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CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

DAOISM IN JAPAN

MASUO SHIN'ICHIRÔ*

DESCRIPTION

The arrival of Chinese culture in Japan is usually dated to the fifth century C.E. It is documented in inscribed mirrors and swords that were fashioned by immigrants from the mainland yet nevertheless showed a specifically Japanese character. These were distinctly different from the auspicious spells and magical incantations carved on objects, which were earlier imported from China and Korea. In the sixth century, a more organized adaptation of religion and artistry from the mainland commenced. Scholars of the Five Classics 五經博士 from Paekche 百濟 transmitted Confucian doctrines, while masters of the Northern Wei—again most likely after having passed through Paekche—brought Chinese medicine, divination, calendar sciences and the Buddhist religion.

There are no clear records concerning the earliest transmission of Daoism into Japan. According to a story recorded in the *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicle of Japan, dat. 720), a man named Tajima Mori 田道間守 spent decades of his life searching for the elixir of immortality and eventually managed to get to the Eternal Land (*tokoyo no kuni* 常世國), from where he brought back the "fragrant fruit that grows out of season"(Ashton 1956, 1: 186), which he wished to give to his ruler. Upon returning he found that the emperor had already died, sighed deeply and followed him into death. About the country visited by Tajima the text says: "This Eternal Land is no other than the mysterious realm of gods and immortals to which ordinary mortals cannot attain" (ch. 6, Suinin 99; Ashton 1956, 1: 186). Scholars have identified it as the immortals' isles of Penglai 蓬萊, and the "fragrant fruit" as the mandarin orange which grew in the Chinese south and was alien to Japan at the time (see Nakamura 1983; Kohn 1995).

Another story in the *Nihonshoki* concerns Mizunoe no Urashimako 瑞江浦島子, a man from Yosa 余社 district in the ancient land of Tamba 丹波, northwest of modern Kyoto. Going out to fish in the sea, he caught

* Translated by Livia Kohn

a giant turtle who transformed into a woman. Startled and delighted, Urashima made her his wife, and together they went into the sea to visit the isles of Penglai, where he met with numerous immortals (Masuo 1997). A version of the same tale in the *Man'yô-shû* 萬葉集 (Collection of a Thousand Leaves), which adds luster and embellishments to it, makes Urashima into an immortal officer of the Eternal Land who rejoiced in the celestial splendor and lost all count of time. Eventually returning to his home in Japan, he received a jade box from his immortal lady. As soon as he opened it, his hair turned white and his skin wrinkled, and he died shortly thereafter (see Shimode 1972b). Other versions appear in fragments of the *Tango no kuni fûdoki* 丹後國風土記 (Local Record of Tango Country), found in the *Shaku nihongi* 釋日本紀 (Chronicle of Japan Explained), in the *Urashimako den* 浦島子傳 (Biography of Master Urashima), its supplement and a number of other early and medieval texts. These document an increasing adapatation and embellishment of the story which is now a popular folk tale.

While these are highly legendary accounts that may or may not have been transmitted in a Daoist context, other early evidence of the religion includes the adaptation of its methods by yin-yang diviners and esoteric Buddhist monks as well as the use of its spells and talismans in Shintô and Shugendô. A number of Daoist texts, from the *Daode jing* through talismanic manuals to major religious documents, made it into Japan and played a role in different historical periods. In addition, more recent practices involving observing the Kôshin vigil and calculating merits and demerits on the basis of morality books can be described as forms of Daoism in Japan.

HISTORY

ANTIQUITY: SCHOLARS' THEORIES ON THE TRANSMISSION OF DAOISM. The first inkling of the presence of Daoism in Japan appeared in the Edo period, in works by leading scholars of Chinese history, literature and philosophy, such as Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1775-1843; see Hammitsch 1936; Kohn 1995) and Ôe Bunpa 大江文坡 (1730-1790; see Asano 1964). After them it was only in the early twentieth century that the topic was raised again, different scholars looking at different texts and presenting a variety of views on how Daoism came to be transmitted and what role it played.

The first among them, heir of the Edo scholars and a major forerunner of modern studies, was **Tsuda Sôkichi** 津田左右吉 who in a 1920 article argued that the expression *tennô* 天皇 for the Japanese emperor, which was first used in the eighth-century chronicles to replace the ruler's title *ôkimi* 大王, was a sign of strong Chinese, and particularly Daoist, influence. He found evidence for the Chinese use of the term in a number of texts, in-

cluding the *Chunqiu wei* 春秋緯 (Apocryphal Interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals). In its chapter "Hecheng tu" 合誠圖 (Matching Sincerity), we find the following: "The great emperor and heavenly sovereign (*tennô*) is the star of the North Culmen." Similar statements about the central deity of the cosmos, including the Great One (Taiyi 太一), in relation to a northern constellation and the appellation *tennô*, also appear in the *Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records, chs. 27-28) and in the *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin Dynasty, ch.6) among official documents, as well as in the more Daoist/popular *Zhenzhong shu* 枕中書 (Pillowbook; dat. 5th c.) and *Shenyi jing* 神異經 (Classic of Spirit Marvels; dat. 6th c.). Tsuda argues that the appellation developed from a basic title of the cosmic ruler through a link with a northern constellation. The belief in immortality then developed into an active religious cult, and was as such introduced into Japan and associated with the ancient emperor (Tsuda 1920).

Later scholars followed Tsuda's lead and, on the basis of inscriptions found in the central hall of the ancient Hôryûji 法隆寺 Temple and on a statue of Yakushi nyorai 藥師如來, the Medicine Buddha, concluded that the usage of *tennô* for the Japanese emperor was already in vogue in the seventh century, under emperors Temmu (673-686) and Jitô (690-697). The term carries both astrological and Daoist connotations and may have been transmitted in the *Zhenzhong shu* and *Shenyi jing*, which reached Japan in the mid-seventh century, at the time of the Tang ruler Gaozong (see Ôyama 1997; Fukunaga 1978).

