ISSN 0304-1042

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies

Volume 49, No. 2 2022

Borders, Performance, Deities

Articles

161 Editors' Introduction
Borders, Performance, Deities
Michael Como and Haruo Shirane

173 Kami and Buddhist Poems in Imperial *Waka* Anthologies
Hirano Tae

187 The Cultural Meaning of *Setsuwa*
Ono no Takamura's Journey to Hell and Back
Matsuyama Yūko

199 Spirit Pacification in Imperial *Waka* Anthologies
The *Senzai wakashū* and *Shinkokin wakashū*
Yoshino Tomomi

215 The Emergence of Medieval Borders in Kamakura
Sacred Space of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū
Abe Yasurō

231 Disease, Defilement, and the Dead
Buddhist Medicine and the Emergence of Corpse-Vector Disease
Andrew Macomber

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

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 49/2: 161–171
© 2025 Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture
dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.49.2.2022.161-171

Michael Como and Haruo Shirane

Editors' Introduction

Borders, Performance, Deities

Borders are everywhere. They can be found not only on maps and at demilitarized zones, but anywhere where there is a question of in or out, more or less, or yes or no. Borders are crucial for understanding nations, estates, rules of conduct, social norms, and our very bodies.

When we think of the role of borders in religion, there are several classical approaches that immediately suggest themselves. Perhaps most obviously, borders suggest boundaries, modes of separating, distinguishing domains of space or perhaps thought. They are where we "draw the line," how we locate the inner and outer, the self and other, the native and foreign. Borders also lend themselves easily to spatialized modes of thinking. They can be drawn or represented graphically on maps, in graphs, and in charts. Perhaps most fundamentally, borders so conceived help us think in terms of structure, of lines of separation in physical and conceptual spaces. They are easily abstracted, capable of being conceived in almost mathematical abstraction, as static as the objects in an Euclidean proof.

This line of thinking has infused some of the most well-established theories across a number of fields in the humanities. It can be seen throughout the work of Mary Douglas, who in her *Purity and Danger* famously explored issues of pollution and taboo in terms of cultural boundaries and classifications (Douglas 1966). For Douglas, taboos serve as the borders of what is acceptable and in accord with social values—what is, in a word, safe. Societies need taboos and

Michael Como is Tōshū Fukami Associate Professor of Shinto Studies in the Departments of Religious Studies and East Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University; Haruo Shirane is Shincho Professor of Japanese Literature in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University.

notions of impurity in order to represent and maintain the broader values in terms of which they are structured. Beyond those borders, Douglas argued, lay danger—not only in terms of (possibly imagined) physical disasters, but also danger for the coherence and foundations of society. As Douglas noted time and again throughout her work, taboos, impurities, and dirt are fundamentally modes of representing and enforcing social structure. For Douglas, rituals of purification are about eliminating ambiguity, clarifying and fixing the structures and borders within which the members of a community live.

Victor Turner theorized about the religious and social importance of borders as spaces "on the edge" (limens) of society, set outside of the norms and constraints of social behavior (Turner 1973). Here, in liminal spaces or at points of social transition, Turner explored how pilgrims, vagabonds, and social outcasts of various types could momentarily or permanently adopt or drop conventional social markers as they embraced new and undifferentiated forms of *communitas* and social identity. Clothing, modes of speech, sexual roles and performance, and so on, could be radically changed as the social boundaries that defined individual identities were temporarily held in suspension in festivals and rites that took participants outside of the realms of social structure, allowing for personal and social renewal and regeneration. Pilgrims on the roadways of medieval Europe could intermingle with fellow travelers of all social classes and experience encounters unmediated by normal social convention. Thus, in contrast to Douglas, for Turner borders were closely related to managing transitions, change, and, above all, *motion*.

Mary Louise Pratt proposed reading borders not simply as limits or barriers, but rather emphasized their role as "contact zones" in which disparate elements and cultures could engage each other (Pratt 1991). Unlike Turner, Pratt does not see borders. For Pratt, borders are to be found on the margin between self and other; they are sites of contact between that which is within and that which is beyond.

Pratt thus emphasized how the results of such interactions could result not in *communitas* and social renewal, but rather in a range of possible outcomes, many of which could be much more ominous. Pratt's contact zones are sites of contestation riddled with hierarchy, conflict, and inequitable power. For Pratt (1991, 34), contact zones "are places where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today."

Pratt's contact zones differ from Turner's liminal spaces in several other ways as well. Pratt, notably, extended her understanding of contact zones to include modes of writing and representation. Writing, genre, and language communities formed the crux of her analysis as she examined how people in unequal power

relationships seek to reach out, resist, and assert hegemony. Explicitly critiquing what she terms to be "utopian" understandings of community, Pratt emphasized how contact zones presupposed heterogeneity rather than bounded communities characterized by shared imagined ideals and histories.

Taken together, each of the above approaches underscored the fundamental importance of borders for social life. When seen as the intersection of in and out, strange and known, and ours and theirs, borders can fascinate. Seen in this light, borders are both at the periphery and at the center of the action—borders are where things happen.

And yet perhaps borders are even more than that. Perhaps they are not simply where agents meet and events take place; perhaps they are agents in their own right. Borders make a difference. Borders, both as concepts, and in their infinitely varied concrete specificity, take on lives of their own, creating affordances, blockages, dependencies, and entanglements with human and nonhuman forces alike. Borders frame. Borders define. Borders connect. Borders separate. Borders delineate. Borders literally let us know where we are and, therefore, who we are.

What happens, then, if we not only ask what happens *at* borders, but also ask what is it that borders *do*? How do they make a difference? To use Latour's (2005, 37–42) terminology, how do they function as mediators and not as intermediaries?

Perhaps the most obvious place to begin answering such questions is to note that borders inherently serve to *frame*. The borders of a nation, for example, are far more than geographical regions; to define a border is to define the parameters of one's own domain. Even more to the point, such borders also tell people which rules, customs, and laws apply, and where. Less grandly, Daniel Miller (2010), drawing upon the work of Goffman, Gombrich, Bourdieu, and others, notes how enframing objects pervade our lives in ways that are both powerful and subtle. Borders demarcate sanctuaries, living rooms, museums and theaters, paintings, movie screens, and notepads. When they are stable, they provide continuity to our lives and enable us to learn and perform the bewildering variety of activities that sustain our lives. Such objects

> don't shout at you like teachers, or throw chalk at you as mine did, but they help you gently to learn how to act appropriately.... Before we can make things, we are ourselves grown up and matured in the light of things that come down to us from the previous generations. We walk around the rice terraces or road systems, the housing and gardens that are effectively ancestral. These unconsciously direct our footsteps, and are the landscapes of our imagination, as well as the cultural environment to which we adapt. (Miller 2010, 53)

Borders thus make a difference not only where they are, but also—and perhaps primarily—where they are not. Borders are thus always and necessarily *hybrid*: inseparable from the territories that they bound, constantly acting upon those who enact them.

And yet borders are seldom stable for long. As we have already seen in the work of Pratt, borders do far more than simply shape human behavior and the transmission of culture. Janus-faced, borders both separate and connect, prohibit and entice, deny and invite that which is Outer and Other. Borders are thus both *hybrid* and *unstable* to their cores. They continuously invite, enable, and even demand the conjoining of unequal forces, leading to clashes, contestation, and disruption. Without borders, transgression would be impossible. Through transgression, borders are disrupted, destroyed, and erased.

When borders take material form, they create a further set of dynamics related to the forces of decay to which all material objects are subject. Enframing objects, whether roadways, garden walls, picture frames, or entry gates, exist in complex relationships with humans for whom they provide a host of affordances that at once benefit humans even as they become dependent upon the objects in question. Borders, in turn, require maintenance, regulation, and observation—they too become dependent upon human beings for their continued existence and ability to function. Borders thus enable and constrain. This dynamic of affordance and dependence has been analyzed in detail by Ian Hodder (2012), who terms such relationships "entanglements" that simultaneously stretch across multiple geographic and temporal domains. Borders thus help shape who we are, even as they constrain and enable what we may become.

Transgressions, decay, maintenance, and repair need not be limited to the material world. Borders and boundaries are no less important—and perhaps even more ephemeral—when they delineate the intellectual and social boundaries within which our daily lives unfold. Among the most important byproducts of such entanglements is the production of genres of texts that seek to express, clarify, sustain, or reconstitute the fluctuating cultural, legal, and ritual norms that make social performance both possible and meaningful. Borders enable and constrain, frame and entangle, disappear and reappear not only at the margins of society, but also at its core: in our homes, in our thoughts, and on our bodies.

Seen in these ways, borders are ubiquitous across the physical and intellectual landscapes of premodern Japan. Mythically, we see them at the heart of the great transgressions of Susanoo, who precipitates the ascendance of the sun goddess Amaterasu when he literally "crosses the line" by violating the border of the goddess's weaving chamber before moving on to further abominations such as removing the signposts that demarcate the borders of the fields. The imperial myths, of course, were also profoundly entangled with the emergence of the nascent Japanese state that was defined and bounded by the capitals and seven

great highways that marked the external and internal borders of the realm. From its inception, the "Land of Eighty Thousand Kami" was also and necessarily the "Land of Seven Circuits."

In this concrete sense, one epochal moment in the framework of lines and borders that permeate the articles of this volume can be traced back to the late seventh and eighth centuries, when the construction of the first capitals for the emergent Japanese state was accompanied by the development and extension of elaborate transportation networks centered upon the roads and waterways that both connected the realm and defined its contours. The highways constructed during this period continued for centuries to serve a variety of practical functions, allowing for the transport of taxes and corvée labor from remote provinces to the capital. Thus at one and the same time they both defined and made possible the existence of urban life and the administrative capabilities of the newly constituted realm.

The ongoing project of delineating the geographic and social boundaries between and within the capital and provinces simultaneously required the even more ambitious project of delineating the legal and administrative borders that would for centuries serve to frame and distinguish the ranks, entitlements, and social status of courtiers and commoners across the realm. These legal and economic borders in turn ceaselessly demanded the drawing and redrawing of borders that marked everything from the social geography of the capital to the boundaries of far-flung estates. Over time, this led to the production of legal codes and ritual manuals as well as the codification of court protocols and courtier diaries designed to record and comment upon ritual precedent at court. As a result, from at least the late tenth century onwards, the geographic and social borders that shaped public ritual, poetry, and even musical performance came to be thoroughly intertwined with broader notions related to the construction and expression of political authority, proper modes of governance, and even the proper modes for propitiating the buddhas and kami of the realm.

But the Japanese state was defined by more than legal codes and the geographic borders delineating its provincial circuits; above all else it focused on the cultural and political core of realm: the capital. Here, too, borders played a literally defining role that framed notions far more than geography. Over time, the roadways and riverways that defined both the core and the edges of the capital became entangled with different sets of mappings, as the borders of pure and impure, social status, and even cultic domain became open to question and therefore required persistent, and evolving, answers. Henceforth shrines and burial grounds were to be excluded from the metropolis that housed the ruler's palace, and each, in turn, required the demarcation of their own borders and domains. As a result, over the course of the Heian period, the siting and definition of shrines, the borders of tombs, and the establishment of protocols of

propitiation and exclusion all entered into a new era of constantly shifting modes of regulation, transgression, and oversight. Thus, perhaps even more than for the living, the unstable borders of premodern Japan played a crucial role in shaping, defining, constraining, and enabling the kami and the dead.

As the material and geographic borders of premodern Japan shifted and moved in continuous flux, so too did the human identities with which they were entangled. This was true not only for peasants assigned to life within the boundaries of particular estates, but also for courtiers who performed their roles in the face of constantly changing challenges to and understandings of protocol and ritual propriety as well as the clerics, vagabonds, and entertainers that traversed the roadways of the realm. By the middle of the eleventh century, several shifts in the understandings and uses of these borders had profoundly influenced the emergence of new ritual forms of Japan's medieval period. Within Buddhist clerical circles, new and unstable protocols for social, ritual, and medical practice were continuously redefined, transgressed, and reformulated by high-ranking clerics, itinerant monks, and holy men as they variously engaged or avoided corpses, spirits, diseases, and social outcasts. Over time, new forms of clerical identity emerged within the ever-shifting borders that contained and defined the character and movement of spirits, and indeed, the nature and accessibility of superhuman worlds.

Among the most important of such shifts can be seen with the adoption and dissemination of continental understandings of disease that constructed the human body itself as a site of contestation between a number of superhuman agents as well as physical forces. Throughout the period, the preservation of health was commonly conceived as defending the borders of the body from the transgression of an ever-changing and increasing host of malevolent entities that required new modes of ritual protection, new therapies, and new sites of ritual praxis to combat them. As these in turn became entangled with new understandings of the nature of the ruler's body, esoteric ritual practices, *materia medica*, and even evolving notions of the state, new ritual possibilities and dangers emerged both at court and across the countryside of the provinces of the Japanese islands.

During this time, notions of *kegare* 穢 (defilement) similarly came to be an overarching concern in virtually every aspect of the daily lives of courtiers as the elaboration of the physical, spatial, and temporal boundaries within which even the most routine matters could be undertaken. This was reflected perhaps most obviously in the sheer volume of impurity taboos that came into existence. These were stimulated both by a heightened concern for older prohibitions that were hinted at in the earliest imperial chronicles, and by a relentless increase in new forms and types of prohibitions driven by the increased prominence of systems of ritual practice loosely referred to as Onmyōdō 陰陽道. As crossroads

and private residences came to be prominent sites for the pacification of spirits and expulsion of impurities, new geographies and protocols for demarcating the boundaries of death and pollution came to be a major concern for court ritualists, courtiers, and commoners throughout the capital and beyond.

As increased concerns with the afterlife proliferated across the Japanese islands, new understandings of the borders between this world and the next helped generate new modes of religious activity not only within Buddhist temples but also on the roadways of Japan. By the late Heian period, the roadways and marketplaces of Japan had thus become extraordinarily complex contact zones in which clerics, commoners, vagabonds, and aristocrats "met and grappled" with each other as well as the denizens of the superhuman realm that were believed to be on the move across the realm. These contacts in turn led not only to new modes of dance, chanting, singing, and storytelling; they also helped reorient the spiritual topography of the Japanese islands.

The proliferation of rites and spectacles on the roadways was in turn matched by a transformation in the relationship between the denizens of the capital and the kami ensconced in their shrines. Most notably, by the second half of the tenth century, shrines came to be objects of pilgrimage for courtiers of all stripes seeking health and worldly benefits. In marked contrast to the eighth century, by the end of the tenth century the borders of the capital were ringed with shrines housing the tutelary deities of the most powerful lineages at court, and by the end of the eleventh century courtiers were also taking to the roadways as pilgrims, seeking the aid of the kami for virtually all matters of import in their lives.

Pilgrimage, in turn, helped stimulate a series of seminal developments in the field of Japanese literature. Whereas in the eighth century the kami had been approached orally, by the twelfth century the shrines of the kami had become sites not only for oral petitions (*norito* 祝詞), but also for poetry exchanges, oracles, and even quasi-contractual vows that were regularly recorded, anthologized, and archived. These materials, in turn, played a major role in the manipulation of cultural capital by retired emperors and courtiers. They also played a key role in stimulating the development of an extraordinary corpus of texts detailing new mythologies and histories that fundamentally reshaped the extraordinarily complex entanglements between courtiers, monks, vagabonds, corpses, and kami that gave rise to the medieval Japanese episteme.

Each of the articles in this volume explores the complex process by which the physical and social terrain of the Japanese islands was reimagined in light of the synergies and mutual interactions of each of the above developments. Hirano Tae's article, "Kami and Buddhist Poems in Imperial *Waka* Anthologies," examines the selection and placement of oracular poems attributed to the kami and buddhas in imperial *waka* anthologies. In so doing, Hirano illuminates the shifting borders that defined the relationship between buddhas and kami. Perhaps

even more remarkably, she also delineates the rapidly changing practices by which writing and literary production had become crucial contact zones that enabled new means for humans to interact with the superhuman world. These developments, in turn, were spurred both by earlier trends toward the extension and redefinition of imperial power through processes of literary production, anthologizing, and commentary, on the one hand, and the emergence of a pilgrimage culture in which courtiers and retired sovereigns traveled to the kami in their shrines, on the other.

In her article, "Spirit Pacification in Imperial *Waka* Anthologies: The *Senzai wakashū* and *Shinkokin wakashū*," Yoshino Tomomi explores how *waka* and even the anthologizing frame itself were used to effect changes in both the human and superhuman worlds. Whereas, Yoshino notes, imperial anthologies had originally been used to extol the virtuous reign of the contemporaneous ruler, by the end of the Heian period such anthologies were also being repurposed as a means of pacifying the aggrieved spirits of the dead. Here we see *waka* being used as a means of engaging not the kami in their shrines, but rather the potential danger that the spirits, if left unpacified, could possibly return to cause problems for the living. This development was made possible by the belief that the gods and buddhas remained connected to the human realm through poetry and that poetic anthologies furthered these connections. Crucially, here we also find that the pacifying effect was derived not from the specific *waka* composed by or for the aggrieved spirits, but rather by their inclusion within the anthologizing process.

Matsuyama Yūko, in her article "The Cultural Meaning of *Setsuwa*: Ono no Takamura's Journey to Hell and Back," explores how the literary genre of *setsuwa* 説話 not only disseminated Buddhist concepts and narratives across time and space but also allowed for the creative appropriation and localization of such narratives at specific sites. As she traces out the transmission of tales relating the otherworld journeys of the Heian courtier Ono no Takamura, Matsuyama shows how such tales led to a reimagining of the physical boundaries between the human and superhuman worlds by residents in Kyoto. This imaginative appropriation, she further shows, in turn generated new modes of ritual practice for engaging the spirits of the dead as well as the cult of the bodhisattva Jizō 地蔵.

Abe Yasuro's article, "The Emergence of Medieval Borders in Kamakura: Sacred Space of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū," brings together a number of these threads through an intricate mapping of the shifting architectural, spatial, and political borders that accompanied the construction of the Kamakura capital in Japan's medieval period. Beginning with a close examination of the sociospatial borders within Tsurugaoka 鶴岡 Shrine, Abe details how the cultic center at once served to both amplify and define complex relations between political power, kami worship, artistic performance, and Buddhist proselytization in the vicinity of the Kamakura lord. Drawing upon both textual and visual materials

from the period, Abe shows how Tsurugaoka served as an extraordinary contact zone where even the most powerful officials could come into contact with sumo wrestlers, mounted archers, young acolytes (*chigo* 児), courtesans, physiognomists, crossdressing *shirabyōshi* 白拍子 dancers, poets, itinerant preachers, sutra chanters, and warrior monks. As Abe shows, such interactions led not only to moments of harmonious *communitas* but also to extreme forms of political and social contestation, hegemony, and violence as performers at times literally danced for their lives and warrior vendettas led to extended chains of killing.

Abe further shows, however, that the borders of the shogun's capital were far more than sites of extraordinary complexity, danger, and cultural production. Most obviously, as befitting a center built for a military ruler, Kamakura was "an armed citadel" defined by "clearly demarcated borders, specifically designated routes and special zones determined by its steep hillsides, excavated passes, and shorelines." Far from being a simple bordered metropolis, Kamakura was conceived of as a constructed royal city (*ōken toshi* 王権都市) that was constituted by an elaborate network of

> multilayered borders that formed an enclosed, sacred space (*kekkai* 結界).... These borders, which emerged as a result of negotiations between the court and the warrior regime, were set by yin-yang masters (*onmyōji* 陰陽師)... and followed the precedent set in the Nanaseharae 七瀬祓 (Seven River Purification) and Shikaku Shikyōsai 四角四境祭 (Festival of the Four Directions).

The borders of Kamakura were thus from their inception designed to do an enormous amount of work, as they mapped the physical and ritual barriers that kept defilements and dangers of all sorts at bay. As Abe shows in his discussion of the experiences of the mendicant monk Ippen 一遍 (1239–1289) and his followers, however, the social and religious borders of the capital were no less real and no less difficult to breach. The picture that emerges is thus one of a city defined by borders not only at its periphery, but also at its very core.

Andrew Macomber, in his article entitled "Disease, Defilement, and the Dead: Buddhist Medicine and the Emergence of Corpse-Vector Disease," similarly demonstrates the extraordinary degree of contestation, confusion, and concern that accompanied the reimagining of the therapeutic landscape of late twelfth-century Japan with a detailed analysis of the emergence of "corpse-vector disease" as a medieval diagnostic category. Macomber shows that in a capital overflowing with death defilement and corpses, new modes of medical diagnosis and *materia medica* became intertwined with courtier anxieties, inter-monastic rivalries, and esoteric ritual theory to produce new framings of pollution, the body, and human health. Crucially, Macomber shows that from at least the tenth century, pollution came to be conceived of as existing not only in the external environment, but also *within* the human body. This interiorization

of defilement in turn precipitated new understandings of karma as it related to purity, ritual transgressions, and, of course, disease. These shifting borders in turn called forth new modes of Buddhist praxis as clerics developed new ritual means to combat karmic defilements that were located within the borders of the body. Quoting the work of Benedetta Lomi, Macomber notes that thereafter the bodies of ailing patrons were posited not as spectators of ritual purification, but rather as objects of ritual therapy.

As Macomber makes clear, shifting understandings of the borders of the body and the geography of pollution were also almost certainly conditioned by historical developments related to the rapidly proliferating number of corpses within the borders of a capital ravaged by epidemics and political upheavals. By the thirteenth century, notions of "defiled *ki*" pervading the entire realm had in turn led to the drawing and policing of new types of borders centered not upon geographic distance but rather upon ethical and religious injunctions. Ironically, at least in the case of corpse-vector disease, such practices were designed to work upon not only the living but also the dead, as the source of the disease was believed to be spiritual agents trapped within the borders of the living that broke free from their hosts upon death.

The complex relationship among health, textuality, and performance is also central to Haruo Shirane's article "Defilement, Outcasts, and Disability in Medieval Japan: Reassessing *Oguri* and Sermon Ballads as Regenerative Narratives." Shirane explores the complicated entanglements generated by roadside performances, Buddhist discourses on defilement and disability, and social marginality in medieval Japan. Shirane shows how sermon ballads served as contact zones within which social identities performed by itinerants, penitents, performers, warriors, and outcasts were conspicuously constructed, contested, destroyed, and rebuilt. As he traces the careers of such figures as Oguri across the geographic and cultural landscapes of the Japanese islands, Shirane reveals the extraordinarily rich mappings within these texts of the social, religious, and even cosmological borders that shaped so much of the medieval Japanese *imaginaire*. In so doing he further shows that the identities of protagonists, antagonists, performers, and audiences were also in turn enmeshed in the constantly shifting borders that defined pure, impure, health, sickness, and disability in the human body.

Much as Macomber demonstrates how shifting boundaries of the human body, public health, and the dharma all allowed for and even demanded the performance of hitherto unseen ritual and social identities, Shirane shows us how sermon ballads served to define the very borders and pathways to redemption that they described: in these texts, borders are not only sought, they are also through the very act of representation created, transformed, and renewed. Perhaps even more importantly, Shirane also reminds us that the boundaries of

the contact zone itself were also inherently unstable, as the very act of narrative performance itself was used to entertain and, ultimately, transform the audiences that engaged them.

Taken together, these articles thus illustrate both the challenges and possibilities offered by a renewed focus on the role of borders in premodern Japan. On the one hand, with all of their concrete complexity, hybridity, and Janus-faced resistance to simple characterization, borders threaten to entangle even the most intrepid scholar in an ever-proliferating and ever-changing meshwork of dependencies and affordances. On the other hand, however, they promise to shed light on the extensive and often subterranean networks that gave rise to, shaped, and made meaningful the cultural, ritual, and material practices of premodern Japan.

references

Douglas, Mary
1966 *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Praeger.

Hodder, Ian
2012 *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Latour, Bruno
2005 *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford University Press.

Miller, Daniel
2010 *Stuff*. Polity Press.

Pratt, Mary Louise
1991 Arts of the contact zone. *Profession*: 33–40.

Turner, Victor
1973 The center out there: Pilgrim's goal. *History of Religions* 12: 191–230. doi.org/10.1086/462677

This special issue is based on papers given at an international conference held at Columbia University, co-organized with Nagoya University, on 15–16 March 2019. We would like to acknowledge The Center for Cultural Heritage and Texts at Nagoya University and the jsps Core-to-Core Program, especially the Academic Consortium for Creating the Value of Religious Cultural Heritage Through Text Studies, as well as the following institutions at Columbia University: Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Donald Keene Center of Japanese Culture, Department of Religion, Center for Buddhism and East Asian Religions, and the Columbia University Institute for Religion, Culture, and Public Life.

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 49/2: 173–185
© 2025 Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture
dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.49.2.2022.173-185

Hirano Tae 平野多恵

Kami and Buddhist Poems in Imperial *Waka* Anthologies

Ever since Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems were added to imperial *waka* anthologies as individual categories in the mid-twelfth century, they have always appeared together; the inclusion of one always involves the other, and vice versa. In many imperial anthologies, these categories include poems that are taken to be oracles from the kami or buddhas. An analysis of these oracle poems reveals the nature of the relationship between humans and divine figures at the time. These poems demonstrate the heightened popularity of poems dedicated to the various gods and buddhas, the beliefs of the emperors who ordered the compilation of these imperial *waka* anthologies, and the increased prominence of Shinto-Buddhist syncretism.

keywords: imperial *waka* anthology—Kami Poems—Buddhist Poems—oracle poems—kami and buddhas

Hirano Tae is Professor at Seikei University.

In imperial *waka* anthologies (*chokusenshū* 勅撰集), poems are always divided into separate categories, such as the Four Seasons or Love. These categories are called *budate* 部立. Poems in these categories are usually arranged in chronological order, a custom that dates back to the *Kokin wakashū* (hereafter *Kokinshū*), the first imperial anthology compiled in 905. In contrast, the order of poems in categories that came to be established in later imperial anthologies is usually not fixed and therefore offers more room to reflect the intentions of the commissioners or compilers of the collections.

This article focuses on the categories of Kami Poems (*jingika* 神祇歌) and Buddhist Poems (*shakkyōka* 釈教歌), which were established as independent categories in the *Senzai wakashū* in the late twelfth century and continued to be featured in these collections until the last imperial anthology, the *Shinshoku kokin wakashū*. These two categories often include poems that are taken to be oracles from divine figures, such as kami or buddhas, and a detailed analysis of these poems reveals the nature of the relationship between humans and these divine figures at the time, including the heightened popularity of poems dedicated to the various gods and buddhas, the beliefs of the emperors who ordered the compilation of these imperial anthologies, and the increased prominence of Shinto-Buddhist syncretism. I also argue that these two categories always appear together in imperial anthologies and this suggests that gods and buddhas were conceived of as the dual protectors of royal authority.

The Establishment of Kami and Buddhist Poems as Categories in Imperial Waka Anthologies

The *Kokinshū*—arguably the most influential among the twenty-one imperial *waka* anthologies—is divided into twenty separate volumes, each revolving around a specific theme, such as "Spring" (*haru* 春), "Summer" (*natsu* 夏), "Autumn" (*aki* 秋), "Winter" (*fuyu* 冬), "Love" (*koi* 恋), "Acrostics" (*mono no na* 物名), "Congratulations" (*ga* 賀), "Laments" (*aishō* 哀傷), "Travel" (*kiryo* 羇旅), "Miscellaneous" (*zō* 雑), and "Miscellaneous Forms" (*zattai* 雑体), and so on. Due to the *Kokinshū*'s influence, this has become the norm for all subsequent imperial anthologies. Later, Kami and Buddhist Poems were added, but what position did they previously occupy in imperial anthologies?

In the first two imperial anthologies, *Kokinshū* and *Gosen wakashū*, there are poems that could technically be considered Kami Poems and Buddhist poems, but these are few and often scattered throughout the collections. For example,

volume ten of the *Kokinshū* includes some poems that deal with Shinto rituals in the sub-sections "Traditional Poems from the Bureau of Song" (*ōutadokoro no on'uta* 大歌所御歌), "Songs as Entertainment for the Gods" (*kami asobi no uta* 神遊びの歌), and "Eastern Songs" (*azuma uta* 東歌), and both collections contain some poems in the "Miscellaneous" volumes that deal with the subject of impermanence or lamenting for the dead. With the compilation of the third imperial anthology, *Shūi wakashū*, the presence of Kami and Buddhist Poems became more pronounced: Kami Poems came to have their own independent category in volume ten of the *Shūi wakashū*, and the "Lament" volume contains over twenty poems that are composed on topics taken from Buddhist sutras, such as the *Lotus Sūtra*.

In the *Goshūi wakashū*, the successor of the *Shūi wakashū*, Kami and Buddhist Poems are both established as sub-sections for the first time in the "Miscellaneous VI" volume, with each containing nineteen poems. However, the next two imperial anthologies, *Kin'yō wakashū* and *Shika wakashū*, reverted to simply including Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems in the "Miscellaneous" volumes without according them their own categories.

In the next imperial anthology, *Senzai wakashū*, Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems both received their own categories, and there is one previous collection in which these categories are both found. The *Shokushika wakashū*, which was compiled before the *Senzai wakashū*, was intended to take the place of the seventh imperial anthology. Its commissioner, Emperor Nijō 二条 (1143–1165), died before it was completed, and so the *Shokushika wakashū* never became an official imperial anthology. Nonetheless, it is a significant precursor in which Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems were established as having their own dedicated category.

The Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems categories that first appeared in the *Shokushika wakashū* were indispensable in later imperial anthologies. When one takes a closer look at these categories, the order of the poems and the choice of which poems to include (and which to exclude) are similar. Up until this point, these two categories had always been studied separately, but given that they were created at the same time, they undoubtedly share a strong connection. Therefore, I argue that it is important to examine Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems in relation to each other.

The main purpose of an imperial *waka* anthology is usually to extol the reign of the ruler who commissioned the compilation. As such, the choice of poems and their order tend to reflect the sociopolitical conditions of the time. In *waka* studies, this kind of analysis has often focused on the Congratulations category, which, beginning with the *Shinchokusen wakashū* (an imperial anthology compiled in the mid-thirteenth century), tends to include poems that explicitly celebrate the sovereigns who ordered the compilation of these anthologies. However, as previously stated, the Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems categories are

relatively more flexible in terms of the ordering of the poems compared to categories that have existed since the time of the *Kokinshū*, and they thus present an interesting case study for how the intentions of the commissioners and compilers are reflected. Of special interest here are poems that are considered to be oracles from the gods and buddhas, that is, oracle poems (*takusenka* 託宣歌). Not all imperial anthologies contain these oracle poems, but in those that do, they are almost always placed at either the beginning or the end of the volume for both the Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems categories. These are positions that are held in special regard when it comes to imperial anthologies, which suggests the high degree of importance accorded to these oracle poems.

Oracles in Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems

It is said that the first thirty-one-syllable *waka* was composed by a kami. The "Kana Preface" to the *Kokinshū* seeks the origin of *waka* in the gods of Japanese mythology and claims that the first *waka* ever composed is the following by Susanoo no mikoto when he was at Izumo 出雲:

Yakumo tatsu	In the land of Izumo,
Izumo yaegaki	like the eightfold clouds that rise,
tsumagome ni	I shall build an eightfold fence
yaegaki tsukuru	to surround my lovely bride—
sono yaegaki o	an eightfold fence, I shall build.
	(SKT 1: 9)

Ever since this poem was included in the opening to the first imperial anthology, it has been thought that Japanese deities compose poems, and that eventually oracles from the gods were transmitted to humans in the form of *waka*. In the beginning, oracle poems were exclusive to kami, but as time went on oracle poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas also started to appear.

Among imperial anthologies, the first to include oracle poems was the *Shūi wakashū*, the third imperial anthology that was compiled in the early eleventh century. The two poems in question are by the Sumiyoshi 住吉 and Kamo 賀茂 deities, included in "Sacred Poems" (vol. 10). It is worth noting, however, that prior to the *Shūi wakashū*, there was already a poetic exchange between an emperor and the Sumiyoshi deity in the one-hundred-and-seventeenth section of *Ise monogatari*. In the next imperial anthology, *Goshūi wakashū*, the beginning of the Kami Poems sub-section of the "Miscellaneous VI" volume contains two poetic exchanges between a god and a human: one between the Ise 伊勢 deity and Ōnakatomi no Sukechika 大中臣輔親 (954–1038), who was the head priest of Ise Shrine, and the other between the Kibune 貴船 deity and Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部 (976–1030). In the fifth imperial anthology, *Kin'yō wakashū*, "Miscellaneous I" (vol. 9) contains one oracle poem where the Ise deity appeared

in the dream of Ōnakatomi no Sukehiro 大中臣輔弘 (d.u.) (*Kin'yō wakashū*, no. 578), and in the next imperial anthology (*Shika wakashū*), the "Miscellaneous II" volume contains one oracle poem by the Inari 稲荷 deity (*Shika wakashū*, no. 409). All of these are oracle poems by kami, and up until the mid-twelfth century there are no oracle poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas.

During this period of roughly one-and-a-half centuries, the number of oracle poems that made it into the imperial anthologies was small, but interest in them was starting to grow. This fact is apparent when one looks at the poetic treatises at the time. One example is the *Toshiyori zuinō*, a treatise by Minamoto no Toshiyori 源 俊頼 (1055–1129), who was also the compiler of the *Kin'yō wakashū*. This treatise includes a total of seven poems by kami, beginning with Susanoo's "Eightfold clouds" poem, followed by two poems by the Sumiyoshi deity and one poem each by the Miwa 三輪, Ise, Kibune, and Aritōshi 蟻通 deities. In terms of poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas, this work includes a poetic exchange between Prince Shōtoku 聖徳 (574–622) and a starving beggar, one poem by a monk who appeared in the dream of a Buddhist practitioner, and a poetic exchange between Gyōki Bosatsu 行基菩薩 (668–749) and Bodhisena (704–760) on the occasion of the Great Buddha's "eye-opening" ceremony at Tōdaiji 東大寺. Most notable among these are the exchange between Gyōki and Bodhisena and the one between Prince Shōtoku and the starving beggar, both of which appear in "Lament" (vol. 20), of the *Shūi wakashū*. According to the *Toshiyori zuinō*, Prince Shōtoku was the incarnation of the Guze Kannon Bosatsu 救世観音菩薩, while the starving beggar, Gyōki, and Bodhisena were all incarnations of the Monju Bosatsu 文殊菩薩. This theory of the incarnations of various bodhisattvas with regard to these poetic exchanges was inherited by later poetic treatises, anthologies, and *setsuwa* 説話 (narrative tales).

This interest in Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems grew with the *Fukurō zōshi*, a poetic treatise by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104–1177). The section entitled "Uncommon Poems" (*kitai no uta* 希代の歌) in the first volume is an aggregation of poems purported to be composed by kami, buddhas, incarnations of buddhas and bodhisattvas, as well as those that are specifically taken to be divine response poems by kami and buddhas. The sub-section, "Poems by Kami" (*shinmei no ōn'uta* 神明御歌), contains a total of nineteen oracle poems by the Ise, Usa 宇佐, Kamo, Hirano 平野, Inari, Kasuga 春日, Ōharano 大原野, Miwa, Sumiyoshi, Kitano 北野, Kibune, Kumano 熊野, Amenomiya 天宮, Aritōshi, and Shinra 新羅 deities. The sub-section, "Poems by Buddhas" (*hotoke no ōn'uta* 仏御歌), contains three poems about bodhisattvas appearing in the dreams of Buddhist monks, three poems by the Kiyomizu Kannon 清水観音, two poems by the Rokkakudō Kannon 六角堂観音, and one poem that was an oracle dream for the monk Chien 智縁 (d.u.). The section entitled "Poems by Incarnations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas" (*gongejin no uta* 権化人歌) includes poems by founders or high-ranking

monks of the Tendai and Shingon schools, such as Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and Kūkai 空海 (774–835), in addition to the exchanges between Prince Shōtoku and the starving beggar and the one between Gyōki and Bodhisena previously introduced in the *Toshiyori zuinō*. The *Fukuro zōshi* was an attempt to provide a comprehensive assortment of all of the oracle poems that were in circulation at the time.

Seven years after the compilation of the *Fukuro zōshi*, Kami and Buddhist Poems each had one volume dedicated solely to them in the *Shokushika wakashū*. Notably, both of these works were compiled by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke. Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems in volumes three and ten, respectively, of the *Shokushika wakashū* both end with oracle poems that take place in dreams, that is, "dream revelation poems" (*mukoku no uta* 夢告歌). All of these poems were included in the "Uncommon Poems" section of the *Fukuro zōshi*. The "Kami Poems" volume ends with an exchange between the Kasuga deity and the poet Horikawa 堀河 (d.u.) and an oracle poem by the Kitano deity. The "Buddhist Poems" volume ends with a dream revelation poem where Hōki Daisen 伯耆大山 appeared in the monk Chien's dream, a poetic exchange in a dream between Higo 肥後 and a child, a poem by the Kiyomizu Kannon, and a dream revelation poem by "three neat-looking monks" (*kiyogenaru sō sannin* きよげなる僧三人).

The fact that the *Fukuro zōshi* collected many oracle poems by kami and buddhas and that the *Shokushika wakashū* placed these poems at the end of the "Kami Poems" and "Buddhist Poems" volumes likely reflected Fujiwara no Kiyosuke's personal interest in poems by kami and buddhas. With that being said, the compilation of an imperial anthology was always highly involved with royal authority and not something over which the compiler had complete control. There must have been some significance to the establishment of Kami and Buddhist Poems as individual categories for the first time in the *Shokushika wakashū* and to the placement of oracle poems at the end of these volumes.

In the *Senzai wakashū*, which was commissioned by Retired Emperor Go Shirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192) and compiled by Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204) in 1188, there is not a single oracle poem to be found in the "Kami Poems" and the "Buddhist Poems" volumes. By contrast, the presence of poems by humans dedicated to deities and poems with side notes explaining that the deities had divinely responded and granted the wishes of humans—poems that employ the so-called tales of wondrous benefits of poetry (*katoku setsuwa* 歌徳説話) trope—is notable. This may be attributed to the increased popularity of the practice of dedicating *waka* to kami at the time, as well as Shunzei's personal interest in that practice. Prior to 1183, when Go Shirakawa ordered Shunzei to compile the *Senzai wakashū*, various activities meant for the dedication of *waka* to shrines, such as poetry contests held at shrines or one-hundred-poem sequences of dedication, were frequently held before the kami. Shunzei him-

self acted as the judge of the Sumiyoshi Shrine Poetry Contest (*Sumiyoshisha utaawase* 住吉社歌合) in 1170, the Hirota Shrine Poetry Contest (*Hirotasha utaawase* 広田社歌合) in 1172, the Miidera Shinra Shrine Poetry Contest (*Miidera Shinrasha utaawase* 三井寺新羅社歌合) in 1173, and the Wake Ikazuchi Shrine Poetry Contest (*Wake Ikazuchisha utaawase* 別雷社歌合) in 1178. Additionally, in 1190, roughly one year after the completion of the *Senzai wakashū*, Shunzei also dedicated his *Gosha hyakushu* 五社百首 to the Ise, Kamo, Kasuga, Hiyoshi 日吉, and Sumiyoshi shrines. All of these activities confirm Shunzei's interest in making *waka* offerings to the gods.

