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A Miscellany of Eccentricities

Spirituality and Obsession in *Hyakka kikōden*

This article uses Yajima Gogaku's *Hyakka kikōden* [A miscellany of eccentricities, 1835] as a means of examining how late Edo period *kijinden* (biographies of eccentrics) articulated connections between eccentricity and spirituality. For convenience, it divides the text's subjects into three categories: religious adepts, single-minded transcendents, and obsessive-compulsives. Individuals from all three categories lived detached, mindful lives beyond the petty tribulations afflicting their contemporaries and attained enviable forms of self-possession. Collectively they challenge the boundaries of normative behavior and demonstrate evidence of deinstitutionalized (self-directed, syncretic, and doctrinally ambivalent) spirituality during the late Edo period. We explain this by reviewing historiographical discussions of religious devotion and its role in the modernization of Edo society, noting how the humanism and rationalism endemic to that era might encourage self-directed spiritual practice. Insofar as the text advances eccentricity as a form of normative subjectivity by which individuals achieve spiritual merit, it is consistent with other evidence of a nascent interest in self during that period.

KEYWORDS: Edo period—eccentrics—spirituality—secular—biography—subjectivity

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It would be easy to lose *Hyakka kikōden* 百家琦行伝 (A miscellany of eccentricities, 1835), hereafter HKD, among the profusion of frivolous literary products from the late Edo period. It is a *kijinden* 奇人伝, a collection of biographies of eccentric individuals, but its subjects are not the luminaries one would expect to find commemorated in such a work. Rather, its entries encompass a diverse array of village idiots and neighborhood misfits who derive spiritual merit, even transcendence, from their particular idiosyncrasies. Contrary to initial appearances, then, the text's assemblage of oddballs affords a different sort of window on notions of religiosity in late Edo society. It demonstrates how that era's fetishization of strangeness expanded the boundaries of normative behavior, and religious behavior particularly, and illuminates how personalized spiritual exploration led individuals far afield from institutionalized Buddhism, Confucianism, and Kokugaku.

Spiritual behavior in HKD is noteworthy for its fearless departure from orthodox religion. The text's eccentrics are spiritual adepts. As products of the philosophical pluralism discernible in late Edo society, they are self-directed and doctrinally ambivalent. To this extent, the text illuminates important forms of attitudinal change, including evidence that institutionalized religion was weakening under the effects of ascendant humanism and rationalism. Yet it also reveals certain attitudinal continuities: a strong preoccupation with transcendence and salvation, and the use of eccentricity as a traditional topos for examining and transmitting religious merit. In wedding eccentric behavior with deinstitutionalized spirituality, HKD invites us to revisit scholarly debate over the expansive ontological impacts of religious diffusion, secularism, and interest in self in Edo society.

Eccentricity has always possessed considerable religious capital in East Asia. As a *kijinden*, therefore, HKD evokes longstanding philosophical connections between strangeness and spirituality. It also speaks to academic discourse on what some see as evidence of secularization and "modernization" during the Edo period. As our discussion of HKD lies at the interstices of these two axes (traditions of eccentricity and questions of secularization), we are obliged to begin by locating the text within the contexts of strangeness and secularism. We then proceed with an analysis of the text itself, an examination to consist of passages from representative entries accompanied by focused commentary. The article then continues by discussing how the text's advancement of idiosyncrasy and deinstitutionalized spiri-

tuality challenge perceptions of religious merit and the boundaries of normalcy in the late Edo period. We also note how its focus on self-directed spirituality piggybacks on late Edo society's emergent interest in self—the "modern" need to value, commemorate, and provide a legacy for society's ordinary and otherwise forgettable constituents (like oneself).

