

NOTES

PREFACE

1. Yamaori 1995a, pp. 9-11.
2. Yamaori 1995b, p. 2.
3. *Terada Torahiko zuihitsu shū*, vol. 5, pp. 223-53.

CHAPTER 1

1. Oka 1966.
2. Yamaori 1984c.
3. Kondō 1983.
4. Fukunaga 1987.
5. Takada 1980, p. 46.
6. *Shōtoku Taishi den shiki*, p. 27.
7. Fenollosa 1912, vol. 1, ch. 4, p. 50.
8. Okakura 1980, pp. 36-37.
9. Gorai 1988, ch. 1, pp. 88-98.
10. Gorai 1988.

CHAPTER 2

1. Fujimura 1982.
2. Nakamatsu 1975.
3. Saigō 1967.
4. Masuda 1984.
5. Higuchi 1981.
6. Shiraishi 1978.
7. *Nara-ken no shuyō kofun: Ryokuchi hozen to kofun hogo ni kansuru chōsa hōkoku* 1.
8. *Kojiki*, p. 51.
9. *Kojiki*, p. 83; Philippi 1968, p. 85.
10. *Kojiki*, p. 121; Philippi 1968, pp. 130-31.
11. *Kojiki*, p. 123; Philippi 1968, p. 134.
12. *Kojiki*, p. 61; Philippi 1968, p. 58.

13. *Kojiki*, p. 73; Philippi 1968, p. 73.
14. *Nihon shoki*, vol. 67, p. 102.
15. *Nihon shoki*, p. 142.
16. *Kojiki*, p. 147.
17. *Kojiki*, p. 167; Philippi 1968, p. 185.
18. *Nihon shoki*, p. 216.

19. Just as the word “at the top (*no ue*)” or “on” is used in such expressions as *Kashi no o no ue* of Mt. Unebi (Jinmu) and *Managotani* 真名子谷 *no ue* of the same mountain (*Itoku*), it is also used in *oka* (hill) *no ue* and *saka* (slope) *no ue*. This expression is similar to “mound at the top” (*jōryō*) in *Nihon shoki*.

20. See Mizuno 1985.
21. Mizuno 1985.
22. Tamura 1964.
23. *Fudoki*, p. 37. Aoki 1997, p.38 (adapted)
24. *Fudoki*, p. 55. Aoki 1997, p.50
25. *Fudoki*, p. 183. Aoki 1997, p.124 (adapted)
26. *Fudoki*, pp. 341-42.
27. See Yamaori 1976.
28. See Yamaori 1984a.

CHAPTER 3

1. Zolbrod 1977, p. 117.
2. Foucault 1975, p. 12.
3. Zilboorg and Henry 1941, p. 23.
4. Nakamura 1973, p. 221.
5. Nakamura 1973, p. 208.

6. Volume 1, Tale 19 was later quoted in *Sanbō ekotoba*, fascicle 2, 9; *Hokke genki*, last fascicle; and *Konjaku monogatari*, fascicle 14, tale 28. In these versions, however, the statement concerning “being possessed (*kurui*) by an evil spirit” is omitted. Volume 2, Tale 3 was quoted in *Konjaku monogatari*, fascicle 20, tale 33, but here, the phrase “possessed by (*kuruu*) a spirit” is replaced by “apparently a spirit possessed (*tsuku*)” the person; further, another example of such handling of expression is seen in Volume 2, Tale 34, which is quoted in *Konjaku monogatari*, fascicle 16, tale 8. In the transition from the early Heian period tale literature (represented by *Ryōiki*) to the late Heian period (represented by *Konjaku monogatari*), the expression *kuruu* was replaced by *tsuku*. This change may be seen to reflect a change in the conception of spirits, but this issue

cannot be taken up here.