This kind of interest in *waka* composed by kami and buddhas became even more pronounced with the *Shinkokin wakashū*, the eighth imperial anthology commissioned by Retired Emperor Go Toba 後鳥羽 (1180–1239) and compiled by Minamoto no Michitomo 源通具 (1171–1227) and Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241), among others, in 1205. The beginning of the Kami Poems in volume nineteen includes thirteen oracle poems, and the beginning of the Buddhist Poems in volume twenty includes three oracle poems; these are unprecedented numbers. The emphasis on oracle poems is most apparent in the "Kami Poems" volume, where the thirteen oracle poems are arranged in sequence right at the beginning of the volume. For the "Buddhist Poems" volume, the first two poems are by the Kiyomizu Kannon and the third is the dream revelation poem where Hōki Daisen appeared in Chien's dream; all of these poems already appeared in the *Fukuro zōshi*.

The sequence of oracle poems at the beginning of the "Kami Poems" volume reflects the intention of Go Toba, who both commissioned the anthology and was deeply involved with the compilation process. To break it down further, these thirteen poems begin with one poem by the Hiyoshi deity and continue with poems by the Dazaifu 太宰府 deity (one poem), Kasuga no Enomoto 春日榎本 deity (one poem), Sumiyoshi deity (three poems), Kasuga deity (one poem), Kumano deity (two poems), Kamo deity (two poems), Iwashimizu 石清水 deity (one poem), and Usa deity (one poem). Many of these overlap with the shrines where Go Toba actively dedicated his *waka* (Hiyoshi, Tenjin 天神, Kasuga, Sumiyoshi, Kumano, Kamo, and Hachiman 八幡), both before and after the compilation of the *Shinkokin wakashū*.

In the *Meigetsuki*, Fujiwara no Teika's diary, he recounts that there is an extremely large number of poems attributed to kami in the "Kami Poems" volume of the anthology, and that he experienced great awe when trying to decide the exact order of the poems (entries for the twenty-second and twenty-sixth days of the second month, 1205). At this time, there was an official ranking system called the twenty-two shrines (*nijūni sha* 二十二社), with the Ise deity at the top of the hierarchy. The order of the aforementioned poems by kami that are included in the *Fukuro zōshi* also correspond, for the most part, to the twenty-two

shrines ranking. However, it is worth noting that the Kumano deity, who had two attributed poems in the series of oracle poems in the *Shinkokin wakashū* and whose authority Go Toba had great faith in, was not featured in the twenty-two shrines ranking. Thus, the positioning of the Kumano deity's poems in the *Shinkokin wakashū* would have posed a problem. In the end, due to Go Toba's personal decision, the oracle poems by kami were arranged in a seasonal order, and the poem by the Hiyoshi deity, which has to do with an early spring event that involves the practice of pulling up pine seedlings on the first day of the rat, was thus chosen as the opening poem of the volume. During the process of compilation, Go Toba frequently carried out dedications of *waka* to the gods and prayers for the peace of his reign, and, at the same time, he also expressed a great interest in oracle poems, which may be said to be divine responses to his prayers.

From the ninth imperial anthology—*Shinchokusen wakashū*—onward, oracle poems were rarely included in imperial anthologies. However, Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems became categories in privately compiled anthologies (*shisenshū* 私撰集) that appeared during this same period, and oracle poems were included within these categories. One example is the *Naranoha wakashū*, compiled by Soshun 素俊 (d.u.) in 1237, where the beginning of the "Kami Poems with Congratulations" (*jingi gashuku tsuketari* 神祇付賀祝) in volume seven features an oracle poem for when Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213), a monk at Kōfukuji 興福寺, went into seclusion and performed a ceremony at Hannyadai 般若台 of Kasagidera 笠置寺 for the Kasuga deity to relocate there and serve as the tutelary deity. It is followed by a dream revelation poem where a Kōfukuji monk received divine revelation from the Kasuga and the Sumiyoshi deities, making it apparent that this anthology is a collection of poems to do with Kōfukuji. This trend of oracle poems attributed to tutelary deities of Buddhist temples started to appear more in later imperial *waka* anthologies.

After the *Shokugosen wakashū* (compiled in 1251), the imperial anthologies that did contain oracle poems were: *Shokukokin wakashū*, *Gyokuyō wakashū*, *Fūga wakashū*, *Shinshūi wakashū*, and *Shinshoku kokin wakashū*. The *Shokukokin wakashū* was compiled in 1265 by Fujiwara no Tameie 藤原為家 (1198–1275) and others. When oracle poems are included in imperial anthologies, they tend to appear in both the "Kami Poems" and the "Buddhist Poems" volumes, but in the *Shokukokin wakashū*, they only appear in the "Kami Poems" volume (vol. 7). The eight poems that make up this volume are oracle poems by the deities of Inari, Kasuga, Kitano, Shinra, Amenomiya, and Mount Kōya 高野, and they occasionally include expressions from Buddhist poems, such as "Shakamuni Butsu" 釈迦牟尼仏 in the poem by the Kasuga deity, "the law" (*nori* 法) in the poem by the Shinra deity, or "the light of the law" (*nori no tomoshibi* 法のともしび) in the poem by the Mount Kōya deity, which strongly suggests an influence from the

syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合). Buddhist-like oracle poems by kami also increased after this point.

The next two imperial anthologies that include oracle poems, *Gyokuyō wakashū* and *Fūga wakashū*, were compiled by the Kyōgoku 京極 school of poets, who were trusted by the emperors of the Jinmyōintō 持明院統 line. The *Gyokuyō wakashū*, which is the fourteenth imperial anthology that was commissioned by Retired Emperor Fushimi 伏見 (1265–1317) and compiled by Kyōgoku Tamekane 京極為兼 (1254–1332) in 1313, is notable in that it contains the largest number of oracle poems of all the imperial anthologies. The beginning of "Buddhist Poems" (vol. 19) contains eleven oracle poems, the most notable of which are the six poems dealing with the topic of being reborn in paradise through the *nenbutsu* 念仏, starting with a poem by Zenkōji Amida Nyorai 善光寺阿弥陀如, which is the first poem in the volume. In "Kami Poems" (vol. 20), the first eighteen poems are oracle poems, the first of which is one where the Ise deity gives an oracle to the poet Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190). Additionally, there are other poems that demonstrate the strong influence of Buddhism, such as oracle poems for the monks Jōkei or Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232), or a poem in which the Imakumano 新熊野 deity rejoices upon hearing the sound of *nenbutsu*. As stated previously, many of the oracle poems in the "Kami Poems" volume of the *Gyokuyō wakashū* display a strong syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism. It is also notable that there are more poems by Buddhist monks in the "Kami Poems" volume compared to other imperial anthologies.

As for the *Fūga wakashū*, which was the seventeenth imperial anthology personally compiled in 1349 by Retired Emperor Kōgon 光厳 (1313–1364), the first poem of the "Buddhist Poems" volume (vol. 18) is one by the Zenkōji Nyorai 善光寺如来, the second is Prince Shōtoku's response to the first, and the third is an oracle poem by the Kokawa Kannon 粉河観音 on the subject of setting sail for Fudaraku 補陀落. The oracle poem by Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来 that is placed at the very beginning of the volume follows the precedent of the *Gyokuyō wakashū*, which was characteristic of the Kyōgoku school when compiling imperial *waka* anthologies. In the "Kami Poems" volume (vol. 19), the first seven poems—one by the Kamo Mioya 鴨御祖 deity, three by the Kasuga deity, one by the Hiyoshi Jishu Gongen 日吉地主権現, and two by the Kumano deity—are all oracle poems. Despite the fact that these are included in the "Kami Poems" volume, it is worth noting that these poems all employ Buddhist expressions, such as "the moon of absolute reality" (*shinnyo no tsuki* 真如の月) in the poem by the Kasuga deity, "tainted" (*uro* 有漏), "untainted" (*muro* 無漏), and "buddha" (*hotoke* 仏) in one poem by the Kumano deity, or expressions that are based on the *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 theory, such as "kami who mingle in the dirt" (*chiri ni majiwaru kami* 塵にまじはる神) in another poem by the Kumano deity to express the idea of living a quiet life by hiding one's true talent or knowledge.

In the Muromachi period, the Muromachi shogun also started to participate in the compilation of imperial *waka* anthologies; the results of these efforts were imperial anthologies that were compiled at the request of the shogun. In the nineteenth imperial anthology (*Shinshūi wakashū*), which was commissioned by Retired Emperor Go Kōgon 後光厳 (1338–1374) at the request of Ashikaga Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330–1367) and compiled by Nijō no Tameaki 二条為明 (1295–1364) in 1364, the "Kami Poems" (vol. 16) contain five oracle poems by the Kasuga, Hiyoshi Jishu Gongen, Hiyoshi, Atsuta 熱田, and Kitano deities at the beginning, while the "Buddhist Poems" (vol. 17) include one dream revelation poem by Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩 at Sumiyoshi 住吉 Shrine at the very beginning of the volume.

With the final imperial anthology, the *Shinshoku kokin wakashū*, commissioned by Emperor Go Hanazono 後花園 (1419–1471) at the request of Ashikaga Yoshinori 足利義教 (1394–1441) and compiled by Asukai Masayo 飛鳥井雅世 (1390–1452) in 1439, the Buddhist Poems in volume eight begin with two oracle poems by the Hiyoshi Jūzenji 日吉十禅師 and Kiyomizu Kannon. Hiyoshi Jūzenji is one of the seven Hiyoshi Sannō 日吉山王 upper shrines, and he is the tutelary deity of the Tendai school. The Kami Poems in volume twenty start out with three oracle poems by the deities of Sumiyoshi, who is revered as the kami of poetry, Tamatsushima 玉津島, and Kitano, and ends with a series of poems on the Sumiyoshi deity and Tamatsushimahime 玉津島姫. Notable here are the poems from the Niitamatsushima Shrine Poetry Contest (*Niitamatsushimasha utaawase* 新玉津島社歌合) of 1367, which are included in the Tamatsushimahime poem sequence, and dedication poems on the occasion of the reconstruction of Niitamatsushima Shrine in 1417 by Gyōkō 堯孝 (1391–1455). Regarding the Niitamatsushima Shrine, Ton'a 頓阿 (1289–1372) initially performed the ceremony to pray for the transfer of the tutelary deity at Tamatsushima Shrine in Kii 紀伊 Province to the new shrine at the site of the old residence of Fujiwara no Shunzei at Gojō Karasuma 五条烏丸. In 1367, the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira ordered the main shrine building rebuilt, and the Niitamatsushima Shrine Poetry Contest was held the same year. Due to fires and other mishaps, this shrine was rebuilt and transferred several times, and, according to the headnote to Gyōkō's poem at the end of the "Kami Poems" volume, the shrine was rebuilt again in 1417. At this time, Gyōkō was serving as a steward at the Niitamatsushima Shrine, and he was also involved in the compilation of the *Shinshoku kokin wakashū* as the Deputy Chief of the Poetry Bureau. Even though the Niitamatsushima Shrine was burned to the ground in 1434, it was rebuilt soon after, and in the same year the shogun Yoshiakira performed temple solicitation for poems to be submitted to the gods and buddhas and made a dedication of the Niitamatsushima Shrine thirty-poem sequence. Thus, the historical context of the Tamatsushimahime poem sequence at the end of the *Shinshoku kokin wakashū* reveals the deep

connection between a major politician at the time (Yoshiakira), the compiler, (Gyōkō), and Niitamatsushima Shrine.

What Can Be Gathered from Oracle Poems by Kami and Buddhas

Oracle poems in imperial *waka* anthologies began with the *Shūi wakashū* at the beginning of the eleventh century, with the earliest examples being oracle poems by kami. Later on, oracle poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas also appeared, with poetic treatises setting the precedent. One early example of this was the *Toshiyori zuinō*, which refers to exchanges between Gyōki and Bodhisena as well as Prince Shōtoku and a starving beggar in the "Laments" (vol. 20) of the *Shūi wakashū*. The passage argues that the starving beggar, Gyōki, and Bodhisena are all incarnations of Monju Bosatsu, whereas Prince Shōtoku is an incarnation of Guze Kannon. Following the *Shokushika wakashū*, which appeared in the mid-twelfth century, Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems became individual categories with their own dedicated volumes in imperial *waka* anthologies, and oracle poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas appeared in the Buddhist Poems category. From around the time of the *Shokukokin wakashū* in the mid-thirteenth century, Buddhist expressions were employed in oracle poems in the Kami Poems category. In the fourteenth century, with the *Gyokuyōshū* and the *Fūga wakashū*, oracle poems in the Kami Poems category began to use more and more Buddhist terms; for oracle poems in the Buddhist Poems category, there are poems attributed to Zenkōji Nyorai and of being reborn in paradise thanks to the practice of *nenbutsu*. Oracle poems in both the Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems categories increasingly demonstrated the syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism. These changes were the manifestation in *waka* of the growing influence of the syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism at the time.

These changes in people's beliefs paralleled how various poems attributed to kami and buddhas were collected in the *Fukuro zōshi* and how many oracle poems by kami and buddhas were included in imperial *waka* anthologies. Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems were established as separate categories in imperial *waka* anthologies; the inclusion of oracle poems by kami and buddhas in these categories demonstrates that the devotional practices at shrines were developing into a nationwide practice. Neither Kami Poems nor Buddhist Poems would likely have survived on their own, and they are conceived of as existing in a mutually complementary relationship.

[Translated by Phuong Ngo]

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1958–1966.

SKT *Shinpen kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観. 10 vols. Ed. Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai 新編国歌大観編集委員会. Kadokawa Shoten, 1983–1992.

SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1989–2005.

SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Shōgakkan, 1994–2002.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Fūga wakashū 風雅和歌集. Comp. Retired Emperor Kōgon 光厳 (1313–1364). SKT 1.

Fukuro zōshi 袋草紙. Comp. Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104–1177). SNKBT 29.

Gosen wakashū 後撰和歌集. Comp. Minamoto no Shitagō 源 順 (911–983), Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu 大中臣能宣 (921–991), Kiyohara no Motosuke 清原元輔 (908–990), Sakanoue no Mochiki 坂上望城 (ca. 980), Ki no Tokibumi 紀時文 (ca. 922–996). SKT 1.

Goshūi wakashū 後拾遺和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Michitoshi 藤原通俊 (1047–1099). SKT 1.

Gyokuyō wakashū 玉葉和歌集. Comp. Kyōgoku Tamekane 京極為兼 (1254–1332). SKT 1.

Ise monogatari 伊勢物語. NKBT 9.

Kin'yō wakashū 金葉和歌集. Comp. Minamoto no Toshiyori 源 俊頼 (1055–1129). SKT 1.

Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集. Comp. Ki no Tsurayuki 紀 貫之 (ca. 872–945), Ki no Tomonori 紀友則 (ca. 845–907), Ōshikōchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 (ca. 859–925), Mibun no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (ca. 860–ca. 920). SKT 1.

Meigetsuki 明月記. Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241). In *Meigetsuki daiichi* 明月記 第一. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1911.

Naranoha wakashū 楢葉和歌集. Comp. Soshun 素俊 (d.u.). SKT 6.

Niitamatsushima sha sanjūshu waka 新玉津島社三十首和歌. In *Mikan waka shiryō shū* 未刊和歌資料集, vol. 2. Yanase Kazuo 簗瀬一雄, Inoue Muneo 井上宗雄, Kouchi Kazuaki 小內一明, eds. Rinsen Shoten, 1965.

Senzai wakashū 千載和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204). SKT 1.

Shika wakashū 詞花和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Akisuke 藤原顕輔 (1090–1155). SKT 1.

Shinchokusen wakashū 新勅撰和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Teika. SKT 1.

Shinkokin wakashū 新古今和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Teika, Fujiwara no Ariie 藤原有家 (1155–1216), Fujiwara no Ietaka 藤原家隆 (1158–1237), Jakuren 寂蓮 (1139–1202), Minamoto no Michitomo 源 通具 (1171–1227), Asukai Masatsune 飛鳥井雅経 (1170–1221). SKT 1.

Shinshoku kokin wakashū 新続古今和歌集. Comp. Asukai Masayo 飛鳥井雅世 (1390–1452). SKT 1.

Shinshūi wakashū 新拾遺和歌集. Comp. Nijō no Tameaki 二条為明 (1295–1364). SKT 1.

Shokugosen wakashū 続後撰和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Tameie 藤原為家 (1198–1275). SKT 1.

Shokukokin wakashū 続古今和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Tameie, Kujō no Motoie 九条基家 (1203–1280), Kinugasa no Ieyoshi 笠家良 (1192–1264), Rokujō no Yukiie 六条行家 (1223–1275), Shinkan 真観 (1203–1276). SKT 1.

Shokushika wakashū 続詞花和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104–1177). SKT 2.

Shūi wakashū 拾遺和歌集. SKT 1.

Toshiyori zuinō 俊頼髄脳. Comp. Minamoto no Toshiyori. SNKBZ 87.

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 49/2: 187–198
© 2025 Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture
dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.49.2.2022.187-198

Matsuyama Yūko 松山由布子

The Cultural Meaning of *Setsuwa*

Ono no Takamura's Journey to Hell and Back

This article explores the cultural meaning of the historical transmission of *setsuwa* tales in Japan through an examination of the journey to the underworld of ninth-century courtier Ono no Takamura. First recorded in *setsuwa* anthologies compiled in the twelfth century, this tale would eventually move beyond the framework of tale anthologies during the medieval era and come to be interwoven within local oral transmissions in Kyoto, where the story continues to be told today. In this article, I consider numerous textual variants of the story of Takamura's visit to the underworld. By highlighting the relationship between the historical transformation of the story's content and the local religious cultures within which variants of the story were passed down, I investigate the larger cultural role played by this tale in shaping the imagination of life and death and consider what Takamura can teach us about the boundary-crossing dynamics of *setsuwa* and transmitted oral literature.

keywords: *setsuwa*—underworld (hell)—Jizō Bosatsu—ancestor worship—Kyoto

Matsuyama Yūko is Associate Professor at Chūkyō University.

The defining characteristic of *setsuwa* 説話 (narrative tales) as a form of Japanese literature is that they have been passed down as oral traditions. Preserved in a wide variety of documents, many *setsuwa* have been transmitted to the present day. Because they are passed down through multiple retellings, *setsuwa* are closely tied to cultural features of the time and society that produced and transmitted them. In this article, I examine the role that *setsuwa* have played within Japanese culture, focusing in particular on the cultural meaning of one tale, the journey of Ono no Takamura 小野 篁 (802–852) to the underworld (*meikai* 冥界), that transcended the medieval to the modern periods by being continually recast in new forms.

The tale centers upon Ono no Takamura, a courtier said to possess the strange ability to shuttle between this world and the world of the dead. From the medieval period onward, Takamura's story was recorded in a wide variety of texts. Moreover, the story came to be closely connected with Kyoto—the setting of the tale—and in particular one location on the edge of the city that was a site for the performance of memorial rites for the dead, a physical space thought to be the very "boundary between life and death."

Through an examination of the tale of Ono no Takamura's journey to the underworld, I seek to illuminate one salient facet of the enduring cultural role that *setsuwa* have played in Japanese society over multiple generations. First, I survey the process through which the tale came into being and introduce key features of the narrative. I then explain the connections between this tale and two related phenomena: the cult of Jizō Bosatsu 地蔵菩薩 and memorial rites for the dead in Kyoto. Finally, I close with some observations on the question of why this particular tale was continually passed down through the centuries.

Ono no Takamura's Journey to the Underworld: Summary and Characteristics of the Tale

A courtier of the ninth century, Ono no Takamura was well known as a scholar and poet. Takamura was appointed as deputy envoy to a diplomatic mission to Tang China (*kentōshi* 遣唐使), but in 838, when the boat was all set to sail, he feigned illness and did not board. This was Takamura's way to protest the despotism of imperial ambassador Fujiwara no Tsunetsugu 藤原常嗣 (796–840). Takamura would thereafter satirize the post of envoys to the Tang in his poem "Songs on the Way to the West" (Saidōyō 西道謡). As a consequence, he found himself exiled to Oki no kuni 隠岐国 at the mandate of Emperor Saga 嵯峨 (786–842).

However, a pardon eventually allowed him to return to the capital in 840 and resume his post the following year. He then served as associate counselor (*sangi* 参議) in 847, and was promoted to third rank (*junsanmi* 従三位) in the twelfth month of 852. He died on the twenty-second day of the same month, at the age of fifty-one (KT 3: 43–44). As a member of the Ono 小野 clan who ranked as associate counselor, Takamura was often referred to as Yashōkō 野相公 and Yasaishō 野宰相, *shōkō* and *saishō* being Tang-style synonyms for associate counselor.

From the twelfth century, these episodes in Ono no Takamura's life as well as the Chinese poetry (*kanshi* 漢詩), *waka*, and prose he left behind became the basis for *setsuwa* and *monogatari* 物語 narratives featuring Takamura as protagonist. One prominent tale, of which several early versions exist, is the story of his journey to the underworld. "On How Yakō (Ono no Takamura) was the Second Underworld Judge in King Yama's Court," a story included in the *Gōdanshō* (SNKBT 32: 87–88), tells how Fujiwara no Takafuji 藤原高藤 (838–900), after dying suddenly and going to hell, catches sight of Takamura serving as an underworld official. Another version is "The Story of When Ono no Takamura Saved the Minister of Nishi-Sanjō out of Sympathy" (SNKBT 36: 309–311), which concerns Fujiwara no Yoshimi 藤原良相 (813–867), otherwise known as the "Minister of Nishi-Sanjō," who dies and goes to the underworld. Takamura, here again depicted as an underworld official, intervenes with King Yama (Enmaō 閻魔王) on Yoshimi's behalf and facilitates the latter's return to life. This tale of Takamura reviving the minister (*daijin* 大臣) came to be included in other records (for example, KT 12: 200; *Sangoku denki* 1: 228–230). In these different versions of the tale, the basic structure of the narrative remains stable while variant names are used for the minister who Takamura assists (for example, Fujiwara no Tadamori 藤原三守 [785–840], Kiyohara no Natsuno 清原夏野 [782–837], and others).

Behind the emergence of tales in which Takamura figures as an underworld official, we can discern the influence of Chinese Tang- and Song-period stories pertaining to hell as a bureaucratic institution (*meifu* 冥府). In particular, it has been pointed out that the portrayal of Takamura as an underworld official was influenced by the "Biography of Liu Zhigan of Hedong" (*Hedong Liu Zhigan zhuan* 河東柳智感伝), which was included in the Tang-period Buddhist tale anthology *Mingbaoji* (T 2082, 51.801–802), as well as the "Record of Tang Taizong Entering the Underworld," a Dunhuang "transformation text" (*bianwen* 変文) about Cui Ziyu 崔子玉 (*Tang Taizong ruming ji*, 209–215; see also KAWAGUCHI 1967; ISHIHARA 1990; LI 2009). In these Chinese tales of the underworld, an outstanding servant of the state is posthumously nominated to an official position in the underworld bureau, or in some cases they are already employed in the underworld bureau in their still-living bodies. Such tales serve as one source of inspiration for the story of Ono no Takamura, who likewise juggles two official posts—one at court among the living and the other in hell—while still alive.

In the world of tales, Ono no Takamura is known as a figure of outstanding scholastic capabilities. In the *Uji shūi monogatari* tale, "The Broad Learning of Ono no Takamura," Takamura is ordered by Emperor Saga to read a phrase that had been illicitly scrawled on a plaque at the Imperial Palace. Takamura takes the phrase—"neither good nor evil" (*muakuzen* 無悪善)—and reads it *saga nakute yokaran*, which can mean "it is good there is no evil" or, more contentiously, "things would be good without Saga" (SNKBT 42: 102–103). Offended by this pointed gloss, Emperor Saga thus suspects Takamura to be the very criminal responsible for the graffiti in the first place. We are told Takamura then proves his innocence by reading another phrase comprised of a sequence of twelve instances of the character 子, which can be read *ne*, *ko*, or *shi*: "The child of a cat is a kitten, the child of a lion is a cub" (*neko no ko, koneko, shishi no ko, kojishi* ねこの子こねこ、ししの子こじし). This story reveals tensions between the erudition of Takamura and that of Emperor Saga. It also closely reflects images of Takamura shaped by notable events of his career, namely the fact that he was censured and exiled by Emperor Saga for his criticism of diplomatic missions to Tang China.

There is no shortage of examples of other similar tales in which literati of learning comparable to Ono no Takamura showcase their unique capabilities. For example, Miyako no Yoshika 都 良香 (834–879), known for exchanging poems with the demon of Rashōmon gate (SNKBT 32: 114–115), played a central role in editing the *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku* and became a welcoming envoy for diplomats from the Balhae Kingdom (*shō Bokkai kyakushi* 掌渤海客使). Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 (845–912), who faced off with the demon of Suzakumon gate in a bout of *sugoroku* 双六 (*Haseo zōshi*, 2–39), is known as the scholar who compiled the *Engikyaku* 延喜格. Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695–775), who served as a Japanese envoy to the Tang in the Nara 奈良 period (710–794), is said to have overcome various hurdles, including comprehending the *Wenxuan* 文選, mastering the board game *igo* 囲碁, and deciphering the poem known as *Yabatai shi* 野馬台詩, thanks partly to the help of Abe no Nakamaro 安部仲麻呂 (701–770), who died abroad in Tang China and was said to have become a demon himself (SNKBT 32: 63–69). In the *Kakōshi*, compiled sometime in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, there is even a story in which everyone fails to read the *Yabatai shi* brought back by Makibi, whereupon Ono no Takamura, benefiting from the miraculous assistance of the Hase Kannon 長谷観音, is able to decipher it (*Kakōshi*, 105–146; Komine 2003).

Among the literati whose exceptional talents are depicted in tale literature, one who like Takamura was very closely linked to the underworld bureau was Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903). Michizane was also critical of diplomatic missions to Tang China and even succeeded at convincing the emperor to terminate them altogether. In the *Kitano Tenjin engi*, Michizane reincarnates as the "Minister of the Council of State of Japan, Deity of Majestic Virtue"

(Nihon Daijō Itokuten 日本太政威徳天) and Saga, the emperor who sent Michizane into exile, is depicted undergoing punishments in hell (*Kitano Tenjin engi*, 142–162). Much research has noted these undeniable parallels between the career of Michizane and stories about it and Ono no Takamura's journey to the underworld (Kawaguchi 1967; Kikuchi 1999; Takagi 2000). In the world of *setsuwa*, literati were imagined as individuals possessing powers surpassing even those wielded by the imperial court, which purported to control the social order itself. In the case of Ono no Takamura, it is thought that his role as an official of the underworld within *setsuwa* was informed by events of his career and his biography, such as his return to court rank and position after coming back to the capital from exile in Oki and his successive appointments as censorate (*danjōdai* 弾正台) in the government (Ishihara 1972; Yamato 1984; Takagi 2000).

The Development of Tales of Ono no Takamura's Underworld Journey
CONNECTIONS WITH THE CULT OF JIZŌ

The tale of Ono no Takamura's trip to the underworld developed in the medieval period within religious cultures distinct from the genealogy of *setsuwa* anthologies. One such context was the cult of Jizō Bosatsu. Japanese imaginations of the underworld are rooted in Chinese beliefs surrounding the ten kings—the ten judges who try deceased persons that end up in hell—and Jizō, who is often imagined bringing salvation to those in hell. In the medieval theological framework known as "original ground, manifest traces" (*honji suijaku* 本地垂迹), the bodhisattva Jizō is sometimes understood as the "original ground buddha" (*honjibutsu* 本地仏) of King Yama, the most important of the ten kings. Beliefs about salvation from the hells through the intervention of this bodhisattva, moreover, circulated widely in the form of miracle tales (*reigenki* 霊験記), including illustrated versions (*reigenki e* 霊験記絵), from the medieval period on.

Stories of Takamura's journey to the underworld and the cult of Jizō both take the world after death as their setting, but originally there were no direct connections drawn between them. The work that forged the initial link between them was *Yata Jizō engi* from the early Kamakura period. In the first half of this story, a Yatadera 矢田寺 monk by the name of Manmai 満米 (or Mankei 満慶) travels to hell at Takamura's recommendation in order to serve as the precept master to bestow the bodhisattva precepts (*bosatsu kai* 菩薩戒) on King Yama. The story goes that upon bestowing the precepts, Manmai takes a tour of hell, whereupon he encounters the bodhisattva Jizō helping to bring salvation to the deceased. As a result, when Manmai returns to this world of the living, he carves a wooden statue in the likeness of Jizō and enshrines it as the primary object of veneration (*honzon* 本尊) at Yatadera (*Yata Jizō engi*, 305–306). The *Yata Jizō engi* is thus one story that speaks to the miraculous powers of Jizō, which saw wide circulation

in the medieval and early modern periods. Takamura, in the guise of an underworld official, figures in the *engi* as the one who crucially provides to Manmai the opportunity of a trip to hell. Therefore, with the circulation of the *Yata Jizō engi*, Takamura's connections with the cult of Jizō were established (Watari 1995).

In the early modern period, Ono no Takamura's imagined links to the underworld became so pronounced that discourses eventually emerged casting him as the "transformation body of King Yama" (*Enma ō no kesshin* 閻魔王の化身) (*Kanden kōhitsu*, 200). In local histories, essays (*zuihitsu* 随筆), and Jizō-centered miracle tales published in the early modern period, we find legends depicting Takamura as the creator of icons associated with hell, such as those of King Yama, the bodhisattva Jizō, and the companion spirits (*kushōjin* 倶生神), the two clerks who keep records of the sins a person commits over their lifetime and report them to King Yama. Among these, especially starting with the *Yamashiro shū Uji gun roku Jizō bosatsu engi* (held in Daizenji 大善寺) published in 1665, origin stories began to appear in which Manmai of the *Yata Jizō engi* is replaced with the character of Takamura (*Yamashiro shū Uji gun roku Jizō bosatsu engi*, 157–162). Eventually, some stories claimed that Takamura is the creator of the miraculous Jizō icon at Yatadera. Through these links with the Jizō cult in oral literature, the tale of Ono no Takamura's underworld journey created possibilities for people to form karmic connections with Jizō Bosatsu by reading or hearing the tale, or by visiting associated temples and their icons.

The Localization of the Tale and Practices of Ancestor Worship

Another trajectory in the evolution of the story of Ono no Takamura's journey to the underworld took place within local oral literature produced in Kyoto. Ono no Takamura's point of entry into hell through which he was able to make his commute was said to be Otagidera 愛宕寺 (Chinnōji 珍皇寺), a temple located not far from the eastern banks of the Kamo River. An early example of this attribution can be found in commentary on poems in the *Wakan rōeishū Eisai chū*, which is thought to be an early thirteenth-century compilation. The text notes that Takamura entered the underworld by riding his palanquin from the area of the "Otagidera stupa." This "Otagitō" 愛宕塔 is speculated to have been either at Otagidera or to be the five-tiered pagoda of Hōkanji 法観寺, a temple situated just northeast of Chinnōji (*Wakan rōeishū Eisai chū*, 253–254). In the entry for Chinnōji (glossed as "Otagidera") in fascicle six of the ten-fascicle *Iroha jiruishō*—also believed to be an early thirteenth-century compilation—records attribute the establishment of Chinnōji to Takamura. The passage further states that because of this connection, the Ullambana (*urabon'e* 盂蘭盆会), a Buddhist memorial rite for ancestors, is performed at that site. Readers are moreover told that, until the disastrous fire that broke out during the Eikyū 永久 era (1113–1118),

among the treasures passed down through the generations within the temple there were several personal belongings of Takamura, including his cap, scepter, and outer robe (*Iroha jiruishō*, 207–208). In other words, not long after the period in which stories featuring Takamura as an underworld officer appeared, ties were already being forged between Otagidera (Chinnōji) and Takamura in connection with the Ullambana. The assembly as performed at Chinnōji appears in historical sources by the eleventh century. For example, the *Konjaku monogatari shū* story entitled "On *Bon*, the Fifteenth Day of the Seventh Month a Woman Offers a Poem" (SNKBT 36: 469) describes how a poor woman makes a pilgrimage to Otagidera (Chinnōji) on the day of the Ullambana, demonstrating the temple was indeed a site for the ceremony.

Chinnōji's association with the Ullambana ceremony relates to the fact that the area of Higashiyama 東山 in which it was located overlapped with the road leading to Toribeno 鳥辺野. From the mid-Heian period on, Toribeno was known as a funerary site. The banks of the Kamo River, which flowed just west of Chinnōji, were also a site where corpses had been abandoned or given open-air burials since the ancient period. The vicinity of Chinnōji was accordingly known as the "crossroads of the six paths" (*rokudō no tsuji* 六道ノ辻); this name combines the idea of a crossroads leading to actual burial grounds together with the Buddhist notion of the six paths, according to which persons endlessly transmigrate through life and death due to karmic causes carried over from previous lifetimes. Drawing attention to these overlapping meanings, Tokuda Kazuo points out that within pilgrimage mandalas (*sankei mandara* 参詣曼荼羅) depicting the Higashiyama area, including the *Kiyomizudera sankei mandara* 清水寺参詣曼荼羅 and *Hōkanji sankei mandara* 法観寺参詣曼荼羅, the two bridges of Gojō and Shijō over the Kamo River mark the division between "this world" (the area west of the Kamo River) and "that world" (the area east of the river leading to the Toribeno burial grounds). He also notes that the depiction of the wooden plaques (*sotoba* 卒塔婆) and stone stupas characteristically found at graves within the illustrated scene of Chinnōji near Gojō Bridge conveys to viewers that this is indeed a space closely linked with death (TOKUDA 1990, 112–118).

Moreover, the *Chinnōji sankei mandara* held at Rokudō Chinnōji 六道珍皇寺, thought to date from the Momoyama period, depicts people gathering at Chinnōji for the Ullambana. Within the grounds of Chinnōji are exhibited puppets related to hell, such as King Yama and the Ten Kings, and scenes related to the Sai riverbed (Sai no kawara 賽の河原). Thus the scroll makes visible the world of religious oral literature that developed at Chinnōji and its environs. One important detail for the present study is that a caption next to a well in the top-right edge of the picture reads, "The well through which Ono no Takamura commutes to the underworld." This demonstrates that by this time Ono no Takamura's underworld journey had become an important element in the religious culture

of the Chinnōji neighborhood. In the subsequent early modern period, Chinnōji would become a flourishing pilgrimage site for the welcoming of ancestral spirits (*shōryō mukae* 精霊迎え; also known as "pilgrimage through the six paths," *rokudō mairi* 六道まいり), a practice conducted immediately before the Ullambana. On the temple grounds, an image of Ono no Takamura is enshrined along with one of King Yama, rendering visible the stories proclaiming that this site was Ono no Takamura's entrance to hell.

Legends about Takamura's underworld journey likely brought certainty that the site for the performance of ancestral worship did in fact constitute a pathway to hell, confirming too that it was a space where ancestors could return to this world. Still today, the "pilgrimage through the six paths" is performed on an annual basis, and many people within Kyoto gather at Chinnōji to participate. It is evident that the ties between Ono no Takamura and this ritual are still alive today through the persistence of the transmission of these stories.

Based on the Chinnōji story of Ono no Takamura's trip to the underworld, new legends pertaining to Takamura emerged in other locales in Kyoto. Adashino 化野 in Saga 嵯峨 and Rendaino 蓮台野 in Kamigyō 上京 are two sites that, like Toribeno in Higashiyama, served as burial grounds in Kyoto from the medieval period on. In the middle of the early modern period, Saga was said to contain a site known as the "six paths of life" (*shō no rokudō* 生の六道), which people identified as Takamura's exit when he came back from hell. An abridged origin story published by the temple located on this site, Fukushōji 福生, which is primarily an edited version of the *Yata Jizō engi*, describes Ono no Takamura's creation of the "Jizō Bosatsu of the six paths of life" icon. In turn, based on this story, according to the *Sanshū meiseikishi* (56) it was said that the area of Chinnōji was the "six paths of death" (*shi no rokudō* 死の六道). From the mid-Meiji period on, it was widely proclaimed that the welcoming of ancestral spirits ceremony performed at Senbon Enmadō 千本閻魔堂 (Injōji 引接寺), located at the entrance of Rendaino, was linked to the famous Takamura. In the early Meiji period, new state policies instigated a decline of local religious practices such as these memorial rites. The welcoming of the ancestral spirits at Senbon Enmadō thus represents the revival of these older practices, one which drew upon the rich and well-established connections with Takamura (Matsuyama 2012). Such new transmissions about Ono no Takamura were a part of a longer history of stories about Takamura originally coming out of Chinnōji in the east of the city.

Kyoto-based legends of Takamura's underworld journey that emerged around Chinnōji spread widely and connected the Ullambana of the medieval period with the early modern ceremony for welcoming the ancestral spirits. The links between ritual practice and legends came to be solidified in visible forms such as the puppets used to preach about temple treasures and legends, wooden statues of Takamura, and the precise marking of the well by which Takamura com-

muted to his second job in hell. These local transmissions were stories that grew out of the associations established earlier by *setsuwa* tales; ceaselessly made and remade, they went on to traverse multiple historical periods.

Conclusion

From the medieval period on, Ono no Takamura's journey to the underworld, a tale that emerged in the twelfth century, came to be intertwined with the cult of Jizō and memorial rites for the deceased in Kyoto, namely the Ullambana and welcoming of the ancestral spirits. From the early modern to modern periods, novel retellings of the story based on the *setsuwa* and transmissions of earlier periods continued to be produced in multiple locations throughout Kyoto. In my reading, the story of Ono no Takamura was able to transcend both time and place in this way because the links between Takamura and the underworld functioned to convincingly demonstrate for Japanese society the connections between this world of the living and the world after death. These variations of the Takamura tales seen in different historical periods also shed light on the diversity of religious culture for which the Takamura story was a necessary piece. That is, because the problem of life and death will never disappear as an abiding concern within society, Takamura's story continues to be meaningful, even as it has been adapted to changing circumstances by those who have told it.

