 佐木秋夫, and Murakami Shigeyoshi 村上重良.²⁰ In the traditions surrounding the founders of new religious movements, including their autobiographies, many embellishments and mythologizing

19. Vol. 1 of the *Nihon shūkyōshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1962), especially pp. 36-70.
20. Oguchi Iichi 小口偉一, *Nihon shūkyō no shakaiteki seikaku* 日本宗教の社会的性格 [The social character of Japanese religions] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1953); Takagi Hirō 高木宏夫, *Shinkō shūkyō* 新興宗教 [New religions] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1958); idem, *Nihon no shinkō shūkyō* 日本の新興宗教 [The new religions of Japan] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959); Murakami Shigeyoshi 村上重良, "Bakumatsu ishinki ni okeru minshū shūkyō no sōshō" 幕末維新期における民衆宗教の創唱 [Founders of popular religions during the decline of the Tokugawa regime and the beginning of the Meiji era], in his *Kindai minshū shūkyōshi no kenkyū* 近代民衆宗教史の研究 [Studies in the history of popular religions of the modern period], 2nd ed. (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1963), pp. 87-162; Inui Takashi 乾孝, Oguchi Iichi 小口偉一, Saki Akio 佐木秋夫, and Matsushima Ei'ichi 松島栄一, *Kyōso: Shomin no kamigami* 教祖～庶民の神々 [Founders: The gods of the common people] (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1955).

tendencies can be discerned, but even after such features have been taken into account, it remains undeniable that the character of the shaman as a magical, charismatic figure gives a decisive cast to the whole. The characteristics common to these founders may be set forth as follows:

1. An innately abnormal psychophysical disposition. Like shamans during their preshamanistic life, they often undergo debilitating illnesses, are noted for their love of solitariness and introspective character, and in many cases suffer from hallucinations, both visual and audial.

2. In a situation in which they have an overwhelming sense of individual crisis (ordinarily connected with their social background), they experience the abnormal frame of mind that can be seen in shamans at the time of their initiation, that is, at the time they become professional shamans—the abnormal frame of mind implied by such characteristics as extremely unbalanced diet, sudden epileptic seizures, hallucinations, aimless wandering, frenzied dancing, high fever, a sense of inner heat, and abnormal excitement.

3. In consequence of this crisis they further experience being possessed by a spirit or kami, journeying to a different world, and undergoing a mystic ordeal.

4. Like shamans after their initiation, they then undergo a complete personality change, have complete control over shamanistic techniques, attain unusual powers of self-control and spiritual concentration, know the causes and cures of illnesses and misfortunes, exorcise evil spirits, and overcome black magic with magical power of their own.

5. As exemplified by the *Ofudesaki*, *Shindenka*, *Mikagura uta*, *Shinkai monogatari*, special myths and the like, the founders commonly write books about their teachings or revelational literature based on the mystical experiences they had while in ecstasy.²¹

Recent scholarly interest in shamanism, however, arises for the most part in the context of psychopathology or psychoanalysis.

21. Hori, *Nihon shūkyō no shakaiteki yakuwari*, pp. 50-51.

This interest may have started partly in consequence of the work of the Polish anthropologist M. A. Czaplicka who studied the Siberian shamans known as *meryak* or *menerik* and, in her book *Aboriginal Siberia*,²² dealt with them under the category “arctic hysteria.” From a layman’s viewpoint, these shamans do in fact fall, at the time of their initiatory sickness, into what appears to be a condition of schizophrenia and epileptic seizure. But with regard to this development in which the shaman, as a magical-charismatic specialist in the world of the sacred, undergoes an inward revolution and becomes a non-secular, sacralized being, what is overlooked is that this is primarily a matter of religious significance. For no matter how “primitive” or “uncivilized” a people may be, it is inconceivable that they would honor true epileptics and victims of mental illness, persons who involuntarily evince abrupt psychological abnormalities or defects, as leaders of society. Soviet scholars of shamanism such as D. Zelenin also appear to take this view.²³

As over against a “profane being,” a “sacred being” is, in Rudolf Otto’s words, *ganz andere*. The holy involves a paradoxical combination of repulsion and mystic attraction. This way of viewing the holy may be too much informed by Judaism and Christianity to be fully applicable to Eastern religions, but it is not entirely inappropriate. There are examples of men and women selected to do “sacred” work, individuals whose selection is based on their being unusual or abnormal. Among some peoples, the physically abnormal, for example, albinos, malformed persons, or people who differ from others by reason of striking ugliness, are specially sought out. In Japan the fact that the archaic prayers for the ritual of Grand Purification (*ōharai* 大祓) include under the heading of *kunitsu tsumi* 国津罪 (“earthly sins”)

22. *Aboriginal Siberia: A study in social anthropology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914).

23. Dmitry Konstantinovich Zelenin, *Kult ongonov v Sibiri: Perezhitki totemisma v ideologii sibirskikh narodov* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936). See also my paper “Studies in shamanism” in *Tōyō bunka* 東洋文化, double issue nos. 46-47 (March 1969), pp. 159-162.

prayers for albinos and people with wens should probably be understood in the context of a swing from *sacré pur* to *sacré impur*. There also appears to have been a time when people took otherwise sound individuals and deliberately maimed them for the sake of producing an abnormal person who could become a religious specialist and ensure their communication with the sacred.²⁴

But for ordinary people who lack the ability to enter into the dimension of the “holy,” who do not possess the qualifications to become leaders with a religious following, to label those who do have these abilities as mentally ill or neurotics simply because they are different—this is much the same as if one who did not understand the uses of the microscope were to deny the existence of bacteria and call medical doctors insane. When “normal” people treat “holy people” in this way, their actions suggest that they do not really revere their gods. But in point of fact, for ordinary people who lack it, “charisma,” to follow Weber, is a highly unusual feature “borne by specific individuals with what are thought of as supernatural, that is, not generally accessible, gifts of body and spirit.”²⁵

Eliade, in his major work *Shamanism*, denies that the shaman is by nature a product of mental disorder. He says there is no evidence that the hysterical symptoms displayed by the professional shaman change into actual mental derangement or schizophrenia. Moreover, the initiatory illness of the authentic shaman should be regarded, he suggests, as part of the selection process for which the gods or spirits are believed responsible. It is more than a matter of ecstatic experience, for the mystic experience accompanying the initiatory illness involves the learning of complex teachings. Even though a seizure may appear to resemble real epilepsy or hysteria, the shaman’s pathological ex-

24. “Hitotsu me kozō, sono ta” 一目小僧その他 [The one-eyed apprentice-priest and other tales], first published independently in 1934, now in *Yanagita Kunio shū*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968), pp. 111-340.

25. Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, ed. by Johannes Winckelmann (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1956, p. 832.

perience carries with it a certain theoretical content, and it is important to note that this can be re-experienced at will. Shamans are people who have overcome illness, who can discern the causes of illness in others and know how to cure them. Above all, they are people with an inner understanding of sickness and its mechanisms. Eliade gives many examples showing that the extraordinary character of the shaman is an expression of the dialectic of the sacred, that authentic shamans possess a tough nervous constitution that sets them apart from ordinary members of society, as may be seen in the control they have over epileptic trance, their powers of concentration, feats of memory, potent imagination, and ability to express themselves.²⁶

THE BLAZING SHAMAN

It is common knowledge that Max Weber, in his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, distinguished between the patriarchal and bureaucratic structures of organization with their permanence and stability, and the charismatic structure of authority. In ancient tales of northern Europe, tales like those of Odin and his comrades the berserkers as depicted in the *Volsunga saga*, or Cuchulainn of Ulster, or Achilles the attacker of Troy in Homer's epic *The Iliad*, Weber thought he could discern classic examples of men who possessed the ability to enter into heroic frenzy—and who experienced what goes along with this frenzy: an overwhelming thirst. He associated their frenzy with the epileptic seizure of shamanic ecstasy. The bearer of charisma is “one who has been sent.” He demands of people obedience to his mission, conversion to his mission by virtue of his efficacy and beneficent power. Thus the shaman is distinguished from ordinary people as one who is to be regarded as somehow divine. He comes into being as a result of the faith of the common people, a religiously grounded conversion born of their sense of crisis and fanaticism.

For this reason charismatic authority stands in sharp contrast both to bureaucratic and to patriarchal authority systems. It is

26. Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 27-32; Hori, *Nihon shūkyō no shakaiteki yakuwari*, pp. 54-57.

not bound by ordinary restraints and is marked by a renunciation of this world. Early leaders of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan with their constant repetition of the phrase *enri edo, gongu jōdo* 厭離穢土, 欣求淨土 (“This detestable impure realm! Oh, to be reborn in the Pure Land!”) may also exemplify this outlook. But as may be seen in the famous declaration of Jesus, “Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace, but a sword” (Matt. 10:34), charismatic authority overturns all values. It takes a revolutionary attitude toward all traditional, rationalistic norms and structures. What is here meant by “revolutionary” is not merely external and technical reordering of affairs and relationships. It involves a change that begins within man and then, in accordance with the desire for revolution, proceeds to the reshaping of human affairs and relations. Charisma, in its highest form, usually entails the destruction of all ordinary norms and traditions, the frank overthrow of all existing concepts of what is sacred. This involves forcefully replacing reverence for whatever is customary and conventional, for whatever has become sacralized, with something that has not existed before, something for which there are no categories. It involves, therefore, a turn from reverence for the sacred “out there” to an inner obedience. In terms of its empirical meaning (quite apart from considerations of value), this charismatic conversion can definitely be regarded as an unusually creative, even revolutionary power in the course of human history.²⁷

What, then, is the origin of this sacred, charismatic power? As mentioned earlier, its origin is to be sought in the disposition of heroic people like the berserkers who become possessed of a frenzied fury, or in the temperament of shamans with their epileptic seizures. The berserkers howled like dogs or wolves, bit their shields, fell into an uncontrollable rage like bears or bulls, and their dreadful strength could not be restrained by fire, steel,

27. “...charisma, insofar as it exercises its own specific influences, manifests its revolutionary power, conversely, from within, from a fundamental ‘metanoia’ in the attitude of its subjects.” Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, p. 837.

or any other weapon. As their name indicates, the berserkers were “warriors in bearskin shirts.”²⁸ Magically speaking, they were men of superhuman powers, men capable of transforming themselves into bears. Their superhuman magical power expressed itself as “demonic frenzy.” According to the Old Irish epic poem *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, when Cuchulainn, nephew of Conchobar the king of Ulster, fought the enemy singlehandedly and saved the kingdom, he did so in the strength of a demonic frenzy symbolized by the episode when, after the victory, his body heat brought two tanks of ice water, one after the other, to boiling point. Only with submersion in the third tank was he restored to normal coolness.²⁹ This tale, as many scholars have observed,³⁰ is probably related to the subject of the men’s initiatory societies (*Männerbünde*) that existed in ancient Germany and Indo-Europe, as well as to the initiation rites of the ancient warrior associations (*Kriegersgemeinschaften*). Rigorous training in the use of weapons was accompanied by an initiation through which men acquired mystical, almost irresistible supernatural power. Their passionate spirit was a sacred power that sprang from the depths of charismatic existence. The experience of this mystic power, in ancient times substantially equivalent to magico-religious experi-

28. “Literally, ... bear-shirt: savage warriors of Norse mythology capable of assuming, at will, the shape and attributes of bears or wolves.” Maria Leach, ed., *Standard dictionary of folklore, mythology and legend*, vol. 1 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949), p. 137.