7. This tale belongs to the type of revival tale which will be discussed in detail later.

8. Nakamura 1973, p. 266.

9. Nakamura 1973, p. 284.

10. Aston 1972, p. 122.

11. See Origuchi 1975, Vol. 20, *Shintō shūkyō hen*, "Sokui gyozenki."

12. Aston 1972, p. 152.

13. Nakamura 1973, p. 225.

14. Nakamura 1973, p. 274.

15. Regarding the functioning of possession and departure of the spirit in shamanism, see Sasaki 1972.

16. See Hori 1963b.

17. See Ide 1967.

18. Examples of ox transformation are also seen in Volume 1, Tales 10 and 20, and Volume 2, Tales 9, 15, and 32.

19. In Volume 2, Tale 7, the monk Chikō, when about to die, orders his disciples to observe a nine-day *mogari* after his death. Then, concerning this matter, he adds, "Be discreet and do not inform others." Chikō is aware of his impending journey to the land of the dead and admonishes against open disclosure of it.

20. See Matsumura 1954, p. 450ff.

21. Tamamuro 1963, p. 94ff.

22. Aston 1972, pp. 219-220.

23. Yasui 1948.

24. It is said that on the nights of the twentieth and twenty-first of the third month, 1235, bandits broke into the Ōuchi mound where Tenmu was interred and stole treasures. The circumstances at the time of the looting are recorded in *Meigetsuki* (Yasui 1948). The record includes mention of bone remains. "The lid of the coffin was wood, red lacquer. . . . The bone and skull remains were slightly larger than usual. Their color was reddish black. The leg bones were one *shaku* six *sun*."

25. Yasui points out that Buddhist rites and notions strongly influenced the funeral ceremonies for Tenmu, noting that large observances were held at specified temples, days of national mourning were established, and that an octagonal five-tiered interior structure was adopted for the burial mound, imitating the design of octagonal Buddhist temple halls.

26. The revival tales almost all narrate sojourns in the "realm of darkness," but Volume 1, Tale 5, differs in relating a journey to the "golden mountain" which is the place of Shōtoku Taishi after death. This is, however, an exception, and in a later

passage, the “golden palace” is identified as Gotaisan in China.

27. Yagi 1963.

28. Of these examples, Volume 2, Tale 24 does not fit the pattern of sojourn in the other world and return to life; strictly speaking, therefore, it should not be included in the group of revival tales. It treats, however, a messenger of hell and assumes the notion of travel in the other world, and is therefore included here for convenience. In addition, Volume 3, Tale 36 relates a sojourn in the other world, but return to life is not fulfilled. Thus, it is not a formal “revival” tale, but it is relevant to our concerns here with views of the other world.

29. A note in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* identifies Tonan as an imaginary land whose name occurs in *Chuang-tzu*, “Wandering Freely.”

30. Takagi 1958.

31. Nakanishi 1996.

32. Imura 1991.

33. Questions have been raised regarding the identity of Furuhi and the authenticity of the second poem as Okura’s, but I have taken Furuhi to be Okura’s son and the second poem to be genuinely attributed. See Hisamatsu 1969.

34. Hori 1963b.

35. Inoue 1986.

36. Regarding the concept of hell in Japan and its pictorial and cultural history, see Kobayashi 1974 and Ienaga 1966.

CHAPTER 4

1. *Tōdaiji Nigatsudō shuni-e no kenkyū*.

2. According to a copy of the fragmented version of Tenmon 14 (1545).

3. *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 27 ge.

4. *Nihon kōsōden yōbun shō*, *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*.

5. Kawamura 1984.

6. *Tōdaiji yōroku*.

7. See Nagamura 1984, p. 16.

8. Yamagishi 1984.

9. Adachi 1984.

10. Satō Michiko 1984.

11. Satō Michiko 1984, pp. 122-23.

12. Yamaori 1986a.

13. Kawamura 1984, pp. 78-81.

14. Nishida 1978, p. 36.
15. Nagamura 1984, p. 16.
16. Nishida 1978, p. 62.
17. Kageyama 1978, pp. 84-85.
18. Mihashi 1985.
19. Ōhigashi 1982.
20. By the order of the leader of the clan, Kanpaku Tadamichi, thereafter observances were to be held every year on the seventeenth day of the sixth month.
21. Yamaori 1980.
22. Fukuyama 1973.
23. Nakane 1982.

