

Carolyn PANG

Uncovering *Shikigami* The Search for the Spirit Servant of Onmyōdō

A study of scholarly discourse on *shikigami* reveals diverse understandings of what this thaumaturgical emblem of Onmyōdō (way of yin and yang) represents. From a metaphorical reference to *shikisen* (an augury using astrological calculations and an augury instrument called *shikiban*), to a type of magical curse, to a supernatural being, the various explanations offered by Japanese scholars highlight the ambivalent nature of *shikigami* and demonstrate the difficulties in establishing the exact nature of this enigmatic being. Although such variations in definition are a result of changing textual constructions of *shikigami* in Japanese classical literature, literary narratives still function as a useful source of social and cultural studies of early Japanese society. Through my study of *shikigami*, I seek to highlight the significance of Onmyōdō in Japanese religiosity and provoke further studies in Japanese folklore beliefs while examining the use of literary narratives in religious studies.

KEYWORDS: Japanese religion—Japanese literature—Onmyōdō—Izanagi-ryū—folklore beliefs—*shikigami*

Carolyn PANG is a PhD candidate in premodern Japanese literature in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Columbia University.

SHIKIGAMI (式神, also written as 識神 or 職神 in some texts) are fascinating figures in the traditions of Onmyōdō 陰陽道. In view of the syncretic nature of Japanese religions, and considering its irregular appearances in diaries and literature, *shikigami* are easily identified as an emblem of Onmyōdō, specifically with aspects concerning thaumaturgy. There are no written records of this enigmatic entity within Onmyōdō and so there are few explicit descriptions, much less explanations, for the presence of *shikigami*. As shown by the myriad depictions of *shikigami* in various guises in *anime*, manga, video games, dramas, and movies, the contemporary mass media has benefitted from this notable lack of detail.

In contemporary times *shikigami* are commonly identified as a spirit servant controlled by the practitioners of Onmyōdō, the *onmyōji* 陰陽師 (yin-yang master). This is a marked change from its early manifestations in Japanese classical literature as an amorphous augury tool. My initial attempts to uncover the meanings embodied in *shikigami* took me on a literary analysis of its descriptions in premodern Japanese texts. Its literary descriptions revealed its characteristics to be rather eclectic and encompassing in nature, having possibly undergone cross-influences from other Japanese religions, but also as a result of the nature in which it had arisen: *shikigami* are attributed as a manifestation of the *shikisen* 式占 (see below). Although gradual changes in literary descriptions of *shikigami* seemingly paralleled the historical developments in Onmyōdō, the narratives provide only a glimpse of its characteristics without detailing its role in Onmyōdō. Many questions remain about what *shikigami* are, and what its functions are.

Although *shikigami* have become an almost staple accompaniment to contemporary portrayals of Onmyōdō, particularly those involving the famous *onmyōji* Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明 (921–1005),¹ it is important to examine how understanding *shikigami* can help us learn more about Onmyōdō. An overview of the literature on *shikigami* shows variations in the way it is described through the centuries, which has resulted in diverse understandings about this entity in contemporary Japanese scholarship. As Japanese scholars have employed different literary texts and time periods for analysis, this has produced varied and

1. Abe no Seimei was a famous historical figure who served six emperors, from Emperor Suzaku 朱雀 (r. 930–46) to Emperor Ichijō 一条 (r. 986–1011), as *onmyōji*. There are numerous legends about his magical prowess and his miraculous exploits are recorded in many classical literary texts, kabuki and *jōruri* plays, movies, and dramas. (See also the article by Shigeta in this issue, 77–97.)

sometimes contradictory definitions of *shikigami*. An absolutist assumption of the immutability of *shikigami* beliefs and the abridgement of time overlooks the differing texts and periods of analysis and this often results in different definitions of *shikigami*. Therefore it is necessary to provide an idea of how *shikigami* were initially perceived in early Japanese beliefs before I introduce prevalent conceptions of *shikigami* in contemporary scholarship. I do not claim to have successfully escaped from this historical limitation but I hope that by paralleling the scholastic definitions with changing literary descriptions of *shikigami*, I can somewhat map out the often confusing definitions and ease the way towards an understanding of what *shikigami* mean for Japanese religiosity.

Early Forms of Shikigami

The mid-Heian work *Makura no sōshi* (1001–1002; see SNKBZ, vol. 18) by Sei Shōnagon (966?–after 1017) is one of the few early Japanese texts to mention *shikigami*. An episode in the chapter titled “When I first went into court service”² describes Empress Teishi (皇后定子, 976–1000) asking Sei Shōnagon if she was fond of her, when a sudden loud sneeze from the Table Room interrupted the reply. As the sneeze occurred when the author was giving her answer, the empress jested that it was a sign that she was lying to her and left, leaving the young, inexperienced Sei Shōnagon greatly dismayed by this episode and bitterly resentful of the person whose sneeze had cast doubt on the sincerity of her words. Later, during an exchange of letters with Empress Teishi, Sei Shōnagon expressed that *shikigami* (*shiki-no-kami* 式の神) could attest to her honesty and loyalty. In an attempt to convince the empress, she proclaimed her inability to lie due to the fear that *shikigami* would easily reveal the deception by reporting to Empress Teishi on the truthfulness of her words.

In the context of their letter exchange, Empress Teishi had referred to *tadasu-no-kami* (糺の神, god of Tadasu), a sacred augury forest of the Shimogamo Shrine that was believed to be able to verify truths, to tease Sei Shōnagon about whether she would be able to maintain any lie when faced with the augury of truth. Sei Shōnagon’s written reply to the empress cleverly used the term *shiki-no-kami*, another term for *shikisen-no-kami* (式占の神, god of the *shikisen*), to form a parallel reference between the two augury tools of Tadasu 糺 and *shikisen* 式占, a form of augury that *onmyōji* specialized in that is based on complex calculations using dates, times, and symbolic astrological signs, to emphasize the depth of her sincerity. She expressed her belief in the divination abilities of the *shiki-no-kami* to reveal the truth in response to the empress’s mention of *tadasu-no-kami*. This

2. The original title is “Miya ni hajimete mairitaru koro” (宮にはじめてまゐりたるころ). The translated title was taken from MCKINNEY 2006, 173.

comparison of *shikigami* with the augury tool of Tadasu suggests that *shikigami* beliefs among the aristocratic class during the mid-Heian period associated it with an augury tool rather than a supernatural force or immanent being.

The open use of *shikigami* as a means of oath-swearing in the interaction between Sei Shōnagon and Empress Teishi indicate that *shikigami* was already a familiar concept that existed in the Heian Imperial Court during the early eleventh century. The lack of explanation of *shikigami* in Sei Shōnagon's written reply to Empress Teishi was based on the premise of a shared and implicit understanding of what it was. *Makura no sōshi* presents a positive image of *shikigami* as an all-knowing perceptive force that could observe happenings, give reliable reports of events, and even distill truth from lies.

In *Shōyūki* (DNK, vols. 1–11), a diary of the Heian court official Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957–1046) who recorded various events from 978–1032, we get another perspective on *shikigami*, where it is blamed for the troubles of humans.³ In Chapter 20, “Extraordinary events, part 10” (*Rinji-jū* 臨時十), the entry titled “Officials” (*Shinka* 臣下) within the section “Troubles” (*On-nayamukoto* 御惱事) records that the Minister of the Left, Fujiwara no Michinaga, was troubled with illness by a *shikigami* in the second year of the Chōhō era (長保二年 [1000]):

[Chōhō era, second year, fifth month] Same year, same month, eighth day, it is said that a *shikigami* was the cause of the Minister of the Left's troubles.⁴

This concise entry was recorded together with numerous documentation of illnesses and troubles suffered by the Imperial family and aristocrats. Unlike the majority of entries that briefly noted that an individual had trouble (*nayamukoto* 惱事), or a few entries attributing the causes of illnesses to common reasons or the mischief of evil demons and vengeance of wrathful spirits, in this particular entry it was stated that a *shikigami* was the cause of the minister's ill health. Instead of a reference to an augury tool as suggested in *Makura no sōshi*, *Shōyūki* highlights a different aspect of *shikigami* where it is a cause of illness and trouble.

Shin-sarugakuki is a fictional work by Fujiwara no Akihira (989–1066) that was completed in 1052. It describes the principal occupations of the period in detail and is perceived as the predecessor of the later genre of *ōrai-mono* 往来物 (textbooks). It is regarded as an important literary contribution to the history of Japanese customs, theater, and performances, with Marian Ury describing this work as presenting the “principal occupations of the time and their vocabulary

3. *Shōyūki* is regarded as an important source of historical information about court ceremonies and the political and social environment during the regencies of Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027) and Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 (992–1074).