A different approach to the problem of Daoist transmission into Japan is found in the work of **Kuroita Katsumi** 黑板勝美 (1923), who focuses on a *Nihonshoki* entry under Emperor Yûryaku (456-479). This states that *dôkan* 道觀 or "Daoist abbeys" were erected on Mounts Katsuragi 葛城山 and Ikoma 生駒山 in the ancient land of Yamato 大和 (modern Nara prefecture). In addition, the Futatsuki no miya 兩槻宮 on Mount Tônomine 多武峰 was also described as a *kan* or *dôkan*. This understanding of the institutions erected at the time was countered by Naba Toshisada 那波利貞 (1952; 1954) and Shimode Sekiyo 下出積與 (1972a), who claimed that the *dôkan* were not Daoist abbeys but rather astronomical observatories—a view that has since prevailed among scholars (see Fukunaga 1987; 1989). They generally follow the extensive work by Shimode (1968; 1972b; 1975; 1997), in which he filters out bits and pieces of Daoist ideas and metaphors in ancient Japanese documents.

Nevertheless, even without formal organization, certain elements of organized Daoist belief and practice did reach ancient Japan. The first scholar to present a survey of these was **Tsumaki Jikiryô** 妻木直良 in a series of lectures presented in 1911-12 and published in 1933. A Pure Land priest, he undertook an extensive study of Buddhist and other religious materials

from China, Korea and Japan and, comparing their various elements, focused on pieces of Daoism apparent especially in the Heian and Edo periods. In the former, he found that the major bibliography of Chinese texts, the *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 (Bibliography of Books Currently Available in Japan) by Fujiwara no Suketsugi 藤原佐世 of the ninth century, listed 17,160 scrolls of texts in a total of 1,588 wrappers. Many of these bore a relation to Daoism, but only a few represented religious scriptures; the vast majority dealt with longevity techniques and self-cultivation, and thus could also be classified as medical (see also Sakade 1989).

Another venue of Daoist entry into Japan was through the transmission of esoteric (Tantric) Buddhist doctrine of the Tendai 天台 and Shingon 真言 schools. In the early Heian period altogether eight leading monks went to China to obtain Buddhist sutras, including the well-known Annen 安然, Saichô 最澄 and Kûkai 空海. The works they brought back were listed in the *Hakka hiroku* 八家秘錄 (Secret Record of the Eight Monks); among them are many works concerning spells and talismans, protection of residences, the cult of Mount Tai and other, Daoist-inspired arts and beliefs (see Tsumaki 1933).

Yet another line of Daoist influence is found in the widespread spell "Swiftly, swiftly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances" (*jijitsu ritsuryô* 急急如律令), a classical formula of the Celestial Masters. This spell has been in use in Japan, especially in Shugendô, from the earliest times to the present day (see below). Then again, there are the treatises on good and bad deeds, patterned on the *Ganying pian* 感應篇 (On Impulse and Response, CT 1167), as well as morality books (*shanshu* 善書), both highly popular in the Edo period and directly influenced by Daoism (see below). Tsumaki points out all of these elements, then supplements his discussion with a list of Daoist texts available in Japan and/or translated into Japanese. This makes his study a highly valuable resource for later scholars. Indeed, most later studies follow his lead when he says: "Daoist ideas transmitted to Japan in ancient and Heian times first came under the umbrella of esoteric Buddhism and yin-yang divination, then spread into the wider populace," expanding the picture he painted without altering its basic tenets.

HEIAN: YIN-YANG DIVINATION AND ESOTERIC BUDDHISM. In the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the legal and administrative system of China was imported into Japan. Among others, a special Bureau of Yin and Yang (Inyôryô 陰陽寮) was set up to handle affairs in the four areas of yin-yang cosmology, astronomy, calendar calculation and time keeping (with the clepsydra). Officials there observed the rising of the ethers and the movements of the stars, divining good and bad fortune and setting both annual and daily time. In the tenth century, this state-sponsored form of divination spread among the aristocracy to include personal fortunes and

was merged with rituals and spells that would dispel dangers and unlucky tendencies. The result was a religious practice known as *inyôdô* 陰陽道 or yin-yang divination.

Around the same time esoteric **(Tantric) Buddhism**, which had been transmitted from India into Tang China in the early eighth century and moved into Japan in the ninth, became stronger. A branch of Mahâyâna Buddhism, it placed little importance on future existences or transmigration, but instead emphasized the possibility of becoming enlightened in this life. Esoteric Buddhism was not merely a practice limited to celibate monks, but offered spells, talismans and rituals to householders for a variety of concrete situations. In this way it strongly resembled Daoism, whose elements it also incorporated. This is evident from the many Tantric texts in Chinese that describe the recitation of *dhârani* and the performance of efficacious rituals (see Misaki 1991). Through the mediation of esoteric Buddhism elements of Daoist belief and practice therefore made their way into Japan, where they in turn merged with popular yin-yang divination, another Daoist-inspired activity.

Kûkai, the founder of the esoteric Shingon school in Japan, in the late eighth century wrote a work called *Sankyô shiiki* 三教指歸 (Pointers to the Three Teachings; see Hakeda 1972) in which he contrasts and compares Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism. He finds Buddhism highest and places it at the top, ranks Daoism second as a religious practice that also addresses the common people, and has Confucianism third, seeing it mainly as a moral and social teaching (see Fukunaga 1982; 1985). This shows that he was aware of Daoism and had a strong respect for it.

Another major text showing Daoist awareness within esoteric Buddhism is the *Gorin kuji hishaku* 五輪九字秘釋 (Secret Formula of the Five Chakras and Nine Words) of the twelfth century. This work describes secret mantras and mudras in a mystical body practice based on the five organs as understood both in Chinese medicine and Daoism. It shows that the monks of the late Heian were conversant with a number of religious techniques as well as with divination, spells, talismans and rituals that had both Buddhist and Daoist origins (see Tanaka 1984; Nakamura 1990; Misaki 1991).