CHAPTER 5

1. Yamaori 1973, pp. 38-48; see also Konishi 1948-1953.
2. Yamaori 1976, ch. 2, pp. 109-151.
3. Uramatsu 1929-1930, p. 369.
4. Uramatsu quotes *Nenchū gyōji hisshō*.
5. NKBT, vol. 4, p. 229.
6. See the entry for "Naidōjō" in Mochizuki 1931.
7. See the biography of Zenmui in *Sō kōsō den*, fascicle 2.
8. *Shoku Nihongi*, p. 188, entry for Tenpyō 18, sixth month, eighteenth day.
9. *Shoku Nihongi*, p. 402, entry for Hōki 3, fourth month, seventh day.
10. Regarding the relationship of Genbō and Dōkyō with Naidōjō, see Yokota 1959, pp. 75-91.
11. Yamaori 1976, pp. 136-38.
12. *Shoku Nihongi*, p. 326, entry for Tenpyō jingo 1, eleventh month, twenty-third day.
13. Yokota 1959, p. 147.
14. Takatori 1979, pp. 41-43.
15. Empress Shōtoku changed the name of the era two years after her second accession, in the eighth month of 767, to Jingo keiun. The reason for this change was that "joyful clouds" (*keiun*) appeared. See *Shoku Nihongi*, pp. 34-35. In order to celebrate the auspicious sign, Dōkyō held a feast for six hundred monks within the western palace hall, and it is said the monks clapped their hands and rejoiced like secular people. This is another example of the fusion of Shinto and Buddhist observances.
16. *Zoku gunsō ruijū*, vol. 4.

17. Yamaori 1976, pp. 138-39.
18. *Goshichinichi*, fascicle 1, pp. 239-42.
19. *Goshichinichi*, fascicle 1, p. 241, illustration.
20. *Goshichinichi*, fascicle 1, pp. 344-45.
21. *Goshichinichi*, fascicle 1, pp. 247-48.
22. Iwaki 1959. Also see the annotated chronological table in Yamaori 1976.
23. Yamaori 1976, pp. 162-73.
24. Osabe 1971, p. 148ff.
25. See, among other documents, *Tendai nanzan Mudōji konryū Sōō oshō den*, *Shūi ōjō den*, *ge*, and *Katsuragawa engi*.
26. *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 39, p. 28.
27. *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, vol. 8 *ge*, pp. 717-18.
28. *Nihongi ryaku*, p. 29, entry for Enchō 8, seventh month, twenty-first day.
29. *Godanhō nikki*, p. 65.
30. See Nishiyama 1978.
31. There were frequent fires in the imperial palace compound, and on occasion the Daigokuden burned. In that case, ceremonies were held, for example, in the southern court of the Shishinden ceremonial hall in the inner palace. There were cases when the Daijōsai was also conducted there.
32. Origuchi 1975, vol. 3.
33. See Yamaori 1984a.
34. Kawade 1978.
35. When the Daijōsai was conducted in the inner palace precincts, temporary structures were constructed beside the Shishinden.
36. *Gishiki*, p. 101.
37. See *Engi shiki*, vol. 7.
38. *Seikyūki dai-ni*, p. 148.
39. *Gōke shidai*, p. 420.
40. *Tennin gannen Daijōgū*, p. 234.
41. *Tennin gannen Daijōgū*, p. 236.
42. *Shiryō taisei*, vol. 18, p. 224.
43. *Kōjitsu sōsho*, vol. 26, pp. 388-89.
44. Origuchi 1977, pp. 251-57.
45. Saigō 1973, pp. 140-41.
46. Saigō 1973, pp. 140-43. Also see Saigō 1967, pp. 135-36.
47. Takatori 1979, pp. 64-67.
48. The earliest document concerning spirit pacification rites is a record dated

Enryaku 24, second month, tenth day.

49. *Sendai kuji hongī*, entry for the year of the accession of Emperor Jinmu, eleventh intercalary month, day of the tiger.

50. *Nihon shoki*, entry for Tenmu Tennō 14, eleventh month, twenty-fourth day.

