

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Over a span of nearly four decades, YAMAORI Tetsuo has produced an extensive and richly varied body of work devoted to the study of Japanese religious tradition. Although originally trained in Indian Buddhist studies, he quickly shifted from the largely philological and textually oriented focus of the Buddhist scholarship of the period and has sought to probe the religious sensibility and worldview of living persons of Japan in the contexts of their historical period and social realities, as manifested through an unruly assortment of symbols and beliefs in representational art, literary record, ritual action, and material culture. The articles and essays collected in *Wandering Spirits and Temporary Corpses* are intended to provide a small sampling of the broad range of topics and treatments found Yamaori's work.

Professor Yamaori has been in various ways a maverick throughout his career. He has sought to explore the historical, lived actualities of religious impulse and outlook behind abstract doctrine, casting off modernist preferences and the conceptual divides of Shinto and Buddhism, of religious life and secular concern, of religion and state, of body and mind. In Buddhist studies both in Japan and abroad, such perspectives are now becoming widespread, but Yamaori's work remains distinctive for additional reasons. One is his continuing insistence on tackling broad issues of religious tradition in Japanese civilization that require great breadth of learning. Another is an abiding concern with the exigencies of the concrete human condition. Further, he often employs a comparative approach, seeking insights into vital realities through

similarities and divergences across cultures and times.

If the term “pre-axial” may be applied to the ancient worldview in which gods and spirits abide in the surrounding hills and “axial” to the Buddhist analysis of suffering and aspiration for awakening, then it might be said that Yamaori has long been concerned to articulate the intricate and distinctive configurations the interweaving of these contrasting outlooks has produced and continues to fashion in the lives of the Japanese. In the chapters of this volume, he takes up themes of death, divine presence, and ritual invocation, and through them traces the patterns created in Japanese history, at times deliberately, at times with seeming inevitability as the disparate modes of imagination fused.

Interchange in the Indigenous and Buddhist Traditions

In Chapter 1 (“Possession and Incarnation: The Interaction of Kami and Buddhas”), Yamaori analyzes the nature of the early historical interchange between the native divinities of Japan (kami) and buddhas that were introduced from the Asian continent in the middle of the first millennium c.e. To do this, he focuses on the Shinto and Buddhist traditions as two “polytheistic” systems that exhibit contrasting modes of divine movement or communication. In the case of the native tradition, the kami are regarded as essentially invisible, concealing themselves in woods or hills, but perhaps precisely because of this they are capable of endless bisection and division without diminution, so that they may become present simultaneously in widely disparate locales. Through this power of self-transmission, they are able to answer the prayers of the faithful. Yamaori call this power “possession,” expanding the usual scope of the mechanism manifested in spirit-possession to include, for example, the proliferation of shrines of such divinities as the Hachiman or Inari kami throughout the country.

Buddhist tradition adopted a contrasting mode of communication in the Indian concept of *avatāra* or “divine descent,” in which transcendent divinities manifested themselves to humans in physical form. Yamaori calls this movement from formlessness into form

“incarnation,” and notes that the initial attraction of Buddhism in Japan was related to the pictorial and sculptural representations of celestial buddhas and bodhisattvas that accompanied the introduction of teachings and texts. Such representation of the divine in statues and paintings was alien to the native tradition, which had assumed the invisibility, anonymity, and self-concealment of the sacred, and which adopted more abstract symbols as sites of the divine such as the mirror or jewel. Thus, two opposing vectors may be seen in the contrasting modes of sacred activity—that toward hiddenness in the kami, and that toward physical manifestation in the buddhas.

Yamaori probes the interaction between the native and Buddhist traditions by tracing, in each, the adoption of the contrasting mode of communication that occurred from the end of the ancient period to the beginning of the medieval period. Kami began to be depicted in statues influenced by Buddhist and secular models, and at the same time, statues of buddhas began to be withdrawn from human sight. This early interaction formed the foundation for the later developments in the “fusion of Shinto and Buddhism” in Japan. As examples of the trend toward giving kami human form, Yamaori explores images of the Inari deity, beginning with female images as a rice-fertility spirit, which were later subordinated to images of a “mountain god” in the appearance of an aged male. The reverse movement, by which Buddhist statues were concealed from sight and worshipped as “hidden buddhas,” is exemplified by the statue of Amida at Zenkōji. In these movements we see the basic forces that gradually evolved into the notion that the kami were themselves manifestations of buddhas and bodhisattvas (*honji suijaku*) and other aspects of the amalgamation of religious traditions in Japan.