The **gods worshiped** in yin-yang divination included both Daoist and popular Chinese deities, such as the Great One (Taiyi), the Lord of Thunder (Leigong 雷公), the Dunjia 遁甲 (gods of divination) and the Liuren 六壬 (gods of time; see Kosaka 1986). The practice focused on the observation of eclipses, comets and other planetary phenomena, assessing in each case the potential good or bad fortune indicated. Specialists then drew up appropriate reports for the imperial court and wrote manuals for their own use. Once the practice had spread into wider ranges of society, popular yin-yang diviners appeared, many of whom were also esoteric monks, offering charms and rites to protect people and alleviate their anxiety. Two wide-

spread works used by such monks were the *Sukuyôkyô* 宿曜経 (Book of Planets and Constellations), a divination text of an Indian esoteric background, and the *Futenreki* 符天暦 (Calendar Matching the Sky), which focused on the telling of individual fortunes (see Yamashita 1996). Their methods were slightly different from those practiced by yin-yang specialists, but like them they made use of such Daoist notions as the star of one's birth (*benming* 本命), the constellation of origin (*yuanchen* 元辰) and others.

Another commonly practiced method in yin-yang divination was the avoidance and/or **purification of the directions.** The belief here was that there were several malevolent deities located in the eight directions, including figures such as the Great General (Daijôkun 大将軍), the Planet Venus (Taihaku 太白), the Heavenly One (Ten'ichi 天一) and the Metal God (Konjin 金神). They all were said to consist of the celestial essence of metal that accumulated in the various directions. To protect oneself against them and prevent disasters coming from them, one had to cast spells, perform rituals and observe taboos related to the various directions (Yamashita 1996). The practice gained a strong foothold among Heian aristocrats, who became especially fond of purification rituals to prevent ills—a kind of ritual commonly associated with Shintô and shrines that may have entered the latter through yin-yang divination.

One way in which this purification was performed was by casting a doll on the last day of the lunar month. Directed by imperial orders, the yin-yang master would take a prefashioned doll, breathe energy into it, stroke it several times and cast it into the Brook of Seven in the capital. Taking its name from this, the ritual became known as the Seven Brook Purification (*shichise no harai* 七瀬祓). Later it also spread into the outlying areas where it was performed on the banks of rivers and became known as the Riverbank Purification (*karin no harai* 河臨祓). Esoteric monks further developed the ceremony by adding a six-word mantra, adopting it into Buddhism and changing it into the Riverbank Rite of the Six Words (*rokuji karin no hô* 六字河臨法). It then included a formal fire ritual (*goma* 護摩; see Strickmann 1983) offered to the Enlightened King of the Six Words (Rokuji myôô 六字明王) on a boat floating down the river. After reciting the formal prayer of purification addressed to the celestial ministers (*nakatomi no harai* 中臣祓), the officiating priest would throw a doll into the river, thereby joining Shintô activities with yin-yang divination and Daoist spells under an esoteric Buddhist umbrella (see Shimode 1997).

Protective measures were also taken during the construction of temples, shrines or residences to ensure the safety and success of the undertaking and cast supportive spells on the location. The rite was typically centered around Daoist deities and notions, including the Northern Dipper and the Eight Trigrams and consisted of the ritual circumambulation of the construction site. It was accompanied by the voicing of spells that would expel

all influences of baleful stars and strengthen the beneficience of all good powers. Again, this took up certain aspects of yin-yang divination and was commonly performed by esoteric monks.

Beginning in the tenth century, rituals undertaken by yin-yang diviners also increasingly took over Shintô rites for local protection and the expulsion of pestilence. This used a more Chinese venue that included the wearing of animal skins and multi-colored robes by the officiating priest, as well as the invocation of increasing numbers of star gods. Japanese worship of the latter is tracable to Chinese models in all cases, to Han sources that speak of the celestial rulers in the North Culmen and Northern Dipper. These had developed by the Tang into particular Daoist forms of astral worship. The Heian Japanese took over the latter and mixed them early on with esoteric beliefs and practices. They soon acquired particularly Japanese forms, such as that in Myôken 妙見, Miakashi 御燈 and Kôshin 庚申 (see below). These appear in the ninth century as part of yin-yang divination and are worshiped in the tenth as part of esoteric Buddhist rites (see Yamashita 1996).

In the late Heian (11th-12th c.), finally, two further **Daoist beliefs** became popular in Japan: that in the Lord of Mount Tai (Taizan fukun 泰山府君), and that in the celestial administration of the underworld run by a multitude of hierarchically organized deities. Following ancient Chinese beliefs, the Lord of Mount Tai was thought to reside in the sacred mountain of the east and serve as the ruler of fate, longevity and good fortune, controlling the registers of life and death. He was a key subject for prayers for the avoidance of disasters and extension of life (see Sawada 1968). Heian texts also mention other life-giving gods, including general officers such as the heavenly administrators, the departments of Earth and Water, the rulers of Fates and Emoluments and the heads of the Six Departments, and specific deities such as the Northern Emperor, the gods of the Five Realms and the stars of the Northern Dipper. A total of twelve groups of gods were offered silk and coins and prayed to for support in life and the extension of longevity (see Hirohata 1965; Masuo 2000).

Beyond this, special occasions, such as war, natural catastrophes and epidemics warranted further ceremonies of protection and avoidance of disaster. Again the Lord of Mount Tai served as one of the most efficacious deities, joined closely by the officials of the Department of Earth. These various rites and offerings, too, were conducted by esoteric monks who were also yin-yang diviners, following a complex mixture of medieval beliefs and practices that included a strong Daoist influence.

