

Belief in wooden effigies used for malevolent purposes between the Asuka and Heian period

飛鳥時代から平安時代における呪詛としての  
木製人形代の信仰

Katalin Helfenbein

Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE)

Japanese Philology (PhD)

# Content

- Definition for „figurine”
- The *enmi*
- The Chinese origin of *enmi*
- Japanese sources and artefacts
  - Asuka period, Nara period, Heian period
- Conclusion

# Figurine

- 人形 *ningyō* (doll)
- *Hitokata, hitogata*
- *Katashiro* 形代 (substitutional object)

## Usage:

1. space to occupy by spirits (*kami* 神)
2. object of purification (*nademono* 撫物)
3. substitution of a certain person
  - a) prayer
  - b) curse

# Healing and „exorcism”

- Late Asuka period  
(694–710)



Source: Mokki shūsei zuroku – Kinki kodaihen  
木器集成図録 近畿古代篇

- Nara period (710–794)



- 左目痛作今日  
(hidarime yamai okoru kyō)

Source: Mokki shūsei zuroku – Kinki kodaihen  
木器集成図録 近畿古代篇

# Enmi 厭魅

## En 厭

- Carving images
- Drawing likenesses
- Stabbing the heart
- Piercing nails through the eyes
- Tying the hands and feet

## Mi 魅

- Summoning demons
- Practicing the „Ways of the left”
- Using spells



...to harm/kill  
a person

# Ancient China

- Six Secret Teachings (*Liù Tāo* 六韜)
- Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Governance (*Zìzhì Tōngjiàn* 資治通鑑)

## Asuka period (538-710)

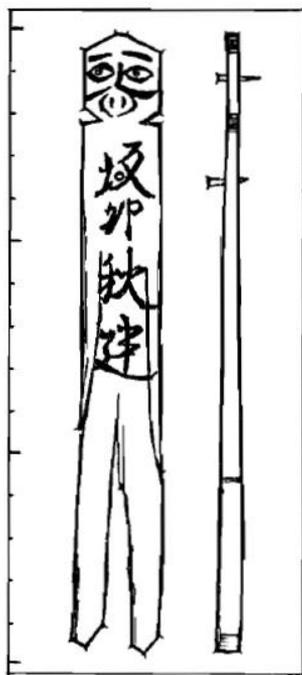
- The Chronicles of Japan (*Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀)
  - Figures of cursed princes

## Nara period (710-794)

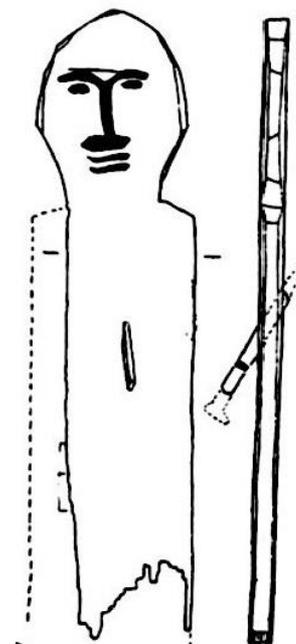
- Continued Annals of Japan (*Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀)
  - Emperor Shōmu's decree
  - Prince Nagaya's suicide and his „vengeful spirit”

# Nara period - Heijō palace

- „Sakabe Shūken” 坂部  
秋建
- Cursed figure



Source: Mizuno 1982: 33.



Source: Mokki shūsei zuroku – Kinki kodaihen  
木器集成図録 近畿古代篇

# Princess Inoue 井上内親王

- Crime of *fuko* 巫蠱
- Crime of *enmi*
- *Ryōanji goryō daimyōjin engi*
- 靈安寺御靈大明神縁起 (accursed figure)
- *Kugyō bunin* 公卿補任 (coup d'état?)
- Deaths in prison
- Princess Inoue, Prince Osabe and their „vengeful spirit”

# Heian period (794-1185)

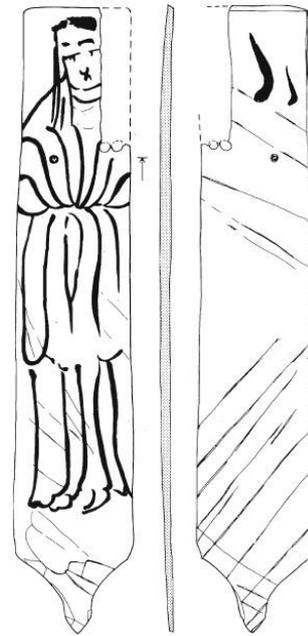
- Cursed „couple”



- Fujii Fukumaro 葛井福万呂
- Hinokuma Ako.. 檜前阿古□□

Source: Minami – Harayama 2005: 2.