4. The translation is mine. For the original Japanese tale, I have referred to the version published in *Shin-sarugakuki*.

with encyclopedic thoroughness” (URY 1999, 385). The descriptive commentary about various artisans and performers of the time illustrates a vivid picture of the social environment in the late Heian period. In the chapter titled “The tenth occupation, *onyō*” (*Jūkiminobu onyō* 十君夫 陰陽), the abilities of an *onmyōji*, Kamo no Michiyo 賀茂道世, were recorded in detail as shown in the translation below:

The tenth occupation is an *onmyōji* by the name of Kamo no Michiyo... who was able to freely summon the twelve guardian deities, call thirty-six types of wild birds to his side, control *shikigami*, create spells and talismans, open and close the eyes of *kijin* [鬼神; demon gods], and manipulate human souls.⁵

The awe over the legendary magical abilities of *onmyōji* was carefully presented by Fujiwara no Akihira, who listed Kamo no Michiyo’s expert augury knowledge and formidable command over various elements such as wild beasts, deities, supernatural beings, and humans in the tale. The description that Michiyo was able to command *shikigami* suggests that this was one of the magical abilities that a highly-skilled *onmyōji* was expected to possess. The close relationship between the *onmyōji* and *shikigami* that is seen here is reiterated in later tales about *onmyōji*, such that *shikigami* eventually became an indispensable existence in most legends of Onmyōdō. Although the exact function of *shikigami* cannot be ascertained here, the separate categorization of *shikigami* from deities, *kijin*, humans, wild beasts, and even spells, suggests that it had a more specific purpose that the other entities did not fulfill.

Shikigami as a Metaphorical Reference to Shikisen

In view of the primary duties of the *onmyōji* as a master of divination since the Heian period, Japanese scholars such as SUZUKI (1998; 2001; 2002), MURAYAMA (2002), TOYOSHIMA (2002), SUWA (2000), and SAITŌ Tsutomu (2007) have suggested an association of *shikigami* with the augury tool of *shikisen* 式占. Suwa Haruo points out that it was the eighth-century book *Yōrō ritsuryō* 養老律令 that set the regulations and duties of the Onmyōryō, and that one of the Onmyōryō’s duties was *senzei* 占筮. This is a form of augury using augury sticks and principles based on the *Book of Changes* (*I-Ching*; SUWA 2000, 73). Court *onmyōji* were regarded as responsible for the tasks of augury and predictions that subsequently augmented their image as diviners.

During the Heian period, an *onmyōji* was often consulted in the event of a *ke* (怪 or 恠, strange occurrence), where he used *shikisen* to determine if the

5. The translation is mine. For the original Japanese tale, I have referred to the version published in KAWAGUCHI 1983, 132.

unusual occurrence held further implications. *Onmyōji* specialized in *shikisen*, particularly the *rikujin-shikisen* 六壬式占, a type of complex augury calculation that was said to have been introduced into Japan during the late sixth to early seventh century. *Shikisen* was widely used by practitioners of *Onmyōdō* in the Nara period until the mid-sixteenth century where it was replaced by *ekisen* 易占, a type of augury calculation derived from the *Book of Changes* (YAMASHITA 2004, 64–66). During the *shikisen* session, a specific device called the *shikiban* 式盤, which is also alternatively known as *chokuban*, is used. This is an elaborate instrument comprised of two attached rotating panels, with one round panel called *tenban* 天盤 (Heaven panel) placed on top of a square panel called *jiban* 地盤 (Earth panel). Both panels have twelve cardinal points; those on the Heaven panel are referred to as the *jūni-gatsushō* 十二月将 (twelve guardians of the months), and those on the Earth panel the *jūni-shi* 十二支 (twelve signs of the East Asian zodiac). The Heaven panel is usually rotated during augury calculations. In order to derive the final meaning of the reading, the *jūni-gatsushō* and the *jūni-shi* have to be carefully coordinated through mathematical calculations to match the dates and times with the symbolic astrological signs. *Onmyōji* would then use the result to ascertain if the *ke* had any detrimental effects and advise what actions should be taken to alleviate them.

With the comment that a *shikigami* shares the same first Chinese character 式 as *shikisen*, Suzuki claims that *shikigami* is actually a *shiki-no-kami*, or “kami of the *shikisen*” (god of the *shikisen*) (SUZUKI 1998, 61–62). The idea of *shikigami* as a deified representation of *shikisen* is supported by Murayama Shūichi, who argues that the *chokuban* was regarded as a sacred spiritual object (*shinsei misare reibutsu*) that shaped ideas of *shikigami* as a spiritual entity (MURAYAMA 2002, 16). Murayama also points out that the two *shikigami* that Abe no Seimei was fabled to command are a symbolic representation of the *chokuban*’s Heaven and Earth panels. Suwa gives more details about the close relationship between *shikigami* and *shikisen* by explaining that the twelve *shinshō* 神将 (guardian deities or warrior gods) that legend claims Seimei commanded were likely based on the twelve cardinal points on the *chokuban*’s Earth panel that relate to the *jūni-shi*. Although *jūni-shi* do not possess a clear identity, they were given characteristics of divinity in *Onmyōdō* and existed as *shugojin* 守護神 (guardian gods or protector spirits) that were often invoked during rites (SUWA 2000, 74–75).

Suzuki sees *ke* as an important factor in the association of *shikigami* with *shikisen*, taking examples from historical diaries such as *Shōyūki*, *Teishinkōki* (907–948; DNK, vol. 1), and *Midōkanpakuki* (995–1021; DNK, vols. 1–3) to illustrate the broad and varied definitions of *ke*. *Ke* might first appear as commonplace, nondescript occurrences such as a crow dropping its excrement on someone, and it required a knowing eye to recognize the deeper implications behind such incidences. *Ke* became a matter of high importance, especially within the aristocratic

class since unusual occurrences were believed to portend cautionary signs for the future and possibly influence the general populace's perception towards the ruling class. As the augury skills of *onmyōji* were regarded as vital in interpreting the meanings embodied in *ke*, aristocrats often consulted *onmyōji* during times of *ke* occurrences for augury advice on the appropriate action to take to counter the possible negative effects of *ke*. Suzuki emphasizes that *ke* is a sign of forthcoming calamity, not the disaster itself, and *shikigami* act as the trigger to bring attention to *ke*, while *shikisen* works to interpret the signs given by *ke* and unveil the meanings in it. In this aspect, *shikigami* becomes a personified embodiment of an *onmyōji*'s ability in identifying the *ke* and his remarkable powers of prediction (SUZUKI 1998, 60).

The close link between *shikigami* and *ke* is demonstrated in *Uji shūi monogatari* (SNKBZ, vol. 50), a mid-Kamakura work consisting of a collection of a hundred and ninety-seven assorted tales and said to be completed in the period 1213–1221 by an anonymous compiler. In Tale 26, scroll 2, titled “Seimei sealing the young Archivist Minor Captain’s curse,”⁶ Seimei witnessed a crow dropping bird excrement on a popular chamberlain and quickly deduced that it was the setting of a *shikigami* curse. Finding it a pity that the chamberlain should die, Seimei decided to save the young man by laying protective spells around him throughout the night. The tale ended with Seimei successfully saving the chamberlain by causing the deadly curse to retaliate and kill the spell-caster instead. It was later revealed that the curse was initiated by the jealous brother-in-law of the chamberlain who desired his death. In this episode, the corporeality of *shikigami* is in the physical form of a crow that sets a curse by dropping bird excrement on the chamberlain. The coincidence of a passing bird whose excrement happened to land on the chamberlain is imbued with critical significance due to the association of this unusual happening with the concept of *ke*.

Seimei’s remarkable skills in recognizing and deciphering *ke* is reiterated in Tale 184, scroll 14, section 10 of *Uji shūi monogatari* titled “The Hōjō-ji, Minister’s white dog, Seimei and other miraculous events.”⁷ The tale describes the incident where Fujiwara no Michinaga was on his daily visit to Hōjō-ji (法成寺) when his favorite pet, a white dog, started running around in front of his carriage and bit the hem of his robe to prevent him from entering the temple precincts. Michinaga was concerned with this unusual incident and summoned Seimei,

6. The translation is mine. The original title is *Seimei, Kuraudo no shōshō o fuzuru koto* 晴明、藏人少将封ずる事) which TYLER (2002) has translated simply as “The Genie,” which I think is too succinct. Tyler’s use of the term “genie” could also overlook the actual functions and meanings of *shikigami* by imposing cultural attributes embodied in the foreign concept of “genie” on *shikigami*.

7. The original title is *Midōkanpaku oinu, seimei-ra, kidoku-no koto* 御堂関白御犬、晴明等、奇特事。

who used his augury skills to divine the *ke* presented by the dog's strange behavior. After a few minutes of augury calculations, Seimei was able to ascertain that a curse was intentionally buried along the road to harm Michinaga and even accurately locate the burial site of the curse. The extraordinary ability of Seimei to recognize and interpret *ke* due to his augury knowledge is presented in the two tales; the tales also serve to highlight the close relationship between *ke* and the *onmyōji*'s role as diviner.

The association of *shikigami* with augury predictions is repeated in *Genpeijōsuiki*, a late fourteenth to early fifteenth century collection of military tales that consists of forty-eight scrolls. In scroll 12, titled "The Empress's Birth" (*Chūgu o-san* 中宮御産), the wife of Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181), Tokiko 時子 (1126–1185), went to Ichijō-modori Bridge 一条戻橋 in the Heian capital to consult fortunes using *hashiura* 橋占, a form of augury where fortunes are revealed by listening to the conversation of passersby on the bridge. After arriving at the bridge, a group of twelve children with bobbed hair and of fourteen to fifteen years of age appeared from the west, clapping their hands and uttering a prophecy in unison. They later disappeared into the east. The twelve children were believed to be *shikigami*, as described in this translated excerpt:

Ichijō-modori Bridge was said to be where Abe no Seimei, the greatest in the knowledge of astrology and able to command the twelve guardian deities, had used incantations to seal the twelve deities [十二神, *jūni-shin*] under the bridge and summoned them when needed as his wife feared the appearance of *shikigami*. If one consults one's fortune at the bridge [using the *hashiura* or bridge augury], *shikigami* will utter the fortune through the mouths of passersby. Hence, the twelve children must be manifestations of the twelve guardian deities! [十二神将ノ化現ナルベシ, *jūni-shinshō no kagen narubeshi*].⁸

Matsuo Ashie's annotation for this tale defines the twelve guardian deities as "divine followers of the Yakushi Nyorai" (*Yakushi nyorai no kenzoku*) and states that they also refer to the "twelve guardian deities of the twelve hours of day and night" (*chūya-jūni-ji no gohō-shin*).⁹ In the tale, the twelve children *shikigami* were aware of Tokiko's identity and even hinted at her high status in their prophecy. This awareness of their current surroundings and ability to identify individuals reiterates early beliefs about *shikigami* being well-informed about everything as expressed in *Makura no sōshi*, and emphasize *shikigami*'s possible origin as a metonymy of *shikisen*. The close association of *shikigami* with *shikisen* augury and the *shikiban* instrument gives a reason for *shikigami*'s link with *hashiura*.