KAMAKURA: SHINTÔ AND SHUGENDÔ. Shintô 神道 has long been recognized as the indigenous religion of Japan. It was particularly singled out in the nineteenth century with the rise of nationalism and became the key political doctrine in the early twentieth century, then known

as State Shintô (see Hardacre 1989). Today, much as in the middle ages, another form prevails, highly localized and focused on popular welfare and commonly called Shrine Shintô. It involves the worship of *kami* 神 or "gods," personified forces of nature. These holy, pure and benevolent powers are found in all sorts of natural locations. In the early period, worship of the *kami* was closely integrated with Buddhism, so that shrines were usually also temples (institutions that have been called muliplexes; see Grapard 1992a) and served as locations of a variety of popular rituals. Ideologically, the integration was justified in the belief that ordinary *kami* were local spirits that served as protectors and helpers of Buddhism, while more famous ones were thought of as localized manifestations of buddhas or bodhisattvas (*suijaku* 垂迹; for typical examples, see Kleine and Kohn 1999).

In the Kamakura, around the time of the failed Mongol invasion (1281), two new forms of Shintô, Ise Shintô and Yoshida Shintô, arose that did away with the protective helper doctrine. They saw *kami* as individualized, special powers that had their own virtues and needed their own offerings, prayers and worship. Both created new rites and doctrines and in their own way incorporated Daoist influences.

Ise Shintô 伊勢神道 is documented first in a twelfth-century text known as the *Shintô gobusho* 神道五部書 (Five Book on Shintô), which is part of Watarai Ieyuki's 度會家行 *Ruiju jingi hongen* 類聚神祇本源 (Origins of the Manifold Gods). Here, for the first time, *kami* are distinguished according to function, including those who created heaven and earth, those who represent certain places and those closer or more distant to human beings. The text includes numerous citations from proto-Daoist works, including the *Yijing*, texts on yin and yang and Han-dynasty apocrypha, showing that its worldview depended to a large degree on Chinese concepts. Moreover, the first chapter of the work on the "Creation of Heaven and Earth" cites the *Daode jing* and some of its commentaries as well as the *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義 (Great Meaning of the Five Phases; see Kalinowski 1991) and the *Yijing* (see Takahashi 1977).

Yoshida Shintô 吉田神道 developed slightly later than Ise Shintô and under the latter's influence, intensifying its vision of *kami* and even more strongly opposing the protective helper doctrine. It not only makes ample use of the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*, but also relies on the *Beidou benming yansheng jing* 北斗本命延生經 (Scripture of Extending Life with the Help of the Birth Star and the Northern Dipper, CT 622). This form of Shintô developed particularly in the Muromachi period by Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼倶 (1435-1511; see Grapard 1992b), and strongly opposed the contemporaneous doctrine of the integration of Buddhism and Confucianism, as proposed by the Five Mountains system of Zen Buddhism (see Collcutt 1981). It created a completely new form of Shintô doctrine, as documented especially in Yoshida's *Yuitsu shintô myôhô yôshû* 唯一神道名法

要集 (Essential Collection of Key Methods of the One and Only Shintô), a work that shows heavy Daoist influence.

Written late in the fifteenth century, it presents a systematic exposition of doctrine and ritual that is based to a large extent on the *Beidou benming yansheng jing*. Furthermore, the text concludes with a list of fifty-seven "numinous talisman methods" (*xuanling fufa* 玄靈符法), which has sets of spells, talismans and sacred seals. The *Jingidô reifuin* 神祇道靈符印 (The *Kami's* Talismanic Seal of Numinous Dao-Power) found here is a prominent protective charm that goes directly back to Daoist sources and has remained prominent in Shintô practice to the present day. In addition, Yoshida Kanetomo linked his system with the old yin-yang divination practice by identifying a number of specific deities, such as the gods of earth, water, stove and the souls, with the ten-partite division of deities used in the Heian and with ancestors of his own clan, such as Yoshida Urabe 吉田卜部. In both doctrine and practice he thereby created a new version of Daoist-Shintô integration that took a specifically anti-Buddhist stance and helped pave the way for later Shintô developments (see Sakade and Masuo 1991).

Besides Shintô, Daoism also exerted a great deal of influence on another form of popular religious practice in Japan: **Shugendô** 修驗道. Originally a practice of shamanic and ascetic mountain worship, this integrates esoteric Buddhism, Shintô, yin-yang divination and Daoist elements into a single organized system. It began in the seventh century with the legendary En no Ozunu 役小角, who lived on Mount Katsuragi in the ancient Yamato area. A practitioner of asceticism and the working of spells, he controlled even Buddhist deities with his powers and served to protect the state from harm (see Miyake 1993; Shimode 1997). Other early figures following the same path were centered on Mounts Yoshino 吉野山 and Kumano 熊野山 in the same region (south of modern Nara). Their deeds and religious activities, which included numerous supernatural powers as well as the collection and ingestion of immortality herbs, are recounted in the *Honchô shinsenden* 本朝神仙傳 (Biographies of Spirit Immortals of Our [Heian] Dynasty; see Kleine and Kohn 1999) and in the *Honchô hokke genki* 本朝法華驗記 (Record of "Lotus" Miracles from Our Dynasty; see Tsumaki 1933).

Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the practice of Shugendô spread from the three mountains in western Japan (Kumano, Ômine 大峰山 and Yoshino) to three further peaks in the northeast (Mounts Haguro 羽黑山 [see Earhart 1970], Gassan 月山 and Yudono 湯殿山) as well as to Mount Hiko 英彦山 in Kyushû. In the process it split into three different strands and lineages. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, Shugendô was linked with Buddhism and further divided into two major groups: an esoteric lineage of Tendai, associated with the Shôgoin 聖護院 Temple (the so-called Honzan lineage 本山派), and a lineage of

Shingon, with headquarters in the Sampôin 三寶院 Temple of Daigoji 醍醐寺 (known as the Tôzan lineage 當山派; see Miyake 1993). Since that time it has spread widely among the populace and today has come to exert considerable influence on the new and new-new religions.