Before Buddhism: The Ancient Worldview

In Chapter 2 (“The Death of Gods and the Ancient Worldview”), Yamaori seeks to delineate the picture of the world held by the Japanese before the advent of Buddhism, taking as his point of departure the

notion that the conception of death was the pivotal element in the formation of the ancient worldview. His approach is to locate the realm of death in the topography of the ancient imagination, relying on ancient geographical descriptions, the record of mythology, and archaeological investigations of burial mounds. Concerning geographical location, Yamaori focuses on a basin area pattern in which human settlement lies in the center girdled by hills, and notes that the realm of the dead was conceived as lying beneath the surface within the surrounding hills. He observes that these topographical features could be applied throughout the Japanese archipelago in early times, and contrasts this microcosm of the adjoining and contiguous realms of life and death with corresponding conceptions of ancient Greece and Egypt.

Turning to mythological narratives, Yamaori traces transitions in the way the gods depart from the scene of activity in the world of the myths. The first heavenly gods are said simply to conceal themselves, but their descendants are said to die and are buried in grave mounds in the hills. The emergence of death may be said to mark the point at which the gods became human and the realm of death came to be established in the world. In fact, the burial practices described in the myths correspond with the treatment of emperors, and the evidence of the early mounds in the hills supports the basin area model as a microcosm encompassing both the realms of life and of death.

This early worldview came to be fractured, however, as evidenced by the gradual movement of mounds from the surrounding hills and mountains to fields and plains beyond. Yamaori attributes this to the adoption, partly under the influence of new cultural elements from the Asian continent, of a polarized, dualistic conception of the realms of life and death in which their earlier unity was sundered.

The Fusion of Belief in Spirits and Buddhist Cosmology

In Chapter 3 ("Wandering Spirits and Temporary Corpses: The Revival Tales of *Nihon ryōiki*"), Yamaori takes up the question of the impact of Buddhist tradition, which doctrinally does not recognize the existence of

unchanging souls or spirits, on the native notion of spirits that underlay the worldview and the conceptions of kami, shamanistic possession, and other aspects of ancient belief. He focuses on the early ninth century collection of tales, *Nihon ryōiki*, compiled by the Buddhist monk Keikai, in which an early stage in the incorporation of Buddhist ideas may be seen. While tales in this collection take up ancient themes such as spirit possession and the separation of the spirit from the body, new conceptions reflecting Buddhist influence are found intermingled, chief among them the interrelated notions of karmic recompense, rebirth, and a multi-dimensional cosmos possessing, in addition to the realm of the living, the various realms of hell.

Yamaori notes, however, that the salvific significance of Buddhist teachings appear to have had little influence in the tales, for the governing concerns are with this-worldly benefits and karmic retribution is understood mechanistically in terms of immediate benefits or punishments. Further, the dominant motifs in the tales reflect the clear split of spirit and body, a dualism related to ancient beliefs but absent from Buddhist thought. In order to delineate the nature and degree of the fusion of the indigenous notion of spirits with Buddhist concepts as manifested in *Nihon ryōiki*, Yamaori focuses on the tales of revival or return to life after temporary or simulated death. This theme is found in slightly over 10 percent of the tales in the collection and provides a window into the amalgam of beliefs of the times, when Buddhist notions of the cosmos and Buddhist funereal practices were spreading.

Yamaori analyzes the revival tales in terms of two aspects: on the one hand, the practice of *mogari* or temporary interment, in which a corpse is preserved for some days after death without other mortuary treatment, and on the other hand, the vivid images of the other world as hell, which wandering spirits experience as a foretaste of death but, on returning to life, communicate to the world of the living. The former reflects native beliefs that at death the spirit departs from the corpse and holds the possibility of return, and the latter reveals a complex conception of the world of death, in which earlier images of Yomi as an extension of the landscape of this world are fused with continental

images of hell as a distinct realm of punishment and reward for acts in this life.