51. See note 48.

52. See Yasue 1978.

CHAPTER 6

1. For the most part, in this activity of collecting remains, representatives of the families of the war dead, government employees, and religious representatives visited the old battlegrounds in a training vessel belonging to the Ministry of Transportation. Further, in February 1972, the Ministry of Welfare decided on a general plan for implementing the rescue of survivors and the gathering of remains of the war dead overseas, and in 1973 the third collection of remains began, continuing for three years. From October to November 1972, collection parties were dispatched to the Mariana and Caroline Islands, and they gathered remains from Saipan, Tinian, Lota, Guam, Peleliu, Palau, Truk, and other islands. In Okinawa, because of objections, the task of gathering remains was transferred to the Ministry of Welfare, and investigations began into the remains buried in trenches, in addition to the 132,000 bodies recovered up to then.

2. See Yamaori 1982c.

3. Sugimoto 1984.

4. Hardt 1979, pp. 93-104.

5. Huntington and Metcalf 1979, p. 184 ff.

6. See Sakurai 1982 and Yamaori 1983.

7. Yanagita 1962, vol. 10, p. 5.

8. Yanagita 1962, vol. 10, p. 120.

9. Yanagita 1962, vol. 15, pp. 504-19.

10. Origuchi 1975, vol. 2, pp. 341-52.

11. Kokubu 1968.

12. Kanagawa-ken, Ashigarakami-gun, Ōi-chō, Yamada Nakayashiki.

13. Saitama-ken, Kurodani Kaizuka. See Nishimura 1970, p. 345.

14. Examples of secondary mortuary practices during the Jōmon period include Chiba-ken, Matsudo-shi, Sendabori-aza Samukaze; Aomori-shi, Kukurizaka; and Aichi-ken, Atsumi-gun, Kaizuka.

15. Fukushima-ken, Sannukiji Kaizuka. Kokubu Naoichi conjectures that in the radial placement of porpoise skulls, and also in the Iomante “bear rite,” in Hokkaido, reverence

for skulls was operative.

16. At the Tenjinsaki site in Chiba-ken, seven pits for jar-coffins in which bones have been placed in second mortuary treatment have been discovered. Similar examples are seen in Chiba, Ibaragi, Tochigi, Gunma, and Shizuoka prefectures.

17. As an ancient example, Harada Dairoku asserts that there was a *mogari* shrine in the same place before burial at the Hirahara site in Fukuoka prefecture (Harada 1966, pp. 110-20). Further, Koide Yoshiharu surmises that *mogari* existed at the Ōyama site at Fukui-ken, Sabae-shi (Koide 1966). Concerning *mogari*, see Chapter 3.

18. See Yamaori 1982a, pp. 42-43.

19. See Kubo 1967.

20. Saigō 1967, pp. 50-51.

21. Of course, if one takes the same view as Uwai Hisayoshi that *mogari* was a rite to ascertain death completed in one day, it ceases to have any connection with secondary mortuary practice. He states, "The emperor's collapse is 'mo.' After 'monoimi,' death is recognized. Through the *mogari* rite, 'mo' is cleared and there is functioning to achieve a state of 'ke.' Lament is expressed for one who will not return to life, and burial is performed." Uwai 1979, pp. 12-13.

22. See Yamaori 1982a, p. 43.

23. See Yamaori 1976, p. 37ff.

24. *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 67, pp. 518-20.

25. "Two mounds were raised, and because they were similar, they became one." *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, p. 520.

26. Mori 1984, p. 16.

27. Kubo 1984, p. 9.

28. Mori 1984, p. 23.

29. *Nihon shoki*, vol. 2, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 68, p. 148.

30. *Nihon shoki*, p. 168.

31. *Nihon shoki*, p. 205.

32. Tamura 1964, p. 149.

33. *Shōtoku Taishi den sōsho*, p. 55.

34. *Shōtoku Taishi shū*, p. 427. Miracles related to relics of the Buddha do not appear in *Jōgū Shōtoku hōtōtei setsu*, but are repeatedly recorded in *Shōtoku Taishi denryaku* (by Fujiwara Kanesuke, completed in 917). It should be noted that the clan mausoleum of Shōtoku Taishi came to be called "Three bones one tomb" in the late Heian period. It was from this period that the cult of interring bone remains gradually spread.