8. The translation is mine. For the original Japanese tale, I have referred to the version published in MATSUO 1993, 111–12.

9. The translation is mine, from the version published in MATSUO 1993, 111, annotation 9.

Shikigami as a Representation of Human Cognitive Power

Suzuki provides another perspective on *shikigami* where he views the interchangeable use of the Chinese character 識 (*shiki*, consciousness) with 式 in reference to *shikigami* 式神·識神 in late Heian literary texts as a reflection of human cognition. He gave several examples of *shikigami* 識神 in Buddhist texts, such as *Bosatsushotaikyō* (T vol. 12, no. 384), which defined it as an anthropomorphic realization of the active psychological or mental state (*shiki*, 識; SUZUKI 1998, 54). Suzuki is one of the few Japanese scholars in the field of Onmyōdō research to attempt the study of the origins of *shikigami*, and his early efforts to identify the source of *shikigami* take the approach of examining examples from *Konjaku mongatari shū* (1120; see SNKBZ, vol. 37) and *Uji shūi monogatari*. He uses the religious backdrop of the two anthologies of tales to present the idea that *shikigami* was conceived from a Buddhist term describing a physical manifestation of a psychological state. SUZUKI (2001) seeks to expound his definition of *shikigami* by relating it to Buddhist concepts of consciousness and Japanese beliefs in spirit possession such as *tsukimono* 憑き物 (spirits of animals, objects, or other lower beings that possess humans). His reference to Buddhist ideas of consciousness is meant to reveal the abstract and psychological aspects of *shikigami*, while the comparison with Japanese spirit possession is intended to identify the physical and behavioral aspects.

To establish the origins of *shikigami*, Suzuki did an etymological examination of the meanings embodied in the different Chinese characters used to represent *shikigami*. He listed and grouped the different Chinese characters used in Japanese classical texts and concluded that the Chinese character 式 was initially used in the early Heian period but was later interchangeably used with 識 in reference to *shikigami*. As mentioned in the previous section, Suzuki is one of the few Japanese scholars who speculates that the use of 式 was initially intended as a metaphorical allusion to *onmyōji*'s mastery over *shikisen* (SUZUKI 2001, 28–29). After a study of the religious background of *Konjaku mongatari shū* and comparisons with Buddhist texts to examine the meanings behind 識, Suzuki surmises that despite referring to the same entity in Onmyōdō, the use of 識神 to represent *shikigami* suggests that it is later viewed as a form of anima rather than augury abilities. Suzuki proposes that 識神 is a collateral existence produced by the active psyche which possesses autonomous control over the consciousness (識, *shiki*). The concept of *shikigami* as a type of spontaneous energy or vital force produced by the active psyche resulted in an anthropomorphic treatment of it. This meant that the symbolic role of *shikigami* as the indispensable aid to *onmyōji* is effectively a narration of the *onmyōji*'s personified will and consciousness (SUZUKI 2001, 36). Suzuki claims that *shikigami*'s position as a metonymy of the *onmyōji*'s will, consciousness, and knowledge explains why descriptions

of *shikigami* in classical Japanese literary texts are often portrayed as invisible to the human eye. In this context, he interprets the encounter between Seimei and the Harima *onmyōji* Chitoku 智徳 in a tale in *Konjaku mongatari shū* as a competition of mental strength rather than magical skills.

Konjaku mongatari shū is a collection of more than a thousand tales by an anonymous author that is speculated to have been completed in 1120. Described by Joseph KITAGAWA as “probably the most valuable source regarding the religious beliefs and practices of the masses during the Heian period” (1990, 83), the majority of the tales deal with Buddhist philosophical teachings, experiences of divine wonders, and karmic causality. The tale, “The tutelage of Abe no Seimei under Tadayuki, Tale 16”¹⁰ records the episode where Seimei was challenged by an old monk, Chitoku from Harima.¹¹ When Chitoku arrives at Seimei’s abode on the pretext of paying a visit, he is accompanied by two young pages who Seimei immediately guesses are *shikigami* intending to test his capability. Seimei decides to conceal the boys with incantations and *mudra* hand signs as punishment for the monk’s insolence. When Chitoku leaves after Seimei asks him to revisit another day, he is alarmed to discover that his pages have disappeared and quickly goes back to apologize to Seimei and ask for their return. The episode ends with Chitoku being highly impressed with Seimei’s magical abilities and requesting to become his disciple.

Konjaku mongatari shū provides a more definite image of *shikigami*, where it is able to take on a human physical form with a degree of realism that can deceive unknowing people into believing that it is real. There are no visible signs to verify the existence of *shikigami* at first sight and even Seimei, who is renowned for his impressive magical skills and knowledge, had to verify his suspicions with the use of incantations. From this excerpt, it is shown that chants and hand signs are needed to manipulate *shikigami*, and the knowledge of such magic allows for the control and possession of *shikigami*. The use of chants and hand signs as a method to control supernatural forces suggests influences from Buddhism or Chinese Daoism.

Suzuki argues that *shikigami* is a literary representation of Chitoku’s will and psychological intention to assess Seimei’s capabilities (SUZUKI 1998, 54). When Chitoku faced Seimei, competitive desire overtook him and weakened his state of mind, causing him to lose sight of his original intention. As such, he lost control over his will, his “*shikigami*,” which allowed Seimei to overcome and “con-

10. The original title is “Abe no Seimei, Tadayuki ni shitagaite michi o naraukoto daijūroku” 安倍晴明随忠行習道語第十六. TYLER has translated it as “The Test” (2002), based on a similar tale in *Uji shūi monogatari*.

11. See Tale 19 in *Konjaku monogatari shū*, “Harima-no-kuni onmyōji chitoku-hōshi no koto dai-jūkyū” 幡磨国陰陽師智徳法師語第十九, where the monk’s name was Chitoku.

ceal” his *shikigami*. In other words, Seimei and Chitoku’s battle of wits is actually a struggle of control over one’s own will and desire. Suzuki’s concept of *shikigami* as a form of human cognitive power is a fascinating interpretation that highlights a psychological approach towards the study of *shikigami* and suggests a possible influence of Buddhism on Onmyōdō philosophical ideas since the late Heian period.

Shikigami as a Type of Utilizable Energy

In the latter part of “The Tutelage of Abe no Seimei under Tadayuki, Tale 16,” the command of *shikigami* and the legendary powers of Seimei are given in more detail in an anecdote of his visit to Prelate Kuwanten 寛朝僧正¹² of the Hirosawa area where he is asked by a monk if he keeps *shikigami* and whether he can kill a man easily. In this account, Seimei admits that there are limitations to an *onmyōji*’s power whereby it is difficult to kill a human with magic despite the possibility of doing so. He then proceeds to display his extraordinary skills with a blade of grass that is powerful enough to instantly crush a frog. Seimei’s mastery of *shikigami* is emphasized in the next section of the tale that states that Seimei is said to employ the use of *shikigami* for simple household chores and describes the situation in his house where shutters lower and rise and doors close when there are no humans around. The concept of *shikigami* as a form of energy that can be tapped from existing natural elements is derived from literary descriptions of *onmyōji* conjuring *shikigami* from specific objects or animals, such as the case of Seimei using a leaf to kill a frog. Examples of *shikigami* as a form of utilizable energy can be found in Toyoshima Yasukuni’s detailed glossary of Onmyōdō terms that describes *shikigami* as a *kakyū-no-reitekisonzai* 下級の靈的存在 (low-ranking spiritual existence) that is commanded by *onmyōji* and usually conjured from human-shaped items made from paper or grass, or animals such as dogs or foxes (TOYOSHIMA 2002, 137).

In Suwa’s examination of the historical context behind the legends of Seimei, he takes literary examples from texts such as *Shin-sarugakuki*, *Uji shūi monogatari*, *Genpeijōsuiki*, and *Ōkagami* (mid-eleventh to early-twelfth century; SNKBZ, vol. 34) to classify *shikigami* characteristics. He then uses the classification of *shikigami* characteristics to identify two main traits: the first trait refers to magic that utilizes the innate powers of objects to carry out tasks, and the second is that of the role of a *kakyū-no-kenzoku-shin* 下級の眷属神, (lower-ranking deities attached to Buddhist divinities; SUWA 2000, 79). Suwa gives literary examples of Seimei using a leaf to kill a toad or controlling a piece of paper to do his bidding

12. The name is given as “Kuwanten” instead of “Kanchō” in modern Japanese translations of the tale.

as indicative of the employment of an object's inner powers to perform tasks, and defines *shikigami* as magic that allows *onmyōji* to draw on the innate powers of objects and command divine powers to do his bidding (SUWA 2000, 90). He refers to the *Tai-na* 大難 (annual court purification rite) ceremonial procedures described in *Engishiki* (a collection of *Engi*-era rules and regulations that was compiled in 927; KT 26), and the usage of specific objects such as reed arrows and bows, staffs, and shields made from peachwood, as suggestive of the prevalent Heian beliefs in the innate powers of certain objects and the employment of such objects in ritual tasks (SUWA 2000, 80–82).