Ritual Enactments of Divine Presence, Buddhist and Shinto

Chapter 4 (“Hidden Buddhas and Invisible Gods: The Logic and Structure of Two Nara Observances”) offers a case study of the thesis presented in Chapter 1 that the interaction and fusion of native religious traditions and Buddhism in Japan may be considered concretely in terms of opposing and complementary modes of communication between the divine and the human. It presents analyses of two observances held annually in Nara, the matsuri of the Kasuga Wakamiya shrine and the Shuni-e ceremonies (commonly known as Omizutori or the “water-drawing rite”) of the Nigatsudō hall of Tōdaiji temple. These two rites of a Shinto shrine and a Buddhist temple are held in close proximity, both geographically and in time, the former being a midwinter festival and the latter, a rite of early spring. Moreover, historical records concerning both observances indicate that the origins of their present practices are relatively recent, lying in the same period of natural calamities and social unrest during the twelfth century.

Through a detailed exploration of the actual ritual practices of the two observances and their historical background, Yamaori delineates their common core concentrated in the temporary emergence, during the rites, of the central object of worship from its customary position of enshrinement into the place of worshippers, even while the object remains concealed from vision and hidden in its divinity. It is then restored to its site of enshrinement. Yamaori speaks of this as a “drama of emergence and concealment,” and notes that its adoption in the Shuni-e rites reflects the Buddhist incorporation of native modes of kami worship in which, during a festival, the symbol of the deity is transported from its shrine to a “resting place” (*otabisho*) and then carried back.

At the heart of this appropriation of features of kami worship is the transformation of the Buddhist image—in the case of Nigatsudō, a small statue of Kannon—into a “hidden buddha,” enclosed in an altar case

that is never to be opened. Yamaori argues that under the influence of Shinto, the fundamental vector of the activity of buddhas toward self-disclosure in human form was reversed, so that their sanctity came to be manifested by their very invisibility. At the same time, their emergence into a palpable presence among worshippers was effected through the power of transposition that the kami exercised and which Yamaori terms "possession."

During precisely the same period that earlier repentance ceremonies in the Nigatsudō hall were transfigured through embracing the aura of mystery of kami rites, a fundamental change also occurred at the nearby Kasuga shrine. Dedicated to the clan gods of the politically ascendant Fujiwara, the Kasuga shrine became the site of an elaborate festival that rivaled court rites in prominence, but in the first half of the twelfth century, the Wakamiya shrine was built in the precincts and a rite focused on the nocturnal sojourn of the kami to a temporary shrine was established. Yamaori argues that this was an attempt to reinstate an earlier form of kami worship and thus to reassert the spiritual authority of the god. Thus, in both the Shuni-e and Wakamiya rites, we see recourse to ancient forms of religious worship in a period of crisis and anxiety.

Buddhist Rites of Exorcism to Safeguard the Emperor

In Chapter 5 ("Kūkai's Latter Seven-Day Rites and the Daijōsai Ceremony"), Yamaori focuses on another Japanese Buddhist ceremony in which ritual aspects of the native religious tradition have been consciously adopted. In 834, near the very end of his life, the Shingon master Kūkai established a week-long esoteric ritual for the well-being of the emperor in the imperial calendar of rites, to be conducted annually in a chapel constructed expressly for the ceremonies in the very heart of the palace precincts. Regarding this remarkable achievement, Yamaori notes the pronounced interest in support for Buddhism by the sovereign that Kūkai exhibits in his later years, and inquires into the priest's specific aims in the rites he created. To answer this question, he probes the vari-

ous strands of custom and thought that form the background of the rites.

Yamaori notes that Kūkai's Latter Seven-day Rites may be seen to lie in the tradition of "healer-chaplains"—monks who attended upon the emperor and cured sickness through the power of incantatory spells. During the eighth century, several such monks had gained extraordinary personal influence over the sovereign and came to entertain political ambitions, so that the role itself came to be regarded with suspicion by the political authorities. Efforts were made to regularize the activities of such monks under bureaucratic control, and Kūkai's rites may be seen to accord with such trends and to recast the role of the chaplain-priest in a highly stable, ritual form.