35. "Shari" in Mochizuki 1931.

36. See the biographies of Kien and Gen'yaku in *Sō kōsō den*.

37. Frobenius 1931.
38. Ōbayashi 1977, pp. 92-93.
39. Tanaka Hisao 1967.
40. "Since only a single small stone *sotoba* was raised on the hill where the body was buried, no one went there." *Eiga monogatari*, vol. 1, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 75, pp. 451-52.
41. Kenki, entry for Kankō 8, seventh month, twelfth day (*Zōho shiryō taisei*, vol. 5, p. 172).
42. According to "I Sadaijin kuyō Jōmyōji ganmon." (Tanaka Hisao 1967, pp. 187-88).
43. *Midō Kanpaku ki*, entry for Kankō 2, tenth month, nineteenth day (*Dai Nihon kokiroku*, *Midō Kanpaku ki*, vol. 1, p. 162).
44. *Nihongi ryaku*, entry for Kannin 1, second month, twenty-seventh day, p. 243.
45. *Fusō ryakki*, entry for Kōhei 5, eighth month, twenty-ninth day, p. 298.
46. *Shōyūki*, entry for Kankō 8, seventh month, eleventh day (*Zōho shiryō taisei*, *bekkan*, *Shōyūki* 1, pp. 226-27).
47. *Chūyūki*, entry for Kashō 2, seventh month, twenty-fifth day (*Zōho shiryō taisei*, vol. 11, *Chūyūki* 3, p. 240). Also, entry for the same year, seventh month, twenty-ninth day (p. 241).
48. In the case of emperors, there is an aspect in which the issue of remains must be considered from the character not only as political authority, but also as performer of rites and supernormal powers. As Shibata Minoru states, it must be noted that funeral customs and methods of rites for emperors differed from those of ordinary people (Shibata 1966, p. 229).
49. Tanaka Hisao 1978.
50. *Heihanki*, entry for Ninpei 3, twelfth month, eighth day (*Zōho shiryō taisei*, vol. 18, *Heihanki* 1, p. 217).
51. Shibata 1966, p. 74. Further, see Gorai 1975, p. 218.
52. See the discussion of "*kotsu-noboshi*" in the entry "Kasō" in Yanagita 1937.
53. Gorai 1975, p. 218, and Tanaka Hisao 1978, pp. 156-57.
54. Gorai 1975, pp. 11, 82
55. See Yamaori 1982a, p. 152.
56. Tanaka Hisao, in Tanaka 1978, states that cremation and cremated remains made people aware of the finality of death, and that in response to this actuality of death, they were filled with aspiration for birth in the next world. At the same time, performing rites at burial sites had its origins not only in changes in attitude toward corpses, but also Chinese influence.

57. According to Takatori Masao and Hashimoto Mineo, from the mid-Heian period, a consciousness of death defilement that might be called a phobia of such defilement spread among the nobility (Hashimoto and Takatori 1968, p. 31).

58. Discovered at the rear of the main hall, above the ceiling of the northern part of the hall, and beneath the main stand of the altar. Further, 2500 vessels for interment of different varieties were discovered mixed together in underground areas. Gorai 1964.

59. Gorai 1964, p. 241.

60. Mogami 1955.

61. For example, according to Akada Mitsuo, in the southern islands, there is a strong reverence for bone remains that might be called a faith in bone-gods (Akada 1972).

62. According to *Shoku Nihon kōki*, entry for the tenth month, Jōwa 9 (842), the number of corpses burned at Shimada and Kamogawara reached 5500 (*Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*, vol. 3, p. 145). According to *Saidai jitsuroku*, entry for Gangyō 7 (883), first month, twenty-sixth day, the authorities ordered that remains along the roadside be buried in the provinces passed through by envoys from the Asian continent on the way to the capital (*Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*, vol. 4, p. 532). Further, *Konjaku monogatari shū*, after recording that many corpses were disposed of in the upper story of Rajōmon gate, adds, "Since it was impossible to perform funerals for the dead, they were placed in the upper story of the gate." *Shasekishū* records that in Hitachi province, twelve or thirteen small children died in an epidemic and were "discarded in nearby fields." Further, Hachiman Gudōkun states, "Recently, the monk Kakuin, a resident of Bingo province, vowing to perform the *Daihannya kuyō*, entered a retreat at the shrine, but died of fatigue. Since he had no relatives, a proper funeral was impossible and he was left in the fields at a place called Sakagatsuji." Giving these examples, Tamamuro Taijō notes that the disposal of corpses called "abandonment in fields" was practiced up until the beginning of the fourteenth century, and that from the fifteenth century, Buddhist funerals spread among the common people, and greater care came to be given to treatment of the dead (Tamamuro 1963, pp. 96-97). If this conjecture is correct, it appears that both abandonment of corpses and interment of remains were practiced together during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