Shugendô practitioners are known as **yamabushi** 山伏. They undergo ascetic practices in the mountains to acquire supernatural powers and learn to divine good and bad fortune. Their practice focuses on fortune-telling, faith-healing and praying against calamities, as well as on the weaving of *dhâraṇi*-spells and the writing of protective talismans. They are called upon to perform rituals that heal, invite good fortune and repose the souls of the dead. Much of what they do goes back to Daoist sources. For example, one of their key rites is a protective ceremony performed before entering the mountains that follows a formula already found in Ge Hong's 葛洪 *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity, CT 1185, ch. 17) of the fourth century. Common elements include the wording of the spells, the ritual procedures, the gods worshiped and the practice of abstaining from grains. The main difference is that the *Baopuzi* intended its rite for the solitary mountain entry of a single Daoist, while yamabushi undertake their practice in groups, believing that they will become buddhas in this life.

Then again, not unlike the *fangshi* of ancient China, many Shugendô practitioners make a living concocting and selling medicines, which they moreover call *dan* 丹, the term used for the cinnabar elixirs concocted by Chinese alchemists. Famous examples include the Mankintan 萬金丹 (Cinnabar Worth Ten Thousand Pieces of Gold) from Mount Asama 朝熊山 in Ise, the Furôtan 不老丹 (Cinnabar Against Old Age) from Mount Hiko and the Hankontan 反魂丹 (Cinnabar for Returning the Soul) from Mount Tateyama 立山 in Echû 越中. Their talismans also integrate the Daoist-based formulas used by yin-yang diviners and their ritual movements follow the ancient Daoist *Yubu* 禹步 or "Pace of Yu." Among their key spells is the Celestial Masters' formula "Swiftly, swiftly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances," which is found on talismans, sacred banners and roof tiles even today (Maeda 1989; Miyazawa 1994). Finally, they make use of the so-called *kuji kiri* 九字切, a demon-dispelling spell of nine characters that first appears in the *Baopuzi* (17.6a). It runs: *Rin pyôtôsha kai chinretsu zaizen* 臨兵鬪者皆陳列在前 or "Come down, soldiers and fighters, and line up before me!" It is often arranged graphically in a grit of five vertical and nine horizontal characters (see Miyake 1993; Kubo 1962; see Fig. 1).

While Shugendô thus integrates many Daoist elements from a variety of backgrounds, the exact nature of the transmission is not clear. As likely as not Daoism entered Japanese mountain worship not via organized lineages of patriarchs but rather through the activities of individual practitioners,

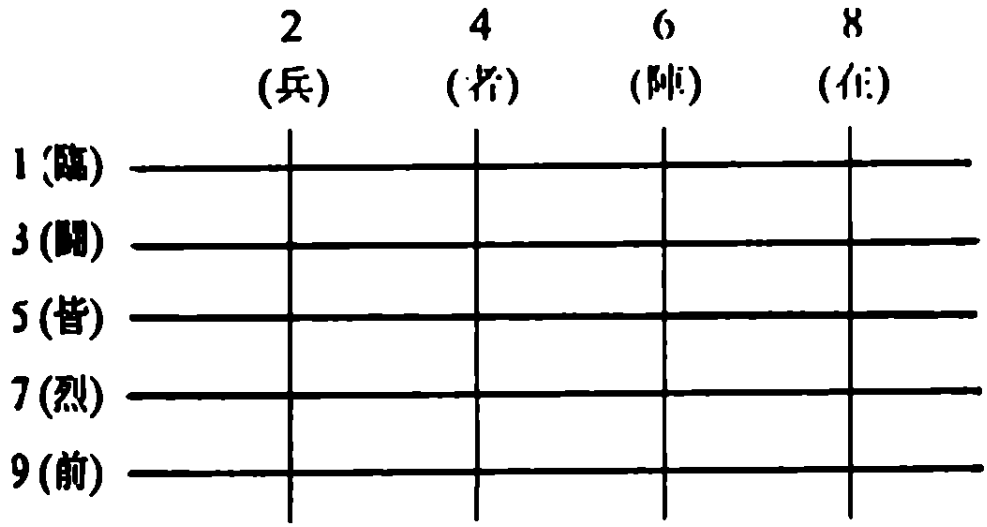

Figure 1

emigrés and exiles from the mainland who brought their creeds and techniques with them. One, rather tentative, example is the case of a Japanese practitioner of the early eighth century who set himself up on Mount Togakushi 戸隠山 in Shinshû 信州 (modern Nagano), erected a statue of Lord Lao and recited the *Daode jing*. Condemned by the court for some sort of improper conduct, he was exiled to the far-off Isles of Eight Fathoms (Hachijôjima 八丈島), to the south of modern Tokyo.

Texts

There are practically no sources that describe the transmission of Daoist texts in ancient Japan. The *Kojiki* 古事記 (Chronicle of Ancient Affairs) and the *Nihonshoki* of the early eighth century, as noted earlier, show traces of Daoist influence in their records and stories, but the actual texts cited in them are not specifically Daoist. Rather, they are literary works, poems, encyclopedias and collections such as the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Classified Collection of Artistic Writings) and the *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Record of Initial Learning).

THE *DAODE JING*. Recent archaeological evidence, unearthed at the site of the Fujiwara palace, erected in 694, shows that Daoism was present

at the time. Wooden tablets contain the first line of the *Daode jing*, "The Dao that can be told is not the eternal Dao," but it remains unclear whether this is part of a complete copy of the text or just one line, cited from oral or other sources. It was not from any official use of the text, since the lists of texts necessary for official study under the Chinese legal system introduced in the seventh century did not contain it. Nevertheless, the text was widely known among Japanese intellectuals. For example, the *Kaifûsô* 懐風藻 (Verses on Bosom Feelings) and other poetic works contain any number of allusions and partial citations from the text, using, interestingly enough, its edition by Heshang gong 河上公. Unlike other major editions, such as that of Wang Bi 王弼 or the *Xianger zhu* 想爾注, this version of the *Daode jing* places a great emphasis on longevity techniques and makes clear statements about political techniques, such as ruling the state as one would cultivate oneself (*zhishen zhiguo* 治身治國). It also appears that all actual copies of the *Daode jing* circulating in Japan were of the Heshang gong edition (see Masuo 1997), which was of central importance in the middle ages and also a key text of later Ise Shintô.