- Cursed noble(wo)man



Source: Miyake – Yanaura 1990: 316.

# Late Heian period

- *Shihōhai* 四方拝 Emperor's ritual on New Year's day

## Conclusion

- Imperial court – maintaining the order
- Intentional human deed – punishment
- Unintentional human error – appeasement of the supernatural power
- Tools of secular intents
- Coming to a full circle

## Primary sources

- *Nihon shisō taikē* 3. Ritsuryō 日本思想大系 3 律令. Ienaga Saburō – Ishimoda Tadashi – Inoue Mitsusada – Sagara Tōru – Nakamura Yukihiko – Bitō Masahide – Maruyama Masao – Yoshikawa Kōjirō (eds). 1978. Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten.
- *Nihon Shoki* 4. 日本書紀 4. Sakamoto Tarō – Inoue Mitsusada – Ienaga Saburō – Ōno Susumu (eds). 1995. Tōkyō: Iwanami Bunko.
- *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* 26. 日本庶民生活史料集成 26. Jinja engi 神社縁起. Tanigawa Kenichi – Ikeda Suenori – Miyata Noboeu (eds). 1983. Tōkyō: San'ichi shobō.
- *Shiryō sanshū koki rokuhen* 106. 史料纂集 古記録編 106: Gonki 権記 3. Watanabe Naohiko – Atsuya Kazuo (eds). 1996. Tōkyō: Yagi shoten.
- *Shi san jing zhu shu: Zhou li zhu shu* (Xiaguan Sima) 十三經注疏: 周禮注疏 (夏官司馬). Li, Xueqin 李, 學勤(ed). 2001. Taipei: Wu nan tu shu chu ban gu fen you xian gong si.
- *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikē* 13-14. Shoku Nihongi 新日本古典文学大系 13-14. Aoki Kazuo – Sasayama Haruo – Inaoka Kōji – Shirafuji Noriyuki (eds). 1990, 1992. Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten.