29. *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, transl. by Joseph Dunn (London: D. Nutt, 1914), pp. 60-78. Cf. Georges Dumézil, *Horace et les curiaes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1942), pp. 35-38 and Mircea Eliade, *Birth and rebirth: The religious meanings of initiation in human culture*, transl. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), pp. 84-85.

30. Lily Weiser, *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbünde* (Baden: Konkordia, 1927); Otto Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (Frankfurt am Main: Diesterweg, 1934); Georges Dumézil, *Mythes et dieux des Germains: Essai d'interprétation comparative* (Mythes et religions I) (Paris: E. Leroux, 1939); Stig Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund* (Lund, 1938); George Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Uppsala: A.B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1938).

ence itself, can be considered a kind of “peak experience.”³¹

Primitive people thought of this demonic, mystical power as “burning.” Shamans and medicine men, in order to increase their magical heat, drank salted or spiced water and ate aromatic plants. The frequently noted high fever accompanying shamanic initiatory sickness and the oft-encountered testimony to a feeling of “burning up inside” also exemplify this phenomenon.

Extreme heat has its counterpart in extreme cold. When Eskimo shamans of northern Siberia or Himalayan ascetics lie exposed and prostrate in a field of ice or in bitterly cold weather, this probably derives from the same principle. The shaman, in a word, is a “blazing person,” a person who controls fire. Like the devil in European folk beliefs, the shaman is more than just a “master over fire.” As a medium or spokesman for the gods, he is one who emits flames from his mouth, nose, and entire body. In consequence he is an incarnation of the spirit of fire itself. Shamanic wonders connected with this “mastery over fire” are mystical acts. Such magical power expresses the “spirit condition” the shaman has attained.³² The demonic frenzy of heroic charisma and the magical heat of the shaman constitute the content of the ecstasy in which charisma is incarnated. It expresses itself as an enhancement of extraordinary emotion and strength carried to such an extreme that it prevents normal reactions to external stimuli. The ascetic exercises of the shaman—swallowing live coals, touching red-hot iron, gashing his body with knives, fire walking, etc.—bear testimony to this superhuman condition.

The mystical experience of magical heat can also be seen in the secret societies of ancient and primitive magical religions, and

31. See citations from Abraham H. Maslow's theory of religion in Wakimoto Tsuneyasu 脇本平也, “Pāsonariti ron no ichi dōkō to shūkyōgaku no mondai” パーソナリティ論の一動向と宗教学の問題 [One trend in personality theory and the subject of religious studies] in *Tetsugaku ronbun shū* 哲学論文集 [A collection of philosophical essays] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Hōkoku, 1968), pp. 49-135.

32. Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 474-477.

there are many instances of people's trying to produce this experience artificially in the course of initiation rites. (For example, in the coming-of-age ceremonies of the Yuin tribe in Australia, the initiates were led close to a large fire and told to sit down, in effect "roasting" themselves at the fire.)³³ This experience is at once an occasion for the discovery of charismatic character and a time when ordinary, non-charismatic people are introduced to group ecstasy. As a precondition of communication with the world of the sacred, rites of this kind assume great significance. The phenomenon of group-oriented self-oblivion, usually called "orgy" (in German, *Orgie*), is conspicuous in charismatic structures of authority and in the rituals of magical religions.

Frazer points out in *The golden bough*, where he illustrates many kinds of agricultural rites and rituals of purification to which the esoteric religions of the East can be traced, that the phenomenon of frenzy among Dionysian peoples, the temporary suspension of social rules, the inversion of social and sexual norms through such means as blood orgies connected with human and animal sacrifice, intoxicating drink, dancing, music, sexual license, abusive language, roaring, discharging weapons, violence and the like, cause people to lose their bearings temporarily and fall into a chaotic condition. This state then becomes conceivable as an important condition whereby men are endowed with charismatic personalities and made capable of communication with the divine.

Oppressed people, under the influence of politico-religious charisma, false prophets, or pretended messiahs, give birth to religio-political movements that stand over against the established order. Together with intensive social change and the anxiety that accompanies it, one can observe the emergence of religious rebellions and new religious movements, some juvenile, some messianic. In situations where religious charisma does not crystallize into an identifiable organization or movement, it may

33. A. W. Howitt, *The native tribes of south-east Australia* (London: Macmillan, 1904), pp. 525 ff.

take the form of frenzied dancing or orgiastic pilgrimages to shrines and temples, leading in effect to popular and large-scale abandonment of society. This line of thought was developed at some length in my article “Shakai fuan to minkan shinkō” 社会不安と民間信仰 [Social anxiety and folk belief].³⁴ I have also argued that in many cultures, including Japan, the pent-up energies of people in agricultural societies are expressed time and again in harvest festivals or purificatory rites that make use of a human or animal scapegoat.³⁵

The orgiastic excitement of ancient times is usually associated with messianic or millennial movements. In due course it develops first into utopian fervor, then into ideological excitement. In all this one can clearly trace a line of development that has its origin in primitive, magico-religious inner heat. Even in higher religions like Buddhism and Islam as well as in some Christian groups, there are unmistakable traces that this primitive magical heat, despite major changes, has been a factor of immense importance.

Eliade, speaking of the Sanskrit word *tapas*, points out that while it is ordinarily used to refer to ascetic endeavor, originally it expressed the idea of “extreme heat,” as in one verse of the *Dhammapada* which says that the Buddha is “burning.” This expression for abnormal inner heat indicates a kind of sacredness, a transcending of man’s situation or level in the profane world. It indicates, accordingly, that inner heat belongs to the sphere of those who transcend men, the sacred domain of gods and spirits.³⁶

Sacred and profane, magical charisma, on the one hand the initiatory process of “personality transformation” leading to heroic charisma, on the other the “personality reliance” of ordi-

34. First published in *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究, no. 194 (1968), pp. 1-35; in revised form republished in the author’s *Nihon shūkyōshi kenkyū 3: Minkan shinkōshi no shomondai* 日本宗教史研究 3: 民間信仰史の諸問題 [Studies in the history of Japanese religion, vol. 3: Problems in the history of folk religion] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1971), pp. 71-108.

35. *Bunka* 文化, vol. 30 (1966), pp. 21-44.

36. Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, pp. 85-86.

nary, non-charismatic people brought about, in orgiastic practices and rites, through contact with charisma—if one were to put into schematic form the various modalities that result from all this, it might look something like what is sketched in figure 1.

THE INFURIATED BUDDHA: CHANGES ARISING FROM THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN SHAMANISM AND ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

As shown by Shirokogoroff and Eliade, not to mention the Japanese scholar Iwai Daiei 岩井大慧,³⁷ cultural elements from the southeast (India, China) and southwest (Iran) have seasoned institutionalized shamanism as found not only in Siberia but also in East and Central Asia. The idea that shamanism in these areas was given definitive form in consequence of contacts with Buddhism, particularly Tibetan Tantric Buddhism, has found acceptance among many contemporary scholars.³⁸ It is certain

37. Iwai Daiei 岩井大慧 (under the name Kunishita Daiei 関下大慧), "Shaman to iu go no gengi ni tsuite" シヤマンという語の原義について [The original meaning of the word "shaman"], *Minzoku*, vol. 2 (1926-27), pp. 91-106, 213-240, and 631-656; idem, "Shamankyō no sekaikan ni arawareta bukkuyōteki yōso ni tsuite" シヤマン教の世界観に表われた仏教的要素について [Buddhist elements in the shamanistic world view] in *Shiratori Kurakichi hakase kanreki kinen toyōshi ronso* 白鳥庫吉博士還暦記念東洋史論叢 [Essays on Asian history presented to Dr. Shiratori Kurakichi on the occasion of his 61st birthday] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1925), pp. 351-376.
38. Shirokogoroff, in the article "Śramaṇa-shaman" he co-authored with Mironov, first recounted the debates that began in the nineteenth century as to the linguistic interpretation of the Tungus word "shaman." Then he drew on the research of Sylvain Lévi to show that the term "shaman" came from the Sanskrit *śramaṇa* and that it signified not merely the geographical distribution of a vocabulary item but the extensive influence of Indian religious culture spreading as far as Siberia. He argued not only that the word "shaman" was exceedingly incongruous with the Tungus language but also, pointing out that the shamanism of the Tungus people involved the admixture of many elements from the culture of the south with its center in Buddhism (particularly Lamaism), that present-day Tungus shamanism took shape in response to Buddhist stimulation and influence. In 1926-27 Iwai Daiei published a similar interpretation in the first work cited in n. 37. Again, Eliade, though accepting much of this argument, stipulates that shamanism could not have derived from Buddhism since Lamaism and shamanism coexist and have separate functions,

that esoteric Buddhism exercised great influence on the world view and metaphysics of shamanism. At the same time, however, Lamaism and shamanism long existed side by side, and it may be assumed not only that they divided certain social functions between them but also that shamanistic elements were taken up in large measure into esoteric Buddhism.

