CHAPTER EIGHT

THE DYING BREATH: DEATHBED RITES AND DEATH POLLUTION IN EARLY MEDIEVAL JAPAN

JACQUELINE I. STONE, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Attendants [at the deathbed] should match their breathing to that of the sick person and assist him by chanting the *nenbutsu* in unison with him on each outbreath....Deeply desiring that he achieve the Pure Land, you must never abandon him [but remain at his side], for one day, two days, seven days, or until the breath ceases. The ritual procedure for dying persons always ends with the [last] outbreath. You should be ready for the last breath and chant [the *nenbutsu*] together.

Ichigo taiyō himitsu shū[1]

One who encounters defilement or who sits in the same place [with a defiled person] becomes defilement source A (*kō*). One who sits together with the defiled person A becomes defilement source B (*otsu*). One who sits together with the defiled person B becomes defilement source C (*hei*). After C, there is no [further transmission of] defilement, but [person] D (*tei*) should not visit shrines on the day of contact. In the case of [contact with] deceased persons, one should regard the cessation of the breath as marking the onset of [death] defilement.

Bunpōki[2]

Among the distinctive features of Japanese Buddhism in the latter part of the Heian (794-1185) and Kamakura (1185-1333) periods was the rise of aspirations for birth after death in a pure land (*ōjō*). The goal of *ōjō* was shared among clerics and laity and across social classes. Of the realms of the various

buddhas and bodhisattvas to which people aspired, the most widely sought was the Pure Land of Utmost Bliss (Sanskrit [Skt.] Sukhāvatī, Japanese [Jpn.] Gokuraku), far away in the western part of the cosmos where the Buddha Amida (Skt. Amitābha, Amitāyus) is said to dwell. Those born in that realm, it was said, would never again fall back into the painful cycle of rebirth but were assured of eventual buddhahood. In conjunction with the rise of Pure Land thought and practice, special deathbed rites (*rinjū gyōgi*) were developed to assist the dying in focusing their last thoughts on the Buddha. Often dying persons were moved for this purpose to an expressly designated ritual space, such as a hall or chapel. As discussed in the famous treatise *Ōjō yōshū* (Essentials of birth in the Pure Land) by the scholar-monk Genshin (942-1017), in the liminal moments of death's approach, even "ten consecutive thoughts" of Amida were deemed sufficient to override the sins and errors of a lifetime; all those who placed their faith in Amida Buddha and invoked his name with their dying breath would be welcomed by Amida himself, who would descend, together with his bodhisattva attendants, to escort them to his pure land. Hagiographical collections known as *ōjōden* ("accounts of those born in the Pure Land"), produced from the late tenth through thirteenth centuries, recorded the serene and noble deaths of persons who passed away facing west toward the Pure Land with the name of Amida on their lips. *Ōjōden* also note the appearance of extraordinary signs accompanying such deaths—purple clouds, mysterious lights or fragrance, or music heard in the air—all testifying that Amida and his holy retinue had indeed made their welcoming descent. Under the influence of aspirations for the Pure Land, the moment of death came to be seen as a numinous juncture when the devout might come face to face with the Buddha.

At the same time, however, the last moment was also held to mark the onset of death pollution (*shie*), the most serious of the various taboos, avoidances, and interdictions designed to ward off malign influences or deflect the anger of the *kami*, or local deities, and which restrained the activities of day-to-day life for certain social groups, especially among the nobility. Those who had come into contact with death were expected to abstain from visiting *kami* shrines or engaging in *kami* rituals and from attending the imperial palace or government offices, and—since pollution was thought to be transmitted in a manner similar to infection, from one individual to the next—to refrain from social contact outside the family for an extended avoidance period, typically thirty days. The latter Heian and Kamakura periods, when ritualized deathbed practices aimed at achieving birth in the Pure Land emerged and spread, were also a time of heightened concerns about death pollution.

What are we to make of the presence, in the same historical period, of these two contradictory views of life's end—the "dying breath"—as both the moment of liberation and also as dangerous and polluting? Did they exist in

isolation, consigned to separate social and ritual spheres? Or did they interact or perhaps even influence or sustain one another? Were those persons, usually Buddhist monks, who assisted in deathbed rites constrained in any way by taboos on death pollution? Notions of pollution or defilement (*kegare*) and avoidance (*imi*) current in the period under discussion—which, for convenience' sake, we will here term "early medieval"—are enormously complex and varied according to place, context, status, profession, and the nature of one's social or religious responsibilities. Much about the topic remains to be researched, and a thorough treatment, even of death pollution alone, lies beyond the scope of a single study. This essay will focus on the sole issue of tensions between competing representations of the moment of death, as an occasion of both defilement and liberation, and the practices in which these tensions were embodied. It will approach this problem from three interrelated perspectives: (1) competing discourses in early medieval Japan about Buddhism, *kami*, and death pollution; (2) the significance of conducting Buddhist deathbed rites in a distinct ritual space, especially in connection with other social practices involving removal of the dying from their ordinary surroundings; and (3) the role of monks in nursing the terminally ill, along with issues of impurity and pollution surrounding the actual deathbed scene.

Part One: Buddhism and Death Pollution: Competing Discourses

Buddhism and Pollution in Japan: A Brief Background

The Japanese word *kegare*—defilement or pollution—"at the most general level... designates that which is unclean, polluted, possibly taboo, and often inauspicious," in the words of Jayne Sun Kim.[3] Among its more common sources are death, childbirth, and disease. Pollution of this kind, known as contact defilement (*shokue*), was thought to be spread from one person or place to another up to the fourth individual in sequence and needed to be exorcised by observing a prescribed period of seclusion or avoidance (*imi*). During this period, the affected person or persons restricted their social intercourse to avoid further transmission. Recent scholarship has heuristically distinguished contact defilement from transgression defilement (*tsumi kegare*), pollution arising from sin or crime.[4] Transgression defilement was not deemed contagious but, over the course of Japan's medieval period, came increasingly to be understood as an innate condition that could not be purified and was thus linked to the formation of *hinin* or outcaste groups. Of the two, it is contact defilement, specifically, the pollution of death, that will concern us here.

Fears in Japan about pollution arising from contact with death have often been traced to the myth, found in eighth-century dynastic histories, of the deity Izanagi's journey to Yomi no kuni, the land of the dead, to retrieve his spouse, Izanami, who died giving birth to fire. When he arrives, Izanami agrees to consult the gods of Yomi about the possibility of her return to the land of the living but in the meantime enjoins Izanagi not to look at her. He disobeys and is horrified to see her body teeming with maggots. Shamed and angered, Izanami sends the hags of Yomi in pursuit of him, and Izanagi flees, blocking the pass between the two worlds with a boulder. He then purifies himself by bathing in a river, a cosmogonic act that gives rise to multiple new deities.[5] The presence of this myth in Japan's earliest chronicles for a long time bolstered assumptions that pollution was an inherently "Japanese" concern, predating the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century.[6] However, while the myth of Izanagi's visit to the underworld would indeed seem to reflect very early fears of death pollution, recent research has also shown that no clear linear trajectory exists between Izanagi's simple act of lustration and the detailed codes of avoidance surrounding death and other forms of defilement that appear in the regulations of Heian court protocol and the diaries of court nobles.[7] Heian-period concerns about defilement and ritual purity were by no means a mere extension of pre-Buddhist ideas but developed under specific historical circumstances and drew on elements from *kami* worship, *yinyang* practices (Onmyōdō), and even Buddhism itself.

The role of Buddhism in premodern Japanese discourses and practices involving purity and pollution is a complex one. In formal Buddhist doctrine, pollution has little place, except, perhaps, as metaphor: an awakened mind is said to be "pure," while a deluded mind is "defiled." Similarly, the realm of a buddha or bodhisattva, being free of delusion and suffering, is called a pure land (*jōdo*), while a realm inhabited by ordinary deluded beings such as our present, Sahā world, full of greed, hatred, and ignorance, is called a defiled land (*edo*). In the sphere of ethical and ritual practice, however, monastic Buddhism in particular has its own standards of "pure conduct," such as refraining from killing living beings and abstaining from eating meat or pungent roots, drinking alcohol, and engaging in sexual activity. Even before the Heian period, such norms were absorbed into and in turn helped shape the practices of abstinence (*imi*) observed before undertaking *kami* rites. Prohibitions framed in Buddhist language against killing animals (*sesshō kindan*) or forbidding meat-eating, *sake*-drinking or the taking of life during the six monthly precept days (*rokusainichi*), when lay people observe extra rules of discipline, were often adopted as measures to quell or avert disasters attributed to the *kami*'s anger. *Shōjin*—the Buddhist virtue of unremitting effort in religious discipline—took on the meaning of observing ritual purity.[8] Similar processes of assimilation had

occurred in China and Korea, and in Japan, as on the Asian continent, the Buddhist soteriological distinction of "pure" and "impure" was readily assimilated, and gave support, to the more concrete ritual and social dichotomies of pure and defiled, auspicious and inauspicious, found in the specific taboos and interdictions of Confucian, Daoist, and other local religious practices.[9] Under the influence of Buddhist teachings about karmic causality, defilements once understood as temporary and contingent acquired a permanent, morally determined character; menstruation and childbirth, for example, came to be seen, not as temporary defilements to be dispelled by periods of avoidance, but as signs of women's innately polluted condition resulting from evil deeds in prior lifetimes.[10] Discrimination against lepers and outcaste groups also found support from the doctrine of karmic causality. Yet at the same time, other Buddhist doctrines were deployed to undercut or even reject notions of pollution. As we shall see, the notion of this world as a defiled realm to be rejected, in favor of the Pure Land, which is to be sought (*onri edo gongu jōdo*), enabled some practitioners to dismiss concerns about death pollution altogether.[11] Thus there was no unified "Buddhist stance" on questions of pollution; elements within Buddhism were mobilized both to bolster and to critique defilement taboos, including avoidance of death pollution.

Kami, Buddhism, and death pollution

The primary rationale given for avoiding pollution was that the *kami* were thought to find it repugnant. Heian-period sources frequently attribute sickness, natural disasters, and other calamities to the anger of local *kami* at defilement of their shrines, and formal codes for pollution avoidance began to be promulgated in connection with their worship. Thus the topic of Buddhism and death pollution in this period must also take into consideration relations between Buddhism and the *kami* (or the more sinified *jingi*, "deities of heaven and earth"). Scholarly consensus has now moved away from an earlier "two-room flat" concept of premodern Japanese religion, in which "Buddhism" and "Shintō" were imagined as autonomous traditions, and has instead come to embrace a "combinatory" model in which not only *kami* worship but Daoist and *yinyang* practices, along with the worship of multifarious deities of continental origins, were incorporated—doctrinally, ritually, and institutionally—within a dominant Buddhist framework.[12] Nonetheless, the assimilation was never complete; certain protocols delimited *kami* worship (*jingi saishi*) from the Buddhist surround as a distinct ritual sphere. One such protocol was pollution avoidance, especially of the defilement of death. Such avoidances were a prominent feature of the imperially sponsored shrines, such as Ise and Kamo, and the *jingi* rituals of the court. Codes of pollution avoidance to be observed in

kami festivals crystallized in the famous 927 *Engi shiki* (Regulations of the Engi era), which stipulated that those who have come into contact with the death of human beings must practice avoidance for thirty days from the day of the burial, refraining during that period from participating in *kami*-related affairs or entering the imperial palace. Contact with disease and childbirth, or with the death of domestic animals, entailed shorter avoidance periods.[13]

The Heian court also sponsored Buddhist rituals, and clerics performing rites for protection of the emperor and the nation found it necessary to observe the same codes of ritual purity that characterized the imperial *jingi* cult.[14] We note this, for example, in the steps taken to avoid all polluting elements in connection with the Ninnōe, or ceremonial lecture on the *Sūtra of Humane Kings*, the only court-sponsored Buddhist ceremony to be accompanied by performance of the Ōharae or Great Purification. Closely linked to the imperial cult and its authority, the Ninnōe was held twice annually in the Daigokuden or main ritual hall of the palace for the sake of nation protection and avoidance of disaster, as well as following a new emperor's accession and at times of perceived national urgency. Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957-1046), one of the court diarists responsible for maintaining and transmitting correct protocol, makes repeated note of the exclusion from the Ninnōe performance of monks who had recently taken part in funerals or who were in mourning;[15] persons who had incurred pollution were also prohibited from making offerings to the Buddha or even giving donations to participating monks.[16] Unanticipated contact with death or other sources of pollution on the part of designated participants routinely caused state-sponsored *jingi* rites to be rescheduled, relocated, or assigned to other officiants; alternatively, those who had incurred defilement might themselves decline to participate. Similar strictures were maintained with Buddhist rites sponsored by the court or involving high officials or imperial family members. For example, in 1108, the *ajari* (esoteric master) Senkaku, who was to officiate at the annual Taigen no hō, an esoteric rite for the protection of the realm, was replaced because he was still in mourning for his deceased parents.[17] In 1109, a Buddhist consecration to be held for the imperial consort (*chūgū*) Tokushi was cancelled because of contact with death pollution.[18] In 1116, the retired emperor Shirakawa cancelled a retreat at Hosshōji, his imperial vow temple (*goganji*), because of the discovery of a corpse on the grounds of his residence, the Shirakawa *gosho*.[19] In 1170, the regent Kujō Kanezane absented himself from Buddhist rites held at the residence of the retired emperor because of death pollution incurred under similar circumstances.[20]

As *kami* shrines and Buddhist temples were amalgamated in temple-shrine complexes (*jisha*), Buddhist monks became increasingly scrupulous about pollution avoidance in connection with *kami* worship. In 973, Ryōgen,

chief abbot (*zasu*) of the great Tendai monastery Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, submitted a written apology to the Sannō protector deity, worshipped at the Hie shrine complex located at the foot of Mt. Hiei. Ryōgen prayed that the deity would lift a curse (*tatari*) that he, Ryōgen, had incurred by an unintentional defilement of the shrine precincts. After having participated in the funeral of his patron, Fujiwara no Koremasa (924-972), Ryōgen had carefully waited out a thirty-day avoidance period before joining in a seasonal sūtra recitation ceremony; after the funeral, however, before the thirty days were out, due to illness he had left Mt. Hiei for his residence at the foot of the mountain and, in the process, unwittingly passed through the Hie shrine precincts during a period of *kami* rites while still in a polluted state. This example shows, not only that ranking Buddhist monks such as Ryōgen needed to avoid death pollution in connection with the *kami* and their shrines, but that important Buddhist ceremonies (such as the sūtra recitation referred to in this episode) had also incorporated avoidance requirements.[21]

Shōjin—ritual purification—seems to have been part of expected preparation for pilgrimage, not only to *kami* shrines, but also to major Buddhist temples. The diary of the courtier Fujiwara no Yorinaga (1120-56), for example, refers to his observance of *shōjin* prior to visiting a number of Buddhist sites, including the Konpon Chūdō at Enryakuji, the Nan'endō at Kōfukuji, Tennōji, and Mt. Kōya, suggesting that these temples too may have adopted pollution restrictions.[22] Death defilement was especially to be excluded, and some Buddhist temples seem to have enforced the thirty-day avoidance period following contact with the dead. In 1132, when a young boy was killed in a fight in a corridor of Kōfukuji, the Fujiwara clan temple, the clan head Tadamichi judged that "in accordance with temple custom," the resulting death pollution affected only the main hall (*kondō*) and had not spread through the entire temple compound.[23] While this decision in effect worked around the defilement, enabling scheduled ceremonies to continue as planned, the fact that Kōfukuji even had a "temple custom" in this regard suggests that avoidances related to death defilement had become part of Buddhist temple life. Similar avoidance practices seem to have been adopted at other temples as well, as suggested, for example, in two episodes from the twelfth-century tale collection *Konjaku monogatari* (Tales of times now past). In one story, a lowly warrior, without connections and at the end of his resources, begs for help from the bodhisattva Kannon enshrined at the Hasedera temple in Nara and lies prostrate before the bodhisattva image. The monks say anxiously to each other, "If he stops breathing here, the temple will be defiled."[24] In another story, in an elaborate ruse staged to steal a bell from the temple Koyadera in Settsu province, an elderly mendicant pretends to die beneath the temple's bell tower; accomplices acting as his "sons" remove the "body" but, for thirty days thereafter, the bell

tower is deemed polluted, and the monks will not approach it.[25] Such examples suggest that the formal protocols of death pollution avoidance mandated in the imperial cult were not confined to contexts of *kami* worship but, to a considerable extent, were also observed by Buddhist institutions and clerics.

Shunning Death and Tabooing Buddhism

Even as Buddhist temples adopted the death taboos characteristic of court-centered *kami* worship, we find a parallel move within the imperial cult to taboo and exclude Buddhist elements. This phenomenon, known by scholars as the "isolation of *kami* from buddhas" (*shinbutsu kakuri*), was most pronounced within imperial *jingi* rites; while limited, it worked to preserve a degree of separation between *jingi* and Buddhist ritual systems and helped stimulate the emergence in late medieval and early modern times of an independent Shintō tradition.[26] Well-known instances include the linguistic taboos of the Ise shrine, where code words were used to replace forbidden Buddhist terms ("long hairs" for monks, "colored paper" for sūtras, etc.), and where monks and nuns were forbidden close access.[27] Taboos on Buddhism can be documented at the shrine of the sun deity at Ise from at least the early ninth century and eventually spread to other imperial shrines and rituals. Most striking is the banning of Buddhist elements during the imperial enthronement ceremony (Daijōsai). The 871 *Jōgan shiki* (Regulations of the Jōgan era) prohibited the performance of Buddhist rites, both at court and in the government offices of the home provinces, during this rite. Such prohibitions were elaborated throughout the Heian period; by the twelfth century, those participating in the ceremony were asked, from the time of their appointment, not only to refrain from participating in Buddhist rites but to remove all Buddhist scriptures and ritual implements from their homes, avoid contact with monks and nuns, relocate to separate structures any Buddhist renunciates who were household members, and erect wooden placards warning that they were undergoing purification connected with *kami* ritual.[28] Avoidance of Buddhist clerics and other Buddhist elements was incorporated into other imperial *kami* rites as well. Thus the *Engi shiki* stipulates, "At all times, during the days of partial abstinence before and after the [*kami*] festivals of *Toshigoi*, *Kamo*, *Tsukinami*, *Kanname* and *Niiname*, monks, nuns and persons in mourning…may not enter the Imperial Palace."[29]

The conjunction of "monks, nuns and persons in mourning" might suggest that the excluding of Buddhist elements from imperially sponsored *kami* festivals stemmed from an association of Buddhism with death and funerary rites. Buddhism possessed a repertoire of rites and doctrinal teachings dealing specifically with the afterlife that had no parallel in *kami* traditions, and in that limited sense, a "natural" division of labor may have occurred between the two

ritual systems. At the same time, however, the association of Buddhism with death in the same set of prohibitions may well reflect a deliberate effort at court to limit the political influence of Buddhist clerics and protect the prerogatives of the *jingi* ritual system in maintaining the legitimacy of rule.[30] The elaborate avoidances set forth in the *Engi shiki* were no mere reassertion of ancient "native" fears about pollution; they drew on Confucian and Daoist elements in their exclusion of Buddhism from *kami* rites and may also have been influenced by the protocols of the Korean Paekche court.[31] Whatever the reason for their establishment, over time, such prohibitions clearly came to be associated with, and thus also served to promote, the growing role of Buddhist monks in the performance of death rites.[32] The association of Buddhism with death, along with taboos on contact with death and other forms of pollution, was at least in part a construction of court *jingi* ritual in its self-definition as a distinct ritual sphere.

Possibly under the influence of formal protocols excluding Buddhist elements from court-centered *jingi* rites, more diffuse and informal avoidances of specific Buddhist practices associated with death came to be observed in other social spheres. A particular object of avoidance, according to Heian-period hagiographies and *setsuwa* (didactic tales), was the vocal *nenbutsu*, the invocation of Amida Buddha's name, which was often chanted as a deathbed practice and at funerals. Yoshishige no Yasutane (d. 1002), author of the first Japanese collection of *ōjōden*, or accounts of men and women said to have been born in the Pure Land, writes in his biography of the itinerant holy man Kūya (a.k.a. Kōya, 903-972): "Prior to the Tengyō era (938-47), practice of the *nenbutsu* samādhi was rare in temple communities. It was even rarer among inferior persons and foolish women, who in many cases regarded it as taboo. But after the holy man arrived, people chanted it themselves and taught others to do so also."[33] We also find stories of people, otherwise devout Buddhists, who objected to the chanting of the *nenbutsu* on auspicious days devoted to *kami* observance. Another *ōjōden* collection mentions one Otsuki Kanetō, a minor noble and Pure Land devotee, whose wife reproaches him for his habit of continually chanting the *nenbutsu* without regard for the occasion. "New Year's day is commonly a time of avoidance (*imi*)," she says. "You should refrain from chanting the *nenbutsu*." Kanetō smiles and replies, "That is children's foolishness. How could I accept it? Living in this fleeting world, what should there be to avoid?" And he makes a point of deliberately going about the house on that day ringing a bell and chanting the *nenbutsu*.[34] A similar story occurs in *Shasekishū*, a thirteenth-century tale collection by the monk Mujū Dōgyō (a.k.a. Ichien), in which the lady Machi no Tsubone, who is "stern and meticulous in observing the tabus and festive proprieties," upbraids a devout maidservant who unthinkingly utters the *nenbutsu* even as she is setting out trays of food on New

Year's Day, a day sacred to the *kami*. "How inauspicious," the lady exclaims, "to say the *nenbutsu* on today of all days, as though someone had died!" and she punishes the girl by burning her cheek with a coin that she has heated in the fire.[35] It is not that she dislikes Buddhism; Machi no Tsubone is herself an Amida devotee, as we learn later in the story when she enters her private chapel to perform her Buddhist devotions once the *kami* rites have concluded (and is horrified to discover that her votive buddha image has taken upon itself the scar she inflicted on her maidservant). She simply subscribes to an idea, evidently fairly widely held, that certain kinds of Buddhist practices, having associations with death, should not be allowed to intrude upon occasions of *kami* worship.

Aspirations for the Pure Land could by definition be fulfilled only via the mediation of death. Thus, even outside *kami*-related contexts, excessive preoccupation with this goal was sometimes deemed inappropriate or unlucky for lay persons still at the height of their powers. When asked to compose a dedicatory vow for an offering service sponsored by Fujiwara no Michinaga (966-1027), the leading courtier of his day, the literatus Ōe no Masahira (952-1012), wishing "to avoid what should be shunned," was reluctant to comply with Michinaga's desire that the dedication be directed solely to achieving birth in the Pure Land—an objection presumably centered on the absence of a complementary prayer for good fortune in this world.[36] For similar reasons, serious devotion to Buddhism on the part of young people, especially children and young women, often met with disapprobation; Kanetō's reference to avoidance of the *nenbutsu* as "children's foolishness" may have its basis here. This attitude is occasionally documented in *ōjōden* accounts. When the pious daughter of the Yamashiro governor Ono no Takaki (appointed 887) begins to study Pure Land texts and to practice prostrations, her parents admonish her, saying, "Such behavior is not appropriate for young people. You will exhaust your spirits and surely ruin your looks."[37] Similarly, the wife of Fujiwara no Chikasuke deems it inauspicious when her young son takes to playing with a Buddhist rosary and uttering the name of Amida.[38] Child mortality was high, and young women were also at particular risk of death from complications in pregnancy and childbirth. Takatori Masao has suggested that reservations about young women's earnestness in Buddhist practice stemmed from an anxiety to restrain such already vulnerable persons from too deep an engagement with the next world.[39] From this perspective, Buddhist devotions aimed at birth in the Pure Land were to be kept "in their place," that is, they were the province chiefly of the aging, the dying, or the critically ill, or of persons who had renounced the world. In contexts emphasizing celebration, youth, fecundity, or worldly success, they were considered inappropriate.