A historical figure active during the ninth century, Ono no Takamura was known as an erudite scholar, poet, and courtier with enough backbone to make his opinions on state policies publicly known, leading to his being exiled. It was because of Takamura's idiosyncratic personality and career that in the twelfth century a *setsuwa* would cast him as a literati with remarkable learning who displays power exceeding human intelligence and details his incredible journey to the underworld, the tales of which additionally drew inspiration from Chinese stories of the afterlife. Moreover, Takamura's story would transcend the framework of *setsuwa* anthologies of the medieval period. I see Takamura's story as one example of the ways in which *setsuwa* played a significant role within society to explain the origins of various cultural phenomena. Takamura's journey to the underworld reveals an important dimension of religious culture in Japan pertaining specifically to the imagination of life and death. Takamura's tale is a story that in many tangible ways has served to bridge this life and the next. As such, it demonstrates the boundary-crossing power exhibited by *setsuwa* and other transmitted tales within religious culture in Japanese history.

[Translated by Andrew Macomber]

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

KT *Kokushi taikei* 国史大系. Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美 et al., eds. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968–.

SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. 105 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1989–2005.

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大蔵経. 85 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, eds. Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Chinnōji sankei mandara 珍皇寺参詣曼荼羅. In *Jisha sankei mandara* 社寺参詣曼荼羅, ed. Ōsaka shi Hakubutsukan 大阪市博物館. Heibonsha, 1987.

Gōdanshō 江談抄. In SNKBT 32.

Haseo zōshi 長谷雄草紙. In *Nihon emaki taisei* 日本絵巻大成 11, ed. Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美. Chūōkōronsha, 1977.

Iroha jiruishō 伊呂波字類抄. In *Kōkan bijutsu shiryō, jiin hen, jōkan* 校刊美術史料·寺院篇·上巻, ed. Fujita Tsuneno 藤田経世. Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1972.

Kakōshi 歌行詩. In *Kakōshi genkai* 歌行詩諺解, ed. Kamitaka Tokuharu 神鷹徳治. Bensei Shuppan, 1988.

Kanden kōhitsu 閑田耕筆. In *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* 日本随筆大成, vol. 1, no. 18. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994.

Kitano Tenjin engi 北野天神縁起. In *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系 20. Iwanami Shoten, 1975.

Konjaku monogatari shū 今昔物語集. In SNKBT 33–37.

Mingbaoji 冥報記. T 51, no. 2082.

Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku 日本文徳天皇実録. In KT 3.

Sangoku denki 三国伝記. 2 vols. Chūsei no bungaku 中世の文学. Miyai Shoten, 1976.

Sanshū meiseikishi 山州名跡志. In *Shinshū Kyōto sosho* 新修京都叢書, vol. 15, ed. Noma Kōshin 野間光辰. Rinsen Shoten, 1969.

Tang Taizong ruming ji 唐太宗入冥記. In *Dunhuang bianwen ji* 敦煌変文集, Wang Zhongmin 王重民 et. al., eds. Renmin Wenxue Chubanche, 1957.

Teiō hennenki 帝王編年記. In KT 12.

Uji shūi monogatari 宇治拾遺物語. In SNKBT 42.

Wakan rōeishū Eisai chū 和漢朗詠集永済注. In *Wakan rōeishū kochūshaku shūsei* 和漢朗詠集古注釈集成, vol. 3, Itō Masayoshi 伊藤正義, Kuroda Akira 黒田彰, and Miki Masahiro 三木雅博, eds. Daigakudō Shoten, 1989.

Yamashiro shū Uji gun roku Jizō bosatsu engi 山城州宇治郡六地蔵菩薩縁起. In *Jizō reigenki ekotobashū* 地蔵霊験記絵詞集, Koten Bunkō 118, Manabe Kōsai 真鍋広済 and Umeza Jirō 梅津次郎, eds., 157–162. Koten Bunkō, 1957.

Yata Jizō engi 矢田地蔵縁起. In *Kōkan bijutsu shiryō, jiin hen, jōkan*, ed. Fujita Tsuneno. Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1972.

SECONDARY SOURCES

ISHIHARA Shōhei 石原昭平

1972 Takamura setsuwa no keisei: Bunjin to myōkan 篁説話の形成—文人と冥官. *Kaishaku* (November): 17–22.

1990 Ono no Takamura myōkan setsuwa no shosō 小野篁冥官説話の諸相. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 55/8: 69–73.

KAWAGUCHI Hisao 川口久雄

1967 Tonkō henbun no sozai to Nihon bungaku: Tō Taisō nyūmyōki to Kitano tenjin engi 敦煌変文の素材と日本文学—唐太宗入冥記と北野天神縁起. In *Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū* 5, ed. Bukkyō Bungaku Kenkyūkai, 7–42. Hōzōkan.

KIKUCHI Makoto 菊地 真

1999 "Kentōshi" no bungaku: Ono no Takamura densetsu no keisei〈遣唐使〉の文学—小野篁伝説の形成. *Ajia yūgaku* 4: 124–134.

KOMINE Kazuaki 小峯和明

2003 Yabatai shi *no nazo: Rekishi jujutsu toshite no miraiki*『野馬台詩』の謎—歴史叙述としての未来記. Iwanami Shoten.

LI Yujuan 李 育娟

2009 *Gōdanshō* to myōkan Takamura setsuwa no seisei: Hokusō bungaku to no setten o tegakari ni『江談抄』と冥官篁説話の生成—北宋文学との接点を手がかりに. *Kokugo kokubun* 78/3: 22–34.

MATSUYAMA Yūko 松山由布子

2012 Ono no Takamura denshō no tenkai: Kyōto shi Kamigyō ku Injōji no jirei o chūshin ni 小野篁伝承の展開—京都市上京区引接寺の事例を中心に. *Nihon shūkyō bunkashi kenkyū* 16/2: 62–88.

TAKAGI Kōichi 高木功一

2000 "Myōkan Takamura" no seiritsu: Hayanari, Michizane to no rensō kara「冥官篁」の成立—逸勢、道真との連想から. *Nihon bungaku ronkyū* 59: 107–116.

TOKUDA Kazuo 徳田和夫

1990 *Egatari to monogatari* 絵語りと物語り. Heibonsha.

WATARI Kōichi 渡 浩一

1995 Jizō shinkō to reigenki: *Yata Jizō reigenki* no shosō 地蔵信仰と霊験記—『矢田地蔵霊験記』の諸相. In *Iwanami koza Nihon bungaku to Bukkyō*

岩波講座日本文学と仏教 7, *Reichi* 霊地, ed. Konno Tōru 今野 達, 81–102. Iwanami Shoten.

Yamato Noriko 大和典子

1984 Danjōdai oyobi gyōbushō ni okeru kensatsu, shihō gyōsei ni kakawaru Ono no Takamura no imēji to shūkyōteki denshō: Chinnōji oyobi Kyōto Yakushiji to no kankei 弾正台及び刑部省における検察・司法行政に関わる小野篁のイメージと宗教的伝承—珍皇寺及び京都薬師寺との関係. *Seiji keizai shigaku* 218: 34–48.

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 49/2: 199–214
© 2025 Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture
dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.49.2.2022.199-214

Yoshino Tomomi 吉野朋美

Spirit Pacification in Imperial *Waka* Anthologies

The *Senzai wakashū* and *Shinkokin wakashū*

For imperial *waka* anthologies (*chokusenshū*), the first and foremost purpose of compilation was to extol the reign of the emperor who commissioned the collection. However, as times changed, spirit pacification (*chinkon*) also came to be included in the rubric of compilation. This article examines the process by which spirit pacification came to take on such an important role in these collections, and how this goal was achieved in particular imperial anthologies. Specifically, the article focuses on the *Senzai wakashū*, which was the first of the imperial anthologies to include spirit pacification among its major themes, as well as the *Shinkokin wakashū*, which distinguishes itself from other imperial anthologies in the way the subject matter of spirit pacification was executed.

keywords: imperial *waka* anthology—spirit pacification—*Senzai wakashū*—*Shinkokin wakashū*—Saigyō—Jien

Yoshino Tomomi is Professor at Chūō University.

In imperial *waka* anthologies (*chokusenshū* 勅撰集), whose primary purpose is to extol the reign of the emperor, Lament Poems (*banka* 挽歌) usually do not focus on the departed but describe the sorrow of those left behind or console the bereaved. They are to celebrate the peace and tranquility of the world of the living, and as such, there is little need to include poems that pacify the spirits of those belonging to the world of the dead. However, a major purpose for the compilation of the *Senzai wakashū*, the seventh imperial anthology compiled toward the end of the Heian period, was spirit pacification (*chinkon* 鎮魂). As for the next imperial anthology, the *Shinkokin wakashū*, the inclusion of a great number of poems by Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190) and Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), two representative poets of the time who were both Buddhist monks, adds a strong awareness of the past, death, and impermanence to the whole collection, and poems that hint at salvation demonstrate a desire to pacify the spirits of the dead as well as of society itself. This article examines the process through which spirit pacification became a part of the compilatory rubric of imperial *waka* anthologies and provides a detailed analysis of how such an effort was carried out, arguing that the inclusion of spirit pacification as a major theme in imperial *waka* anthologies was the result of the specific historical context in which these collections came about.

Death, Songs, and Spirit Pacification

In Japan, there has been an intimate connection between death and songs from ancient times. The *Gishi wajinden* states that in the land of Yamato, on the occasion of someone's death, the chief mourner would "cry aloud" while others would "sing, dance, and drink wine."[1] The section on Emperor Keikō 景行 (d.u.) in book two of the *Kojiki* also recounts how, after Prince Yamato Takeru 倭 健命 died and turned into a giant white bird, his consorts and children wept and chased after him as they sang four songs (SNKBZ 1: 235–237). The reason for this association between death and songs may be due to the belief that songs have the power to cross the boundary between life and death and communicate with the spirits of the dead. As stated in the "Kana Preface" to the *Kokin wakashū* (hereafter

1. This passage from the *Gishi wajinden* can be found at https://shoryobu.kunaicho.go.jp/Toshoryo/Detail/1000067540025.

Kokinshū), Japanese poetry (*waka*) has the power to effortlessly move heaven and earth and to stir the emotions of even the invisible spirits.[2]

In the *Man'yōshū*, Lament Poems constitute one of the collection's three major categories, aside from Various Poems (*zōka* 雑歌) and Correspondence (*sōmon* 相聞). According to Takakuwa Emiko (2016, 39), these Lament Poems are not simply about death itself, but rather their primary purpose is to pacify the spirits of the dead through the act of establishing direct communication with them, asking about their wishes in an attempt to fulfill them. The group of Self-Lament Poems by Prince Arima 有間 (640–658) that is found at the beginning of book 2 of the *Man'yōshū* is a good example. Prince Arima was a tragic figure who was suspected of treason, exiled to Kii 紀伊 Province, and was subsequently hanged at Fujishiro 藤白 Hill. One of his poems reads:

Iwashiro no	Tying a knot
hamamatsu ga e o	on a branch of the pine tree
hikimusubi	on the shore at Iwashiro,
masakiku araba	I vow to return to see it once more,
mata kaeri mimu	should fortune be on my side.

(*Man'yōshū*, no. 141)

In this poem, Prince Arima expresses his wish to return to the spot where he tied a knot on a pine branch to survive the ordeal awaiting him. In response, poets of later generations composed poems upon seeing the tied pine branch. One such example is the following by Yamanoue no Okura 山上憶良 (ca. 660–733):

amagakeri	Perhaps your spirit,
ari kayoitsutsu	like the free bird traversing the sky,
miramedomo	has come back to see the pine branch—
hito koso shirane	unbeknownst to us humans,
matsu wa shiru ramu	but the pine tree surely would know

(*Man'yōshū*, no. 145)

In his poem, Okura expresses his sympathy with Prince Arima's regret and affirms that the prince's spirit has certainly returned to the pine tree once again—that is, his wish has been fulfilled—thereby pacifying the spirit of the tragic prince. It is precisely because songs and poems are believed to have the power to communicate with the spirits of the dead that it is possible for Okura to come up with the concept and expressions found in this poem.

2. The phrasing of the relevant passage from the "Kana Preface" of the *Kokinshū* is heavily based on the "Grand Preface" to the *Shi jing* 詩経. The word used here to refer to the spirits is *onigami* 鬼神, which, according to Ōtō Tokihiko 大藤時彦, specifically means "spirits of the dead that are revered as gods" (https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=1001000062291).

However, this intimate connection between death and songs/poems in the *Man'yōshū* underwent a complete transformation in the early tenth century with the compilation of the first imperial anthology, the *Kokinshū*. Looking at the poems on the topic of death found in the Lament category of the *Kokinshū*, one mostly finds poems where the poet expresses their own grief or wishes upon encountering someone's death, poems on the impermanence of things, poems consoling the bereaved, or poems expressing the emotional turmoil of those who are facing death themselves.

For example, the first poem in book 16, Lament Poems (*aishōka* 哀傷歌), is the following by Ono no Takamura 小野 篁 (802–853), composed on the occasion of his sister's death:

naku namida	Would that my flowing tears
ame to furanamu	were falling like the rain,
watarigawa	so that the water would surge
mizu masarinaba	in the River of Crossing,
kaerikuru gani	and my sister would return.

(SKT 1: no. 829)

This poem expresses the poet's grief upon the death of his sister, as well as his wish for his tears to turn into a torrential rain, so that it would be impossible for his sister's spirit to cross the Sanzu River and she would thus return to him.

Another example is a condolence poem by Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (ca. 860–920) for someone in mourning, expressing his sympathy with the bereaved who is grieving (SKT 1: no. 843). There are also poems from the point of view of someone who is dying and expressing their concern for those who are left behind (SKT 1: nos. 857, 858), but there are no poems that directly interact with the dead or respond to their regrets or wishes in an attempt to pacify their spirits.[3] The closest one may get to observing any sort of communion with the spirits of the dead may be poems where the poetic persona looks at the mementos or historic remains of the dead and reminisces about the olden days, usually borrowing images of smoke or clouds (SKT 1: nos. 852, 853).

For the most part, this style of Lament Poems found in the *Kokinshū* was adopted in later imperial anthologies. In other words, Lament Poems in imperial anthologies are not often directed toward the dead, but rather they are expres-

3. The disappearance of poems on the subject of pacifying the dead may partly be attributed to a transformation in the ancient notion of "the other world," leading to a definite separation between the living and the dead. Even in the latter part of the *Man'yōshū*, Lament Poems began to change, with the poetic expression turning toward demonstrating the poetic persona's own feeling of sadness that occurs as a result of trying to establish a communion with the spirits of the dead (Takakuwa 2016). Such changes in the history of poetic expressions undoubtedly influenced the content of the poems themselves.

sions of the grief experienced by the living who had a close brush with death, deploration of the impermanence of the world, condolences for the bereaved, or the universal sentiment of death as the final destination at which everyone must eventually arrive.

This tendency in Lament Poems is because imperial anthologies are, first and foremost, collections of public poems (*hare no uta* 晴の歌) that are meant to extol the reign of the emperors who commissioned the anthologies. The most important purpose of an imperial anthology is to demonstrate that the peace and abundant nature enjoyed throughout this world, where all living beings experience all of their joys and sorrows, as well as new encounters and (sometimes eternal) partings, are all thanks to the ruler's virtue and grace. Even though the "Kana Preface" to the *Kokinshū* states that poems have the power to move the spirits of the dead, one may argue that from the perspective of imperial anthologies, the spirits of the dead belong to a world completely separate from that of the living, where the virtue and grace of the ruler does not reach. As such, regardless of what actual power poems may hold, there is no need for poems in imperial anthologies to pacify the individual spirits of the dead.[4] However, pacifying the spirits of the dead finally became a major goal of the compilation process for the seventh imperial anthology, the *Senzai wakashū* (hereafter *Senzaishū*), that appeared toward the end of the Heian period.

Imperial Waka Anthologies and Spirit Pacification: The Experiments of the Senzaishū

Maruya Saiichi (2014a) was one of the first scholars to point out the connection between the compilation of the *Senzaishū* and the theme of spirit pacification. Maruya posited that Retired Emperor Go Shirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192) had planned for an imperial anthology to serve as a means to soothe the vengeful spirit of his brother, Retired Emperor Sutoku 崇徳 (1119–1164), a *waka* aficionado who was defeated in the Hōgen Rebellion (Hōgen no ran 保元の乱) of 1156, exiled to Sanuki 讃岐, and eventually died there. Go Shirakawa appointed the task of compiling the anthology to Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204), for whom Sutoku was a great patron. The anthology served as a spiritual offering not only for Sutoku but also for all of those who lost their lives during the period

4. Notably, in book 10, Miscellaneous 2 (*zō ge* 雑下) of the *Kin'yō wakashū* (hereafter *Kin'yōshū*), a poem composed by Taguchi Shigeyuki 田口重如 (d.u.) on the occasion of his imminent death that expresses his wish to be reborn in paradise (*Kin'yōshū*, no. 646), is followed by a poem by Minamoto no Toshiyori 源 俊頼 (1055–1129) (*Kin'yōshū*, no. 647). The deliberate juxtaposition of these two poems facilitates the interpretation of Toshiyori's poem as a direct response to Shigeyuki's, assuring the former that his wish to be reborn in paradise would be fulfilled, thereby pacifying the spirit of the dying man. However, it is important to note that in this case, Shigeyuki is simply on his deathbed and has not yet joined the world of the dead.

following the Hōgen Rebellion, the Heiji Rebellion (Heiji no ran 平治の乱) of 1160, and the Genpei 源平 War (1180–1185).[5] Taniyama Shigeru (1976) postulates that Go Shirakawa came up with the idea of compiling the *Senzaishū* "as an offering for Sutoku" and "as part of a political measure against the Taira clan."

How did it become possible for an imperial anthology, whose top priority was to extol the reign of the commissioner, to include spirit pacification as part of its goals, and how exactly did it fulfill that mission? The answer largely has to do with the historical context in which the *Senzaishū* came about. Around the time the idea for the *Senzaishū* was conceived, Sutoku was widely believed to be a vengeful spirit (*onryō* 怨霊) who was wreaking havoc and causing many calamities.[6] In the popular imagination, vengeful spirits are those spirits that do not stay in their own separate world and whose powers have bearings on the world of the living. As these vengeful spirits posed a threat to society in the social consciousness, one may imagine that the compilers of an imperial anthology could not simply ignore their presence while putting together a collection of poetry that extolled the peace and affluence of the current reign. As such, it was necessary for spirit pacification to become part of the compilatory rubric as well.

How, then, did the *Senzaishū* compiler accomplish the unprecedented task of weaving the theme of spirit pacification into the fabric of an imperial poetry anthology? After all, Go Shirakawa was the very person who was responsible for banishing Sutoku to Sanuki and effectively causing his death. Go Shirakawa's involvement can be seen in the fact that the prototype for the *Senzaishū* was actually one of Fujiwara no Shunzei's private poetry anthologies.

According to Matsuno Yōichi, the *Senzaishū*'s predecessor was the *Sangodaishū* 三五代集, a private anthology that Shunzei compiled during the reign of Emperor Takakura 高倉 (1161–1181), before he was appointed as compiler of the *Senzaishū* for the purpose of pacifying the spirit of the late Sutoku. With the approval of Go Shirakawa, Shunzei put the *Sangodaishū* to good use when compiling the *Senzaishū*, adopting its general stance on *waka* and its overall theme of pacifying the spirit of Sutoku (Katano and Matsuno 1993; Matsuno 1994). In other words, it was possible for the *Senzaishū* to include spirit pacification precisely because it could use the "excuse" that the spirit pacification aspect was simply inherited from Shunzei's private anthology. It was due to this special

5. Maruya's essay first appeared in the August 1975 issue of *Shinchō* 新潮 and was republished in Maruya (2014a). In a later essay published in the January 1986 issue of *Kaien* 海燕 and republished in Maruya (2014b), Maruya put forth the theory that the *Kokinshū* also aimed to pacify the spirit of Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) as one of its main goals. However, as I argue, this theory does not hold up when one takes into account the fact that the connection between the *Senzaishū* and the theme of spirit pacification has its beginning in private acts of compiling poetry collections.

6. The *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 contains a reference to Sutoku's vengeful spirit (Yamada 2001).

circumstance of compilation, as well as the peculiarity of the individuals involved, that the *Senzaishū* managed to be different from all of its predecessors.

During the process of transforming Shunzei's private anthology into an imperial anthology, various details were added to remind the reader of the drastic social changes that occurred within this timeframe, namely the civil conflicts that began with the Hōgen Rebellion and continued to the Genpei War, the rise of the warrior class, and the many natural disasters that befell the country. At the same time, subtle care was taken in the collection to extol the reign of Go Shirakawa at every turn. Still, when one looks at the circumstances of the compilation of the *Senzaishū*, it is clear that pacification of the spirit of Sutoku was of the utmost importance.

How did the *Senzaishū* accomplish its goal of pacifying the spirits of Sutoku? In the Lament Poems volume of the collection, there are no poems that directly address the death of Sutoku, who died in a state of great resentment; the pacification effort was carried out in much subtler ways. The collection contains a total of twenty-three poems by Sutoku, making him the poet with the fourth most poems included, after Minamoto no Toshiyori 源 俊頼 (1055–1129), Shunzei, and Fujiwara no Mototoshi 藤原基俊 (1060–1142). Having one's poems included in an imperial anthology was a matter of great pride for a poet, so the fact that many of Sutoku's poems were chosen for the anthology may already be considered a spiritual offering for the late emperor by means of honoring his poetic achievements. One may also observe that the inclusion of many poems from the *Kyūan hyakushu* 久安百首, a collection of hundred-poem sequences that was compiled under Sutoku's command—with Shunzei being in charge of the poetic categories—may be a reflection of Sutoku's desire to revise the *Shika wakashū* 詞花和歌集 (the imperial anthology that was compiled at Sutoku's behest), a wish that was left unfulfilled upon his exile. Furthermore, among the poems composed by Sutoku that were chosen to be included in the *Senzaishū*, there are those such as the following, which was composed for the Travel (*kiryo* 羇旅) section of the *Kyūan hyakushu*:

matsu ga ne no	With the roots of the pine tree
makura mo nani ka	pillowing my head—
adanaran	what is so fleeting about that?
tama no yuka to te	Even the most beautifully decorated bed
tsune no toko ka wa	shall not last forever.

(SKT 1: no. 510)

The poem almost reads as a prophecy for Sutoku's own circumstances after the rebellion, and it serves to evoke great sympathy toward Sutoku in the reader.

Aside from pacifying the spirit of Sutoku, another major goal of the *Senzaishū* is to pacify the spirit of the age itself. Toward that goal, the collection includes

many poems by those from the Taira 平 clan (although the poets are all anonymous). These poems allude to the fate of the clan through details that evoke the rise and fall of the Taira, and there are also several poems that are clearly composed by those who were exiled due to various circumstances after the Hōgen Rebellion, even though the poets are not mentioned by name. By including poems by these individuals, the collection not only honors them but also encourages the reader to feel sympathy for them. One example is the famous poem by Taira no Tadanori 平 忠度 (1144–1184), who was the governor of Satsuma 薩摩 Province (listed under anonymous):

sazanami ya	The former capital at Shiga,
Shiga no miyako wa	with its rippling waves,
arenishi o	has fallen completely into ruins,
mukashi nagara no	but oh, the mountain cherry blossoms
yamazakura kana	are still as beautiful as the olden days.

(SKT 1: no. 66)

This poem was composed on the topic of "cherry blossoms at the old capital" (*furusato no hana* 故郷花) and does not directly concern itself with any actual historical event, but looking at it from the perspective of someone who has gone through all of the upheavals brought about by the war, one may interpret the poem as a reflection of the passage of time and find within it something that evokes the line: "The country has fallen, but the mountains and rivers are still there" from the poem "A Spring View" (*Chun wang* 春望) by Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770). This may be counted among the poems that are meant to offer solace to the spirit of the age and mourn for the defeated Taira clan.

Furthermore, the *Senzaishū* is the first imperial anthology where the number of poets who are Buddhist monks exceeds that of female poets, constituting as much as 22 percent of the total number of poets, and Ariyoshi Tamotsu (2009) observes that this peculiar configuration gives the whole collection a strongly religious tone. It does not necessarily mean that the poems by these poets all have a religious theme, but the presence of such a large number of poets who are Buddhist monks in the collection may, to a certain extent, be connected to the spirit pacification aspect of the *Senzaishū*.

With the *Senzaishū* thus setting the precedent for having spirit pacification as one of its main goals of compilation, later imperial anthologies also came to embrace spirit pacification as part of their agenda when the sociohistorical context called for it. Moreover, rather than employing the *Senzaishū*'s tactic of masterfully including poems composed by or connected with those whose spirits were meant to be pacified as a way to honor them, one anthology in particular had a completely different approach: the *Shinkokin wakashū* (hereafter the

Shinkokinshū), the eighth imperial anthology, compiled a mere seventeen years after the *Senzaishū*.

The Shinkokinshū's Method of Spirit Pacification

Before considering the *Shinkokinshū*, it is first necessary to look at other imperial anthologies that follow the *Senzaishū*'s precedent in handling the subject of spirit pacification. For example, the tenth imperial anthology, *Shokugosen wakashū* 続後撰和歌集, which was commissioned by Retired Emperor Go Saga 後嵯峨 (1220–1272) in 1251, features many poems by retired emperors Go Toba 後鳥羽 (1180–1239), Tsuchimikado 土御門 (1196–1231), who was Go Saga's father, and Juntoku 順徳 (1197–1242), all of whom were exiled after the Jōkyū Rebellion (Jōkyū no ran 承久の乱) in 1221, as well as poems by those who were involved with the rebellion. One may argue that by strategically including these poems at various junctures in the collection, the compiler, Nijō no Tameie 二条為家 (1198–1275), effectively gives voice to the exiled poets to lament their fates and invites the reader to sympathize with them, thus fulfilling the pacifying purpose of the collection (Tabuchi 2001; Satō 2017).

Another example is the eighteenth imperial anthology, *Shinsenzai wakashū* 新千載和歌集, which was commissioned by Emperor Go Kōgon 後光厳 (1338–1374) at the request of Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–1358) and compiled by Nijō no Tamesada 二条為定 (ca. 1293–1360) in 1359. This was the first time an imperial anthology was compiled at the request of an Ashikaga shogun, and this was not only due to Takauji's love for *waka*: the collection itself, which contains as many as twenty-four poems composed by Emperor Go Daigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339) and many others extolling his reign in the Congratulations (*keiga* 慶賀) volume, was also meant to serve the purpose of pacifying the late emperor, who was believed to have turned into a vengeful spirit running rampant and causing social unrest (Fukatsu 2005). Both of these anthologies have their own strategy and neither is a carbon copy of the *Senzaishū*. However, they do share two important traits with the *Senzaishū*: from the perspective of the commissioners and compilers of these anthologies, the targets of spirit pacification were specific individuals, and the main method of pacification was the inclusion of poems composed by these individuals or having something to do with them in terms of the content.

In contrast, the *Shinkokinshū*—and by extension, its commissioner, Retired Emperor Go Toba—does not have any specific target of pacification. Moreover, the version of the anthology that was later revised by Go Toba was certainly a collection that exemplified his own reign, its main purpose being to extol his own rule and to wish for the perpetual continuation of the court and the imperial line, as well as the return of imperial power. Up until now, the *Shinkokinshū* has not been considered an imperial anthology with an emphasis on spirit pacification.

However, I argue that spirit pacification is indeed part of the rubric for the compilation of this anthology; specifically, the target of pacification here is not any specific individual, but rather the spirit of the entire preceding age. In other words, Go Toba sought to make the anthology the cornerstone for the prosperity of his own reign by (1) acknowledging the greatly impoverished social condition that was the result of all the wars that occurred during the fifty years between the Hōgen Rebellion and the compilation of the *Shinkokinshū*, and (2) by praying for the peace of all those who became victims while at the same time pacifying the vengeful spirits who were believed to be either the direct or indirect cause of the disturbed the social order. This line of thought is consistent with the general effort to pacify the spirits of the dead after the Hōgen Rebellion that continued well into the Kenkyū 建久 era (1190–1198), when Go Toba was on the throne.[7]

How did the *Shinkokinshū* accomplish its goal of spirit pacification when the target of the pacifying act was not an individual but something vague like the spirit of a whole age and of society itself? The two poets with the most poems in the collection are Saigyō and Jien, both of whom were famous Buddhist monks who represent the previous generation (in Saigyō's case) and Go Toba's own generation (in Jien's case). Their poems make up nearly 10 percent of the total number of poems and are distributed throughout the collection; the content covers a wide range of topics, with many having to do with death, reminiscing about the past, lamenting the impermanence of this world, worrying about the plight of the living, and general thoughts about life in seclusion, all of which highlight the many sorrows to be found in this "wretched world" (*uki yo* 憂き世).

One example in the Miscellaneous 2 (*zō ge*) volume contains a cluster of poems on the topic of impermanence (*mujō* 無常) that are arranged in groups by association, and this cluster contains thirteen poems by Saigyō and sixteen poems by Jien (Ariyoshi 1968). Of particular interest is that within this cluster, there is a sub-group of poems on grievances (*jukkaika* 述懐歌) by these two religious figures that exhibit a strong awareness of time, including the past, present, and future. The poems in this sub-group are as follows:

7. The *Daisenpōin jōjō kishōji hotsuganmon* 大懺法院條々起請事発願文, which Jien wrote one year after the compilation of the *Shinkokinshū* in 1206, states: "In the current chaotic state of the world after the Hōgen Rebellion, vengeful spirits run rampant throughout the land, and dead soldiers are found across the four seas," and prayers were thus offered at the Daisenpōin 大懺法院 in order to "salvage those vengeful spirits and aid the imperial family" (dns 4: 279). Given that Jien was Go Toba's protector monk (*gojisō* 護持僧), the fact that he found it important enough to establish the Daisenpōin and offer prayers to save the souls of the dead and pacify the vengeful spirits in order to support the ruling family must have had no small influence on the philosophy of the *Shinkokinshū*, which was commissioned by Go Toba (Yoshino 2015).

Unknown context — Former Major Archbishop Jien

omowanedo	Will I become just another
yo o somukan to	of those people who say
iu hito no	they plan to leave the world behind
onaji kazu ni ya	even when in their hearts,
ware mo naruran	they do not truly mean it?

(SKT 1: no. 1747)

Master of the Law Saigyō

kazu naranu	Though I am someone of no import,
mi o mo kokoro no	it seems that my heart—
mochigao ni	as if finding my own self worthy to call home,
ukarete wa mata	does eventually return,
kaeri kinikeri	no matter the distance it goes.

(SKT 1: no. 1748)

orokanaru	I may leave it up
kokoro no hiku ni	to my foolish heart,
makasetemo	letting it take me wherever it may,
sate sa wa ikani	but then, what will I think
tsui no omoi wa	during those final moments?

(SKT 1: no. 1749)

toshitsuki o	How have I spent
ikade wagami ni	all of these passing years?
okuriken	In this fleeting world
kinō no hito mo	where a person may be here one day
kyō wa naki yo ni	and be gone the next.

(SKT 1: no. 1750)

ukegataki	Being reborn as a human
hito no sugata ni	and rising up from hell
ukabi idete	is such a miraculous feat,
korizu ya tare mo	and yet, are we all going to fall again,
mata shizumu beki	not learning anything from our previous lives?

(SKT 1: no. 1751)

Of the last three in this group of five poems by Jien and Saigyō, in the first one (no. 1749), the poetic persona reflects on his own emotions at the time of his death after having let his foolish heart dictate his life; in the second one (no. 1750), he questions the way in which he has spent his life, when the world is so impermanent and full of changes; and in the last one (no. 1751), he laments human fate: despite having been born as a human, it seems to be in man's nature

to learn nothing from his previous lives for he keeps committing sins, only to once again fall into hell and reincarnate through the six realms. Thus, the first poem focuses on a point in one's future (the time of one's death), the second focuses on both the past (the life one has led up until that point) and the present (when the poetic persona thinks back on the past), and the third once again shifts the focus to the future (when one goes to hell for one's sins).

Furthermore, in the Kami Poems (*jingika* 神祇歌) volume of the collection, there are poems that express the author's faith in the authority and blessing of the deities who help uphold the peacefulness of the present world while also recalling the remote past (SKT 1: nos. 1878, 1904). In the Buddhist Poems (*shakkyōka* 釈教歌) volume, there are poems by Jien that take on the role of explaining in simple terms the gist of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which is considered a means of saving all living beings (SKT 1: nos. 1941–1944, 1950). The last poem in this volume—a position that is usually highly regarded—is one by Saigyō where the poet talks about his premonition regarding his own death, thereby taking on the role of guiding all living beings to the Western Pure Land (SKT 1: no. 1987). In other words, through the use of the poetry by these two religious figures, the *Shinkokinshū* proves itself to be a poetry collection that has a clear awareness of the past and the notion of death as well as the impermanence of this world. Furthermore, by showing how salvation can be achieved through these poems, the collection clearly demonstrates its goal of soothing the past and the souls of the dead: in other words, of spirit pacification.

Saigyō originally served as an imperial guard for Retired Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103–1156), and he was also close to Retired Emperor Sutoku. Even after renouncing the world, Saigyō was still sensitive to the decline of imperial rule; at times he would lament it, at others he would express a desire for its restoration, and he also constantly wished for peace in the world. He once went to Sanuki to pacify the spirit of Sutoku. Another time, he headed to the eastern provinces to solicit funds for the restoration of Tōdaiji 東大寺 after the Genpei War. He also compiled a poetry contest that was dedicated to Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮 to pray for peace in the world. Saigyō was truly representative of the religious figures of the pre-*Shinkokinshū* generation: someone who lived right in the middle of a turbulent time, who witnessed everything and used that as the inspiration for his poetry, who held the lofty goal of pacifying the spirit of society itself, and who was willing to travel far to offer his prayers where they were needed. As for Jien, he came from a powerful regent family and rose to the position of leader of the Tendai 天台 school, but despite being someone who was upholding the ideals of the religious world at the time, both as a result of his origins and his own status, Jien constantly carried within himself a spiritual conflict. In his personal life, he had experienced various setbacks and misfortunes, and Jien was someone who continuously looked at the state of human existence from his personal point of

view. In short, one may argue that by using two religious figures with different roles and social standings, the *Shinkokinshū* attempted to fulfill its goal of offering prayers for society itself and pacifying the spirit of the preceding age.

Aside from the poems by Saigyō and Jien, the theme of spirit pacification is also evoked in the *Shinkokinshū* by the inclusion of poems by Sugawara no Michizane and Sutoku, who were both feared as vengeful spirits and believed to be the cause of social unrest by the governing body at various junctures in history. A total of sixteen poems by Michizane are included in the collection, the most notable of which are the twelve poems on the subject of his exile that make up the group of poems occupying the beginning of the Miscellaneous 2 volume (SKT 1: nos. 1690–1701). Aside from these twelve, all of his other poems included in the anthology are also allegorical poems lamenting his misfortune. As for Sutoku, he has seven poems included in the anthology, some of which hint at his misfortune (SKT 1: no. 71 in volume 1 of the Spring [*haru no uta jō* 春歌上] volume) or focus on the theme of impermanence and are heavily religious in tone (SKT 1: no. 1945 in the Buddhist Poems volume); the inclusion of these poems by Sutoku may be taken as the compiler's attempt to express sympathy for the late emperor's laments, thereby pacifying his spirit. Furthermore, it should be noted that the beginning of both the Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems volumes includes several poems attributed to gods and buddhas, an unprecedented approach in imperial *waka* anthologies. By showing that even in a world that has become thoroughly impoverished and fallen into ruin, the gods and buddhas still remain connected with human beings through the medium of poetry and are willing to provide salvation, and so the collection demonstrates its goal of soothing and salvaging the human soul.

However, the method of pacification seen in the *Shinkokinshū* was not adopted by later imperial anthologies. After all, this method was possible in the *Shinkokinshū* precisely because of the direct involvement of Go Toba, both in his position as the commissioner of the anthology and as the retired emperor in power (*chiten no kimi* 治天の君), who deeply believed in the power of poems to communicate with the gods and buddhas and who tried to apply that mindset to the collection as a whole.[8] Additionally, the presence of both Saigyō and Jien—

8. During the compilation of the *Shinkokinshū*, Go Toba dedicated many hundred-poem sequences to shrines, including the Ise 伊勢, Kamo 鴨, and Kasuga 春日 shrines, and made his retainers participate. Even before Go Toba showed an interest in poetry, Shunzei had started the practice of dedicating hundred-poem sequences to shrines, such as the *Gosha hyakushu* 五社百首; Go Toba likely took inspiration from Shunzei, but it is worth noting that with these poetic offerings Go Toba was taking a stance: as the ruler of the whole country, he prayed divine protection for his rule and the restoration of imperial power, all through borrowing the power of poetry. Together with the presence of the gods and buddhas and the heavy prayer-like quality of the whole collection, this is a notable aspect of the *Shinkokinshū*.

two outstanding poets and religious figures who are each representative of their generation—is something unique to the *Shinkokinshū* and not replicated in any other imperial anthologies.

Conclusion

In this article, I have looked at how the theme of spirit pacification is carried out in different imperial *waka* anthologies. In the *Senzaishū*, the masterful inclusion of poems by poets who were the targets of the act of pacification seamlessly incorporates the theme of spirit pacification into the collection, even though at first glance it may seem incompatible with the primary purpose of imperial anthologies to extol the reign of the commissioning emperor. By contrast, the *Shinkokinshū* attempts to pacify the spirit of society as a whole through the poetry of Saigyō and Jien, two prominent poets and religious figures who were both representative of their own generation. The peculiar method adopted by the *Shinkokinshū* was the combined result of many different factors: the historical context in which peace was being restored after an unprecedented period of prolonged unrest, Go Toba's role as the commissioner and effectively the compiler who deeply believed in the efficacious power of poetry, the presence of outstanding poets who were able to realize Go Toba's ideals, and of course, Saigyō and Jien: the stage was set and the entire cast of characters was assembled for the *Shinkokinshū*.

[Translated by Phuong Ngo]

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

DNS *Dai Nihon shiryō* 大日本史料. 12 vols. Ed. Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Bungakubu Shiryō Hensangakari 東京帝国大学文学部史料編纂掛. Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku, 1901–2016.

SKT *Shinpen kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観. 10 vols. Ed. Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai 新編国歌大観編集委員会. Kadokawa Shoten, 1983–1992.

SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Shōgakkan, 1994–2002.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Gishi wajinden 魏志倭人伝. In *Sangokushi* 三国志. Chen Shou 陳壽 (239–297). Shoryō bujozō shiryō mokuroku, gazō kōkai shisutemu 書陵部所蔵資料目録・画像公開システム. https://shoryobu.kunaicho.go.jp/Toshoryo/

Kin'yō wakashū 金葉和歌集. Comp. Minamoto no Toshiyori 源 俊頼 (1055–1129). SKT 1.

Kojiki 古事記. Ō no Yasumaro 太安万侶 (d. 723). In SNKBZ 1.

Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集. Comp. Ki no Tsurayuki 紀 貫之 (ca. 872–945), Ki no Tomonori 紀 友則 (ca. 845–907), Ōshikōchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 (ca. 859–925), and Mibun no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (ca. 860–920). In SKT 1.