Tantrism, the Indian fountainhead of esoteric Buddhism, is said to have thrust its roots deeply into archaic folk religion and developed while at the same time changing its primitive magico-religious characteristics. With reference to the process of development through which Indian Tantrism came into existence, our present state of knowledge simply does not permit answers to questions like whether shamanistic elements mingled with Buddhism from the outset or what the occasion was for their introduction. Even with regard to the rituals of esoteric Buddhism and the regulations governing them, our knowledge does not penetrate very far. It is worth noting, however, that the archaic idea of magical combustion, though it gradually took on fixed forms, is an important element in esoteric Buddhism insofar as it draws from the Tantric stream.

Among the more powerful Hindu gods, many are characterized by such adjectives as "exceptionally hot" (*prakhar*), "burning" (*jājval*), and "fire-bearing" (*jvalit*). Again, among Indian Muslims, one who communicates with Allah is said to be "burning hot," and one who performs miracles is called a *sahib-josh*, the term *josh* reportedly meaning "boiling."³⁹ In the same way, it

and that the phenomenon of cultural diffusion and reception in Central Asia and Siberia had already begun in prehistoric times as seen in the acceptance of European and Near Eastern cultural influences. He holds, accordingly, that on the basis of traces found in myths, languages, clothing, and implements, one can assume a cultural flow constantly moving from the urban civilizations and agricultural societies of the west and south into the north and northeast. In addition he maintains that the indirect stream of cultural exchange associated with the so-called Silk Road linking Rome and China extended as far as the people of Siberia. (See my *Kōya* 空也 [Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1963], pp. 182-186.)

39. J. Abbott, *The key of power: A study of Indian ritual and beliefs* (London: Methuen, 1932), pp. 5-7; cf. Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, p. 86.

is a matter of considerable interest that the enlightenment of Kuṇḍalini took place, according to a Tantric text, as a result of fire.⁴⁰ Kuṇḍalini, taken up into esoteric Buddhism, became Kuṇḍali (in Japanese, Gundari 軍荼利), one of the five great angry-visaged buddhas. In Chinese his name is written Kanlu-p'ing 甘露瓶, which means "soma flask," a phrase with pleasing associations, but his image is that of one with an infuriated countenance. Armed and with flames rising from his back, he is portrayed as having a snake coiled round his body. The snake around the body, symbolizing shakti or sexual potency, is said to have originated as a representation of the divine ecstasy that surrounds Shiva, symbol of the male sex organ. The root of the name of this buddha is *kuṇḍa* which may mean either "flower basin" or "fire basin," but judging from the form of the image, it is plausible to assume that the latter is the original. Beginning with the buddha Fudō or the Immobile One (to whom we will return presently), the fact that among the buddhas of esoteric Buddhism there are some of furious visage with flames on their backs allows us to suppose without too great risk of error that what we find here is the symbolization in image form of something that came through Hinduism as the archaic, magico-religious, mystical experience of magical heat. If so, it is perhaps not inconceivable that in the process of encounter and mutual change that took place between Tantric Buddhism and shamanism, this element may have played an important mediatorial role.

The extraordinary penetration made by esoteric Buddhism into Japanese culture appears to mean something more than the introduction of the Shingon sect by Kūkai 空海 (774-835), the sudden adoption of esoteric doctrines and rites by the Tendai sect following Ennin 円仁 (794-864) and Enchin 円珍 (814-891), or even the congruity between these forms of Buddhism and the magico-religious expectations of the nobility during the early and middle Heian period. Though one cannot overlook the

40. Eliade, "Puissance et sacralité dans l'histoire des religions," *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, vol. 21 (1953), p. 36.

immense effort that went into the development and systematization of doctrine and practice after Kūkai wrote his *Jūjūshinron* 十住心論 [Treatise on the ten stages of spiritual development] and *Hizōhōyaku* 秘藏宝鑰 [Key to the profound treasure of the Law], or the labor invested in organizing the doctrines of Tendai esotericism in accordance with the *Shingonshū kyōji mondō* 真言宗教時問答 [Catechism on the teachings of the Shingon sect] by Annen 安然 (-889?), it is evident that behind the way esotericism was received by the common people there lay not only a long-established tradition concerning the existence of magical charisma but also the idea—and related ascetic practices—that kami and men could actually exchange places. Kūkai himself, as emphasized by Watanabe Shōkō 渡辺照宏,⁴¹ was in his youth an adherent to folk religion including its magical elements, a lay devotee who underwent severe ascetic mortifications for the sake of mystical experience.

That the doctrine of “immediate attainment of buddhahood” is both one of the chief ritual motifs of esoteric Buddhism and one of the basic teachings in the Shingon doctrinal system was pointed out in somewhat exaggerated fashion by Kūkai in his “Sokushin jōbutsu gi” 即身成仏義 [The meaning of immediate attainment of buddhahood].⁴² It is true, of course, that this idea is taught in the *Lotus sutra* (the chapter entitled “Devadatta”) as the enlightenment of the Dragon-king’s daughter, and in fascicle 4 of the *Hua-yen-k’ung-mu-chang* 華嚴經孔目章 (in Japanese, *Kegonkyō kumoku shō*) under the heading “five kinds of immediate enlight-

41. Watanabe Shōkō 渡辺照宏 and Miyazaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, *Shamon Kūkai* 沙門空海 [The monk Kūkai] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1967).

42. Kūkai 空海, “Sokushin jōbutsu gi” 即身成仏義 [The meaning of immediate attainment of buddhahood], in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Taishō tripitaka], vol. 77, no. 2428, p. 381; *Kōbō daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集 [Collected works of Kōbō Daishi], bk. 3, the section devoted to the systematic interpretation of doctrine (*kyōsōbu* 教相部). Here he explains the doctrines of *rigu jōbutsu* 理具成仏, *kaji jōbutsu* 加持成仏, and *kentoku jōbutsu* 顯得成仏. See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1 (Kōyasan: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho, 1965), pp. 506-520.

enment.” Saichō 最澄 (767-822), founder of the Japanese Tendai sect, likewise recognized the possibility of immediate attainment of enlightenment by one receiving priestly instruction and ascetic training.⁴³ Annen, who became the head of Tendai after Ennin and Enchin, made a compilation of Japanese Tantric doctrines but greatly distorted the Chinese Tendai doctrines in his *Sokushin jōbutsu gi shiki* 即身成仏義私記 [My interpretation of the meaning of immediate attainment of buddhahood]. The doctrine that the five aggregates are identical with the realm of cosmic law he interpreted to mean that all sentient beings are immediately capable of enlightenment. He taught that one can attain buddhahood in this present life, that to become a bodhisattva of the highest rank is the same as to become a buddha, that bodily existence makes for buddhahood. Thus the original Tendai position that buddhahood was an ideal state attainable only in a distant eternity, Annen changed to the position that all was to be accomplished in the course of one lifetime.⁴⁴ The Ten-

43. Saichō 最澄, *Hokke shūka* 法華秀句 [Haiku poems on the Lotus Sutra], sec. 3, in the *Dengyō daishi zenshū* 伝教大師全集 [Collected works of Dengyō Daishi], vol. 3 (Sakamoto-mura, Shiga-gun, Shiga-ken: Hieizan Toshō Kankōsho, 1926), p. 265: “For all sentient beings, to hear and be awakened by the Law and attain the state from which there is no falling back is to manifest the three non-retrogressions of the perfect Law, that is, the immediate attainment of enlightenment by a monk in ascetic training.”

44. Annen 安然, *Sokushin jōbutsu gi shiki* 即身成仏義私記 [My interpretation of the meaning of immediate attainment of buddhahood], in the *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書 [Collected works of Japanese Buddhism], vol. 41 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1971), pp. 68-84. Annen elaborated what Saichō in his *Hokke shūku* had taught as the principle of *sokushin jōbutsu kedo shō* 即身成仏化道勝 (“the superiority of the transformed way teaching immediate attainment of buddhahood”). Annen left a number of remarkable statements. “On hearing that illusion and enlightenment are identical, one should, without change of illusions, become aware of the wisdom of enlightenment in all things; on hearing that birth and death are identical with nirvana, one should, changing the effects of birth and death, perfect his buddha-nature, consequently being called ‘enlightened one’ or ‘he who has become a buddha!’” (p. 76 b). “If, on hearing that all things possess the buddha-nature, one should enter the stage of understanding this truth, then the universal buddha-nature develops into immediate attainment of enlightenment; and if one engages in meditation and practice,

dai of the Japanese middle ages after Annen, the Tendai sometimes characterized by the term *hongaku shisō* 本学思想,⁴⁵ exercised enormous influence on the new forms of Buddhism that emerged in the Kamakura period (1185-1333). Nichiren 日蓮 (1222-1282), for example, though he heaped bitter criticisms on the Shingon school as teaching “a doctrine that would bring the country to ruin,” never completely succeeded in ridding himself of what he absorbed during his youth from the *hongaku shisō* as to truth, phenomenal reality, and their interrelations. In line with that stream of thought he expounded the three doctrines of *tōtai soku butsu* 当体即仏 (“all things are identical with the buddha-essence”), *juji soku butsu* 受持即仏 (“one who receives [the sacred title] is forthwith enlightened”), and *shutoku kengen* 修得顕現 (“enlightenment manifested through the completion of ascetic training”)⁴⁶—making the second of these the central teaching of his sect. Moreover, the Zen mystical experience expressed in such terms as *sokushin zebutsu* 即心是仏 (“this mind is itself the buddha-mind”) and *sokushin sokubutsu* 即心即仏 (“this mind is immediately the mind of enlightenment”) can hardly be unrelated to this way of thinking.

the meditation and practice develop into enlightenment—this being called the immediate attainment of buddhahood that comes of meditation and practice. Everyone, without giving up his body or receiving another, can attain buddhahood in his present body” (p. 77 c). “The Buddha held this to be the principle of enlightenment: that whatever final enlightenment is thought to be, the things deemed illusions are identical with enlightenment, birth and death are identical with nirvana, the hundred worlds and three thousand realms are all the real essence of things, a color or smell is no other than the Middle Way, the five aggregates are one with the realm of cosmic law, the universe of sentient beings is identical with the Buddha” (p. 77 c).