At the same time, however, this impulse to keep Buddhist practices for the next world "in their place" coexisted with a sharply contrasting rhetoric of "shunning this defiled realm and aspiring to the Pure Land" (*onri edo gongu jōdo*). In Buddhist narrative literature, such as *setsuwa* and *ōjōden*, this latter stance is typically represented as the outlook of those monastics such as *hijiri* ("holy men") and other ascetics practicing in reclusion, outside formal temple hierarchies, and of lay monks and nuns or other devotees who have in spirit already left the world and care only for the afterlife. In this discourse, concerns of auspicious versus inauspicious, pure or defiled, are dismissed as mere worldly matters irrelevant to one's salvation, while death, for those with true religious understanding, is neither shunned nor feared but rather joyfully welcomed as an escape from saṃsāra and the point of entry into the Pure Land. In the *ōjōden* accounts just mentioned, the parents' qualms about their children's precocious devotion prove prescient: Takaki's daughter dies from complications following childbirth, and Chikasuke's son dies while still a child. But in the didactic framework of the stories, both achieve birth in the Pure Land, and it is the children's piety, not their parents' worldly disapproval, that is held up for admiration. Similarly, mention in such stories of avoidance of the *nenbutsu* serves only as a foil to celebrate those who ignore this custom: Kanetō, rather than his convention-bound wife, and the maidservant, rather than her punctilious mistress, are the ones presented as having true Buddhist insight. Thus these tales point, both to a popular current of thought that associated Buddhism with death and tabooed certain of its observances, especially the *nenbutsu*, as inauspicious outside world-renouncing or death-related spheres, and also to a countervailing discourse that dismissed such taboos altogether as misguided and irrelevant to Buddhist soteriological concerns. Both these attitudes would inform thinking about the deathbed observances in the latter Heian period.

Honji suijaku and Death Pollution

Exclusion of Buddhist elements from court-sponsored *jingi* rites represents a significant, although limited, divergence within a broader tendency toward amalgamation of the worship of *kami* and Buddhist deities, a trend institutionalized, for example, in such forms as shrine-temples (*jingūji*), *kami* temples (*miyadera*), and temple-shrine complexes (*jisha*).[40] Chief among the various discourses emerging in the Heian period to explain the relation of Buddhism and *kami* cults was the unity of "origins and traces" (*honji suijaku*), a combinatory paradigm in which *kami* and other non-Buddhist deities were explained as local manifestations or "traces" of the universal buddhas and bodhisattvas, who were understood as their hypostases or "original ground."[41] In a phrase borrowed from the *Daode jing*, the buddhas and bodhisattvas were said to have "dimmed their light and mingled with the dust of the world" (*wakō*

dōjin),[42] appearing in the culturally specific form of *kami* as an expedient suited to the people's capacity. *Honji suijaku* discourse thus entailed the ideological premise that *kami* ultimately endorse Buddhist soteriological goals. We have seen how the "separation of *kami* from Buddhism" in the imperial cult served both to strengthen avoidance of death defilement in connection with *kami* worship and also to promote broader, informal avoidance of Buddhist practices associated with death. But how were such taboos viewed from the perspective that *kami* and buddhas are ultimately one?

A recurring theme in medieval Buddhist literature drawing upon *honji suijaku* discourse is that of a particular *kami* intervening to suspend the death taboos that would ordinarily surround its worship, in order to uphold Buddhist ethical norms. For example, a story in the thirteenth-century collection *Shasekishū* tells how the monk Jōkan-bō of Miwa in Yamato, on a pilgrimage to Yoshino, presumably to the Kinpu shrine, comes upon some children weeping by the roadside. Their mother has died of illness, their father has gone away, and the neighbors "wish to have nothing to do with such nasty, unpleasant business," so there is no one to see to the dead woman's final rites. Funerals at the time were conducted within the family, and it was considered polluting for outsiders to take part. Moved to pity, Jōkan-bō carries the woman's body to a nearby field and briefly chants some dhār a īs (spells) over it—a common method among non-elites of disposing of the body and conducting a funeral.[43] Having thus incurred defilement through contact with death, Jōkan-bō decides he must abort his pilgrimage and return to his home in Miwa. Strangely, however, he finds himself physically unable to move in that direction, which he attributes to the *kami*'s anger at his violation of the ritual purity demanded by shrine pilgrimage. To his amazement, however, he is still able to proceed in the direction of Yoshino. When he nears the shrine, the *kami*, speaking through a medium, welcomes him and says, "I certainly do not abhor what you have done. On the contrary, I respect compassion."[44] In a similar story from the same collection, the monk Shōren-bō is carrying his mother's ashes to Mt. Kōya for interment. In the vicinity of the Atsuta shrine in Owari, he is denied lodging because of the polluted nature of what he is carrying. However, a shrine official comes as a messenger of the deity in a dream to the head shrine priest and admonishes him that Shōren-bō is to be well treated. The narrative concludes, "If only the heart is pure, the body is likewise not defiled."[45]

Tales on this theme exist in several versions. In one, the *kami* reveals that "taboos are also but temporary expedients (*hōben*)," thus subsuming pollution avoidance within the Buddhist discourse of "skillful means," or the notion that buddhas and bodhisattvas accommodate their teaching methods to the receptivity of living beings.[46] A related episode occurs in the hagiography of the itinerant Pure Land teacher Ippen (1239-89). In the seventh month of 1282, Ippen and his company of mendicants were en route to Kyoto and had stopped at the Mishima shrine in Izu. On the day they reached the shrine, purple clouds trailed across the sky from morning to night, and seven or eight of Ippen's followers all at once achieved *ōjō* (died). Death in a shrine precinct would ordinarily constitute a most serious defilement. However, the shrine priest, having been able to form an auspicious karmic connection (*kechien*) with Ippen, did not regard this as polluting, nor was the *kami* angered. This, we read, is because the *kami*, as manifestations of the buddhas, desire only the liberation of living beings; thus those who practice Buddhism must also revere the *kami*.[47]

All such stories share a relativizing or transcendence of death taboos; because the *kami* in their original ground are really buddhas and bodhisattvas, the strict avoidances surrounding their shrines are not absolute and may at need be set aside in favor of Buddhist ethical values or soteriological goals. These stories have sometimes been taken at face value to mean that such taboos could indeed be abridged when compassionate deeds required it.[48] However, we have already seen that avoidance of death pollution was observed not only at *kami* shrines but also at a number of Buddhist temples. Thus one must ask: Does this recurring theme in hagiography and tale literature reflect a weakening of *kami*-associated death pollution avoidances as *kami* rites were increasingly subsumed within a Buddhist interpretive framework? Or should it instead be understood as asserting a normative Buddhist interpretive agenda, one that did not necessarily reflect actual shrine practice? Let us turn to an episode recounted in a document from the imperial Ise shrine, which, although roughly contemporaneous with these Buddhist didactic tales, tells a very different story.

According to this account, on the fourth day of the second month, 1279, one Kunihide, a shrine servant, was inadvertently responsible for an act of pollution at the sacred premises during the rites of renewal. While in Iidaka district on shrine business, Kunihide sat for a time in company with a monk named Man'amida, or simply Man'a, who had recently gone to nearby Niuyama to venerate the body of one Kawata Nyūdō, a lay monk who had died on the fifteenth day of the first month.[49] Rumor spread that Kawata had achieved *ōjō*, and many people gathered to pay homage to his remains. Man'a, while there, had sat down in the deceased man's house. Ordinarily persons who sat in a house where a death had taken place, or who sat with other persons who had incurred defilement, were thought to incur defilement themselves; in this case, the pollution was transmitted from Man'a to Kunihide, who then worshipped at Ise while unknowingly in a defiled state. Man'a had not informed Kunihide of his recent contact with defilement because he himself had been told that "the death of an *ōjōnin* is not polluting" (*ōjōnin ni kegare nashi*). Shrine officials, however, disagreed and judged that "even in the case of an *ōjōnin*, there is pollution, and avoidance (*imi*) is to be observed."[50]

Nishigaki Seiji, who first drew scholarly attention to this account, notes how it illustrates the existence of mutually incompatible, situationally grounded views about death pollution. Shrine personnel, Nishigaki suggests, were committed to an official position that deemed all contact with death to be defiling, yet local people believed as a matter of certainty that exposure to the body of someone who had achieved *ōjō* was not only not polluting but formed a karmic connection conducive to their own eventual birth in the Pure Land.[51] Chijiwa Itaru, who has discussed this episode in detail, cites it to argue that ordinary death and *ōjō* were, at least among Pure Land aspirants, understood as distinct phenomena, one defiling and the other transcending defilement. The distinction, he argues, hinged on the presence of extraordinary signs, such as purple clouds, radiant light, or mysterious fragrance, which were widely accepted as "proofs" that the deceased person had reached the Pure Land. From this perspective, the purple clouds appearing over the Mishima shrine in Ippen's hagiography may have indicated that the demise of half a dozen of his followers in the shrine precincts was regarded, not as "death" but rather as *ōjō*, and was therefore not deemed defiling.[52] By the same logic, of course, we could also imagine that the detail of the purple clouds was added by the hagiographer to provide an acceptable gloss for an episode that would otherwise have been seen as an appalling transgression.

Even explicitly Buddhist sources occasionally suggest that death within *kami* shrine precincts was to be scrupulously avoided. For example, a biography of the Zen monk Shinshi Eison (1195-1272), a disciple of the famous master Enni, fell ill while staying in a temple on the grounds of the Usa Hachiman shrine. When it became clear to him that he would not recover, he left for his home temple in a palanquin, because "since ancient times, people were not permitted to die within the Usa precincts."[53] Such accounts suggest that the literary theme of *kami* suspending death taboos in favor of Buddhist soteriological aims should be understood at least in part as a rhetorical strategy for subordinating *kami* worship within a Buddhist ideological framework and did not necessarily mean that it was becoming acceptable for monks who had incurred death pollution to visit shrines. On the contrary, these tales depend for their moral impact on the anomalous nature of the situation they depict and thus indicate that taboos against such behavior were still very much in force.

One must also ask whether or not the claim cited in the Ise document, that "the death of an *ōjōnin* is not polluting," represented a general understanding or was merely an isolated instance, a question to which we shall return in Part III. Such explicit assertions do not occur frequently in medieval writings, and in fact, on-the-ground ideas about pollution and *ōjō* may have varied considerably. This is suggested, for example, by a record of answers to various questions given by the Pure Land teacher Hōnen (1133-1212). "Is it

true," someone asked, "that even though the Buddha [Amida] comes to welcome one at the time of death, he will return [alone] if that person is in a state of impurity?" Hōnen replied that "the Buddha takes no account of purity or impurity."[54] But this particular interlocutor seems to have understood Amida as being very like a *kami* in requiring a state of purity among his devotees; far from assuming that an ideal death resulting in *ōjō* would nullify the issue of pollution, this individual clearly worried that pollution could hinder *ōjō* from occurring.[55]

Claims about *kami* endorsing Buddhist soteriological aims did not in fact produce any uniform attitude toward death pollution but were instead enlisted in support of varied and sometimes contradictory agendas. In contrast to Ippen's biographer, who asserted that "those who practice Buddhism must also revere the *kami*," the "single practice" Pure Land sectarian teachings of Hōnen and Shinran (1173-1262) generally deemed *kami* worship to be superfluous; rather, the *kami* were said spontaneously to rejoice at and protect those who relied wholly upon the *nenbutsu*. Not worshipping the *kami* (*jingi fuhai*), and especially refusing to observe the purification rituals customary before entering shrines, served both as an identity marker for single-practice *nenbutsu* devotees and as a target of criticism by their opponents.[56] Ikemi Chōryū has traced how Shinran's later followers repeatedly invoked the idea that *kami* support Buddhist soteriological goals in order to defend such unorthodox practices.[57] For example, according to the Jōdo Shinshū evangelist Zonkaku (1290-1373), the deity Hachiman had revealed in an oracle: "I do not shun an impure, defiled body, but I abhor a crooked, insincere mind." Zonkaku continues, "One should understand the deities of the other shrines in the same way. Thus we see that even if one's body should be pure, if he cherishes false views at heart, the *kami* will not accept [his prayers]. But even if one's body should be impure, the *kami* will protect him if he has a mind of compassion."[58] Another Shin preaching text states, "To abhor birth and death and to long for [salvation in] one's next life is the true meaning of avoidance....The death taboo means to witness the suffering of transmigration in the six paths, dying here and being born again there, and to detest and shun it."[59] Such statements deliberately conflate "birth and death" as occasions of ritual defilement, through contact with parturition or corpses, with "birth and death" as samsaric suffering, whose transcendence is Buddhism's ultimate aim. In other words, pollution taboos having actual force in social observance are rendered merely metaphorical by assimilation to Buddhist doctrinal concepts. A similar interpretation is reflected in medieval Shinshū texts in a recurring gloss on the character for *imi* (taboo or avoidance), which is written with the heart radical over the character for "self" or "one's own"; Shin exegetes interpreted it to mean that what must be "avoided" is not external pollution but the defilements of one's own mind.[60] Such readings no doubt served leaders of Shinshū congregations as a way of both deflecting external

criticisms for their neglect of *kami* rites and also of persuading their own followers to conform to normative Shin practice.

But if the conflation of pollution avoidances with aversion to samsaric suffering could be used to rationalize non-participation in the customary purification rites accompanying *kami* worship, it could also be used to argue that such observances were vitally necessary for the Buddhist devotee. For example, *Nomori no kagami*, a late thirteenth-century treatise on poetics attributed to Minamoto no Arifusa (n.d.), criticizes Zen monks and *nenbutsu* practitioners who refused to honor traditional avoidances: "The deities' abhorrence of [the pollution involved in] birth and death is no mere worldly custom. By abhorring birth and death, [the *kami*] seek to restrain permanently the acts of living beings that bind them to saṃsāra."[61] This assertion involves a contrasting rhetorical move, in which the abstract Buddhist existential problem of "birth and death" is concretized in specific prescriptions of ritual purity. The notion that *kami* support Buddhist soteriological aims thus did not in and of itself dictate a unified stance toward defilement issues but was deployed both to undermine and to support avoidances connected with death pollution. This ambivalence would seem to reflect a larger tension emerging in the latter Heian period between discourses emphasizing pollution taboos and other voices prepared to override or dismiss them altogether.

Pollution avoidance is often explicitly rejected in the formal discourse of the new Buddhist movements of the Kamakura period, such as the Ritsu or *vinaya* revival movement led by Eison (1201-1290) or the exclusive *nenbutsu* movements of Hōnen and Shinran, which became independent sects, over and against the practices of the Buddhist establishment. As Hōnen is said to have remarked, "In the Buddhist teachings, there is no such thing as avoidance, as it is commonly spoken of in the world" (*Bukkyō ni wa imi to iu koto nashi, sezoku ni mōshitaran yō ni*)."[62] The doctrinal claims of the exclusive *nenbutsu* movements, in making birth in the Pure Land wholly dependent on the single element of wholehearted reliance on Amida, did indeed serve—at least at a prescriptive level—to marginalize devotion to the *kami* and to deemphasize concerns about pollution. In the case of the Ritsu movement, it was not a single-practice orientation but emphasis on strict precept observance that served to marginalize defilement issues: "In [the case of one who upholds] the pure precepts, there is no defilement," Eison's disciple Kakujō is said to have remarked.[63] However, well before these movements emerged, we already find evidence of voices skeptical of the need to avoid death defilement. We have seen the example of Kanetō, whose Pure Land aspirations led him to ignore informal taboos about chanting the *nenbutsu* on a *kami* festival day. In a far more striking episode, found in *Konjaku monogatari*, a certain Shimotsuke no Atsuyuki, formerly an officer of the palace guards of the right, has taken

Buddhist vows as a lay monk (*nyūdō*) and now lives in the western part of the capital. One day, his neighbor dies suddenly. Because the single gate of the neighbor's house faces an inauspicious direction, the family is at a loss for how to remove the corpse. In his desire to repay his obligations to the neighbor, and over the strenuous objections of his own family, Atsuyuki orders the wall between the two houses knocked down so that the body may be removed through his own gate. Walls and boundaries were thought to contain pollution, so Atsuyuki's act in effect results in the defilement of his entire household.[64] Dismayed, his wife and children protest that "not even holy men who abstain from grain and renounce the world" would agree to such a thing. Atsuykui retorts that people obsessed with taboos die prematurely and lack descendants; besides, he insists, the ethical imperative to repay kindness outweighs any personal consideration. The narrative praises his act as expressive of a broad, compassionate mind and adds, as though in validation of his conduct, that Atsuyuki himself lived to ninety and his progeny were all long-lived and prosperous.[65] Such stories suggest that, however non-representative, attitudes relativizing or even dismissing death pollution avoidances existed in the late Heian, without reference to single-practice logic, to the protective power of the precepts, or for that matter—as in Atsuyuki's case—even to Buddhism itself.

It has sometimes been assumed that Buddhist monks in premodern Japan naturally "stepped in" to assume responsibility for Buddhist funerary and mortuary rites, filling a void created by a preexisting death taboo in *kami* ritual. Historical reality, however, was more complex and supports a more fluid, interactive view of Buddhist observances and *kami* rites. Not only did *jingi* ritualists of the imperial cult and its associated shrines have to scrupulously avoid death pollution, but so did those Buddhist monks involved in *kami* rites or other rites conducted for nation protection. As we shall see, the growing Buddhist monopoly over death ritual did not mean that all monks habitually engaged in deathbed or funerary practices. At the same time, the exclusion of Buddhist elements from the imperial cult, although a limited phenomenon, contributed to growing associations of Buddhism with death, since both were objects of taboo, and also helped generate more socially diffuse, informal avoidances of Buddhist death-related practices such as the *nenbutsu* in contexts emphasizing *kami* worship, renewal, or worldly prosperity—even on the part of otherwise devout Buddhists.

Yet, side by side with concerns about death defilement, we also see an emergent discourse denying that pollution or its avoidance has any soteriological significance. This discourse was assimilated to various Buddhist normative agendas: promoting an ethos of world renunciation aimed at birth in the Pure Land, as in *ōjōden*; assimilating *kami* worship to Buddhist soteriological aims; or asserting the self-sufficiency of the exclusive *nenbutsu* or

the power of strict precept observance. The story of Atsuyuki suggests that a dismissal of death taboos could also exist independently of any particular Buddhist polemic. The coexistence of these two distinct sets of voices, one upholding the importance of death taboos, and the other minimizing or even dismissing their importance, are well attested during the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. This corresponds to the time when deathbed practices aimed at birth in the Pure Land spread widely, and both discourses contributed to their popularity.

Part Two: Death in a Place Apart

Let us turn now to the deathbed rites (*rinjū gyōgi*) aimed at birth in the Pure Land that spread widely in the latter Heian and Kamakura periods. In Japan, formal inception of such rites can be traced to the latter tenth century, to the Yokawa retreat of the Tendai monastery Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei. Yokawa lay at some distance from Enryakuji's other major temples and practice halls and was known as a place of especially strict religious discipline. There, the scholar-monk Genshin had composed his famous 985 treatise *Ōjō yōshū*, devoting a portion of this text to discussing how dying practitioners should visualize Amida Buddha and chant his name in their final moments, so as to achieve birth in his Pure Land.[66] Deathbed practices of the sort recommended in *Ōjō yōshū* were actually conducted by a group of Yokawa monks who in 986 formed an association called the Nijūgo zanmai-e, or Samādhi Society of Twenty-five, devoted to assisting one another in practices aimed at achieving birth in Amida's Pure Land.[67] Genshin himself joined the Society shortly after its formation. In their charter oath, members pledged to gather each month to recite the *Amida Sūtra* and to contemplate the Buddha (*nenbutsu zanmai*). They also vowed to assist one another at the time of death as "good friends" (*zenchishiki*) and encourage one another's dying reflections with the mutual aim of achieving *ōjō*.

Both Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū* and the charter regulations of the Nijūgo zanmai-e cite, from passages quoted in Chinese commentaries, accounts purporting to describe how deathbed practices for achieving *ōjō* were conducted at the Jetavana monastery in Śrāvastī in India.[68] According to this account, dying monks were moved to a separate structure at the monastery called the Mujōin (Hall of Impermanence), located in the direction where the sun sets. There a buddha image was enshrined, with a five-colored pennant tied to its hand. The sick monk was to hold one end of the pennant and arouse the thought of following the Buddha to his pure land. Attendant monks were to adorn the ritual space, burning incense and scattering flowers, and encourage the dying monk to focus his mind on the Buddha. Drawing on other Chinese sources and

also setting forth his own recommendations, Genshin's discussion of deathbed practice in *Ōjō yōshū* further stresses how attendants should chant the *nenbutsu* or name of Amida together with the dying person; perform repentance together with him; turn away visitors whose presence would be distracting; and exhort the dying person to visualize Amida descending in welcome with his holy retinue. The Nijūgo zanmai-e regulations, which were designed for practical application by the group's members, place greater emphasis on the logistics of deathbed practice. Were any of their number to become ill, fellow members were to attend him in rotation; two monks were to watch over him, until relieved, for a full day and night, one encouraging his contemplations and the other attending to food and other necessities. The regulations read in part:

> Rebirth in a good or evil realm depends solely upon one's thought at the last moment. Ties with good friends (*zenchishiki*) are formed solely for this occasion. Thus, were we to abandon [a dying companion] before his life had ended, our purpose could not be accomplished. Even if you should suddenly be called upon [to attend the dying] when it is not your usual turn, you must still be willing to touch defilement, send him off at the end, and carry out all that may be needed. Herein lies our intent in forming [this society].[69]

Monks in attendance at the deathbed are referred to explicitly as "those incurring defilement and keeping watch" (*shokue banshu*); they are to dwell together with the dying person in the same hall, chanting the *nenbutsu* and reciting sūtras for his sake. Nijūgo zanmai-e members also pledged to establish a shared burial ground and conduct funeral rites for one another "without regarding whether the day is auspicious or inauspicious, and without concern for directional taboos."[70] In their regulations, all considerations of pollution avoidance or other interdictions are explicitly subordinated to the aim of helping their dying fellows to achieve birth in the Pure Land.

The deathbed rites practiced by the Yokawa Nijūgo zanmai-e soon spread, and similar groups were formed at a number of monasteries.[71] It was not only monks, however, who found such deathbed practices attractive. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, notices begin to appear of aristocrats dying in the ritualized manner that *Ōjō yōshū* and the Nijūgo zanmai-e regulations prescribe. The famous depiction of the death of Fujiwara no Michinaga in the historical tale *Eiga monogatari* (A Tale of Flowering Fortunes) is clearly based on *Ōjō yōshū*.[72] Similar accounts also occur in diaries of the court nobility: Prince Sukehito (d. 1119) is said to have passed away chanting the *nenbutsu* while holding a five-colored cord attached to an image of Amida, as *Ōjō yōshū* recommends; Nishi no Okata (d. 1120), adoptive mother of the courtier Fujiwara no Munetada, also died with the colored cords in her hand.[73] By the thirteenth century, *nenbutsu* societies (*nenbutsu kessha*) of local monks, quite

possibly inspired by the Yokawa precedent, had formed throughout the country and sometimes provided deathbed and funerary services, not only for one another but also for lay patrons.[74] *Ōjōden* also tell of persons of humble status who, to the extent their circumstances allowed, met their death in ritualized fashion, chanting the *nenbutsu* and focusing their last thoughts on the Buddha.