Bock's explanations of the ritual instruments listed in *Engishiki* echoes Suwa's idea by elaborating that the "bows and staffs of peachwood demonstrate the Chinese belief in the efficacy of the wood of the peach tree for warding off evil" (BOCK 1985, 83). The construction of *shikigami* was influenced by the idea of *ki* 気, a Daoist concept that refers to an inner life-force or essence that is believed to exist everywhere and in everything from animate to inanimate objects. The inherent essence in objects can be utilized by magic spells and the process that involves the utilization of this innate energy, and its resulting effect is termed *shikigami*. The *onmyōji* is dependent on objects that possess the energy, such as a leaf or paper, and magical incantations to summon the powers existing within the relevant objects, and implies that *shikigami* is seen as a naturally-existing energy instead of an internal magical prowess cultivated through individual spiritual practice. This animistic view of *shikigami* as external energy that *onmyōji* can utilize runs into the problem of identifying the nature of energy that it originated from. However, an examination of the deeper significance behind this animistic definition suggests that *shikigami* is actually a means through which the *onmyōji* controls the innate energy in natural elements with magical incantations. The concept of *shikigami* as a type of magic spell to control objects imparts a magico-religious aura to Onmyōdō.

Shikigami as a Magical Curse

Miura elaborates on the magico-religious aspect of *shikigami* by describing it as a form of human-created magical curse. This differs from Toyoshima and Suwa's concept of *shikigami* as energies inherent in objects that are tapped by *onmyōji* through the use of spells. Instead, he sees *shikigami* as the epitome of Onmyōdō magic spells and refers to the tales in *Ōkagami*, *Konjaku mongatari shū*, *Uji shūi mongatari*, *Genpeijōsuiki*, and *Kojidan* (1212–1215; see SNKBT, vol. 41) to draw out various facets of *shikigami*, such as a helper spirit who carries out mundane chores or a fearful *kami* with killing abilities, though he admits that none of the characteristics can be clarified or proven in present-day scholarship (MIURA 2002, 32–33). Miura studies the relationship between Onmyōdō and magic by focusing on magic spells in Onmyōdō tradition with an emphasis on *jujutsu* 呪術 (magic

spells and incantations) and *juhō* 呪法 (magic rituals) that he sees as having been influenced by *fuko* 巫蠱 and the Taoist magic of *goraihō* 五雷法, a spell that controls supernatural elements such as ghosts and fox spirits (MIURA 2002, 32–35).

Fuko, or *gu* 蠱 in Mandarin, is a Chinese poisonous curse that is created by sealing five venomous creatures such as a centipede, toad, snake, scorpion, and gecko in a sealed jar and letting them devour each other. The sole surviving creature is believed to be the most powerful as it contains the venom of the other creatures and it becomes the *gu* that is used to carry out spells and cause the victim to be under the control of the spell-caster. Hu explains that the magic of *gu* is said to employ the use of poisonous insects that have the qualities of evil ghosts and goblins to attack people, and this reinforced belief in its highly poisonous and shape-shifting attributes (HU 1999, 370). Chinese folk beliefs have a great variety of *gu*, such as snakes, dogs, cats, lizards, toads, silkworms, and centipedes. These can fly, swim, transform shape, illuminate, appear, and disappear without a trace. During the early Qin period of China, it was believed that victims who suffered from an illness inflicted by a *gu* attack would be in a state of mental confusion as if possessed by spirits, and *gu* owners would use magic to command *gu* to fly into food or drink and bring all kinds of illnesses through the *gu* till the victim died, or even stealthily shift the victim's wealth to the *gu* owners' houses. A more sinister aspect of *gu* is its ability to allow its owner to control the soul of the dead victim (HU 1999, 371–72).

Miura sees similar characteristics between *gu* and *shikigami*. As indicative of *gu* practices, he takes the tale of an *onmyōji*, Dōma 道摩 from *Uji shūi monogatari* and *Kojidan*, who seals a curse in an earthen pot to harm Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027), and refers to *Genpeijōsuiki* to suggest that *shikigami* could also be *gu* in human form (MIURA 2002, 33). By relating *shikigami* to *gu* magic spells, Miura presents *shikigami* as a form of malignant human-created curses rather than energy tapped from naturally-existing elements. Miura's study of *shikigami* from the perspective of *gu* associates magic rituals in the Onmyōdō tradition with Chinese magic spells and suggests that the development of Onmyōdō into a magic-religious practice was influenced by Chinese magical practices.

Shikigami as a Supernatural Being

The most common idea of *shikigami* presented by Japanese scholars is that of a supernatural being under the command of *onmyōji*. The dictionaries of *Nihon kokugo daijiten* and *Kōjien* define *shikigami* as a supernatural attendant to *onmyōji*, and most Japanese scholars generally identify *shikigami* as a spirit servant that can be commanded by *onmyōji* to change forms, carry out multiple tasks, or perform unbelievable feats, though different terms are given to

denote the type of supernatural being that it is. Scholars such as TACHIBANA and KATO (1996), KAWAGUCHI (1983), MIKI and ASAMI (1990), and MATSUO and NAGAI (1997) describe *shikigami* as *kijin* in their annotations of Japanese classical texts. Komine Kazuaki's annotation of *Konjaku mongatari shū* identifies it as a *kakyū shin* 下級神 (lower-ranking subordinate deity; KOMINE 1994, 412), while MABUCHI et al (2001, 284) call it a *seirei* 精霊, (spirit, ghost or genie). HARIMA et al's annotation of *Zokukojidan* refers to it as a *reijin* 靈神 (spiritual being or deity that performs striking miracles; 2002, 35). Annotations in Japanese classical texts establish *shikigami* as a supernatural being though it is uncertain as to whether it should be viewed as a spirit (*seirei*), lower-ranking deity (*kakyū shin*, *reijin*), or demon god (*kijin*).

The difficulties in expressing the complex ideas embodied in *shikigami* can also be seen in Western translations of Japanese classical texts where scholars such as McCULLOUGH refer to it as “spirit” (1980, 81), TYLER opts for “genie” (2002, 85), while D. E. MILLS uses “familiar” (1970, 340). BATHGATE identifies it as “spirit-familiar” in his discussion of signification in Japanese religion and folklore (2004, 131). Such terms tend to reduce the religious and philosophical symbolism embodied in *shikigami* by imposing cultural attributes embodied in the foreign concepts of “genie” and “spirit-familiar” that can undermine the actual functions and meanings of *shikigami* by overlooking its particularities and distinct niche in Japanese religious thought.

Some Japanese scholars have tried to compare *shikigami* with other supernatural beings to establish a better understanding of what it is. Using an example of the fourteenth century illustrated scroll painting *Fudōriyaku-engi emaki*, Toyoshima sees the portrayal of *shikigami* as two diminutive helpers assisting Seimei in a ceremonial purification rite to subdue demons of ailments as similar to the attendant roles of Kongara 矜羯羅 and Seitaka 製多迦, the *gohōdōji* 護法童子 (attendant gods that are commanded by divine protectors of the Buddhist Laws) to *Fudōmyōū* 不動明王 in Esoteric Buddhism (TOYOSHIMA 2002, 137). He then quotes from a Tendai Esoteric Buddhist text, *Anchin hikuketsu kyōryōchi* 安鎮秘口決境領知, to illustrate that both *shikigami* and *gohōdōji* share the same essence and functions despite the difference in methodological teachings (TOYOSHIMA 2002, 138).

Similarly, Suwa compares the role of *shikigami* as a *kakyū-no-kenzoku-shin* 下級の眷属神 (lower-ranking deity attached to Buddhist divinities) as akin to that of a *gohōdōji* summoned by Buddhist ascetics to perform tasks, though he specifies that *shikigami* do not possess the responsive element of *gohōdōji* in that it does not respond to the prayers of the faithful as *gohōdōji* do (SUWA 2000, 90). Suwa also highlights that *gohōdōji* are bequeathed on faithful Buddhist ascetics by Buddhist gods while *shikigami* are summoned by *onmyōji* through incantations and hand signs (SUWA 2000, 87). Suwa explains these differences

to be the result of Chinese Daoist *yigui* 役鬼 (servant spirits) being the prototype for *shikigami*, where the qualities of possessing both invisible and physical forms, being summoned through incantations and under the command of their masters, were regarded as key influences in the development of *shikigami* (SUWA 2000, 91–95). Despite the difficulty in establishing the category of supernatural being that *shikigami* belong to, it can be understood here that *shikigami* is commonly viewed as a spirit entity that can be summoned by human *onmyōji* through spells and incantations, rather than bestowed by divinities or attained after a long process of spiritual self-cultivation.