From strangeness to secularism

In Japan, ties between eccentricity and spirituality can be traced to the wonder surrounding ancient diviners and shamans whose strangeness connoted access to the supernatural. As a literary motif this connection dates to at least eighth-century Buddhist hagiographies that chronicled how accomplished monks acquired religious success. By reading about philanthropic or otherwise meritorious deeds, hagiography readers acquired karmic merit themselves (Augustine 2005, 32 and 88). But hagiographies also represented their subjects as recluses and eccentrics in their own right, finding the authority to do so within an array of canonical Chinese sources, including *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the locus classicus of the term *kijin*, and early Chinese literary giants like Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427). As a marker of religious potency, eccentricity soon became a ubiquitous trope permeating a multitude of literary and religious forms: Kamo no Chōmei's 鴨長明 (1155–1216) *Hosshinshū* 発心集 (Collection of religious awakenings, ca. 1214), an anthology of eccentric monks; miscellaneous other tales of crazed monks like the famed Zōga Shōnin 増賀上人 (917–1003); magical *yamabushi* 山伏 (mountain ascetics); dancing *nenbutsu* 念仏 evangelists; liminal figures like the deformed, blind, and mad; and too many more to list. In all cases, physical, emotional, and behavioral strangeness connoted mystical potentialities or enlightenment.

The term *kijin* did not come into usage in Japan until the late eighteenth century. In their respective prefaces to Ban Kōkei's 伴 蒿蹊 (1733–1806) *Kinsei kijinden* 近世畸人伝 (Eccentrics of recent times, 1790), Kōkei and Rikunyo 六如 (1734–1801) became the first in Japan to define this wondrous persona, which heretofore was known only to readers of *Zhuangzi*. Kōkei recognized *kijin* as exemplars of both gratuitous nonconformity, but more importantly as archetypes of Confucian virtue; Rikunyo recognized them as individuals possessing singular talents as well as those with special inherent endowments (Brecher 2013, 132–33). Within a generation *kijin* had become a buzzword used to describe any sort of extraordinary oddball. It was also being incorporated into Buddhist, Confucian, and even nativist dogma as a descriptor for one whose strangeness connoted a source of transcendence. The saints, hermits, and obsessed in HKD belong to this lineage and incur the identical spiritual pay off. As a master *hōben* 方便 (an expedient means of attaining enlightenment), eccentricity implies transcendence, and the ubiquity of this association has resulted in the two evoking one another. The longevity of this relationship in East Asia is nothing short of remarkable.

Religious self-reliance entailed acceptance of the self as a legitimate arbiter of spiritual merit. The strong humanism implicit in this trend evokes historiographical

discussions of secularism in Japan, both its place in Japanese intellectual history and its role in early modern life. These discussions extend to debates over Japanese modernization. Historiographical considerations of both concepts (secularization and modernization) bear brief mention here.

Some discern a general secularization of religious practice over the course of Japanese history. They point to various processes: how medieval Buddhist institutions lost their monopoly on religious authority as grassroots evangelists brought religious practice into the private realm as a matter of personal responsibility (*jiriki* 自力); how the advent of warrior rule eclipsed the sacred power of the emperor, a turn that placed institutional religion itself under more secular authority; and how Neo-Confucian humanism and rationalism empowered individuals not only to fathom the divine but to take agency over their spiritual lives. Others have noted how a millenarian sense of apocalypse elicited by successions of famines and other inauspicious portents challenged the religious authority of the Tokugawa and religious elites.[1] Meanwhile, grassroots Shinto-Buddhist syncretism engendered various new religious strains promising salvation through the worship of deities derived variously from Shinto, Buddhist, or Yin-Yang (Onmyōdō 陰陽道) cosmology. Many of these new religions were successful in unifying people via upstart religious organizations, but they also validated more liberated attitudes toward the individual's role in religious practice.[2] Religious self-empowerment of this sort was becoming increasingly evident in the secularization of pilgrimages and festival observances.[3]