WORKS ON PERSONAL PROTECTION. According to the *Nihonshoki*, on the last day of the twelfth month of 651 (Emperor Hakuchi) the capital was moved from one site to another (see Takahashi 1991). To protect the good fortune of the venture, two texts were recited, the *Antakukyô* 安宅経 (Scripture on Building a Safe Home) and the *Dosokukyô* 土側経 (Scripture on Following the Rules of the Earth). While the former remained extant in various versions, the latter was lost early on, but it may be related to a text called *Anbokyô* 安墓経 (Scripture on the Protection of Graves), which has been rediscovered recently among a cache of texts found at the Nanatsudera 七寺 Temple in Nagoya (see Ochiai 1991; Makita and Ochiai 1994-99). Both texts are highly similar in nature, providing ritual formulas and ceremonies for the construction of all sorts of structures, from residences and utility buildings to gates, gardens and stoves.

In all cases, the spirits of the earth, such as the gods of the four directions and the Six Jia deities of time, are disturbed by the building procedures and must be properly pacified if good fortune is not to be lost. In format and content, the texts go back to medieval Daoist scriptures, composed on the basis of a mixture of Buddhism, popular religion, Confucianism and Daoism. These also have parallels among apocryphal Buddhist sûtras which, being apocryphal and thus not genuine (Indian), have been cast aside and ignored by scholars for far too long (see also Buswell 1990). This dimissive attitude is quite contrary to the evidence which suggests that the texts were extremely well-known and widely used among monks and laymen alike. They are found, for example, in a variety of versions in Dunhuang and were copied numerous times in Japan, where one finds them in the Shôsôin

正倉院 (Treasure House) of the Tôdaiji 東大寺 Temple in Nara and in a number of ancient Kyoto temples. Numerous manuscripts here can be matched, more or less closely, with texts in the Daoist canon (see Masuo 1998).

A prominent example is the ***Tenchi hachiyô shinjukyô*** 天地八陽神咒經 (Scripture of Sacred Spells [to Pacify] the Eight Yang Energies of Heaven and Earth), which contains methods of salvation as explained by the Buddha to a bodhisattva called Non-Obstruction. Reciting the text three times will get rid of demons, heal diseases and liberate from foolishness. In addition, when chanted at the time of construction of a new building, it will pacify the gods of the four directions, the Six Jia, the twelve major deities and the dragons of the earth. When chanted seven times at the deathbed of one's father or mother, the text will assure that they will become buddhas and enter paradise even if they have committed a mortal sin during life. Other occasions for the text's chanting include childbirth, marriage, funerals and moving into a new home—in all cases, it will assure good fortune, protect from evil influences and increase health and longevity (Masuo 1998).

After its compilation in the seventh century, the text spread widely, so that over one hundred manuscript copies were found at Dunhuang. Later it was rewritten into a Daoist version, the *Anzhai bayang jing* 安宅八陽經 (Scripture on Building a Safe Home [without Offending] the Eight Yang Energies, CT 634), dat. 1008-16 (Ren and Zhong 1991, 456), and translated from the Chinese into Uighur, Mongolian, Tibetan and Korean Hangul versions. It is still in common use in East Asia today. As it moved from one country to another, its application changed; the basic purpose of the text, to avoid any offenses to the spirits of yin and yang, was first mixed in China with the filial piety owed to one's parents, then joined ancestor worship and the practice of fengshui in Korea, only to be merged with offerings to earth *kami*, merit accumulation and the spells and soul-prayers of yin-yang diviners in Japan.

Another text of this kind is the ***Jiuhu shenming jing*** 救護身命經 (Sûtra on the Salvation and Protection of Body and Life). It was first composed in the late sixth century, it describes how, after the nirvâna of the Buddha, the five defilements (*wuzhuo* 五濁) will spread in the world, allowing demons, spectres and *gu* poisons to steal people's vital energy and cause them to die. All these dangers will be greatly alleviated or even avoided through the recitation of this scripture. The idea contained in the text that evil can be dissolved through the accumulation of merit and the proper chanting of sûtras reached China from India. However its understanding of the nature and form of evil originates largely in the Qin and Han, when fear of demons and the *gu* poison was widespread (see Harper 1985). By the Tang, it had also been transformed into a Daoist text of the Lingbao school.

It is found twice in the Daoist canon today, under its original title in CT 356, and as *Jiuku hushen miaojing* 救苦護身妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on the Salvation from Suffering and the Protection of the Body) in CT 351 (see Masuo 2000).

Then there is the ***Yisuan jing*** 益算經 (Sûtra on the Prolongation of Life), also known as the *Qiqian foshen fujing* 七千佛神符經 (Talismanic Scripture of the 7,000 Divine Buddhas). It contains a large number of spells and talismans that serve to dissolve bad fortune and increase health and longevity. These are made efficacious by the Six Jia gods, the 7,000 buddhas and the seven gods of the Northern Dipper. Variously changed and edited over the centuries, it appears in the Daoist canon in two versions, the *Changsheng yisuan miaojing* 長生益算妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of Prolonged and Eternal Life, CT 650) and the *Yisuan shenfu miaojing* 益算神符妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of Divine Talismans for the Prologation of Life, CT 672; Masuo 2000).

The ***Zhaohun jing*** 招魂經 (Scripture of Calling Back the Soul) was composed in the late fifth century. It is based on the ancient Chinese mortuary practice of calling back the soul and describes how to recover the lost souls of Buddhist followers and extend their lifespans. It also integrates popular ideas and practices as well as Daoist gods and constellations, claiming that knowing and writing down the demons' names will expel all evil and bad fortune. Human souls, moreover, are not one or two in number as in ancient Confucianism, but a set of three *hun* 魂 and seven *po* 魄, as described in Daoist texts. In Japan, it was used by yin-yang diviners who too practiced rites for recovering people's souls.