One particular tale involving Seimei and Emperor Kazan 花山 (968–1008) in *Ōkagami* explicitly depicted *shikigami* as a supernatural being. With the political rise of Fujiwara no Michinaga as the setting, the mid-eleventh to early-twelfth century literature of *Ōkagami* recorded historical tales about the Imperial Court from the reign of Emperor Montoku 文徳 (r. 850–858) to Emperor Go-Ichijō 後一條 (r. 1016–1036). The excerpt taken from the chapter, “The Sixty-Fifth Reign, Emperor Kazan”¹³ describes the fateful night in 969 where the emperor was on an incognito journey to become a monk at Kazanji 花山寺. As he passed by Seimei’s house along Tsuchimikado 土御門 street, he overheard Seimei announcing a prediction derived from observations of astrological signs about his forthcoming abdication and later, instructing a *shikigami* to enter the Imperial Palace.

Ōkagami presents several pertinent elements of the physical abilities of *shikigami*. In this tale, *shikigami* were able to accurately identify Emperor Kazan, describe his actions, and even analyze the situation after seeing the emperor’s retreating figure. The physical power to move objects such as opening a door and vocal and analytical abilities to report happenings to Seimei highlight the corporeality of *shikigami*. However, *shikigami* are shown to still be restricted by the physical limitations of distance and materiality as it needed to open the door before it could observe the person’s actions. These physical limitations differ from earlier amorphous descriptions of *shikigami* in *Makura no sōshi* as the augury tool of *shikisen*, with the fluid ability to know all the happenings in the Imperial Court. Seimei’s position as the epitome of Onmyōdō skills is highlighted in this short excerpt where his astrological knowledge and magical expertise are augmented by the supernatural presence of *shikigami* that served to emphasize his easy mastery over supernatural beings. Seimei’s specific command for “one of you *shikigami*” (*shikigami hitori* 式神一人) to enter the palace indicates the presence of several *shikigami* at his bidding. Even though it is not revealed in this tale how many *shikigami* Seimei possessed, the numerical capacity to possess many *shikigami* serves to enhance an *onmyōji*’s capability in manipulating many elements.

13. The translation was taken from McCULLOUGH (1980, 80).

The Dangers of Shikigami

From the study of contemporary research on Onmyōdō, I have categorized the various definitions of *shikigami* offered by Japanese scholars into five main ideas: a metaphorical reference to *shikisen* and *onmyōji*'s prognostic powers; a representation of human will and consciousness; a type of inherent energy in objects that can be utilized through spells; a human-created magical curse; and a spirit servant that can be summoned through spells and incantations. Although we now know that *shikigami* are controlled and manipulated by human means, there are instances where the power of *shikigami* can extend beyond human control to effect results that are sometimes hazardous. One such instance is seen in *Zokukojidan* (1219, "Anthology of military tales"; SNKBT, vol. 41). A tale in the chapter, "Section on officials" (*Shinsetsu* 臣節) describes the fateful downfall of Minamoto no Takaakira 源高明 (914–983), son of Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (r. 897–930), who became the Minister of the Left in 968. In the tale, Takaakira had just left the Imperial Palace and was passing by the compound of Shinsen-en 神泉苑 when he came across two tall beings.¹⁴ It was said that he encountered a very serious matter after the two beings called out his name. His ill-fated encounter is recorded in the excerpt below:

As he reached the edge of the beam, [he observed] two tall beings standing concealed in the shadows; when they heard his approach, they revealed themselves when there were no sounds. Takaakira detected the two beings' intent and purposely made loud sounds with his feet. Just as he passed the beam, the beings called out his name. Immediately after that, Takaakira encountered a grave matter and he was banished from the capital.¹⁵

The historical event of Minamoto no Takaakira's demotion and exile during the Anna Incident 安和の變 of 969 was attributed to the unfortunate result of a run-in with *shikigami*. The Anna Incident was a political conspiracy orchestrated by the Fujiwara clan to eliminate military rivals in Kyoto that occurred in the early spring of the second year of Anna (969). Takaakira was implicated in the plot and exiled to Kyushu for three years before he was allowed to return to the capital, where he had already lost his political influence, and became committed to a quiet life of study. The Anna Incident was historically significant for removing the political and military rivals of the Hokke 北家 (Northern House of the Fujiwara clan) and Minamoto no Mitsunaka 源満仲 (917–997) while setting the stage for the increasing involvement of the warrior class in the politics of the

14. Some modern versions of *Zokukojidan* state that there are three beings instead of two.

15. The translation is mine. For the original Japanese tale, I have referred to the version published in KAWABATA and ARAKI 2005, 21–26 and 655.

Imperial Court. The use of *shikigami* to explain an event marks a desire to attribute Takaakira's misfortune to an uncontrollable external force.

Takaakira did not cause his own downfall because of political ambition or through any personal act but was instead portrayed as a victim of unforeseen inexorable circumstances. The sense of regret for the fate of a tragic historical figure who was destined for greater things if not for the unexpected *shikigami* curse is echoed in the latter part of the tale. In the next part of the tale, a physiognomist, Kadohira 廉平, was highly impressed with Takaakira's honorable face, exclaiming that he had not seen such glorious and admirable facial features before. But when he saw Takaakira's departing figure, he saw this as a bad omen and predicted the banishment. The inclusion of this latter part of the tale takes a sympathetic view of Takaakira's life, which was meant to be glorious and exalted but was instead heavily marked by the unexpected *shikigami* encounter. The potential for Takaakira to rise further in life was prematurely ended by the *shikigami* curse, one that showed a belief in the power of *shikigami* to alter a person's destiny. Here, the *shikigami* has developed a grim and sinister element: it was not a specific curse that was directed at Takaakira to intentionally cause his downfall but was the residue of a spell that was left in the Shinsen-en compound and degenerated into a freewheeling curse that harms passersby. The excerpt below taken from the same tale gives the reason for the presence of *shikigami* at Shinsen-en:

“During the time of the Horse Racing Festival [*kurabeuma* 競馬] at Shinsen-en, the *shikigami* that was buried by an *onmyōji* has yet to be removed. This spirit is making its presence known. Even now, that area should not be entered,” remarked an *onmyōji* named Ariyuki.¹⁶

The casual appearance of *shikigami* in the form of two tall beings had a very negative effect on passersby such as that which the *onmyōji*, Ariyuki, cautioned against entering the area that they occupied. Most tales describe *shikigami* as under command by an *onmyōji* to set curses on the victim where *shikigami* have no deliberate personal intention to harm people. But the two *shikigami* that Takaakira encountered were not under any human control and instead acted on their own without any instructions from their *onmyōji* master. As Ariyuki explained, the *shikigami* were merely making their presence known, with disastrous consequences for the unfortunate Takaakira. The change of *shikigami* from an agent that was commanded to spy and set curses into an uncontrolled force that lingered around to willfully harm innocent passersby is a new development in *shikigami* characteristics. Instead of having their forms dictated by their *onmyōji* masters, *shikigami* can manifest on their own and even emit sounds to

16. The translation is mine. For the original Japanese tale, I have referred to the version published in KAWABATA and ARAKI 2005, 21–26 and 655.

make their presence known. The fact that *shikigami* know Takaakira's name indicates that they are aware and have clear knowledge of their surroundings and social environment. This reflects the same characteristics displayed in an earlier text, *Makura no sōshi*, where *shikigami* were believed to know everything that happened, and *Ōkagami* where it was able to identify the emperor and report his actions to Seimei.

Another development in *shikigami* characteristics is its diversion from its original task. As explained by Ariyuki in the tale, *shikigami* were buried in the racing arena at Shinsen-en compound as protective charms during the Horse Racing Festival. The changing characteristics of a harmful curse that was meant to target a specific person, as in the case of the young chamberlain in *Uji shūi monogatari*, to bringing capricious harm on an innocent passerby as seen in Takaakira's demotion, echoed the Japanese belief of *tsukumogami* 付喪神. Inanimate objects are believed to become demonized as *tsukumogami* after a long, substantial period of neglect or abandonment. They gain powers such that they are able to plague mischief on humans. The harmful powers of *tsukumogami* are so feared that annual rituals such as *Harikuyō* 針供養¹⁷ are conducted to pacify old and used objects to prevent them from becoming demonized and bringing harm on humans. The two *shikigami* at Shinsen-en were a spell that had been buried and forgotten without an *onmyōji* to remove or pacify them with rites. In the same manner as abandoned objects that became *tsukumogami*, the two *shikigami* became demonized such that they changed from their original task of protecting and preventing disasters during the Horse Racing Festival to a destructive element that brought harm on passersby. The protective quality of *shikigami* changed to a fear of the potential harm that it was capable of, such that earlier literary descriptions of *shikigami* as a supernatural force with all-pervasive and insidious magical powers that was still under human control were replaced by depictions of an uncontrolled spirit that could freely harm innocent people without any specific instructions from an *onmyōji*. With the random appearances of the two *shikigami* at Shinsen-en and the warning by *onmyōji* Ariyuki to avoid the area rather than rectify the situation by removing the *shikigami*, the *onmyōji*'s stalwart manipulation over supernatural forces is put into question.