Regarding the actual rites themselves, Yamaori explores the sources Kūkai employed in their creation. One central element involves beliefs regarding sickness that were becoming prevalent precisely during Kūkai's period. On the one hand, the notion that illness was caused by spirit possession, although already present from the Nara period, came to be clearly established as belief in afflicting spirits called *mono no ke*, and on the other hand, new ritual practices centered on the mantra of the esoteric figure Fudō Myōō began to replace traditional sutra chanting as the more effective means of warding off the influence of *mono no ke*. Kūkai showed interest in the Fudō practices from the time of his sojourn in China and made these rites the center of the new palace rituals. At the same time, according to Yamaori, Kūkai consciously fused these Buddhist practices with the native ritual model of the Daijōsai by making the emperor's robe the focal point of his new incantatory rites. Just as in the Daijōsai, where the emperor's "heavenly feather robe" plays a central role in secret ceremonies of ablution and empowerment, so in Kūkai's rites for the emperor's well-being a robe is the vehicle through which the emperor's body receives the power of the spells. Thus, Yamaori argues that while the Daijōsai is a rite near the year's end for the reinvigoration of the emperor's spirit within, Kūkai established the Latter Seven-day Rites as a spring ritual to protect the emperor from the assault of malevolent spirits from without.

Bone Remains as the Site of the Spirit

Chapter 6 (“The Cult of Bone Remains in Japan”) is a broad comparative study of the historical origins and significance of worship practices focused on bone remains in Japan. These includes customs of gathering the remains after the corpse has turned to bone, which is seen from ancient times down to the present, and of the treatment of the bone remains as objects of reverence, which emerged clearly in the Heian period. Today, at crematoriums, corpses are reduced to recognizable bones and ash, which are broken while still warm by relatives and placed in urns. Yamaori takes as his point of departure a comparison of the *Man'yōshū* and the anthology of twentieth-century waka, the *Shōwa Man'yōshū*, in which he notes that while the modern anthology includes numerous elegiac poems expressing feelings of attachment and reverence for the bone remains of the dead, particularly by relatives receiving the remains of fallen soldiers from the battlefields, such attitudes toward remains are absent from the ancient collection. He asks how this change in apperception came about.

Yamaori begins with a sketch of the wartime communal ceremonies for receiving the dead as a vivid recent example of the sentiment of reverence for bone remains as it exists in Japan today. He then explores the diverse mortuary customs seen in Japanese history from ancient times to the present, including such practices as the gathering of bones in a second treatment of remains after exposure or burial that appears from the Yayoi period, temporary interment (*mogari*) that appears from the end of the Yayoi period to the early Kofun period, cremation, which spread in Japan with the introduction of Buddhist practices, and the washing of bone remains (*senkotsu*) still practiced in Okinawa today. Yamaori reviews various theories of the meaning attached to the ancient practices and points out the difficulty of narrowly isolating specific attitudes. It has been proposed, for example, that the custom of *mogari* was established both to invite the departed spirit to return and revive the body, and to bring about the spirit's repose in death. Both theories are supportable by the surviving evidence. Further, while both are based on

a dualism of body and spirit and a concern with the separated spirit, neither gives clear evidence or explanation of reverence for bone remains.

The attachment of special significance to bone remains emerged in the eleventh century, appearing first in the funeral practices of the Heian nobility. It then spread among the populace in the twelfth century through the diffusion of Pure Land Buddhist teachings and the activities of *Kōya hijiri*, wandering monks who gathered remains of the dead from throughout the country and bore them back to the sacred site of Mt. *Kōya*. According to Yamaori, remains functioned as a memento of the dead, but reverence for them was not a kind of fetishism, for they were not worshiped in themselves. Rather, through a purification of the remains, mourners sought the purification and repose of the spirit of the deceased. It is in this context that we may understand the significance of the removal of remains from sites of death pollution to a sacred place such as Mt. *Kōya*, which came to be regarded as itself the Pure Land of Amida Buddha. Further, underpinning these notions is the fundamental native belief in spirit transference, in which representative articles were regarded as receivers of the transference of spirits or *kami*.