The DAOIST CANON, as edited in the Zhengtong reign of the Ming dynasty (1445) and its supplement, the *Xu daozang* 續道藏 of the seventeenth century, were both transmitted to Japan under the Tokugawa. The Chinese edition contained a total of 5,485 scrolls of texts, many of which arrived in Japan through the Nagasaki trade route. The *Shôhaku sairai shomoku* 商舶載來書目 (Catalog of Books Imported by Merchant Vessels) of 1695 is the first to catalog it. It appears next in 1770, when the collection was made part of the library of Feudal Lord of the Saeki 佐伯 clan, Môri Takasue 毛利高標, from where it entered into the Imperial Palace. The Daoist collection present here is not the complete canon as printed in China and contains a total of 4,115 scrolls of texts (see also Barrett 1994).

A separate edition of the canon was reprinted in Shanghai in 1923-26 on the basis of woodblocks stored at the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 in Beijing, which contained the Ming canon in a nineteenth-century reedition. This edition was further amended and variously supplemented and has become the standard basis of Daoist scholarship today, also being used frequently in Japan. Still, there are three major versions of Daoists texts: the Ming canon as present in the Imperial Palace library, the Baiyun guan reprint

and the manuscripts found at Dunhuang. Further research is needed on their interconnections and differences (see Kubo 1955).

PRACTICES

In more recent centuries certain Daoist practices have taken root in Japan and are flourishing among the wider populace. The most important among them are the Kôshin cult and the adaptation of Chinese morality books, both of which rose to prominence under the Tokugawa.

The KÔSHIN CULT 庚申信仰 is based on the belief that there are three worms or "corpses" (*sanshi* 三尸) in the human body which, once in every sixty-day cycle, on the *kôshin* (*gengshen*) day, ascend to heaven to report on the person's sins and receive celestial instructions for punishments, such as sicknesses, bad fortune and early death. The three worms, an upper one residing in the head, a middle one residing in the torso and a lower one controlling abdomen and legs, can only leave when the person is asleep. To prevent them from leaving and making their detrimental report, people on the eve of the Kôshin day take ritual precautions and make an effort to stay awake. The belief is that three such vigils on the Kôshin night will severely weaken the worms; if they are prevented from leaving seven times, they will perish—together with all sickness and bad fortune, thus allowing for the extension of life and happiness (see Kohn 1993-95; Kubo 1998).

The notion of the three worms appears first in the *Baopuzi* (6.4b; see Ware 1966, 115-16), and is then found in Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 (456-536) *Zhen'gao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected, CT 1016) and Duan Chengshi's 段成式 *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (Miscellanea of Youyang). Among religious Daoist texts, it is specified in the *Chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing* 除三尸九蟲保生經 (Scripture on Preserving Life by Removing the Three Worms and Nine Parasites, CT 871) of the late Tang and its abbreviated version, the *Sanshi zhongjing* 三尸中經 (Central Scripture of the Three Worms, *Yunji qiqian* 81).

The belief in the worms coupled with the vigil on the critical night is first documented in Tang China, but it is not entirely clear when it was first transmitted to Japan. Ennin 圓仁, the Great Master Jikaku 慈覺大師, describes it in an entry under the year 838 in the record of his Chinese travels, the *Nittô guhô junrei kôki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Travel Record of the Pilgrimage to the Tang in Search of Buddhist Teachings; trl. Reischauer 1955). Similarly, brief notes under the years 834 and 836 in the *Shoku nihon koki* 續日本後紀 (Supplementary Latter Chronicle of Japan) mention a Kôshin assembly and banquet. It seems, therefore, that the practice was known and active in ninth-century Japan.

However, the Kôshin cult was not entirely the same as in China, where the vigil had been a spiritual event that included abstention from sexual activity and a taboo on eating meat as well as purifications through baths and meditations. In Japan, by contrast, participants engaged in extravagant banquets, drank wine, ate meat, made music, watched dance performances and played chess and other social games. In short, they made the vigil into a party rather than a spiritual undertaking. As this practice was transmitted from the Heian aristocracy to the samurai leaders of the Kamakura period, it was further adopted by yin-yang diviners and esoteric monks. They added the worship of certain deities, the most popular being Shômen kongô 青面金剛, the Bluefaced Vajrapani (see Yoshioka 1967; Kohn 1993-95).

A Japanese Kôshin scripture, the *Rôshi shukôshin guchôsei kyô* 老子守庚申求長生經 (Laozi's Scripture of Observing Kôshin and Extending Life), appeared in the eleventh century. It was compiled in close similarility to the *Yunji qigian* text by a monk of the Onjôji 園城寺 Temple who followed the lineage of Enchin 圓珍, Great Master Chishô 智証大師. Later in the same century the text was amended and expanded by the Tendai monk Jôjin 成尋, who had traveled to Song China in search of authentic Buddhist teachings. By the mid-fifteenth century a number of specifically Buddhist elements had been added to the text and, for the first time, there were also *Kôshin engi* 庚申緣起 (Origin Stories) that described local events related to the cult and specified its taboos, ritual observances and merits (Kohn 1993-95; Kubo 1998). Buddhist deities were increasingly involved in the cult at this time, including Manjusri, Yakushi nyurai, Śâkyamuni, Amitâbha, Kannon and Fudô. The cult was increasingly localized, becoming an established part of popular Japanese religion.

In the Tokugawa, esoteric monks and yamabushi adopted it and began to give Kôshin lectures throughout the country. Many local temples erected special Kôshin halls or pagodas for the practice, and even Shintô shrines became active participants, linking the cyclical sign of Kôshin with its symbolic animal, the monkey (*saru*), and establishing an association with the Shintô god Sarutahiko 猿田彦. The cult is active to the present day: Kôshin halls at temples in Ôsaka and Nara hold fairs on the relevant day, while various local Kôshin associations meet for vigils.