Such wariness of the potential dangers of *shikigami* is captured in descriptions of its strange appearance. The *Genpeijōsuiki* describes the need for Seimei to conceal his *shikigami* under Ichijō-modori Bridge as his wife feared their appearances. But this suggestion of the fearsome image of *shikigami* was likely due to the creation of images that provided a visualization of this supernatu-

17. This is an annual memorial service (*kuyōe* 供養会) held on 8 February or 8 December to give thanks to old or broken needles by piercing them in tofu or *konnyaku* jelly, or by wrapping them in paper.

ral being.¹⁸ One such image of *shikigami* is the fourteenth-century illustrated picture scroll of *Fudōriyaku-engi emaki*, which belongs to the Tokyo National Museum and is listed as an Important Cultural Property of Japan. *Fudōriyaku-engi emaki* provides an excellent and detailed record of the proceedings of an Onmyōdō ceremonial ritual and features *shikigami* as two diminutive helpers assisting Seimei in a purification rite to subdue demons of ailments. The two *shikigami* depicted in the *emaki* are half the size of the human characters with demon-like facial features, bulbous noses, wide gaping mouths, bushy eyebrows, and pointed ears. Their unruly, short hair is brown as opposed to the black hair of the human characters and they have claw-like feet and unnatural skin colors of red and pale green that resemble the strange appearances of the five demons of ailments seated in front of the ceremonial table. The two small-size *shikigami* are barefoot and clad in flowing robes that expose their arms. One of them is encased in an upper-body armor that resembles scales.

The image of *shikigami* portrayed in *Fudōriyaku-engi emaki* had a strong influence on many later works such as the sixteenth century *Nakifudō-engi emaki*, which belongs to the Shōjōkein collection. It is a replica of the *Fudōriyaku-engi emaki* and features *shikigami* with prominent, unusual features such as bulging eyes, protruding cheekbones, long fangs, and skin colors of deep red and green. The two *shikigami* in the *emaki* are attired in short robes that expose their arms and legs, with one of them having animal skin wrapped around its waist. Portrait paintings of Seimei also frequently depict a *shikigami* attendant kneeling by his feet with demon-like features. One of the oldest portrait paintings of Seimei is the early Muromachi work *Abe no Seimei-kō gazō* that belongs to the Abe Ōji Shrine 阿倍王子神社 in Osaka. Although the *shikigami* attendant is attired in an elaborate outfit of a patterned green robe with long white pants and straw sandals, it is depicted as small-sized with the same demon-like facial features of big bulging eyes, a protruding eyebrow ridge, a wide-gaping mouth, and green skin. The peculiar appearances of *shikigami* in pictorial works might have influenced literary descriptions of *shikigami* as demon-like and fearsome.

The question that remains in my study of *shikigami* is why it has acquired such a bizarre and threatening appearance that seems to run counter to the courtly demeanor of Seimei, a court *onmyōji* from the aristocratic class. Legends of Seimei being a descendent of a fox spirit might have encouraged such fantastical portrayals of *shikigami* to accentuate his mythical status, but I would like to suggest that its demonic appearance could also be due to the nature of Onmyōdō rituals. As part of his study of the religious and thaumaturgical aspects of Onmyōdō, Yamashita

18. The idea of the influence of illustrated picture scrolls on textual constructions of *shikigami* was provided by Komine Kazuaki during my research presentation at one of his graduate study groups at Rikkyo University, Tokyo, 4 February 2009.

looked into the characteristics of its rituals and saw that the gods of worship in Onmyōdō have close associations with nature and are usually the anthropomorphic representations of the elements and astrological signs (YAMASHITA 2006, 102–3). Ranging from the god of the underworld, known as Taizan Fukun 泰山府君, to deities of star constellations like the Big Dipper, the power of these gods was seen to achieve its full potential at night. As the characters of the gods are deeply connected with the time that the rituals are conducted, Onmyōdō rites like the *Taizan fukun sai* 泰山府君祭 were conducted after sunset (YAMASHITA 2006, 109). *Onmyōji* went to a requested place such as a supplicant's abode when they were engaged to conduct rituals, since Onmyōdō does not have a fixed place of worship, whether in the form of shrines or temples. There are also examples of the rituals being held at the *onmyōji*'s own residence (YAMASHITA 2006, 104–8). What made these rituals unique was that they were often held at night and outdoors. Although most of the rituals deal with spirit exorcism, purification rites, and disaster prevention, Onmyōdō rituals came to be associated with elements of darkness due to the characters of the gods of worship and the time and venue of conduct. With this impression of darkness, and possibly the occult, *shikigami* as symbolic representations of the thaumaturgical powers of the *onmyōji* were likely given strange, demon-like appearances to enhance the mysterious allure of Onmyōdō.

The Disparity of Shikigami

Literary descriptions of *shikigami* in various texts present qualities that range from being an amorphous entity, to having a variety of physical forms and abilities such as being able to act as a messenger, perform mundane household chores, aid in ceremonial rituals, give predictions, set curses, spy, assassinate people, and vanquish demons. Despite common understandings of *shikigami* as spirit servants of *onmyōji*, *shikigami* are not as fully controllable as what most Japanese scholars have suggested. Yet the disruptive potential of the unmanageable and demon-like *shikigami* are often sidelined in preference of casting *shikigami* as obedient supernatural helpers of *onmyōji*. Another quality of *shikigami* that has been lacking in scholastic study is the specificity of its existence.

Legends of Seimei's exceptional magical abilities are sometimes shown by his possession of many *shikigami* at his command. The use of *shikigami* as a gauge of the *onmyōji*'s magical power and knowledge is highlighted by Chitoku's test for Seimei and his strong admiration of Seimei's ability to manipulate another's *shikigami* in the *Konjaku monogatari shū* tale mentioned earlier in this article (Tale 16). As indicated by Chitoku's deliberate flaunting to Seimei of his ability to control two *shikigami*, the ability to manipulate several *shikigami* acts as an indication of an *onmyōji*'s magical prowess and skillful command over supernatural forces. The praise for Chitoku's extraordinary magical powers is extolled

in Tale 19 of *Konjaku monogatari shū*, “The Tale of Chitoku, the *onmyōji* from Harima,”¹⁹ where he is described as using magic to help a group of merchants retrieve their stolen goods from pirates. The ending of Tale 19 states that Chitoku was a fearful character due to his ability to effortlessly subdue a gang of vicious pirates, but he suffered defeat when he encountered Seimei because he had no knowledge of the skill to control another *onmyōji*'s *shikigami*. Despite Chitoku's fearsome magical powers and excellent control over his own *shikigami*, he is depicted as inferior to Seimei due to his inability to conceal and manipulate another *onmyōji*'s *shikigami*.

The fluidity of control over *shikigami* implies that it is not permanently bound to a particular person, whether by spells or mental control. Chitoku's experience reveals the belief that if one possesses the necessary knowledge of the spell, *shikigami* can be easily manipulated and even captured from another *onmyōji*. In other words, the control over *shikigami* can be obtained through the possession of the requisite knowledge rather than dependence on heavenly gifts or boons from divinity. This autonomy from divine grants and reliance on specialized knowledge conversely caused restrictions to the attainment of such magical knowledge. Masuo Shin'ichirō argues that Chitoku was unaware of the spell to control another *onmyōji*'s *shikigami* due to his status as an *onmyōji* from Harima (幡磨国), the former name of the southwest area of present-day Hyogo that was regarded as an undeveloped peripheral region outside of the Kyoto capital (MASUO 2008, 208).

Masuo sees Chitoku's lack of knowledge of Seimei's spell as an indication of the difference in the magical skills and characteristics between the commoner *onmyōji* and court *onmyōji* belonging to the central, state-controlled Onmyōryō. Under the *ritsuryō* laws, the hereditary aristocratic families of Abe 安倍²⁰ and Kamo 賀茂²¹ were accorded the responsibility of being sacerdotal lineages of Onmyōdō. The *ritsuryō* state, described by McMullen as opening the way to the “political ascendancy of oligarchic noble lineages,” resulted in monopolies in the various spheres of politics, religion, and culture as certain family lineages were accorded hereditary specialties (MCMULLEN 1996, 75). As the ecclesiastic practitioners of Onmyōdō were of aristocratic lineages, the possession of texts about Daoism, yin-yang theory, and ceremonial rites were primarily controlled by the Abe and Kamo sacerdotal lineages that in effect prevented commoner *onmyōji* from accessing such knowledge. This divergence between commoner

19. The translation is mine. The original title is “Harima-no-kuni onmyōji chitoku-hōshi no koto dai-jūkyū.” TYLER has translated the title as “The Spellbound Pirates” (2002).

20. The Abe clan was the sacerdotal lineage for Onmyōdō astrological observations and divination. It is also alternatively referred to as Tsuchimikado 土御門.

21. The Kamo clan was the sacerdotal lineage for Onmyōdō calendar calculations.

onmyōji and court *onmyōji* is represented by Chitoku's defeat due to his lack of the knowledge of the spells possessed by Seimei.

Furthermore, in the final part of Tale 16 the descendents of Seimei could hear sounds made by *shikigami* in Seimei's original abode, the Tsuchimikado house. The suggestion here is that the *shikigami* possessed by Seimei continued to exist after the death of their master. Yet, the *shikigami* did not appear to be inherited by the descendents of Seimei since they could only hear but not see or control them. *Shikigami* are not hereditary substances that can be passed on physically or biologically to another person, but specific knowledge is required to possess them. As highlighted by Chitoku's experience, knowledge of the spell is required before one can control a *shikigami*, suggesting that Seimei's descendents did not possess the necessary knowledge to control *shikigami*, a pertinent element that is representative of Onmyōdō magical powers. Despite the underlying suggestion that *shikigami* were not under the control of Seimei's descendents, their continued presence in the Abe household denotes their presence as guardians of the Abe clan, which in turn serves to maintain the legitimacy of the Abe sacerdotal lineage of Onmyōdō.