Maruyama Masao and William. T. DeBary, among many others, have interpreted Neo-Confucianism as a principal driver of secularization and modernization in early modern Japan. Under the aegis of Ancient Learning thinkers, they maintain, self-cultivation (the pursuit of sagehood) broke from its roots as an essentially spiritual or religious endeavor to encompass more worldly affairs. Ogyū Sorai's 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728) defense of individuality was particularly responsible for expanding the appeal of humanism, which interpreters describe as ostensibly inseparable from secularism. Neo-Confucian statecraft itself articulated the social order, the status system, and economic mechanisms in secular terms. This reformulation enabled self-perfection within a secular world cluttered by mundane affairs, a potentiality that emerged parallel to rather than in conflict with religious practice. The "great contribution" of Tokugawa Neo-Confucianism was thus to unite people's practical needs and concerns while allowing for their continued pursuit of spirituality (De Bary 1979, 173). Some have gone on to posit rational secularism as not only a metric of modernization, but as mutually exclusive to religiosity, an oppositional duality wherein the ascendance of one engenders the decline of the other in a zero-sum game (see Davis 1980).

While traditional reliance on clerical authorities to perform religious services on special occasions was unaffected, the ascendance of humanism and rationalism validated individual oversight for everyday spiritual needs. Evidence for this (the appropriation of religious capital by the private individual, and the private practice of religion) during the last century of the Edo period lies in a diversifying marketplace of heterodox schools, folk religious practices, and sects. Such "modernizing"

developments, it is argued, encouraged individuals to seize agency over their own spiritual lives.

Others have challenged these assertions, pointing out that theories connecting secularization to modernization evoke Western contexts that are not easily applied to the Edo period. Ishii Kenji, for instance, argues that Japan did not follow the same course of secularization experienced by Western societies, where urbanization, commercialization, and an ascendant rationalism culminated in a "decline of institutionalized religion and the withdrawal of religion into the private sphere under the impact of modernization" (Ishii 1986, 206). His case study of Ginza shows that such developments did not precipitate any erosion of religious practice. Rather, he asserts, secularization in the Japanese context has proceeded in ways that allowed people's spiritual needs to adapt to modern lifestyles.

Haga Manabu concurs that Western theories of secularization do not fit Japanese experience, where religion had little trouble holding its ground against the onslaught of rationalism and science. Especially in the provinces where varying degrees of insularity limited people's exposure to competing epistemologies, individuals continued to construct world views dictated by folk beliefs, including deity and ancestor worship (Haga 1989, 44). There was, however, considerable latitude to create individual understanding of the natural world and the self's place within it, for institutional religions did not possess singular religious authority. In this sense, humanism and rationalism became epistemological appendices without replacing religious practices per se.

While contesting the gradual erosion of institutional religion, both sides ultimately acknowledge the aggregation of more liberated, individualized forms of devotion. To this we add a position advanced by Winston Davis, who shows that lines between secular and religious belief in Japan are blurred to the point of contradiction and meaninglessness, and that the attitudes of religious and nonreligious individuals are largely indistinguishable. Davis does observe changes in the religious functions of festivals, how people observed death rituals, and in the emotional depth with which they practiced religion, but he does not conclude that religion declined in everyday importance. He finds, rather, ongoing change in how it was practiced, and that one cannot clearly divide those practices from secular ones (Davis 1980, 268–69). Jason Josephson posits a similar point, that the secular and the religious partially encompass one another without mutual antagonism or sense of contradiction. The secular poses no existential challenges toward religion in that "it does not work to eliminate religion, but to contain it within its own sphere."[4] The operative question, then, is not whether secularization occurred but how religious pursuits evolved and, for our purposes, how media like *kijinden* reflected or contributed to that process. We now turn to discussion of HKD, whose entries will lend clarity to these issues.

Hyakka kikōden

An explosive diffusion of *kijinden* during the late Edo period mirrored the diffusions in thought and culture that informed the playfulness generally

observable during that era.[5] Prompted by the commercial success of Kōkei's *Kinsei kijinden*, early nineteenth century authors produced a staggering array of biographical compendia under the *kijinden* heading. Some works were didactic and historical, others witty and satirical; some focused exclusively on eminent historical figures, others anthologized only obscure subjects, while still others sought only literary self-promotion.[6] Patti Kameya and I have written on *Kinsei kijinden* as a text that advocates Neo-Confucian moral practice, that commemorates its subjects as arbiters of virtuous deeds (*tokkō* 徳行)—the meaning of virtue being relatively uncontested and referring generally to Confucian moral ideals like humanity, benevolence, and filiality (Kameya 2009; Brecher 2013). HKD stays true to the *kijinden* genre by maintaining a spiritual, moralistic agenda, but also bears distinct features of earlier Buddhist hagiography. As a nineteenth-century commercial work situated within an eclectic literary marketplace, however, it deploys eccentricity as admirable and emblematic of spiritual accomplishment. In doing so it challenges perceptions of normative behavior.