Man'yōshū 万葉集. Comp. Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (ca. 718–785). In *Man'yōshū: Honbun hen* 萬葉集—本文篇, Satake Akihiro 佐竹昭広, Kinoshita Masatoshi 木下正俊, and Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之, eds. Hanawa Shobō, 1963.

Senzai wakashū 千載和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204). In SKT 1.

Shinkokin wakashū 新古今和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241), Fujiwara no Ariie 藤原有家 (1155–1216), Fujiwara no Ietaka 藤原家隆 (1158–1237), Jakuren 寂蓮 (1139–1202), Minamoto no Michitomo 源通具 (1171–1227), and Asukai Masatsune 飛鳥井雅経 (1170–1221). In SKT 1.

SECONDARY SOURCES

ARIYOSHI Tamotsu 有吉 保

1968 *Shinkokin wakashū no kenkyū: Kiban to kōsei* 新古今和歌集の研究—基盤と構成. Sanseidō.

2009 *Karā zusetsu, chokusen wakashū nyūmon: Waka bungaku rikai no kiso* カラー図説、勅撰和歌集入門—和歌文学理解の基礎. Bensei Shuppan.

FUKATSU Mutsuo 深津睦夫

2005 *Chūsei chokusen wakashūshi no kōsō* 中世勅撰和歌集史の構想. Kasama Shoin.

KATANO Tatsurō 片野達郎 and MATSUNO Yōichi 松野陽一, eds.

1993 *Senzai wakashū* 千載和歌集. In *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系, vol. 10. Iwanami Shoten.

MARUYA Saiichi 丸谷才一

2014a *Taira no Tadanori* 平 忠度. In *Maruya Saiichi zenshū* 丸谷才一全集, vol. 7. Bungei Shunjū.

2014b *Kitano kuyō* 北野供養. In *Maruya Saiichi zenshū*, vol. 8. Bungei Shunjū.

MATSUNO Yōichi

1994 *Senzaishū: Chokusen wakashū wa dō amareta ka* 千載集—勅撰和歌集はどう編まれたか. In *Seminā genten o yomu* セミナー原典を読む, vol. 3. Heibonsha.

SATŌ Tsuneo 佐藤恒雄

2017 *Shokugosen wakashū* 続後撰和歌集. In *Waka bungaku taikei* 和歌文学大系, vol. 37. Meiji Shoin.

TABUCHI Kumiko 田渕句美子

2001 Ryūtaku no Go Toba in: *Shokugosenshū* igo no juyō 流謫の後鳥羽院—『続後撰集』以後の受容. *Kokubun* 95: 36–46.

Takakuwa Emiko 高桑枝実子

2016 *Man'yō banka no hyōgen: Banka to wa nani ka* 万葉挽歌の表現—挽歌とは何か. Kasama Shoin.

Taniyama Shigeru 谷山 茂

1976 *Senzai wakashū, Chōshū eisō, Kumano kaishi* 千載和歌集、長秋詠藻、熊野懐紙. Shibunkaku.

Yamada Yūji 山田雄司

2001 *Sutoku in onryō no kenkyū* 崇徳院怨霊の研究. Shibunkaku.

Yoshino Tomomi 吉野朋美

2015 *Go Toba in to sono jidai* 後鳥羽院とその時代. Kasama Shoin.

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 49/2: 215–230
© 2025 Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture
dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.49.2.2022.215-230

Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎

The Emergence of Medieval Borders in Kamakura

Sacred Space of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū

Using the *Azuma kagami* as my guide, I consider the newly established capital of Kamakura from the vantage point of the border zones around Tsurugaoka Hachimangū at the city center. Tsurugaoka was a ritual space for ceremonies dedicated to the buddhas and kami, and the Hōjōe was the most prominent of these ceremonies. This was also the space where the capital city was constructed. This Tsurugaoka shrine-temple complex was a key center for performing arts dedicated to the native kami, where professional performers would gather. Their social interactions are illustrated in the *Tsurugaoka Hōjōe shokunin utaawase*, a picture scroll depicting a fictive poetry match among the artisans at the Hōjōe. The "Entry into Kamakura" scene in the *Ippen hijiri e* pictorializes the border by showing the itinerant holy man Ippen being turned away by force at the border of Kamakura but later succeeding in transcending the border through a performance. Masks were used in religious performances such as the Mukaekō held at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman, which was Ippen's intended destination. Such masks and the memory of their performances live on today in the popular Menkake Gyōretsu that is held on the city's border and brought to life by performers.

keywords: *Azuma kagami*—Hōjōe—Tsurugaoka Hachimangū—Mukaekō—picture scrolls—Kamakura

Abe Yasurō is Visiting Professor at the Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures at Ryūkoku University and Nagoya University Institute for Advanced Research.

An exploration of the world-shaping processes that, functioning as a womb-like matrix (*matorikksu* 母胎), gave birth to medieval narratives naturally leads to a consideration of borders. Performance (*geinō* 芸能), which was profoundly religious, played a major role in the creation and dissemination of major works of medieval literature. For instance, the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 employs characters to recount the fate of a clan's fleeting rise and subsequent demise; *Soga monogatari* 曽我物語 utilizes acts of revenge to express the reality of the Buddhist call to "battle to pay off the debt owed to one's parents and fight to show gratitude for their merit";[1] and the *Shintōshū* 神道集 is a collection of tales about the kami who are manifestations of their original Buddhist forms and who wander and suffer due to their attachments in the human world. These tales are all products of such performances. Religious performers, particularly Buddhist preachers (*shōdōsha* 唱導者) who used their eloquence to explicate scriptures and to administer rites and ceremonies for the kami and the buddhas, played a major role in this process, honing their performance skills while producing the narratives that crystalized prayers for salvation.

Borders (*kyōkai* 境界) were more than a concept for these preacher-performers. They were a stark fact of life in the medieval world, shaping both society and culture. Preachers and other performers faced borders and obstacles that needed to be overcome. In this article, I explore the issue of borders in medieval Japan by focusing on the east, or the eastern provinces (*azuma no kuni* 東国), and Kamakura in particular as the capital of the shogun and his warrior followers and as a newly created medieval city. In Kamakura, these borders surround the city's matrix-like center. I first examine the Hōjōe 放生会 (the assembly to free living beings) held at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū 鶴岡八幡宮, the shrine at the city's center, taking the assembly as the axis of worship and performance.

The Beginnings of Worship at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū and the Hōjōe

Minamoto no Yoritomo 源 頼朝 (1147–1199), who was called "The Lord of Kamakura," first rose to power in a revolt at Izu in 1180. After barely escaping from defeat at Ishibashiyama 石橋山, he made an astounding recovery, leading

1. This formulaic phrase, which serves as the subtitle of the *Soga monogatari*, encapsulates its theme and begins each of the ten books of the *mana* version of the *Soga monogatari*. See the National Diet Library online catalog for an explanation: https://crd.ndl.go.jp/reference/modules/d3ndlcrdentry/index.php?page=ref_view&id=1000098669.

the eastern provinces in defeating the government forces led by his Taira 平 enemies at Fujikawa 富士川. He then chose Kamakura as his headquarters, solidifying his base in Kanto. *Azuma kagami*, the annals of the warrior government (*bakufu* 幕府), records the founding of the regime in Kamakura by Yoritomo and especially the festivals and religious rites (*saishi* 祭祀) that were central to the events and organization of the Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji 鶴岡八幡宮寺, the shrine-temple complex at the center of Kamakura.

Initially, the main building of the Wakamiya 若宮 shrine was constructed with a covered corridor at the base of the central mountain in the northern area of what was to become the city. At the shrine-temple, Buddhist services were conducted by an abbot (*bettō* 別当) and the priests stationed at the temple served under him. *Bugaku* 舞楽 (formal dance and music associated with the court) was performed at a special festival in the spring, and a sacred *kagura* 神楽 (song and dance for the kami) was performed in festivals during the autumn and winter. The pinnacle of these annual events was the Hōjōe held on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. The Hōjōe, which began in 1187, was a Buddhist service with a parade of portable shrines (*mikoshi togyo* 神輿渡御) modeled on the rituals observed at the main Hachiman Shrine at Iwashimizu 岩清水 in Kyoto, which was also accompanied by *bugaku*. The direct retainers of the regime (*gokenin* 御家人) participated in this outdoor ceremony, which was held on the horse-riding grounds. Offerings of mounted archery (*yabusame* 流鏑馬), horse races (*kurabe uma* 競馬), ornamental horses (*age uma* 馬長), as well as sumo wrestling were a part of the regular program. The display of great skill with the bow in mounted archery in the presence of the Lord of Kamakura, Yoritomo, was a matter of particular pride and honor for the retainers who represented the warrior bands of the eastern provinces.

The *Azuma kagami* records how on the fifteenth day of the eighth month of 1186, Yoritomo, who had come to worship at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū, spied the monk Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190) wandering in front of the torii gate of the shrine and invited him to his residence where they spent the night discussing the way (*dō* 道) of Japanese poetry as well as archery and horsemanship (SZKT 32: 240). This meeting occurred prior to the initial Hōjōe, but the festive rituals (*saigi* 祭儀) that became the basis of the later event were already taking shape. An entry in the *Azuma kagami* that describes the Hōjōe half a century later notes that it was Saigyō who had, fifty years earlier, conveyed secret lore about the mounted archery, revealing that Saigyō's legacy was preserved among the warriors who performed at the Hōjōe decades later (SZKT 33: 200).[2]

2. Saigyō, as a descendant of Fujiwara no Hidesato 藤原秀郷 (d.u.) who had slain Taira no Masakado 平 将門 (ca. 903–940), was familiar with the performance of martial arts. His knowledge of these martial arts is referenced in his collection of Japanese poetry, the *Sankashū* 山家集.

Bugaku, which was the core of the performance held at Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji, had initially been performed at two sacred sites that were the religious centers of the eastern provinces, Izu Sōtōsan 伊豆走湯山 (the shrine in Izu known as Sōtōsan) and Hakonesan 箱根山 (the popular name of the shrine at Hakone), where young acolytes (*chigo* 児) served as dancers for the main youth dance (*dōbu* 童舞).[3] Records show that warriors rewarded them for providing dances to entertain the gods. Later, youthful disciples of the abbot as well as children of the retainers began to perform these dances as well. Eventually, an ensemble of professional musicians (*reijin shūdan* 伶人集団) attached to Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji was formed (Watanabe 2018, 132–135).

Performances by lay artists were also given before the shrine buildings at Tsurugaoka. The *Azuma kagami* gives a lengthy account of how the dancer Shizuka 静 (d.u.), the lover of Yoritomo's younger brother Kurō Yoshitsune 九郎義経 (1159–1189), was captured at Yoshino 吉野 by Yoritomo's forces and sent to Kamakura in the fourth month of 1186. It tells that Yoritomo—who was hunting down Yoshitsune—not only interrogated her about Yoshitsune's whereabouts but also had her dance for him at Tsurugaoka. With the covered corridor of the shrine as her stage, she sang with passion and danced songs of love for Yoshitsune. Yoritomo was enraged by her failure to realize her subservient position and for daring to do such a performance in his presence, but Yoritomo's wife, the powerful Masako 政子 (1157–1225), was also in attendance and thought it was only natural for Shizuka to express her love for Yoshitsune and remembered her own feelings when Yoritomo had risen in revolt. She admonished her husband, saying that Shizuka should be rewarded as a faithful woman. Masako assuaged Yoritomo's anger, and Shizuka was given a present (*kazukemono* 纏頭) for her performance (szkt 32: 218). This incident, which became a famous episode in the *Gikeiki* 義経記 (McCullough 1966, 220–235), indicates that the area in front of the main shrine buildings of Tsurugaoka was not only a site for performances accompanying rites for buddhas and kami to elicit a favorable response (*kannō* 感応); it was also dedicated to secular performances, and thus stood on the border separating the sacred and profane.

Tsurugaoka was destroyed by fire in 1191: the main shrine building, which had initially been the core of Wakamiya Shrine, and the five-story pagoda, which had symbolized the shrine-temple complex, were burned to the ground (szkt 32: 436). But a large-scale rebuilding project immediately began, placing Hachimangū on the top of the mountain and Wakamiya Shrine and the shrine-temple at the base of the mountain. A picture scroll titled the *Tsurugaoka Hōjōe*

3. These dances were performed as offerings to the principal deities of shrines and temples at dharma assemblies (*hōe* 法会). They were frequently performed before the shrine of the guardian kami (Tsuchiya 2001, 239–256).

shokunin utaawase 鶴岡放生会職人歌合 depicts people from various trades and occupations playing leading roles in the Hōjōe ritual performance under the aegis of the Kamakura shogun at Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji, and this picture scroll is thought to have been produced to commemorate the Hōjōe of 1261 sponsored by the prince-shogun (*miya shogun* 宮将軍) Munetaka 宗尊 (Shinnō 親王, 1242–1274), a son of Emperor Go Saga 後嵯峨 (1220–1272) (Mori 1979, 37–44; Iwasaki 1987, 40–45; Yamamoto 1985). Dancers, musicians, sumo wrestlers, as well as *sarugaku* 猿楽 and *dengaku* 田楽 performers are depicted together with the poetry and scenes of the performances. These images also included sutra-reciters (*jisha* 持者), who worked as physiognomists (*sōnin* 相人), and courtesans (*asobime/yūjo* 遊女), who were also *shirabyōshi* 白拍子 dancers who dressed as men. This festival and its performances, which included displays of military skills, was premised on those held at the principal shrine of a province and at the joint shrine found in provincial capitals where government officials from the provincial military headquarters, together with local warriors attached to provincial offices and performers of various "ways," offered their performances to the gods.

The classical form of medieval festival worship on a provincial scale was the Onmatsuri 御祭 at Wakamiya of Kasuga in Yamato Province, which was begun during the early twelfth century. The god of Wakamiya at Kasuga was worshiped by the people of Yamato in addition to the four gods of the main shrine, who were the ancestral gods (*ujigami* 氏神) of the Fujiwara 藤原 clan. Obstreperous and often-armed monks (*shuto* 衆徒) from Kōfukuji 興福寺, musicians (*reijin* 伶人) from the music bureau (*gakusho* 楽所), and the *miko* 巫女 from the worship hall also participated. Also involved were sacred dancers known as *seinoo* 細男, *hitotsumono* 一ツ物, or *umaosa* 馬長, as well as *dengaku* and *sarugaku* performers. Warrior bands from Yamato, who assembled for mounted archery and marched in an imposing parade to counter any disruption by armed monks, also displayed their performance skills before the god enshrined at its temporary lodging near Wakamiya. The Hōjōe assembly with its festival and performance at Tsurugaoka far surpassed the scale of the Onmatsuri in that warrior bands from every part of the east assembled for the shogun, the Lord of Kamakura, in a celebration that could be called groundbreaking and revolutionary. The energy that was concentrated in the Hōjōe was linked directly to the warfare that destroyed the Fujiwara clan in Ōshū 奥州 in 1189.

Early in the eighth century, Hachimanjin 八幡神, the god of ancient Kyushu centered at Usa 宇佐 Hachiman no Miya, set out with the military forces from the Yamato court to quell the revolt of the Hayato 隼人 people of southern Kyushu and ended up slaughtering the Hayato in countless numbers. The dharma assembly (*hōe*) was designed to atone for the sin of such massive killing and involved freeing sentient beings. This marked the beginning of the Hōjōe at

Hachimangū.[4] In the process of state-building in ancient Japan, the Yamato clan, with the support of the Hachiman god, subdued and decimated other clans. Hachiman, which was born of this bloody warfare, was a hybrid deity, combining Buddhism and kami worship. The central objective of the Hōjōe ritual was to bury the memory of this violence, which might be termed "the original sin" of kingship. This ritual and the related performances became key aspects of the medieval worship of Hachiman as a god of war (*ikusagami* 軍神) and as a peripatetic deity (*hashirigami* 流行神) as is recounted in the *Kōra Tamadare no Miya shinpi sho* 高良玉垂宮神秘書 (Araki 1972). As early as the *Shōmonki* 将門記, which describes Taira no Masakado's 将門 (ca. 903–940) revolt in the eastern provinces in 939, we see reference to the "dreadful power" of the Hachiman god. In the *Shōmonki*, Masakado declared himself the "new emperor" on the basis of an oracle by Hachiman (Rabinovitch 1986, 111–112). Later, in the fighting of the Zen Kunen no Eki 前九年の役 (Former Nine Years War) and the Go Sannen no Eki 後三年の役 (Later Three Years Wars), Minamoto no Yoshiie 頼家 (d.u.) became known as Hachiman Tarō 八幡太郎 (First Son of Hachiman).

If we turn our sights back to Kamakura where the source of Yoshiie's faith in Wakamiya was centered, we see that as early as 1182 a raised stone roadway that would form the central axis of the city of Kamakura had been constructed and became the main road to Tsurugaoka where the Wakamiya deity resided (Kawano 1995, 26–45). This became a highly symbolic route as seen in the parade of warriors mobilized to publicly display the authority of the shogun whenever the shogun made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hachiman.

The terminus of the road was the great torii gate of the shrine which looked out over a vast landscape spreading east and west. This was the site for drinking banquets and other entertainment hosted by successive shoguns from Yoritomo onward. Boats carrying musicians filled the air with music, and various forms of mounted archery, such as *kokasagake* 小笠懸 or *inuoumono* 犬追物 (shooting dogs for sport), were displayed on the strand (szkt 33: 2). Here, outside the sacred grounds of temple and shrine and freed from the restrictions of Buddhist precepts and kami abstinence, entertainment that involved the Buddhist sin of killing was permitted. This was even more so the case in the more distant hunting grounds in Izu or Nasu 那須, where these warriors displayed their martial

4. An entry dated the second month of 720 in the *Shoku Nihongi* contains records of the historic pacification and slaughter of the Hayato, and on the seventh day of the seventh month of the following year is found the entry on the return of the commander and the edict to free living beings (*Shoku Nihongi* 2: 67, 101). These events appear in the legends of the founding of Ōsumi Shō Hachiman 大隅正八幡 (present-day Kagoshima Jingū 鹿児島神宮) and are quoted in the *Hachiman Usagū go takusenshū* 八幡宇佐宮御託宣集, where they are seen as the origins of the Hōjōe at Usa. The origin of the Hōjōe is found in the ritual freeing of animals devised to expiate for the mass slaughter of the Hayato in quelling their rebellion (Sakurai 1981, 113–145).

skills. As seen in the ancient Misayama 御射山 rite at Suwa 諏訪, the ritual offering to the gods of game obtained in a hunt was part of a warrior-rooted festival.[5] The shogun and his chief retainers likewise found it necessary to serve as the chief sponsor of ceremonies in which offerings of slaughtered beasts, once themselves lords of the wilderness, were made to the gods.

An historic turning point occurred at the enclosed hunting grounds near Mt. Fuji in 1193 (SZKT 32: 488–492). In anticipation of a festival at which all of Yoritomo's retainers were to assemble, the Soga brothers—the remaining offspring of the Itō 伊東 family that had been destroyed by Yoritomo—attacked Kudō Suketsune 工藤祐経 (ca. 1147–1193), a favorite retainer of Yoritomo and the enemy of their father (COGAN 1987, 230–237). They also aimed to strike Yoritomo himself, who had just been named Seii Taishōgun 征夷大将軍 earlier that year. This planned "regicide," not carried out at the time, was ultimately achieved through a chain of vendetta-style slayings that began after Yoritomo's death. The first was the killing of Yoritomo's first son, Yoriie 頼家 (1182–1204), who had been exiled to Shuzenji 修善寺 (in Shizuoka Prefecture). This was followed by the killing of his youngest son, Sanetomo 実朝 (1192–1219), who was paying a celebratory visit as Minister of the Right (Udaijin 右大臣) to Tsurugaoka when he was murdered at the entryway by the abbot Kugyō 公暁 (1200–1219), a son of Yoriie. The tragic fate of the Minamoto shogunal house (Yoritomo and his descendants) became inseparable from the destiny of those who worshiped Hachiman.

Visualizing the Borders of the Medieval City of Kamakura

The medieval city of Kamakura was created especially for the shogun. It was surrounded by multilayered borders that formed an enclosed, sacred space (*kekkai* 結界). These borders were established after the death of Sanetomo and during the term of the shogun Yoritsune 頼経 (1218–1256), who was the son of the regent Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193–1252). These borders, which emerged as a result of negotiations between the court and the warrior regime, were set by yin-yang masters (*onmyōji* 陰陽師), who had accompanied Yoritsune from the capital to Kamakura and followed the precedent set in the Nanaseharae 七瀬祓 (Seven River Purification) and Shiku Shikyōsai 四角四境祭 (Festival of the Four Directions). These border zones were made up of shores and inlets such as Yui 由比, Kotsubo 小坪, Morito 杜戸, Katase 固瀬, and Mutsura 六浦, as well as hills and passages cut through the slopes such as Kobukuro 小袋, Gokurakuji 極楽寺, Kewai 化粧, Asahina 朝比奈, and Nagoshi 名越. The city formed a cul-de-sac, surrounded by the sea and mountains, with limited access provided by excavated passages and tunnels.

5. For a record of the medieval Misayama rite held at Suwa Taisha 諏訪大社, see the section on the rite in *Suwa Daimyōjin engi e kotoba* 諏訪大明神縁起絵詞, compiled by Enchū 円忠 in 1356.

These border zones, such Tatsunokuchi 龍口 at Katasenohama 固瀬浜 and Kobukurozaka 小袋坂, were places where people were executed or buried. Stained with the pollution of death, they had the character of a Buddhist hell and were associated with the otherworld. Halls dedicated to the bodhisattva Jizō 地蔵 or King Enma 閻魔 were built at these places to pray for the spirits of the dead. In the valleys below the mountain ridges, or on the mountain sides, one finds a vast number of tombs called *yagura* やぐら cut into the cliffsides. This constituted a necropolis (a space for the dead) built and operated by a shogunal government that needed to restrict a large number of people in the small area. In this border zone, great religious centers such as Kenchōji 建長寺 and Gokurakuji 極楽寺 belonging to the newly formed Zen 禅 and Ritsu 律 schools were constructed. Bathhouses and infirmaries as well as other facilities for social welfare were also built here. These border areas had varied functions, ranging from aiding those on the margins of society such as lepers and beggars to those who cared for domestic animals such as horses and oxen. This multifaceted border zone stood in vivid contrast to Tsurugaoka Hachimangū, which marked the central axis of medieval Kamakura.

Kobukurozaka is a steep slope that begins immediately to the west of the precincts of Tsurugaoka, leading to Yamanouchi 山ノ内 along the hills of Yukinoshita 雪下, where the monks' quarters were located. This was, and is still today, the shortest route into Kamakura. Kobukurozaka was the stage for a symbolic border incident recorded in the *Ippen hijiri e* 一遍聖絵, a biographical picture scroll of the life of Ippen Chishin 一遍智真 (1239–1289), the founder of the Jishū school, a mendicant *nenbutsu* 念仏 practitioner, and *sute hijiri* 捨聖 (a holy man who has abandoned the world). After the validity of his *nenbutsu* practice was confirmed in a direct encounter with the Kumano Gongen 熊野権現, the god of the Kumano shrines, and after he had widely disseminated the *nenbutsu* practice through talismans and initiated the practice of the *nenbutsu* dance (*odori nenbutsu* 踊り念仏) in Shinano 信濃 (now Nagano), Ippen set his sights on Kamakura as his next goal for proselytization. Whether he could obtain the "ritual protocol for entry into Kamakura" (*Kamakura iri no sahō* 鎌倉入りの作法) would determine whether he could achieve his goal. In the third month of 1282, he tried to enter Kamakura from Kobukurozaka, but he was blocked by warriors because the Taishu 大守 (Great Protector), the shogunal regent Tokimune 時宗 (1251–1284), was visiting Yamanouchi. Ippen said that he was willing to risk his life to enter Kamakura but he was beaten with a cane, and the officials drove the Jishū faithful away. Receiving assurance from the warriors, who sympathized with Ippen's goals, that areas beyond Kamakura were not under shogunal rule, Ippen's company spent the night outdoors and moved to the Tachi Midō 館御堂, a hall at Katase. Next, they moved on to the Jizō Hall on the beach where Ippen led a performance of the *nenbutsu* dance. For a lengthy period of four months,

the *nenbutsu* fundraising campaign to support his movement continued just outside Kamakura, and many *kechiensha* 結縁者 (those who wished to form a spiritual bond)—including Kōchō 公朝 (d.u.) and Shō Amida Butsu 生阿弥陀仏 (d.u.), a disciple of the monk Gangyō 願行 (1215–1295)—came from Kamakura to join the movement. Shōkai 聖戒 (1261–1323), the compiler of the *Ippen hijiri e*, lavished much ink on the scene of Ippen's success on the border of Kamakura.

According to the text preceding the fifth episode of the fifth scroll, Ippen, who leads his Jishū congregation along the house-lined road below the slopes at Yamanouchi, is confronted by a band of warriors including a guard who struck him (Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2019, 93–94). To the left of the confrontation, a wooden gate marks the town's border; there a steward wields a whip to drive away the beggars who have accompanied the Jishū adherents. Even further to the left in an extension of the same scene, Ippen and his Jishū party are shown receiving alms under torchlight in the mountains. The course of events is described in the text that precedes the images. The most important focus in this series of scenes is the confrontation between Ippen and the mounted warrior dressed in white, who points a fan at Ippen as he argues with him. The warrior is labeled "Taishu" in black ink. Judging from the written text, Taishu does not refer to the official Taishu, Tokimune Hōjō, but rather to Tokimune's emissary.

In the next scene, which would have concluded the fifth scroll of the *Ippen hijiri e* but has been excised from the scroll, Ippen moves temporarily to the Tachi Midō at the request of Shō Amida Butsu. The next scene in scroll six shows Ippen's *odori nenbutsu* at the Jizō Hall on the beach at Katasenohama. The scene that would have concluded the fifth scroll and that depicts the landscape from Enoshima 江の島 to Katasenohama was detached early on and preserved as a separate fragment, but if the picture scroll were supplemented with this lost section showing the mouth of the Sakaigawa 境川, the full expanse of the territory that formed the western border of Kamakura would be depicted from Koshigoe 腰越 to Tatsunokuchi 龍口. At the Jizō Hall, a Buddhist building in the center of this border zone (probably a site for offerings and services for criminals executed at Tatsunokuchi), Ippen and the other Jishū adherents are shown performing the *odori nenbutsu*.

Why then did Ippen attempt a frontal assault on the border from the most difficult spot while the shogun Tokimune was visiting Yamanouchi? This was because Ippen hoped to travel directly to and worship at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū. The buddha Amida had been considered as the original ground of Hachiman since the twelfth century, and there are many short didactic tales (*setsuwa* 説話) of *nenbutsu* holy men (*hijiri* 聖) seeking miraculous affirmation of their faith in Hachiman Daibosatsu 八幡大菩薩 (Tyler 2017). Ippen likewise made a pilgrimage to Iwashimizu Hachiman in Kyoto where he offered prayers. However, Kamakura had already adopted a policy of prohibiting *nenbutsu*

practitioners, particularly the more radical followers of Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212) who completely rejected other practices, deities, and sects.[6] Ippen's attempted entry into Kamakura in 1282 immediately followed the second invasion by the Mongols in 1281, a defensive struggle known as the Kōan no Eki 弘安の役. Preparations for renewed fighting were ongoing nationwide, and Kama-kura was in a state of martial law. Pilgrimage to worship at Tsurugaoka was out of the question, to say nothing of permitting *nenbutsu* performances or the frenzied *odori nenbutsu*. The *Ippen hijiri e* thus preserves vivid images of the holy man who shook the borders during a state of emergency.

Mukaekō

Mukaekō 迎講 was a Buddhist service in which the welcoming descent (*raigō* 来迎) of Amida and his entourage of bodhisattvas at the moment of a believer's death was reenacted. It amounted to the ritualization of the moment of rebirth through the power of the *nenbutsu*, thus transcending the border between this world and Amida's Pure Land. The welcoming descent also takes the form of a processional offering (*neri kuyō* 練供養), which is traditionally said to have been initiated by Genshin 源信 (942–1017) at Yokawa 横河 on Mt. Hiei 比叡.[7] Such ceremonies thrived beginning in the early twelfth century when they were conducted both in the capital and throughout the country. The Mukaekō of the monk Sensei 瞻西 (d.u.) at Ungoji 雲居寺 in the Higashiyama 東山 area of Kyoto and that of Chōgen 重源 (1121–1206), who led the campaign to raise funds for the rebuilding of the Great Buddha at Tōdaiji 東大寺, are quite well known (Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 2007; Rosenfield 2011).[8] Many artifacts from the latter, such as Buddhist icons and masks used in the Mukaekō held at various satellite temples (*bessho* 別所) that Chōgen established throughout the country, still exist. The ritual itself can be seen even today in the annual procession at Taimadera 當麻寺 in Nara, where the Taima Mandala is the chief object of veneration. Similar rituals include the bodhisattva dance (*bosatsu mai* 菩薩舞) and the Shōryōe 聖霊会 (a memorial service for Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子). In the Mukaekō, ritual dancers represent the welcoming holy host of twenty-five bodhisattvas who accompanied the descent of Amida. We know from the *Azuma kagami* that these Mukaekō were performed at Kamakura.

6. For an example of the prohibition of the *nenbutsu* (*nenbutsu chōshi* 念仏停止), see szkt (32: 574). As this scene in the *Ippen hijiri e* details, Shogun Yoriie detested those who wore black robes (the *nenbutsu* followers) and had their robes burned.

7. The earliest attribution to Genshin is found in the *Hokke genki* 法華験記 (Funata 2020).

8. Sensei's rite is depicted in the final scene of a fragment of an early Muromachi picture scroll of the *Aki no yo naga monogatari* 秋夜長物語 in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

On the first day of *higan* 彼岸 (the days preceding and following the vernal equinox) in the second month of 1229, a Mukaekō was performed at sea off the shore of Misaki 三崎 on the Miura 三浦 Peninsula. This was the fruit of a funding campaign led by Gen'en 源延 (d.u.) (SZKT 33: 85; Kikuchi 1985, 271–279; Nōdomi 1982, 592–612; Abe 2017). A troupe of bodhisattvas, arriving in a boat, bobbled on the waves accompanied by the music of pipes and strings and backed by the evening sunlight. The bodhisattvas were welcomed by Take no Gosho 竹御所 (1202–1234), Yoriie's daughter and the wife of Yoritsune, and her entourage who waited on the shore. This Mukaekō might be understood as a border ritual (*kyōkai girei* 境界儀礼) conducted on a vast scale in which the mountains of Izu and Hakone, seen across Sagami 相摸 Bay where the sun set over Mt. Fuji in the distance, stood for Amida's Western Pure Land paradise, turning the eastern provinces into a sacred topos.

The Mukaekō ritual, which appears to have been conducted in many places in the east, involved a performance employing masks. A number of ancient bodhisattva masks (*bosatsu men* 菩薩面) from the late Heian to the Kamakura period are extant. Not surprisingly, the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū temple was the center of such mask-making and preservation. Numerous *bugaku* masks that can be traced back to the Kamakura period are preserved at Tsurugaoka, including bodhisattva masks. No doubt a processional assembly that included a bodhisattva dance was conducted at Tsurugaoka.

Today in Kamakura the sole procession employing masks is the so-called Menkake Gyōretsu 面掛行列 (masked procession), which is part of the autumn festival of Goryō Jinja 御霊神社, a shrine at Amanawa 甘縄 located within the Sakashita 坂下 area near the excavated pass at Gokurakuji, one of the seven passes cut through the slopes that formed the city's borders.[9] A similar masked group participating in the festival procession was conducted until recent years at Yakumo Jinja 八雲神社 (originally Gozu Tennōsha 牛頭天王社) in Yamanouchi, the scene of Ippen's attempted entry into Kamakura. These masked groups symbolized the festive worship held on both the northern and southern sections of the western border of Kamakura. There are many common features shared by the masks used at these two events; for example, they both resemble masks of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune (Shichifukujin 七福神), but the facial expressions of these heteromorphic figures emphasize the grotesque and have more in common with ancient *gigaku* 伎楽 masks rather than *bugaku* masks. One participant is dressed as a pregnant woman, resembling the chubby-faced character Tafuku 多福. She is accompanied by another figure wearing a female mask and a crown.

9. Sakashita is the area on the Kamakura side of the Gokurakuji pass. On the southwestern border of the city, this area is also called Sakanoshita. Both Goryō Jinja and Gokurakuji are located within the area (Shirai 1976, 132).

This masked group of performers, familiarly called the "Haramitto Gyōretsu はらみっと行列 (pregnant procession), possess a somewhat comic sexuality.

Amanawa, the site of the shrine festival, often appears in the *Azuma kagami* as the place where the father of Yoritomo's wet nurse, Adachi Tōkurō Morinaga 安達藤九郎盛長 (1135–1200), maintained his residence. Yoritomo often traveled to and stayed at this location. In 1185, a strange rumbling sound was heard at an ancient shrine dedicated to Gongorō Kagemasa 権五郎景政 (b. 1069), who is said to be the founding father of Kamakura. Yoritomo investigated this himself and offered a prayer (*ganmon* 願文) of apology for offending the god and had a *kagura* danced by a *miko* dedicated to the shrine (SZKT 32: 166). In short, for Yoritomo, the Lord of Kamakura, Gongorō Kagemasa was the lord of the land (*jishu* 地主) who he could not slight despite the fact that Kagemasa was from the Taira clan, his mortal enemies.

An entry for the eleventh month of 1182 in the *Azuma kagami* reveals that Kame no Mae 亀前 (d.u.)—a favorite companion with whom Yoritomo had maintained intimate relations and whom he had concealed from his wife Masako—had just given birth. The enraged Masako ordered Maki Saburō Munechika 牧三郎宗親 (d.u.), a samurai in Yoritomo's service, to destroy the house of her rival. This was clearly a case of what is known as "a first wife's revenge" (*uwanari uchi* うわなり打ち). As a result, Munechika incurred the wrath of Yoritomo who cut Munechika's topknot, thereby humiliating him (SZKT 32: 91). Yoritomo continued to carry on this kind of affair, repeatedly incurring the anger of Masako. The pregnant masked woman in the Menkake Gyōretsu is a comic or parodic reference to Yoritomo's secret affairs. The oral tradition surrounding the group that wears these grotesque masks at Goryō Jinja in Amanawa notes that they represent the band of guardians who escorted the daughter of the *chōri* 長吏 (the manager of the artisans)—that is to say, the daughter who was pregnant with Yoritomo's child—to Tsurugaoka Hachimangū.[10] In other words, the group reenacts the result of Yoritomo's lust and his secret relationship with this woman, symbolically parodying the ruler's violation of prohibitions. This is the hidden or unconscious aspect of the ritual.

Returning once again to the *Azuma kagami*, in 1207 the warrior government prohibited shrine attendants (*jishin* 神人), who had attained various privileges through their participation and service at rituals such as the Hōjōe at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū, from abusing divine authority. They were forbidden to form bands (*tamura* 党), to indulge in overly refined pursuits (*suki no sata* 好奇の沙汰), and to engage in immoral excesses (*mudō na engyō* 無道な濫行) (SZKT 32: 635). Put another way, the shrine attendants of Hachimangū, who pursued vari-

10. The word *chōri* was used both as a common noun for a generic leader or official and as a proper noun used as a title for a high-ranking official such as the abbot of certain temples.

ous occupations and followed a variety of arts in service to the god, had behaved so licentiously that prohibitions had to be issued to curb their excesses. The new frontier at Kamakura had thus become not only a new world for warriors but also for those engaged in and performing these artistic ways.

Considered in the context of the *bugaku* masks used in the orthodox, core ritual performances at Tsurugaoka from which they originated, the masks at the Goryō Jinja at Amanawa have more in common with the comically grotesque Emi 咲, a mask worn in the Ni no Mai 二ノ舞 (second dance), or the Haremen 腫面 (bloated) mask. On the other hand, they were surely linked to the strange forms of the celestial demon-gods (*tenbu kishin* 天部鬼神) such as the Hachibushū 八部衆 (Eight Kinds of Beings) who carried the portable shrines housing the main statue in the processional assemblies at these ancient temples. Collective memory of the functions and skills of the artisan class remain in the masks of the Menkake Gyōretsu.

Conclusion

Transformed into an armed citadel, Kamakura had been constructed with clearly demarcated borders, specifically designated routes, and special zones determined by its steep hillsides, excavated passes, and shorelines. It was at one of these border areas that an itinerant holy man attempted to enter the city. The *Ippen hijiri e*, a set of picture scrolls illustrating the life of Ippen, dramatically recreates this attempt by Ippen to enter Kamakura in text and images. In the "Entrance into Kamakura" scene, Ippen has been prevented from entering the city at Kobukorozaka by the armed warriors at the wooden gate at Yamanouchi. The picture scroll creates a fictive scene in which the Taishu, the shogunal regent Hōjō Tokimune, confronts Ippen, who, having been forced to turn back, initiates an *odori nenbutsu* performance at Katasenohama, another of the border zones leading into the city. As a result of this performance, both nobles and the poor from Kamakura flocked to the border. In effect, the border was miraculously transcended without Ippen ever crossing it.

Ippen's initial goal was to reach Tsurugaoka Hachiman, whose original Buddhist form was the buddha Amida, the principal object of worship for *nenbutsu* practitioners and for certain ritual performances that comprised part of an expansive calendar of religious performances. The mask, which served as a symbol, was an indispensable performance tool. At the Buddhist temple of Tsurugaoka Shrine, a wide variety of medieval masks have been preserved and were used until recently. These ranged from those used in courtly *bugaku* dance performances to those representing bodhisattvas, which were used in processions as part of Buddhist assemblies. Masks were also put to use in adjacent border zones, as we know from the episode in the *Azuma kagami* that describes the Mukaekō

ceremony on the coastal waters of the Miura Cape (szkt 33: 85). Almost all the performances that featured masked rites, which were at the core of the ceremonies, are now discontinued with the exception of the Menkake Gyōretsu. The ritual space that emerged resonates with that of border zones where "grotesque and strange" people in the distant past were led by the leaders of the Jishū and also with the performances staged on border lines of Kamakura.

The new form of government established by warriors at the start of the medieval period created a new center for the Japanese state. The Buddhist world was no longer fixed in a single location but was instead fluid and bipolar in an oval enveloping both Kyoto and Kamakura. The warrior regime, the ruling structure of the Lord of Kamakura, was a product of the east, which had formerly been on the remote margins. It was constructed around the Tsurugaoka Hachiman, a shrine-temple complex that was the politico-religious center. The ancestral gods of the Genji (Minamoto) shogun could be worshiped there. This complex religious space contained a main shrine building memorializing the ancestors and temple precincts that combined exoteric and esoteric Buddhist elements. It was also created as an urban space with the road leading to the shrine, the *sandō* 参道, as its central axis. The entrance to the shrine also became a ritual space where the high- and low-born congregated to witness performances of various performing arts that were meant to embellish Buddhist assemblies. The *Azuma kagami*, the official annals of the warrior regime, clearly records this process of the city's formation; it also colorfully depicts the rituals conducted at its center and the marginality of the performers who traveled to and from it.