## Secondary sources

- Benn, Charles D 2002. Daily life in traditional China: the Tang dynasty. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Dengwu, Ch'en 登武陳 2006. Cong ren jian shi dao you ming jie: Tang dai de fa zhi, she hui yu guo jia 從人間世到幽冥界: 唐代的法制, 社會與國家. Taipei: Wu nan tu shu chu ban gu fen you xian gong si.
- Fukasawa Hitomi 深澤瞳 2012. Uho, henbai kara migatame he: „Nihon onmyōdō tenkai no ittan toshite 禹歩・反問から身固めへ: 日本陰陽道展開の一端 として.” *Ōtsuma kokubun* 大妻国文 43: 19–45.
- Kaneko Hiroyuki 金子裕之 1989. „Nihon ni okeru hitogata no kigen 日本における人形の起源.” In: Fukunaga Mitsuji 福永光司 (ed.) *Dōkyō to higashi ajia – Chūgoku, Chōsen, Nihon* 道教と東アジア—中国・朝鮮・日本. Kyōto: Jinbun shoin, 37–53.
- Kanō Katsumi 加納克己 2007. Nihon-zukuri ningyō shi – sōhō gijutsu shi 日本操り人形史: 形態変遷・操法技術史. Tōkyō: Yagi shoten.
- Lee, Shou-ai 李守愛 2004. „Nihon no Heian jidai ni okeru 'shihōhai' no gishiki nitsuite 日本の平安時代における「四方拜」の儀式について.” *Journal of Religion and Culture of National Cheng Kung University* 4: 203–224.
- Masuo Shin'ichirō 増尾伸一郎 1995. „Kugo shinmyō kyō' no denpa to 'emmi kodoku' 『救護身命経』の伝播と<厭魅蟲毒>.” In: Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典 (ed.) *Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho* 七寺古逸經典研究叢書 3, Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten 中国撰述經典. Tōkyō: Daitō shuppansha.
- Masuo Shin'ichirō 増尾伸一郎 1997. „Kodai 'hitogata' jugi to sono shoe kyōten – 'Jumi kyō' no juyō wo megutte. 古代<人形>呪儀とその所依經典--『呪媚経』の受容をめぐって.” *Engishiki kenkyū* 13: 1–29.
- Minami Takao – Harayama Mitsushi 南孝雄・原山充志 2005. „Juso no hitogata 呪詛の人形.” *Leaflet Kyōto* リーフレット 京都 201, Hakkutsu news 発掘ニュース 70. Kyōto: Toshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūsho, Kyōto shi kōko shiryōkan.
- Miyake Hiroshi – Yanaura Shun'itsu 三宅博士・柳浦俊一 1990. Asakumigawa kasen kaishū kōji ni tomonau Tatechō iseki hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho 朝酌川河川改修工事に伴うタテチョウ遺跡発掘調査報告書 III. Shimane ken dobokubu kasenka, Shimane ken kyōiku iinkai.
- Mizuno Masayoshi 水野正好 1982. „Kugi, hariutsu jusaku – sono bekenroku 釘・針うつ呪作--その瞥見録.” *Nara daigaku kiyō* 奈良大学紀要 11: 33–48.
- Mizuno Masayoshi 水野正好 1986. „Onigami to hito to sono ugoki: shofuku josai no majinahi ni 鬼神と人とその動き: 招福除災のまじなひに.” *Nara daigaku bungakubu bunkazai gakka, bunkazai gakuho* 奈良大学文学部文化財学科・文化財学報 4: 1–17.
- Mizuno Takashi 水野 隆 1974. „Michitsuna no haha no bannen nitsuite – kanmatsu kashū no ni san no kiji wo megutte. 道綱の母の晩年について -巻末歌集の二三の記事をめぐって.” *Waseda daigaku bungaku gakkai, kokubungaku kenkyū* 早稲田大学国文学会・国文学研究 53: 21–32.
- Mukai Hiroto 向井裕知 2008. „Kaga ni okeru kodai saishi – mokusei saishigu wo chūshin toshite 加賀における古代祭祀—木製祭祀具を中心として.” In: Kōeki zaidan hōjin Ishikawa ken maizō bunkazai center 公益財団法人 石川県埋蔵文化財センター (ed.) *Ishikawa ken maizō bunkazai jōhō* 石川県埋蔵文化財情報 19, 29–31.
- Nitō Atsushi 仁藤敦史 2006. Jotei no seiki: kōi keishō to seisō 女帝の世紀: 皇位継承と政争. Tōkyō: Kadokawa gakugei.
- Saikawa Makoto 齋川 真 1984. „Zokutōritsu enmijō wo megutte 賊盜律厭魅條をめぐって.” In: Takigawa hakushi beiju kinenkai 滝川博士米寿記念会 (ed.) *Ritsuryōsei no shomondai: Takigawa Masajirō hakushi beiju kinen henshū* 滝川政次郎博士米寿記念論集. Tōkyō: Kyūko shoin, 227–243.
- Satō Atsuko 佐藤 厚子 2001. „Kenmu nenchū gyōji' zakkō 7. 『建武年中行事』雑考(七)” *Sugiyama jogakuen daigaku kenkyū ronshū* 相山女学園大学研究論集 32: 29–45.
- Sekiyama Hiroshi 横山洋 2010. Ajia ni okeru Naniwagū to kodai Naniwa no kokusaiteki seikaku ni kan suru sōgō kenkyū 東アジアにおける難波宮と古代難波の国際的性格に関する総合研究. Ōsaka: Ōsaka shi bunkazai kyōkai.
- Tatsumi Jun'ichirō 巽淳一郎 1996. „Katashiro no shurui to katashiro wo tsukatta saishi to noroi 形代の種類と形代を使った祭祀と呪い.” In: Tatsumi Jun'ichirō 巽淳一郎 (ed.) *Nihon no bijutsu* 6 日本美術6 (No. 361, Majinai no sekai II. まじないの世界 II). Tōkyō: Shibundō, 18–53.
- Ueda Kazutoshi – Matsui Kanji 上田萬年・松井簡治 1986. *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典. Tōkyō: Fuzanbō.
- Wang, Yucheng 王育成 2004. „Chūnichi daiyaku juso hitogata hōjutsu reisetu 中日代呪詛人形法術例説.” In: Waseda daigaku kodai bungaku hikaku bungaku kenkyūsho 早稲田大学古代文学比較文学研究所 (ed.) *Kōsaku suru kodai* 交錯する古代. Tōkyō: Bensei, 196–208.
- Yachio Shinji 谷内尾晋司 2008. „Hajime ni はじめに.” In: Kōeki zaidan hōjin Ishikawa ken maizō bunkazai center 公益財団法人 石川県埋蔵文化財センター (ed.) *Ishikawa ken maizō bunkazai jōhō* 石川県埋蔵文化財情報 19, 19.
- Yonei Teruyoshi 米井輝圭 1993. „Kodai Nihon no 'tatari no system': ritsuryō kokka ni okeru 'tatri' no yōrei 古代日本の「祟りのシステム」: 律令国家における「祟り」の用例.” *Tōkyō daigaku shūkyōgaku nenpō* 東京大学宗教学年報 10: 89–111.



Thank you for your kind attention!