45. *Hongaku shisō* 本学思想: the view that since enlightenment is possible only because the buddha-nature is the essential nature of all things, one need not devote himself to extensive ascetic practices but only come to the intuitive realization that he is, in his present state, already one with the buddha-nature. TRANSL.
46. Nichidō 日道, *Soshō kōyō sanryaku* 祖書綱要刪略 [Condensation of the patriarchal writings], vol. 5 (ms. vol. of 1785, recopied in 1801); cf. Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信享, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten* 仏教大辞典 [Dictionary of Buddhism], vol. 4, p. 3135.

For my part, I can only conclude that the teaching of immediate enlightenment in this body is indeed one of the central themes of Japanese Buddhism and likewise one of the main pillars on which Shinto doctrinal formulation has come to depend. It strikes me as profoundly significant that Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1262), for example, should have mounted a radical critique against the Buddhist establishment, discarded the idea of attaining enlightenment through one's own efforts, rejected the present world as a detestable, polluted realm, and placed all emphasis on believing deeply in the vow of one buddha, Amitabha (in Japanese, Amida 阿彌陀), the buddha of the Western Pure Land, and on leading a life of faithful reliance on the enlightenment that comes through the power of this Other. I attach particular importance to the fact that he evinced unusual appreciation for Kūkai's views, that in his latter years he worked out in teachings like *miroku tōdō* 弥勒等同 ("equal to Maitreya") and *nyorai tōdō* 如来等同 ("equal to Amida") the idea that one who is firmly established in faith is equivalent to the bodhisattva Maitreya, on a par with Amida Buddha—and that his disciple Kenchi 顕智, in transmitting Shinran's thought, assigned these teachings a place of pivotal importance.⁴⁷

47. In the first draft of the "Jōdo wasan" 浄土和讃 [Hymns of the Pure Land], e. g., there is one written in 1248 when Shinran was 77 years of age:

One who, without doubting, joyfully believes [in the power of the Original Vow]

Is the equal of the Tathagata Buddha.

The great bodhisattva-mind and the great faith it arouses are identical with the buddha-nature.

The buddha-nature is the Buddha.

In its revised form, written in 1255 when Shinran was 83, it reads:

One who joyously believes [in the power of the Original Vow]

Is the equal of the Tathagata.

The great bodhisattva-mind and the great faith it arouses are identical with the buddha-nature.

The buddha-nature is the Tathagata.

See *Shinran shōnin zenshū* 親鸞聖人全集 [Complete works of Shinran Shōnin], vol. 2 (Kyoto: Hōzō Kan, 1969), p. 57.

In addition, in the letter of 3 October 1255 "Kasama no nenbutsusha no

In the various kinds of records and stories that came into existence between the end of the Nara period and the middle of the Heian, a large number of mountain wizards and ascetics make their appearance. Lumped together they were termed *genja* 驗者 (“followers of esoteric austerities”), *yamabushi* 山臥 (“ascetic mountain hermits”), or *hijiri* 聖 (“holy men”). For the most part they were men who practiced austerities at Kūkai’s mountain centers (Awa’ōtakidake and Murotozaki) or, following the example of Shōbō 聖宝 (posthumously titled Rigen Daishi 理源大師, d. 909) in his ascent into the Yoshino mountains, withdrew into hermit cells in hidden mountain caves or valleys—or repeatedly practiced the austerity of climbing first to one mountain top, then to another, etc. Through a variety of mystical experiences they sought to obtain superhuman magical powers. Among these men there were doubtless many who experienced magical heat as a concomitant of shamanistic, charismatic initiation with its pilgrimage to the spirit world and revelation of the kami and spirits.

As may be seen from old traditions regarding the *fugyōsha* 臥行者 (“ascetics who sleep [in the mountains]”)⁴⁸ or the *fushimi no*

utagai towaretaru koto” かさまの念仏者のうたがひとわれたる事 [Doubts expressed by those devoted to the *nenbutsu* in Kasama] (ibid., vol. 3 [Kyoto: Hōzō Kan, 1969], p. 6) and in the “Goshōsoku shū (Zenshō bon), dai 7 usū” 御消息集 (善性本), 第七通 [Text of letters copied by Zenshō, letter no. 7] (ibid., vol. 3, p. 163), one can find such expressions as: “This is the kind of person who should be recognized as one appointed to the state of *shōjōju* 正定聚 (one who, believing in Amida’s salvation, will unfailingly be reborn in the Pure Land after death and become a buddha), namely, one who is the equal of Maitreya Buddha” and “since one who sincerely believes in the intention of the Buddha [as expressed in the Original Vow] is of the same rank as Maitreya, the successor to the Buddha...” See also Matsuno Junkō 松野純孝, *Shinran: Sono seikatsu to shisō no tenkai katei* 親聚～その生活と思想の展開過程 [Shinran: His life and the development of his thought] (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1959), pp. 457-490.

48. In the *Gankyō shakusho* 元享釈書, fasc. 15, in the tradition entitled “The buddha Taichō,” one reads: “In Daihō 2 [702], a Buddhist novice from the island of Nōtō came to stay with Taichō. Smiling, Taichō said, ‘You are the one I’ve

okina 伏身の翁 (“old men who sleep in the mountains”),⁴⁹ the

been waiting for...’ The novice stuck close to Taichō’s place but showed absolutely no interest in ascetic training. He just spent his time lying in the snow. Taichō called him a *fugyōsha* 臥行者 or ‘one whose religious exercise is reclining.’ About that time a certain Buddhist priest came as a guest. Confronting the novice, he said to him: ‘A religious exercise (*gyō* 行) is something that demands that you throw yourself into it with diligence. Lying around like this is simply laziness. How in the world can you consider yourself engaged in religious exercise?’ To this the novice, after laying himself down again, raised his head and replied, ‘There are two kinds of exercises. One is the training of the body, the other the training of the heart. What you are talking about is bodily training. My exercise is one of inner training. To expose oneself to nature’s winds (the cold winds of the eight forms of suffering) and lie down in nature’s snows (the snowdrifts of sin), to gaze at nature’s sky (the limitless potentiality symbolized by the Sanskrit *a*) and the brilliance of the sun (the radiance of Mahāvairocana), to purify one’s aspiration for enlightenment, and little by little to bring both understanding (perceptions) and intelligence (wisdom) to a state of abundance—this is what it means to train the heart.’ The priest, hearing this, marveled, for the novice, though heretofore lacking education, had suddenly become able to explain matters of great profundity. Thus do men change.” *Kokushi taikēi* 国史大系 [Outline of the history of the nation], vol. 31 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1930), p. 221.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225: “Where the *fushimi no okina* originally came from is unknown. Some say they came from India. One old man lay without rising for a period of three years on a hill near Ogiwara temple in an area of Yamato known as Heijō. Since he uttered not a single word all this time, people said he was a deaf-mute. The only thing he did was to lift his head from time to time and look to the east. In Tenpyō 8 [736], Gyōgi set forth to meet and welcome a Buddhist sage from India, led him to Ogiwara temple, and there held a banquet in his honor. The two of them were having a grand time dancing and beating time with their chopsticks when the old man, who had done nothing but lie still, suddenly got up, entered the temple, joined in the dancing, sang songs, and eventually said, ‘Now is the time. Karmic relations have come to fruition.’ The three danced together, and it was as if they had known each other for years.... The place the old man lay came to be called, because of this event, ‘the old man’s hill’ (*fushimi no oka* 臥見の岡), and he himself ‘the reclining old man’ (*fushimi no okina*).”

The same story recurs in the *Nihon kōsōden yōbun sho* 日本高僧伝要文抄 [Commentary on the chief writings containing traditions about the most important Buddhist priests of Japan], pt. 1, “Account of the Brahmin priest.” In this account, however, there are two old men, both being known as “sages of the Tōri heaven,” “comrades who listen together to the spirit-mountain.”

term *yamabushi* 山臥, 山伏 originally referred, in my opinion, to one who made his bed on a spirit-mountain, a mountain that was at once a cosmic mountain and a mother-goddess of death and rebirth. It referred to a person who went through an initiation and became one with this divine spirit. It designated one who dies to his life as a member of this mundane world, enters into the womb-store world or womb of mother earth, undergoes many tests, and is finally reborn as a member of the sacred world. The ritual symbolizing this death and rebirth is preserved to this day among the Mt. Haguro ascetics in the ritual known as *aki no mine* 秋の峰 ("autumn summit").⁵⁰ As for sources indicative of what is involved in this mystical experience, in the initiatory suffering of this transition from death to rebirth, one might begin with the *Kojiki* legend of Izanagi's trip to the nether world, of how he, in order to be reborn in the present world, encountered and overcame numerous difficulties and eventually fled, and the resultant birth of three noble children beginning with Amaterasu Ōmikami. From there one might proceed to the story of the Lord of the Great Land (Ōkuninushi no Mikoto 大國主命) and the ordeals he had to undergo in order to attain that status, then to the particularly important tale of Susanowo's initiation into a different world. Other examples can easily be multiplied: the stories of the pilgrimage to another world and descent into hell by the lord of the Ōtomo clan Yasuko no Muraji 大伴屋栖古速公 as well as by the bonze Chikō 智光 and others as recounted in the *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記; under the heading of religious stories and imaginative tales, the legend of Nita Shirō 仁田四郎 and his Mt. Fuji lava cave as told in the *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡, the tale of Kōga Saburō 甲賀三郎 in the *Suwa myōjin engi* 諏訪明神縁起, the stories