[Translated by Michael Jamentz]

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATION

szkt *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系. Vols. 32–33. Ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Azuma kagami 吾妻鏡. szkt 32–33.

Shoku Nihongi 続日本紀. Vol. 2. In *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系 13, Aoki Kazuo 青木和夫 and Inaoka Kōji 稲岡耕二, eds. Iwanami Shoten, 1990.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abe Mika 阿部美香

2017 Onsen no kami to hotoke no materiaritē: Hashiriyu Gongen zō o megutte 温泉の神と仏のマテリアリティ—走湯権現像をめぐって. *Heritex* 2: 141–152.

Araki Hisashi 荒木尚, ed.

1972 *Kōra Tamadare no Miya shinpisho dō shihai* 高良玉垂宮神秘書同紙背. Kōra Taisha.

Cogan, Thomas J.

1987 *The Tale of the Soga Brothers*. University of Tokyo Press.

Funata Jun'ichi 舩田淳一

2020 Heian ki Jōdokyō girei no sekai 平安期浄土教儀礼の世界. In *Taimadera nijūgo bosatsu raigōe (shōjū raigō nerikuyōe shiki) chōsa hōkokusho* 當麻寺二十五菩薩来迎会（聖衆来迎練供養会式）調査報告書. Katsuragishi Bunkazai Chōsa Hōkoku 葛城市文化財調査報告 7, 163–173. Katsuragishi Kyōiku Iinkai.

Iwasaki Kae 岩崎佳枝

1987 *Shokunin utaawase: Chūsei no shokunin gunzō* 職人歌合—中世の職人群像. Heibonsha.

Kawano Shinjirō 河野眞知郎

1995 *Chūsei toshi Kamakura: Iseki ga kataru bushi no miyako* 中世都市鎌倉—遺跡が語る武士の都. Kōdansha.

Kikuchi Yūjirō 菊池勇次郎

1985 *Genkū to sono monka* 源空とその門下. Hōzōkan.

Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, ed.

2019 *Tokubetsuten: Jishū niso shōnin nanahyakunen go ongi kinen Kokuhō Ippen hijiri e to Jishū no meihō* 特別展—時宗二祖上人七百年御遠記念国宝一遍聖絵と時宗の名宝. Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan.

McCullough, Helen

1966 *Yoshitsune: A Fifteenth-Century Japanese Chronicle*. Stanford University Press.

Mori Toru 森 暢, ed.

1979 *Ise shinmeishoe utaawase, Tōhokuin shokunin utaawase emaki, Tsurugaoka hōjōe shokunin utaawase emaki, Sanjūniban shokunin utaawase emaki* 伊勢新名所絵歌合・東北院職人歌合絵巻・鶴岡放生会職人歌合絵巻・三十二番職人歌合絵巻. Shinshū Nihon Emakimono Zenshū 新修日本絵巻物全集 28. Kadokawa Shoten.

Nōdomi Jōten 納富常天

1982 *Kanazawa bunko shiryō no kenkyū* 金沢文庫資料の研究. Hōzōkan.

Rabinovitch, Judith N.
1986 *Shōmonki: The Story of Masakado's Rebellion*. Monumenta Nipponica Monographs 58. Sophia University.

Rosenfield, John M.
2011 *Portraits of Chōgen: The Transformation of Buddhist Art in Early Medieval Japan*. Brill.

Sakurai Yoshirō 桜井好朗
1981 *Chūsei Nihon bunka no keisei: Shinwa to rekishi jujutsu* 中世日本文化の形成—神話と歴史叙述. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai.

Shirai Eiji 白井永二, ed.
1976 *Kamakura jiten* 鎌倉事典. Tōkyōdō Shuppan.

Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所, ed.
2007 *Heian Kamakura kiroku tensekishū* 平安鎌倉記録典籍集. Yagi Shoten.

Tsuchiya Megumi 土谷 恵
2001 *Chūsei jiin no shakai to geinō* 中世寺院の社会と芸能. Yoshikawa Kobunkan.

Tyler, Royall
2017 *Iwashimizu Hachiman in War and Cult*. Fourteenth-Century Voices 3. Blue-Tongue Books.

Watanabe Hiroki 渡邊浩貴
2018 Chūsei Kamakura no seiritsu to jige gakka Nakaharashi 中世鎌倉の成立と地下楽家中原氏. In *Kamakura yukari no geinō to girei: Tokubetsuten zuroku* 鎌倉ゆかりの芸能と儀礼—特別展図録, ed. Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 神奈川県立歴史博物館, 132–135. Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan.

Yamamoto Yuiitsu 山本唯一
1985 *Tōhokuin* to *Tsurugaoka hōjōe*: Kamakuraki *shokunin utaawase* no seiritsu『東北院』と『鶴岡放生会』—鎌倉期「職人歌合」の成立. *Kobijutsu* 74: 37–48.

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 49/2: 231–281
© 2025 Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture
dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.49.2.2022.231-281

Andrew Macomber

Disease, Defilement, and the Dead

Buddhist Medicine and the Emergence of Corpse-Vector Disease

Although scholars have long taken for granted the notion that disease constituted a form of defilement in ancient and medieval Japan, to date this has only been shown to be true for a single case—leprosy. In this article, I propose that corpse-vector disease—a contagious and deadly affliction that first became known to aristocrats and Buddhist monks in the late Heian period—constituted another case of disease tied to defilement. Examining diary entries describing the illnesses of elite patients together with the texts for a healing ritual created to eradicate the demons responsible for the affliction, I trace the emergence of corpse-vector disease to pervasive anxieties over death defilement in a capital overflowing with dead bodies. In so doing, I suggest one way we might move beyond the existing assumption of a categorical relationship between pathology and pollution in order to better understand why and how certain diseases came to be entangled with defilement at particular moments in history.

keywords: corpse-vector disease—defilement—death defilement—leprosy—healing ritual—Onjōji

Andrew Macomber is Assistant Professor of East Asian Religions at Oberlin College.

In late twelfth-century Japan, preeminent and rising political figures in aristocratic society found themselves facing an apparent outbreak of a disease with which they were unfamiliar. Diarists of the period speculated this disease claimed the lives of at least two prominent individuals. In 1165, the disease was thought to be the final affliction of Nijō 二条 (1143–1165), then a newly retired emperor and the eldest son of Go Shirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192). In 1179, the disease appeared to precipitate the death of Taira no Moriko 平 盛子 (1156–1179), daughter of Taira no Kiyomori 平 清盛 (1118–1181) and owner of considerable Fujiwara landholdings. On these occasions, aristocrats turned to Buddhist healers for help. In the case of Nijō, they summoned a "holy man" (*shōnin* 聖人) of unknown pedigree to the young man's deathbed. More consequentially, in the interim years between these two momentous deaths, monks of the Jimon 寺門 branch of the Tendai school based at the monastery Onjōji 園城寺 devised an unprecedented healing ritual in response. This ritual aimed at curing sufferers by eradicating the demons that provoked the disease, which in the eyes of Jimon monks had the potential to transform into a realm-wide epidemic symptomatic of the tumultuous age of the final Dharma (*mappō* 末法). Viewed from the long history of rituals for healing developed in premodern Japan, the one created by Jimon monks stands out as one of the earliest known rituals to have targeted a single, named disease, the same that was instilling fear in the hearts of aristocrats and members of the imperial family.

Corpse-vector disease (*denshibyō* 傳屍病) is a disease concept that derives from Chinese medical literature of the Tang period known in Japan since at least Tanba no Yasuyori's 丹波康頼 (912–995) *Ishinpō*. Working retroactively from modern biomedical understanding, some medical historians have speculated that corpse-vector disease was the premodern term for tuberculosis (*kekkaku* 結核) (Hattori 1955, 80–81; Johnston 1995, 40–43; Maki 2010, 13: x–xi). While this identification is not without some merit, the sudden appearance of the term in late-Heian Japan remains mysterious for at least two reasons. First, archeaological evidence of skeletons with lesions characteristic of tubercular infection suggests tuberculosis was prevalent in Japan by the sixth or seventh centuries ce, yet nearly six hundred years would pass before the term "corpse-vector disease" was invoked to describe the pathological conditions of actual patients like Nijō and Moriko. Second, dozens of other disease concepts that might conceivably have been used to refer to the symptoms of tuberculosis were known in Japan by this later date. Literary sources such as the *Utsuho*

monogatari うつほ物語, *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子, and *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 include imprecise references to "*ke* of the chest" (*munenoke* 胸気), "chest sickness" (*mune no yamai* 胸病), and "chest constriction" (*munese* 胸狭) (HATTORI 1955, 80–81; SHINMURA 1985, 270–273), while medical sources such as the *Ishinpō* and its base texts are replete with more sophisticated concepts, including "depletion-exhaustion" (*kyorō* 虚労), "bone steaming" (*kotsujō* 骨蒸), "wasting disease" (*sōbyō* 痩病), and "lung dysfunction" (*haii* 肺萎), to name only a small number of examples. Because many other terms might have been chosen (but were not) to describe elite patients, the unprecedented use of corpse-vector disease might more profitably be understood as an intentional diagnostic choice related to the term itself. Taking the name of the disease into consideration, we must ask: Why did Buddhists and courtiers in the late twelfth century begin attributing the emergence of an apparently new affliction to corpses?

In this article, I examine the "emergence" of corpse-vector disease, by which I mean its appearance as a viable diagnostic term and transformation into the central target of medical and ritual therapies that did not exist prior to the late twelfth century. In particular, I argue that the emergence of this disease was intimately tied to an intensification of anxieties in the early medieval period concerning defilement (*kegare* 穢)—ritual pollution that was imagined to change the ontological status of the body. In so doing, I follow an observation made by Jacqueline STONE (2006, 205) that not enough research has assessed the impact of the notion of defilement in Japanese religion and Buddhism. The issue of defilement also has special importance in the historical study of disease in Japan, since scholars have long taken for granted the idea that disease and defilement were categorically related in premodern eras, whether that be the notion that disease constitutes a form of defilement, the identification of sick persons as defiled, or the etiological premise that defilement might cause illness. The paradigmatic example of this categorical relationship between disease and defilement has always been *rai* 癩, a catch-all term for various, sometimes disfiguring skin disorders, including leprosy. As numerous scholars have demonstrated, sufferers of *rai* were not only stricken with chronic disease; they were also cursed with a polluted status used to justify social discrimination that also made these persons suitable objects for projects of welfare and salvation in the eyes of Buddhist communities. And yet, despite the widespread acceptance that disease and defilement were categorically linked, to date, scholars have shown this to be true only for the single example of *rai*.

In the pages that follow, I suggest that corpse-vector disease constitutes another, hitherto unexamined case of a disease that was profoundly shaped by notions of defilement. In particular, by situating diary entries describing victims of the disease within the context of changing notions of defilement in the early medieval period, I argue that the emergence of corpse-vector disease must be

understood in light of growing anxieties toward "death defilement" (*shie* 死穢). What these diary entries suggest is that, in the eyes of highly educated courtiers, corpse-vector disease was anomalous, quite unlike the disease categories with which they were acquainted, and resistant to conventional treatment modalities. From another perspective, however, these entries demonstrate that aspects of the disease were disturbingly familiar to aristocrats, since they reflected pervasive concerns about death pollution that attended life in a capital overflowing with corpses.

I then turn to the question of how monks of the Jimon lineage responded through an examination of the documents of the healing ritual they created to expel the disease-demons behind the affliction. Rather than focusing on the prescriptions for the ritual itself, I am more concerned with what these documents tell us about how Jimon monks sought to bring understanding and coherence to the disease. In particular, the ritual texts shed light on two interrelated areas. First, they witness the process by which Buddhist monastics of the early medieval period harnessed ritual and medical knowledge to clarify the nature of a strange affliction. Second, because these texts underscore the fact that Jimon monks were very much aware of the ways corpse-vector disease resonated with death defilement, they allow us to understand how notions of pollution came to shape a disease imaginary that Buddhists shared with their elite patients in the period. In this way, understanding the appearance of corpse-vector disease demands that we move beyond existing assumptions about a categorical relationship between disease and defilement, and instead attend to the many factors—religious, medical, material, and social—by which correlations between them were established at particular moments in history.

Defilement and Disease in the Heian Period

One longstanding truism among scholars of Japanese religion is the idea that disease was strongly correlated with the notion of defilement in premodern Japan. As early as 1931, Sir George Bailey Sansom suggested the link between disease and defilement might be discerned in the very etymology for *kegare*. "Wounds were a source of pollution," Sansom wrote, "and the word for a wound, *kega*, still in use, means defilement. Sickness and all the external signs of disease, such as sores, eruptions, and discharges, or contact with sick persons were also defilements" (Sansom 1931, 52). It appeared only natural to Sansom and other writers that disease and its outflows would be classified as sources of "touch defilement" (*shokue* 触穢), lists in historical documents that typically begin with death (corpses, partial or full, human or animal, as well as involvement in burial practices and mourning) and included childbirth, menstruation, and blood. The association is strengthened by a second popular etymology for *kegare*, which

suggests derivation from *ke* 気 and *kare* 枯れ, to "wither" or "withdraw" (離れ; YAMAMOTO 2009, 13): the idea of sickness as the dissipation of vital energy. Disease and defilement also resemble one another in transmission behavior. Defilement passes from one person (or place) to another as though it were an infectious disease; premodern sources occasionally describe the transmission of defilement with *tenten* 展転, a term that described the "transferring" or "rolling" nature of disease epidemics (FUNATA 2018, 337). Most famously, a strong correlation between disease and defilement appears indisputable in the case of *rai*, a category of disfiguring skin disorders often translated today as leprosy. *Rai* has long been taken to represent the paradigmatic relationship between disease and defilement and is the archetypal example of what I shall call "defiled pathology," diseases entwined with the polluted status of the sufferer.

A cursory glance at recent scholarship demonstrates that these links between disease and defilement are still largely taken as self-evident,[1] yet the relationship between them is not as transparent as it might seem. In his extensive history of defilement, YAMAMOTO Kōji (2009, 13) points out that etymologies of *kegare* were proposed within ethnology studies (*minzokugaku* 民俗学) seeking to identify the essential characteristics of a timeless Japanese folk. Historical investigation has since revealed that beliefs and practices surrounding defilement were not inflexible or immutable, which should encourage us to suspect that the relationship between defilement and disease also changed over time. As I show below, the historical record from premodern Japan suggests the evidence that disease and defilement were correlated is limited.[2]

One document that implies such a correlation is the ninth-century *Kōtai jingū gishikichō* 皇太神宮儀式帳, in which "illness" (*yamai*) is included on a list of words whose utterance is forbidden at Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮 (AKASAKA 2013, 302). This suggests that illness—along with blood, death, and related phenomena—constituted a form of defilement whose very name was to be avoided on the hallowed grounds of the shrine. Another example comes from the *Engishiki*

1. For example, see FUJIKAWA (1974, 8–10), OKUTOMI (1983, 2), LOCK (1984, 25), ISHIKAWA (1985, 140), NIUNOYA (2018, 145–148), SHINMURA (1989, 48–59), MARRA (1993, 49), DROTT (2016, 40), LOMI (2014, 256, n. 1), GUNJI (2018, 127), and BURNS (2019, 21). The claim is often made in passing, and therefore does not detract from the significance of these studies as a whole. The association between death and defilement also informs the popular imagination, as can be seen for example in Sawada Tōko's novel *Kajō* 火定, on the Great Tenpyō Smallpox Epidemic of 735–737, which draws upon much historical scholarship (SAWADA 2017, 41).

2. It is true that sickness can occur downstream a series of unfortunate events. If, for example, you acquire defilement and then break a taboo by entering a shrine in a polluted state, a curse (*tatari* 祟り) from the gods can indeed take the form of illness, sometimes with fatal consequences. NIUNOYA (2018, 51–52) discusses an example from 1405–1406 recorded in the *Kōryaku* 荒暦. For an excellent summary of Japanese scholarship on disease and defilement more generally, see KIM (2004, 226–235).

延喜式, a set of legal codes offering a window into mid-Heian-period notions of defilement from the perspective of the state. One passage defines two types of persons—*shirobito* 白人 and *kokumi* 胡久美—as examples of "earthly transgressions" (*kunitsu tsumi* 国つ罪), a term that typically referred to prohibited acts or states considered defiling. Although the meaning of these terms in this original context is far from clear, a passage in the late Heian-period *Nakatomi harae kunge* glosses *shirobito* and *kokumi* as "white *rai*" (*byakurai* 白癩) and "black *rai*" (*kokurai* 黒癩) respectively, among others.[3] However, as Akasaka Norio (2013, 302–303) points out, this evidence indicates only that in certain documents were certain illnesses correlated with defilement. Moreover, these are not just any illnesses: they are all distinguished by a conspicuous physical presentation on the surface of the body. It may not be appropriate, therefore, to retrospectively project upon these examples a generalized definition about the category of disease writ large and its relation to defilement.

In fact, there is considerable evidence that diseases were not understood to render one defiled. For instance, a record in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 indicates that a gardener from the Paekche kingdom with white *rai* was employed by the state (Maruyama 2002, 205). Household and tax registers testify that people with three legally stipulated categories of illnesses and disabilities, far from being the objects of discrimination, sometimes held privileged positions as the heads of residence units (*gōko* 郷戸), with a subset wealthy enough to own slaves (Akasaka 2013, 301).[4] These examples are significant if exclusion from "public" roles and spaces is considered a central characteristic of defilement.[5] In this regard it is instructive to consider court physicians (*kusushi* 医師), who provided medical services for the royal family and aristocrats. As Shinmura Taku (1989, 48–59) astutely observes, if illness was understood to be defiling, then physicians would have been contaminated regularly by virtue of their occupation, similar to the "purifiers" (*kiyome* 浄) or "non-persons" (*hinin* 非人) of the later medieval period; thus, he suspects, there must have been some apparatus of purification

3. *Shirobito* is also glossed as "idiocy" (*hakuchi* 白痴), *kokumi* as "tumorous flesh growths" (*kokumi* 瘜肉), and goiter as "swollen legs" (*eishū* 癭瘇).

4. With examples from the *Ryōgige*, these three illness/disability categories in order of severity are as follows: *tokushichi* 篤疾 (severe illness [*akushichi* 悪疾, possibly a reference to *rai*], madness, impaired in two limbs, blind in both eyes), *haishichi* 廃疾 (dwarfism, broken back or hip, impaired in one limb), and *zanshichi* 残疾 (blind in one eye, deaf in both ears, two fingers missing, three toes missing, missing thumb on hand or large toe on foot, baldness sores and baldness [*tokusō* 禿瘡], long-term leakage of sores [*moruyamai* 久漏], lower pressure [*gejū* 下重]).

5. Heather Blair (2016, 9–10) reminds us to keep in mind the specificity of the public/private distinction in the Heian period (which holds true for the preceding Nara period as well), pointing out that "the graph now invested with the meaning public (*kō*, *ku*) meant the court, with the emperor at its center. That said, rituals sponsored by the court were at the core of the shared life of the nobility, and in this sense they may fairly be termed public."

by which physicians neutralized this pollution. In my reading, Shinmura was ultimately unable to locate such a mechanism, which is especially noteworthy given that he demonstrates the strict attention that physicians paid to calendrical prohibitions in their medical practice. Perhaps, as Shinmura suggests, such a decontamination system existed but cannot yet be recovered from history. More straightforwardly, though, perhaps illness posed no such pollution problems. In any case, SHINMURA (1989, 49) contends that there is no indication that defilement was understood to directly cause illness.

Other evidence conceivably read as linking defilement and disease may have less to do with disease itself and more with a conspicuous "anaphylaxis regarding death" among the aristocracy (ELISONAS 2001, 18). One notable passage comes from the *Engishiki*. Adopted from the earlier *Yōrōryō* 養老令 (718), the passage is found in the third fascicle:

> As a rule, those who mourn the deceased, call upon the sick, visit a place where a [burial] mound is formed, or encounter a third-seventh day Buddhist [memorial] ceremony, although that person's body is not defiled, on that day such a person is forbidden from entering the Imperial Palace.
>
> (cited in SHINMURA 1989, 48)

"Calling upon the sick" (*monbyō* 問病) is included among activities to be avoided before entering the palace, which some scholars have taken to mean that the sick transmitted defilement (NIUNOYA 2018, 146; SHINMURA 1989, 48–49). However, the passage also notes that "the body is not defiled," implying that those who come into contact with the sick were not considered polluted as a result. Moreover, MARUYAMA Yumiko (2002, 205) calls our attention to the fact that every other item on the list pertains to death in one way or another. She speculates, therefore, that the injunction against visiting the sick relates ultimately to the high possibility of encountering death, the defiling status of which was, by this time, largely beyond dispute. This same interpretation can help us understand the many tragic examples of households abandoning ill family members to the streets throughout the Heian period, an act that at first glance appears motivated by fears about illness-derived defilement. In fact, tossing out the sick was more likely a prophylactic against domestic pollution caused by death, the inevitable terminus for many who acquired illness in this period (MARUYAMA 2002, 206; NIUNOYA 2018, 46–48; KATSUDA 2003, 43–44).[6]

In this way, evidence from the ancient period attesting to any notion that disease and defilement were related is sketchy at best. When we shift our perspective forward in time to the medieval period, however, the picture begins to

6. One story in the *Konjaku monogatarishū*, for example, notes that a husband's corpse leaves a woman's home contaminated with "defiled *ki*" (SNKBT 37: 326–328; DYKSTRA 2014, 978–980). See also the discussion in KIM (2004, 178–180) and STONE (2016, 147).

change. The relationship between disease and defilement was still not necessarily categorical, nor was it always explicit in the way we might expect. For example, even well into the medieval period—when, as I discuss below, concerns about defilement grew to an unprecedented extent—illness did not typically feature on lists of "touch defilement" associated with shrines.[7] What we do begin to see is a conspicuous relationship between defilement and one disease in particular, *rai*. To explain why *rai* came to be associated with defilement, numerous scholars proposed a set of related arguments we might collectively call the "karmic defilement thesis." In short, this is the idea that starting in the late tenth century the traditional sense of defilement came to be intertwined with Buddhist conceptions of bodily impurity that were grounded in the notion of karma.

The Karmic Defilement Thesis and Disease

A consensus of scholarship points to an intensification of concerns surrounding defilement from the early to late Heian period (Yokoi 1975; Shinmura 1985; Elisonas 2001; Abé 2002; Stone 2006; Bialock 2007; Niunoya 2018; Yamamoto 2009). This intensification was characterized by an extension of the number of taboo days required after contact with defilement (a marker of increased severity), a flurry of new debates pertaining to what counts as defilement (a marker of increased ambiguity), and an expansion of the Buddhist ritual fields implicated by *kegare* (a marker that monastics felt compelled to respond to a problem previously outside their ritual domain). These shifts developed alongside the emergence of new ways to imagine the ontology of defilement and its relationship to the body. In the earlier legal-ritual conception of "touch defilement" found in texts such as the *Engishiki*, defilement was much like "dirt" in the sense of "matter out of place" (Douglas 1966, 36, 165). So long as defiled individuals waited out the stipulated number of days—typically thirty in the case of contact with the dead—or underwent purification (*harae* 祓, *misogi* 禊), they could rest assured they were "clean" and thus fit to resume court service or religious practice at sacred sites enshrining the kami. While this physicalist and largely amoral understanding of defilement was never supplanted, the newer ontology that began to surface in the mid-Heian period saw defilement as much less amenable to elimination by time or ritual disinfection. Defilement was now imagined to take residence within the body, in some cases interwoven with one's very skin, thus becoming chronic and much harder or even impossible to remove.

To account for this change to the older notion of defilement, Yokoi Kiyoshi (1975, 267–293) points to the influence of Buddhist notions of impurity related

7. Illness does not appear in the early Kamakura-period *Shosha kinki* 諸社禁忌, *Goryōsha bukkiryō* 御霊社服忌令, or the *Fusaaki oboegaki* 房顕覚書 by Itsukushima Shrine priest Tanamori uasaaki 棚守房顕 (1495–1590) (Yokoi 1975, 289–290; Elisonas 2001, 12–15; Marra 1993, 49).

to the accumulation of karma in past lives, what might be called the "karmic defilement thesis." One key agent cited for this change is Genshin's 源信 (942–1017) *Ōjō yōshū*, a clearinghouse for Buddhist sentiments on bodily impurity (*fujō* 不浄). To spur in readers' feelings of aversion for the "defiled body" (*eshin* 穢身) residing in this "defiled world" (*edo* 穢土), Genshin offers an unsettling and vertiginous tour of the body's digusting anatomy. He discusses at length, for example, the eighty-thousand worms (*mushi* 蟲) that inhabit this polluted body, the process of dying that triggers the worms to devour each other in a fight for survival, and the corpse's multiple stages of decay (*Ōjō yōshū* 1: 55–61). Genshin's descriptions would become one basis for textual and visual depictions of the "contemplation on impurity" (*fujōkan* 不浄観) by which Buddhist adepts, lay and monastic, might learn to see their own living body as they would an abandoned corpse by the roadside (Eubanks 2011, 100–112; Pandey 1995).

Soteriological in orientation, Genshin's program presses readers to sever attachment to this fetid, ever-collapsing physiology so they might direct their mind finally toward rebirth in Amida's Pure Land (Rhodes 2017, 183–225). Yet, as Yokoi argued, Genshin's evocative and haunting discourse exerted effects beyond matters of salvation.[8] To the earlier sense of *kegare* was now linked Buddhist terminology surrounding karmic hindrance (*zaishō* 罪障, *zaigō* 罪業), resulting in what Jayne Sun Kim (2004, 191) has called "transgression defilement." "Doctrine, in brief," writes David Bialock (2007, 226), "was now extending its domain into the body as impurity (*fujō*), was interiorized, and defilement took on the meaning of sinful karmic obstruction (*zaishō*)." It is not the case that older senses of defilement were displaced, for as we shall see shortly, external forms of pollution such as corpses garnered much concern. However, defilement was no longer always simply something acquired through external contact or proximity with polluting substances, nor any longer reliably deactivated through taboo prudence or purification. Defilement came to be envisioned as a chronic feature of one's anatomy—"a kind of ontological entangling" in the words of Bialock (2007, 227)—inherited from previous lives through unwholesome actions.

Raised by Yokoi and cited by many others since, the "karmic defilement thesis" convincingly accounts for the assimilation of two distinct imaginaries surrounding defilement in early medieval Japan, one centered around *kegare* and the other on karma. Rooted in the legal-ritual system of spatial and temporal taboos, *kegare* bifurcates a purification/defilement pairing that pertains largely

8. It would be hasty to believe that the *Ōjō yōshū* single-handedly sparked this transformation. Horton (2004) casts doubt on the extent to which the work had any major influence on the aristocracy after its completion in 985, while Stone (2016, 387–388) has detailed the many ways this work became normative for deathbed ritual manuals in subsequent centuries. In any case, it must be remembered that this historical shift in the imagination of defilement occurred over a long period of time and was fed by multiple discourses.

to external, superficial contact with—or proximity to—polluting substances. On the other hand, the notion of karmic causality, central to Buddhist "physiomoral discourse," grounds a purity/impurity binary in which physical features of one's body are inherited through one's moral backlog.[9] Generally speaking, in the ancient period, Buddhist ritual technology did not apply to matters of *kegare*, and still less might purificatory rites performed by shrine priests or *onmyōji* 陰陽師 address karma. To conflate these two imaginaries of defilement in the ancient period would have constituted a category mistake—and ritual action in the wrong direction—whereas the early medieval period saw the distinction variably muddled. This muddling constitutes one key feature of what might be called, to borrow a framework from Bruno Latour (2013), the "medieval mode of existence" in premodern Japan, a mode in which two originally separate domains—*kegare* and karma—began to coexist to define a shared ontological field.[10]

These changes in how defilement was imagined had wide-reaching implications for matters of sovereignty, space, and ritual. Limiting our attention to Buddhist ritual for the moment, monastics began to assert that Buddhist ritual technologies could erase karmic defilement that had accumulated within the bodies of patrons and donors. Ryūichi Abé (2002, 106) has discussed this with reference to Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232) and his use of mantras, writing, "in the medieval period, *kegare* was recognized as being far more dangerous than its ancient counterpart"; thus, "[i]t is not accidental that Myōe employed mantras that were particularly renowned for their effectiveness in erasing evil karma." Eison 叡尊 (1201–1290), known for his social welfare projects, promoted the mantras of Mañjuśrī to eradicate the karma of those considered most polluted—sufferers of *rai* and other "non-persons" (Quinter 2007, 443). Benedetta Lomi (2014, 256) uncovers a comparable shift in the "water-facing rite" (*karinhō* 河臨法), the denouement of the *rokujihō* 六字法 ("ritual of the six-syllable sutra") conducted by monks of both Taimitsu 台密 and Tōmitsu 東密 persuasions throughout the medieval period. Performed to expel all manner of defilement, sorcery, and illness, the ceremony involved an orchestration of boats from which effigies (*hitogata* 人形) carrying the pollution of the donor were to be discarded into the water. Notably, in the final part of the ceremony, esoteric monks enlisted the help of *onmyōji*, specialists in *harae* purification practices. Lomi draws attention to the fact that donors do not passively watch the purification from the shore

9. I borrow the phrase "physiomoral discourse" from Susanne Mrozik (2007, 6–7) but expand the scope to include not only "positive" discourses linking the body to morality but also "negative" ones as well, the latter of which Mrozik calls "ascetic discourse" in accord with her examination of Śāntideva's *Compendium of Training*.

10. Although Latour's project is "an anthropology of the Moderns," the categories and terminology of his project can shed light on medieval and non-Western epistemologies. For examples pertaining to the medieval European context, see Desmond and Guynn (2020, 6).

but rather step onto the boats themselves. Through this embodied participation, Lomi (2014, 297) argues, the "body of the donor, initially a spectator of its own purification, is here in the process of becoming the real object of therapy." Thus, Lomi's example points to a crossing of once distinct ritual domains—hence monastics working alongside *kegare* purification experts—as well as a related sense that the body was a site of both defilement as well as illness that might be dealt with in the overarching framework of esoteric Buddhist ritual.[11]

How did this newer notion of chronic defilement shape the imagination of disease? Despite the fact that aspects of the karmic defilement thesis are widely cited by scholars, this question has received surprisingly little attention. What complicates the inquiry is that images of illness and the body in early medieval Japan were already shaped by Buddhist notions of karmic causality long before any categorical and characteristically "medieval" assimilation with the notion of *kegare*. Ample evidence indicates that in ancient Japan it was acknowledged that karma acquired in this or a previous life (*shukugō* 宿業) might manifest pathologically, as for example numerous tales in the *Nihon ryōiki* demonstrate (Mizuguchi 2020).[12] Karmic etiology of this sort is rooted in canonical Mahayana scriptures, such as in this oft-quoted passage from chapter 28 of the *Lotus Sūtra*:

> If, again, one sees a person receiving and holding this scripture, then utters its faults and its evils, be they fact or not fact, that person in the present age shall get white leprosy. If anyone makes light of it or laughs at it, from age to age his teeth shall be far apart and decayed, he shall have ugly lips and a flat nose, his arms and legs shall be crooked, his eyes shall be pointed and the pupils out of symmetry, his body shall stink, he shall have sores running pus and blood, his belly shall be watery and his breath short: in brief, he shall have all manner of evil and grave ailments.[13] (Hurvitz 2009, 309)

As Yamamoto Satomi (2020, 41–74, 123–156) has shown, such passages informed diverse depictions of the sick and disabled in illustrated sources in medieval Japan, ranging from works in which disease is the explicit subject (for example, the *Yamai no sōshi* 病草紙), to *engi* in which illness is interwoven into the narrative (for example, *Kokawadera engi emaki* 粉河寺縁起絵巻).[14] The

11. Lomi's thought-provoking study echoes the work of Bialock (2007, 227) who had earlier argued that "[b]y the twelfth century, the [*tsuina* 追儺] exorcist had mysteriously shifted roles, switching from the agent who drove out the plague demons to the embodiment of the plague demon itself."

12. For example, see tales 1.8, 1.16, 2.35, 3.2, 3.11, 3.12, 3.16, 3.20, and 3.34 in Nakamura (1973).

13. In premodern sources, this passage is cited in the *Nihon ryōiki* and in modified form in the *Hannyaji Monju engi* 般若寺文殊縁起, a votive text by Eison 叡尊 from 1267 (Quinter 2015, 115). See also Maruyama (2002, 205), Kim (2004, 229), Moerman (2015, 82), Burns (2019, 24–25), and Yamamoto (2020, 43–44).

14. For an English translation of Yamamoto's analysis this text, see Yamamoto (2019).

notion of karma as a cause of illness was, moreover, given explicit conceptualization in a work of much import for Tendai Buddhism in Japan, the *Mohe zhiguan* by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), the putative founder of the Chinese Tiantai school. Zhiyi included "karmic illness" (*gōbyō* 業病) as one of six main varieties of illness, and elsewhere prescribed the practice of repentance as treatment.[15] Zhiyi's sixfold nosology would be cited by figures in Japan such as Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282), monk-physicians such as Kajiwara Shōzen 梶原性全 (1266–1337) (Goble 2011, 77–79), and, as we shall observe later, Jimon monks. Karmic illness was thus in itself not a radically new idea.

The karmic defilement thesis is surely most convincing in the case of *rai*, a disease concept in which earlier associations of the more transient *kegare* appear intertwined with an embodied and chronic pathological condition. First, that *rai* sufferers (*raisha* 癩者) were seen as defiled in the earlier sense is clear from the ways they were barred from entering shrines, just as somebody who had recently encountered a corpse might have been;[16] from vow texts (*kishōmon* 起請文) it was suggested they were as damned as those punished by gods and buddhas (*shinbutsu* 神仏) (Kuroda 1986, 233–258); encyclopedic works expressly defined them as one of the "plentifully defiled" (*eta* 穢多);[17] and in social practices of marginalization they were grouped along with beggars, the disabled, "purifiers," and other "non-persons" in what Susan Burns (2019, 19–46) has called "the geography of exclusion." At the same time, the chronicity of their condition was grounded in the Mahayana perspective of *rai* as a karmic illness. In fact, the *Da zhidu lun* claims that "of the many diseases, *rai* disease is the most severe. Because of causes and conditions from transgressions of previous lifetimes, it is difficult to treat" (T 1509, 25.479a10–12). It is in light of these facts that Shingon Ritsu monks of the Saidaiji 西大寺 order following Eison and his disciple Ninshō 忍性 (1217–1303) looked to *rai* sufferers as the most suitable candidates for their social and soteriological welfare projects, which took the form of charitable offerings of food, medical treatment, bathing facilities, ordination, and practices to elicit the divine assistance of bodhisattvas such as Mañjuśrī (Quinter 2015).[18]

15. Zhiyi's sixfold nosology is as follows: (1) discord among the four elements (earth, water, fire, wind); (2) unregulated diet; (3) disharmony in sitting meditation; (4) demonic illnesses; (5) *māra* disturbances; and (6) karmic illnesses (T 1911, 46.106c23–25). On Zhiyi's prescription of repentance, see T 1911, 46.108a2–5.

16. Yamamoto (2009, 311–312) gives an example from the *Korō kujitsu den* 古老口実伝 of the late Kamakura period describing how *raisha* were barred from residing in and passing through the boundaries of Ise Shrine.

17. This definition appears in the *Chiribukuro* (1: 288–289; Keirstead 2009, 274).

18. Goble (2011, 87) writes, "While *rai* was not the only affliction that was determined as being karmic in nature, it appears to have been the only one to have elicited an identifiable range of negative perceptions that resulted in discriminatory social behavior towards sufferers."

Although this aspect is relatively unexplored, the karmic defilement thesis may also elucidate certain aspects of the medieval perception of madness (*tenkyō* 癲狂, *hakkyō* 発狂, and others), another category of disorders—albeit primarily psychological rather than physiological—associated with defilement. For example, in an entry from the year 1174, the *Akihiro ōki* 顕広王記 reports that a "mad person" (*monogurui* 物狂) climbed into the main shrine building (*shaden* 社殿) of the Inner Shrine at Ise, resulting in defilement that required rebuilding the floor (Yamamoto 2009, 192). As this episode suggests, the association between madness and defilement was possibly linked to an inability on the part of the afflicted to adhere to the disciplined system of taboos by which defilement was enacted as social practice. For instance, in his *Sakeiki* 左経記, Minamoto no Tsuneyori 源 経頼 (985 or 976–1039) tells of a "mad woman" (*kyōjo* 狂女) who climbed Mt. Hiei 比叡 and was summarily punished by the deity Sannō 山王 with intense weather (Abe 1998, 89). More interestingly, the defiling nature of madness is suggested by the fact that it was occasionally associated with *rai*. An entry from the *Tamon'in nikki* 多聞院日記 observes that both *rai* and madness were understood as forms of divine punishment (Yamamoto 2009, 192). In the late-medieval *sekkyōbushi* 説経節 entitled *Shintokumaru* しんとく丸, the cursed protagonist acquires the "three diseases that people despise": *rai*, madness, and epilepsy (*tenkyō*) (Ishiguro 2016, 16). An Edo-period Sōtō Zen *kirigami* 切紙 document preserving Tendai teachings also links sufferers of *rai* and madness/epilepsy along with "non-persons" in its prescriptions for a post-burial ritual to eradicate karma (Ishikawa 1985). The document also mentions corpse-vector disease. As we shall see later, the Jimon ritual texts focused on eliminating corpse-vector disease also link *rai* and madness, if in different ways.

Because *rai* appears to exemplify central features of medieval society and religion, it is tempting to conflate *rai* sufferers with *byōsha* 病者, "the ill," more generally (Amino 1994, 86), and hence to see disease and defilement as inherently connected. However, this has yet to be substantiated. In fact, it is noteworthy that, besides the much-discussed example of *rai*—and the less-prominent case of madness—no other cases of defiled pathology, to my knowledge, have been addressed by scholars in any extensive manner. This dearth of other examples would appear to signal the limits of the karmic defilement thesis, which perhaps does not describe a generalized entangling of disease and defilement within the medieval mode of existence so much as one remarkably consequential example of that entangling.