Shikigami and the Shikiōji of the Izanagi-ryū

Narratives allow for an understanding of the various aspects of *shikigami* and reveal some of the underlying meanings embodied in this enigmatic entity. To get a more concrete idea of the workings of *shikigami*, I refer to the practices of the Izanagi-ryū いざなぎ流, a sect related to Onmyōdō that is still in practice in contemporary Japan in a village located in Kochi prefecture, Shikoku. Current knowledge of the Izanagi-ryū has gained much from the works of KOMATSU (1994; 2011), SAITŌ Hideki (2000; 2002), and TAKAGI (1996), whose research on this reclusive and slowly disappearing sect has offered important insights into the magic spells and rituals of Onmyōdō and allowed for a better understanding of Onmyōdō practices. Their description of the activities of the *kitōshi* 祈禱師 (thaumaturgists who perform rituals and prayers) of the Izanagi-ryū include prominent rituals that involve the handling of curses, *noroi-chōbuku* 呪い調伏 (setting of curses), *suso-no-iwai-naoshi* 呪詛の祝直し (removal of curses), and *suso-no-kaeshi* 呪詛の返し (retaliatory spells).

Of particular interest for this article is the *suso-no-kaeshi*, a ritual undertaken with the intention to send the curse back and exact revenge on the spell-caster (KOMATSU 1994, 189). It is believed that if *suso-no-kaeshi* is used by a stronger opponent, the curse will return and double its effects on the spell-caster. In the case of the spell-caster who was killed by his own *shikigami* curse in "Seimei sealing the young Archivist Minor Captain's curse" in *Uji shūi monogatari*, a messenger visited Seimei to reveal that the *shikigami* curse had turned back (*shikigami-kaeri* 式神かえり) on the enemy *onmyōji* with fatal results. Since

the curse was prevented from executing its deadly task on the chamberlain by Seimei's protective spells, it retaliated and killed its master instead. The mortal defeat of the enemy *onmyōji* by Seimei due to his inferior magic skills suggests a perilous process of power struggles in Onmyōdō where the level of magic skills that an *onmyōji* possesses has important life and death consequences, and demonstrates a competitive need in Onmyōdō practice to acquire a high level of magical abilities to guard against the effects of retaliatory spells. Seimei's action of laying protective spells around the chamberlain and sending the *shikigami* curse back to the enemy *onmyōji* is remarkably similar to *suso-no-kaeshi*.

Komatsu mentions that the *kitōshi* are often reluctant to set curses due to the fear of the harmful power of *suso-no-kaeshi* and the fatal retributive effect known as *kayari-no-kaze* 返りの風 that has continued negative repercussions on future generations of the *kitōshi*'s family (KOMATSU 1994, 195). Many *kitōshi* have displayed a strong reluctance to acknowledge the use of the curse-setting ritual *noroi-chōbuku*, preferring instead to perform the *suso-no-iwai-naoshi*, a ritual to remove curses from the victim (KOMATSU 1994, 188–90). Such wariness of the grave effects of *suso-no-kaeshi* and *kayari-no-kaze* on the *kitōshi* suggests the symbiotic nature of curses. Another probable reason for the *kitōshi*'s aversion to setting *noroi-chōbuku* is the negative association of this ritual with evil sorcery. Preferring to cast themselves as healers rather than sorcerers with ulterior motives, the *kitōshi* try to avoid having any open connections with *noroi-chōbuku*.

In many of the rituals of the *kitōshi*, the *shikiōji* 式王子 is indispensable to the execution of their arsenal of magic spells and incantations (KOMATSU 1994, 199). Seen by Komatsu and Saitō as another name for *shikigami*, *shikiōji* is a term that was likely derived from a combination of *shikigami* 式神 and *ōji* 王子, also known as *dōji* 童子 in Shugendō (SAITŌ 2002, 192). Saitō sees the creation of *shikiōji* as evidence of the syncretism of Onmyōdō and Shugendō. While the *shikiōji* performs an assortment of tasks, its duties can be broadly organized into four main functions: to act as a protective guardian of the *kitōshi*, to expel curses and spirits that cause diseases, to return the *shikiōji* sent from opponents with retaliatory effects, and to set curses and send misfortune (KOMATSU 1994, 135). What should be noted is that *shikiōji* is a generic term for the deities summoned and controlled by the *kitōshi*. It is not specific, as many types of *shikiōji* can be conjured up from the innumerable spirits and deities that exist (KOMATSU 1994, 199–200) and their functions differ according to the type of *hōmon* 法文 (doctrinal texts) with which they were summoned (SAITŌ 2002, 192). *Hōmon* is considered different from *saimon* 祭文 (ritual prayers) as it is used specifically for the summoning of *shikiōji*. Rather than focus on the magical abilities and functions, *hōmon* narrates the birth and historical origins of *shikiōji* (SAITŌ 2002, 192). The *kitōshi* is said to possess a large inventory of *hōmon* to facilitate the summoning of various *shikiōji* according to their intended purpose. As such, the more *hōmon* a *kitōshi* knows, the more powerful his magical



FIGURE 1. A *shikigami* statue based on a painting of Abe no Seimei that is owned by Seimei Shrine, and was presented as a gift by Kyoto-rakuchū Lions' Club in 2003. Seimei Shrine, http://www.seimeijinja.jp/guide/gui_01.html (accessed 28 November 2008). All photographs by author.

powers are seen to be since he will be able to summon more varieties of *shikiōji* to do his bidding (KOMATSU 1994, 135).

In view of the wide array of *shikiōji* commanded by the *kitōshi*, Saitō argues that it is too simple to classify *shikigami* as low-ranking spirit servants based on the fact that animal spirits such as dogs, snakes, frogs, and eagles are often used as *shikigami*. There are also examples of gods of the mountains, rivers, and land who can be summoned as *shikigami* if the appropriate type of *hōmon* is recited (SAITŌ 2002, 302). What Saitō attempts to do here is to show the capacity of Onmyōdō in accessing the various supernatural realms of the world and the prominence of its rituals as more than mere occult practices dealing with shady figures.

Conclusion

Regardless of its ambiguous existence in the Onmyōdō tradition, *shikigami* is accepted as a fictional truth by religious institutions such as Seimei Shrine 晴明神社 in Kyoto and Abe no Seimei Shrine 安倍晴明神社 in Osaka. Seimei Shrine states on its website that “*shikigami* are *kijin* or *shieki-jin* [使役神; servant gods]



FIGURE 2. Small-scale model of Ichijō-modori Bridge.

used in Onmyōdō that are invisible to normal humans. Abe no Seimei was adept at controlling *shikigami* and used them for various tasks that ranged from household chores to ceremonial rites. He was said to have normally sealed his *shikigami* under Ichijō-modori Bridge as his wife feared their existence.”²² The importance placed on establishing the authenticity of Seimei’s legends is clearly shown in the shrine’s special display of a big stone-carved monument with a *shikigami* statue (FIGURE 1) kneeling beside a small-scale reproduction of Ichijō-modori Bridge (FIGURE 2) that was constructed within the shrine compounds, and the sale of hand-phone straps that are decorated with a small *shikigami* replica (FIGURE 3, following page).

Abe no Seimei Shrine, which also venerates Seimei and has promoted itself to be the sacred site of his birthplace, explains in its published book of Seimei legends that *shikigami* are “*kijin* that follow the commands of *onmyōji*” and describes their appearance as small-sized and demon-like (SHIMURA 2005, 26). The Seimei Shrine and Abe no Seimei Shrine’s emphasis on the magical exploits of Seimei and his mastery over *shikigami* is understandably meant to enhance the power and charismatic appeal of their figure of veneration, though the utilization of *shikigami* as a publicity tool unavoidably results in an endorsement and

22. The translation is mine. The original Japanese description was taken from the official website of Seimei Shrine: <http://www.seimeijinja.jp/guide/index.html> (accessed 21 June 2012).



FIGURE 3. Hand-phone strap on sale at Seimei Shrine. From left: Front of item, back of item, and instructions sheet. Translation of back of item: This “shiki” is a reproduction of the shikigami servant in Abe no Seimei’s portrait (owned by Seimei Shrine).

reinforcement of its image widely present in Japanese popular culture as a spirit servant while failing to explain its function in the practice of Onmyōdō. The adoption of *shikigami* narratives by Seimei Shrine and Abe no Seimei Shrine to legitimize the legendary exploits of past figures highlights the effect of *shikigami* narratives on the way that the religious institutions of Onmyōdō construct their religious identity and practices, and illustrates mutual influences between religion and literature.

My search for the significance of *shikigami* has aimed at delineating its characteristics and is intended to question the ways we engage the use of literary texts in analyzing a religious symbol. As I studied the ways scholarly discourse navigates the manifold literary portrayals of *shikigami* and produces differing definitions of this being, I was made aware of how our understandings of Japanese religions are often subjected to the limitations of available texts. Yet, this does not restrict the potential of literature in providing alternative perspectives to Japanese religions. As I have tried to show in this article through a presentation of the various definitions and aspects of *shikigami*, from its dangerous potential to its discriminatory tendencies, the study of *shikigami* is not about classifying it as a spirit or a god, or pigeonholing it as a type of evil or good sorcery, but is to speak of the ambivalent nature of Japanese religions.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

- DNK *Dai Nihon kokiroku* 大日本古記録, ed. Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. 103 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1952–1986.
- KT *Kokushi taikei* 国史大系. 60 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964–1967.
- SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989–2005.
- SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1997.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. 85 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932.