50. See pp. 134-135 of my "Genshi shūkyō to bungaku" 原始宗教と文学 [Primitive religion and literature], originally published in *Kokubungaku: Kaishoku to kanshō* 国文学～解釈と鑑賞, vol. 29 (1964), pp. 127-137, a special issue on the literary history of ancient times; this article, rewritten, is now reproduced in Hori, *Nihon shūkyōshi kenkyū* 3: *Minkan shinkōshi no shomondai*, pp. 229-258, under the title "Haha naru yama" 巖なる山 [Mother mountain]. See especially pp. 251-252.

of the “Fuji no hito ana sōshi” 富士の人穴草子 [Tale of the mystical lava caves on Mt. Fuji] and the “Bishamon no honji” びしゃもんの本地 [The real Vaiśravaṇa] in the *Otogi zōshi* 御伽草子; legends from the various islands and districts; in the immediate premodern period the *Shindō Torakichi monogatari* 神童寅吉物語 by Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤; and more recently the *Shinkai monogatari* 神界物語 by Deguchi Onisaburō 出口王仁三郎, the famous leader of Ōmoto, and the *Doro umi kōki* 泥海古記 of Nakayama Miki 中山美枝, foundress of Tenrikyō. Without exception all these materials can be regarded as based on the kind of mystical experience associated with charismatic, shamanistic initiation. They reflect stereotyped principles and motifs. In this connection, one of the comparatively old and graphic personal accounts of mystical experience is that of the “Dōken shōnin meidoki” 道賢上人冥途記 [Account of the holy Dōken’s visit to the nether world] as recorded in the *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 [Brief account of Japan].⁵¹

The monk Dōken, giving up salt and grain foods, undertook ascetic exercises on Mt. Kinbu for twenty-six years. But in Tenryō 4 (A.D. 941), because people were grieved by disasters that plagued the land and by disquieting dreams and fears of evil spirits, he entered into a total fast for a period of thirty-seven days, assiduously and singleheartedly praying the *nenbutsu*. Precisely at noon on 2 August, having erected a platform for the various objects and offerings and as he was sitting in the prescribed manner, “a withering heat suddenly struck me. My throat and tongue burned. I could not catch my breath... I went and tried to breathe. Even as these things went through my mind, life left me. Life departed from me and stood outside.” At this point the celestial being Vajradhara (in Japanese, Shūkongō 執金剛) appeared in the form of a Zen priest and gave him from a metal flask a drink of soma brought from a snow-capped mountain. The parching heat vanished, and presently he saw before him the

51. *Fusō ryakki*, fasc. 25, in the *Kokushi taikai*, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1932), pp. 219-222.

bodhisattva Zaō 藏王, a form of manifestation assumed by Sakya-muni. Conducted by Zaō to the Golden Pure Land of Mt. Kinbu, Dōken there received a small wooden plaque on which were inscribed eight characters: *nichi zō kyū kyū, nen getsu ō go* (日藏九九, 年月王護). He took a new name, and it was revealed to him that he had to accept and observe a series of Buddhist precepts with Dharmapāla (in Japanese, Gohō 護法) as his mentor. Again, he there met the Japanese celestial being Dajō Itokuten 太政威徳天. At the center of a large island in the center of a large lake he found an eight-legged altar. On it was a lotus flower, and on the flower was a stupa before which had been placed a copy of the *Lotus sutra*. Dōken went round and round the *ryōbu* mandalas hung up there until he arrived at the resplendent heavenly shrine of Dajō. There he was granted the knowledge (literally, the law) of the cause of the disasters from which everybody was suffering and of the way to remove them. He was instructed in the profound and magical meaning of the eight characters he had received from Zaō, took the name Nichizō 日藏, devoted himself to the buddha Mahāvairocana (in Japanese, Dainichi 大日), became aware that he had to train himself in the great womb-store way, then visited hell where he met the suffering king Engi 延喜 and his retainers whose bodies had veritably been reduced to ashes through burning in an iron cave. He was charged with the task of rescuing them, and there is a detailed account of how, on 13 August, at the hour of the tiger (between 3 and 5 A.M.) when he went to the cave and looked in, they were restored to life.

Whether the mystical experience recorded in this source is identical with that recorded by Dōken can no longer be ascertained, the original manuscript being lost. But the scenario indicated here—magical heat, death, visit to the other world, encounter with a divine being, the Golden Pure Land as a cosmic mountain, initiation into the knowledge of the causes and cures of all suffering and illness, of all woes and disasters, esoteric magical explanations, name-changing and, as a result of all this, restoration to life—this scenario has many features in common with the sha-

manic sickness of Siberia and Central Asia and with the mystical experience of contemporary founders and organizers of new religious movements. From the host of examples, let us select one from the material collected by A. A. Popov, the confession of a shaman of the Avam Samoyed, and summarize it for the purpose of comparison.⁵²

This man's shamanic sickness took the form of a severe case of smallpox. Because of high fever, he fell into a state of unconsciousness that lasted three days. He was carried to the middle of the sea, received from the smallpox divinity the pronouncement that he was to become a shaman under the name Huottarie ("diver"), left the sea and climbed a mountain, was suckled at the breast of a naked woman (the Lady of the Great Water), and was informed of certain ordeals he would have to undergo. With an ermine and a mouse as his guides, he descended to the underworld, met people with various kinds of sickness, and was instructed in their causes and cures. From there he went on until he arrived at the Land of the Shamanesses where he was led to an island floating in the midst of the Nine Seas. In the middle of this island was a birch tree that reached to the sky. This was the Tree of the Lord of the Earth. The Lord of the Earth gave him a three-forked branch and had him make three drums. These were for him to receive divine inspiration in order to help women in childbirth, to cure the sick, and to find people who had lost their way. He then soared through the sky, was initiated into the knowledge of plants effective in the cure of illness and into the techniques of shamanizing, and eventually arrived at a high, rounded mountain. Through an opening he entered a cave, and there met a naked man with a bellows, fanning a fire over which hung a caldron. This man seized him with a pothook, cut off his head, chopped his body into bits, threw them into the caldron and boiled them for three years. Then he forged the

52. Anatoly A. Popov, *Tavgytzy: Materialy po etnografii avamskikh i vedeyeyskikh tavgytzev* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1936), pp. 84 ff., cited by Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 38-42.

head on an anvil, picked up the bones he had been soaking in a river, fastened them back together, and covered them with flesh. In addition to all this, the initiate met with various kinds of adventures and ordeals in the other world. He encountered semi-divine beings who were half-human and half-animal, each of whom revealed to him a religious mystery and taught him the secret of curing a disease. When the man regained consciousness in his yurt, he had come back to life as a shaman who had not only acquired a mystic brain and mystic eyes that could understand divinely revealed writing but also had mystic ears that could even discern the language of the plants.

The motif of initiatory autopsy and reduction to a skeletal state is said to be peculiar to the people of hunting and cattle-raising cultures. It stands in sharp contrast to the motif of a return to the womb of mother earth (the ascetic practice of entering the womb-store world, visiting hell, etc.) found among agricultural peoples. It should be noted, however, that among the peoples, cultures, climates, and societies divided by these two types of mystical experience there is, nonetheless, a surprising but fundamental convergence of motifs. In the "Dōken shōnin meido ki" the part about his initiatory sufferings and ordeals, a part of exceptional importance for indicating the process by which the initiate becomes a changed self, has admittedly dropped out. But in the mystical experiences of ascetics who undertake austerities deep in the mountains, experiences symbolized by Nichizō (Dōken) as one who enters into communication with Zaō, a manifestation of the Buddha who presides over the Pure Land associated with Mt. Kinbu (the golden cosmic mountain), one can see indications of a shamanism that has coalesced with and become deeply colored by esoteric Buddhism. It is readily conceivable that *shugendō* 修験道 ("the way of mountain asceticism") originated and developed as a magico-religious form peculiar to Japan in consequence of encounters between and changes in esoteric Buddhism and shamanism.

Oddly enough, the figure of Zaō, though identified both with

the Buddha and with Mt. Kinbu, the birthplace of *shugendō*, is not to be found in the Tantric ritual manuals. It has been suggested by one scholar that Zaō should be recognized as a changed form of Kaṇi-krodha (in Japanese, Kongō Dōji 金剛童子),⁵³ and by another that the bodhisattva designated in Japanese as Kongō Zō 金剛藏 mingled with T'ang period Taoism in the figure of Vajradhara (in Japanese, Shūkongōjin 執金剛神), later developing into the independent bodhisattva Kongō Zō'ō or Zaō 金剛藏王.⁵⁴ But in the absence of an accepted theory, Zaō can be viewed either as a "made in Japan" Shinto image with Buddhist accretions or as an originally Buddhist celestial being. With regard to the Zaō whom Dōken perceived, he is described in one place as "a Buddhist priest of virtue who spends one night." It is also written that Zaō, seated on a high, seven-jeweled throne located on a golden ridge deep in the mountains and symbolizing the supreme victory over the entire world, identified himself with the words, "I am a manifestation of Sakyamuni, I am the bodhisattva Zaō." But the representations of Zaō as a manifestation of Buddha early portray him as an armed being of furious and dreadful features with flames on his shoulders. It is not clear when this tradition arose, but long ago when En-no-gyōja 役行者, the Nara period mountain ascetic regarded as the father of *shugendō*, was invoking the divinities of Mt. Kinbu, the first to appear was the Buddha, the second Maitreya (in Japanese, Miroku 弥勒). En-no-gyōja, however, holding that beings in forms like these only compounded the difficulty of rescuing the masses in this final, degenerate period, asked them to depart. Finally, according to the account in the work *Honchō shosha ichiran* 本朝諸社一覽 [A survey of the shrines under the present Imperial Court] (published in 1685), he perceived the awesome

53. Mochizuki Shinkō, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1430-1431.

54. Wakamori Tarō 和歌森太郎, *Shugendōshi kenkyū* 修験道史研究 [A study in the history of mountain asceticism] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1943), pp. 58-62 [reprinted in 1972 by Heibonsha, Tokyo]; also idem, *Yamabushi* 山伏 [Mountain priests] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1964).

manifestation of Zaō. In the *Chinten ainōshō* 塵添壺囊抄 [A bag of odds and ends] and *Taiheiki* 太平記 [Chronicle of grand pacification], it is the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (in Japanese, Jizō 地藏) who appears, but in any case the question why the figure besought by En-no-gyōja had to be perceived as this particular fearsome, flaming being, and why he believed this being appropriate as the one to preside over Mt. Kinbu, are matters of considerable interest. One interpretation that suggests itself is that Zaō was deemed appropriate as the principal object of worship by mountain ascetics because their central function was the suppression of evil spirits, but what I am inclined to see in this figure is a symbolic representation of the superhuman power of the magical heat mystically experienced by the mountain ascetics.