And yet, as noted at the outset of this essay, this ritualizing of the last hours as a juncture when one might come face to face with the Buddha contrasted sharply with the heightened fears of death pollution that characterized the same historical period, especially in aristocratic circles. The regulations of the Nijūgo zanmai-e suggest awareness of this tension, in their explicit injunctions that those nursing the sick must be willing to come into contact with death defilement. Ikemi Chōryū writes of the Society: "Before the mutual friendship of members who shared the aspiration for birth in the Pure Land, the defilement of sickness and death was not to be made an issue....In the fact that they had to insist on such a point, we can glimpse the transcendent attitude of Pure Land followers toward pollution. And from the late Heian period on, Pure Land followers displayed an attitude of overcoming the taboos against impurity."[75]

The readiness of the Nijūgo zanmai-e monks to incur defilement by attendance at the deathbed certainly suggests itself as a precursor to those voices that we have already encountered in later Heian Buddhist narrative literature, dismissing pollution taboos as soteriologically irrelevant. But was this a radical innovation on their part? Was it specifically linked to their aspirations for *ōjō*, and did it indeed serve to "overcome" pollution taboos? Was such an attitude especially characteristic of Pure Land followers? Did the ideal that the Society helped to popularize, of a ritualized death leading to birth in the Pure Land, need to be reconciled with notions of death as dangerous and defiling, and if so, how was this accomplished? These questions will be addressed in the remaining two parts of this essay. This part, Part Two, considers the relationship between deathbed ritual and death pollution in the context of broader social practices of relocating the dying. Part Three will address practices and discourses specific to the ritualized deathbed scene that bear on the issue of pollution and impurity: nursing the dying, cleaning up their bodily discharges, and venerating the bodies of those recently deceased thought to have attained *ōjō*.

In the "Hall of Impermanence"

Central to the instructions for deathbed practice set forth in Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū* and the regulations of the Nijūgo zanmai-e was the relocation of dying monks to the "Hall of Impermanence" or *mujōin*, an element derived, as we have seen, from Chinese accounts of practice at the Jetavana Monastery. At

Yokawa, a hall called Kedaiin ("[lotus] flower pedestal hall") was established for this purpose. As deathbed practices of this kind spread among other monastic communities and then to lay devotees, a variety of structures was employed. *Mujōin* were established at some monasteries for the collective use of the community, while individual ascetics and recluses built small temporary huts in which to perform their last contemplations or moved into chapels where other ascetics believed to have achieved the Pure Land had died. As death neared, well-to-do laity—including lay monks (*nyūdō*) and lay nuns (*nyūdō ama*)—men and women who had taken Buddhist vows but continued to live in the household—often withdrew to their private chapels or to temples outside the capital of which they were patrons, to devote themselves to religious disciplines at the end of life.

"The reason [the dying] are moved to this separate location," says *Ōjō yōshū*, citing a "Chinese tradition," "is that people subject to craving, if they gaze on their robe, begging bowl, and other implements in their own dwelling, will give rise to all types of attachment and have no dispassion of mind."[76] Virtually all subsequent instructions for deathbed practice (*rinjū gyōgisho*) produced in the latter Heian and Kamakura periods stress the importance of removing dying persons from their accustomed surroundings into a separate hall or chapel or even a different room, in order to minimize worldly attachments and potential distractions that might disturb their right mindfulness at the time of death. According to the esoteric master Kakuban (1095-1143), the move to the *mujōin* enacts the spirit of world renunciation. "It represents abandoning the defiled Sahā world and achieving birth in the Pure Land of Utmost Bliss....The prince [the future Buddha, Siddhārtha] left [his father's] palace to ascend the peak of the five wisdoms, and the great teacher [Kūkai] entered meditation, obtaining the ghee of the three mysteries. Herein alone lies the intent of moving to a different dwelling."[77] Once it becomes clear that death is inevitable, the dying person is to withdraw to a separate place where a buddha image is enshrined and incense burned; with the assistance of a *zenchishiki*, or religious guide, he or she is to single-mindedly chant the *nenbutsu* or perform other recitations until the last breath transpires.

If the dying succeeded in achieving proper mental focus, then, in their final moments, it was believed that Amida would make his welcoming descent (*raigō*) to receive them. *Ōjōden* accounts abound with descriptions of wondrous signs indicative of Amida Buddha's coming—purple clouds gathering in the west, unearthly music heard in the air, mysterious lights or sweet fragrance in the death chamber, and auspicious visions appearing to the dying. Chijiwa Itaru has argued that relocating dying persons to the *mujōin* served precisely to incubate such visions. There, they occupied an enclosed space, removed from ordinary affairs, ritually adorned and enshrining a buddha image, where flowers

were scattered and incense burned; they were enveloped by the continuous sound of the *nenbutsu* or other invocations and sometimes liturgical music. Such an atmosphere was conducive to perception of the auspicious signs—the mysterious lights, fragrance, or music—sought by dying persons and their associates as "proof" that *ōjō* had occurred.[78]

Heian deathbed rites resemble many other Buddhist rituals, exoteric and esoteric, in which a ritual space is adorned and specific buddhas, bodhisattvas, or other deities are invoked, worshipped, or visualized, for a range of worldly and transworldly aims. However, practices for the time of death differed from all other invocation rites in one key respect: at their conclusion, the ritual space contained at its center the body of a dead person. Thus the *mujōin* would have been simultaneously a ritual site and a place of pollution. How did those engaged in deathbed practices understand this apparent contradiction? To arrive at an answer, let us consider the relocation of the dying to the *mujōin*, not only in terms of the monastic context, as in the *Ōjō yōshū*'s prescriptions or the observances of the Nijūgo zanmai-e, but in terms of broader social practices involving relocation of the dying.

Death in court circles

Among the nobility, dying persons often moved (or were moved by their relatives) to private chapels built on their estates apart from their main residence or located at Buddhist temples outside the city. There, assisted by their preceptors, family members who were Buddhist clerics, or other Buddhist ritual specialists in their employ, they could focus during their last days or hours on devotions aimed at birth in the Pure Land. Unlike the Nijūgo zanmai-e monks or their counterparts in other monastic settings, however, who willingly incurred pollution to assist their dying fellows, lay aristocrats were sometimes constrained from attending the deathbed of relatives and associates by the need to avoid defilement.

An instructive episode occurs in *Eiga monogatari*, which recounts the achievements of the famed courtier Fujiwara no Michinaga, in its depiction of the events surrounding the death of the lay nun, the mother of Rinshi, Michinaga's chief consort. When the older woman falls ill, Michinaga tells Rinshi to "order plenty of prayers to keep her alive for the rest of the year…With all the important events coming up, it would be terrible if anything went wrong." In other words, it would be awkward for Michinaga, the chief minister of state, to incur death defilement mandating an extended avoidance period just at the time of the official observances surrounding the recent accession of the new emperor, Go-Ichijō (r. 1016-1036)—the Ōharae, or Great Purification, and the Daijōsai enthronement ceremony. The dying woman

herself expresses anxiety on this account and says, "I am so sorry to die just when our beloved emperor is beginning his reign. Please keep your mourning private, leave the body at a mountain temple for a while, and have the cremation when it will not be a nuisance, after the great ceremonies are over."[79] In the end, she dies in her own residence before the year is out, attended by her daughter Rinshi; the Tendai prelate Ingen (971-1038), who enjoyed Michinaga's patronage; and her brother Tokinobu, a lay monk known as the Ōhara Nyūdō, as well as other monks who have been called in to recite the *nenbutsu* and perform the *Lotus* repentance rite (*Hokke senbō*) at her side. Michinaga, however, calls his condolences to Rinshi from where he is standing outside in the garden, unable to enter a house where a corpse is present for fear of incurring defilement just at the time of crucial state ceremonies. Rinshi, who has no such ceremonial obligations, remains at her mother's deathbed until the end.[80]

As Takatori Masao points out, such restrictions had not always been a feature of court life.[81] According to the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan), the Empress Kōgyoku (r. 642-645) kept watch over her dying mother until the very end, refusing to leave her side.[82] The same source even criticizes the strict death pollution taboos of the Korean aristocracy. It records that in 642, a Prince Gyōgi of the Korean kingdom of Paekche, accompanied by his family, made a state visit to the Nara court. While in Japan, his child died, and the prince and his wife were so fearful of defilement that they would not approach the corpse. The chronicle notes, "In general, the custom of [those of] Paekche and Silla is that, when someone has died, even one's father or mother, brother or sister, one does not look upon them. In such utter lack of affection, how do they differ from birds or beasts?"[83] By the mid-Heian period, however, as Takatori observes, virtually identical avoidances had been adopted among Japanese nobles.

As already noted, formal codes governing avoidance of death defilement and other sources of pollution first appear in the early ninth century and crystallize in the 927 *Engi shiki*, which draws on earlier Heian sources. These codes of avoidance appear to have been part of an effort to exclude defilement and the dangers it posed, insofar as possible, from the locus of imperial authority—the palace, government bureaus, and the area of the capital of Heian-kyō itself. This effort is particularly evident with regard to the disposal of the dead. Early Heian ordinances sought to restrain former practices of burial beside homes or on the slopes of nearby hills, where they might pollute shrines sacred to the *kami*.[84] Among the aristocracy, cremations and burials were restricted to the desolate and largely uninhabited areas in the empty fields and foothills outside the city, such as Higashiyama to the east, Funaoka to the north, and Sagano to the west. Here on the city's periphery, leading families had their clan graves, the northern Fujiwara at Kohata in Uji, and Murakami Genji at Kitashirakawa in Higashiyama, and—beginning with Michinaga's founding of

Jōmyōji at Kohata—established family memorial temples (*hakadera* or *bodaisho*) attached to the graveyard, installing monks to perform rites for the deceased. Here, too, in the latter Heian period, common charnel and cremation grounds came into use: Rendaino in Funaoka to the north, and Toribeno in Higashiyama, as well as private cemeteries ritually "opened" by monks living outside the city in temples or *bessho*, retreats set apart from major monastery complexes, who sometimes provided interment for their noble patrons.[85] Over the course of the Heian period, a virtual ring of necropoli took shape in the areas surrounding Heian-kyō, mediated by the presence of Buddhist temples that served to purify death defilement and keep it from the city. "There are not supposed to be dead people in the capital!" Fujiwara no Munetada expostulated in his diary in 1097, when defilement resulting from the discovery of a human head near the headquarters of the palace guards of the left necessitated postponement of Emperor Horikawa's intended pilgrimage to the Kasuga shrine.[86] Since commoners frequently disposed of their dead by placing them in thickets and abandoned areas *within* city limits, it was virtually impossible that there would be no dead people in the capital; nonetheless, Munetada's complaint well expressed an aristocratic impulse to exclude death pollution from Heian-kyō, as the locus of imperial authority around which the official side of aristocratic life was centered. This impulse governed, not merely the disposal of bodies, but the entire range of protocols related to funerals and mourning. The bodies of recently deceased nobles were often moved to temples or other locations outside the city where the funeral rites and mourning period would be observed, and funeral processions were sometimes disguised as ordinary outings until they had passed beyond the city limits, when the distinctive funerary accompaniments—such as the carrying of pine torches in the vanguard, the ringing of gongs and chanting by *nenbutsu* monks, and the shrouding of the carriage carrying the deceased with portable screens—would be initiated.[87] Contact with death defilement, as already noted, typically incurred a thirty-day exorcistic avoidance period during which one could not enter a government office and would have to be excused from official duties, however pressing. Thus, apart from family, high-ranking courtiers rarely attended one another's funerals unless absolutely necessary. Family members or close retainers who performed the hands-on roles of decanting cremated ashes into a container or carrying the container to the place of interment usually tended to be persons who, though having close ties to the deceased, were not of sufficient rank that observing the avoidance period would impede the exercise of their official obligations.[88] Visitors who came to offer condolences to bereaved family members would remain standing, as sitting together with them would mean incurring the death defilement.[89]

Such restrictions obviously limited who could attend a deathbed, as we have seen in Michinaga's case. Similar indications occur in court diaries. When Emperor Murakami's chief consort Anshi (d. 964) was dying of complications following childbirth, he repeatedly dispatched the chamberlain Fujiwara no Fumitoshi to report to him on her condition. But despite his grief, he himself could not approach her for fear of defilement, and those who had attended her were instructed not to enter the inner palace.[90] In 1011, the diarist and court councilor Fujiwara no Yukinari recorded what transpired at the deathbed of Emperor Ichijō, whom he had attended during Ichijō's fatal illness. On the twenty-first day of the sixth month, Yukinari noted that Ichijō was attended by monks and courtiers, divided into three watches. The next day, the archbishop (*sōjō*) Keien performed an esoteric empowerment rite to ward off demonic obstructions that might hinder the emperor's *ōjō*, while the other monks present chanted the *nenbutsu*. But when it became apparent that the end was near, the Minister of the Left, Michinaga instructed that the Minister of the Right, Fujiwara no Akimitsu, and all other courtiers should leave the palace—presumably, in order to avoid defilement resulting from the imperial death.[91] On another occasion, when his own beloved son was critically ill and dying, Yukinari recorded that he had had to leave the house so as to avoid pollution and waited in the garden; when he heard his consort's anguished cries, he knew that the boy had died.[92]

Exceptions certainly occurred, especially in cases involving family members, unexpected death, or on occasions when affective ties outweighed official considerations. Yukinari himself, who had retreated outdoors when his son had died, four years later remained at his dying consort's side, chanting the *nenbutsu* together with her.[93] Yukinari had also been very close to Emperor Ichijō and chose voluntarily to incur pollution by taking part in his funeral.[94] As somewhat later examples, the then minister of the right and later regent, Kujō Kanezane (1149-1207), attended the deathbed of his sister, Kōkamon'in; he also rushed to the side of his son, the young minister of the center Yoshimichi, when the latter suddenly collapsed and died; Kanezane then sent word to the retired emperor that he had incurred pollution.[95] Often, however, those with pressing official obligations—or who simply wished to escape an extended period of exorcistic seclusion—stayed away from deathbed scenes.

Such being the case, we can readily imagine that the removal of dying aristocrats to their private chapels was intended, not only to help the dying to cast off worldly attachments and focus their thoughts on the Pure Land, but also to protect the living from death defilement. Some evidence makes this explicit, as when the poet Fujiwara no Teika noted in his diary, "This evening I heard that the person known as the Hachijōin princess died at the hour of the snake (9:00-11:00 a.m.).... People around her are saying that the Hachijō mansion did

not incur pollution, as she was moved to the residence of the Ishiyama bishop (*sōzu*) when her condition grew severe."[96] Here we may understand that the Ishiyama bishop was to assist the Hachijō princess in her final contemplations and perhaps see to her funeral. This arrangement would have both guaranteed the Hachijōin princess proper ritual assistance in her last hours and at the same time protected her close associates from contact with the defilement resulting from her death. The bishop himself appears to have lived close by, within the city limits, but a growing number of Buddhist monks living in temples on the outskirts of the capital were also beginning to provide similar services for their aristocratic patrons. Thus Nishiguchi Junko rightly observes of the deathbed practices instituted at Yokawa that, "in a time beset with taboos, they instructed one in how to avoid defilement by the dead and yet honor them with funerals and memorials.... [They] could not have been better suited to the cultural and religious climate that surrounded Heian aristocrats in particular and perhaps the general populace as well."[97]

Reversing Death and Disposal

Judging from *ōjōden* accounts, a *mujōin* was not the only place to which one might relocate before dying, nor was the desire for circumstances conducive to right mindfulness in one's last moments necessarily the only motivation for relocating. Among accounts of *hijiri* ("holy men") or other renunciates, we find occasional stories of those who leave their accustomed dwelling, not to seek ideal circumstances in which to die, but to protect their associates both from incurring the defilement accompanying their death and from the task of disposing of their body. On nearing death, the monk Rentai, an ascetic of Mt. Kōya, admonishes his disciples not to hold a funeral but to leave his body in an open field as an offering for beasts and birds, a paradigmatic final act of giving well attested in Buddhist cultures.[98] Another monk objects: "In that case, won't your decaying corpse become strewn about and defile this sacred site?" "That's true," Rentai sadly agrees, and though others try to detain him, he leaves Mt. Kōya, eventually achieving *ōjō* beneath a tree in a remote spot far from human habitation.[99] Here, the need to avoid polluting a holy place clearly wins out over Rentai's desire to benefit living beings with the offering of his body. In another account, the desire not to leave behind a defiling corpse is even given as a rationale for ascetic self-immolation. "I will die on the thirteenth of this month," the holy man Kuwatori announces to his disciples. "It would be very wrong on my part, were I to leave behind a stinking polluted corpse that you would then have to carry away to [abandon in] a mountain or field. I will die without troubling you." And, piling up a great heap of firewood, he performs his own cremation, calmly chanting the *Lotus Sūtra* as the flames consume

him.[100] In this case, the holy man's intentions are somewhat ambiguous; one is not sure if he wishes to spare his disciples from the pollution of his corpse or the logistical problem of its disposal. These two issues were of course closely interrelated, as we can see from accounts of *ōjōnin* still living in their household. Shortly before his death, the former governor of Shinano, Fujiwara no Nagakiyo (d. 1096), speaks to his brother, the scholar-monk Gyōken, and announces his intention to die in the lodging temple of a "meditation monk" (*zensō*) of Sōrinji, with whom he has made an agreement to this effect some years earlier. This monk, he says, has also agreed to handle his burial, because "it is troublesome for those living in the capital to hold a funeral."[101] Nagakiyo is referring here, not to the funeral rite as such, but to the logistics of disposal. As noted above, the bodies of aristocrats were cremated or buried in the empty fields or foothills outside Heian-kyō, and their remains might be interred in or near family temples that sprang up in such areas. Nagakiyo, himself of the nobility, has made his own advance arrangements. Significantly, he turns for help, not to his brother, a career scholar-monk appointed to the Office of Monastic Affairs (Sōgō), but to a *zensō* or "meditation monk." Funaoka Makoto has identified such *zensō* as monks committed primarily to practice or ascetic disciplines (including but not necessarily confined to "meditation"), as opposed to the elite *gakuryo*, or scholar-monks. They were outside the status system of official monastic posts and appear to have overlapped the category of *dōsō* (literally "hall monks") responsible for routine liturgical functions at monasteries and also *bessho hijiri*, "holy men" (*hijiri*) who chose to pursue their religious disciplines in "places apart" (*bessho*), retreats affiliated with major temples but on their outskirts or at another location altogether. Sōrinji, where Nagakiyo went to die, is thought to have been a *bessho* of Mt. Hiei and was located in Higashiyama, near the charnel grounds on the eastern outskirts of the capital. Both *zensō* and *bessho hijiri* also appear to have performed deathbed and funerary rites for a range of clients. It was because of pollution issues, Funaoka argues, that monks such as these, outside the formal temple hierarchy, came to specialize in conducting death-related ritual services, including deathbed practice and funerals.[102] In the twelfth century, not long after Nagakiyo's death, we begin to see notices of monks providing burial for aristocratic patrons in cemeteries they had established at their own temples—also located outside the city—for themselves and their fellow monks.[103] The Sōrinji *zensō* who attended Nagakiyo may have represented an early example of this practice.

In another account, the elderly nun Myōhō (d. 1107) of the Tachibana family, who is still living in the household, announces that she has been told in a dream of her impending death and directed to go at once to Amida-mine "because it will cause trouble for my sons if I die in this house."[104] Amida-mine, literally "Amida peak," was also in the Higashiyama district outside the capital,

overlooking the Toribeno cremation grounds. Here again, the "trouble" Myōhō wishes to spare her family would seem to include not only the problem of death pollution but also the logistical difficulties and perhaps the expense of transporting a corpse to the city outskirts. In Nagakiyo's words, it was indeed "troublesome for those living in the capital to hold a funeral," especially for those without means. The Tachibana were a noble family, and it is not clear whether or not economic considerations played a role in Myōhō's decision. But for ordinary people, cremation or burial outside the city as practiced by aristocrats was not readily available. Charnel grounds for common use outside the city, such as Rendaino and Toribeno, were established only in the late Heian period, and even then, in the absence of cooperative funeral associations, they were of little help to poorer families in Heian-kyō who could not afford to hire someone to remove their dead. Instead they placed them in empty fields or in abandoned buildings within the capital area. When bodies piled up in great numbers, as in times of famine or epidemics, they were cleared away by *kiyome* (literally, "those who purify"), a menial group working under the direction of the police or *keibiishi*, who removed them to the river banks—usually the Kamo River but possibly the Katsura and Tenjin rivers as well—where the currents at their height would carry them away.[105]

Economic concerns find explicit mention in the *ōjōden* account of the end-of-life arrangements made by one Shimotsumichi Shigetake, a lowly fellow who lives by hunting and fishing. On learning that he is fatally ill, he says: "I have no wealth in this house, and no relatives, either. Who will dispose of my body? There is a deserted field in Hachijō-kawara; I will go die there. Otherwise, my death will only be a burden to my wife and children." Hachijō-kawara, too, lay on the outskirts of the capital in an area reserved for cremation and mortuary rites, and Shigetake's choice of venue clearly suggests a desire to spare his immediate family the problem of dealing with his corpse when they have no financial resources or relatives who can assist. Seen off by his neighbors and accompanied by two *zensō* who had previously agreed to assist him at the end, Shigetake proceeds there, spreads a mat over the grass, sits on it facing west, and dies chanting the *nenbutsu*, his mind undisturbed.[106]

The accounts of Nagakiyo, Myōhō, and Shigetake all have in common the theme of a devotee living in Heian-kyō who, knowing death to be imminent, voluntarily leaves the city to die in areas in or near cremation or charnel grounds. In effect, these individuals reverse the customary order of things and dispose of their own bodies before they have actually died. Their stories strongly suggest that, especially in the case of lay devotees or renunciates still living with their families, going to die in a "place apart" was not necessarily just to distance oneself from the distraction of worldly affairs in order to compose one's mind at

the end but might also have involved social concerns about burdening others with the problems of death defilement and corpse disposal.

Ousting the Terminally Ill

Behind these stories of *ōjōnin* who obligingly leave home before dying to spare their families the problem of dealing with their dead body lurks the specter, attested in historical documents as well as literary sources, of terminally ill persons, usually servants or other dependents not related by blood, who were involuntarily removed or evicted from the household before they died. According to a court diary entry from 1154, a couple was living in a small chapel belonging to the chancellor of state, Fujiwara no Tadamichi (1097-1164), when the man became ill and died.[107] An inquiry was conducted by the police (*keibiishi*) to determine whether death defilement had spread to the chancellor's household. The dead man's wife explained that, to avoid polluting a dwelling not their own, she had summoned a *kiyome* to remove her husband from the premises before he actually died. Interrogated, the *kiyome* in question affirmed that, yes, in accordance with the wife's instructions, he had in fact removed the dying man to a small hut she had caused to be constructed for that purpose outside the bounds of the chancellor's property; then, after the man died, he had removed and abandoned the body. However, another witness testified that, while he had seen the *kiyome* abandon the dead man by the highway, he suspected that the man had already ceased breathing before he was removed from his residence. The verdict held that pollution had indeed spread to the chancellor's household, mandating a thirty-day period of avoidance and the consequent postponement of important *jingi* rites.[108]

In this case, we glimpse the perceived need, already touched upon, to ward off death defilement from the household of a high-ranking courtier. But this incident was also linked to a growing tendency, already under way in the late Heian period, to stigmatize the sick and the terminally ill. Fujiwara Yoshiaki, drawing on tale literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, notes evidence that sick persons without means or family to care for them were often turned out to become beggars and were included, along with the disfigured, lepers, and criminals, in the category of *hinin* (literally "non-persons" or outcastes).[109] The twelfth-century *Konjaku monogatari* includes the story of a servant girl ousted from her master's house when she becomes ill during an epidemic; in this case, the master does not seem altogether heartless, as he provides the girl with food and necessities and promises to send someone to look after her once or twice daily.[110] Fear of contagion from illness, as well as her lack of blood ties to the family and concern for death pollution, may have

played a part in his decision. In some cases, temporary huts or rooms in structures outside the household premises were established for terminally ill servants, or they were delivered to the care of outcastes occupying the liminal areas of the riverbanks (*kawara hinin*). Often, however, they were abandoned unceremoniously by the roadside and left to starve or die from exposure.[111] Both riverbanks and highways were liminal areas where pollution was not thought to be transmitted.