PRIMARY SOURCES AND COLLECTIONS

- Abe no Seimei-kō gazō* 安倍晴明公画像. Fourteenth century. Hanging scroll painting. Private collection of Abe Ōji Shrine 阿倍王子神社, Osaka.
- Bosatsushotaikyō* 菩薩処胎經. T vol. 12, no. 384.
- Engishiki* 延喜式. KT 26.

- Fudōriyaku-engi emaki* 不動利益縁起絵巻. Fourteenth century. Important Cultural Property of Japan. Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物館. Tokyo.
- Genpeijōsuiki* 源平盛衰記. In *Genpeijōsuiki (ni): Dai ikki dai jūkyū kai haibon, chūsei no bungaku* 源平盛衰記 (二)—第一期第十九回配本 中世の文学, ed. Matsuo Ashie 松尾葦江. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1993.
- I-Ching* 易經. Wang Rongpei 汪榕培, and Ren Xiuhua 任秀桦, eds.. Shanghai: Shanghai wai yu jiao yu chu ban she, 1993.
- Kojidan* 古事談. Minamoto no Akikane 源顕兼 (1160–1215). SNKBT, vol. 41.
- Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集. SNKBZ, vol. 37.
- Makura no sōshi* 枕草子. Sei Shōnagon 清少納言. SNKBZ, vol. 18.
- Midōkanpakuki* 御堂関白記. Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027). In DNK, vols. 1–3.
- Nakifudō-engi emaki* 泣不動縁起絵巻. Sixteenth century. Shōjōkein 清浄華院. Kyoto.
- Ōkagami* 大鏡. SNKBZ, vol. 34.
- Shin-sarugakuki* 新猿樂記. Fujiwara no Akihira 藤原明衡. In *Tōyō bunko* 東洋文庫, ed. Kawaguchi Hisao 川口久雄. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1983.
- Shōyūki* 小右記. Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資. DNK, vols. 1–11.
- Teishinkōki* 貞信公記. Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880–949). DNK, vol. 1.
- Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語. SNKBZ, vol. 50.
- Zokukojidan* 続古事談. SNKBT, vol. 41.

SECONDARY SOURCES

BATHGATE, Micheal

- 2004 *The Fox's Craft in Japanese Religion and Folklore: Shapeshifters, Transformations, and Duplicities*. New York: Routledge.

BOCK, Felicia G.

- 1985 *Classical Learning and Taoist Practices in Early Japan with a Translation of Books XVI and XX of the Engishiki*. Phoenix: Arizona State University Center for Asian Studies.

HARIMA Mitsutoshi 播摩光寿, Iso Mizue 磯水絵, Kobayashi Yasuharu 小林保治, Tajima Katsuo 田嶋一夫, and Mita Akihiro 三田明弘

- 2002 *Zokukojidan* 続古事談. Tokyo: Ōfū.

HU Xin Sheng 胡新生

- 1999 *Zhongguo gudai wushu* 中国古代巫术. China, Jinan: Shandong Renmin Publishing.

KAWABATA Yoshiaki 川端善明, and ARAKI Hiroshi 荒木 浩, annotators

- 2005 *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai 41: Kojidan, Zokukojidan* 新日本古典文学大系 41—古事談・続古事談. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

- KAWAGUCHI Hisao 川口久雄, trans. and annotator.
1983 *Shin-sarugakuki* 新猿樂記. Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- KITAGAWA, Joseph M.
1990 *Religion in Japanese History*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kōjien 広辞苑
2008 Ed. Shinmura Izuru 新村出. 6th edition. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- KOMATSU Kazuhiko 小松和彦
1994 *Hyōrei shinkōron* 憑霊信仰論. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
2011 *Izanagi-ryū no kenkyū: Rekishi no naka no Izanagi-ryū tayū* いざなぎ流の研究—歴史のなかのいざなぎ流太夫—. Tokyo: Kadokawa Geijutsu Shuppan.
- KOMINE Kazuaki 小峯和明
1994 *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai 36: Konjaku monogatari shū* 新編日本古典文学大系 36—今昔物語集. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- MABUCHI Kazuo 馬淵和夫, INAGAKI Taiichi 稲垣泰一 and KUNISAKI Fumimaro 国東文麿
2001 *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 37: Konjaku monogatari shū 3* 新編日本古典文学全集 37—今昔物語集 3. Tokyo: Shōgakukan.
- MASUO Shin'ichirō 増尾伸一郎
2008 “Shodō” to “sono michi no mono” 「諸道」と「其ノ道ノ者」. In *Konjaku monogatari shū o yomu* 今昔物語集を読む, ed. Komine Kazuaki, 187–211. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- MATSUO Ashie 松尾葦江, annotator
1993 *Genpeijōsuiki (ni): Dai-ikki dai jūkyū kai haibon, chūsei no bungaku* 源平盛衰記(二)—第一期第十九回配本、中世の文学. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten.
- MATSUO Satoshi 松尾聰 and NAGAI Kazuko 永井和子
1997 *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 18: Makura-no sōshi* 新編日本古典文学全集18—枕草子. Tokyo: Shōgakukan.
- MCCULLOUGH, Helen Craig
1980 *Ōkagami: The Great Mirror, Fujiwara Michinaga (966–1027) and His Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- McKINNEY, Meredith
2006 *Sei Shōnagon: The Pillow Book*. London: Penguin Books.
- McMULLEN, Ian James
1996 The worship of Confucius in ancient Japan. In *Religion in Japan: Arrows to heaven and earth*, edited by Peter Francis Kornicki and Ian James McMullen, 39–77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MIKI Sumito 三木紀人 and ASAMI Kazuhiko 浅見和彦
1990 *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai 42: Uji shūi monogatari: Kohon setsuwa-*

shū 新日本古典文学大系 42—宇治拾遺物語—古本説話集. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

MILLS, D. E.

1970 *A Collection of Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of Uji Shūi Monogatari*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MIURA Ryū 三浦 竜

2002 Onmyōdo to majinai 陰陽道とまじない. In *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 853 tokushū: Onmyōji, Abe no Seimei to sono shūen* 67 国文学解釈と鑑賞 853 特集—陰陽師・安倍晴明とその周縁 67: 32–35. Tokyo: Shibundo.

MURAYAMA Shūichi 村山修一

1987 *Onmyōdō kiso shiryō shūsei* 陰陽道基礎史料集成. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu.

1994 *Nihon Onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* 日本陰陽道史総説. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō.

2002 Nihon no Onmyōdō to Abe no Seimei 日本の陰陽道と安倍晴明. In *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 853 tokushū: Onmyōji, Abe no Seimei to sono shūen* 67: 13–19. Tokyo: Shibundo.

Nihon kokugo daijiten 日本国語大辞典

2000–2002 Ed. Nihon Kokugo Daijiten Dai Nihan Henshū linkai, Shōgakkan Kokugo Daijiten Henshūbu 日本国語大辞典第二版編集委員会, 小学館国語大辞典編集部. Second edition. Vol. 6. Tokyo: Shōgakukan.

SAITŌ Hideki 斎藤英喜

2000 *Izanagi-ryū: Shikiōji* いざなぎ流—式王子. Tokyo: Shinkigensha.

2002 *Izanagi-ryū: Saimon to girei* いざなぎ流—祭文と儀礼. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

SAITŌ Tsutomu 斎藤 励

2007 *Ōchō-jidai no onmyōdō* 王朝時代の陰陽道. Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai. (originally published in 1915, 甲寅叢書, 第6編, 甲寅叢書刊行所).

SHIMURA Kunihiro 志村有弘

2005 *Abe no Seimei kōden* 安倍晴明講伝. Osaka: Abe Ōji Jinja.

SUWA Haruo 諏訪春雄

2000 *Abe no Seimei densetsu* 安倍晴明伝説. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.

SUZUKI Ikkei 鈴木一馨

1998 Shikigami no kigen ni tsuite 式神の起源について. *Shūkyōgaku ronshū* 20: 49–60.

2001 Shikigami to shikigami to o meguru mondai 「式神」と「識神」とを巡る問題. *Shūkyōgaku ronshū* 21: 25–44.

2002 *Onmyōdō: Jujutsu to kijin no sekai* 陰陽道—呪術と鬼神の世界. Tokyo: Kōdansha.

TACHIBANA Kenji 橘健二 and KATŌ Shizuko 加藤静子

1996 *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 34: *Ōkagami* 新編日本古典文学全集 34—大鏡. Tokyo: Shōgakukan.

TAKAGI Keio 高木啓夫

- 1996 *Izanagi-ryū go kitō no kenkyū* いざなぎ流御祈禱の研究. Kōchi, Nankoku-shi: Kōchi Kenritsu Rekishi Minzoku Shiryō Kan.

TOYOSHIMA Yasukuni 豊嶋泰国

- 2002 Shikigami 式神. In *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 853 tokushū: Onmyōji, Abe no Seimei to sono shūen* 67: 137–38. Tokyo: Shibundo.

TYLER, Royall

- 2002 *Japanese Tales*. New York: Pantheon Books.

URY, Marian

- 1999 Chinese learning and intellectual life. In *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 2: Heian Japan*, Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, eds., 341–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

YAMASHITA Katsuaki 山下克明

- 2004 *Abe no Seimei to onmyōdō* 安倍晴明と陰陽道. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō.
2006 Onmyōdō no shūkyōteki tokushitsu 陰陽道の宗教的特質. *Tōyō kenkyū* 159: 91–117.