In most schools of mountain asceticism, the being worshiped through Buddhist rituals is Acala (in Japanese, Fudō Myō'ō 不動明王). Fudō is also designated *shō mudōson dai'inu ō* 聖無動尊大威怒王 ("the holy, immovable, wrathful king"). As is well known, his facial expression is one of furious anger, and he is portrayed as one concentrating on lighting up the world and destroying evil spirits through the flames he emits. According to the Tantric teaching *nyūga ganyū* 入我我入 ("it into me, I into it," that is, the object of worship enters into me, and I enter into the object of worship), mountain ascetics become one with Fudō Myō'ō through the fire table rite (the Fudō rite for protection from evil spirits). As a result, they acquire charismatic character and the magical power to overcome and expel evil spirits.⁵⁵ This is clearly, in my opinion, a ritual symbolization of shamanistic magical heat. The ritual symbolization of this mystical experience can perhaps be regarded as based on an initiation-related experience of internal heat, that is to say, an orgiastic experience, in which one can discern an archaic paradigm of personality reorganization oriented to charisma.

55. Miyake Hitoshi 宮家準, "Shugendō girei no kōzō" 修験道儀礼の構造 [The structure of the rituals of mountain asceticism], in *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究, no. 194 (1968), pp. 205-206.

CHANGES IN JAPANESE SHAMANISM

Whether early Shinto is a direct product of shamanism is a matter that raises many questions. This is because the course of development of what I classify as the “*ujigami* type” of religion indicates that what was at work was not so much magico-charismatic shamanism in the strict sense of the term as a reflection of the institutional structure of early clan society. On the other hand, however, from the early Sanron Ōmono-nushi 大物主 to the emergence of Kitano Tenjin 北野天神 in the mid-Heian, it is evident that shamanistic elements played a central role in that form of religion I call the “*hitogami* type.”⁵⁶ According to this second type, kami may take the form of charismatic human beings, and people of unusual qualities may have the experience of ascending to the kami. With regard to Yamato Takeru-no-mikoto 日本武尊, a classic example of the berserker type of hero in Japan, it is written in the *Nihongi*, as part of the account of the Emperor Keikō 景行 (r. 71-130), that his father the Emperor said: “Now we mark that you are mighty of stature, and your countenance is of perfect beauty. You have strength sufficient to raise the three-legged caldron. Your fierceness is like thunder and lightning. Wherever you turn your face, there is none to stand before you. Whenever you attack, you do most surely conquer. This we know: that whereas in outward form you are our child, in reality you are a kami.”⁵⁷ The account suggests that the disturbances sent upon the country by the ancestral kami to punish the Emperor Keikō’s lack of respect aroused Takeru’s sympathy and

56. The *ujigami* 氏神 type of religion is one based on the kinship system, particularly the clan (*uji* 氏) and its divinized community of ancestral spirits. The *hitogami* 人神 type centers in charismatic persons (*hito* 人) and their special relationship to particular kami. For a discussion of these two types, see Hori, *Folk religion in Japan: Continuity and change*, ed. by Joseph M. Kitagawa and Alan L. Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 30-44. TRANSL.

57. Slightly adapted from W.G. Aston’s translation of the *Nihongi* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1956 [originally published in 1896]), pt. 1. VII. 22 (p. 204). TRANSL.

led him to manifest himself with this kind of heroic charisma. In this tale one may perceive the embryo of an idea comparable to that found in the *Bhagavad-gita* where Krishna appears as a manifestation of the god Vishnu.

On the other hand, the traditions associated with Himiko, queen of Yamatai, with the Amaterasu of the *Nihongi* section on the age of the kami, as well as with Yamato-totohi-momoso-hime in the account of the Emperor Sujin and Okinaga-tarashi-hime (the Empress Jingū) in the account of the Emperor Chūai, etc., make it evident that all were shamanistic figures on the classical pattern. From this it becomes clear that the ancient the-archival religio-political system (*shinsei seiji* 神政政治) was led by persons who relied on magical charisma. It may further be supposed that this gave a definite stamp to the magico-religious life of the Japanese people. The same inference may be drawn from the fact that the majority of kami enshrined in Japanese shrines today are kami associated with mediums, kami who have made their presence known through diviners. When one reflects on the Japanese word *miko* and the fact that in some rural areas a *miko* is called “kami,” it becomes clear that the relationship between kami and men implied by such usage is radically different from the kind of faith one sees in the monotheistic world: faith in a supreme god, an Absolute Other, completely independent of the secular realm.

In point of fact, as has been indicated by Yanagita Kunio, the practice of paying reverence to a person as a kami continues in Japanese folk religion to the present day.⁵⁸ There are even people (documented by Katō Genchi 加藤玄智, who has assembled a great number of examples) who are apotheosized while still alive, people venerated as “living shrines” (*seishi* 生祠).⁵⁹ Such persons are by no means rare and continue to appear today. It is not necessarily true that those so honored are always people with

58. *Yanagita Kunio shū*, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1962), pp. 472-498.

59. Katō Genchi, *Honpō seishi no kenkyū* 本邦生祠の研究 [A study of deified living persons in Japan] (Tokyo: Chūbunkan, 1931).

the ability to perform wondrous feats or discover where the fault lies in cases of divine chastisement. Nor does it always happen that those paying reverence consciously consider the person involved a shamanistic medium. Nonetheless, from the fact that many of the founders of new religious organizations and their adherents exhibit the same kind of relationship as seen among the masses and their gods, that these founders regard themselves as living kami, and that they have given this view unmistakable expression, we can perceive that in what is spoken of as this extremely secularized, industrialized, modern Japanese society, there are still many archaic shamanistic influences that, in changed or unchanged forms, continue to exist.

The fusion of esoteric Buddhism with Japanese shamanism doubtless took shape on this spiritual foundation. Particularly important in the initial stage of this coalescence is the *goryō* belief that dominated the Heian period, the belief in powerful, vengeful spirits who, when angered, scourge people with afflictions—a belief not without effects even today. Equally important was the rise of people versed in esoteric disciplines and techniques (those who could pronounce curses and the mountain-dwelling hermit ascetics) and also the yin-yang teachers whose fortunes rose as a result of the further development of this fusion. No less important was the synthesis of the foregoing in the activities of a class of men who emerged from the common people, the *nenbutsu hijiri* (holy men who chanted “*Namu Amida butsu*” or “All honor to Amitabha Buddha”) and the shamanistic mediums—the former in that they welded together the spring flower festival and the festival in honor of disease-causing kami, the latter in that they cooperated with and perhaps represented or put themselves at the service of these *hijiri*.

For a detailed study of the intense fear of living and dead spirits, the belief in *onryō* 怨靈 or *goryō* 御靈 that was so astonishingly prevalent among the nobility of the Heian Court and can be thought of as a consequence of the long-dominant animistic world view, reference is made to my book *Waga kuni minkan shinkōshi no*

kenkyū 我が國民間信仰史の研究 [A study of the history of Japanese folk religion].⁶⁰ The point to be emphasized here is that it was the *miko* or shamanistic diviners who, accompanied by the mountain ascetics, were the ones able to identify the reason for the hostility exhibited by the powerful spirits believed to cause natural catastrophes, diseases, and difficult childbirth. Various known as *kari utsusubeki hito*, *yorimashi*, *yorī warawa* and the like (all terms suggesting the spiritualist role), these diviners entered into a state of possession when exorcists with a background in Shingon or Tendai Tantrism chanted incantations. Of their own volition becoming possessed by malignant spirits, sometimes human sometimes animal, they would utter various types of oracles. During this period there were, as in the appearance of Kitano Tenjin (the deified spirit of Sugawara Michizane 菅原道真, 845-903), cases of *miko* and *yorimashi* who suddenly and individually became possessed by a spirit, uttered oracles, and revealed a hitherto unknown kami.⁶¹ But the form that coalesced with esoteric Buddhism and was known as *tsukari kitō* 憑り祈禱 (“possession [through] incantation”) or *yose kaji* 寄せ加持 (“conjuring incantation”) involved a change in the character of Japanese shamanism. In later years, as exemplified by the expression *shugen no tsuma, miko no otto* 修験の妻, 巫女の夫 (“mountain ascetic’s wife and shamaness’s husband”),⁶² this development gave rise to a pseudo-shamanism closely associated with *shugendō*, the form previously identified with the *kuchiyose miko* 口寄せ巫女 or “necromantic shamaness.” On a different tangent, this development was also given aesthetic form in such groups as the *kumano bikuni* 熊野比丘尼 (“Mt. Kumano nuns”) or *uta bikuni* 歌比丘尼 (“singing nuns,” that is, nuns who converted people to Buddhism through singing). These forms of pseudo-

60. Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1953), pp. 76-88.