In the pages that follow, however, I propose that corpse-vector disease is another example in which we can discern a close link between disease and defilement: not a relationship that is predefined, but one that came into being over the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Moreover, this example is especially illustrative because it reveals three features of that entanglement not seen in the case of *rai*:

corpse-vector disease was an acute rather than chronic disease; it afflicted aristocrats and emperors rather than outcasts; and most important, its emergence was tied to what was long understood as the ultimate source of defilement—death. In the following section, I first address the changing understandings of death defilement in the early medieval period that paved the way for the appearance of corpse-vector disease.

Death Pollution in the Capital and Beyond

In the early medieval period, defilement associated with death (*shie* 死穢) was considered the most pervasive and severe form of pollution. As Elisonas (2001), Stone (2006), and others have pointed out, the prominent position death had come to occupy was not a transhistorical feature of Japanese culture so much as a product of historical processes. One development that amplified concerns about death defilement was urbanization, in particular the establishment of Heiankyō 平安京. Rapid population growth in an era of relentless natural and man-made disasters—famines, droughts, fires, warfare, and epidemics—would transform Heiankyō into the "ultimate corpse metropolis" (*kyūkyoku no shigai toshi* 究極の死骸都市).[19] Reflecting in his *Hōjōki* on an epidemic in 1182 that piggybacked a famine of the preceding year, Kamo no Chōmei 鴨 長明 (ca. 1153–1216) reports an arresting headcount taken by an abbot of Ninnaji 仁和寺: 42,300 corpses in the main streets of the capital, to say nothing of more distant quarters and suburbs (Kamikawa 2015, 22–24).[20] In lieu of cremation or burial and proper funerary rites, the abbot inscribed the Sanskrit letter A on the foreheads of the deceased. The abbot's count likely included only the bodies with discernible heads. Streets were also littered with bodies decomposed beyond recognition, together with stray limbs and torsos, which piled up in vacant lots and were scattered here and there by rummaging dogs and crows, sometimes finding their way into the otherwise well-groomed gardens of courtiers. The court occasionally attempted to curb this ongoing and at times acute sanitation problem, in the main by ordering metropolitan police (*kebiishi* 検非違使), purifiers, *rai* sufferers (*katai* カタイ), "non-persons," and members of other outcast groups to deposit corpses at the "virtual ring of necropoli [that] took shape in the hills and fields surrounding Heiankyō" (Niunoya 2018, 53–62; Stone 2016, 145). Yet these efforts did little to remedy the more worrying problem for aristocrats. To borrow the words of Yoshida Tsunefusa 吉田経房 (1142–1200) from an entry recorded in his diary *Kikki* during the aforementioned famine, "Nanto and Kyoto are pervaded with great defilement" (*daishokue* 大触穢) (*Kikki*, 164).

19. For extensive discussion of the dead in medieval Japan, see Katsuda (2003).

20. Often treated as a work of literature, Chōmei's accounts have much to recommend their historicity (Ihara 2017, 94–117).

Although anxieties about death defilement undoubtedly peaked during times of epidemic or disaster, historical records suggest such concerns were a constant throughout the Heian period and defined what it was like to live in the capital. For one thing, the pollution that emanated from corpses short-circuited the ritual apparatus, disarming once-reliable sacred sites upon whose potency depended the well-being of the city's inhabitants. Plans in 1191 to revive prayers for much-needed rain at Shinsen'en 神泉苑 were canceled on account of a site survey that concluded, "corpses abundantly fill [the grounds]; the pollution and defilement is beyond measure"(*Gyokuyō* 13: 42).[21] A request to remove the offending pollution was conveyed to the head of the metropolitan police (*kebiishi bettō* 検非違使別当), but the priest in charge of the rites countered that, without proper barriers in the form of walls, protection from additional pollution could not be guaranteed, thus one could not hope for "dharmic efficacy" (*hōgen* 法験) at the site.[22] Similar cases abound in this period of rituals and ceremonies either postponed or canceled.

Far from immune, courtiers increasingly found their day-to-day lives organized by anxieties surrounding defilement, which cast its shadows on their minds, their conversations, and their movements. Much time was spent anxiously deliberating how best to traverse the city roads without crossing paths with the abandoned dead. Courtiers sent metropolitan police ahead of their palanquins to scout for and clear the roads ahead of bodies, heads, and limbs. In this process of trying to navigate a capital fraught with danger, encounters with defilement eventually came to be seen as increasingly hazardous. In an entry from the *Taiki* from the year 1145, a funeral palanquin (*sōsha* 葬車) was said to have passed in front of the procession of Emperor Konoe 近衛 (1139–1155). Commenting on the inauspiciousness of the event, Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078–1162) recounted to his son Yorinaga 頼長 (1120–1156) an incident some forty years earlier when the imperial procession of Retired Emperor Horikawa 堀河 (1079–1107) encountered a corpse on the road. The emperor is subsequently said to have suffered from "coughing sickness" for many years, and this was thought to have been the cause of his death in 1107 (YIENGPRUKSAWAN 1996, 71). Tadazane, however, hypothesized that it was ultimately the emperor's encounter with death defilement that was to blame. For some courtiers, then, the danger of encountering the dead was no longer limited to inauspicious contamination of shrine, court, or palace; rather, in the anxious rumors of courtiers, defilement

21. The affair is described over entries for two days in the diary (*Gyokuyō* 13: 41–49; KATSUDA 2003, 51–56).

22. This example concerns defilement deactivating ritual efficacy, but SHINMURA (1985, 296) also describes a later case from the *Yoshidake hinamiki* 吉田家日次記 for the year 1402 in which medicines that were in the vicinity of defilement had to be purified in the Kamo River and thus, in this way, reactivated.

was now an "inauspicious sign" (*fukichi no shō* 不吉之象) that might more directly spell death. As Tadazane commented, "When corpses are on the road [the people who encounter them] do not last long; how much more so [when they encounter] funeral palanquins!" (zst 23: 164).

Among the most disconcerting features of death pollution was the difficulty in discerning the pathways of transmission. In centuries prior, legal codes such as the *Shingishiki* 新儀式 had defined the transmission of defilement in a more or less clear sequence of four positions: *kō* 甲, *otsu* 乙, *hei* 丙, and sometimes *tei* 丁. *Kō* marked the first site or person defiled, as by encountering a corpse. *Otsu*, or secondhand defilement, occurred when a person entered a *kō* space after the corpse was removed, or if a *kō* person entered a second space, rendering that space *otsu*. Thirdhand (*hei*) defilement likewise occurred through interaction with *otsu*, and there was additionally the possibility of fourth-hand (*tei* 丁) defilement (Yamamoto 2009, 45–51; Stone 2006, 207).[23] In theory, this linear sequence meant pathways of defilement transmission were easily traceable back to "patient zero" of the contamination. In practice, however, things quickly became messy, spurring debates that often required the intervention of specialists such as *onmyōji*.[24] Most important, the reconstruction of transmission pathways was frequently undermined by the fact that defiled individuals were often unaware of their compromised state (Yamamoto 2009, 46, 48). Herein lies an important early distinction between defilement and disease: *kegare* was not understood to present on the body, so defiled individuals were largely asymptomatic and might contaminate multiple persons and places without knowing. Thus, while legal descriptions of defilement transmission suggest a resemblance with the spread of disease and thus the possibility that both belong to a shared category of "contagion," this lack of embodied presentation marks an undeniable difference between disease and defilement and another reason why the two should not be readily conflated.

This already vexing problem of tracing defilement transmission was complicated in the late eleventh century by an unprecedented sense that death defilement was now capable of covering more territory in a new ontological guise. In 1096, crowds flocked to witness the eminent monk Keichō 慶朝 (d.u.) consecrate a new temple to be attached to Sumiyoshi Taisha 住吉大社. The pilgrims were so numerous that crowds began interrupting the assembly. In response, shrine authorities began expelling the pilgrims, sending dozens into a nearby pond, whereupon many drowned. When participants in the ceremony thereafter

23. Roughly the same transmission sequence can be found in the later *Goryōsha bukkiryō* (Elisonas 2001, 12–15).

24. For example, opinions differed on the question of whether fourth-hand defilement required a taboo period (Yamamoto 2009, 51).

went to court, it was declared that the realm at large (*tenka* 天下) was now polluted (Yamamoto 2009, 48, 134–135). In another example, just two days after a separate case of realm-wide defilement had ended (the details of which are unknown), a vicious fire broke out at the residence of Fujiwara no Sanemori 藤原実盛 (d.u.), leading to the death of many in the household. In his *Chūyūki*, Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062–1141) commented gravely, "In recent days the realm is filled (*henman* 遍満) with thirdhand defiled *ki*." Munetada further links these events to recent "strange happenings" (*kaii* 怪異) that occurred during the middle of the previous night—a bell in a treasure hall spontaneously ringing all by itself, and an earthquake—taking these as reasons to observe taboos (*monoimi* 物忌) that day (DNK 7: 137). A third example is the well-known battle of Ichi no Tani of 1184. In a recent article, Vyjayanthi Selinger (2019, 33) has shown that the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 conceals the gory material realities of war through the deliberate absence of depictions of blood.[25] In reality, the bloodshed of the conflict was imagined as having consequences far beyond the battleground. For example, in the *Gūji enji shō* 宮寺縁事抄, a Kamakura-period record of Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮, the warfare of this one battle is said to have released defilement throughout the realm (Yamamoto 2009, 135). Collectively, this new sense of defilement—articulated with phrases such as "defilement in the world" (*seken e* 世間穢), "defilement in the realm" (*tenka e* 天下穢), and "touch defilement in the realm" (*tenka shokue* 天下触穢)—conveyed the concern that certain forms of death defilement were now spreading on a vast scale, comparable to natural disasters, vengeful spirits (*goryō* 御霊), and epidemic deities (*ekishin* 疫神).

A large number of examples of epidemic defilement pertain to contamination of the Imperial Palace and the death of the sovereign. For instance, in one episode reported in the *Chūyūki*, secondhand (*otsu*) defilement contaminating the Imperial Palace resulted in "defiled *ki* pervading the world" (cited in Yamamoto 2009, 136). If the emperor was understood to be the center of purity within the medieval mode of existence, the Imperial Palace, once polluted, became the platform by which defilement was broadcast throughout the entire realm. One striking event is the fire of 1177 that destroyed the Daigokuden 大極殿, a critical ritual venue at which ceremonies for national protection were performed (*Hōjōki*, 16–17). The destruction of what occasionally functioned as the emergency center for realm-wide disasters provoked lengthy deliberation by specialists from the Jingikan 神祇官 and the Onmyōryō 陰陽寮, both of whom declared that indeed

25. Selinger's study of blood as a "zero signifier" in the *Heike monogatari* offers a creative way to trace the broader impact of the imaginary of defilement in medieval Japan, which sometimes requires a careful reading between the lines that admits the possibility that a conspicuous absence might in fact constitute a deliberate semiotic strategy (Selinger 2019, 35).

this was a case of "defiled *ki*" (DNK 2: 218). Another common cause of the mass spread of "defiled *ki*" was the death of emperors and warrior rulers. The most famous example is the death of Minamoto no Yoritomo 源 頼朝 (1147–1199) in Kamakura, which resulted in the postponement of numerous ceremonies across the realm, "a state of national pollution" (Elisonas 2001, 19–20). As the seat of power had by then shifted to Kamakura, it became the new site from which the deaths of rulers might launch realm-wide defilement (Kuroda 2009).

Identifying this phenomenon as a new development in the late-Heian period, Yamamoto (2009, 134–138) sees these expressions of epidemic defilement as lacking a clear standard of reference and, as a result, interprets them as subjective exaggerations on the part of aristocrats. Indeed, the possibility of such boundless defilement does not fit nicely with the evidence Yamamoto has gathered suggesting that defilement transmission was not seen as a major concern in open spaces such as large roads, bridges, or fields (Yamamoto 2009, 51–62). And yet, the realm-wide circulation of death defilement had palpable effects in the cancellation or postponement of court and shrine ceremonies, as well as temporary bans on hunting, fishing, and the performance of music throughout Japan, thus impacting not only the elite but common people as well (Kuroda 2009, 40–41).

More important, to speak and write of defiled *ki* filling the realm was clearly a way to articulate unprecedented concerns as to what defilement was capable of in a capital overflowing with the dead. This new expression of unbound defilement surely evoked another entity wafting through the air, namely the horrific stench of death, a sensory experience that we might imagine was linked to growing concerns about defilement. In his study of the smellscape of Heiankyō, Yasuda Masahiko notes that the smell of death would have been unavoidable, especially during the hot summer months and near places such as the bed of the Kamo River where corpses that could not be cremated were left to decompose in appalling numbers (Yasuda 2007, 91). Indeed, in the *Hōjōki*, Chōmei writes, "There being no one even to dispose of the bodies, a stench filled the whole world, and there were many sights of decomposing bodies too horrible to behold" (Keene 1955, 203; *Hōjōki*, 23). Pollution was thus conceivably registered through the bodily senses that residents of Heiankyō cultivated through the traumatic experiences of disasters as well as daily life in the capital.

To Heian courtiers, the novel sentiment of defilement circulation they expressed by way of the term "defiled *ki*" would have also conceivably evoked the ontology of diseases, both collective and individual. Although the term *ki* held multiple meanings in classical Chinese medical discourse, in courtier diaries in Japan it was often used to refer to a pathological agent or condition. For example, the proliferation of defiled *ki* throughout the realm immediately conjures images of disease epidemics, one word for which was "epidemic *ki*" (*ekiki*

疫気).[26] An outbreak of measles (*akamogasa* 赤疱瘡) in 1025 was said to afflict "all under heaven," language that parallels descriptions of defiled *ki* (Farris 1993, 379). Second, defilement and epidemic *ki* imagined to fill the realm were much like the *ki* of disease (*byōki* 病気) said to accumulate within individual ailing bodies. Partly informed by Chinese medical discourse, Heian-period diaries and literature refer to such diseases as "coughing *ki*" (*gaiki* 咳気), "chest *ki*" (*munenoke*), and "leg *ki*" (*ashinoke* 脚気) (Hattori 1955, 80–83).[27] Two of the most frequently used disease concepts were *mononoke* 物気 or 物怪 and "evil *ki*" (*jake* 邪気), the equivalent of *mononoke* in courtier diaries (*kanbun nikki* 漢文日記). While both terms could refer to the spirits of individual persons, by the late Heian period, these spirits were largely understood as disease entities with nebulous identity yet powerful afflictive force. Treatment against stubborn *mononoke* or *jake* often required the intervention of eminent Buddhist healers known as *genza* 験者, who would transfer the spirit to the body of a medium and then subjugate it in a ritual known as *abisha* 阿尾奢 (from the Sanksrit *āveśa*; see Ueno 2013; Oda 2016; Iyanaga 2019).

In addition to these disease terms using *ki*, physicians and courtiers also remarked on the quantity and quality of the *ki* associated with the disease in question. An "increase in *ki*" meant symptoms had worsened, whereas a "decrease in *ki*" meant the condition had noticeably improved.[28] As a kind of pathological barometer for diagnosis, these terms were often used when describing the impact, or lack thereof, of treatment methods, whether medical or ritual. Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046), for instance, reports that as a result of Tōji 東寺 monks chanting the *Peacock Sūtra* on his son's behalf, the latter's "hot *ki* [*nekki* 熱気] decreased."[29] Diary entries describing illness often reveal multiple guises of pathological *ki* at play, as can be seen in this example regarding the illness of Fujiwara no Kōshi 藤原幸子 (1112–1155), wife of Yorinaga:

26. Defilement and the homophonous term "epidemic demons" (*ekiki* 疫鬼) were already linked in the *Engishiki* (Niunoya 2018, 146).

27. On leg (or foot) *qi*, later identified as beriberi, in Chinese medical history, see Smith (2017).

28. With the exception of Soga Yoshinari's (2008) examination of the word "exhaustion" (*shorō* 所労) in courtier diaries, a careful study of the language used to describe disease and *ki* in this period has yet to be written, leaving much still unknown about the reception of body images and disease concepts deriving from Chinese medical literature.

29. The efficacy of the rite was revealed in the dreams of two separate individuals, a family member and one of the attending priests. The passage reads: "[My son's] hot *ki* decreased. Last evening, we had Tōji [monks] perform prayers. There were two dream visions. Norisuke 経相 (d.u.) dreamed that a large bird came, ate a large snake, and then flew off. This is surely [a sign of] the efficacy of Jinkyū 尋汲 (d.u.) chanting the *Peacock Sūtra*. The large bird [in the dream] is the peacock. Jinkyū also had a dream in which Jinjaku Sōjō 深覚僧正 (955–1043) came and sat down. These are all [signs of the] unseen assistance (*myōjo* 冥助) of Tōji" (DNK 6: 185–186; Ueno 2013, 19–20).

> Twenty-fourth day. *Kanoe uma* 庚午. The lady's warm *ki* (*onki* 温気) has yet to disperse, and it has been like this already for some days. Additionally, on some mornings there is no warm *ki*. Is this not epidemic *ki* (*ekiki*)? [Kamo no] Akinori [賀茂]在憲 and [Abe no] Yasuchika [安倍]泰親 both declared a divination of epidemic *ki*, thus there had been no transfer of the *mononoke* [by Buddhist monks]. However, through divination [Kamo no] Chikanori [賀茂]周憲 declared that it is not epidemic *ki*. Therefore, starting today, [Buddhist monks] will transfer the *mononoke* [to a medium], with Sainin 最仁 serving as the *genza*. (ZST 24: 165)

In sum, then, to speak of "defiled *ki*" was to evoke a constellation of images pertaining to the *ki* of realm-wide epidemics, pathological agents associated with the dead that were rampant in aristocratic society, and the presence of disease as it accumulated in individual bodies. In the next section, I show that this period, and the late twelfth century in particular, was also characterized by the emergence of a strange disease intimately tied to death.

Afflicted by Corpses

It was at the peak of these developments in the late twelfth century, when corpses flooded the capital with pollution and anxieties about "defiled *ki*" crisscrossed with rumors about death and disease at court, that aristocrats and members of the imperial family found themselves afflicted with a mysterious and by all accounts unheard-of illness. "Transferring-corpse disease" (*tenshibyō* 転屍病), a term synonymous with "corpse-vector disease," was thought to be the affliction that struck three high-profile patients in the years 1165, 1175, and 1179, respectively. A close reading of diary entries describing these cases reveals that, while in the eyes of observers this disease was largely anomalous, as I will show, its emergence at this time reflected dis-ease toward corpses as agents of transmission, which became increasingly common in this period.

The first to be afflicted by the disease was no less than a newly retired emperor, Nijō. The eldest son of Go Shirakawa, Nijō had been weak in disposition since his youth. At age twenty-three, in the year 1165, he was stricken with an illness that would spell the end of his reign and eventually his life, on the twenty-eighth day of the seventh month. In the months leading up to that date, monks and shrine priests conducted a dizzying array of ceremonies on Nijō's behalf, including purification rites (*ōharae* 大祓) and offerings (*hōhei* 奉幣) at ten shrines, recitations of the *Peacock Sūtra* at the Imperial Palace led by Go Shirakawa's younger brother Kakushō Hosshinnō 覚性法親王 (1129–1169), an Aizen Myōō 愛染明王 ritual performed at the Seiryōden Futama 清涼殿二間, offerings at Ise Shrine, and the consecration of one hundred images of Fudō Myōō (*Fudō zō*

hyakutai kuyō 不動像百体供養) at Ninnaji (Komatsu 1977, 141–144).[30] Since the stubborn affliction refused to abate, Nijō was forced to retire on the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month, and the throne was passed to Go Shirakawa's second son, Yorihito, then a one-year-old infant. As Nakayama no Tadachika 中山忠親 (1131–1195) reports in his *Sankaiki* on the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month, however, Nijō was not yet abandoned, for his caretakers resorted to unorthodox measures:

> The newly retired emperor's affliction has yet to lessen. Today, Iwaya Shōnin 岩屋聖人 visited in secret and applied moxibustion on two spots on [Nijō's] chest, twenty-one cones each. The governor of Sagami, Nobuyasu 信保, offered moxibustion….[31] [It is said that Iwaya] Shōnin treats transferring-corpse disease. [The idea to summon Iwaya] was proposed by Middle Counselor Taira.
> (ZST 26: 284)

Although this is the earliest extant mention of Iwaya Shōnin in the historical record, Tadachika implies that the "holy man" (*shōnin*) has already made a name for himself as a healer of "transferring-corpse disease," an affliction that, at least in the eyes of Nijō's caretakers, refused all manner of premier treatments and hence called for a special moxibustion treatment (*kyūji* 灸治) employed by a *hijiri* 聖.[32] This unusual, last-ditch attempt apparently did not work; Tadachika reports that, not long after his treatment, Nijō got diarrhea after eating coarse

30. The consecration of images as part of the arsenal of treatments for Nijō recalls the broader dynamic of individual illnesses and epidemics fueling the production of Buddhist art in this era, discussed by Yiengpruksawan (1996).

31. Because of a lacuna in the text, it is unclear in what way Nobuyasu "offered moxibustion." Komatsu (1977, 141–144) suggests that Nobuyasu used incense to light the moxibustion, but no justification is given. In any case, it would not have been unusual for Iwaya to require some assistance in performing this treatment.

32. It will become clear in subsequent pages that diarists struggled with correct terminology and transcription, leading to interpretive difficulties for scholars. For instance, Komatsu Shigemi's (1977, 141–144) parsing of the passage leads to a misreading: "Shōnin treated (*ryōten* 療転) death diseases (*shibyō* 死病)." Shinoda Tatsuaki (2006, 73–80) follows Komatsu in his history of the illnesses of emperors written for a popular audience. The confusion stems partly from the preference on the part of diarists for *tenshibyō* over *denshibyō*. I treat these as synonymous, as does Ueno Katsuyuki (2013, 260–261). The only other prominent example of *tenshi[byō]* outside diary entries is a section in the *Eichikushō* 英蓄抄 titled "Eliminating Transferring-Corpse [Disease]" (*jo tenshi* 除転尸). We should keep in mind that "transferring"—or rolling, transforming, or mutating—was also used to describe the circulation of corpse-vector disease (T 1221, 21.100a3). In any case, the term "corpse-vector disease" has itself proven difficult to detect. In a similar way, in an otherwise meticulous translation of *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing*, William J. Giddings (2017, 272) renders *chuanshi gui qi* 伝屍鬼気 as "the carrier of a spirit or a *vetāla*," thus overwriting the Chinese medical referent—"the *qi* of the corpse-vector [disease] demon"—with the "vampire" of Sanskrit religious literature (T 1060, 20.110b15).

food and lost consciousness, whereafter he refused to eat, beginning the month-long countdown until his death.

Although the previous entry hints at other sufferers of the disease treated by Iwaya, the next known case comes from nearly ten years later, in 1175, when the same diagnosis was proposed for Fujiwara no Chūshi 忠子 (d. 1220), wife of Matsudono Motofusa 松殿基房 (1145–1231). Opposed by certain factions at court, the marriage between Chūshi and Motofusa had been something of a scandal. Her illness thus garnered considerable attention, as Motofusa was then regent and Chūshi five months pregnant. Aspects of the event are described in both the *Sankaiki* and *Gyokuyō*, the diary of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207). As the entry for 8/16 in the former record notes, Iwaya was summoned, again because of his reputation. In possibly the only firsthand account of the entries examined here, Tadachika writes that Iwaya is "the dharma master that protects the body from the *tenshinbyō* 転申病 that has arisen in recent years." It may have been decided that Chūshi's symptoms recall those of Nijō almost exactly ten years earlier: "[Chūshi] has become unable to eat," Tadachika reports, "sometimes she has warm *ki*, the inside of her body is acrid and bitter, she is dramatically emaciated from her exhaustion, and she wears fright and fear on her face" (ZST 27: 72). *Tenshinbyō* is undoubtedly a mistranscription for *tenshibyō*, "transferring-corpse disease."

The second entry concerning Chūshi's sickness, this one from the *Gyokuyō*, contains additional details. The secondhand report Kanezane conveys indicates first that Chūshi is suffering from evil *ki*. But in an interlinear note, Kanezane wonders: "Was it suspected [that the affliction was] transferring-*gyaku* disease?" Kanezane's reason for speculating the affliction might be "transferring-*gyaku* disease" (*tengyakubyō* 転虐病) is the fact that Iwaya has been summoned (*Gyokuyō* 3: 252). This is, once more, consistent with Iwaya's reputation in aristocratic society, and suggests that Kanezane's *tengyakubyō* is either a conflation of two distinct disease concepts—*gyakubyō* 虐病, a pathology mentioned frequently in diaries of the period, and transferring-corpse disease—or, more straightforwardly, a mistranscription of "transferring-corpse disease," a disease concept that eluded his vocabulary.

Reading further in Kanezane's entry, we learn that Iwaya was not the only one summoned, leading to a dramatic scene erupting around Chūshi's sick bed (parentheses enclose Kanezane's notes):

> Court Chaplain Kakukan (son of Masakane; of Miidera) also [came to] pray for her. During that time, the aforementioned Shōnin, likewise prayed for her, from within the screen. The Court Chaplain overheard this from his side and, in a great burst of anger, stormed out. Although the Regent tried assertively to stop him, he still would not consent [to stay], whereupon another monk was requested [to replace him]. (*Gyokuyō* 3: 252)

On each side of the folding screen enclosing the patient are two Buddhist healers representing different ends of the social spectrum. Son of Minamoto no Masakane 源 雅兼 (1079–1143) and priest of the elite monastery of Onjōji, Kakukan 覚寛 (d.u.) holds the title of Court Chaplain (*naigu* 内供), a prestigious position that entailed serving emperors and other members of the imperial family within the palace (Hayami 1975, 22). Kakukan performs prayers outside the folding screens that enclose Chūshi. Meanwhile, Iwaya, a holy man of unknown rank and status—Kanezane makes a point to note elsewhere that he does not even know the fellow's surname—performs prayers and moxibustion from within the folding screen, and presumably close enough to her body to apply moxibustion. Once again, it seems that this strange disease calls for unconventional means in the dual employment of these two healers of different pedigrees.

The third case concerns the illness of Taira no Moriko, daughter of Taira no Kiyomori. In the sixth month of 1179, Tadachika reports that Moriko is "wasting and withering day by day." Here, he uses the same term he used some four years earlier with Chūshi, *shōsui* 憔悴, to which he adds *kokō* 枯槁, a word that refers to the withering of plants as well as the wasting of persons, perhaps a *kanbun* flourish to aestheticize (and thus euphemize) this difficult situation. Reflecting on Moriko's symptoms, Tadachika rhetorically asks: "Is it not *hakushibyō* 博死病?" (ZST 27: 294). Since Tadachika used "transferring" (*ten*) as the first character in previous entries on Nijō and Chūshi, the first character here (*haku*) is a mistranscription; correctly, it should be *ten* 転 (or *den* 伝). Tadachika moreover uses the character for "death" where we might expect "corpse," yet the meaning is largely the same. In sum, it is evident Tadachika speculates that, like Nijō and Chūshi before her, Moriko was suffering from transferring-corpse disease.

The second relevant entry on Moriko, from the *Gyokuyō*, was written after Moriko had passed away but reports the final stages of the illness:

> The aforementioned honorary empress (*jugō* 准后) [Moriko] had been afflicted and not eating since the past spring. The *ki* [of the illness] gradually increased. The head of the Bureau of Medicine, Yasushige, applied moxibustion, but because [the *ki*] did not decrease even after this, a body-protection [rite] (*kago shin* 加護身) was carried out to transfer the evil *ki* (*jake*) [out of her body and into a medium's body]. Although the [*ki* of the disease] diminished a little after that, these means had not taken care of it for good, and so she passed away.
> (*Gyokuyō* 6: 210–211)

Once again moxibustion is tried, recalling the precedent of Iwaya, but this time it is applied by the head of the Bureau of Medicine (Tenyakuryō no kami 典薬寮頭), Wake no Yasushige 和気定成 (1123–1188). Because the *ki* of the disease did not diminish, however, they change strategy, and an unnamed monk is called upon to perform a "body-protection rite." Because this involved "transferring

a *jake*," this was probably an *abisha* rite. As such, it represents a possible change in diagnosis from transferring corpse-disease to evil *ki*, which as we noted above was related to the generalized pathology of evil spirits of the dead. In fact, however, transferring-corpse disease may have already been associated with such disembodied spirits. The ritual to transfer the disease-causing spirit into the body of a medium may have been performed by Iwaya, given his reputation for "protecting the body" from this very affliction. Either way, the rite is not successful and Moriko soon passes away.

Several important takeaways emerge from across these diary entries. For one, the inconsistent and incorrect transcriptions of what was in all likelihood the same disease term makes it clear that the disease was seen as an anomaly to those involved. Writing in 1175, Tadachika comments that the disease has "arisen in recent years," suggesting that it was indeed considered new and thus unfamiliar. The mistranscription is particularly surprising in the case of Kanezane, who was one of the best educated men in his day and whose formidable medical knowledge rivaled that of court physicians. The undecidability of the diagnosis—accompanied by changes in treatment methods—suggests the unfamiliarity extended to the healers as well, and there were likely disagreements about how to identify the affliction. Notable here are the attempts to make this strange disease legible by drawing upon a more ordinary disease vernacular in the way of *ki* diagnostics and better-known pathologies such as *gyakubyō* and evil *ki*. That said, even as they floundered in their attempts at transcription, they were already in the process of making this anomalous disease less alien. As Charles E. Rosenberg (1992, 305) comments, "In some ways disease does not exist until we agree that it does, by perceiving, naming, and responding to it." These entries indeed witness the emergence of a disease.

One of the least ambiguous indications that the disease was seen as anomalous is the unconventional treatment that was attempted. In the case of Nijō, a raft of rituals were performed, including rites based on the *Peacock Sūtra*—long revered in Japan for its efficacy in healing and safe childbirth—and rituals for the wrathful wisdom kings, Aizen Myōō and Fudō Myōō 不動明王, the latter of whom was the central divinity in five altar ceremonies (*godanhō* 五檀法) that, beginning with Ryōgen 良源 (912–985) in the mid-tenth century, proved successful in treating emperors (Hayami 1975, 89). When these tried-and-true rituals failed, as a final option, those caring for Nijō chose to summon the "holy man" Iwaya. We can surmise that a similar sequence happened in the later case of Chūshi as well. While *hijiri* like Iwaya played critical roles as healers and were praised by figures such as Kanezane, as Kikuchi Hiroki (2011, 80–95) notes, these semi-reclusive figures with sometimes unknown pedigrees were looked upon with much suspicion in aristocratic society. Thus, in the case of Nijō, the idea to employ Iwaya was suggested by Middle Counselor Taira no

Kiyomori—himself an eccentric figure seeking to establish what BIALOCK (2007, 273, 316) calls a "heterotopic court," and whose daughter Moriko would later acquire the disease. In the case of Chūshi, the presence of Iwaya ends up offending a career cleric (*kansō* 官僧) serving as *naigubu zenji* 内供奉禅師, a venerable office long associated with treating the emperor and members of the imperial family.

Despite the anomalous character of the disease, the presence of a *hijiri* points to another dimension that was likely unsettling in its familiarity: the association between this disease and the dead. As STONE (2006, 225) points out, *hijiri* were seen as "death-managing monks" who, like those *zenchishiki* 善知識 who guided and assisted deathbed rituals (*rinjū gyōgi* 臨終行儀), "represent an important step in the development of an emergent class of Buddhist practitioners able to handle the dying and diseased and contain the pollution of death" (STONE 2016, 372). Indeed, it would appear that all three elite patients were presumed to be on their deathbed. Nijō and Chūshi both passed away not long after the events were recorded. In his entry for Nijō, Tadachika explicitly references the stories of Myōren 命蓮 and Mitaki Shōnin 三瀧聖人, two *hijiri* said to have cured emperors on their deathbeds (ZST 26: 284). As such, the defilement expected to attend the death of the patient would have been less of a concern for *hijiri*, who performs their prayers in close proximity to the patient inside the folding screen, than it might for an official cleric such as Kakukan, who performs his healing rituals on the other side of the folding screen safe from potential defilement.

More immediately, the association between this disease and death is evident in the name of the affliction, "transferring-corpse disease." Indeed, why was this newly emergent disease given a name that suggested dead bodies were somehow involved in the transmission? The diarists did not record a rationale for the diagnosis, yet it is still possible to reconstruct some of the thinking process. First, because the disease concept appears in Chinese medical literature, it is reasonable to suspect that a healer conversant with that literature drew a relatively felicitous correlation between what they were reading and what they were seeing—the symptoms exhibited by the patient. However, this answer only takes us so far, since Chinese medical texts contain numerous other disease concepts with sets of symptoms that might just as reasonably be mapped onto the above cases. This includes "wasting disease" (*sōbyō*), "bones steaming" (*kotsujō*), and many other ailments within the categories of "depletion exhaustion" (*kyorō*) and the closely aligned "infusion" (*chū* 注) (*Ishinpō* 3: 1093–1160). I suggest that "transferring-corpse disease" was chosen over these other available options because, in both name and concept, it most directly expresses a more recently developed image of corpses as agents of pathological contagion, which was in turn tied to growing anxieties about death defilement in the capital.

In Chinese medical discourse, one predominant meaning for *ten* is "transferring," referring to the movement of a pathological entity from one body part or organ to another within the body or, as in the case of infectious diseases, from one entity or person to another. For example, the entry on "transferring infusion" (*chuanzhu* 転注) in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun* reads: "Transferring infusion refers to [the illness acquired] when one individual dies and [the disease] is exchanged with the people nearby" (TIZS 6: 124). This is also the basic sense of "transferring-corpse disease" (*tenshibyō*), the term used in courtier diaries above, which expresses the notion that the disease is transmitted to persons by corpses. In Japan, the term was used interchangeably with "corpse-vector disease," which is by far the more commonly used term in medical literature in both Japan and China to describe diseases transmitted by corpses. Indeed, perhaps the diarists meant to transcribe this term, which differs from *tenshibyō* by the radical of only a single character.

These facts suggest that courtiers and their healers in the late-twelfth century, in conversation with Chinese medical literature, had begun to imagine that there was a particular disease that came from corpses. In fact, the *Gotai shinbun shū*—a medical text long thought to date to the Muromachi period but recently redated to 1191–1194—includes a description of a "corpse disease" (*shigai toiu yamai* 屍骸ト云病) acquired when, unawares in the middle of the night, you step on the bones of a corpse of a person or animal (*Gotai shinbun shū*, 71). This newer sense that contact with a corpse might "transfer" a sickness is not far from the older notion that contact with a corpse leads to the transference of death defilement. Although I have insisted on differences between disease and defilement, I suggest the diary entries above witness connections between these two that were beginning to come into existence. At this time, however, "transferring-corpse disease" was still nascent, elusive, and—most consequentially for those involved—treatment-resistant. I turn now to examine a healing ritual created by Buddhist monks of the Jimon lineage designed specifically to solve this problem.

The Jimon Moxibustion Ritual for Expelling Corpse-Vector Disease

One monastic community that came to take special interest in diseases associated with death and the dead was the Jimon lineage of Tendai based at Onjōji. For example, Jimon monks had drawn upon continental sources focused on Fudō Myōō to craft a ritual titled "Expelling the Great Death Ritual" (*jo daishi hō* 除大死法; *Hōhiki*, 110–114). Numerous references to the ritual are found in the *Hōhiki*, Keihan's 慶範 (1155–1221) compilation of the teachings of his master, Shin'en 真円 (1116–1204) (Matsumoto 2010; Dolce 2011). The Expelling the Great Death Ritual was aimed at quelling epidemics of contagious diseases

(*shitsueki* 疾疫) that threatened to bring about the calamity of mass death (*daishi nan* 大死難). One distinctive feature of the performance of this practice appears to have been the burning of "skeletal grass" (*kotsurosō* 骨婁草), a substance whose adoption likely relates to the symbolic evocation of the relationship between epidemics, death, and corpses embedded in its name.

However, the most direct response to death-related afflictions that Jimon monks would launch was a healing rite aimed expressly at treating corpse-vector disease in individual sufferers. As noted above, although identical to the "transferring-corpse disease" noted in diary entries, corpse-vector disease was the standard term in Chinese medical literature. The *Shōshiki daikongō yakusha byakima hō* (hereafter, *The Ritual for Expelling Demons*) that targeted this affliction was an extensive multiday ritual program (*shuhō* 修法), in particular a fire ceremony (*goma* 護摩) centered on Shōmen Kongō 青面金剛, a deity largely unknown at the time. Designed to eliminate disease-causing demons, the rite fits squarely within the genre of esoteric rites for subjugation (*chōbuku* 調伏 or *gōbuku* 降伏). However, the most innovative feature of the rite in terms of therapy is its promotion of moxibustion, which a ritualist is to apply to the patient's body on specific locations in the context of the fire ceremony. Thus, although the ritual itself is not mentioned in any courtier diaries, as a combination of moxibustion and Buddhist ritual technologies against a disease caused by corpses, in practice, it appears to be remarkably similar to the method for which Iwaya gained a reputation. Given the renown Jimon monks had garnered throughout the Heian period at court as healers, their rite was undoubtedly designed to respond to the recent transferring-corpse disease outbreak and bring relief to ailing aristocrats and members of the imperial family (Macomber 2020).

Jimon monks compiled both a liturgical text and oral transmission documents for the practice. The liturgical text was titled after the ritual itself, *The Ritual for Expelling Demons*.[33] "Oral transmissions" (*kuden* 口伝) and notes (*shōmotsu* 抄物) concerning the ritual were collected in the *Denshibyō kanjin shō narabi ni sōbyō chihō* (hereafter, *Essential Notes*). Surviving editions of the liturgy and secret teachings were put to writing at around the same time, in the 1170s, when Jimon monks were in the process of consolidating numerous

33. The Taishō edition of this text (T 1221, 21) is rife with lacunae and errors, and the whereabouts of the parent manuscript, once held by Tōji Hōbodaiin 東寺宝菩提院, are now unknown. Many missing sections were transcribed by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo using the Koyasan University (Haruobon 春雄本) manuscript (Yoshioka 1997). A complete manuscript of the liturgy, copied by Anō 穴太 monks of Sanmon-Tendai some 130 years after the earliest Jimon dates, survives today in the Ōsu Bunko collection at Shinpukuji 真福寺 in Nagoya (Ōsu Bunko 56–157). This is the primary manuscript used throughout this article. I am indebted to Abe Yasurō for making the Shinpukuji manuscript and several others available for my research. Another copy with identical Anōryū colophons is held at Shōren'in Kissuizō 青蓮院吉水蔵.

lineages under the Jimon umbrella through the collection and collation of teachings (Matsumoto 2010).[34] For this larger project, Jimon monks availed themselves of textual resources on hand at Tōin 唐院, the library of sacred writings (*shōgyō* 聖教) at Onjōji. Central to this work was Keihan, otherwise known for his compilation of the aforementioned *Hōhiki*, an important collection of Jimon ritual knowledge in the early medieval period. Colophons in the *Record of Secret Treasures* show much of that work was completed at Nyoiji 如意寺, originally a clan temple of the Taira—to which Keihan, son of Taira no Chikanori 平 親範 (1137–1220), belonged—that came to be assimilated into Onjōji. Other parts were composed at a villa of the Kujō 九条 family, one of the five branches of the powerful northern Fujiwara, which had close ties to Onjōji in the Heian and Kamakura periods. In the *Record of Secret Treasures*, Keihan records rites performed by his teacher Shin'en to ensure the safe delivery of the child of Kujō Taeko 九条任子 (or Ninshi; 1173–1239), consort to Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽 (1180–1239) and daughter of the progenitor of the Kujō family, Kujō Kanezane (Matsumoto 2008). Unsurprisingly, Keihan's name appears in the colophons for most surviving editions of the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* texts dating from this period as well. As a typical pattern in those documents, following Keihan, the texts were copied in the 1220s by Keisei 慶政 (1189–1268), grandson of Kanezane, older brother to Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193–1252), and author of *Kankyo no tomo* 閑居友 and *Hirasan kojin reitaku* 比良山古人霊託. Keisei's copies were in turn transcribed and edited by Rishin 理真 (d.u.), possibly the grandson of Michiie.