The fate of becoming one of the "outcaste sick" (*byōsha hinin*) or "sick without [social] ties" (*muen byōsha*) could, through adversity, befall even prominent persons. An episode in *Shasekishū* tells of a distinguished scholar-monk from eastern Japan who in his old age becomes bedridden and paralyzed and is eventually abandoned by his disciples when they tire of nursing him. In another episode, the monk Chūren-bō of Yamato is similarly forsaken by his followers when he becomes paralyzed and is seen living in a hut near the highway.[112] While some of the abandoned sick persons in these stories become roadside beggars, others, like the nun Myōhō or Shigetake in the *ōjōden* accounts mentioned above, are described as going to await death in cemeteries or cremation grounds. In *Konjaku monogatari*, for example, a nun related in some way to the governor of Owari, is abandoned by him and by her children. She becomes dependent on her elder brother, but when she falls ill, he turns her out of the house, saying, "I will not permit you to die here." When she is similarly rejected by a former friend, the nun goes to the cremation grounds at Toribeno, where she arranges herself on a mat that she spreads out and then passes away.[113]

The practice of abandoning sick persons by the roadside began at least as early as the ninth century and, despite laws prohibiting it, seems to have been common in both Kyoto and Kamakura.[114] It was driven by multiple factors, including fears of pollution, of disease, and of the dead, as well as economic necessity, and, in some cases, a rather brutal callousness toward persons outside the family. Occasionally, abandoned sick persons were gathered up and placed in hospices for the indigent terminally ill, though such institutions were by no means adequate to the need. These places, often administered by Buddhist monks, were termed alternatively *hiden'in*, *seyakuin*, or *mujōdō*—the last term clearly inspired by the Jetavana *mujōin* or "Hall of Impermanence." Fujiwara has noted that, like mortuary temples and charnel grounds of the capital, such institutions were located outside city bounds in both Kyoto and Kamakura and were viewed, he suggests, as "death containers," places that isolated death defilement from the cities; in that respect, they resembled the leprosaria of medieval Europe.[115]

As the preceding discussion suggests, the act of relocating the dying to a *mujōin* could carry multiple meanings. From the normative perspective of

Buddhist teachings about end-of-life contemplations aimed at achieving birth in a pure land, it meant leaving the profane space of worldly affairs to approach the holy realm of the Buddha. But this practice was also enacted in a social context in which dying persons were frequently removed from their habitual surroundings to protect the living from death pollution. Scholars have debated whether the *mujōin* should be understood as a sacred ritual space, set apart from the world's defilements, or as a containment device to keep death pollution away from the living.[116] But in fact, both meanings held true and were to some extent interdependent. In either case, the *mujōin* shared something in common with other liminal areas—such as riverbanks and highways, or the mortuary temples that sprang up in the foothills outside the capital—in that they stood "outside" the sphere of ordinary life, where the usual need for defilement avoidance did not apply. We can better understand this idea by considering those monks, active within this ambivalent realm, who attended the dying and sometimes arranged their funerals.

"Death-Managing" Monks

Whether in a separate hall at a monastery, in a noble's private chapel, or on a mat spread out in a charnel ground, persons who died aspiring for the Pure Land were often attended by monks who encouraged their dying reflections and assisted their last *nenbutsu*. Clearly the monks who routinely served in the capacity of "good friends" to the dying and sometimes even arranged for disposal of their bodies were not, indeed could not, be overly troubled by concerns about death pollution. And for that very reason, not all Buddhist monks engaged routinely in such activities. As we have seen, Buddhist clerics with official temple appointments, responsible for nation-protecting prayers or rites directed toward the *kami*, could not conduct deathbed or funerary rites without requiring subsequent purification via a thirty-day period of avoidance. What kind of monks, then, specialized in death related practices?

A story in the late-Heian collection *Hosshinshū* (Tales of Religious Awakening) tells of a monk known as the Agui *hijiri*, who, while traveling to the capital, is approached at a roadside well by a nun of shabby appearance who seeks his assistance. She leads him to a monk living nearby, who explains that he is near death and needs someone to attend him as *zenchishiki*. Having no resources, he has sent the nun to summon "a person concerned for the next life" (*goseisha*) to assist his deathbed practice. If the *hijiri* will agree, the monk adds, then after his death, the *hijiri* can inherit his dwelling, poor as it is, since he has no other heir.[117] Significantly, the dying monk seeks help, not from just any Buddhist cleric, but from "a person concerned for the next life." This term specifically indicated not merely persons hoping for birth after death in a pure

land, but semi-reclusive monks such as *hijiri* or *zensō*, especially those who engaged in practices for the sake of *ōjō* as their primary religious endeavor.

In aristocratic circles, clerics holding positions in the Office of Monastic Affairs or in temple administration might sometimes attend a deathbed when the dying individual was a relative or influential patron, but these "official" monks did not regularly perform such services for persons outside their close acquaintance. The monks most frequently summoned to ritually assist dying aristocrats were in many cases not career scholar or administrator monks but semi-reclusive practitioners referred to by such terms as *hijiri* or *shōnin* (holy man), *kenja* (adept), or *ajari* (esoteric ritual master). Often based at *bessho* retreats, they enjoyed a reputation for holiness or thaumaturgical power and also served their patrons as healers, ritualists, and preceptors. Several such individuals are mentioned, for example, in the diary of the regent Kujō Kanezane. They include such monks as Ashō-bō Inzei (or Insai, n.d.), known as the "*shōnin* of Chōrakuji," a temple in the area of Higashiyama, who conferred the precepts on the dying Emperor Takakura (d. 1181);[118] Honjō-bō Tankyō (n.d.), of the Ōhara *bessho*, who served as *zenchishiki* at the deathbed of Kanezane's elder sister, the former imperial consort Kōkamon'in (Fujiwara no Seishi, d. 1181), and who performed the same service for the retired emperor Goshirakawa (d. 1192);[119] and the esoteric adept Butsugon, who served as preceptor, ritualist, and healer to Kanezane's family. Butsugon acted as *zenchishiki* at the deathbed of Kanezane's former wetnurse (d. 1171) and was among the monks summoned when Kanezane's son died suddenly, administering the precepts to him posthumously.[120] Butsugon also represents an instance of overlapping categories, being both a *hijiri* and a scholar-monk who served as head of instruction (*gakutō*) for the Daidenbōin cloister at the Shingon monastery at Mt. Kōya.[121] For the most part, however, Funaoka's distinction holds true, in that it was semi-reclusive thaumaturgical adepts, rather than monks with formal administrative posts, who were summoned to serve as *zenchishiki* on a regular basis.

One also finds mention of monks who received noble patrons nearing death into their private chapels at *bessho* or temples on the city outskirts, providing them with deathbed assistance and sometimes burial at cemeteries they had established at their temples. The Sōrinji *zensō* who attended the dying Nagakiyo would appear to belong to this category. And while not as prominent as the noted *hijiri* who served court nobles, monks similarly outside the formal temple hierarchy were the ones to whom commoners turned for deathbed and funeral services, such as the *zensō* who accompanied Shigetake to the empty field outside the city and encouraged his last *nenbutsu*. Even at the lowest end of the social scale, there may have been very humble monks who attended the dying. The early Kamakura-period story collection *Senjūshō* includes an account of a monk living in a field called Ōba in Sagami, who survives by begging and running errands for others. When a destitute woman, widowed in an epidemic, falls ill, the monk goes to her secretly at night and tends to her. He begs for money and food for her care and also teaches her to chant the *nenbutsu*, eventually enabling her to achieve *ōjō*.[122]

From *hijiri* of aristocratic origins who attended court nobles to this humble monk of Sagami, what enabled certain monks to specialize in attending the dying and the dead without fear of death pollution was their "outside" status: they stood apart, not only from lay life, but also from the official clerical world of the major monasteries and its responsibilities for performing state-sponsored ritual and conducting *kami* rites. Ordinary distinctions of "pure" and polluted" pertained to those realms, both secular and clerical, that such adepts had left behind. Some took up the reclusive life from the outset, while others underwent what amounted to a second act of renunciation, abandoning monastic office or temple administrative positions to engage in solitary ascetic practice. It is their voices—or more accurately, literary representations of their voices—that we read in *ōjōden* and *setsuwa* (didactic tales) dismissing pollution taboos as irrelevant to Buddhist soteriological concerns. Their status "outside" the world, and their semi-reclusive practice, often in mountain retreats, was thought to endow them with thaumaturgical powers, including the ability to manage the dangers and pollution associated with death. We can see this, not only in the fact that such monks attended deathbeds as *zenchishiki* but also in their ritual management of the especially volatile dead, those who had died in a miserable and untimely fashion and whose return as vengeful ghosts was much feared. The tenth-century itinerant holy man Kūya, for example, is said to have cremated the bodies of the deceased abandoned in fields and chanted the *nenbutsu* for their sake.[123] Ryūgyō Hōin of Ninnaji, out of pity for those who died during the great famine of the Yōwa era (1181-1182), is said to have organized a number of *hijiri* who wrote the Sanskrit syllable "A," representing the originally unborn, on the forehead of each corpse they encountered to enable that person to form a karmic bond with the Buddha; in two months' time, they performed this service for more than 42,300 deceased.[124] As expressed in the phrase "shunning this defiled realm and aspiring to the Pure Land," aspirations for *ōjō* may indeed have served to conceptualize a standpoint from which the distinction between purity and impurity in a worldly, conventional sense was collapsed and death taboos might be transcended. But the ability of certain monks to reject pollution taboos depended less on Pure Land doctrinal teachings than on their liminal status, apart from both worldly and official clerical affairs. Although their social location differed considerably, in their ability to manage matters relating to sickness and death, the position of such monks bore some structural similarity to that of the *kiyome* responsible for clearing corpses from the roadsides, whose

status as *hinin* or members of an outcaste group made it possible for them to remove defilement.[125]

The instructions of the Nijūgo zanmai-e, which required that its members willingly incur defilement to encourage one another's deathbed practice, certainly stood in dramatic opposition to the death pollution taboos of the day. But the spread of such deathbed practices among lay devotees—centered on their removal to a separate place—and the emergence of distinct groups of monks who attended them at the end, hardly constituted a challenge to social concerns about death defilement, let alone a transcendence of them. Rather, in the latter Heian period, deathbed rites and pollution taboos stood in a reciprocal relationship. As Nishiguchi has noted, fears about death pollution helped to popularize Yokawa-style deathbed practices among lay elites; rites requiring removal to a separate hall or chapel made it possible to honor and assist the dying but also contained the pollution of their death at safe remove from the living. Indeed, death defilement taboos could be maintained precisely because such rites—separating the dying from the social world of the living and ritually managing their death—were available. At the same time, the growing attraction of deathbed rites, along with the fact that monks serving in official capacities could not regularly undertake them, generated a new area of ritual specialization and income source for a range of monks and adepts practicing outside the structure of official temple appointments. For many such adepts, one imagines, the continued perception of death defilement as a threat was essential, as a foil over and against which their powers to manage and neutralize it could be demonstrated. Over time, the activities of such monks helped pave the way for Buddhism's increasing domination of death related practices in general. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as is well known, the newly emergent Zen and Ritsu monastic orders began routinely to perform funerals for their lay patrons; Zen monks in particular laid the basis for the near-universal Buddhist funerary culture of the late medieval and early modern periods.[126] But in their readiness to engage the pollution of death, such monks had precedents in the *hijiri* and *zensō* of the Heian period.

Part Three: Nursing the Sick and Visiting the Dead

Above we have seen how the removal of the dying to a separate place was understood both as separating them from worldly "defilements," in a metaphorical or Buddhist doctrinal sense, and as protecting others, still involved in the world, from death defilement in the literal sense of pollution and taboo. Those who attended the dying as ritualists and spiritual advisors were often monks practicing outside formal temple organizations, for whom contact with pollution was not prohibited. Nonetheless, deathbed practices of the kind

popularized by the Nijūgo zanmai-e had their own accompanying discourses of bodily purity and impurity, which intersected, but were not identical to, broader social concerns about death defilement and its avoidance. This final part, Part III, will examine, first, the attitude displayed toward the bodily wastes and discharges of the dying as reflected in monastic literature and its place in a broader tradition of monastic nursing, and second, the profoundly negative symbolism of feces in connection with death seen in hagiography and other sources. Both topics afford considerable insight into notions of "impurity" (*fujō*) as a category similar to but distinct from pollution (*kegare*). Lastly, this section will return to a topic introduced near the beginning of this essay, the practice of venerating the dead bodies of those believed to have achieved *ōjō*, as an illustration of questions still unanswered with regard to how death pollution taboos and deathbed practice aimed at birth in the Pure Land intersected.

Nursing the Sick and the Significance of the Nijūgo zanmai-e

Among the many wondrous signs described in *ōjōden* as proof of a given individual's birth in the Pure Land is a mysterious fragrance in the death chamber, attesting that Amida and his holy retinue have indeed descended to welcome that person. For example, when a woman of the Tomo family, a lay devotee, lies dying, a scent of lotus blossoms fills the air.[127] Fragrance similarly fills the room at the death of the consort of Fujiwara no Tsunezane (d. 1131), imbuing the surplice of the adept summoned to assist her with her final *nenbutsu*."[128] According to deathbed ritual instructions from *Ōjō yōshū* on, those nearing death were supposed to purify themselves by bathing and donning clean clothes, and the room itself was to be swept clean and adorned by scattering flowers and burning incense.[129] Normatively speaking, the ideal death occurred in an atmosphere of purity and fragrance. In reality, however, dying is typically a messy business. The terminally ill often lose control of bodily functions, and at death, the anal sphincter releases; urine and excrement, rather than sweet perfume, are death's usual olfactory accompaniments. Unlike hagiographical writings, instructions for monks attending the dying speak frankly of the need to clean up bodily wastes and discharges. This was, in fact, a well established theme in continental Buddhist *vinaya* literature dealing with the treatment of sick monks in monastic settings, and both Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū* and the Nijūgo zanmai-e regulations draw on Chinese sources dealing explicitly with this subject. Genshin, as we have seen, cited a "Chinese tradition" purporting to describe practice at the Jetavana monastery, as quoted in a commentary on the Dharmaguptaka *vinaya* by the Chinese master Daoxuan. According to this source, after the dying monk has been removed to the hall of impermanence, "Those in attendance should burn incense and scatter flowers to adorn [the

room]. If the sick monk soils himself, urinates, vomits, or spits, it should be cleaned up, and he is not held responsible for any transgression."[130]

It is worth looking briefly at the larger context of this passage in Daoxuan's commentary, as it clearly informed notions of deathbed practice as prescribed in Japan by the Nijūgo zanmai-e documents and other, later works on the subject. Daoxuan prefaces this passage with another from the Dharmaguptaka *vinaya* explaining how the Buddha came to instruct monks in their responsibility to care for each other in times of sickness. According to this account, one day, the Buddha did not go out on his customary alms round but instead visited the monks' quarters. There he found a sick monk lying in his own excrement. When the Buddha inquired why no one was caring for him, the monk replied, "While I was not sick, I failed to attend to other sick monks. Therefore, now that I am sick, no one is attending to me." The Buddha helped him to rise, wiped the filth from his body, washed his robe, and cleaned his bedding. He then instructed the assembly of monks, "From now on you should look after sick monks.... If anyone wants to serve me, he should attend to the sick."[131] Daoxuan then cites again from the "Chinese tradition":

> The Buddha patiently guides sentient beings in this world with the intention of removing their suffering. He does not consider [even] cleaning up excrement to be abhorrent. To the gods, human beings are smelly and filthy in the way that latrines are to human beings. Their stench is indescribable, and yet [the gods] do not think of [human beings] as repugnant but constantly protect them. How much less in the case of the Buddha's virtue, could he [arbitrarily] love some and hate others?[132]

As Koichi Shinohara has noted in his discussion of this passage, the stench of the sick and dying is assimilated here to the universal impurity and defects of the human state, and care of the terminally ill—specifically, the act of cleaning up their bodily wastes and discharges—to the Buddha's non-differentiating compassion for all beings.[133] Such lofty associations, one imagines, may have served to make such tasks tolerable to those monks unavoidably engaged in them, or even to shame the unwilling into sharing nursing responsibilities.

The influence of such argumentation can be clearly seen in the regulations of the Nijūgo zanmai-e mandating that its members attend their dying companions as *zenchishiki*, serving in watches, two at a time, for a full day and a night, and not leaving until relieved by the next watch. They are urged to emulate Śākyamuni Buddha, who, "in the past, with his hands of purple gold, himself washed the body of a sick monk," a clear reference to the story cited by Daoxuan. The regulations also note that care of the sick is regarded as preeminent among the "eight fields of merit," a reference to the well-known *Fanwang jing* (Brahma-net sūtra), which lists care for the sick as one of the

forty-eight minor precepts.[134] Members are to treat their sick companions as devotedly as they would their father, mother, or teacher and are specifically admonished, "Do not shun smells, pollution, or impurity."[135]

Daoxuan's "Chinese tradition" expressly stipulates that a dying monk who soils himself, urinates, vomits, or spits is not guilty of a transgression. Since the deathbed rite took place in the presence of a buddha image, one assumes that the "transgression" being denied here was that of defiling a ritual site. In the medieval Japanese case, urine and feces did not technically constitute "pollution," in that they were not the object of specific avoidances, but they were definitely a form of "impurity" (*fujō*) and were to be avoided in ritual contexts.[136] In this regard, the regulations of the Nijūgo zanmai-e also stipulate, "Even if he [the dying monk] must relieve himself where he sits while [holding the cord attached to the buddha image], the Buddha does not regard this as repugnant,"[137] showing recognition that deathbed practice was one ritual situation where such impurity was simply unavoidable.

Subsequent instructions to Japanese monks caring for the sick and dying also make specific mention of bodily discharges, such as the *Kanbyō yōjinshō* (Admonitions for attending the sick) by Nen'a Ryōchū (1199-1287), third patriarch of the Chinzei lineage of Hōnen's Pure Land sect. Ryōchū writes:

> One should avoid causing the sick person pain. While [in general] he should rise to urinate or defecate, if he finds that painful, have him relieve himself just as he is, lying down. It would be all the more unreasonable to force him to rise if he is unable to do so. Diapers should be spread out thickly and changed often, being removed when they become smelly or soiled. Mucus and vomit should also be cleaned promptly and the sickbed kept clean.
>
> Screens should be readied, and when the sick person is urinating or defecating, you should set them up before the buddha [image] to separate it from this impurity. However, if the illness suddenly worsens and it is clear that death is imminent, this stricture should be set aside.... In addition, one should always moisten the dying person's throat with paper soaked in water and encourage him to chant the *nenbutsu*.[138]

These admonitions suggest an attempt to manage, insofar as possible, the often contradictory demands of caring for the bodily needs of the dying and maintaining ritual purity in the *mujōin*, which was, after all, both a sickroom and a ritual space. But it is clear that the imperative to encourage the dying person's reflections on the Buddha overrode all other concerns.

In this context, it may be relevant to note that, in early medieval Japanese Buddhist hagiography, readiness to nurse persons with especially repulsive bodily afflictions is treated as a sign of spiritual attainment. An example is the monk Eijitsu, a *jikyōsha* or *Lotus Sūtra* devotee:

> [On one occasion,] there was a sick person lying by the roadside, befouled with the impurity of his own urine and excrement, filthy and emitting a stench. People who noticed him covered their noses, averted their eyes, and hurried past. The holy man [Eijitsu] approached him and stood at his side. Reciting the *Lotus Sūtra*, he covered the sick man with his robe and lay down beside him and held him. Thanks to the power of the sūtra and the influence of the holy man, the sick man's illness was completely cured...Such compassion, care of the sick, and relief of pain could not be the acts of an ordinary worldling.[139]

Eijitsu, like the Buddha washing the monk soiled by his own excrement, is able to behave in this way precisely because he has transcended the discriminative attachments and repulsions of ordinary persons. Another example is found in the medieval accounts of Empress Kōmyō (701-760), honored in retrospect as a manifestation of the bodhisattva Kannon, who is said to have bathed a leper with her own hands and sucked the pus from his sores.[140] Here we can glimpse a discourse in which other people's bodily impurity, far from being something to be shunned, becomes an opportunity for cultivating—or displaying—bodhisattva-like compassion and equanimity, expressed through active engagement with precisely those sights and smells that disgust ordinary people. Although such figures are revered, rather than despised, they are, again, structurally similar to the *hinin* groups who cleared away the abandoned bodies of the dead, being located "outside" the domain of ordinary life, not by outcaste status but by their own transcendent compassion.[141]

The responsibility of monks to care for their sick fellows is part of a long continental tradition of monastic nursing that, at least in its prescriptive expressions, can be traced back to Buddhist India.[142] Were the monks of the Nijūgo zanmai-e the first to appropriate this tradition in Japan, recovering it from Chinese *vinaya* texts and reasserting it in the context of deathbed practice, over and against the pollution taboos of their day? Or does it have a prior history in Japan? To answer this question, we would need to know how Japanese Buddhist monks living in monasteries were cared for in their last illnesses and how their bodies were disposed of prior to the mid-tenth century. Unfortunately, available data are fragmentary and inconsistent; moreover, they are found in prescriptive literature and thus may serve as a better guide to normative standards than to actual practice. Haseo Fumiaki, one of very few to address this topic, has called attention to a court edict of 679 mandating that bedridden aged or terminally ill monks and nuns should be removed to a separate dwelling lest their presence pollute the "pure ground" of the monastery; in this separate dwelling, they are to be cared for, not by their fellow monastics, but by relatives or other trusted persons.[143] Here, sickness and death are clearly seen as a pollution that monastics must avoid. Using this edict as a benchmark, Haseo argues that removal of the dying to a place apart in order to separate them from worldly distractions, as advocated in Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū* and practiced by the Nijūgo zanmai-e, in effect reversed the significance previously attached to places of caring for the terminally ill, transforming the site of death from a place of defilement into a sacred enclosure. This inversion, he suggests, took place over time, through the establishment under Buddhist auspices of hospitals by such figures as Empress Kōmyō or the monk Gyōki (668-749); the removal of the sick to such places gave rise, among those caring for them, to a positive apprehension of death as an especially valuable juncture for Buddhist practice, eventually culminating in the Yokawa deathbed rites, where the meaning assigned to the place where the dying were taken underwent complete reversal, from a site of defilement to one of detachment and transcendence.[144]

While Haseo is surely right in noting a diametric opposition between the 679 edict and the prescriptions of *Ōjō yōshū* or the Nijūgo zanmai-e documents, we need not assume a singular, linear development in attitudes toward the treatment of dying monks over the course of the intervening three hundred years. We are more probably dealing here with a plurality of perspectives. The 679 edict suggests an attempt on the part of the state to maintain ritual purity among the monks and nuns on whom it relied for rites of nation protection, while sūtra and *vinaya* literature, cited in the late tenth century by both Genshin and the Nijūgo zanmai-e regulations in connection with deathbed rites, mandates that monks should care for their sick fellows. There is also the historical question of whether or not, or to what extent, the 679 edict was implemented. Other state regulations from the same period aimed at governing the conduct of monks and nuns seem to take for granted that they would nurse the sick among them.[145] Of greater relevance to Genshin and the Nijūgo zanmai-e than early state edicts are the internal regulations for the monks of Mt. Hiei. One set, compiled by immediate disciples of the Tendai founder Saichō (766/767-822), discusses the economic recompense owing to those who attend the sick (*kanbyōsha*), assist in their burial, and recite sūtras for them, thus suggesting the existence of such practices on Mt. Hiei very early in its history.[146] While this again represents only fragmentary evidence from a prescriptive text, it seems possible that practices of Japanese monks nursing their dying companions and assisting with their funerals may well have preceded the formation of the Nijūgo zanmai-e. The Society's regulations about nursing the dying might then represent less a dramatic innovation than an elaboration of preexisting practices, drawing for support on Buddhist sūtra and *vinaya* literature about care of the dying in light of a new interest in deathbed rites that accompanied the rise of aspirations for the Pure Land. The explicit injunctions in the Society's regulations against shunning defilement might then be understood as anticipating objections in light of heightened concerns about death pollution current in elite circles at the time.