61. Ibid., vol. 1 (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1955), pp. 414-418.

62. Cf. the section *Miko no otto, shugen no tsuma* 神子の夫, 修験の妻 [Medium’s husband, mountain ascetic’s wife] in “Fujo kō,” *Yanagita Kunio shū*, vol. 9, pp. 281-289.

shamanism were absorbed into the ecstatic, orgiastic, dancing *nenbutsu* that arose in connection with the socio-religious turn from the manorial to the feudal system, the process of socio-religious change from *goryō* beliefs to the sense of crisis born of the idea that the last, decadent period of history had arrived. Through the dancing *nenbutsu* this pseudo-shamanism played an important pioneer role in the history of premodern Japanese folk art.⁶³

In the Japanese Pure Land stream one can distinguish two currents: the *shikan* 止観 (give up illusions and attain enlightenment) or *kannen* 觀念 (enlightenment through singleminded concentration) *nenbutsu*, and the magical *nenbutsu* of the common people. This folk *nenbutsu*, together with the Heian practice of repeated recitation of one part of the *Lotus sutra*, appears to derive in part from arctic shamanism—a matter I have discussed in my little book *Kōya* 空也.⁶⁴ The deeds of holy men held in great esteem by Fujiwara Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1027) and the rest of the Kyoto nobility—holy men like Gyōen 行円, the leather-clad saint, and Kōya (d. 972), who was given to using an antler-tipped staff and wearing a deerskin—were deeds that shattered customary notions about Buddhist monks. As one may learn through reading the *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄 (fasc. 2, priest's song no. 13), namely, that “what *hijiri* like are gnarled wood, antlers, deerskins, straw raincoats and straw headgear, a tin staff, and a rosary made of goldenrain,” some highly extraordinary folk *hijiri* were active during the mid- and late Heian. Though no incontrovertible evidence has yet been produced that would account for similarities such as those between Kōya's repetitions of the *nenbutsu* and Gangyō's becoming an Amida *hijiri* in the faroff Korean kingdom of Silla, it is to be expected that little by little the day will come when we will have a clearer understanding of the relationship between shamanism and Japanese folk *nenbutsu*.

63. Hori, *Waga kuni minkan shinkōshi no kenkyū*, vol. 2, pt. 3, especially pages 346-352 and 422-440.

64. See especially pp. 176-197.

MAGICAL CHARISMA AND LONGING FOR THE WORLD OF THE IRRATIONAL

Dividing Japanese shamanesses into two types—the “shrine *miko*” and “*kuchiyose miko*”—has been standard ever since Nakayama Tarō’s *Nihon fujo shi*. But when the matter is reconsidered with reference to the initiation process, it seems preferable to follow Akiba Takashi in the threefold division he indicated in his *Chōsen fuzoku no genchi kenkyū*, the division, that is, among *mudang*, *sangmudang*, and the economically motivated *pansu*. The types distinguished in this connection, accordingly, are the “shrine *miko*,” “authentic *miko*,” and “*kuchiyose miko*.”

Shrine *miko* aside, those known as shamanesses today—the *itako* (formerly *agata miko*) widely distributed throughout the Tōhoku area, the Shinano *miko*, the *ichiko*, etc.—are mostly of the *kuchiyose* type. The primary social functions of these shamanesses are to conjure up the spirits of the dead, to communicate with divine beings, and to play instruments and sing before a shrine to give pleasure to the kami. They are closely associated with necromantic and divinatory rites. Opinions differ as to whether *kuchiyose miko* should be considered a corrupt vestige of authentic shamanism, that is, the shamanism of Siberia and northeast Asia, whether they should be regarded as an offshoot of the shamanism of the southern type, or whether they should simply be viewed as highly suggestible women who have chosen this way to make a living. But as between the northern and southern types, despite several similarities, there is also a conspicuous difference. The initiation of *kuchiyose miko* in the *itako* line, for example, is a completely artificial kind of attainment. The *miko* have no neurotic or epileptic symptoms. Most Tōhoku *itako* are women, either blind or with weak eyesight. In order to make a living, they go to the home of a qualified shamaness and move in with her, learning by experience the techniques of pseudo-ecstasy. Only in the final initiation rite, which is said to amount to little more than receiving permission to initiate others, is an initiatory death-and-rebirth motif preserved. The lifelong guardian spirit assigned on

this occasion is, to be sure, called forth by name while the initiate is in a kind of ecstatic state induced during the course of the rite, but I am inclined to consider this rite not as one that belongs to the *itako* proper but, rather, as one borrowed from the initiation rites of *shugendō*.⁶⁵

Among written sources that assign the term *kuchiyose* to the action of causing the spirit of a dead person to possess a *miko*, the *Eiga monogatari* 栄花物語 (an account of Fujiwara Michinaga [966-1027] and his times), particularly fascicle 21 which treats of Manju 1 (A.D. 1024), contains a passage referring to *mikuchiyose* 御くちよせ.⁶⁶ Again, in the *Shin sarugakki* 新猿楽記 [Account of the new mimetic dancing] written in 1066 by Fujiwara Akihira 藤原明衡 the following statement occurs: "There are four authorized woman mediums. These women are very good at divining, playing and singing to please the kami, and plucking stringed instruments to call forth a spirit."⁶⁷ These sources, said to be the oldest of all, are most suggestive. That the spirit of a dead person should possess a shamaness of low degree is hardly a phenomenon peculiar to Japan, but it is interesting to note that among the Ainu *tsusu* (who belong to the northern type of shamanism), the conjuring up of dead spirits began in response to requests made by *wajin* 和人 (non-Ainu Japanese people) and is still a relatively recent phenomenon. Since this practice, even today, is taken as offensive to their guardian spir-

65. Hori, *Waga kuni minkan shinkōshi no kenkyū*, vol. 2, pp. 651-677.

66. *Eiga monogatari*, fasc. 21, the section entitled "Ato kui no taishō" 後くゐの大將 [The general who mourned later]: "Moreover, being terribly unsettled and lonely, Sakon's wet-nurse consulted the kami. In order to inquire what was true and false, and crying all the while, she set out and came to the *mikuchiyose* 御くちよせ... She caused the *kōnagi* かうなぎ (*kuchiyose*) to ride in the front of the vehicle and was so distressed as to ask her repeatedly what was happening, but the *kōnagi* only wept and wept..." *Kokushi taiki*, vol. 20 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1938), p. 448.

67. Thus the *Gunsho ruijū* 郡書類従 [Classified collection of Japanese classics]. Examples of later date can also be found, e.g., Fujiwara Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120-1156), in his diary entry for 27 August 1155, refers to "court mediums" (*kitei fukō* 寄帝巫口). *Taiki* 台記 (Tokyo: Tetsugaku Shoin, 1898), p. 442.

its, they go so far as to require *inao* (local term for *gohei* 御幣, pendant paper strips used to identify a sacred site) of their clients by way of apology. This is, I believe, a difference of considerable importance. The direct cause of the widespread diffusion of pseudo-shamanistic *kuchiyose miko* among the *wajin* right up to the premodern period is to be sought in the combination of mountain asceticism and shamanistic divining together with the *tsukari kitō* (“possession [through] incantation”)⁶⁸ they carried over from the Heian period.

The spiritualist in *tsukari kitō*, the one who became possessed, was not necessarily a specialist. People with exceptional ability in magico-religious matters used to employ in this role not a specialized medium but, temporarily, some lady from the imperial court. At times this seems to have led to frightening exhibitions of spirit-possession as attested not only in the *Gonki* 権記 (the diary of Fujiwara Yukinari 藤原行成, 972-1027)⁶⁹ and the *Murasaki*

68. *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 [Notes of the pillow], col. 156: “When someone was suffering terribly from illness because of a malevolent spirit, the person to whom the spirit was to be transferred came in, humbly inching herself across the floor in a kneeling position—a large servant girl with beautiful hair, wearing an unlined robe of raw silk and a long, gaily-colored, divided skirt. When she had taken her place before a screen next to the priest, he turned and handed her a slender mistletoe wand. With his eyes closed tight in concentration, he began to recite the marvelous mystic incantation.... After a time the girl commenced to shiver and fell into a possessed state, doing and saying whatever the spirit commanded. It was awesome to see the effects of the compassionate heart of the Buddha.” (But see *The pillow book of Sei Shōnagon*, transl. and ed. by Ivan Morris, vol. I [New York: Columbia University Press, 1967], p. 264. TRANSL.)

69. In the *Gonki* 権記, in an entry for 16 December Chōhō 2 [1000] dealing with the illness of the retired emperor Higashi Sanjō, it is written: “Just then Narimasa came in, and from what he said it appears that Higashi Sanjō’s sufferings have become critical. According to his account, the Minister of the Left had proposed that a highly reputed priest with ascetically acquired gifts be summoned for incantations... Earlier, one of the ladies-in-waiting, deranged by a malicious spirit, had quarreled with the Minister of the Left, manifesting a frightful demeanor beyond the power of words to describe... Again, when this spirit took possession of a Fujiwara lady-in-waiting, [illegible] was exceedingly strange. At that time, I [Yukinari] was attending the ex-emperor, when a

Shikibu nikki 紫式部日記 [Diary of Murasaki Shikibu]⁷⁰ but also in many other sources. In premodern times possession-inducing incantations (*tsukari kitō*) came to be called “conjuring incantations” (*yose kaji*) and became a specialized function of the ascetically trained mountain priests (*yamabushi*). Use of the term *yose kaji* continued into the late Tokugawa period when it was applied to the founder of Tenrikyō, Nakayama Miki 中山美伎.⁷¹ There were no doubt some cases in which this form of possession became an occasion for the discovery of authentic shamanism, for the emergence of true religious charisma. On the other hand, it was also the prime causative factor in the appearance of large numbers of women who made their living as *miko* but were not

most astounding cry was heard from one of the lower-ranked ladies-in-waiting. Immediately I turned toward her and saw, [illegible] hands raised high, bearing down as if to start taking something. In appearance this lady's hair was disheveled and hanging loose, her sash was back to front, and the cries she [illegible] emitted were most disturbing to the ears of those present. It happened that I, receiving the divine protection of the Three Treasures, took the [illegible], grasped the left and right hands of the spirit-possessed woman, and caused the spirit to quiet down and withdraw. After some time, the [illegible] said to the one in first place that the words were like those of the spirit of the emperor's chief advisor or of the prime minister....”