The liturgical and oral transmission documents draw upon numerous Chinese Buddhist texts, including Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan*, the *Tuoluoni ji jing*, the *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa zhibing heyao jing*, scriptures about Kujaku Myōō 孔雀明王 (Mahāmayūrī), and others. In addition to these works, given their focus on corpse-vector disease and the use of moxibustion, Jimon monks also likely drew upon classical medical literature. The pathways by which Jimon monks acquired such texts remain unclear, but two conceivable possibilities, both stemming from the relationship between Onjōji and the Kujō family, deserve mention. First, we know that Kujō possessed a collection of medical texts from the *Fumon'in kyō ron shōsho goroku jusho tō mokuroku*, a catalog for the library of Fumon'in, a hall belonging to the temple Tōfukuji 東福寺, today a

34. Designated an Important Cultural Property in 2007, this Kamakura-period manuscript belongs to the Bunkachō 文化庁 annex of the Tokyo National Museum but in recent years has been held at the Kyushu National Museum in Dazaifu, Fukuoka. Incomplete transcriptions cleaving the text in two were created for the Taishō canon, *Denshibyō kuden* and *Denshibyō kyūji*. The latter is a tracing of two moxibustion body charts from the original manuscript. I use the more recent and complete transcription in Ōta (2014). For a partial translation of the *Denshibyō kuden* along with images of the body charts from the manuscript, see Macomber (2017).

major Rinzai Zen monastery located in eastern Kyoto. Although the catalogue is primarily composed of writings imported from China by Enni Ben'en 円爾弁円 (1202–1280), the first abbot of Tōfukuji, Michiie was perhaps another contributor to the library's collection (GOBLE 2011, 10–12). The catalog mentions one *Yōketsu shō* 要穴抄, a text likely prescribing body loci for moxibustion that may have been composed in Japan. Another text suggesting a link is the *Gekyō chihō* 外境治方, which, judging from the title, concerns the treatment of external injuries (*Fumon'in kyō ron shōsho goroku jusho tō mokuroku*, 491). This text is cited within the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy, the only other text in which I have seen the work mentioned. Perhaps, then, Jimon monks had access to these documents as early as the 1170s or when Keisei copied the documents in the early 1220s.

Second, the Kujō family likely had access to at least one fascicle of Tanba no Yasuyori's *Ishinpō*, in particular the copy that survived at Kongōji 金剛寺 located in Kawachi, Osaka (TAKAYAMA 2018). Taeko, the daughter of Kanezane, took the temple as her place of prayer (*kigansho* 祈願所). The temple came to be affiliated with nuns of Shingon pedigree such as Kakua 覚阿 and her sister Jōkaku 浄覚, who had served Taeko as ladies-in-waiting. As noted above, however, Keihan's teacher Shin'en performed rituals for the safe delivery of Ninshi's child in 1195, as recorded in the *Record of Secret Treasures* (MATSUMOTO 2008). TŌNO Haruyuki (1994) dates this copy of the *Ishinpō* to the early Kamakura period. What is significant is that the surviving copy is fascicle thirteen, "Section on the Five Exhaustions and Seven Damages" (*gorō shichishō bu* 五勞七傷部), the fascicle that contains the dedicated section on corpse-vector disease (*chi denshibyō hō* 治傳屍病方). Jimon monks were thus probably working with medical texts of some kind as they were compiling the ritual documents.

In terms of Buddhist healing practices in Japan, the Jimon ritual was largely unprecedented in its time: it was one of the earliest rites created in Japan that focused on a single, named disease.[35] Why did Jimon monks create a ritual at this particular moment to face corpse-vector disease? In the same way that the

35. This is not to suggest that other disease concepts are not mentioned in these ritual documents, nor that the notion of disease in the singular in premodern Japan is not without issue, given the fluid boundaries between disease categories as well as the multiplicity of etiologies in these and contemporaneous works. A slightly later example of a ritual focused on a particular, named disease is the *Unbyō kaji hō* 温病加持法, which, like the Jimon ritual, has a companion text of secret teachings, *Kaji unbyō hō kuden* 加持温病法口伝. Produced around 1207, both of these works are attributed to Myōe and both focus rather idiosyncratically on warmth disease (*unbyō* 温病), an ailment deriving from a Chinese apocryphal scripture of uncertain origins, *Que wenhuang shenzhou jing* 却温黄神呪経 (KOYAMA 2015; 2016). Two other texts with similar names are attributed to Myōe: *Kyaku un shinju kyō sharakyō no koto* 却温神咒経娑羅怯事 and *Kyaku un shinjukyō kuden* 却温神咒経口伝 (NOMURA 2002, 165, 284). On warmth disease in Song-period medicine, see HINRICHS (2015).

appearance of "transferring-corpse disease" in diaries was not arbitrary, I suggest that the Jimon rite is best understood as a response to new configurations of disease, defilement, and the dead in the late twelfth century. Moreover, as I demonstrate in the next section, evidence from the ritual documents reveals that, rather than simply summarizing existing medical or ritual knowledge on the disease, Jimon monks were responding specifically to fears about death-related diseases in the capital.

Pathologizing Death Defilement

Descriptions of corpse-vector disease in the Jimon ritual texts, which were written first in the 1170s, resonate on the one hand with contemporary accounts of transferring-corpse disease in aristocratic society, and on the other with death and defilement in the capital at large. For example, *Essential Notes* begins with the "signs of the disease" (*byōsō* 病相) summarized thus: "In general, [corpse-vector] disease is moderate at first but thereafter turns serious. Gradually the [sufferer] declines and wastes away, just as fish in evaporating water remain unaware of their impending death" (Ōta 2014, 8).[36] The statement immediately invites comparison with symptoms experienced by sufferers of transferring-corpse disease as reported in diaries, namely Chūshi's dramatic emaciation from exhaustion and Moriko's wasting and withering day by day as she approached her final moments. At the same time, the analogy to the fate of fish in evaporating water corresponds nearly verbatim to how some described the dire conditions of the defiled capital. In 1182 Kamo no Chōmei wrote, "It was thought that the new year would see an improvement, but it brought instead the additional affliction of epidemics, and there was no sign of any amelioration. The people were starving, and with the passage of days approached the extremity, like fish gasping in insufficient water" (Keene 1955, 202; *Hōjōki*, 22–23). Chōmei's metaphor of the "fish gasping in insufficient water" echoes a similar line in Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū* (1: 65). Cited as the one of the "signs" of corpse-vector disease in the Jimon ritual text, the metaphor points to two distinct but interlinked registers outside of the ritual text: the disease then afflicting the bodies of nobility, and the epidemic of manifold suffering afflicting the urban body of Heiankyō.

36. A version of this phrase appears in Chinese medical literature. In particular, the part from "gradually" (*zenshū* 漸就) to "die" (*shii* 死矣) appears in the *Waitai miyao fang*, where it is attributed to the *Xuangan chuanshi fang* 玄感伝屍方 (*Waitai miyao fang* 4: 245). However, the inclusion of the character for "fish" 魚 is not found in the *Waitai miyao fang*, nor in any subsequent medical texts where that quote appears, for example, the *Taiping shenghui fang* and the *Shengji zonglu*. Intriguingly, this character does appear in the description of the disease in the *Ishinpō*, suggesting the possibility that Jimon monks were working with a related text or a fascicle of the *Ishinpō* itself.

Other striking parallels between descriptions of corpse-vector disease and death defilement are evident when we turn to the subject of contagion. Regarding the transmission of corpse-vector disease, an "oral transmission" reports the following: "At the onset when only a single person is suffering, this affliction is not contagious. Upon the passing of the sufferer, however, it spreads to ten thousand people. It is like when a vessel shatters and the water in it splashes out in all directions" (Ōta 2014, 8). Court physicians familiar with accounts of corpse-vector disease in Chinese medical literature would here recognize a similar passage from the *Xuangan chuanshi fang*, a Tang-period monograph on corpse-vector disease now presumed lost: "When [a sufferer] dies, the [disease] then spreads to the family or somebody close, thus it is called 'corpse-vector'" (*Waitai miyao fang* 4: 246). This description was in turn based on earlier conceptualizations of similar afflictions of corpse contagion, as we see for example in this passage from the *Comprehensive Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Diseases* regarding an affliction known as "corpse-*zhu* infusion" (*shizhu* 尸注): "After one dies, [the disease entity] is exchanged with people nearby, eventually bringing about the destruction of the family line. It is because this corpse disease pours into and transfers to people nearby that it is called corpse-infusion" (TIZS 6: 122). For aristocrats in Heian Japan, such passages from medical literature would surely evoke a striking similarity between these afflictions and death defilement: both cases describe contagious entities that are activated at the precise moment one person dies. Thus, where previously courtiers might look at an abandoned corpse on the roadside first and foremost as a locus of defilement, familiarity with medical descriptions of corpse-vector disease spurs them to now see the corpse as a locus of disease contagion as well. From this view, defilement takes on an etiological dimension, an association that the Jimon ritual texts encourage.

Yet the same passage also reveals a key difference between the contagiousness of corpse-vector disease and the earlier conception of the contagiousness of death defilement. We saw previously that the ancient legal account of defilement transmission described a straightforward linear sequence consisting of the four positions of *kō*, *otsu*, *hei*, and *tei*. In contrast, to compare contagion to the moment "when a vessel shatters and the water in it splashes out in all directions," as the Jimon ritual texts do for corpse-vector disease, is to imagine a nonlinear and rather unpredictable and chaotic mode of transmission, whereby the death of a single infected individual causes the malicious entity to spread to "ten thousand." At the same time, where the contagiousness of corpse-vector disease differs in that regard from the ancient legal account of death defilement transmission, it corresponds closely to the newer way in which death defilement transmission had come to be anxiously reenvisioned beginning in the eleventh century. As I noted, the deaths of many—of the innocent, or of emperors or rulers—could generate "defiled *ki*" capable of pervading all "under heaven" or "the world." The

nature of realm-wide defiled *ki* sounds remarkably close to how Jimon monks describe the explosive nature of the corpse-vector disease contagion.

The ontology of realm-wide defiled *ki* linked to death was only vaguely described by courtiers in their diaries, and no specialized texts were produced to explain the phenomenon in further detail. In contrast, the Jimon ritual texts offer much specification and elaboration on the ontology of corpse-vector disease. Rather than reducing the phenonemon to a single explanation, Jimon monks offer a patchwork of multiple ways to concretely imagine the nature and effects of corpse-vector disease transmission as well as the agents behind it. One key passage is found in the *The Ritual for Expelling Demons*:

> This demonic disease progressively circulates from place to place, spreading around. It spreads from husband to wife to children, and then to brothers and sisters. Thus, some call it corpse-vector demon-disease. None under heaven, even eminent physicians, can treat it. When the Dharma of the Buddha is diluted and wanes, kings, officials, queens, concubines, and monks and nuns of the realm will all suffer harm wrought by this demon-god. For those of high virtue, [the disease] will become *rai*; for those of middle virtue, it will become corpse-vector [disease]; and for those of low virtue, it will become madness (*kyōran* 狂乱). As a result, fathers and mothers will forget their parental affections and wives and children will become suspicious of gratitude and justice.
>
> (*The Ritual for Expelling Demons*, Ōsu Bunko 56–157)

The passage describes a realm-wide epidemic at first glance not wholly dissimilar from defiled *ki*. Indeed, the word "circulation" (*tenten* 展転)—which also has the character *ten* we saw in *tenshibyō*, transferring-corpse disease—was also used to describe the travel of defilement. Moreover, like the way that defiled *ki* typically began at the center of the realm, with the emperor or the Imperial Palace, it is also suggested that corpse-vector diseases spread out concentrically from the sovereign to the aristocracy, the Sangha, and the rest of the populace. Jimon monks specifically locate the emergence of the corpse-vector disease epidemic within the age of the declining Dharma. One aim of such rhetoric is to make clear that corpse-vector disease is a problem of such severity that only Buddhist monastics—and the producers of this rite—can effectively respond. In dismissing outright the possibility that eminent physicians (*meii* 名医) are capable of treating the illness, Jimon monks assert the superiority of their therapeutic program over court physicians, those professionals who, owing to their education in classical Chinese medicine, were likely more familiar with corpse-vector disease than anybody in the late Heian period. This argument that emperors and rulers must seek the help of monastics for relief from epidemic affliction in the latter age of the Dharma is also found, for example, in the *Kissa yōjōki* by Yōsai 栄西 (1141–1215), compiled in roughly the same period. Yōsai writes:

> In the final Dharma, when the lifespan of a person amounts to one hundred years, the four monastic communities will in great numbers violate proper deportment. When people do not accord with the teachings of the Buddha, the realm will be thrown into wild chaos, the hundred generations [that is, all people] will pass away. In these times there will be demons and spirits (*kimi mōryō* 鬼魅魍魎) that will send the realm into chaos and antagonize the people, creating manifold diseases for which no medical treatment exists, of which medical knowledge proves ignorant, against which medical formulas provide no salvation. There will be no way to save those who suffer long of this exhaustion in the extreme. (Furuta 1994, 204–205)

In still other ways the passage from *The Ritual for Expelling Demons* confers technical specificity to the disease not found in diaries. The attributions "corpse-vector demon-disease" (*denshikibyō* 伝屍鬼病) and "demon god" (*kishin* 鬼神) evoke a demonic etiology for the affliction. The Jimon ritual texts thus align with much esoteric ritual literature, in which demonology plays a perennial role in the understanding of disease causation. In the Jimon ritual texts, beyond the above passage, this attribution appears in many other passages, beginning with the title of the liturgy itself: *The Ritual of Shōmen Kongō for Expelling Demons and Māras*. The phrase "demons and *māras*" (*kima* 鬼魔) likely borrows from Zhiyi's widely cited etiological framework, in which these figure as two closely related disease categories of the six Zhiyi delineates (T 1911, 46106c23–c25; Demiéville 1985, 80–82).[37] Elsewhere in the ritual texts, however, Jimon monks eschew general categories and call out several demons by name: Tenmarakeishittaki 天魔羅雞室陀鬼, Tokeiraki 兜醯羅鬼, and Myōki 猫鬼. A citation in *Essential Notes* also includes an abbreviated form of the myth of Harita Yakṣa, the demon who, in the distant past, devoured human flesh and vital energy until he was finally subdued by the demon-god of the wastelands, Āṭavaka. Although not spelled out, the inclusion of this myth implies that Harita Yakṣa is yet another demon responsible for corpse-vector disease, and that Āṭavaka is identical to Shōmen Kongō, the *honzon* 本尊 of this subjugation rite. It is important to note that these demonic attributions demonstrate more than the mere influence of continental esoteric ritual texts. By specifying the demonic culprits behind the rise of corpse-vector disease, Jimon monks confer upon the disease a specific agential identity. This also marks a key difference with the otherwise faceless spread of defiled *ki*, the ontology of which was never clarified through a comparable project of specification.

37. For a translation of the entire "Contemplating the Realm of Disease" (*guan binghuan jing* 観病患境) section, see Swanson (2018, 2: 1322–1362). For other ways in which the Jimon monks draw upon the work of Zhiyi, see Macomber (2020, 211–216).

That said, the passage also betrays an important link to the notion of defilement that we must not overlook in thinking about how an alliance might form between disease and defilement. The link is evident in the passage's description of the ontology and transmission of the corpse-vector disease epidemic. The passage notes that those of high virtue will be afflicted with *rai*, those of middle virtue with corpse-vector disease, and those of low virtue with madness. That these three diseases in particular would be constellated in this way is significant. I noted above that *rai* is the only widely recognized example of defiled pathology and proposed that madness might be included in this category as well. Further, I have suggested throughout that the emergence of corpse-vector disease ought to be understood in relation to defilement as well. However, the above passage indicates that Jimon monks understood the matter differently. That is, they did not necessarily view these three diseases as separate examples of a single category like defiled pathology. Rather, in their view, as the epidemic spreads throughout the realm, the morphology of corpse-vector disease is configured by the socio-moral status, the particular grade of "virtue," of the individuals it afflicts, so beyond family resemblance, corpse-vector disease, *rai*, and madness are in fact different manifestations of the same roaming entity, the pathological form of which changes through a kind of physiomoral transformation. This model of disease is noteworthy for at least three reasons. First, because it suggests multiple disease entities circulate together in the collective form of a single epidemic, the model complicates any attempt to retroactively identify disease referents in history using only a biomedical framework focused on discrete diseases. Second, the model undermines the distinction that is sometimes drawn between—to borrow useful terms revived by Hinrichs (2015, 19–22), following Rosenberg—"functional-configurational" and "ontological-contaminationist" models of disease causation. The Jimon compilers draw attention to the way that one's internal karmic configuration shapes how external disease agents afflict the body, which is in turn embedded in the disordered environmental conditions symptomatic of the dismal age of the latter days of the Dharma. Finally, the model speaks to the key role karma plays in the spread of corpse-vector disease, which, as proponents of the "karmic defilement thesis" have pointed out, was also central for *rai*.

A similar entangling of internal moral status and a notion of an external disease agent is found elsewhere in the Jimon ritual texts where compilers imply that corpse-vector disease is caused by the "three corpse-worms" (*sanshi* 三尸). Quotations on the corpse-worms from the *Rōshi shu kōshin gu chōsei kyō* 老子守庚申求長生経 are given in the liturgical text, but *Essential Notes* provides the lengthiest citation and is the earliest extant source for this text (Ōta 2014, 10–12). The basic idea is that the three corpse-worms are born together with the host, in whose body they parasitically reside, always monitoring the vices committed by

their host until the latter dies. On the fifty-seventh day (*kōshin* 庚申) of the sexagenary cycle (*eto* 干支) of days, the corpse-worms exit the body and ascend to the heavens, where they submit a report on their human host's vices to the celestial emperor, leading to reductions in the host's lifespan.

Scholars have understood the significance of the citation of this scripture in terms of the question of "Daoism" in premodern Japan and the later development of the popular *kōshin* vigil (Kohn 2015). However, in the immediate context of the Jimon ritual documents, the inclusion of the notion of the three corpse-worms contributes to the compilers' efforts to specify and explain corpse-vector disease, which was, at this time, still an anomalous affliction in the eyes of their aristocratic audience. First, the notion of the three corpse-worms appeals to physiomoral sensibilities already part of court life. On the one hand, the *kōshin* vigil was a custom familiar to aristocrats, since they performed it on a regular basis following the calendar that defined nearly every aspect of court life. On the other hand, the idea that the body is inhabited by small malicious entities that live parasitically off their host until the latter's death parallels the Buddhist concept of the manifold worms inhabiting the body, one manifestation of the body's impurity discussed extensively by Genshin. Second, the three corpse-worms were not understood to simply monitor their host's behavior; they also provoked it. As one passage reads, "The upper corpse makes people fond of horse-driven carriages and clothes. The middle corpse causes people to enjoy the five flavors of food and drink. The lower corpse entices its host to sexual passion, makes him poor, and causes him to enjoy killing" (Ōta 2014, 11). Together, in cyclical fashion, this passage suggests that it is the three corpse-worms who are in fact responsible for the vices of their hosts, in other words, the karma-producing actions that incrementally engender an impure body.

Second, the notion of the three corpse-worms tethers into a kind of coherently distinct etiology related to the dead, demons, and corpse-vector disease, and thereby helps to supply a concrete image of disease transmission. One key idea is that the sooner the corpse-worms are able to murder their host by docking years off from their life, the sooner the corpse-worms are able to roam free. As one section of the cited *kōshin* scripture reads, "By cutting short a person's life registry, [the three corpse-worms] hope to hasten the person's passing. The earthly soul [of the deceased] enters the [three] springs while the three corpse-worms alone remain on earth, becoming what are known as 'ghosts'" (Ōta 2014, 11). Given that this quote has been reinscribed in the text of an esoteric ritual, "ghost" (*ki* 鬼) is perhaps best translated as "demon," which is more likely how Jimon monks read the term. That is, the Jimon compilers imply identification between the three corpse-worms and the disease-causing demons discussed above. This can be seen, for example, in the following passage from the liturgy, in which Jimon

monks bridge a quotation about the three corpse-worms with statements about demons and medical discourse about corpse-vector disease and its relatives:

> [The three corpse-worms] always want to make [their host] die quickly so that the *hun* souls enter the three springs. Sometimes these demons cause harm to people, provoking pain in the chest and paralyzing the person with exhaustion. The disease suffering [caused by] one demon transmits to offspring and between brothers and sisters. Therefore, people of the time also call it death-vector, progressing calamity (*enchō* 厭蝶), hidden link (*fukuren* 復連), and bone-steaming diseases.[38] Also, when within one household all are dying and there are none to determine the reason, soon it will progressively increase, and those with severe cases will die if not treated within a few months. Therefore, in despising [the situation caused by the disease], parental ties between father and son are terminated, and husband and wife become suspicious of their marital obligations. This is a disease of accumulated karma.
> (*The Ritual for Expelling Demons*, Ōsu Bunko, 56–157).

Although in Chinese medical discourse the three corpse-worms and corpse-vector disease are given as two distinct (if sometimes associated) phenomena, it is evident from the above passage that Jimon monks saw an important connection in the common element of the "corpse." Beyond the literal meaning of the character *shi* of *sanshi* as "corpse," the corpse-worms are imagined to desire above all to make a corpse of their own host, much like how corpse-vector disease brings sufferers to their deathbeds. Moreover, when the corpse-worms escape the spent body of their host they become demons that, according to Jimon monks, are in turn responsible for provoking corpse-vector disease in new victims.

In collecting ideas about epidemics, demons, and corpse-worms together in their ritual texts, Jimon monks were trying to articulate the affliction of corpse-vector disease by way of the ritual and medical knowledge that was available to them.[39] We can imagine how this elaboration of corpse-vector disease

38. *Enchō* corresponds to *enchō* 殗殜 (*yedie*) in Chinese medicine. Although today the term refers to a mild illness, in works such as the *Waitai miyao fang* it refers to an early stage of corpse-vector disease, which Zhang and Unschuld (2015, 1: 263) translate as "progressing calamity." *Fukuren* is correctly written *fukuren* 伏連 (*fulian*), which Zhang and Unschuld (2015, 1: 175) translate as "hidden link." As with *enchō*, "hidden link" refers to a stage of corpse-vector disease, in particular when the disease infects the five viscera (*gozō* 五臟).

39. Although beyond the scope of the present article, one important function played by the distribution of the disease over multiple meta-agents is performative. As described in the liturgy (Ōsu Bunko, 56–157), in the performance of the rite, three effigies made of dough would be boiled in a vat of oil and then tossed into the hearth of the *goma* fire altar. These three effigies function as substitute bodies for the "three demons" (*sanki* 三鬼) that provoke the disease, a simultaneous invocation of the three corpse-worms. Particular notions of disease, then—especially agentive ones, such as those that feature pervasively in esoteric ritual—do more than serve

might have appeared to some onlookers as an application of technical, specialized medical and Buddhist knowledge to the more generalized yet pervasive anxieties surrounding death defilement. In effect, the Jimon ritual texts offer a compelling patchwork of explanatory models for what happens when somebody gets sick in a corpse-ridden and defiled capital from a strange and mysterious disease. In the next section, I show how a sustained focus on death and dying shaped how Jimon monks depicted even the living patients of the affliction.

Ministering to the Living Dead

Although the Jimon ritual is designed for the elimination of the demons that cause corpse-vector disease and thus aims ultimately at curing sufferers, descriptions of the patient in the ritual texts underscore an inextricable connection between this disease and death, a connection that can be further understood in relation to issues of defilement. As we saw above in the descriptions of the transmission of corpse-vector disease, the still-breathing patient was figured as a kind of "becoming-contagion," a being already home to demonic corpse-worms whose pathology would be activated once the patient crosses over the threshold into death. This way of imagining a disease of the living in terms of the dying and the dead shaped how Jimon monks chose to describe the living patient that was to be the object of a ritual ostensibly meant to heal. Indeed, these descriptions of the patient blur the boundaries between life and death in arresting ways.

For example, already at the very beginning of *Essential Notes*, in a section labeled "Signs of the Disease," we find the analogy to fish gasping in evaporating water discussed previously, followed by descriptions hinting that the patient is already well on their way to another realm of existence:

> Some experience agony in body and mind, progressively dehydrate, and become emaciated. While trying to abide in correct mindfulness, some sufferers indulge [in thoughts of] demonic paths; others trying to abide in correct mindfulness begrudge [losing] their human body. Some sufferers cannot eat at all and constantly desire to sleep. Some might awaken the aspiration for enlightenment at the wrong time [when it is already too late] and weep sporadically. Lustful desires may develop, along with feelings of hatred and anger. At times the sick one is excited but at other times they rest. When the great matter of death approaches, they favor lying down on their lower left side; when they die, no effort is expended. In the beginning, the disease throbs under the left breast. When this [throbbing sensation] transfers to the right breast, death

an epistemological need of explanation; they also render treatments actionable, according to a certain esoteric ritual logic. A comparable (and undoubtedly historically related) use of three effigies, the "three foxes" (*sanko* 三狐), is employed in the *rokujikyōhō* ritual described by Lomi (2014, 271–274).

> is certain. After the sufferer has passed away, one observes that [the corpse] resembles the flesh of a rat. (Ōta 2014, 8)

For a description of the signs and symptoms to be observed in a living patient, this passage places considerable emphasis on the process by which that patient dies. Any court physician in Japan with passable knowledge of fascicle thirteen of either Wang Tao's 王燾 (670–755) *Waitai miyao fang*, or the *Ishinpō*, who encountered this passage would have been reminded of the "signs of [impending] death" (*si zhi zheng* 死之証) that attend the advanced stages of corpse-vector disease. In his monograph on corpse-vector disease, *Recipes for Mysterious Influences and Corpse Transmission*, Su You 蘇遊 (d.u.) includes the analogy of water evaporating to explain the sufferer's lack of awareness of their own gradual death. He also notes, for example, that "death may be just around the corner, while [the sufferer remains] in good spirits" (TIZS 4: 246). In medical discourse, corpse-vector disease sufferers were understood to vacillate between presenting signs of an imminent death and returning back to what appears to be a normal state of health. This is one of the reasons Su You warns readers that corpse-vector disease is apt to resemble a "feigned illness" (*yang bing* 佯病) (TIZS 4: 246).

Reading the same description of the patient from *Essential Notes*, a Buddhist monastic (Jimon or otherwise) might make a similar observation as that made by court physicians but with Buddhist discourses in mind. The signs of corpse-vector disease are virtually synonymous with what might be called, in other genres of Buddhist literature, the "signs of death" (*shisō* 死相).[40] In particular, the language used to describe corpse-vector disease sufferers is reminiscent of discourse found in sources describing deathbed rites, end-of-life practices through which those nearing their end might secure an auspicious rebirth in Amida's Pure Land. For example, consider the above passage from *Essential Notes* along with this one from the *Jūgan hosshinki*, authored by the Onjōji monk Senkan 千観 (918–983), which details the "three attachments" (*san'ai* 三愛) that may present themselves with the "suffering [experienced] on the verge of death" (*shihensai no ku* 死辺際の苦):

> At the time of death, three kinds of attachment are certain to arise. First is attachment to objects (*kyōgai ai*). When the signs of imminent death appear, one arouses with respect to one's beloved wife and children, relations and dependents, dwelling, and so on a profound and redoubled possessive love. Second is attachment to self (*jitai ai*). As body and mind become increasingly exhausted and life is truly about to end, one relinquishes one's beloved wife, retainers, and others and clings to one's own person, begrudging one's bodily

40. Signs of death, and indeed many other "signs," are described extensively by Kokan Shiren 虎関師錬 (1278–1346), otherwise known for the *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書, in the context of his personal reflections on diseases in his *Byōgiron* 病儀論; see the translation in Drott (2017).

> life. And third is attachment to the place of rebirth (*tōshō ai*). That is, when life truly reaches its end, one sees one's interim body coming to meet one, and conceives attachment to one's future existence. Because the mind is bent by these three attachments, mental anguish arises… so that one cannot concentrate on the Buddha. (STONE 2016, 230; original in SATŌ 1979, 198–199)

The second attachment, "attachment to self," echoes the corpse-vector disease sufferer's reluctance to give up their body and life to the death that approaches. Additionally, the third type of attachment—toward one's future site of rebirth—parallels the deviance that overtakes the corpse-vector disease sufferer's mind. As the Jimon ritual texts note, the sufferer tries to "abide in correct contemplation" (*jūshōnen* 住正念), a foundational deathbed practice of keeping one's mind trained on the Pure Land so as to facilitate rebirth there, as in Stone's "right thoughts at the last moment" (STONE 2016). Yet the afflicted sufferer finds their consciousness gravitating uncontrollably toward the "path of ghosts" (*kidō* 鬼道), a reference to the realm of hungry ghosts (*gakidō* 餓鬼道), those insatiable creatures who, as if trapped between this life and the hell realms, live off polluting substances such as urine, feces, vomit, discarded food scraps, newborn infants, and dead bodies. One wonders if Chūshi, who in her emaciated and exhausted state was said to "wear fright and fear on her face," had begun to see her own impending descent into the lower paths. In any case, it is clear that descriptions of the corpse-vector disease patient in the Jimon ritual texts, while relying upon Chinese medical literature, also fit well alongside early medieval discourses on death and dying in Buddhist contexts.

Another noteworthy area of resonance—and one much related to the ideal of correct contemplation on one's deathbed—pertains to the sense that both the sufferer of corpse-vector disease and those who will fail to achieve rebirth in the Pure Land are likely to expire in a state of madness. *The Ritual for Expelling Demons* reports: "Sometimes [the sufferer] falls into despair and goes mad. Sometimes, without a path, they give rise to an evil mind of anger. Sometimes they are broken to their core" (*kotsuzui kudaite* 骨髄砕イテ), that is, they suffer tremendously (Ōsu Bunko, 56–157). This grim prognosis is repeated in *Essential Notes*: "Sometimes the sufferer loses consciousness. (This is like epilepsy.) This resembles despair and madness (*kyōran*)." This passage is immediately followed by a description of the beginning stages of dying: "Around the time of death the legs will gradually swell…" (ŌTA 2014, 8). To define madness as the final condition preceding death recalls what was dubbed, in deathbed discourses, the "death of madness and losing contemplation" (*kyōran shitsunen shi* 狂乱失念死), the term "losing contemplation" (*shitsunen*) here being nearly synonymous with "despair" (*shitsui* 失意), or literally "losing one's intention," in *Essential Notes*. The "death of madness and losing contemplation" was in turn one of the "fifteen types of

bad deaths" (*jūgoshu akushi* 十五種悪死), a list we find enumerated in continental Buddhist texts such as the *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing*, which provides an associated *dhāraṇī* to avoid each (T 1060, 20.107a29–b11; Mochizuki 1954–1963, 3374c). These deaths also appear in esoteric texts in Japan, such as the *Gyōrin shō* (T 2409, 76.199c24) by Jōnen 静然 (c. 1154) and the *Hishō mondō* (T 2536, 79.416a12) by Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226–1304).

This idea of bad deaths brings us back again to issues surrounding death defilement. On the one hand, we have observed repeatedly that death was generally understood to be defiling, regardless of how it transpired. Yet as Stone has pointed out, an important distinction was made between good and bad deaths in deathbed discourse in the early medieval period (Stone 2016). Good deaths, which were understood as facilitating successful rebirth in the Pure Land, were sometimes seen to radically transcend the polluting nature of death; the bodies left behind were thus not defiled but in fact materially auspicious, as marked by the appearance of purple clouds or the emanation of incense-like fragrance. In contrast, bad deaths were not only seen as failed attempts at advantageous rebirth, but also described as thoroughly defiling. While the Jimon ritual texts do not describe the death of patients in so many terms, the descriptions of symptoms examined above suggest that the death of a corpse-vector disease sufferer would have been seen as especially defiling.

One of the fascinating takeaways Stone offers in her study of deathbed rites is the insight that those practices for the dying very much resembled other ritual practices in early medieval Japan with one crucial difference: deathbed rites were the only ones at the conclusion of which you were guaranteed a corpse (Stone 2016, 144–148). As Stone explains, the establishment of "halls of impermanence" (*mujōin* 無常院) to which the dying were relocated served not only to better enable the dying to break attachment with the world of the living and thus improve the chances of a favorable rebirth. Rather, these halls also likely functioned to minimize the risk of death defilement that was imagined to attend the death of any ordinary individual, harking back to Heian-period fears of illness as a prelude to death and thus defilement (Stone 2016, 144). Yet, as we have seen above, it is evident from how Jimon monks insist on describing living sufferers of corpse-vector disease as teetering on the mercurial edge between life and death that the Jimon ritual ought to be included among rites after one might expect a corpse—and a thoroughly defiled one at that. Despite the fact that *The Ritual for Expelling Demons* was designed to heal by ridding sufferers of disease, its ritual texts demonstrate, perhaps unexpectedly, that anxieties concerned with healing the living were shaped by discourses concerned with death and dying, especially when anxieties surrounding defilement seem to loom in the background of both.

Conclusion

In this article, I have suggested that in a capital littered with the unburied dead, a city that aristocrats feared was stalked daily by the specters of defilement, a previously unfamiliar pathological entity rose to the surface of the elite's disease imaginary. In Heiankyō of the late twelfth century, "corpse-vector disease" could become more than just a single disease concept lost in the textual sauce of Chinese medical texts, a corpus in which hundreds of other disease concepts are described. As a pathological figure for unprecedented anxieties about death pollution, corpse-vector disease could take on a life of its own—and take lives in the process. In this way, the apparently novel emergence of this mysterious affliction was not completely novel, since that emergence was grounded in material conditions several centuries in the making (urbanization, overpopulation, disaster, disease epidemics), and prefigured by an anxious imaginary surrounding the most severe form of defilement, that produced by death.

I have proposed that corpse-vector disease be understood as one example of the ways by which pollution and pathology became entangled in medieval Japan. Compared to *rai*, the only case of "defiled pathology" widely acknowledged by scholars to date, corpse-vector disease is a distinctive example for at least three reasons. First, unlike *rai*, a state of chronic illness and pollution, corpse-vector disease was understood to be acute and fatal. Second, in their liturgical text, Jimon monks had noted of the epidemic that "those of high virtue will be afflicted with *rai*, those of middle virtue will suffer from corpse-vector [disease], and those of low virtue will be overcome by madness." Yet if we assume Jimon monks took their aristocratic patrons to occupy the position of high virtue, the manifestation of disease at court played out according to a different hierarchy. Unlike *rai*, which had afflicted aristocrats but was by far most associated with the downtrodden and outcast, corpse-vector disease appears to have started among the aristocracy and the imperial family. This is not without irony. While the marginalized were tasked with handling the bodies of deceased members of the elite so the latter might avoid pollution, the elite began to acquire a sickness that could be traced to the proliferation of the dead bodies of the common people that were too many to remove from the city. Third, although some *rai* sufferers may have been involved with the management of corpses in the medieval period, Buddhist monks most often attributed the cause of their affliction and polluted state to their dismal karmic conditions. In contrast, in corpse-vector disease, an affliction imagined to be transmitted by corpses in the same manner of defilement, we have an example of defiled pathology for which death defilement is more closely analogous, and perhaps even causally related.

In assessing these shifts in the imagination of disease and defilement in the early medieval period, it is noteworthy that the most substantial response to

corpse-vector disease came from Buddhist monks, whether the *hijiri* Iwaya or those affiliated with the Jimon lineage. As a matter of disease, we might expect a greater response from court physicians, in whose professional literature—the corpus of classical Chinese medical literature—corpse-vector disease finds the most lengthy discussion. As a matter of defilement, we might expect a greater response from shrine priests or *onmyōji*, practitioners traditionally tasked with the purification rites for expelling defilement. Although beyond the scope of the article, we know that court physicians did respond to some degree (Macomber 2020, 217–222). The same might be true of shrine priests and *onmyōji*, but at present, no evidence of this is known. In any case, as we noted above, *hijiri* were less squeamish about defiled, diseased, and deceased bodies; from that view, it is no wonder that Iwaya intervened.

On the other hand, the creation of a healing ritual by Jimon monks—who belonged to an elite monastery that long received imperial sponsorship—perhaps represents another way in which eminent Buddhist monastics sought to increase their control over matters of defilement (Marra 1993; Stone 2006), and more broadly, over the mercurial edge between life and death. No matter of precarious human existence was unaddressed by Buddhist (and especially esoteric) ritual in early medieval Japan: monks conducted rites for safe childbirth, to heal illness, to expel parasitic and demonic nonhumans, for life extension, to ensure safe passage of the deceased to the Pure Land, and for improving karma for those wandering in the lower paths. The development of the Jimon ritual should thus be seen not only in terms of competition between monastic lineages in the marketplace of healing rites for living patients but also as an attempt on the part of a major monastic institution to grapple seriously with issues of death that plagued their patrons, a project for which the matter of death defilement could not be ignored.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

DNK *Dai Nihon kokiroku* 大日本古記録. 29 vols. Ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所. Iwanami Shoten, 1952–.

KST *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系. 66 vols. Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美 and Maruyama Jirō 丸山二郎, eds. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–1967.

SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Satake Akihiro 佐竹昭広 et al., eds. Iwanami Shoten, 1989–2005.

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大蔵経. 85 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭, eds. Issaikyō Kankōkai and Daizō Shuppan, 1924–1934.

TIZS *Tōyō igaku zenpon sōsho* 東洋医学善本叢書. 8 vols. Shinohara Kōichi 篠原孝市 et al., eds. Tōyō Igaku Kenkyūkai, 1981–1982.

ZST *Zōho shiryō taisei* 増補史料大成. 45 vols. Ed. Zōho Shiryō Taisei Kankōkai 増補史料大成刊行会. Rinsen Shoten, 1965.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Chiribukuro 塵袋. 2 vols. Ōnishi Harutaka 大西晴隆 and Kimura Noriko 木村紀子, eds. Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 723, 725. Heibonsha, 2004.