However, even if the Nijūgo zanmai-e did not initiate the hands-on care of their dying fellow monks, their activities may well have served to highlight and promote such practices. After the Society's founding, we find increasing notices of structures set aside in temple complexes, across denominational lines, with names such as Enjuin (Life-extending hall), Nehandō (Nirvāṇa hall), or Mujōin, for the care of sick and dying monks, as well as references, especially from the latter Heian and Kamakura periods, of actual monk-physician practitioners (*isō* or *sōi*) providing lay patrons with medical care.[147]

Feces as Negative Symbol

As we have seen, monks in early medieval Japan involved in nursing could draw on a long-established monastic tradition valorizing care of the dying and removal of their bodily wastes as an expression of compassion. But in other sources of the same period, bodily wastes, especially feces, assume a deeply negative symbolic valence in death-related contexts, figuring prominently in representations of karmic retribution for sin. An example occurs in *Ōjō yōshū*, in the famous harrowing passage on the hells that forms the centerpiece of Genshin's description of the samsaric realms that are to be rejected in favor of aspiration to the Pure Land. Genshin notes that the first of the eight major hells, in which evildoers are dismembered only to be revived again, has sixteen subsidiary hells, of which he describes only one:

> First is the place of excrement. There is [a lake of] burning hot excrement, whose taste is vile in the extreme. It is filled with maggots whose beaks are as hard as metal. Sinners in this place eat the hot excrement, and the maggots all swarm around them and attack them at once, penetrating their skin and devouring their flesh, breaking their bones and sucking the marrow. Those who in the past [while living in the human realm] killed deer or birds fall into this realm.[148]

Another reference to feces in *Ōjō yōshū* occurs in a quote from the *Guanfo sanmeihai jing* (Sūtra of contemplating the Buddha's samādhi sea), which describes how hell wardens use visions of urine and excrement to lure dying evildoers into their clutches. At the time of death, the winds of dissolution will wrack the sinner's body, and his mind will become disordered and produce delusions. "Observing [the interior] of his own house, the men and women [within it, and the objects,] large and small, [he sees that] everything is [now] impure. It is a place stinking of excrement and urine, which overflow and run outside." When he wishes himself away from this repugnant scene, in a palace or pleasant grove, the guardians of the Avīci hell transform that hell into the appearance of jeweled trees and clear ponds, thus tricking him into entering their realm.[149] In a similar vein, one may also note a passage from the esoteric

scripture *Shouhu guojiezhu tuoluoni jing* (Sūtra of dhāraṇīs for protecting the nation and the ruler), cited in instructions for deathbed practice by Kakuban and others, which lists "urinating or defecating without awareness" as one of fifteen signs that the dying will fall into the hells.[150]

Such passages are drawn from Buddhist canonical sources; they are not the product of Heian-period Japan. Nonetheless, they seem to have captured the imagination of at least some artists of the time. The scene of evildoers attacked by flesh-eating maggots in the lake of burning excrement is unforgettably rendered in a twelfth-century hell screen (*jigoku zōshi*) by an unknown artist, kept by the Nara National Museum. Scenes involving feces also occur in medieval depictions of the sufferings of hungry ghosts (Skt. *preta*, Jpn. *gaki*), beings condemned by their evil deeds to a state of perpetual starvation. In discussing these horrific images, William LaFleur has noted how hungry ghosts are depicted "most commonly in places where excrement and other bodily wastes will be found. *Gaki*...will invariably be present in latrines and cesspools."[151] One scene in a hand-scroll depicting *gaki*, now in the Tokyo National Museum, shows persons squatting to defecate by the roadside, oblivious to the invisible wretched beings that crouch beside them waiting to fall upon their excrement, so hungry that they will, quite literally, eat anything. *Gaki* were also thought to feed on corpses, and scenes in the same scroll depict them gnawing on human remains in charnel grounds. One scene combines the two locales, depicting a public latrine (not "facilities" in any modern sense but simply grounds where commoners relieved themselves) on the edge of a charnel ground, indicated by the presence of votive stūpas. On the basis of this hand-scroll scene, Shinmura Taku has hypothesized that—if public latrines and charnel grounds were indeed contiguous in actual space, and not merely in the artist's imagination—along with teeming flies and maggots, the stench of death and excrement in such places would have been intermingled. Deathbed ritual instructions enjoining attendants of the sick to adorn the room with flowers and incense and to promptly clean up feces and urine were, he suggests, not merely a practical matter of nursing but rather helped the dying person focus on the Pure Land by removing substances that had come to be associated with the hells.[152]

It is significant in this connection that, among the auspicious signs described in *ōjōden* indicating birth in the Pure Land, we find occasional mention of practitioners who have no bodily elimination at the time of death. The monk Jōshū (d. 1076) does not urinate or defecate for three days before his death.[153] The lay monk (*nyūdō*) Nakainumaru, monastic name Gansai, similarly neither urinates nor defecates on the day of his death.[154] This detail represents a degree of bodily purity far greater than the mere bathing and donning of clean clothes before death, widely attested in *ōjōden* biographies. It underscores the

extraordinary spiritual accomplishments of these particular deceased by noting the absence of those very bodily wastes that, in some especially ascetic modes of Pure Land devotion, had come to symbolize the repugnance of the samsaric realm.

Some ascetic practitioners may have taken deliberate steps to avoid bodily elimination at the time of death. *Keiran shūyōshū*, a Buddhist compendium compiled by the Tendai monk Kōshū (1276-1350), says:

> In meditation lineages (*zenke*), they do not eat or drink near the end. In explanation, it is said, "Invariably, people release the impurity of feces and urine at the time of death. Thus as death nears, one should avoid eating various things and should not needlessly drink water. One should exercise caution in this regard. Such is the prior example of those who follow the way."[155]

Here the issue may have been less one of avoiding ritual impurity than of exerting control over the death process. If involuntary urination and defecation at the end was associated with an ordinary death, leading to samsaric rebirth, then by avoiding this common physiological occurrence, one's transcendence of saṃsāra could be demonstrated. This is suggested by an incident said to have occurred in connection with the death of the Zen abbot Gessen Shinkai (d. 1308), eighth in the lineage of the famous teacher Enni (a.k.a. Bennen, Shōichi Kokushi, 1202-80). According to his sectarian biography, Shinkai died a most admirable death: seated on the raised lecturer's platform before the assembly of monks, he wrote out his death poem and passed peacefully away. Somewhat more than a decade later, the narrative continues, the scholar-monk Kokan Shiren (1278-1346) was compiling his *Genkō shakusho*, Japan's first collection of monastic biographies. Having learned of Shinkai's exemplary death, Shiren approached Shinkai's disciple Ryōgu and inquired, "I've heard that when your teacher passed away, an unusual fragrance filled the room. Is that so? I would like to include him in the history of monks that I'm compiling. Please tell me the truth of the matter." While Ryōgu could not possibly have been ignorant of the auspicious significance of "unusual fragrance" at the time of death as an index to exceptional spiritual attainment, whether willfully or otherwise, he misunderstood Shiren and flew into a rage. "You dare to slander my late teacher! How can you say that after he died there was a smell of shit? Don't speak to me again of 'unusual fragrances'!" Thus Shinkai was not included in Shiren's biographical collection—most regrettably, the narrative adds, as the *Genkō shakusho* soon became a celebrated work.[156]

Whatever the reasons for Ryōgu's extraordinary reaction, this account suggests that at least in some instances the smell of excrement at a deathbed may have carried negative soteriological connotations—especially, perhaps, in the death of a prominent abbot. What the Buddha himself "does not find abhorrent" was unthinkable for the Zen monk Ryōgu in connection with his teacher. A good death, after all, was not only the cause for birth in a superior realm but a proof of one's escape from samsaric suffering. If one could not control his own bodily eliminations at the end, then perhaps his mastery of birth and death was also open to question.

As we have noted, vomit, urine, and feces were not considered polluting in the technical sense of requiring a period of avoidance, but they were nonetheless "impure" and thus to be avoided in ritual settings. This produced an ambivalence in the context of deathbed practice, a rite of utmost solemnity and yet one where such impurities were virtually inevitable. Hence the recurrence of a double theme in which the significance of bodily wastes, feces in particular, is relationally determined: the nursing monk proves his spiritual attainments by his willingness to clean up excrement, while the dying monk proves his by not producing it. In either case, such extraordinary attainments set their possessor apart from ordinary persons. Here we see a structural similarity to the concept of pollution itself, wherein those able to mediate or neutralize it do so by virtue of their liminal status "outside" ordinary society, whether as renunciate ascetics or as *hinin*.

Venerating the Corpse: Some Unanswered Questions

Let us return now to the subject of death pollution, and to some still unanswered questions regarding its connection to ritualized deathbed practice and to the ethos of aspiration to the Pure Land, by addressing a final topic: the practice, frequently attested in *ōjōden*, of paying reverence to the bodies of recently deceased persons believed to have achieved *ōjō*. This act of veneration was thought to establish a favorable karmic connection (*kechien*) that would assist one's own future attainment of birth in the Pure Land. The monk Man'a, encountered earlier in this essay, who inadvertently transmitted death pollution to the servant Kunihide—and via Kunihide, to the Ise shrine—had been engaged in precisely this activity. In a society where contact with the dead was often deemed polluting, voluntarily going to visit the newly deceased seems altogether counter-intuitive. Was the merit of forming ties with an *ōjōnin* thought to outweigh the dangers and inconvenience of incurring defilement? Did those engaged in this practice feel a need to explain or justify it, to themselves or to others? Was there a mechanism for transcending death pollution in such cases? Or was death pollution simply not an issue for those involved?

We have seen how, in the Ise shrine episode, the monk Man'a did not think it necessary to mention his recent contact with the dead to the shrine servant Kunihide because he had been told that "the death of an *ōjōnin* is not

polluting." We have also noted Chijiwa Itaru's use of this episode in support of his thesis that, on the ground, ordinary death and *ōjō* were understood as two different things. *Ōjō*, he argues, was distinguished by the presence of extraordinary signs: purple clouds or radiance in the sky, mysterious fragrance, or music heard in the air; such signs, Chijiwa says, signaled not only the individual's attainment of Pure Land birth (and thus, the merit to be gained from venerating that person's remains) but also the fact that this was not "death" in any ordinary sense and therefore, not polluting.[157]

Chijiwa's thesis finds support in the fact that, in *ōjōden*, the narrative element of people gathering to pay respect to the corpse of an *ōjōnin* almost always occurs in cases where—among the possible signs indicative of the deceased having reached the Pure Land—unusual preservation of the body has occurred. For example, the monk Nensai (d. 1131) dies sitting up straight, facing west, and holding an incense burner. For three days after his death, the body remains in this position, and fragrance fills the room; clerics and laypeople of the southern capital (Nara) throng to see this.[158] For ten, even twelve days after his death, people come to view a deceased monk of the temple Komatsudera in Hizen province, whose body, seated upright with its hands still forming a mudrā, looks so unchanged as to arouse the suspicion that he may not be dead at all but merely deep in meditation.[159] The ascetic Yuihan's body still remains fresh thirty-five days after his death; during that time, the monks assembled at his door to form *kechien* are like crowds at a marketplace.[160] Such cases also sometimes occur in historical documents: the monk Rinken (1074-1150), a former superintendant of Kongōbuji on Mt. Kōya, is said to have died seated in the posture of meditation; Rinken's corpse was in fact enshrined as a "whole-body relic" (*zenshin shari*), attracting the devotion of pilgrims.[161] Of course, a prurient curiosity, as well as the desire to form meritorious karmic ties, may well have prompted some such visits. But whatever their motivation, if we go by Chijiwa's argument, failure of the body to decay would have marked it as a special case and thus outside ordinary pollution concerns.

The presence of sweet fragrance at a deathbed and an absence of decomposition have, in their absolute contradiction of ordinary physiological processes, been widely understood as indices to transcendent spiritual attainment on the part of the deceased. This phenomenon is by no means confined to medieval Japan or even to Buddhism; the "odor of sanctity" emanating from the holy dead is also well attested, for example, in European Christian hagiography. In a Buddhist context, such refusals of the body to conform to ordinary processes of decay signal that the deceased has escaped the cycle of deluded rebirth; what has happened to that person is not "death"—the mark of deluded existence—but liberation.[162] If Chijiwa is correct, then a lack of decay would have had a double significance, demonstrating an escape from

saṃsāra in a traditional Buddhist reading and, in a specifically premodern Japanese context, an absence of death defilement.

Nonetheless, some questions remain. First we must ask why the explicit claim reported in the Ise document, that *ōjōnin* do not produce death defilement, occurs so seldom in premodern Japanese sources. In *ōjōden*, our chief source for the practice of visiting the deceased to form *kechien*, one finds almost no indication of awareness that such acts might be deemed polluting or draw criticism on that account. One striking exception concerns the shrine priest Kaya no Sadamaṣa's visit to the new grave of his friend, Fujii Hisatō, who has offered his body in an act of auto-cremation out of his deep aspiration for the Pure Land. "Because I have been charged with overseeing *kami* affairs," Sadamasa says with tears streaming down his face, "I have completely shunned the defilements of human beings. But so great are my feelings of longing for him that I have no scruples about displeasing the *kami*."[163] But Sadamasa is clearly a special case. Precisely because he is a shrine priest (*kannushi*), the narrative seems to call for some mention of the fact that he is violating a prohibition—one ordinarily observed with great strictness in *kami* worship—by visiting his friend's death site. Most *ōjōden* accounts make no mention whatsoever of pollution concerns in their descriptions of persons visiting the bodies of *ōjōnin*. This would suggest either that notions about the death of an *ōjōnin* not producing death defilement were so well established as to need no comment, or alternatively, that those engaged in this practice were simply not concerned about pollution.

Katsuda Itaru has noted that anxieties about death pollution in Heian Japan coexisted, often quite comfortably, with curiosity and eagerness to gawk at the bodies of those who dropped dead suddenly in public places or at victims of personal revenge killings whose bodies had been abandoned by the roadside.[164] In many contexts, barring actual physical contact with a corpse, death defilement was thought to be transmitted only within a walled or otherwise bounded space or by sitting together with someone who had already incurred such pollution. Such restrictions by no means precluded all viewings of dead bodies. In an episode from *Konjaku monogatari*, the courtier Fujiwara no Sadataka keels over suddenly in the midst of a palace banquet. Those nobles sitting with him hastily rise and flee, presumably hoping that Sadataka may not actually have died yet and that they may thereby escape defilement. Yet even as the body is about to be removed, a crowd of lesser palace officials eagerly gathers by the exit in hopes of watching.[165] The monk Man'a mentioned in the Ise shrine document is said specifically to have sat down in a dead person's house, but it is not clear whether others seeking to form favorable karmic ties with deceased *ōjōnin* by venerating their remains actually entered an enclosed space where the corpse was present or simply stood gazing at it from outside a

door or entryway. If the latter, those venerating the newly dead may not necessarily have been seen as incurring defilement or engaging in a socially questionable act.

Yet another problem arises from the fact that our primary source for this practice, *ōjōden*, are hagiographies, in which the detail of crowds gathering to view the body—along with mysterious fragrance, favorable dreams, and music heard in the air—often serves as a narrative device emphasizing the auspicious nature of an individual *ōjōnin*'s passing. In one account, a monk named Kakushō even predicts: "After my death, on the day I am cremated, pure monks will spontaneously gather. By that, you may know that I have been born into the Land of Bliss." And indeed, after he dies, though the fire in the incense burner has gone out, fragrance fills the room, and more than seventy monks assemble to reverence him.[166] This is not to suggest that the practice of gathering to venerate those dead deemed to have achieved a liberating death was wholly fictional, as it does appear occasionally in historical documents. *Azuma kagami*, for example, reports concerning the death of Hōjō Tokiyori (d. 1263), the fifth Kamakura shogunal regent: "He formed a mudrā and recited a verse, manifesting the auspicious signs of having realized buddhahood with this very body....Clerics and laity, high and low, thronged to venerate him."[167] In this case, Tokiyori's fame as a national leader, as well as his reputed spiritual attainments, may have drawn spectators. The monk Man'a mentioned in the Ise account appears to have been venerating a deceased practitioner of considerably lower status, suggesting some distribution of this practice across the social scale. Nonetheless, it is hard to generalize from isolated accounts, and we are left wondering about the extent to which venerating the corpse went beyond a narrative element in Buddhist hagiography and was actually carried out in practice. Parenthetically, we may note that it raises other questions, not directly related to death pollution, such as why—when the bodies of both male and female *ōjōnin* are described as emitting fragrance and refusing to decay—only male bodies appear to have been the object of such veneration,[168] and how this practice coincided with an aversion, noted by Katsuda in aristocratic circles, to the idea of one's dead body becoming a spectacle for others.[169]

In any discussion of pollution in early medieval Japan, we must bear in mind the limitations of our sources, which were produced primarily by elites. How far and under what circumstances the avoidances observed by court nobles permeated other social groups is not yet well understood.[170] We must take care not to read an active challenge to, or transcendence of, pollution taboos into situations where they may simply not have operated in the first place.

Summation

We began with two starkly opposed understandings of "the dying breath," as the moment of potential liberation from samsaric suffering, and as marking the onset of death defilement. We also asked how, during Japan's early medieval period, the popularity in monastic and elite circles of deathbed rites for achieving birth in the Pure Land coexisted with practices of defilement avoidance and fears of death pollution. This seeming paradox, we noted, implies the coexistence of two opposing stances, one mandating death pollution avoidances and the other in some way minimizing, rejecting, or transcending them. On examination, however, both positions reveal a complex range of overlapping concerns that are not always easily disentangled.

Formal avoidances of death pollution had their origins in court-sponsored *jingi* ritual and were aimed at avoiding the anger of the *kami* and protecting imperial rule. The realm where these avoidances most mattered was that of the court; the court nobility, especially those holding government posts; and officially sponsored *kami* shrines. To the extent that Buddhist monks and temples were active in this ritual world—for example, by participating in court ceremonies such as the Ninnōe, other rites of nation protection, or *kami* worship—they were bound by its rules of pollution avoidance. In time, the taboos and requirements of ritual purity demanded by official *jingi* rites, including the thirty-day exorcistic period following contact with human death, were adopted by major Buddhist temples and in some cases by lesser, provincial ones as well. At the same time, however, Buddhist elements were themselves formally tabooed in conjunction with imperial *jingi* worship, reinforcing associations between Buddhism and death in that both were banned from the same ritual sphere. These associations helped to reinforce more widespread, informal taboos on Buddhist practices—especially those such as the *nenbutsu*, which was closely associated with death—on *kami* festival days and in contexts centered on celebration, fecundity, and this-worldly prosperity. Where aspirations for *ōjō* encouraged an infiltration of postmortem concerns into the present life, such informal taboos sought to maintain their separation.

But the sphere in which death defilement was tabooed represented only one social, ritual, and cognitive realm, one that interacted with other, sometimes overlapping frames of reference in which pollution concerns were relativized, transcended, or simply never an issue to begin with. The *Konjaku* tale of Atsuyuki, who knocked down his wall so that his neighbor's corpse could be removed, shows that it was possible, even if infrequent (or only in the author's imagination), to dismiss pollution concerns without Buddhist ideological support. Most sources relativizing pollution avoidances, however, draw on Buddhist discourses, for example, by recasting such avoidances as metaphors or

"skillful means." We see this in didactic tales that subsume *kami* worship within Buddhist ethical or soteriological frameworks, showing the *kami* as accepting, even praising, the breach of death pollution taboos when compassion requires it, or in the self-definition of the "single-practice" *nenbutsu* movements of Hōnen and Shinran, which depict the *kami* solely as supporters of the exclusive *nenbutsu* and thus not requiring special purifications in connection their shrines. How far the abridging of shrine-related taboos legitimized by such rhetoric was carried out in actual practice remains an open question. Another Buddhist discourse invoked to relativize or dismiss pollution concerns was that of "shunning this defiled realm and aspiring to the Pure Land," in which the distinction between purity and impurity as it pertains to *kami* worship or other ceremonial behavior is relegated to the "defiled world," which is to be rejected in favor of aspirations for *ōjō*. In Buddhist narrative literature, such as *setsuwa* and *ōjōden*, this perspective is typically attributed to those individuals, often reclusive monastics but including some lay persons, who have abandoned worldly aspirations, including those of the career monk holding temple appointments or seeking clerical advancement, and desire only the Pure Land.

While career scholar monks or highly placed prelates might attend deathbeds in the capacity of *zenchishiki* or perform funerary rites for relatives or important patrons, it appears that the monks who specialized in providing such services for lay patrons were often those such as *zensō* or *bessho hijiri*, practicing outside the formal structure of temple offices. What is less clear is whether such figures understood themselves as ideologically committed to rejecting death pollution avoidances in the name of "shunning this defiled world and aspiring to the Pure Land," or whether they were free to ignore them simply because their activities took place outside the ritual spheres of the court, *kami* shrines, and major Buddhist temple halls where such avoidances obtained. We should perhaps be careful of reading a deliberate defiance of pollution concerns into situations where such concerns may simply not have mattered. In either case, however, it may well have been the position of such monks outside the official world of government bureaus, court ceremony, shrines, and temples—and thus "liminal" from that world's perspective—that enabled them to specialize in death-related practices.

The regulations of the Nijūgo zanmai-e, among the earliest sources for deathbed practice in Japan, explicitly mandate that its members must "not shun smells, pollution, or impurity" in attending one another at the end. This stipulation may reflect the fact that the Nijūgo zanmai-e was deliberately reappropriating a very old *vinaya* tradition surrounding the nursing of sick monks within the monastery, attributed to the historical Buddha himself, and reasserting it in the specific context of deathbed practice aimed at achieving birth in the Pure Land. According to this tradition, the feces, urine, and vomit of

the ill and dying symbolize the impurity and defilement of the entire samsaric condition, and the nursing monk demonstrates his compassion and equanimity by caring for the sick without repugnance. This *vinaya* tradition is paralleled by themes in medieval Japanese hagiography of Buddhist holy figures who display their superior compassion by nursing persons with especially repulsive bodily afflictions and of adepts who demonstrate their spiritual attainments by not producing bodily elimination at the time of death. While bodily wastes were technically considered impurity (*fujō*) rather than "pollution" (*kegare*), a similar logic applied in both cases: it is persons who are in some sense outside the ordinary world—whether the "world" of delusion or the "world" represented by official court life—who are able to transcend them.