70. The *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記 [Diary of Murasaki Shikibu], in the entry for 10-11 September 1008, tells of a birth at the Imperial Palace: “When it came to the time of the afterbirth, the cries of the maids of honor who were serving as mediums, castigating and cursing the maleficent spirits, filled one with a sense of eeriness. Assisting the mediums, the Chamberlain of the Minamoto had under him the *ācārya* Shin'yo striving to subdue the spirits, the Chamberlain of the Guard had Sōso, and the Chamberlain of the Police had the Teacher of the Rules from Hōjū temple—each endeavoring to make the spirits submit. The maid of honor with the rank of *tsubone*, also acting as medium, had at her service the *ācārya* Chisō, but possessed by an evil spirit, she herself was dashed to the floor—a horrible spectacle....”
71. On 24 October 1834 Nakayama Miki, because of the illness of her eldest son Shūji 秀司, invited the mountain priest Ichibe'e 市兵衛 (who in Buddhist terms bore the rank *hōin* 法印 and the name Myōken 明賢) of Rishō temple, who just at that time had come to a neighboring house, to hold a conjuring incantation. Since, however, Ichibe'e's regular medium (*kajidai* 加持台) was absent, Miki herself took the water of purification, held a sacred pendant in each hand, served as the medium, and became possessed.

authentic shamanesses.

The area extending from southern Korea through the main Japanese islands and on to the Ryukyus is an area in which shamanesses are particularly numerous. It is my conjecture that this area once formed a single religio-cultural sphere. As to the causes and reasons that might have entered into this development, one can readily think of a number of matters that would need to be considered: physical constitution, social structure, way of life, cultural interaction, etc. Problems like the distribution and survival of the maternal descent system in the early period, studies on Onari belief as pointed out and carried forward by Iha Fuyū and Yanagita Kunio,⁷² the suggestive observations of Sakima Kōei in his *Nyōnin seiji kō* as well as those of others like him—all are important first steps helping to clarify what calls for investigation. In addition, as a matter for future research, I would particularly like to advocate and encourage the promotion of comparative studies of archaic religious culture and folk religion as between Japan and Korea, Japan and the Ryukyus, and Korea and the Ryukyus—and of course the synthesizing of such studies. The antithetical viewpoint or tendency that, since the Meiji period, has sought to interpret the origin and formation of Japanese culture as a consequence of influences from north and south is, I am convinced, no longer viable, at least in the area of the history of early Japanese religion and folk religion.

This is a future research subject of considerable importance. If one were to attempt a tentative specification of the themes of

72. Iha Fuyū, “Onarigami” をなり神 [The kami Onari], *Minzoku*, vol. 2 (1926-27), pp. 241-254; idem, *Onarigami no shima* (1938). Yanagita Kunio, building on these works, developed his “Tamayori hiko no mondai” 玉依彦の問題 [The problem of the male medium], *Nantō ronsō* 南島論叢 (1939). He brought the problem to a further stage of development with the monograph “Fujo kō,” following it up with a number of studies such as “Imōto no chikara,” “Tamayori hime kō” 玉依姫考 [A study of the female medium], “Raijin shinkō no hensen” 雷神信仰の変遷 [Changes in the belief in the thunder god], etc., subsequently publishing them all under the title *Imōto no chikara* (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1940). [Now reproduced in *Yanagita Kunio shū*, vol. 9, esp. pp. 7-22, 23-40, 41-62, and 63-81.]

such a study, I would want to emphasize, first, the historical traces of the magical charisma exercised by Japanese women since ancient times, and second, the existence among them of a strong and, in historical perspective, deliberately cultivated suggestibility. *Kuchiyose miko* have reduced shamanism to a prescribed and staged performance. The system of woman rulers relying on magical charisma has for more than fifteen hundred years been replaced by bureaucratic administrators relying on a charisma of office. Confucianism and Buddhism have put down deep roots and blanketed the culture. Throughout all this, shamanesses have visited towns and villages and responded to the demands of farm families and petit bourgeois people. To sustain this relation there must have existed, in the psychology of the common people, a deep-rooted sense of trust in such women, a sense of trust that led people to see in them a magical charisma going back to distant times and that made people willing to follow their instructions. This inference finds some support in the example of people of the Tōhoku district who, when asked why they consult a *miko* when they are on the verge of an important decision or about to undertake a new course of action, replied, "Even if it's all blocked out logically, I still feel uneasy if I don't consult the *miko*." Perhaps this kind of attitude should be called "trust based on emotion."

An old proverb has it that "Japanese people are quick to blow hot, quick to blow cold" (*nihonjin wa nesshiyasuku sameyasui* 日本人は熱し易く冷め易い). If there is any truth in this proverb, it may be that the character of Japanese people is inclined not so much to the rational as to the irrational, not so much to the logical as to the emotional—and thus that the character they exhibit is easily given to temporary, small-scale enthusiasms (experiences of inner heat) and short-run personality commitments. Orgiastic elements in shrine festivals and seasonal observances seem to show a particularly high rate of survival in Japan, and there are many examples suggesting that during a time of social crisis or anxiety, the impulsive explosion of energy on the part of emotionally pent-

up small merchants and farm people is not likely, when viewed historically, to take the form of an organized messianic or politico-religious movement but to end up, rather, as magico-religious orgiastic withdrawal from society and mass ecstasy based on dancing.⁷³ In a sense this might seem to indicate a severing of the line that leads from magical to political charisma, but when one remembers that the emperor system has permeated every corner of Japanese society and led to the formation of miniature emperor systems in every sphere, that one of the peculiarities of Japanese religion is the idea of continuity between kami and man, that great emphasis is placed both on the obligations (*on* 恩) people incur because of undeserved benefits kindly bestowed on them by parents, teachers, ancestors, etc. and on the importance of repaying these obligations (*hō'on* 報恩), that the custom of calling a dead person “buddha” (*hotoke* 仏) (a custom that astounded Sir Charles Eliot) symbolizes the ease with which a person may become a kami—when one considers such things, he cannot fail to recognize that magical charisma still exercises latent functions and continues a deeply rooted existence among the common people. Shinto, based as it is on early agricultural rites, was first taken up into Confucianism, Buddhism, and the culture they brought with them, but in the end they were unable to overturn its animistic folk beliefs. Shinto functioned as the central pillar in the spiritual life of the people. To a remarkable degree Bud-

73. See my “Shakai fuan to minkan shinkō” (n. 34 above). Also Miyata Noboru 富田登, “Nihon ni okeru meshiya shinkō no ichimen: Miroku geshō no keifu” 日本におけるメシヤ信仰の一面～ミロク下生の系譜 [One aspect of messianic belief in Japan: The stream of thought concerning Maitreya’s appearance among the lowly], *Nihon minzoku gakkai hō* 日本民俗学会報, no. 53 (1967), pp. 1-23. With regard to the dancing orgies of the period of the Warring States (1482-1558), the orgies known as *dainenbutsu* 大念仏 and *odori nenbutsu* 踊り念仏, see my *Waga kuni minkan shinkōshi no kenkyū*, vol. 2, pp. 457-470. As for orgiastic movements of withdrawal from society and the sudden rise of dancing orgies among the common people toward the end of the Tokugawa period, see, e.g., Fujitani Toshio 藤谷俊雄, “Okage mairi” to “ee jya nai ka” 「おかげまいり」と「ええじゃないか」[“Off to the temples” and “everything’s just fine”] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968).

dhism was Shintoized. What is more, at the core of the many mass revival movements, the thing that kept holding on with a tenacious vitality sufficient to bring it repeatedly to the fore was the magical and political charisma deeply involved in Shinto.⁷⁴ One need not distinguish between Christians, Buddhists, and members of new religious organizations to recognize that one phenomenon conspicuous among them all is a unique form of belief that may perhaps be called “faith in a priest,” “faith in a founder,” “faith in an abbot,” “faith in a leader,” etc. This is not a phenomenon that would commend itself as doctrinally orthodox, traditional, or universal. It is, rather, an exceptionally direct, concrete kind of emotional, even fanatical trust in and support for a religious leader. This emotional investment of the self in a specific, tangible, and personal form of religious charisma impedes both the development of self-consciousness and the tendency to involve oneself deeply in universal values.⁷⁵ Even among intellectuals who designate themselves progressive, there are many who are simply unable to develop their theories or philosophies without some kind of group identity oriented to a specific individual leader.

By the same token, in the orgiastic explosions of energy on the part of farm people who have long suffered economic exploitation and political suppression, regardless of whether these explosions take place in the course of seasonal observances or as sudden eruptions, there seems to be, at first glance, a cathartic function achieved through absorption in mass ecstasy. But in this explosion there is invariably concealed a psychological structure and desire for commitment to a person with magical charisma. This desire on the part of small merchant families and farm people for an orgiastic, emotional personality commitment has given rise, in

74. Charles Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959 [first published in 1935]), pp. 182-185.

75. Robert N. Bellah, “Shinto and modernization,” in *Proceedings of the second international conference for Shinto studies* (Tokyo: Kokugakuin University, 1968), pp. 158-162.

this time of modernized and secularized rapid social change and particularly in the postwar twenty-five years of peace, to the transformation of ideologies into quasi-religions. As Paul Tillich points out, ours is a time of nationally distinct forms of communism, fascism, and liberal humanism, a time when as a result of their taking national form, these isms have become deeply imbued with a quasi-religious character.⁷⁶ Moreover, ideologies that originally functioned to awaken men in their inner being now serve, on the contrary, to stimulate the masses to orgiastic, ecstatic excitement.

In the violently emotional tendencies whipped up by present-day new religious movements and ideologies, I believe I can glimpse not only the leader as a bearer of archaic magical charisma (even though equipped with the trappings of modernization and dressed up in clothes borrowed from Marxism and Maoism) but also people with a desire to commit themselves, temporarily and emotionally, to the one who embodies this charisma and to submit to his authority. In these two poles I believe I can glimpse, therefore, a vestige of the dialectic of the sacred as it occurs in shamanism. The role played by archaic shamanism in the spiritual structure of the Japanese people involves, it would seem, something unexpectedly vigorous and penetrating.

76. Paul Tillich, "The significance of the history of religions for the systematic theologian" in his *The future of religions*, ed. by Jerald C. Brauer (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 80-94.

FIGURE I
CHARISMATIC MODALITIES