63. *Kūya rui*. Also Horii 1963a, p. 32.

64. Ehara 1979, pp. 94-95, 213-15.

65. Shintani 1979.

66. Sakurai 1972.

67. Gorai 1975, pp. 239-41, 245-48.

68. According to Gorai Shigeru, Kamakura period illustrated scrolls (for example, *Gaki zōshi* and *Jikkaizu*) and tales (*Uji shūi monogatari*, *Senjūshō*, *Shasekishū*) include

records of disposal of corpses by exposure. Further, tales of abandonment of the aged from *Yamato monogatari* on and popular tales such as *Rokujū otoshi* and *Kamekorobashi* show numerous traces of *mogari* funeral practices (Gorai 1975, p. 246).

69. In other words, it appears that the object of possession by the spirit of the dead develops or shifts from evergreen tree to earth to bone remains to *ihai* to stone marker.

70. Iha 1938.

71. "Shikkō gaki—Kawamoto-kebon," (*Jigoku zōshi, Gaki zōshi, Yamai zōshi*) *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū*, vol. 7, Kadokawa Shoten, 1976, pp. 54-55.

72. In general in the case of burial, after the remains have completely decayed, the mound collapses; therefore, there is no placement of stones above. By contrast, in the case of cremation or secondary treatment, grave markers or offering monuments are set in place.

73. Ōbayashi 1977 (see note 38); Tanase Jōji, "Takai kannen no genshi keitai—Oseania o chūshin to shite," *Tōnan Ajia kenkyū sōho*, vol. 1, pp. 129-32, 245-48, 454-55 Nakanishi Insatsu, 1966. Also, Fujii Masao, "Kotsu," *Shūkyōgaku jiten*. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973.

74. Moriyama 1965, pp. 115-55, 558-59.

75. Grof 1982, pp. 50-51.

76. Katsumata 1983.

77. Abe 1984.

78. Abe 1984, p. 17.

79. Huizinga, 1971. See especially Chapter 11, "Image of Death."

80. Ariès 1975. (Japanese translation 1983).

81. Tendencies toward the attraction to corpses became more pronounced in the sixteenth century, the period of the Baroque, and recede slightly at the end of the seventeenth century, but are expressed with a kind of insistence in the eighteenth century.

82. Ariès 1975, p. 129.

83. Yamana 1981, pp. 33-34.

84. Ariès 1975. (Japanese translation, p. 134.)

85. Yamana 1981, p. 38.

86. For example, see the photograph, "Gravestone," on the cover of *Tosho*, September 1980, and the explanation by Yanagi Sōgen.

87. Watanabe 1980, pp. 61-65.

88. Hertz 1980, "Shi no shūkyō shakaigaku: Shi no shūgō hyōshō kenkyū e no kiyo."

89. Words of Hertz's widow, quoted in the preface to the English version of the volume in note 88 by Evans-Pritchard.

90. Ibid., pp. 41-42.
91. Ibid., p. 45.
92. See Yamaori 1982b.
93. Ichikawa 1970.
94. See "Kansō to chinkon: Shūkyō keiken to shite no shikaku" in Yamaori 1976.
95. See Yamaori 1970, pp. 181-85.
96. *Asahi shinbun*, 24 November 1983, evening edition.
97. *Asahi shinbun*, 20 October 1984, evening edition.
98. *Takeuchi Kōzō zenshū* 1984.
99. *Shōwa Man'yōshū*, vol. 15, p. 115.