The Daijōsai Rites as the Transmission of the Emperor's Spirit

Chapters 7 and 8 take up the nature of the divine authority of the emperor (or empress) in Japan. Yamaori points out that, unlike royal lineages in the West in which succession is founded upon blood descent, the imperial line in Japan is fundamentally rooted in the transference of spirit. The importance of blood descent is, of course, hardly absent from Japanese social practices; regarding a near-royal succession to charismatic status, the line of Honganji temple abbots stemming from Shinran (1173-1263) down to the present is a prominent example. Nevertheless, a close examination of the Daijōsai ceremonies reveals a focus on the "emperor spirit."

The Daijōsai rites have their roots in a harvest rite called the Niinamesai, held annually in the eleventh month of the lunar calendar. During the ceremonies, offerings of newly harvested rice were made to

Amaterasu Ōmikami, and the emperor partook of it together with kami in communal rites of divine sustenance and renewal. When held in the year when a new emperor accedes to the throne, the rites are called the Daijōsai; hence, the Daijōsai functions to preserve continuity in the succession of sovereigns when the death of an emperor occurs. In Chapters 7 and 8, Yamaori seeks to clarify its precise role.

In Chapter 7 (“The Daijōsai Ceremony and the Transmission of Charisma”), Yamaori considers prominent elements of the still secret rites and various modern interpretations of them, taking special note of the work of Origuchi, who asserts the centrality of the emperor spirit (*tennō rei*) in the ceremonies. One rite conducted in the course of the Daijōsai is a ritual bath employing a hempen garment known as a “heavenly feather robe.” After having observed a period of fasting, the sovereign enters the bath while wearing the robe and removes it in the bath, thereby undergoing a symbolic transformation through which he emerges as the new emperor. Another rite involves bedding centrally placed in the small halls temporarily constructed for the Daijōsai, in which the emperor secludes himself for several hours. The nature of the rite is secret, and it has been conjectured, for example, that originally the corpse of the deceased emperor lay in the bedding, or that it was the site of a sacred marriage, perhaps involving an attendant priestess.

According to Origuchi, the Daijōsai reflects annual rites for the pacification and invigoration of the spirit of the emperor, and its specific significance in the context of succession was to transfer the spirit of the deceased emperor and bring it to repose in the body of the new emperor. Yamaori notes that such an interpretation is consistent with the ancient custom of *mogari*, in which the corpse was interred in a temporary structure and the departed spirit invited to return. It is but a small step to the notion that the emperor’s spirit might be fixed in the body of the new emperor, forming the basis for the transmission of authority. Yamaori therefore argues that the nature of the Daijōsai is best understood not as an accession ceremony such as seen in the West, but in its close relation to the funeral for the former emperor, even when the funeral rites were entrusted to Buddhist priests.

Chapter 8 (“Imperial Succession and the Purity and Pollution of Death”) is a historical investigation of the relationship between mortuary and Daijōsai rites during the reigns from Tenmu to Shōmu in the seventh and eighth centuries, a period of rapid change in imperial institutions when the capital was established at Nara and the practice of moving the palace with each new reign was abandoned. Yamaori shows that originally the timing of the Daijōsai was closely linked to the conclusion of the funeral procedures of the former sovereign. Given the significance of *mogari* as holding the possibility of revival, it was only after its conclusion and the elimination of the pollution of death that the Daijōsai, as the confirmation of imperial authority, could be performed.

At the beginning of the period under consideration, the *mogari* lasted for one or two years, but shortly after the first Buddhist cremation was performed in Japan, this practice was adopted by the imperial court. Rather than allowing for the corpse to putrefy, a notion of purification by fire was adopted from Buddhist practices. This reflects in part the political necessity of making the temporal breach in imperial authority at a change in reigns as brief as possible. During the early eighth century, the practice of succession by abdication rather than death also came into practice. These changes allowed for accession rites and the Daijōsai to be held close together in a time and place free from death pollution. Buddhist ritual thus came to serve as a means for expelling the defilement of death from the imperial palace and facilitating the continuity in the transmission of imperial authority.

Views of Death in Pure Land Buddhist Practice

In Chapter 9 (“The Fellowship of Death: Genshin and His Circle of Aspirants”), Yamaori explores the relationship between Buddhist practices and the indigenous Japanese notion of death as the separation of spirit from body. He focuses attention on the Pure Land thought of Genshin (942-1017), who did much to shape the images and practices surrounding death during the period when an emphasis on the mindfulness of death was beginning to spread among the populace. Yamaori

takes up three documents related to an association of Pure Land practitioners, the Fellowship of the Samadhi of Twenty-five (Nijūgo-zanmai e), formed by Genshin.