When deathbed rites for achieving birth in the Pure Land moved outside the monastery and monks began to attend the deathbed of aristocratic lay patrons, the logics of death as the moment of potential liberation, and death as polluting and dangerous, came into sharp juxtaposition. From a normative Buddhist standpoint, the removal of the dying to a place apart was to separate them from worldly attachments and encourage their last reflections, enacting the spirit of world renunciation at the heart of Buddhist soteriology. At the same time, however, it served to protect their living associates from the dangers of defilement attendant on their illness and death and was continuous with other social practices of relocating the dying for precisely such reasons. Thus the *mujōin* was both a ritual site *and* a pollution container. Though rhetorically oppositional, these two meanings attached to the death site in fact became socially interdependent. The strict pollution avoidances mandated in respect to death in elite circles could be maintained precisely because of those monks, such as *hijiri* and *zensō* practicing outside formal temple organizations, whose lack of involvement in official rituals enabled them to specialize in rites for the dead and dying. Such activities in turn provided these monks with a new ritual role and source of economic support and helped lay the foundations, in later centuries, for the monopolizing by the Buddhist clergy of funeral and other death rites at all social levels. As seen especially in the case of noted adepts summoned to attend the deathbed of ranking nobles, who performed exorcisms to quiet the vengeful dead, or who conducted rites for the masses of dead in times of famine, the perceived powers that such monks had acquired through ascetic practice, along with their liminal status "outside" both secular and career monastic worlds, were thought to enable them to meditate and manage the dangers of death pollution. Buddhist monastic engagement in the death rites of lay patrons, far from entailing a denial or transcendence of pollution, required its continued existence as a foil against which to demonstrate their thaumaturgical power, a drama continually reenacted in Buddhist deathbed and funerary rites.

List of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Characters

Agui hijiri 安居院聖
ajari 阿闍梨
Amida 阿弥陀
Amida-mine 阿弥陀峰
Anshi 安子
Ashō-bō (see Inzei)
Atsuta shrine 熱田神宮
Azuma kagami 吾妻鏡
Bennen (see Enni)
bessho 別所
bessho hijiri 別所聖
bodaisho 菩提所
Bunpōki 文保記
Butsugon 仏厳
Byōdōin 平等院
byōsha hinin 病者非人
Chijiwa Itaru 千々和到
Chinzei 鎮西
Chōrakuji 長楽寺
Chōshūki 長秋記
chūgū 中宮
Chūren-bō 中蓮房
Chūyūki 中右記
Daidenbōin 大伝法院
Daigokuden 大極殿
Daijōsai 大嘗祭
Daode jing 道徳経
Daoshi 道世
Daoxuan 道宣
Denryaku 殿暦
Dōkyō 道鏡
dōsō 堂僧
edo 穢土
Eiga monogatari 栄華物語
Eijitsu 叡実
Eison 叡尊
Eison (Shinshi) 榮尊 (神子)
Eison Wajō nenpu 榮尊和尚年譜
Engi shiki 延喜式
Enjuin 延寿院
Enmyōji 円明寺
Enni (Bennen) 円爾 (弁円)
ennichi 縁日
Enryakuji 延暦寺
Enryakuji kinseishiki nijūnijō 延暦寺禁制式二十二条
Fanwang jing 梵網経
Fayuan zhulin 法苑珠林
Fujii Hisatō 藤井久任
Fujiwara no Akimitsu 藤原顕光
Fujiwara no Chikasuke 藤原親輔
Fujiwara no Fumitoshi 藤原文利
Fujiwara no Koremasa 藤原伊尹
Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長
Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠
Fujiwara no Nagakiyo 藤原永清
Fujiwara no Sadataka 藤原貞高
Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資
Fujiwara no Seishi 藤原聖子
Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通
Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家
Fujiwara no Tzunezane 藤原経実
Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通
Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長
Fujiwara no Yoshimichi 藤原良通
Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成
Fujiwara Yoshiaki 藤原良章
fujō 不浄
fujōkan 不浄観
Funaoka 船岡
Funaoka Makoto 船岡誠
gaki 餓鬼
gakuryo 学侶
gakutō 学頭
Gassui gosho 月水御書
Gansai 願西

Genkō shakusho 元亨釈書
Genshin 源信
Gessen (see Shinkai)
goganji 御願寺
Go-Ichijō 後一条
Gokuraku 極楽
Gonki 権記
goseisha 後生者
Goshirakawa 後白河
Goshūi ōjōden 後拾遺往生伝
Guanfo sanmeihai jing 観仏三昧海経
Gyōgi (Paekche prince) 翹岐
Gyōken 行賢
Gyōki 行基
Gyokuyō 玉葉
Hachijōin princess 八条院の姫宮
Hachijō-kawara 八条河原
Hachiman 八幡
Hachiman gudōkun 八幡愚童訓
hakadera 墓寺
Hankyū 範久
Hasedera 長谷寺
Haseo Fumiaki 長谷雄文彰
hei 丙
Heian-kyō 平安京
hiden'in 悲田院
Hie shrine 日吉社、日吉神社
Hiei, Mt. 比叡山
Higashiyama 東山
hijiri 聖
hinin 非人
hōben 方便
Hōjōji 法成寺
Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼
Hokke genki 法華験記
Hokke senbō 法華懺法
Hōnen 法然
hongaku hōmon 本覚法門
honji suijaku 本地垂迹
Honjō-bō (see Tankyō)
Horikawa 堀川
Hosshōji 法勝寺
Hosshinshū 発心集
Hyōhanki 兵範記
Ichigo taiyō himitsu shū 一期大要秘密集
Ichijō 一条
Iidaka 飯高
Ikemi Chōryū 池見澄隆
imi 忌
Ingen 院源
Inzei (Ashō-bō) 印西(阿証房)
Ippen 一遍
Ippen hijiri-e 一遍聖絵
Ippyaku shijū gokajō mondō 一百四十五箇条問答
Ise shrine 伊勢神宮
Ishiyama *sōzu* 石山僧都
isō 医僧
Izanagi 伊邪那岐
Izanami 伊邪那美
jigoku zōshi 地獄草紙
jikyōsha 持経者
jingi 神祇
jingi fuhai 神祇不拝
jingi saishi 神祇祭祀
jingūji 神宮寺
jinin 神人
jisha 寺社
jōdo 浄土
Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗
Jōgan shiki 貞観式
Jōkan-bō 常観房
Jōmyōji 浄妙寺
Jōshū 定秀
Kakuban 覚鑁
Kakujō 覚乗
Kakushō 覚勝
kami 神

Kamo River 鴨川
Kamo shrine 加茂神社
kanbyōsha 看病者
Kanbyō yōjinshō 看病用心抄
Kannon 観音
kannushi 神主
Kasuga shrine 春日神社
Katsuda Itaru 勝田至
Katsura River 桂川
Kawano family 河野家
kawara hinin 河原非人
kawara hosshi 河原法師
Kawata Nyūdō 河田入道
Kaya no Sadamasa 賀陽貞政
kechien 結縁
Kedaiin 花台院
kegare 穢れ
keibiishi 検非違使
Keien 慶円
Keiran shūyōshū 渓嵐拾葉集
kenja 験者
Kenshi 賢子
Kinpusen 金峰山
Kishō hachikajō 起請八箇条
Kitashirakawa 北白川
kiyome 清目
kō 甲
Kōfukuji 興福寺
Kōgyoku, Empress 皇極天皇
Kohata 木幡
Kojidan 古事談
Kojiki 古事記
Kōkamon'in 皇嘉門院
Kokan Shiren 虎関師錬
Komatsudera 小松寺
Kōmyō, Empress 光明皇后
kondō 金堂
Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺
Konjaku monogatari 今昔物語
Konpon Chūdō 根本中堂
Kōshū 光宗
Kōtai jingū gishiki chō 皇太神宮儀式帳
Kōya, Mt. 高野山
Koyadera 小屋寺
Kōyasan ōjōden 高野山往生伝
Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実
Kūkai 空海
Kumano kyōkeshū 熊野教化集
Kunihide 国秀
Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄
kusōzu 九相図
Kuwatori 鍬取
Kūya [a.k.a. Kōya] 空也
Kūya rui 空也誄
Laozi 老子
Machi no Tsubone 町の局
Man'amida 万阿弥陀
Minamoto no Arifusa 源有房
Minamoto no Toshiakira 源俊明
Mishima shrine 三島神社
miyadera 宮寺
Miwa 三輪
Mohozhiguan 摩訶止観
muen byōsha 無縁病者
mujōdō 無常堂
mujōin 無常院
Mujū Dōgyō (Ichien) 無住道暁 (一円)
Murakami 村上
Murakami Genji 村上源氏
Murakami Tennō gyoki 村上天皇御記
Myōhō 妙法
Nakainumaru 忠犬丸
Nan'endō 南円堂
Nehandō 涅槃堂
Nen'a (see Ryōchū)
nenbutsu 念仏
nenbutsu kessha 念仏結社

nenbutsu zanmai 念仏三昧
Nensai 念西
Nichiren 日蓮
Nihon ōjō gokurakuki 日本往生極楽記
Nihon shoki 日本書記
nijūgo zanmai 二十五三昧
Nijūgo zanmai-e 二十五三昧会
Ninnaji 仁和寺
Ninnōe 仁王会
Nishigaki Seiji 西垣晴次
Nishiguchi Junko 西口順子
Nishi no Okata 西の御方
Niuyama 丹生山
Nomori no kagami 野守鏡
nyohō 如法
nyūdō 入道
nyūdō ama 入道尼
Ōe no Masahira 大江匡衡
Ōhara Nyūdō 大原入道
Ōharae 大祓
ōjō 往生
ōjōden 往生伝
Ōjō yōshū 往生要集
Onmyōdō 陰陽道
Ono no Takaki 小野高木
onri edo gongu jōdo 厭離穢土欣求浄土
otsu 乙
Otsuki Kanetō 小槻兼任
Owari 尾張
raigō 来迎
Rendaino 蓮台野
Rentai 蓮待
rinjū gyōgi 臨終行儀
rinjū gyōgisho 臨終行儀書
Rinken 琳賢
Rinshi 倫子
Ritsu 律
rokusainichi 六斎日
Ruiju sandaikyaku 類聚三代格
Ryōchū (Nen'a) 良忠 (念阿)
Ryōgen 良源
Ryōgu 了愚
Ryūgyō Hōin 隆暁法印
Saichō 最澄
Sanbōin kyūki 三宝院旧記
Sange ōjōden 三外往生伝
Sannō 山王
Senjūshō 選集抄
Senkaku 宣覚
sesshō kindan 殺生禁断
setsuwa 説話
seyakuin 施薬院
Shakumyō 釈妙
Shasekishū 沙石集
shasō 社僧
shie 死穢
Shijū hyaku innenshū 私聚百因縁集
Shimotsuke no Atsuyuki 下毛野敦行
Shimotsumichi Shigetake 下道重武
Shinshū (or Shin) 真宗
shinbutsu kakuri 神仏隔離
Shinkai (Gessen) 琛海 (月船)
Shinmura Taku 新村拓
Shinran 親鸞
Shinshi (see Eison)
Shirakawa 白河
Shirakawa *gosho* 白河御所
Shōichi Kokushi 聖一国師
shōji (jōji) 承仕
shōjin 精進
shokue 触穢
shokue banshu 触穢番衆
shōnin 上人
Shōren-bō 性蓮房
Shoshin honkai shū 諸神本懐集
Shōtoku, Empress 称徳天皇
Shouhu guojiezhu tuoluoni jing 守護國界主陀羅尼経

Shōyūki 小右記
Shūi ōjōden 拾遺往生伝
Sifenlü 四分律
Sifenlü shanfan bujue xingshi chao 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔
Sōgō 僧綱
sōi 僧医
sōjō 僧正
sōzu 僧都
Sōrinji 双輪寺
Sukehito, Prince 輔仁親王
Tachibana 橘
Taigen no hō 大元法
Taiki 台記
Takakura 高倉
Takatori Masao 高取正男
tamadono 玉殿
tamaya 玉屋
Tankyō (Honjō-bō) 湛教(湛斅)(本成房)
tatari 祟り
tei 丁
Tendai kahyō 天台霞標
Tenjin River 天神川
Tennōji 天王寺
Tōfuku daihasse Hōsshō Zenji Jūjō-bō gyōjō 東福第八世法照禅師十乗坊行状
Tokinobu 時叙
Tokushi 篤子
Tomo family 伴氏
Toribeno 鳥辺野
Towazugatari とわずがたり
tsumi kegare 罪穢れ
Uji 宇治
Usa Hachiman shrine 宇佐八幡宮
wakō dōjin 和光同塵
Xiyu Zhihuansi tu 西域祇桓寺図
Yokawa 横川
Yokawa Shuryōgon'in Nijūgo zanmai kishō 横川首楞厳院二十五三昧起請
Yomi no kuni 黄泉の国
Yorimichi (see Fujiwara no Yorimichi)
Yoshimichi (see Fujiwara no Yoshimichi)
Yoshino 吉野
Yoshishige no Yasutane 慶滋保胤
Yuihan 維範
zasu 座主
zenchishiki 善智識
zenke 禅家
zenshin shari 全身舎利
zensō 禅僧
Zhongguo benzhuan 中國本傳
Zoku honchō ōjōden 続本朝往生伝
Zoku Nihon kōki 続日本後紀
Zonkaku 存覚

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Chūsei Shintō ron. Nihon shisō taikei 19. Edited by Ōsumi Kazuo. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977.

The Confessions of Lady Nijō [*Towazugatari*]. Translated by Karen Brazell. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973.

Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho (*DNBZ*). Edited by Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan. 100 vols. Tokyo: by the editor, 1970-73.

Dai Nihon kokiroku (*DNK*). Edited by Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1952-.

Dai Nihon shiryō. Edited by Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Bungakubu Shiryō Hensangakari. Tokyo: Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku, 1901-.

Eiga monogatari. Nihon koten bungaku taikei shinsōban. Edited by Matsumura Hiroji and Yamanaka Yutaka. 2 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965; revised 1993.

Engi-shiki:Procedures of the Engi Era, books 1-5. Translated by Felicia Gressitt Bock. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970.

Genshin. Nihon shisō taikei 6. Edited by Ishida Mizumaro. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970.

"Genshin's Deathbed Nembutsu Ritual." Translated by James C. Dobbins. In *Religions of Japan in Practice*, edited by George J. Tanabe, Jr., 166-75. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Gunsho ruijū (*GR*). Edited by Hanawa Hokinoichi, revised by Ōta Tōshirō. 29 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1939-43.

Gyokuyō. Edited by Imaizumi Teisuke. 3 vols. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1906-7.

Hōjōki, Hosshinshū. Edited by Miki Sumito. Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1976.

Ippen Shōnin zenshū. Edited by Tachibana Shundō and Umetani Shigeki. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1989.

Jisha engi. Nihon shisō taikei 20. Edited by Sakurai Tokutarō, Hagiwara Tatsuo, and Miyata Noboru. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975.

Kamakura ibun. Komonjo-hen. Edited by Takeuchi Rizō. 42 vols. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1971-91.

Kōgyō Daishi zenshū (*KDZ*). Edited by Tomita Kōjun. 2 vols. 1935. Reprint, Tokyo: Hōsenji, 1977.

Kojiki. Translated by Donald L. Philippi. Princeton: Princeton University Press and Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1969.

Kojiki, Norito. Nihon koten bungaku taikei 1. Edited by Kurano Kenji and Takeda Yūkichi. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958.

Konjaku monogatari shū 3. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 35. Edited by Ikegami Jun'ichi. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993.

Konjaku monogatari shū 4. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 36. Edited by Komine Kazuaki. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994.

Konjaku monogatari shū 5. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 37. Edited by Mori Masato. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996.

Kōya shunjū hennen shūroku. Edited by Hinonishi Shinjō. Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1982.

Kunchū Meigetsuki. Edited by Inamura Eiichi. 8 vols. Matsue, Shimane Prefecture: Matsue Imai Shoten, 2002.

Letters of Nichiren. Edited by Philip B. Yampolsky, translated by Burton Watson and others. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from Earliest Times to A.D. 697. Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London. Supplement 1. 2 vols. Translated by W. G. Aston, London, 1896.

Nihon shoki. Nihon koten bungaku taikei 67 and 68. Edited by Sakamoto Tarō et al. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965-67.

Ōjōden, Hokke genki. Zoku Nihon bukkyō no shisō 1, new edition of the 1974 *Nihon shisō taikei* 7. Edited by Inoue Mitsusada and Ōsone Shōsuke. Tokyo: Iwanami 1995.

Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien. Translated by Robert E. Morell. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985.

Senjūshō zenchakushū. Edited by Senjūshō Kankōkai. 2 vols. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2003.

Shasekishū. Nihon koten bungaku taikei 85. Edited by Watanabe Tsunaya. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966.

Shintei zōho kokushi taikei (*KT*). Edited by Kuroita Katsumi and the Kokushi Taikei Henshūkai, represented by Maruyama Jirō. 66 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929-66.

Shōwa shinshū Hōnen Shōnin zenshū (*HSZ*). Edited by Ishii Kyōdō. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1955.

Shōwa teihon Nichiren shōnin ibun. Edited by Risshō Daigaku Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo. 4 vols. Minobu-chō, Yamanashi Prefecture: Minobusan Kuonji, 1952-59; revised 1988.

A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period [*Eiga monogatari*]. Translated by William H. and Helen Craig McCullough. 2 vols. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980.

Zōho shiryō taisei (ST). Edited by Zōho Shiryō Taisei Kankōkai. 45 vols. Kyoto: Rinsen Shobō, 1965.

Zoku gunsho ruijū (*ZGR*). Edited by Hanawa Hokinoichi, revised by Ōta Tōshirō. 33 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1923-33.

Secondary Sources

Abe Yasurō. *Yuya no kōgō: Chūsei no sei to seinaru mono*. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998.

Bodiford, William M. *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991.

Bowring, Richard. "Preparing for the Pure Land in Late Tenth-Century Japan. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 25/3-4 (1998): 221-57.

Chijiwa Itaru. "Shigusa to sahō: Shi to ōjō o megutte." In *Nihon no shakaishi* 8: *Seikatsu kankaku to shakai*, ed. Asao Naohiro et al., 139-68. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1987.

Demiéville, Paul. "Byō." In *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises* 3:224-65. 1937. Reprint, Paris: Hōbōgirin, 1974.

Dobbins, James C. *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan*. 1989. Reprint, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Fujiwara Yoshiaki. "Chūsei zenki no byōsha to kyūsai: Hinin ni kansuru ichi shiren." In *Rettō no bunkashi* 3, edited by Amino Yoshihiko et al., 79-114. Tokyo: Nihon Editāsukūru, 1986.

Fukunaga Katsumi. *Bukkyō igaku jiten*. Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1990.

Funaoka Makoto. *Nihon Zenshū no seiritsu*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987.

Goodwin, Janet R. *Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.

Grapard, Allan G. "Religious Practices." In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 2: *Heian Japan*, edited by Donald H. Shively and William McCullough, 517-75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Harada Masatoshi. "Chūsei no Zenshū to sōsō girei." In *Zenkindai Nihon no shiryō isan purojekuto kenkyū shūkai hōkokushū* 2001-2002. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: published by the editors, 2003.

Haseo Fumiaki (a.k.a. Kamii Monshō). "Mitori ni okeru kakuri ni tsuite: Ekan o chūshin toshite." *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 40, no. 2 (1992): 803-6.

Havens, Norman. "Shintō." In *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, edited by Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson, 14-37. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Hirano Futai. "Nihon kodai no sōdan ni okeru kanbyō: Tenmu hachinen jūgatsu zegatsujō no choku o megutte." In *Enjoteki ningen kankei*, edited by Saikō Gishō, 441-51. Tokyo: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1988.
Hori Yutaka. "Shi e no manazashi: Shitai, shukke, tadahito." *Nihonshi kenkyū* 438 (1999): 3-41.
Horton, Sarah Johanna. "The Role of Genshin and Religious Associations in the Mid-Heian Spread of Pure Land Buddhism (Japan)." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2001.
Hosokawa Ryōichi. *Chūsei no Risshū jiin to minshū*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987.
Ikemi Chōryū. *Chūsei no seishin sekai: Shi to kyūsai*. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 1985.
Itō Shintetsu. *Nihon Jōdokyō bunkashi kenkyū*. Tokyo: Ryūbunkan, 1975.
Kanō Shigefumi et al. "Shokue kō: Heian jidai chūki no jōkyō." In *Kōza Heian bungaku ronkyū* 11, edited by Heian Bungaku Ronkyūkai, 115-45. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1996.
Katsuda Itaru. *Shishatachi no chūsei*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003.
Kim, Jayne Sun. "A History of Filth: Defilement Discourse in Medieval Japan." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2004.
Kotas, Frederic J. "Ōjōden: Accounts of Rebirth in the Pure Land." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1987.
Koyama Satoko. "Mappō no yo ni okeru kegare to sono kokufuku: Dōji shinkō no seiritsu." In *Chūsei bukkyō no tenkai to sono kiban*, edited by Imai Masaharu, 256-80. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 2002.
Koyama Shōjun. "Tōdaiji Chūshōin shozō 'Yokawa Shuryōgon'in Nijūgo zanmai Eshin Yasutane rinjū gyōgi' no saikentō: Sōshobon no goshoku ni yoru mondaiten." *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 53 (1997): 56-95.
Kuroda Toshio. "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion." Translated by James C. Dobbins and Suzanne Gay. *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7, no. 1 (1981): 1-21.
Lachaud, François. *La jeune fille et la mort: Misogynie ascétique et représentations macabres du corps feminin dans le bouddhisme japonais*. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Japonaises, 2006.
LaFleur, William R. "Hungry Ghosts and Hungry People: Somaticity and Rationality in Medieval Japan." In *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, Part One*, edited by Michel Feher, 270-303. New York: Zone, 1989.
Liu Shufen. "Death and the Degeneration of Life: Exposure of the Corpse in Medieval Chinese Buddhism." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 28 (2000): 1-30.

Matsunaga Yūken, "Kōyasan no Nijūgo zanmai shiki ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū* 31 (1928): 9-29.
Matsuo Kenji. *Chūsei no toshi to hinin*. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1998.
Mitsuhashi Tadashi. "*Engi shiki* kegare kitei to kegare ishiki." *Engi shiki kenkyū* 2 (1989): 40-75.
———. *Heian jidai no shinkō to shūkyō girei*. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2000.
Muramatsu Kiyomichi. "Ashō-bō Inzei ni tsuite." *Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 15 (1993): 61-79.
Nishigaki Seiji. "Minshū no seishin seikatsu: Kegare to michi." *Rekishi kōron* 101 (1984): 101-7.
Nishiguchi Junko. "Jōdo ganshōsha no kunō: Ōjōden ni okeru kizui to mukoku," 138-60. In *Ōjōden no kenkyū*, edited by Koten Isan no Kai. Tokyo: Shindokushosha, 1968.
———. *Onna no chikara: Kodai no josei to bukkyō*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987.
———. "Where the Bones Go: Death and Burial of Women of the Heian High Aristocracy." Translated and adapted by Mimi Yiengpruksawan. In *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, edited by Barbara Ruch, 417-39. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002.
Nomoto Kakujō. "Kike bunken ni mirareru Jie Daishi Ryōgen." In *Gansan Jie Daishi no kenkyū*. Edited by Eizan Gakuin, 245-56. Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984.
Niunoya Tetsuichi. *Keibiishi: Chūsei no kegare to kenryoku*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986.
Ōhashi Shunnō, *Ippen: Sono kōdō to shisō*. Tokyo: Hyōronsha, 1971.
Okada Shigekiyo. *Kodai no imi: Nihonjin no kisō shinkō*. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1982.
Ōtsuka Ayako. "Kenreimon'in Tokushi no kaishi Inzei ni tsuite." *Bukkyō bungaku* 15 (1991): 65-78.
Rhodes, Robert F. "Seeking the Pure Land in Heian Japan: The Practices of the Monks of the Nijūgo Zanmai-e." *The Eastern Buddhist* (n.s.) 33/1 (2000): 56-79.
Sakagami Masao. "Butsugon-bō Shōshin ni tsuite." *Bukkyō ronsō* 26 (1982): 145-49.
Satō Mahito. "Daijōsai ni okeru shinbutsu kakuri: Sono hensen no tsūshiteki kentō." *Kokugakuin zasshi* 91, no. 7 (1991): 362-79.
Scheid, Bernhard. "Overcoming Taboos on Death: The Limited Possibilites of Discourse on the Afterlife in Shinto." In *Practicing the Afterlife: Perspectives from Japan*, edited by Susanne Formanek and William R.