CHAPTER 7

1. Pitt-Rivers 1974.
2. Regarding this and the following discussion, see Yamaori 1976, p. 11ff.
3. See Kōgakukan Daigaku Shintō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Daijōsai no kenkyū*.
4. Origuchi 1977.
5. This is a record of a lecture delivered to the Nagano Prefecture Shimoina Shinshokukai in December 1933; it is not included in Origuchi 1975 (Collected Works).
6. Hora 1979.
7. Concerning *mogari*, see Chapter 3.
8. Saigō 1973.
9. See Chapter 5.
10. See Yamaori 1984d.

CHAPTER 8

1. Weber 1970.
2. Weber 1970, pp. 82-83.
3. Weber 1970, p. 107.
4. Weber 1962, p. 498.
5. Weber 1962, p. 608.
6. See Yamaori 1976, pp. 11-17.
7. Tanaka Suguru 1978.
8. Tanaka Suguru 1978, figure 1, p. 257.
9. Aston 1972, vol. 2, pp. 324-25.

10. Macé 1985.
11. See, for example, Huntington and Metcalf 1979.
12. Caillois 1939.
13. Macé 1985.
14. Yamaori 1976, p. 122.

CHAPTER 9

1. Huizinga 1971, ch. 6, "The Image of Death."
2. See my article, "Shūkyō keiken to shite no shikaku: Genshin o rikai suru tame no shian" in Yamaori 1976.
3. See Chapter 3.
4. These forty-four names are divided into two groups of members, the first half of twenty-five members and the second half of nineteen members. Emperor Kazan and Genshin are among those included in the second group, not the first twenty-five. The reason for this is not clear, but it may indicate that at the time Genshin and Yasutane formed the samadhi fellowship, there already existed such an association that served as a model.
5. The name of Yasutane (Jakushin) is not included among the members of the fellowship. This is puzzling, and the reason is unclear. Perhaps it indicates a falling out between Yasutane and his teacher Genshin late in life. During the latter part of his life, Genshin ceased his associations with Michinaga and persons of authority, while Yasutane frequented the imperial court and the houses of the nobility. This may have given rise to discord between the two figures.

CHAPTER 10

1. Inoue 1949, vol. 1, letter 17, p. 258.
2. Loyola 1963. For a Japanese translation, see Loyola 1937.
3. Loyola 1959a.
4. Loyola 1959a, p. 7.
5. Loyola 1959a, p. 83.
6. Two days later on 6 March the *Diary* records: "Reflecting on myself, I imagine that it is not that God visits me through my tears, but rather that He fulfills me thus" (Loyola 1959a, p. 86). It appears that the fear of the pain in his eyes is expressed in such words.
7. Loyola 1959a, pp. 113-14.

8. Loyola 1959a, "Introduction," p. 29.
9. Loyola 1959a, pp. 97-98.
10. This difficulty may also be glimpsed from, for example, the entry for 21 October 1544: "After this interval, the great quantity of tears continued. I fear for both my eyes. Let us be satisfied even without the visitation of tears" (Loyola 1959a, p. 130).
11. Loyola 1959b, "Introduction," pp. 7-8.
12. Loyola 1959b, pp. 325-27.
13. Loyola 1959b, p. 299.
14. Loyola 1963, p. 58 (no. 78).
15. Loyola 1963, p. 60 (no. 87).
16. Loyola 1963, p. 108 (no. 195).
17. Loyola 1963, pp. 53-54 (no. 65-70).
18. Loyola 1963, p. 134 (no. 247-248).
19. Barthes 1975, pp. 67-72. Also see Yamaori 1976, ch. 4, "Kansō to chinkon." When Loyola concentrated on sin and hell, he used the term "méditation," which he distinguished from "contemplation," which he applied in relation to the acts and suffering of Christ.
20. Therese 1960, p. 206.
21. *Shinshū seikyō zensho*, vol. 1, p. 680. Also see Matsukage 1937, pp. 55-56.
22. *Shinshū seikyō zensho*, vol. 1, p. 652. Also see Matsukage 1937, pp. 10-11.
23. Regarding these three kinds of repentance, see Uesugi 1931, p. 512, and Matsukage 1937, p. 360.
24. *Shinshū seikyō zensho*, vol. 1, p. 650. Also see Matsukage 1937, p. 8.
25. See Uesugi 1931, p. 513.
26. Uesugi 1931, p. 515. Uesugi points out that there is a passage similar to that on the three kind of repentance in *Ōjō raisan ge* in the sutra *Daijō honjō shinchi kangyō*, third fascicle, in the chapter on "Responding to Benevolence." This sutra, however, was translated into Chinese only after Shan-tao's death, and therefore cannot be considered a direct source for his exposition. For the passage in the sutra, see *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, vol. 3, pp. 303c-304a.
27. Uesugi 1931, p. 513.
28. Shioiri 1959.
29. Satō Tetsuhide 1961, pp. 127-39.
30. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, vol. 46, p. 952b.
31. It has been pointed out that Chih-i's *Hokke sanmai sangi* is based on *Kan Fugen bosatsu gyōhō kyō*. See Satō Tetsuhide 1961, pp. 133-36 and also Shioiri 1959. *Kan Fugen bosatsu gyōhō kyō* is closely related to *Fugen kanhotsu bon* in the *Lotus Sutra*.