The first document is *Essentials for Birth in the Pure Land* (*Ōjyōshū*, written 984-985), Genshin's most broadly influential work, in which he systematizes methods of practice for Pure Land aspirants and sets forth a series of contemplative visualizations focused on various hells and the Pure Land. Through achieving the intense contemplations, one experiences physiologically the abhorrence of the evil in this defiled world and aspires for the Pure Land, thus preparing for one's actual attainment of the Pure Land through Amida Buddha's reception of one at the transformative moment of death. *Essentials for Birth* includes a chapter prescribing deathbed rites for cultivating the necessary mindfulness at the very end, when it is hoped Amida Buddha will come with a host of bodhisattvas to welcome one into the Pure Land.

The year after completing *Essentials for Birth*, Genshin formed a nenbutsu association to put its teachings into practice, working together with a disciple, Yoshishige Yasutane. The second document Yamaori takes up is the pledge taken by the members of the mutual-support group. It exists in two versions, one by Yasutane written in 986, and an expanded and revised version by Genshin written two years later. Yamaori notes that with the establishment of the association, Genshin became the leader of a sect and thus became sensitive to the demands of the members. He therefore came to de-emphasize the actual achievement at death of the ideal visions outlined in his earlier work and to incorporate esoteric practices into the burial procedures for the members. It was believed that through sprinkling sand empowered by a mantra on the corpse—a practice not mentioned in *Essentials for Birth*—aspirants are purified of their evil karma and enabled to attain the Pure Land.

Yamaori points out that an indigenous, dualistic conception of spirit and body is thus introduced into Pure Land Buddhist thought, along with the notion that the spirit separates from the corpse and attains birth in the Pure Land. Thus, whereas *Essentials for Birth* focuses

on the religious experience of representations of death as defiled (hells) and as pure (Pure Land), finally to be mediated by actual death, the Pledges assert ancient concerns with the ritual pacification and sending off of the spirit through funeral practices. The third document Yamaori considers is a registry (*kakochō*) of members who died and were replaced over the years. While records exist from the beginnings of the association, Genshin began a record that included notations on the achievements and deaths of particular members in 1013, when near his own death. Yamaori states that the registry transforms the earlier dualisms of defilement and purity or corpse and spirit by creating a community of those still living in this defiled world and those already in the Pure Land, bound through notions of the dead appearing in dreams to give evidence of their attainment and aiding those yet to be born in the Pure Land.

Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Religious Experience

Chapter 10 (“The Tears of Religious Experience: Loyola, Shan-tao, Shinran”) is a study of the bodily phenomenon of tears of repentance in three major religious leaders. Through a study of Loyola’s journals and letters and a liturgical work by Shan-tao, Yamaori shows the great significance these figures attached to the experience of weeping out of lamentation for their sins. Moreover, he notes that among Pure Land masters in Japan, rather than Genshin or Hōnen, who are known to have absorbed Shan-tao’s thought, it is Shinran who shows greatest interest in the Chinese master’s exposition of tears of repentance. Yamaori goes on to trace the central importance of the theme of repentance in Shinran’s writings, particularly his *Kyōgyōshinshō*.

Chapter 11 (“Kamo no Chōmei and the Apprehension of Impermanence”) describes the life and historical context of the Kamakura period recluse Kamo no Chōmei and explores his understanding of impermanence. Yamaori notes that the Buddhist notion of impermanence underwent a transformation in its absorption in Japan. While in the Indian context, the idea that all things change

and ultimately perish is based on detached observation and analytic thought, in Japan this perception was embraced in a lyric mode in the realm of emotion and experienced as tinged with sorrow. It was thus adopted as a theme in the arts and literature, and came to pervade the popular Buddhism of Japan.

Yamaori provides a close look at Chōmei's life in his hut, in which the realms of religion and of art are fused in the self-awareness of incapacity and the apperception of impermanence. He also traces the direct influence of Genshin and of Genshin's disciple Yasutane on Chōmei, who nevertheless offers complementary notions of the life and death of the Pure Land aspirant, even in his collection of Buddhist tales of devout practitioners.