Chūyūki 中右記. Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062–1141). DNK 21.

Da zhidu lun 大智度論. Trans. Kumārajīva (344–413). T 1509, 25.

Denshibyō kanjin shō narabi ni sōbyō chihō 伝屍病肝心抄并瘦病治方 (*Essential Notes*). In ŌTA 2014.

Denshibyō kuden 伝屍病口伝. T 2507, 78.

Denshibyō kyūji 伝屍病灸治. T 2508, 78.

Fumon'in kyō ron shōsho goroku jusho tō mokuroku 普門院經論章疏語録儒書等目録. In *Dai Nihon shiryō* 大日本史料, vol. 6.31: 489–491. Ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo University, 1901–2000.

Gotai shinbun shū 五体身分集. Shōsai 生西 (d.u.). In *Rinshō jissen: Shinkyū ryūgisho shūsei* 臨床実践—鍼灸流儀書集成, 2–77. Oriento Shuppansha, 2004.

Gumaiki 愚昧記. 3 vols. Sanjō Sanefusa 三条実房 (1147–1225). DNK 17.

Gyokuyō 玉葉. 14 vols. Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207). Ed. Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部. Meiji Shoin, 1994–2013.

Gyōrin shō 行林抄. Jōnen 静然 (c. 1154). T 2409, 76.

Hishō mondō 祕鈔問答. Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226–1304). T 2536, 79.

Hōhiki 宝秘記. Keihan 慶範 (1155–1221). In *Onjōji monjo* 園城寺文書, vol. 1. Kōdansha, 1998–2001.

Hōjōki 方丈記. Kamo no Chōmei 鴨 長明 (ca. 1153–1216). In *Hōjōki, Hosshinshū* 方丈記、発心集, ed. Miki Sumito 三木紀人. Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei 新潮日本古典集成. Shinchōsha, 2016.

Ishinpō 医心方. Tanba no Yasuyori 丹波康頼 (912–995). In *Kokuhō Nakaraikebon Ishinpō* 国宝半井家本医心方, vols. 1–6. Oriento Shuppansha, 1994.

Jūgan hosshinki 十願発心記. Senkan 千観 (918–983). In SATŌ 1979, 189–220.

Kikki 吉記. Yoshida Tsunefusa 吉田経房 (1142–1200). In *Nihonshi shiryō sōkan* 日本史史料叢刊, vols. 3–5. Izumi Shoin, 2006.

Kissa yōjōki 喫茶養生記. Yōsai 栄西 (1141–1215). In FURUTA 1994.

Konjaku monogatarishū 今昔物語集. SNKBT, vols. 33–37.

Mohe zhiguan 摩訶止観. Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597). T 1911, 46.

Nakatomi harae kunge 中臣祓訓解. In *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想体系, vol 19: 40–55.

Ōjō yōshū 往生要集. Genshin 源信 (942–1017). In *Ōjō yōshū*. 2 vols., ed. Ishida Mizumaro 石田瑞麿. Iwanami Shoten, 1994.

Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing 千手千眼観世音菩薩広大円満無碍大悲心陀羅尼経. Trans. Bhagavaddharma (d.u.). T 1060, 20.

Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa zhibing heyao jing 千手千眼觀世音菩薩治病合薬経. Trans. Bhagavaddharma. T 1059, 20.

Ryōgige 令義解. KST 22.

Sankaiki 山槐記. Nakayama no Tadachika 中山忠親 (1131–1195). ZST 26–28.

Shengji zonglu 聖済総録. Renmin Weisheng Chubanshe, 1962.

Shōshiki daikongō yakusha byakkima hō 青色大金剛薬叉辟鬼魔法 (*The Ritual for Expelling Demons*). (1) ms. in Ōsu Bunko 大須文庫, Shinpukuji 真福寺, 56–157; (2) T 1221, 21; (3) Partial transcription of Koyasan University (Haruobon 春雄本) ms. in Yoshioka (1997).

Shōyūki 小右記. Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046). DNK 10.

Taiki 台記. Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120–1156). ZST 23.

Taiping shenghui fang 太平聖惠方. Renmin Weisheng Chubanshe, 1982 reprint.

Tuoluoni ji jing 陀羅尼集経. Trans. Atikūṭa (d.u.). T 901, 18.

Waitai miyao fang 外台秘要方. Wang Tao 王燾 (670–755). TIZS 4–5.

Zhubing yuanhou lun 諸病源候論. Chao Yuanfang 巢元方 (c. 550–630). TIZS 6.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abé, Ryūichi

2002 Mantra, *hinin*, and the feminine: On the salvational strategies of Myōe and Eizon. *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 13: 101–125. doi.org/10.3406/asie.2002.1179

Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎

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

Akasaka Norio 赤坂憲雄

2013 *Kyōkai no hassei* 境界の発生. Kōdansha.

Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦

1994 *Chūsei no hinin to yūjo* 中世の非人と遊女. Akashi Shoten.

Bialock, David T.

2007 *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from the Chronicles of Japan to The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford University Press.

Blair, Heather

2016 Ladylike religion: Ritual and agency in the life of an eleventh-century Japanese noblewoman. *History of Religions* 56: 1–22. doi.org/10.1086/686745

Burns, Susan L.

2019 *Kingdom of the Sick: A History of Leprosy and Japan*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Demiéville, Paul

1985 *Buddhism and Healing: Demiéville's Article "Byō" from Hōbōgirin*. Trans. Mark Tatz. University Press of America.

Desmond, Marilynn, and Noah D. Guynn

2020 We have always been medieval: Bruno Latour and double click, metaphysics and modernity. *Romanic Review* 111: 1–7.

Dolce, Lucia

2011 Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai school. In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Charles D Orzech, Henrik Hjort Sørensen, and Richard Karl Payne, eds., 744–767. Brill.

Douglas, Mary

1966 *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Routledge.

Drott, Edward R.

2016 *Buddhism and the Transformation of Old Age in Medieval Japan*. University of Hawai'i Press.

2017 Overcoming illness with insight: Kokan Shiren's *Treatise on the Nature of Illness and Its Manifestations*. In *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, ed. C. Pierce Salguero, 61–83. Columbia University Press.

Dykstra, Yoshiko Kurata

2014 *Buddhist Tales of India, China, and Japan: A Complete Translation of the Konjaku Monogatarishū*. Kanji Press.

Elisonas, J. S. A.

2001 The Jesuits, the devil, and pollution in Japan: The context of a syllabus of errors. *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 1: 3–27.

Eubanks, Charlotte D.

2011 *Miracles of Book and Body: Buddhist Textual Culture and Medieval Japan*. University of California Press.

Farris, W. Wayne

1993 Diseases of the premodern period in Japan. In *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth Kiple, 376–385. Cambridge University Press.

Fujikawa Yū 富士川游

1974 *Nihon igakushi kōyō* 日本医学史綱要. Tōyō Bunko 258, 262. Heibonsha.

Funata Jun'ichi 舩田淳一

2018 Chūsei no shi, kegare to kami 中世の死・穢れと神. *Gendai shisō* 46/16: 323–338.

Furuta Shōkin 古田紹欽

1994 *Kissa yōjōki* 喫茶養生記. Kōdansha.

Giddings, William J.

2017 The sūtra on the dhāraṇī of the vast, complete, and unobstructed great compassion of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with a thousand hands and a thousand eyes. In *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, ed. C. Pierce Salguero, 252–285. Columbia University Press.

Goble, Andrew Edmund

2011 *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan: Buddhist Healing, Chinese Knowledge, Islamic Formulas, and Wounds of War*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Gunji, Naoko

2018 Taira no Tokushi's birth of Emperor Antoku. In *Women, Rites and Ritual Objects in Premodern Japan*, ed. Karen M. Gerhart, 89–140. Brill.

Hattori Toshirō 服部敏良

1955 *Heian jidai igakushi no kenkyū* 平安時代医学史の研究. Kuwana Bunseidō.

Hayami Tasuku 速水 侑

1975 *Heian kizoku shakai to Bukkyō* 平安貴族社会と仏教. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Hinrichs, T. J.

2015 The catchy epidemic: Theorization and its limits in Han to Song period medicine. *East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine* 41: 19–62.

Horton, Sarah

2004 The influence of the *Ōjōyōshū* in late tenth- and early eleventh-century Japan. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 31: 29–54. doi.org/bf9g

Hurvitz, Leon

2009 *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*. Columbia University Press.

Ihara Kesao 井原今朝男

2017 *Shijiutsu chūsei Bukkyō* 史実中世仏教, vol. 3. Kōzansha.

Ishiguro Kichijirō 石黒吉次郎

2016 Chūsei bungaku ni okeru kojiki no gensetsu o megutte 中世文学における乞食の言説をめぐって. *Senshū kokubun* 99: 1–20.

Ishikawa Rikizen 石川力山

1985 Sabetsu kirigami to sabetsu jishō ni tsuite 差別切紙と差別事象について. *Shūgaku kenkyū* 27: 137–142.

Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美

2019 Indo, Chūgoku, Nihon ni okeru hyōrei shinkō o megutte: Zōmitsu bunken no sekai e no iriguchi toshite インド、中国、日本における憑霊信仰をめぐって—雑密文献の世界への入り口として. *Nihon Koshakyō Kenkyūjo kenkyū kiyō* 4: 1–20.

Johnston, William

1995 *The Modern Epidemic: A History of Tuberculosis in Japan*. Harvard University Press.

KAMIKAWA Michio 上川通夫

2015 *Heiankyō to chūsei Bukkyō: Ōchō kenryoku to toshi minshū* 平安京と中世仏教—王朝権力と都市民衆. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

KATSUDA Itaru 勝田 至

2003 *Shishatachi no chūsei* 死者たちの中世. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

KEENE, Donald

1955 *Anthology of Japanese Literature: From the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. Grove Press.

KEIRSTEAD, Thomas

2009 Outcasts before the law: Pollution and purification in medieval Japan. In *Currents in Medieval Japanese History: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey P. Mass*, 267–297. Figueroa Press.

KIKUCHI Hiroki 菊地大樹

2011 *Kamakura Bukkyō e no michi: Jissen to shūgaku, shinjin no keifu* 鎌倉仏教への道—実践と修学・信心の系譜. Kōdansha.

KIM, Jayne Sun

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

KOHN, Livia

2015 Kōshin: Expelling Daoist demons through Buddhist means. In *Daoism in Japan: Chinese Traditions and Their Influence on Japanese Religious Culture*, ed. Jeffrey L Richey, 148–176. Routledge.

KOMATSU Shigemi 小松茂美, ed.

1977 *Shigisan engi* 信貴山縁起. Chūō Kōronsha.

KOYAMA Satoko 小山聡子

2015 Sekkanki no ekibyō chiryō: Kinki to saretekita kaji to shuhō o megutte 摂関期の疫病治療—禁忌とされてきた加持と修法をめぐって. *Nihon Bukkyō sōgō kenkyū* 14: 81–103.

2016 Kakunyo ga ikita jidai no ekibyō chiryō 覚如が生きた時代の疫病治療. *Shinran no suimyaku* 19: 35–42.

KURODA Hideo 黒田日出男

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

2009 Ō no shintai ō no shōzō 王の身体王の肖像. Chikuma Shobō.

LATOUR, Bruno

2013 *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence: An Anthropology of the Moderns*. Trans. Catherine Porter. Harvard University Press.

LOCK, Margaret M.

1984 *East Asian Medicine in Urban Japan: Varieties of Medical Experience*. University of California Press.

Lomi, Benedetta

2014 Dharanis, talismans, and straw dolls: Ritual choreographies and healing strategies of the *Rokujikyōhō* in medieval Japan. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41: 255–304. doi.org/bbsb

Macomber, Andrew

2017 Moxibustion for demons: Oral transmission on corpse-vector disease. In *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, ed. C. Pierce Salguero, 514–530. Columbia University Press.

2020 Ritualizing moxibustion in the early medieval Tendai-Jimon lineage. In *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, C. Pierce Salguero and Andrew Macomber, eds., 194–242. University of Hawai'i Press.

Maki Sachiko 槇佐知子

2010 *Ishinpō, zen'yaku seikai* 医心方・全訳精解, vol. 13. Chikuma Shobō.

Marra, Michele

1993 The Buddhist mythmaking of defilement: Sacred courtesans in medieval Japan. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 52: 49–65. doi.org/10.2307/2059144

Maruyama Yumiko 丸山裕美子

2002 Kodai no tennō to byōsha 古代の天皇と病者. In *Kosumorojī to shintai* コスモロジーと身体, ed. Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦, 203–226. Tennō to Ōken o Kangaeru 天皇と王権を考える 8. Iwanami Shoten.

Matsumoto Ikuyo 松本郁代

2008 Chūgū gosan to mikkyō: *Hōhiki* Sonjōō hō goshuhō o megutte 中宮御産と密教―『宝秘記』尊星王法御修法をめぐって. In *Nihon ni okeru shūkyō tekusuto no shoisō to tōjihō: "Tekusuto fuchi no kaishakugakuteki kenkyū to kyōiku" dai 4 kai kokusai kenkyū shūkai hōkokusho* 日本における宗教テクストの諸位相と統辞法―「テクスト布置の解釈学的研究と教育」第4回国際研究集会報告書, ed. Abe Yasurō, 81–88. Nagoya Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka.

2010 Onjōji bon *Hōhiki* kuden to Kujō sekkanke: Tendai Jimonha ni okeru hanryū no keisei 園城寺本『宝秘記』口伝と九条摂関家―天台寺門派における範流の形成. In *Hōhō toshite no Bukkyō bunkashi: Hito, mono, imēji no rekishigaku* 方法としての仏教文化史―ヒト・モノ・イメージの歴史学, 291–324. Bensei Shuppan.

Mizuguchi Motoki 水口幹記

2020 *Nihon ryōiki* shosai no mokumō setsuwa o megutte: Sono seijiteki sokumen ni tsuite『日本霊異記』所載の目盲説話をめぐって―その政治的側面について. In *Zen kindai Nihon no byōki chiryō to jujutsu* 前近代日本の病気治療と呪術, ed. Koyama Satoko, 73–107. Shibunkaku Shuppan.

Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, ed.

1954–1963 *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月仏教大辞典. Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai.

Moerman, D. Max
2015 The Buddha and the bathwater: Defilement and enlightenment in the *Onsenji Engi*. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 42: 71–87. doi.org/95r

Mrozik, Susanne
2007 *Virtuous Bodies: The Physical Dimensions of Morality in Buddhist Ethics*. Oxford University Press.

Nakamura, Kyoko Motomochi
1973 *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon Ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*. Harvard University Press.

Niunoya Tetsuichi 丹生谷哲一
2018 *Kebiishi: Chūsei no kegare to kenryoku* 検非違使—中世のけがれと権力. Heibonsha.

Nomura Takumi 野村卓美
2002 *Myōe Shōnin no kenkyū* 明恵上人の研究. Izumi Shoin.

Oda Etsuyo 小田悦代
2016 *Jubaku, gohō, abishahō: Setsuwa ni miru sō no genriki* 呪縛・護法・阿尾奢法—説話にみる僧の験力. Iwata Shoin.

Okutomi Takayuki 奥富敬之
1983 Chūsei sōi ni kansuru kiso teki kenkyū 中世僧医に関する基礎的研究. *Nihon Ika Daigaku kiso kagaku kiyō* 4: 1–8.

Ōta Yukiko 太田有希子
2014 Bunkachō zō *Denshibyō kanjinshō narabini sōbyō chihō* kaidai to honkoku 文化庁蔵『伝屍病肝心抄并瘦病治方』解題と翻刻. *Kenkyū to shiryō* 71: 1–15.

Pandey, Rajyashree
1995 Women, sexuality, and enlightenment: Kankyo no Tomo. *Monumenta Nipponica* 50: 325–356. doi.org/10.2307/2385548

Quinter, David
2007 Creating bodhisattvas: Eison, Hinin, and the "Living Mañjuśrī." *Monumenta Nipponica* 62: 437–458.
2015 *From Outcasts to Emperors: Shingon Ritsu and the Mañjuśrī Cult in Medieval Japan*. Brill.

Rhodes, Robert F.
2017 *Genshin's Ōjōyōshū and the Construction of Pure Land Discourse in Heian Japan*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Rosenberg, Charles E.
1992 *Explaining Epidemics and Other Studies in the History of Medicine*. Cambridge University Press.

Salguero, C. Pierce, ed.
2017 *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*. Columbia University Press.

Sansom, George Bailey
1931 *Japan: A Short Cultural History*. Century.

Satō Testuei 佐藤哲英
1979 *Eizan Jōdokyō no kenkyū* 叡山浄土教の研究. Hyakkaen.

Sawada Tōko 沢田瞳子
2017 *Kajō* 火定. Pīeichipīkenkyūjo PHP.

Selinger, Vyjayanthi
2019 War without blood? The literary uses of a taboo fluid in *Heike Monogatari*. *Monumenta Nipponica* 74: 33–57. doi.org/10.1353/mni.2019.0001

Shinmura Taku 新村 拓
1985 *Nihon iryō shakaishi no kenkyū: Kodai chūsei no minshū seikatsu to iryō* 日本医療社会史の研究—古代中世の民衆生活と医療. Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku.
1989 *Shi to yamai to kango no shakaishi* 死と病と看護の社会史. Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku.

Shinoda Tatsuaki 篠田達明
2006 *Rekidai tennō no karute* 歴代天皇のカルテ. Shinchōsha.

Smith, Hilary A.
2017 *Forgotten Disease: Illnesses Transformed in Chinese Medicine*. Stanford University Press.

Soga Yoshinari 曽我良成
2008 "Shorō" no shosō 「所労」の諸相. *Nagoya Gakuin Daigaku ronshū* 19/2: 104–195.

Stone, Jacqueline I.
2006 Do kami ever overlook pollution? *Honji Suijaku* and the problem of death defilement. *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 16: 203–232. doi.org/10.3406/asie.2006.1257
2016 *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Swanson, Paul L.
2018 *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight: T'ien-t'ai Chih-i's Mo-Ho Chih-Kuan*. 3 vols. University of Hawai'i Press.

Takayama Kyōko 高山京子
2018 Gishūmon'in no kigansho narabini nyoin shūhen no hitobito 宜秋門院の祈願所ならびに女院周辺の人々. In *Henkakuki no shakai to Kujō Kanezane: "Gyokuyō" o hiraku* 変革期の社会と九条兼実—「玉葉」をひらく, ed. Obara Hitoshi 小原 仁, 150–180. Bensei Shuppan.

Tōno Haruyuki 東野治之
1994 Kawachi Kongōji shinshutsu no Kamakura jidai shosha *Ishinpō* kan dai jūsan ni tsuite 河内金剛寺新出の鎌倉時代書写『医心方』巻第十三について.

In *Ishinpō no kenkyū: Nakaraikebon Ishinpō furoku* 醫心方の研究—半井家本醫心方附録, ed. Yamamoto Shinkichi 山本信吉, 47–62. Oriento Shuppansha.

UENO Katsuyuki 上野勝之

2013 *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi: Heian kizoku no shinkō sekai* 夢とモノノケの精神史—平安貴族の信仰世界. Kyoto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai.

YAMAMOTO Kōji 山本幸司

2009 *Kegare to ōharae* 穢と大祓. Kaihō Shuppansha.

YAMAMOTO Satomi 山本聡美

2019 Illness as depicted in the *Illustrated Legends of Kokawa Temple*. Trans. Jeffrey Knott. *Studies in Japanese Literature and Culture* 2: 29–44.

2020 *Chūsei Bukkyō kaiga no zuzōshi: Kyōsetsu emaki, rokudōe, kusōzu* 中世仏教絵画の図像誌—経説絵巻·六道絵·九相図. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

YASUDA Masahiko 安田政彦

2007 *Heiankyō no nioi* 平安京のニオイ. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

YIENGPRUKSAWAN, Mimi Hall

1996 The visual ideology of Buddhist sculpture in the late Heian period as configured by epidemic and disease. In *Iconography and Style: On Buddhist Art Historical Studies*, ed. Kokusai Kōryū Bijutsushi Kenkyūkai 国際交流美術史研究会, 69–79. Kokusai Kōryū Bijutsushi Kenkyūkai.

YOKOI Kiyoshi 横井 清

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

YOSHIOKA Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊

1997 Shōmen Kongō to kōshin shinkō 青面金剛と庚申信仰. In *Senshū Dōkyō to Nihon, dai ni kan* 選集道教と日本 第2巻, Noguchi Tetsurō 野口鉄郎 and Nakamura Shōhachi 中村璋八, eds., 231–265. Yūzankaku.

ZHANG, Zhibin, and Paul U. UNSCHULD

2015 *Dictionary of the Ben Cao Gang Mu*. 3 vols. University of California Press.

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 49/2: 283–330
© 2025 Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture
dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.49.2.2022.283-330

Haruo Shirane

Defilement, Outcasts, and Disability in Medieval Japan

Reassessing *Oguri* and Sermon Ballads as Regenerative Narratives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Purification Rituals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Buddhistic Defilement

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

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

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

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

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

Cyclical Defilement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Outcasts, Karmic Causality, and Serious Illness

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> his faculties will be blighted and dull,
> he will be puny, vile, bent, crippled,
> blind, deaf, hunchbacked.
> The things he says
> people will not believe,
> the breath from his mouth will be constantly foul,
> he will be possessed by devils,
> poor and lowly,
> ordered around by others,
> plagued by many ailments, thin and gaunt,
> having no one to turn to. (Watson 1993, 75–76)

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

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

> A sick person was lying on the street, soiled by his excrement which had a terrible odor. The passers-by ran away, closing their eyes and holding their noses. Eijitsu remained with the sick person, covered him with a robe, held him and lay beside him while reciting the *Hokekyō*. Thanks to the power of the sūtra and Eijitsu's influence, the sick person recovered.
> (Dykstra 1983, 88–89)

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

> This is an outcast (*hinin*) who can not be treated lightly.… When it comes to praying for the emperor, there are many efficacious priests who will, if summoned, come from the mountain temples to attend to his needs. If I don't go, nothing will be missed. But when it comes to this sick person, there are only people who will find him repugnant and dirty, and no one will approach him. If I abandon him, he will die very soon. (snks 4, 4: 175)

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

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

Kiyomizu Slope and the Kamo River as Borders

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sermon Ballads as a Genre

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Slaves, Outcasts, and Sanshō dayū

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Karmic Causality, Volatile Deities, and Shintokumaru

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> Feeling sorry for her special ward, the Kiyomizu Kannon appeared to Shintokumaru in a dream. "Dear Shintoku," he said, "your disease doesn't spring from within—it comes from someone's curse. Now go out and beg in the streets to sustain your life," and he vanished without a trace….
>
> The Kiyomizu Kannon spoke to Shintokumaru from the sky: "Hello there, Shintokumaru. Your kind of disease can be cured in the Kumano hot springs. Hurry to Kumano and bathe." Having delivered this instruction, he disappeared into the air. (KIMBROUGH 2013, 114–115; SNKS 8: 191–192)

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

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

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

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

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

Oguri, *Gaki ami* 餓鬼阿弥, *and Atonement*

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

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

> they are all poisoned to death. The ten retainers are cremated, while Oguri is buried.
>
> Deciding that the rumors of the affair are dangerous, Yokoyama orders his retainers to drown her, but they put her in a palanquin and let her float away. Terute is picked up by Muragimi, a human trafficker. An old woman, the wife of Muragimi, becomes jealous and tries to suffocate her, but Terute is protected by Kannon. Frustrated, the old woman sells Terute to traders at Rokuura, and from there, she is sold from one owner to another, until she is sent to a brothel, the Yorozuya 万屋, in Mino 美濃 Province. The manager orders Terute to work as a prostitute, but she refuses and works instead as a scullery maid. Meanwhile, moved by the loyalty of his retainers, King Enma 閻魔 allows Oguri to return to this world, where he appears before the holy man of Fujisawa 藤沢. Blind and physically immobile, Oguri is given a placard to wear in Enma's hand that says, "Take this person to the main shrine at Kumano and place him in the hot bath at the peak." Named Gaki ami by the holy man of Fujisawa, Oguri is placed in a cart and pulled along the Tōkaidō and finally comes to the Yorozuya. Not knowing that Gaki ami is her husband, Terute pulls the cart to Sekidera. Finally, Gaki ami is carried by a mountain ascetic to the peak at Kumano, where he bathes, convalesces, and is restored to his original body.
>
> Under the protection of the god (*gongen* 権現) of Kumano, Oguri receives a gold staff, takes the garb of a mountain ascetic, and visits the house of his father, Kaneie, where he is reunited with his parents. Oguri and Terute return as a married couple to Hitachi Province, where they live as a wealthy couple. Finally, Oguri passes on to the Pure Land at the age of eighty-three. The gods praise Oguri, and he is worshiped as the "wild-human god" of Shōhachiman, in Mino Province, and after her death Terute is worshiped as the god of trysts.

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

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

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

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

> Then, using the Ninna staff, he (King Enma) beats the void, and, ah, how gratifying! Oguri's grave was constructed three years earlier. Now it splits open on all four sides, the grave marker tumbles forward, and a flock of crows cackle.
>
> The Holy Man of Fujisawa wonders what is happening…. His hair is white; his arms and legs are thinner than strings; his stomach is like a ball tied to his body; and he is crawling around this way and that. He presses his palms together, raises them, then gestures as if writing something. "*Ga ze ni ya o i*," he writers. This should perhaps be read to mean "my six senses are maimed."…
>
> The Holy Man looks at the placard hanging on Oguri's chest. He sees the judgment Great King Enma wrote with his own hand. "I send this man to Meitō, the principal disciple of the Holy Man of Fujisawa. Have him bathed at Hotspring peak of the main shrine at Kumano. If he is bathed at Hotspring peak at the main shrine of Kumano, surely medicinal waters will well up there from the Pure Land." This is the judgment written by great King Enma's own hand.
>
> "Ah, how gratifying!" thinks the Holy Man. He adds some lines to the placard on his chest. "Pulling this person for one day equals offerings of a thousand priests. Pulling him for two days equals offerings of ten thousand priests," he adds. (MATISOFF 2011, 83–84; SNKS 8: 218–220)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ippen, Jishū Mendicants, and Outcasts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Terute and the Nenbutsu Nun

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bathhouse Offerings, Empress Kōmyō, and Kumano Nuns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> quickly, she answered: "I am an old person with a broken hip. I cannot get up. If you want me to stand, then fill the air with incantations and pray for me." The pilgrim prayed, and before the magical incantations were finished, a light burst into the air, flying in myriad directions, and she disappeared.
>
> The pilgrims then came across a dark spirit (*onjin* 隠神), a demon-like woman with four horns on her head, at the crossing of a large river at the base of Yamaguchi Mountain. Shocked by her presence, various pilgrims asked, "Who are you?" She replied, "I am the owner of this place. Believe in what I have to tell your leader. If you bathe in the water of this river, you will be released from the curses of this world and the next world and be able to hear the words of Maitreya, Bodhisattva of the Future. Tell this to the pilgrims to come. For those traveling to the holy mountain of Kumano, this is the water that erases karmic sins." With that, she disappeared. (NST 20: 106)[15]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scapegoating

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Arahitogami, A Violent Human God

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

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

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

> Now if you ask in detail about the origins of this story, the province is Mino, the place is Sunomata in the district of Anpachi (present-day Gifu Prefecture). The god-body of Tarui Onakoto is Shō Hachiman. If we speak in detail about the origins (*honji*) of the violent-human god (*arahitogami*), he, too, was once a human being. (SNKBT 90: 160)

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

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

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

> At the age of eighty-three, he passes on to the next life. The gods and buddhas gather together and decide that such a true and powerful warrior should be revered as a god. So that he might be worshipped as a god by all in the age of the decline of the law, Lord Oguri is revered, transformed as Shō Hachiman, the god-body of Tarui Onakoto at Sunomata in Anpachi district of Mino Province.
> (Matisoff 2011, 94–95)

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

> Afterward, people heard of this incident, and everyone—high and low—praised Atsuyuki, holding him in high esteem. He was a person of rare and deep compassion. The Way of Heaven (*tendō*) must have been deeply moved. After that, the priest lived without any troubles until the age of around ninety, when he passed away. His descendants all had long lives and were blessed with fortune. Even today, that family in Shimotsuke continues to flourish.
> (nkbz 23: 164–165)

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

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

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

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

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

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

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系. 102 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1957–1968.

NKBZ *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集. 51 vols. Shōgakkan, 1970–1976.

NST *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系. 67 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1970–1982.

SNEZ *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* 新修日本絵巻物全集. 30 vols. Kadokawa Shoten, 1975–1980.

SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. 105 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1999–2005.

SNKS *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* 新潮日本古典集成. 82 vols. Shinchōsha, 1976–1989.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Engishiki 延喜式. 2 vols. In *Shintō taikei* 神道体系, *koten hen* 古典編 11–12, ed. Torao Toshiya 虎尾俊哉. Shintō Taikei Hensankai 1991–1993.

Genkō shakusho 元亨釈書. 2 vols. Comp. Kokan Shiren 虎関師錬 (1278–1346). In *Genkō shakusho zen'yakuchū* 元亨釈書全訳注, ed. Imahama Michitaka 今浜通隆. Shintensha, 2020.

Hokke genki 法華験記. NST 7.

Hosshinshū 発心集. Kamo no Chōmei 鴨 長明 (1155–1216). SNKS 4.

Ippen hijirie 一遍 聖絵. Shōkai 聖戒 (d. 1323). SNEZ 2.

Jisha engi 寺社縁起. NST 20.

Kenkyū gojunreiki 建久御巡礼記. In *Kōkan bijutsu shiryō* 校刊美術史料, *jiin hen* 寺院編 2–3, Fujita Tsuneyo 藤田経世 and Fukuyama Toshio 福山敏男, eds., 1950 (mimeograph).

Kojiki 古事記. NKBZ 1.

Kokonchomonjū 古今著聞集. SNKS 59.

Konjaku monogatarishū 今昔物語集. NKBZ 21–24; NKBT 22–26.

Makura no sōshi 枕草子. Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (ca. 966–1017). NKBT 19.

Manabon Soga monogatari 真名本曾我物語. Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 468. Aoki Akira 青木 晃 et al., eds. Heibonsha, 1987.

Ryōjin hishō 梁塵秘抄. SNKS 31.

Sekkyōshū 説経集. SNKS 8.

Semimaru 蝉丸. In *Yōkyoku taikan* 謡曲大観, vol. 3, ed. Sanari Kentarō 佐成謙太郎, 1671–1688. Meiji Shoin, 1964.

Sugawara denju tenarai kagami 菅原伝授手習鑑. Ed. Hayashi Kyōhei 林 京平. Hakusuisha, 1989.

Taketori monogatari 竹取物語. NKBZ 8.

Tengu sōshi 天狗草紙. SNEZ 27.

Tsurezuregusa 徒然草. Kenkō 兼好 (1283–1350). NKBZ 27.

Zegaibōe 是害房絵. SNEZ 27.

SECONDARY SOURCES

ABE Yasurō 阿部泰郎

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

AMINO Yoshihiko 網野善彦

1994 *Chūsei no hinin to yūjo* 中世の非人と遊女. Akashi Shoten.

2002 *Rethinking Japanese History*. Trans. Alan S. Christy. Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.

2012 *Shokunin utaawase* 職人歌合. Heibonsha.

ARAKI Hiroyuki 荒木博之

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

BLIDSTEIN, Moshe

2015 Purity and defilement. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Abrahamic Religions*, Adam J. Silverstein and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds., 448–465. Oxford University Press.

2017 *Purity, Community, and Ritual in Early Christian Literature*. Oxford University Press.

DOUGLAS, Mary

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

DYKSTRA, Yoshiko K., trans.

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

FAURE, Bernard

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

FOARD, James H.

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

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

Fujiwara Yoshiaki 藤原良章

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

Fukuda Akira 福田 晃

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

Fukuda Tokuzō 福田徳三

1910 Batsujo to kahei no kankei ni tsuite no gukō 抜除と貸幣の関係に就テノ愚考. *Kokka gakkai zasshi* 24/7: 1019–1030.

Girard, René

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

Gordon, Avery

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

Hirosue Tamotsu 廣末 保

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

Hosokawa Taketoshi 細川武稔

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

Ide Maaya 井出真綾 and Ushiyama Yoshiyuki 牛山佳幸

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

Ishii, Nobuko

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

Iwasaki Takeo 岩崎武夫

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

Jones, Stanleigh H., Jr.

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

Kasuya Makoto 加須屋誠

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

Kawaguchi Eryū 川口恵隆

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

Kim, Jayne Sun

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

Kimbrough, R. Keller, trans.

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

Klawans, Jonathan

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

Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦

1995 *Noroi to Nihonjin* 呪いと日本人. Kadokawa.

1997 *Shuten Dōji no kubi* 酒呑童子の首. Serika Shobō.

Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男

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

Matisoff, Susan

1992 Holy horrors: The sermon-ballads of medieval and early modern Japan. In *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, James Sanford, William LaFleur, and Masatoshi Nagatomi, eds., 234–261. Princeton University Press.

2001 Reflections on Terute: Searching for a hidden shaman-entertainer. *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 12: 113–134. doi.org/10.1080/07407700108571355

2002 The log cabin emperor: Marginality and the legend of Oguri Hangan. *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 13: 361–377. doi.org/10.3406/asie.2002.1187

2006 *The Legend of Semimaru: Blind Musician of Japan*. Rev. ed. Cheng & Tsui.

2011 *Oguri*: An early Edo tale of suffering, resurrection, revenge, and deification. *Monumenta Nipponica* 66: 49–57, 59–97.

Metzler, Irina

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

Mieda Akiko 三枝暁子

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

Mitchell, David T.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Niunoya Tetsuichi 丹生谷哲一
1980 Chūsei ni okeru hinin segyō to kōbu seiken 中世における非人施行と公武政権. *Rekishi kenkyū* 17: 15–33.
1986 *Kebiishi: Chūsei no kegare to kenryoku* 検非違使—中世のけがれと権力. Heibonsha.
1994 Hinin, kawaramono, sanjo 非人、河原者、散所. In *Iwanami kōza Nihon tsūshi* 岩波講座日本通史 8, *chūsei* 中世 2, Asao Naohiro 朝尾直弘 et al., eds., 215–254. Iwanami Shoten.

Okada Shigekiyo 岡田重清
1982 *Kodai no imi: Nihonjin no kisō shinkō* 古代の斎忌—日本人の基層信仰. Kokusho Kankōkai.

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

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

Philippi, Donald L., trans.
1968 *Kojiki*. University of Tokyo Press.

Quinter, David
2007 Creating bodhisattvas: Eison, *Hinin*, and the "Living Mañjuśrī." *Monumenta Nipponica* 62: 437–458.

Saigō Nobutsuna 西郷信綱
1967 *Kojiki no sekai* 古事記の世界. Iwanami Shoten.

Saitō Hideki 斎藤英喜
2014 *Onmyōjitachi no Nihonshi* 陰陽師たちの日本史. Kadokawa.

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

Satō Hiroo 佐藤弘夫
2008 *Shisha no yukue* 死者のゆくえ. Iwata Shoin.

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

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

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

Sonoda Takeshi 園田 健
1963 Susanoo no mikoto no "kamuyarahi" 須佐乃男命の「神夜良比」. *Kokugakuin zasshi* 64/10: 18–24.

Stiker, Henri-Jacques
1999 *A History of Disability*. Trans. William Sayers. University of Michigan Press.

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

Watson, Burton, trans.
1993 *The Lotus Sutra*. Columbia University Press.

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

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

Yamamoto Kōji 山本幸司
1986 Kizoku shakai ni okeru kegare to chitsujo 貴族社会における穢と秩序. *Nihonshi kenkyū* 287: 28–54.
2009 *Kegare to ōharae* 穢と大祓. Kaihō Shuppan.

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

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

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies

EDITOR

Matthew D. McMullen

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Kaitlyn Ugoretz

INTERNAL EDITORS

Suemura Masayo   Yamada Tomoaki

EDITORIAL BOARD

(2023–2027)

Barbara Ambros, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Anna Andreeva, *Ghent University*
Erica Baffelli, *University of Manchester*
Heather Blair, *Indiana University*
Clark Chilson, *University of Pittsburgh*
Lucia Dolce, *SOAS, University of London*
Helen Hardacre, *Harvard University, Emerita*
Hayashi Makoto, *Aichi Gakuin University*
Hoshino Seiji, *Kokugakuin University*
Kawahashi Noriko, *Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture*
Keller Kimbrough, *University of Colorado at Boulder*
Orion Klautau, *Tohoku University*
Levi McLaughlin, *North Carolina State University*
Lori Meeks, *University of Southern California*
Minowa Kenryō, *University of Tokyo*
Okuyama Michiaki, *Toyo Eiwa University*
Ian Reader, *University of Manchester, Emeritus*
Aike P. Rots, *University of Oslo*
Brian Ruppert, *Kanagawa University*
Jacqueline I. Stone, *Princeton University, Emerita*
Paul L. Swanson, *JJRS Editor Emeritus*
Jolyon B. Thomas, *University of Pennsylvania*
Duncan Ryūken Williams, *University of Southern California*
Yamanaka Hiroshi, *University of Tsukuba*

The *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* is a peer-reviewed journal specializing in the publication of research on the study of Japanese religions. The journal aims for a multidisciplinary approach to the study of religion in Japan, and submissions are welcomed from scholars in all fields of the humanities and social sciences. Responsibility for factual accuracy and for views expressed in individual articles lies with the author, not necessarily with the *JJRS*.

The *JJRS* no longer accepts paid subscriptions for printed copies. Print-on-demand hard copies may be ordered through Kindle Direct Publishing (a division of Amazon).

The *JJRS* is a peer-reviewed, open access journal freely available online (http://nirc.nanzan-u.ac.jp/en/publications/jjrs/) and can also be accessed through the following online databases: JSTOR, WORLDCAT, CROSSREF, ATLA, PROQUEST, GALE (Cengage Learning), and IIS (International Information Services) and is included in the Thomson Reuters Arts and Humanities Citation Index.
The *JJRS* is produced by the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture with support from the Center for Information on Religion.

Please consult the "Submission of Manuscripts" and "Style Guide" on the homepage prior to submitting a draft:

http://nirc.nanzan-u.ac.jp

All inquires regarding back issues, permissions to reprint, manuscripts for submission, and books for review should be addressed to:

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies
Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture
18 Yamazato-chō, Shōwa-ku, Nagoya 466-8673 Japan
TEL (81) 52-832-3111 / FAX (81) 52-833-6157
E-MAIL: jjrs.submissions@gmail.com

© 2025 Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture

ISBN 9798313588612
ISSN 0304-1042