32. *Makashikan*, vol. 1, p. 83.
33. *Makashikan*, vol. 2, pp. 141-42.
34. *Makashikan*, vol. 1, p. 85.
35. *Makashikan*, vol. 1, p. 73.
36. *Jōdo sanbu kyō*, vol. 2, pp. 41-42.
37. *Shinshū seikyō zensho*, vol. 1, pp. 482-84.
38. Genshin in *Ōjōyōshū* and Hōnen in *Senchakushū* quote only one or two brief phrases from *Ōjō raisan ge*.
39. *Kyōgyōshinshō*, “Keshindo no maki,” pp. 341-42.
40. *Shinran wasan shū* 1976, pp. 202-203.
41. *Shinran wasan shū* 1976, p. 152.
42. *Eiheī kōroku*, pp. 342, 515.
43. *Nichiren bunshū*, pp. 165, 168.
44. Shimomura 1965, pp. 62-66.

CHAPTER 12

1. *Yomiuri shinbun* 1985.
2. Yamaori 1991b, pp. 89-99.
3. Oka 1966; Yamaori 1991, pp. 161-66.
4. *Nihon shoki*, vol. 67, pp. 157-67.
5. *Fudoki*, pp. 34-35.
6. *Nihon ryōiki*, vol. 1, Tale 6, p. 88.
7. *Fusō ryakki*, vol. 3, p. 31.
8. *Inari daimyōjin ruki*, p. 39.
9. Yamaori 1989b, pp. 17-24.
10. *Ippen hijiri-e* 1975, p. 66.
11. *Fūshi kaden*, p. 40.
12. Nose 1938.
13. *Konjaku monogatari* 12:34, 13:1, 13:3; pp. 185-86, 207, 211.
14. Yamaori 1991b, pp. 20-21.
15. Yamaori 1986b, pp. 62-82.
16. Yamaori 1986b, pp. 75-77; Yamaori 1994, pp. 91-108.
17. *Shinchō*, January 1993.
18. Yanagita 1962, vol. 6, p. 439.
19. Wakamori 1958, p. 215.
20. Yanagita 1962, vol. 4, “Yama no jinsei,” p. 148.

21. Nakajōmura Kyōiku Iinkai 1991.
22. Yanagita 1962, vol. 9, "Imōto no chikara," pp. 153-54.
23. Amino 1993.
24. Yanagita 1962, vol. 4, pp. 378-80.
25. Origuchi 1975, vol. 3.
26. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 9, pp. 327-28.
27. Wakamori 1958, pp. 213-15.
28. Yamaori 1986b.
29. *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku*, 2, 1983 (later included in my *Kami kara okina e*, Seidosha).
30. Yamaori 1986b, ch. 3, "Yasashii *okina* to kowai *okina*."
31. See the illustrations in Yamaori ed. 1989a.
32. Yamaori 1991b.