The Religious Imagination in Japan

In Chapter 12 ("Buddha, *Okina*, and Old Woman: Representations of the Divine in Maturation and Aging"), Yamaori considers the human depictions of the divine in Japan, contrasting the radiant and transcendently compassionate countenance of the buddhas with the typical image of the native deities as *okina* (aged man). As noted also in Chapter 1, the originally hidden and invisible kami came to be depicted in human form under Buddhist influence. In Chapter 12, Yamaori surveys early depictions of kami as statues and in paintings and literary documents and shows that, while female forms also appear, the use of the image of an old man for representing gods quickly came to be solidified. This tradition reached its apex of artistry and refinement in the portrayal of gods on the noh stage in the work of Zeami, particularly in the auspicious dances of the god play *Okina* often performed at New Year's.

In a close consideration of the *okina* dance, Yamaori points out that in fact there are two lineages of aged men represented in noh, one with a severe visage sculpted in the *jō* mask (page 399), and one with a gentle countenance revealed in the *okina* mask (page 389). While the former closely resembles early god statues, the latter may be said to show the idealized face of a farmer. Yamaori suggests that while the gods were

originally regarded with awe and fear because of their powers to punish as well as to bestow the blessings of an abundant harvest, Zeami sought to impart an aura of compassion and grace to the representation, producing the gentle *okina* that came to shape the subsequent imagination of the divine.

As for the reasons for depicting kami in the image of the aged, Yamaori states that it was believed in ancient times that the spirits of the dead ascended the hills and mountains, where they underwent a process of purification, eventually becoming deities of the mountains. Thus, it is the aged who must be considered the human figures closest to divinity. While religious awakening is the path to Buddhahood in Buddhist tradition, in Shinto perceptions, it is the process of maturation and aging that leads to the world of the gods.

In the second part of this chapter, Yamaori raises the question of female images of the divine and explores examples from early sculpture and the world of *noh*. In general, female representations of kami in statues in the ancient period were rendered as youthful women, and in *noh*, a female counterpart to the solemn *jō* personage appears, as well as a goblin-like female figure, but there is no gentle old woman as partner to the *okina* figure. It was not until premodern times that such an idealization of a farming woman appears in popular performing arts, but this emergence may again be seen as an inversion of values in the representation of the divine.

In Chapter 13 (“Imaging the Pure Land of Shinran”), Yamaori considers the question of the kinds of images Shinran used in thinking of the Pure Land. In the background of this question lies a deep familiarity with the great concreteness with which the other world was conceived in ancient times as lying in the mountains or beyond the sea. Mountain and sea have traditionally provided the controlling images by which the ideal world of gods and the Pure Land of Buddha have been located in the imagination, and Yamaori considers aspects of Shinran’s biography and the imagery in his writings seeking to uncover hints of the force, or perhaps the limits, of the ancient worldview in his thinking.

List of Sources or Previous Appearances

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Chapter 2: “Shinwa ni arawareta sekai-zō” 「神話に現われた世界像」. In Yamaori Tetsuo, *Shi no minzokugaku: Nihonjin no shiseikan to sōsōgirei* 『死の民俗学—日本人の死生観と葬送儀礼』. Iwanami Shoten, 1990, pp. 99-141.

Chapter 3: “Yūrikon to mogari: *Nihon ryōiki ni arawareta rei-niku no kadai*” 「遊離魂と殯—『日本靈異記』にあらわれた靈肉の課題」. In Yamaori Tetsuo, *Nihonjin no reikonkan: Chinkon to kin'yoku no seishinshi* 『日本人の靈魂観—鎮魂と禁欲の精神史』. Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1976, pp. 35-108.

Chapter 4: “Hibutsu to kami: Nigatsudō shuni-e to Kasuga Wakamiyasa no ronri to kōzō” 「秘仏と神—二月堂修二会と春日若宮祭の論理と構造」. In Yamaori Tetsuo, *Shūkyō shisōshi no kokoromi* 『宗教思想史の試み』. Kōbundō, 1990, pp. 3-38.

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Chapter 13
Unpublished manuscript.

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