MORALITY BOOKS (*shanshu* 善書) are the other major form that Daoist practice took in Japan. They were first imported in the Tokugawa period as part of a major absorption of Chinese and especially Neo-Confucian culture, and strongly reflected the Song pattern of harmonizing and integrating the three teachings (see Ôba 1967). Among the earliest texts, first apparent in 1620, is the *Ganying pian jingzhuan* 感應篇經傳 (Scriptural Commentary on the Treatise on Impulse and Response). This is an annotated edition of Li Changling's 李昌玲 (fl. 1127-1150) expositon on the rewards and punishments of good and evil deeds (see Hervouet

1978, 370-71), which was extremely popular in China and underwent numerous reprints (see Bell 1992).

This was further supplemented in the eighteenth century by Japanese editions and translations of the *Yinzhi wen* 陰騭文 (Text of Secret Blessings) and the *Zizhi lu* 自知錄 (Record of Self-Examination), which served to spread morality books widely among the populace. A systematic commentary (*genchû* 訓註) of the *Ganying pian* published in 1719, and a scriptural version of the text of 1733, not only merged the three teachings of China into one system, but also integrated Japanese Shintô and newly developed Japanese Confucian theories. Further texts appeared in the 1770s, including the *Waji kôka jichi roku* 和字功過自知錄 (Japanese Record of Self-Examination of Merit and Demerit) and the *Wago yinshitsu roku* 和語陰騭錄 (Japanese Record of Secret Blessings). These defined the good fortune that accrued on the basis of good deeds in both Shintô and Buddhist terms and presented a uniquely Japanese interpretation of the Daoist works. In 1791, moreover, the *Kansei teikun kakusei shinkei reihen* 關聖帝君覺世真經靈應篇 (Record of the Numinous Effects and Worldly Awareness of the Imperial Lord Guandi) appeared. This collection of records on the belief in the god of war and wealth, Guandi, in the late Ming and early Qing, also contained morality books such as the *Kakusei kyô* 覺世經 (Scripture of Worldly Awareness).

A major compiler of such texts was Ôe Bunpa 大江文坡 (1730-1790), a major Qing scholar of Daoism who left behind numerous works on starry deities, bodhisattvas, the god Zhenwu and many aspects of Daoist belief. They include his *Kimen reiken mibu shatenden* 鬼面靈驗壬生謝天傳 (Record on Ghostly Appearances, Miracles, Extending Life and Thanking Heaven), his *Hokushin myôken bosatsu reihen* 北辰妙見菩薩靈應篇 (Numinous Effects of the Boddhisattva Myôken of the Northern Sky) and writings on the three worms, such as the *Taijô keimin kôkô hiroku* 太上惠民甲庚秘錄 (Highest Secret Record of Benefiting People on the Days *Jia* and *Geng*) and the *Kôkô reifu sankyô hiroku* 甲庚靈符三教秘錄 (Secret Record of the Numinous Talismans of the Three Teachings Effective for the Days *Jia* and *Geng*). He also wrote about the secret chart of the five sacred mountains, various methods of casting spells and producing talismans, ways of becoming immortal and the proper observances for the sending of petitions to the otherworld. He was widely learned in diverse fields and tended to create a thorough mix of Daoism, Buddhism and Shintô in his various works. They may not contain an accurate presentation of organized Daoist beliefs and rituals, but they certainly are relevant documents for the practice of popular religion in Tokugawa Japan, which was greatly influenced by Daoism (see Asano 1964).

In the late eighteenth century, the *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 (Complete Book of Patriarch Lü, 33 j.), a compendium of Complete Perfection, and

the *Wendi quanshu* 文帝全書 (Complete Book of Wenchang, 50 j.) were introduced to Japan. Both contained morality texts side by side with devotional and literary materials and exerted a serious influence on Japanese religion. The *Wendi quanshu* made its way into the hands of Hasegawa Ennen 長谷川延年, an Ôsaka townsman, in 1823. He studied it avidly and linked it with the *Ganying pian* and other morality of books, and he organized reprints and wide distribution of them all. The nineteenth century saw further developments that were more independently Japanese, as is documented in the *Wakan inshitsu den* 和漢陰騭傳 (Japanese and Chinese Records of Secret Blessings), which reflects the title of the traditional Chinese *Yinzhi wen* but is completely different in contents and outlook. It is a completely Japanese morality book and shows the degree to which this aspect of Chinese and Daoist culture had become part of Japanese religion.

Morality books were widely used among the common people, but their influence was by no means restricted to them. The intellectual elite also made use of the books and paid serious attention to Daoism. For example, Nakae Tôju 中江藤樹 (1608-1648), a Confucian scholar of the Wang Yangming 王陽明 tradition, wrote a preface to the *Taiyi shenjing* 太乙神經 (Spiritual Scripture of the Great Unity) in which he noted that he worshiped this Daoist deity himself. Miura Baien 三浦梅園 (1723-1789), following the example of Tao Hongjing, called himself a "grotto immortal" (*dongxian* 洞仙) and wrote several Daoist-inspired works, including the *Yôjôkun* 養生訓 (On the Cultivation of Life) and the *Genkiron* 元氣論 (On Primordial Energy). Hirata Atsutane, a senior representative of national learning, undertook a detailed reading of the *Yunji qiqian* and made ample use of devotional and meditational Daoist scriptures in his discussion of Shintô and the origins of Japanese culture. Finally, Aoki Hokkai 青木北海 (1783-1865) of Toyama 富山 was seriously concerned with Daoist spells, talismans and ritual dances and, studying the *Baopuzi* and other early works, compiled a work on the Pace of Yu, the *Uho senketsu* 禹步傳訣 (Explanation of the Pace of Yu). All of these show that Daoist practice was widespread among both the popular and the elite segments of Tokugawa society. They employed organized Daoist notions and yet in all cases adapted them so as to create something specifically Japanese.

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