LaFleur, 205-30. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004.

Schopen, Gregory. "The Good Monk and His Money in a Buddhist Monasticism of 'the Mahāyāna Period,'" 2000. Reprinted in Gregory Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.

Shinmura Taku. *Nihon iryō shakaishi no kenkyū: Kodai, chūsei no minshu seikatsu to iryō*. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1985.

———. *Shi to byō to kango no shakaishi*. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan, 1989.

Shinohara, Koichi. "The Moment of Death in Daoxuan's Vinaya Commentary." In *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, edited by Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone, 105-33. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.

Shintani Takanori. "Shi to kegare." In *Ōjōkō: Nihonjin no sei rō shi*, edited by Miyata Noboru and Shintani Takanori, 204-20. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000.

———. *Nihonjin no sōgi*. Tokyo: Kiinokuniya Shoten, 1992.

Stone, Jacqueline I. "Death." In *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr., 56-76. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005.

Sugawara Shōei. "Kamakura jidai no yuige ni tsuite: Enni ni itaru rinjū sahō no keifu." In *Kamakura jidai bunka denpan no kenkyū*, edited by Ōsumi Kazuo, 75-114. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993.

Suitō Makoto. *Chūsei no sōsō, bosei: Sekitō o zōryū suru koto*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1991.

Taira Masayuki. "Kenmitsu bukkyō to josei." In Taira Masayuki, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to bukkyō*, 391-426. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1992.

———. "Sesshō kindan no rekishiteki tenkai." In *Nihon shakai no shiteki kōzō: Kodai, chūsei*, edited by Ōyama Kyōhei Kyōju Taikan Kinenkai, 149-71. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1997.

Takatori Masao. *Shintō no seiritsu*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979.

Tamamuro Taijō. *Sōshiki bukkyō*. Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1963.

Tanaka Hisao. "Heian jidai no kizoku no sōsei: Toku ni jūisseki o chūshin toshite." 1967. Reprinted in Tanaka Hisao, *Sosen saishi no kenkyū*, 3-26. Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1978.

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

Teeuwen, Mark, and Fabio Rambelli, eds. *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

Tsuji Zennosuke. *Nihon bukkyōshi*. 10 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1944-55.

Williams, Duncan Ryūken. *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Yamamoto Kōji. *Kegare to ōharae*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992.

———. "Kizoku shakai ni okeru kegare to chitsujō." *Nihonshi kenkyū* 287 (1986): 28-54.

Notes

Unless otherwise noted, all Japanese sources were published in Tokyo.

1. *Ichigo taiyō himitsu shū*, attributed to Kakuban, *Kōgyō Daishi zenshū* (hereafter *KDZ*), ed. Tomita Kōjun, 2 vols. (1935; repr. Hōsenji, 1977), 2:1216.

2. *Gunsho ruijū* (hereafter *GR*), ed. Hanawa Hokinoichi, rev. Ōta Tōshirō, 29 vols. (Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1939-1943), no. 523, 29:493a.

3. Jayne Sun Kim, "A History of Filth: Defilement Discourse in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. diss, Columbia University, 2004), 10. Kim's study provides a useful overview of Japanese scholarship on pollution issues in Japan's medieval period. For a broader introduction to theories of death pollution in Japan, see Shintani Takanori, "Shi to kegare," in *Ōjōkō: Nihonjin no sei rō shi*," ed. Miyata Noboru and Shintani Takanori, 204-20 (Shōgakkan, 2000).

4. Kim, for example, uses this distinction to frame her discussion. See "A History of Filth," 1-2, for definitions of these terms. The word *shokue* itself occurs in Heian sources.

5. See *Kojiki, Norito, Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (hereafter *NKBT*) 1, ed. Kurano Kenji and Takeda Yūkichi (Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 63-69; Donald L. Philippi, trans., *Kojiki* (Princeton: Princeton University Press and University of Tokyo Press, 1969), 61-70; and also *Nihon shoki* 1, *NKBT* 67, ed. Sakamoto Tarō et al. (Iwanami Shoten, 1967), 90-95; *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from Earliest Times to A.D. 697, Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, Supplement 1, 2 vols., trans. W. G. Aston (London: 1896), 1:21-28.

6. This assumption has not been limited to modern scholarship. In 1027, the courtier Fujiwara no Sanesuke recorded in his diary a remark by the Chancellor, Fujiwara no Yorimichi, that "in India people do not shun pollution," to which he, Sanesuke, had replied that "pollution is a concern in Japan; in China they do not shun it" (*Dai Nihon kokiroku* [hereafter *DNK*], ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo [Iwanami Shoten, 1952-], Manju 4, 8/25, *Shōyūki* 8:22).

7. Mitsuhashi Tadashi, "*Engi shiki* kegare kitei to kegare ishiki," *Engi shiki kenkyū* 2 (1989): 40-75. See esp. 45-47.

8. Okada Shigekiyo, *Kodai no imi: Nihonjin no kisō shinkō* (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1982), 409-16 (the shift in meaning of *shōjin* appears on 414), and Taira Masayuki, "Sesshō kindan no rekishiteki tenkai," in *Nihon shakai no shiteki kōzō: Kodai, chūsei*, ed. Ōyama Kyōhei Kyōju Taikan Kinenkai, 149-71 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1997).

9. Takatori Masao, *Shintō no seiritsu* (Heibonsha, 1979), 248-53.

10. On women, pollution, and Buddhism in medieval Japan, see for example Taira Masayuki, "Kenmitsu bukkyō to josei," in his *Nihon chūsei no shakai to bukkyō*, 391-426 (Hanawa Shobō, 1992).
11. For more on Buddhist doctrinal contributions to, and critiques of, defilement discourse, see Kim, "A History of Filth," 221-58. Drawing on my own work, Kim suggests that the medieval doctrine of original enlightenment (*hongaku hōmon*), in seeing all phenomena as enlightened inherently, "had the potential to provide a measure of soteriological relief for figures associated with…chronic inexorcisable transgression defilement, by reaffirming such defilement as an enlightened state" (255-56). I have not investigated how *hongaku* doctrine may or may not have been applied to issues of defilement but suspect that, in a medieval context, "soteriological relief" might have been the sole form of mitigation it had to offer; in terms of social arrangements, *hongaku* ideas could just as easily have been deployed to support the existence of outcaste groups as to challenge them, by arguing that distinctions of purity and pollution, just as they are, constitute expressions of original enlightenment.
12. On these developments, see the "Introduction" in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, ed. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, 1-53 (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). (The "two-room flat" analogy appears on 5.) This trend in scholarship was stimulated by the influential and highly revisionist work of the late historian Kuroda Toshio (1926-93), who asserted that much of what we call "Shintō" in fact developed as a subset of Buddhism and that we cannot accurately speak of an independent "Shinto" tradition prior to the early modern period ("Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion," trans. James C. Dobbins and Suzanne Gay, *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7, no. 1 [1981]: 1-21). For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Norman Havens, "Shintō," in *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, ed. Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson, 14-37 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).
13. *Engi-shiki:Procedures of the Engi Era*, books 1-5, trans. Felicia Gressitt Bock (Sophia University, 1970), 116-17. The *Engi shiki* synthesizes and develops codal regulations found in a number of other earlier and contemporaneous sources, chiefly from the early Heian period. See Mitsuhashi, "*Engi shiki* kegare kitei to kegare ishiki," 40-47, and Kim, "A History of Filth," 35-39.
14. On this point, see Yamamoto Kōji, *Kegare to ōharae* (Heibonsha, 1992), 258-60, and Nishiguchi Junko, *Onna no chikara: Kodai no josei to bukkyō* (Heibonsha, 1987), 53-57.
15 While both involved some restriction of social activity, mourning and death pollution were distinct categories: mourning was incumbent only on family members, whether or not they had had been present at the death or funeral, while pollution could be incurred by anyone who had contact with a dead person (see Kim, "A History of Filth," 89-93). During the mourning period, both the deceased and surviving family members occupied a liminal state, and it was potentially dangerous for outsiders to have contact with them. When the mourning period had concluded, the deceased was deemed to have been definitively reestablished in the afterlife while the family returned to the social world of the living (Okada, *Kodai no imi*, 300-7).

16. See Chōwa 4 (1015), 5/6; Kannin 1 (1017), 10/2; and Kannin 4 (1020), 12/16 (*DNK*, *Shōyūki* 4:20, 243; 5:263). On the Ninnōe, see for example Taira, "Sesshō kindan," 160.
17. *Chūyūki*, Tennin 1, 1/8, *Zōho shiryō taisei* (hereafter *ST*), ed. Zōho Shiryō Taisei Kankōkai, 45 vols. (Kyoto: Rinsen Shobō, 1965), 11:311. See also the discussion in Nishiguchi, *Onna no chikara*, 27.
18. Tennin 2, 4/8, *DNK*, *Denryaku* 2:18.
19. Eikyū 4, 3/15, *DNK*, *Denryaku* 4:234. This was not a rare occurrence: the bodies of commoners, often disposed of simply by placement in an open field, were sometimes gnawed by dogs who would then drag body parts onto the property of noble residences. See Katsuda Itaru, *Shishatachi no chūsei* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), especially 1-20 for discussion, and 252-64 for a list of diary entries concerning such incidents.
20. Kaō 2, 1/26, *Gyokuyō*, ed. Imaizumi Teisuke, 3 vols. (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1906-7), 1:78-79.
21. Ryōgen's petition is reproduced in Nomoto Kakujō, "Kike bunken ni mirareru Jie Daishi Ryōgen," in *Gansan Jie Daishi no kenkyū*, ed. Eizan Gakuin, 245-56 (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984), esp. 248-49. See also Taira, "Sesshō kindan," 151.
22. *Taiki*, Kyūan 2 (1146), 1/18, 3/2, 9/11; Kyūan 4 (1148), 3/5 (*ST* 23:171, 175, 184, 248). See also Taira, "Sesshō kindan," 152.
23. *Chūyūki*, Chōshō 1, 2:17, 19, 20 (*ST* 14:285-86); see also the discussion in Nishiguchi, *Onna no chikara*, 28.
24. *Konjaku monogatari shū* 3, 16:28, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (hereafter *SNKBT*) 35, ed. Ikegami Jun'ichi (Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 542-47 (the quotation is at 542).
25. *Konjaku monogatari shū* 5, 29:17, *SNKBT* 37, ed. Mori Masato (Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 331-35.
26. See Teewen and Rambelli, eds. *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*, 22-23; Okada Shigekiyo, *Kodai no imi*, 417-29; and Nishiguchi, *Onna no chikara*, 29-34.
27. On Ise's linguistic taboos, see for example *Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*, *GR*, no. 1, 1:3b, and also Bock, *Engi-shiki*, 152-53. Lady Nijō records that, on a pilgrimage to Ise in 1291, having taken Buddhist vows and being dressed in her nun's habit, she was permitted to enter the outer shrine precincts through the second *torii*, only as far as the garden, and at the inner shrine, she had to worship at a distance, from the upper bank of the Mimosuso River (*Towazugatari* 4; trans. Karen Brazell, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973], 211, 214).
28. Satō Mahito, "Daijōsai ni okeru shinbutsu kakuri: Sono hensen no tsūshiteki kentō," *Kokugakuin zasshi* 91, no. 7 (1991): 362-79, esp. 365-71.
29. Bock, *Engi-shiki*, 117.
30. Okada Shigekiyo has argued that the tabooing of Buddhism, along with death pollution and other forms of defilement, was one means by which the imperial cult was deliberately constructed as a "native" ritual system legitimizing imperial rule, in contrast to Buddhism, a religion of foreign origins (*Kodai no imi*, 427-29). Takatori Masao has suggested that taboos against Buddhist originated in part as a reaction against Buddhist monastic involvement in court politics, which had culminated in the monk Dōkyō's

unprecedented rise to power during the reign of Empress Shōtoku (r. 764-70) (see *Shintō no seiritsu,* esp. chaps. 2 and 3). Bernhard Scheid suggests that a "division of labor" in court ritual activity and a deliberate attempt to stigmatize Buddhism by associating it with death may both have played a role in the banning of Buddhist elements from courtly *kami* rites. See his "Overcoming Taboos on Death: The Limited Possibilities of Discourse on the Afterlife in Shinto," in *Practicing the Afterlife: Perspectives from Japan,* ed. Susanne Formanek and William R. LaFleur, 205-30 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), 207-9.

31. Takatori, *Shintō no seiritsu,* 248-49.

32. On Buddhism's increasing domination of death rites among the Heian aristocracy, see Mitsuhashi Tadashi, *Heian jidai no shinkō to shūkyō girei* (Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2000), 597-668.

33. *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki* 17, *Ōjōden, Hokke genki, Zoku Nihon bukkyō no shisō* (hereafter *ZNBS*) 1, new edition of the 1974 *Nihon shisō taikei* 7, ed. Inoue Mitsusada and Ōsone Shōsuke (Iwanami 1995), 29; cf. 403.

34. *Zoku honchō ōjōden* 37, *ZNBS* 1:250-51.

35. *Shasekishū* II:3, *NKBT* 85, ed. Watanabe Tsunaya (Iwanami Shoten, 1966), 94-96; *Sand and Pebbles: The Tales of Mujū Ichien,* trans. Robert E. Morrell (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 105-06, slightly modified. See also the discussion in Takatori, *Shintō no seiritsu,* 13-18.

36. *Gonki,* Kankō 8 (1011), 3/27, *ST* 5:153.

37. *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki* 38, *ZNBS* 1:39.

38. *Shūi ōjōden* III:23, *ZNBS* 1:377-78.

39. Takatori, *Shintō no seiritsu,* 18-23. In a similar vein, see also Taira, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to bukkyō,* 65-67.

40. *Jingūji* were Buddhist temples built near shrine precincts for the explicit purpose of domesticating the *kami* enshrined there and leading them to Buddhist enlightenment. *Miyadera* were temples administered by Buddhist "shrine monks" (*shasō*), often assisted by subordinate *kami* priests; at such temples, the main object of worship was a *kami. Jisha* incorporated *kami* shrines into Buddhist temple complexes, the *kami* being seen as protectors of the Dharma and the monastery. Individual variations on these types were numerous. See for example Teeuwen and Rambelli, eds., *Buddhas and Kami in Japan,* 9-15, 26-28, and Allan G. Grapard, "Religious Practices," in *The Cambridge History of Japan,* vol. 2: *Heian Japan,* ed. Donald H. Shively and William McCullough, 517-75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 520-31.

41. See in particular Teeuwen and Rambelli, eds., *Buddhas and Kami in Japan,* 15-21.

42. This phrase appears in *Daode jing* 4, where it refers to the Way. Heian Japanese may also have derived the term from *Mohozhiguan* 6, *T* no. 1911, 46:80a16.

43. Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei,* 21, 28-31.

44. *Shasekishū* I:4, *NKBD* 85:67-68; Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles,* 81-82.

45. *Shasekishū* I:4, *NKBD* 85:69-70; Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles,* 83-84.

46. *Hosshinshū* 4:10, *Hōjōki, Hosshinshū,* ed. Miki Sumito (Shinchōsha, 1976), 194-98 (197-98). For other versions of the story, see for example *Hachiman gudōkun* (*otsu*) 2, *Jisha engi, Nihon shisō taikei* (hereafter *NST*) 20, ed. Sakurai Tokutarō, Hagiwara Tatsuo, and Miyata Noboru (Iwanami Shoten, 1975), 242-43, and *Shijū hyaku innennshū* 9:22, *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* (hereafter *DNBZ*), ed. Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 100 vols. (by the editor, 1970-73), 92:211-12. See also n. 63 below.

47. *Ippen hijiri-e* 6, *Ippen Shōnin zenshū,* ed. Tachibana Shundō and Umetani Shigeki (Shunjūsha, 1989), 49-50. Ōhashi Shunnō has suggested that these deaths were not considered polluting because the *kami* of the Mishima shrine was the clan deity of the Kawano family, to which Ippen belonged (*Ippen: Sono kōdō to shisō* [Hyōronsha, 1971], 108-09). Chijiwa Itaru in turn argues that this is unconvincing ("Shigusa to sahō: Shi to ōjō o megutte," in *Nihon no shakaishi* 8: *Seikatsu kankaku to shakai,* ed. Asao Naohiro et al., 139-68 [Iwanami Shoten, 1987], 143).

48. Shinmura Taku, for example, suggests that these stories may explain why physicians were able to violate pollution taboos and other avoidances in treating illness without coming to be regarded as defiled themselves (*Shi to byō to kango no shakaishi* [Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan, 1989], 53-55).

49. Dying on the fifteenth day of the month was considered an indication of *ōjō,* as the fifteenth was Amida Buddha's *ennichi,* a day of the month held to be especially auspicious for forming a karmic connection with a particular buddha or bodhisattva.

50. *Kamakura ibun, Komonjo-hen,* ed. Takeuchi Rizō, 42 vols. (Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1971-91), no. 13425, 18:81-82. On the transmission of pollution by sitting with defiled persons, see for example Yamamoto, *Kegare to ōharae,* 81-82.

51. Nishigaki Seiji, "Minshū no seishin seikatsu: Kegare to michi," *Rekishi kōron* 101 (1984): 101-7. See 106 for discussion of this episode.

52. Chijiwa, "Shigusa to sahō," esp. 143-45. On the importance of signs as indices to *ōjō,* see Nishiguchi Junko, "Jōdo ganshōsha no kunō: Ōjōden ni okeru kizui to mukoku," 138-60, in *Ōjōden no kenkyū,* ed. Koten Isan no Kai (Shindokushosha, 1968), 138-42.

53. *Eison Wajō nenpu, Zoku gunsho ruijū* (hereafter *ZGR*), ed. Hanawa Hokinoichi, rev. Ōta Tōshirō, 33 vols. (Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1923-33) no. 226, 9A:302b.

54. *Ippyaku shijū gokajō mondō* 140, *Shōwa shinshū Hōnen Shōnin zenshū* (hereafter *HSZ*), ed. Ishii Kyōdō (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1955), 667.

55. Koyama Satoko argues that many medieval Japanese thought that pollution would obstruct their *ōjō* ("Mappō no yo ni okeru kegare to sono kokufuku: Dōji shinkō no seiritsu," in *Chūsei bukkyō no tenkai to sono kiban,* ed. Imai Masaharu, 256-80 [Daizō Shuppan, 2002], esp. 263-69).

56. See for example James C. Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (1989; repr. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 39-40, 57-58.

57. Ikemi Chōryū, *Chūsei no seishin sekai: Shi to kyūsai* (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 1985), 39-43.

58. *Shoshin honkai shū, Chūsei Shintō ron, NST* 19, ed. Ōsumi Kazuo (Iwanami Shoten, 1977), 194.

59. *Kumano kyōkeshū,* cited in Ikemi, *Chūsei no seishin sekai,* 41-42.

60. Ikemi, *Chūsei no seishin sekai,* 41-42.

61. *GR* no. 484, 27:513b.

62. *Ippyaku shijū gokajō mondō,* no. 36, *HSZ,* 654. See also no. 15 (650).

63. This comment occurs in a distinctively Ritsu version of the story, discussed above, of a monk who incurs death pollution en route to a shrine. While journeying on pilgrimage to the Ise shrine, the Ritsu monk Kakujō stops to perform a funeral for a traveler who has died on the road, because "not refusing [such requests] is a constant of the Way." In this version of the story, Kakujō does not even consider abandoning his pilgrimage. When he reaches the vicinity of the shrine precincts, he is reproached by an old man (presumably, a divine manifestation) and responds by saying, "In [the case of one who upholds] the pure precepts, there is no defilement" (*seijōkai ni osen nashi*). A white-robed boy then mysteriously appears and announces that henceforth, any monks arriving from Enmyōji, Kakujō's temple, shall be deemed free of pollution (*Sanbōin kyūki*, *Dai Nihon shiryō*, ed. Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Bungakubu Shiryō Hensangakari [Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku, 1901-], part 6, no. 24, 868). See also the discussion of this episode in Matsuo Kenji, *Chūsei no toshi to hinin* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1998), 122-24. Matsuo argues that Ritsu monks considered their precept observance a "barrier" that protected them from defilement.

64. Knocking down a portion of a wall in order to remove a body from the household was not uncommon among Heian aristocrats; the idea was that the dead should not make their final departure through a gateway used in ordinary life. This seems to have been part of a body of funerary customs aimed at marking the off the treatment of the dead from that of the living and ensuring that the dead person's spirit would not return. The problem here was that Atsuyuki had this done when the dead person was not a member of his family, thereby polluting his household. See Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei*, 91-93.

65. *Konjaku monogatari shū* 4, 20:44, *SNKBT* 36, ed. Komine Kazuaki (Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 307-9.

66. This section on deathbed ritual may be found in *Ōjō yōshū*, in *Genshin*, *NST* 6, ed. Ishida Mizumaro (Iwanami Shoten, 1970), 206-17. For a partial translation, see James C. Dobbins, "Genshin's Deathbed Nembutsu Ritual," *Religions of Japan in Practice*, ed. George J. Tanabe, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 166-75.

67. On the Nijūgo zanmai-e, see for example Richard Bowring, "Preparing for the Pure Land in Late Tenth-Century Japan, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 25/3-4 (1998): 221-57; Robert F. Rhodes, "Seeking the Pure Land in Heian Japan: The Practices of the Monks of the Nijūgo Zanmai-e," *The Eastern Buddhist* (n.s.) 33/1 (2000): 56-79; and Sarah Johanna Horton, "The Role of Genshin and Religious Associations in the Mid-Heian Spread of Pure Land Buddhism (Japan)," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2001). It is not clear whether the group was so named because it had twenty-five members, or whether the number of members was set at twenty-five to correspond to the "twenty-five samādhis" (*nijūgo zanmai*), contemplations aimed at escaping the twenty-five realms of samsaric existence.

68. Genshin quotes the *Sifenlü shanfan bujue xingshi chao*, a commentary on the Dharmaguptaka *vinaya* by Daoxuan (596-667) (*T* no. 1804, 40:144a12-21), while the *Kishō hachikajō*, the first set of regulations for the Nijūgo zanmai-e, draws on the scriptural anthology *Fayuan zhulin* by Daoxuan's close associate Daoshi (T. 2122, 53:987a9-16). The accounts of deathbed practices at Jetavana in the two Chinese works are very close; Daoxuan refers to his source as a "Chinese tradition" (*Zhongguo benzhuan*), while Daoshi terms his a "Diagram of the Jetavana monastery in the western region" (*Xiyu Zhihuansi tu*). See Koichi Shinohara, "The Moment of Death in Daoxuan's Vinaya Commentary," in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, ed. Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone, 105-33 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 130n6.

69. A critical edition of the Nijūgo zanmai-e regulations, the 986 *Kishō hachikajō* attributed to Yoshishige no Yasutane and the 988 *Yokawa Shuryōgon'in Nijūgo zanmai kishō* attributed to Genshin, have been published in Koyama Shōjun, "Tōdaiji Chūshōin shozō 'Yokawa Shuryōgon'in Nijūgo zanmai Eshin Yasutane rinjū gyōgi' no saikentō: Sōshobon no goshoku ni yoru mondaiten," *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 53 (1997): 56-95. See *Kishō hachikajō*, article 5, 90, for the quoted passage.

70. *Kishō hachikajō*, article 8, article 7, in Koyama, "Tōdaiji Chūshōin shozō 'Yokawa Shuryōgon'in Nijūgo zanmai Eshin Yasutane rinjū gyōgi' no saikentō," 93, 91.

71. For example, on Mt. Kōya, see Matsunaga Yūken, "Kōyasan no Nijūgo zanmai shiki ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū* 31 (1928): 9-29, and for more general instances, Tamamuro Taijō, *Sōshiki bukkyō* (Daihōrinkaku, 1963), 116. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such groups became increasingly oriented to the performance of funerary rites and served lay patrons as well as monks. See also n. 74 below.

72. *Eiga monogatari* 30, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei shinsōban*, ed. Matsumura Hiroji and Yamanaka Yutaka, 2 vols. (Iwanami Shoten, 1965; revised 1993), 2:326-28; *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period*, trans. William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, 2 vols. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 2:762-64.

73. *Chōshūki*, Gen'ei 2, 12/4, *ST* 16:184; *Chūyūki*, Hōan 1, 9/19, *ST* 12:253. A list of individuals mentioned in Heian- and Kamakura-period sources who are said to have died holding the five-colored cords appears in Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon bukkyōshi*, 10 vols. (Iwanami Shoten, 1944-55), 1:631-35.

74. Katsuda, *Chūsei no shishatachi*, 178-86. Katsuda suggests that such groups may have been precursors to the village organizations that conducted funerals as a communal affair in Japan's early modern period.

75. *Chūsei no seishin sekai*, 285. See also Haseo Fumiaki (a.k.a. Kamii Monshō), "Mitori ni okeru kakuri ni tsuite: Ekan o chūshin toshite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 40, no. 2 (1992): 803-6, who takes a similar view.

76. Quoted in Daoxuan's Vinaya commentary at T. 40:144a14-16 and cited in *Ōjō yōshū*, *NST* 6:206. See also n. 68 above. Trans. from Dobbins, "Genshin's Deathbed Nembutsu Ritual," slightly modified.

77. *Ichigo taiyō himitsu shū*, *KDZ* 2: 1199, 1200.

78. "Shigusa to sahō," 157-61.

79. Katsuda notes that, from around the eleventh century, the bodies of the aristocratic dead were sometimes placed temporarily in structures called *tamadono* or *tamaya* in the hills outside the capital, occasionally within temple precincts, for later cremation or interment (*Shishatachi no chūsei*, 131-35).

80. *Eiga monogatari* 12, 1:377-80; *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, trans. McCullough and McCullough, 2:443-45.

81. Takatori, *Shintō no seiritsu*, 240-42. I am indebted to Takatori's study, especially for the present section of this essay. Other helpful works not already cited dealing with pollution avoidances among the Heian aristocracy include Yamamoto Kōji, "Kizoku shakai ni okeru kegare to chitsujō," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 287 (1986): 28-54, and Kanō Shigefumi et al., "Shokue kō: Heian jidai chūki no jōkyō," in *Kōza Heian bungaku ronkyū* 11, ed. Heian Bungaku Ronkyūkai (Kazama Shobō, 1996), 115-45.
82. *Nihon shoki* 24, second year in the reign of Kōgyoku (643), 9/17, *NKBT* 68, ed. Sakamoto Tarō et al. (Iwanami Shoten 1965), 248, 249.
83. *Nihon shoki* 24, first year in the reign of Kōgyoku, 5/22, *NKBT* 68:239-40.
84. Takatori, *Shintō no seiritsu*, 243-48.
85. On Heian funerary, burial, and cremation practices, see Tanaka Hisao, "Heian jidai no kizoku no sōsei: Toku ni jūisseki o chūshin toshite" (1967), repr. in his *Sosen saishi no kenkyū* (Kōbundō, 1978), 3-26; Suitō Makoto, *Chūsei no sōsō, bosei: Sekitō o zōryū suru koto* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1991), esp. 1-55; Shintani Takanori, *Nihonjin no sōgi* (Kiinokuniya Shoten, 1992), 167-87; and Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei*, esp. 150-76 and 186-212.
86. *Chūyūki*, Jōtoku 1, 3/5-6, *ST* 10:29-30. See also Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei*, 56-57.
87. Hori Yutaka, "Shi e no manazashi: Shitai, shukke, tadahito," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 438 (1999): 3-41, esp. 14-16; Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei*, 102-5. Hori suggests that the retirement of aging nobles to temples or villas outside city limits, such as Michinaga retiring to Hōjōji, or Yorimichi to the Byōdōin, also reflected attempts to exclude death from the capital (15).
88. Takatori, *Shintō no seiritsu*, 227, 231-32; Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei*, 147-48.
89. Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei*, 5.
90. *Murakami Tennō gyoki*, Kōhō 1 (964), 4/29, *ST* 1: 166.
91. *Gonki*, Kankō 8 (1011), 6/22, *ST* 5:162.
92. *Gonki*, Chōtoku 4 (998), 10/18, *ST* 4:50.
93. *Gonki*, Chōhō 4 (1002), 10/16, *ST* 5:274-75. According to the tale collection *Kojidan*, in 1084, when his beloved consort Kenshi lay dying, the emperor Shirakawa, refused to leave her side and clung to her body after she had died. Admonished by his minister Minamoto no Toshiakira that "the ruler has never before had contact with the dead" and urged to leave immediately, Shirakawa retorted, "[Such a precedent] begins from now" (*Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* [hereafter *KT*], ed. Kuroita Katsumi and the Kokushi Taikei Henshūkai, represented by Maruyama Jirō, 66 vols. [Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929-66], 18:40). *Kojidan*, however, was not compiled until the early thirteenth century, and so the historicity of this episode is open to question.
94. *Gonki*, Kankō 8, 6/22, *ST* 5:162-63.
95. *Gyokuyō*, Yōwa 1 (1181), 12/4, and Bunji 4 (1188), 2/19, 20, 2:540, 3:499-500.
96. Kennin 4 (1204), 2/27, in Inamura Eiichi, ed., *Kunchū Meigetsuki*, 8 vols. (Matsue, Shimane Prefecture: Matsue Imai Shoten, 2002), 2:162. See also headnote 7 on the same page. I am indebted to Asuka Sango for this reference.
97. See *Onna no chikara*, 78; English translation from Nishiguchi Junko, "Where the Bones Go: Death and Burial of Women of the Heian High Aristocracy," trans. and

adapted by Mimi Yiengpruksawan, in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, ed. Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 422.
98. See for example Liu Shufen, "Death and the Degeneration of Life: Exposure of the Corpse in Medieval Chinese Buddhism," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 28 (2000): 1-30.
99. *Shūi ōjōden* I:17, *ZNBS* 1:305-6. Here, it is the prospect of a relatively fresh and rotting corpse that is seen as polluting. Human bones—cremated or bleached, with no remaining moisture—were not necessarily regarded as defiling and were in fact interred on Mt. Kōya in the latter Heian period in considerable numbers, *ad sanctos*, in the vicinity of the tomb of the founding master Kūkai, as well as at other monasteries. See Nishiguchi, *Onna no chikara*, 88-97, and "Where the Bones Go," 428-35, as well as Yamamoto, *Kegare to ōharae*, 20-22.
100. *Hokke genki* II:47, *ZNBS* 1:112-13.
101. *Shūi ōjōden* II:17, *ZNBS* 1:337.
102. *Nihon Zenshū no seiritsu* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), 90-94.
103. Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei*, 166-68.
104. *Shūi ōjōden* II:32, *ZNBS* 1:348-49.
105. Takatori, *Shintō no seiritsu*, 247; Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei*, chap. 2, esp. 25-26, 38-40, 55, 59-62.
106. *Shūi ōjōden* II:26, *ZNBS* 1:345-46. The detail of Shigetake spreading the mat suggests the mat on which corpses left in empty fields were sometimes placed (see Katsuda, *Shishatachi no chūsei*, 28-29).
107 According to a variant account, it was the wife, not the husband, who had died (*Hyōhanki*, Ninpei 4 [1154], 4/1, *ST* 18:248). In that version, the husband is identified as a *shōji* (also read *jōji*) or sacristan, one who performed daily tasks in temple halls such as cleaning and readying incense, flowers, and ritual implements.
108. *Taiki*, Kyūju 1, 4/2, *ST* 24:116-17. See also the discussion in Niunoya Tetsuichi, *Keibiishi: Chūsei no kegare to kenryoku* (Heibonsha, 1986), 39-40.
109. "Chūsei zenki no byōsha to kyūsai: Hinin ni kansuru ichi shiren," in *Rettō no bunkashi* 3, ed. Amino Yoshihiko et al., 79-114 (Nihon Editāsukūru, 1986), 96-100.
110. *Konjaku monogatari shū* 5, 26:20, *SNKBT* 37:82-83.
111. Shinmura, *Shi to byō to kango no shakaishi*, 128-39.
112. *Shasekishū* IV:3, 4, *NKBT* 85:187-88; cf. *Sand and Pebbles*, trans. Morrell, 144-46.
113. *Konjaku monogatari shū* 5, 31:30, *SNKBT* 37:504-505. The narrator comments that people criticized the governor of Owari for his neglect when they heard the story, suggesting that ousting the sick was not considered acceptable in the case of relatives.
114. An edict of Kōnin 3 (813) prohibits abandoning menials who are ill to starve by the roadside (*Ruiju sandaikyaku* 19, cited in Shinmura, *Shi to byō to kango no shakaishi*, 131). See also the reference to this practice in *Zoku Nihon kōki, Shōwa 2* (835), 12/3 (*KT* 3:44). A later, 1261 Kamakura Bakufu ordinance forbids the abandoning of sick persons by the roadside (*Kamakura ibun*, no. 8628, 12:65).
115. "Chūsei zenki no byōsha to kyūsai," 88, 90.

116. Chijiwa's argument in his "Shigusa to sahō" for the *mujōin* as sacred space is directed in part against Fujiwara's understanding of the *mujōin* as a "death container."
117. *Hosshinshū* 2:1, *Hōjōki*, *Hosshinshū*, 88-90.
118. *Gyokuyō*, Jishō 5, 1/12. See *Gyokuyō* 2:464. On Inzei, see Ōtsuka Ayako, "Kenreimon'in Tokushi no kaishi Inzei ni tsuite," *Bukkyō bungaku* 15 (1991): 65-78, and Muramatsu Kiyomichi, "Ashō-bō Inzei ni tsuite," *Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 15 (1993): 61-79.
119. Kōkamon'in's death is recorded in *Gyokuyō*, Yōwa 1 (1181), entries for 12/1-4, 2:539-40. The following year, Tankyō also led a memorial service for Kōkamon'in; on that occasion, Kanezane referred to him as having acted as her *zenchishiki* (*Gyokuyō*, Juei 1 [1182], 11/18, 2:581). Tankyō's attendance at Goshirakawa's deathbed is noted at Kenkyū 3, 3/13, 3:798.
120. *Gyokuyō*, Shōan 1, 7/20, 1:157, and Bunji 4 (1188), 2/19-20, 3:499-500. On Butsugon, see also Sakagami Masao, "Butsugon-bō Shōshin ni tsuite," *Bukkyō ronsō* 26 (1982): 145-49.
121. *Kōyasan ōjōden* 13, *ZNBS* 1:700. See also "Kaisetsu," 758, in the same volume.
122. *Senjūshō* VII:3, *Senjūshō zenchakushū*, ed. Senjūshō Kankōkai, 2 vols. (Kasama Shoin, 2003), 2:204-10.
123. *Kūya rui*, *ZGR*, no. 214, 8B:743a.
124. ~~*Hosshinshū* 1:2;~~ *Hōjōki*, *Hosshinshū*, 24.
125. In some cases, the two roles seem to have converged. In the *Hyōhanki* reference given in n. 107 above, the person who removes the corpse is referred to, not as a *kiyome*, but as a *kawara hosshi* ("monk of the riverbank"). Riverbanks were areas associated with outcaste groups and the disposal of defilements, while the appellation *hosshi* suggests that this person was either a monk or had assumed a monk's appearance. On the other hand, some *hinin* are known to have taken care of indigent dying persons by the riverbank, a function associated with monks who acted as *zenchishiki*. These *hinin* received the dead person's clothing as payment, just as monks who nursed their dying fellows until the end were sometimes allowed to receive the dead monk's robes or other possessions in return for their services (Shinmura, *Shi to byō to kangyō no shakaishi*, 196-97).
126. On Ritsu monks and the management of death, see Hosokawa Ryōichi, *Chūsei no Risshū jiin to minshū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), esp. 1-40; Janet R. Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 120-27; and Matsuo, *Chūsei no toshi to hinin*, 118-25. On the rise of Zen funerals, see William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 185-208; Harada Masatoshi, "Chūsei no Zenshū to sōsō girei," *Zenkindai Nihon no shiryō isan purojekuto kenkyū shūkai hōkokushū* 2001-2002, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo (published by the editors, 2003), 129-43; and Duncan Ryūken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 38-58.
127. *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki* 37, *ZNBS* 1:38-39.
128. *Shūi ōjōden* III:9, *ZNBS* 1:365-66.

129. Koyama Satoko argues that such preparations were intended on the part of the dying to avert death pollution, in the belief that defilement might obstruct the Buddha's welcoming descent ("Mappō no yo ni okeru kegare to sono kokufuku"; see n. 55 above). Alternatively, it seems possible that bathing and cleaning the room may have simply represented the sort of ritual purification that would precede any major Buddhist rite and were not necessarily connected to pollution concerns.
130. *Sifenlü shanfan bujue xingshi chao*, T. 40:144a20-21; cited in *Ōjō yōshū*, *NST* 6:206. The phrase "and he is not held responsible for any transgression" is not included in Genshin's citing of this passage.
131. *Sifenlü*, T. 1428, 22:861b21-c10; summarized in Daoxuan's *Sifenlü shanfan bujue xingshi chao*, 40:143a26-b2; trans. from Shinohara, "The Moment of Death in Daoxuan's Vinaya Commentary," 108, slightly modified. Shinohara notes that the frame story of the Buddha visiting a sick monk as an occasion for giving instruction about treatment of the sick and dying occurs in a number of *āgamas* and is assimilated by Daoxuan to the specific context of deathbed ritual.
132. T. 40:144a22-27, trans. Shinohara, "The Moment of Death in Daoxuan's Vinaya Commentary," 109, slightly modified.
133. Shinohara, "The Moment of Death in Daoxuan's Vinaya Commentary," 110.
134. T. 1484, 24:1005c8-13. The same passage says that to see sick persons and fail to care for them constitutes a precept violation. On traditions of nursing in the monastery, see Paul Demiéville, "Byō," *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises* 3: 224-65 (1937; repr. Paris: Hōbōgirin, 1974) (trans. Mark Tatz, *Buddhism and Healing: Demiéville's Article "Byō" from Hōbōgirin* [Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985]; see esp. 31-35), and "Kangogaku," in Fukunaga Katsumi, *Bukkyō igaku jiten* (Yūzankaku, 1990), 292-98.
135. *Kishō hachikajō*, article 5 (Koyama, "Tōdaiji Chūshōin shozō 'Yokawa Shuryōgon'in Nijūgo zanmai Eshin Yasutane rinjū gyōgi' no saikentō," 89-90).
136. *Konjaku monogatarishū* 3, 12:29 mentions a lay monk who "performs ablutions each time after urinating or defecating" while engaged in copying the *Lotus Sūtra*, suggesting that this practice may have been a part of copying a sūtra "according to proper method" (*nyohō*) (*SNKBT* 35:156-57). Some exceptionally devout Pure Land practitioners evidently made it a practice not to relieve themselves while facing west (see for example the monk Hankyū in *Zoku honchō ōjōden* 20, *ZNBS* 1:241-42, or the nun Shakumyō in *Hokke genki* III:99, *ZNBS* 1:180). On the other hand, Nichiren (1222-82) writes, "In the case of feces and urine, though these are substances produced by the body, so long as one observes cleanly habits, there are no special prohibitions (*imi*) to be observed concerning them" (*Gassui gosho*, *Shōwa teihon Nichiren shōnin ibun*, ed. Risshō Daigaku Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo [Minobu-chō, Yamanashi Prefecture: Minobusan Kuonji, 1952-59; rev. 1988], 1:291; *Letters of Nichiren*, ed. Philip B. Yampolsky, trans. Burton Watson and others [New York: Columbia University Press, 1996], 255-56).
137. *Kishō hachikajō*, article 4 (Koyama, "Tōdaiji Chūshōin shozō 'Yokawa Shuryōgon'in Nijūgo zanmai Eshin Yasutane rinjū gyōgi' no saikentō," 88). This statement is taken directly from the *Fayuan zhulin* of Daoshi, who cites it from the no longer extant *Xiyu Zhihuansi tu*. See n. 68 above.

138. *Kanbyō yōjinshō* (a.k.a. *Kanbyō goyōjin, Kanbyō yōjin*) is reproduced in Itō Shintetsu, *Nihon Jōdokyō bunkashi kenkyū*, 447-61 (Ryūbunkan, 1975). The passages quoted occur in articles 9 and 10, 451.
139. *Hokke genki* II:66, *ZNBS* 1:134.
140. For the different versions of this story, see chap. 1 in Abe Yasurō, *Yuya no kōgō: Chūsei no sei to seinaru mono*, 17-64 (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998.
141. Janet Goodwin makes a similar observation with regard to the Ritsu monks who ministered to lepers and *hinin* (*Alms and Vagabonds*, 125-26).
142. Gregory Schopen suggests that Buddhist monasteries may possibly have provided care for the sick and dying, as brahmanical groups, for reasons of pollution, did not engage in such activities. See "The Good Monk and His Money in a Buddhist Monasticism of 'the Mahāyāna Period'" (2000), repr. in Schopen's *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 7-8.
143. *Nihon shoki* 29, eighth year in the reign of Tenmu, 10/17, *NKBT* 68:438, 439; Haseo, "Mitori ni okeru kakuri ni tsuite," 803-4.
144. Haseo, "Mitori ni okeru kakuri ni tsuite," 803-6.
145. See Hirano Futai, "Nihon kodai no sōdan ni okeru kanbyō: Tenmu hachinen jūgatsu zegatsujō no choku o megutte," in *Enjoteki ningen kankei*, ed. Saikō Gishō, 441-51 (Nagata Bunshōdō, 1988), 447-49.
146. *Enryakuji kinseishiki nijūnijō*, in *Tendai kahyō*, *DNBZ* 42:4-5. See articles 11-12.
147. Shinmura Taku, *Nihon iryō shakaishi no kenkyū: Kodai, chūsei no minshu seikatsu to iryō* (Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1985), 347-51, 365-68. Monks had engaged in the treatment of illness outside the monastery, primarily as ritualists, since at least the eighth century.
148. *Ōjō yōshū*, *NST* 6:12.
149. T. 643, 15:669b11-21, cited in *Ōjō yōshū*, *NST* 6:215.
150. T. 997, 19:574a8, cited in *Ichigo taiyō himitsu shū*, *KDZ* 1:1217.
151. William R. LaFleur, "Hungry Ghosts and Hungry People: Somaticity and Rationality in Medieval Japan," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, Part One*, ed. Michel Feher, 270-303 (New York: Zone, 1989), 278.
152. *Shi to byō to kangyo shakaishi*, 209-11.
153. *Shūi ōjōden* III:21, *ZNBS* 1:376-77.
154. *Goshūi ōjōden* II:17, *ZNBS* 1:659.
155. T. 2410, 76:781b25-28.
156. *Tōfuku daihasse Hōsshō Zenji Jūjō-bō gyōjō*, *ZGR* 9A:371b-372b. Enni himself had wished to die as Shinkai later would, having produced his death poem before the assembly, but his disciples, fearing he was too weak to do so, disobeyed his commands that they carry him into the main hall. Sugawara Shōei suggests that Enni's lineal descendents, conscious that their patriarch's last wishes had been violated, were especially sensitive about how their successive abbots died ("Kamakura jidai no yuige ni tsuite: Enni ni itaru rinjū sahō no keifu," in *Kamakura jidai bunka denpan no kenkyū*, ed. Ōsumi Kazuo, 75-114 [Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993], 102-5.

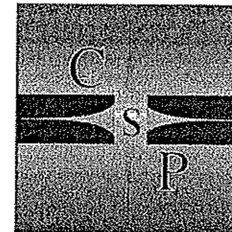
157. "Shigusa to sahō," 150-53. Chijiwa also argues that disposal measures taken before decomposition could set in may have served to support representations of particular demises as *ōjō*, rather than ordinary death. For example, the regulations of the Nijūgo zanmai-e attributed to Genshin specify that monks should be buried within three days of death (*Yokawa Shuryōgon'in Nijūgo zanmai kishō*, article 10, in Koyama, "Tōdaiji Chūshōin shozō 'Yokawa Shuryōgon'in Nijūgo zanmai Eshin Yasutane gyōgi' no saikentō," 82); this requirement was designed, Chijiwa suggests, so that Society members would not see the "marks of impurity" in the bodies of their fellow practitioners. However, he makes a stretch here in linking this regulation to the *Bunpōki*'s pronouncement that death pollution should be considered to begin from the time that the stench of decay is detected. Judging from the *Bunpōki*, this standard applies only in the case of a previously undiscovered corpse; otherwise, as indicated in the second epigraph to this essay, death pollution begins from the last breath.
158. *Sange ōjōden* 28, *ZNBS* 1:676-77.
159. *Shūi ōjōden* III:11, *ZNBS* 1:367.
160. *Shūi ōjōden* I:11 and *Kōyasan ōjōden* 3, *ZNBS* 1:297-99 and 696-97.
161. *Kōya shunjū hennen shūroku*, ed. Hinonishi Shinjō (Meicho Shuppan, 1982), 103, 132.
162. On this point, see Jacqueline I. Stone, "Death," in *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., 56-76 (Chicago University Press, 2005), 60.
163. *Shūi ōjōden* II:23, *ZNBS* 1:343. Translation from Frederic J. Kotas, "Ōjōden: Accounts of Rebirth in the Pure Land" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1987), 477-78, slightly modified. The text here has "I have completely forgotten the defilements of human beings," but since the characters for "forget" (*wasu-re*) and "avoid" or "shun" (*i-mi*) are very similar, it seems likely that this may have been a transcription error for "shunned," which would better fit the context.
164. *Chūsei no shishatachi*, 126-28.
165. *Konjaku monogatari shū* 5, 31:29, *SNKBT* 37:502-3.
166. *Sange ōjōden* 17, *ZNBS* 1:674-75.
167. *Azuma kagami*, Kōchō 3, 11/22, *KT* 33:849.
168. I know of no reference to the body of a female *ōjōnin* being visited in this way. This gendered nature of veneration of the corpse may have reflected wider patterns of social practice. For example, a courtier's diary entry recording the funeral of the retired emperor Shirakawa in 1129 notes that the coffin was open for viewing as is done in the case of men, while for women, it is closed (*Chōshūki*, Daiji 4, 7/15, *ST* 16:297. I am indebted to Mimi Yiengpruksawan for this reference). In literature and in the visual arts, however, the female corpse becomes the topos for the "contemplation of impurity" (*fujōkan*), as seen, for example, in paintings of the "nine stages of decay" (*kusōzu*). An extensive treatment of this theme may be found in François Lachaud, *La jeune fille et la mort: Misogynie ascétique et représentations macabres du corps feminin dans le bouddhisme japonais* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Japonaises, 2006).
169. *Shishatachi no chūsei*, 126-27.
170. Takatori, for example, notes that neither folklorists nor anthropologists have yet adequately explained the coexistence of death pollution taboos with the practice,

extremely widespread in premodern Japan, of burying family members near the house (*Shintō no seiritsu*, 170-83).

Heroes and Saints
The Moment of Death in Cross-cultural Perspectives

Edited by

Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara



CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PUBLISHING

Heroes and Saints: The Moment of Death in Cross-cultural Perspectives, edited by Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara

This book first published 2007 by

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

15 Angerton Gardens, Newcastle, NE5 2JA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2007 by Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.
ISBN 1-84718-160-0; ISBN 13: 9781847181602