HKD author Yajima Gogaku 八島五岳 (dates unknown), who used the sobriquet Gakutei Harunobu 岳亭春信 and studied under the eminent woodblock artist and self-professed *kijin* Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849), was well known in 1820s–1830s Edo as a woodblock print (*surimono* 摺物) illustrator and *haikai* 俳諧 and *senryū* 川柳 poet. In the 1830s and 1840s Gogaku authored a number of popular vernacular novels (*yomihon* 読本) in Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. HKD was published in five fascicles by Suwaraya Mohei 須原屋茂兵衛 in 1835 and contains biographies of forty-nine individuals. A semi-playful work of popular culture, it clearly seeks to capitalize on the popularity of the *kijinden* genre. Its title's use of the character 琦 (*ki*), an "unlisted" (*hyōgai* 表外) kanji and likely unfamiliar to many of Gogaku's readers, would have attracted curiosity. The character's usage here as a homophonic variant of the characters 奇 and 畸 (*ki*: strange, wondrous, eccentric) typically used to write *kijinden* deviates from the character's literal meaning—fine; admirable; jade. One supposes that Gogaku selected this alien character to advertise the "fine, admirable" nature of the biographies inside, but also to accentuate the exoticism of the text itself.

The text's subjects represent all status groups, geographical regions, and professions. Most are lowly, hail from humble circumstances, remain there throughout their lives, and are known only locally for their eccentricity, learning, or mastery of a particular skill. The work's description of their strangeness is generally confined to appearance and behavior, these marking forms of spiritual merit that Gogaku often leaves unexplained. In fact, the narrative contains little explicit discussion of the topic at all. HKD opens with entries about religious figures, a literary custom that establishes the work's moralistic theme and hagiographic tone. Thus established, the theme then filters throughout the work, obviating the need for Gogaku to address religiosity later. I have organized the selected entries into three general categories: religious adepts, single-minded transcendents, and obsessive-compulsives.[7]

Religious adepts: sasaoka ichinokami 笹岡市正, fuji-gyōja tōshirō 不二行者藤四郎, and shichihei the ascetic 行人七兵衛

Sasaoka Ichinokami

> Ichinokami was from a wealthy and influential family in Muramatsu in Shōkoku Echigo. His family name was Sasaoka, his given name was Yasushi, but people called him Kimoku. When he was young he went to Kyoto to study under Neo-Confucian scholar Inaba Usai (1684–1760), after which he was known as Hakusai.[8] After studying many books he donned the robes of a Shinto priest and found work as a clergyman. He had a mild nature and was free of passions. To all people he preached the same message: "all those who abandon the four desires will live free from harm." When asked what he meant by this, he explained: "The four desires consist of lustfulness, greediness, gluttony, and competitiveness. The individual who rejects just these four can expect to live safe from harm."
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> Clearly he was a man who put his words into action. One year Ichinokami's nephew came to him and said: "Master, you always preach the virtues of rejecting the four desires. You should now reject them yourself by relinquishing the family inheritance." Without dispute Ichinokami duly turned over the family inheritance to his nephew. He then tucked some modest traveling expenses into his robe and set off for Akasaka Higashi-yokomachi in Edo, where he lived happily in penury working as a priest…
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> When people saw Ichinokami's shabby appearance they inquired: "Why not try to get a little money?" He responded with his customary admonitions about abandoning the four desires: "Could Heaven ever kill its own follower? Those with shoulders must wear clothing, those with mouths must eat, but one robe and one mouthful are enough. Why ask for anything more?" He enjoyed his poverty for the remainder of his life, which ended at the age of eighty-four.

Ichinokami is a poor, pious clergyman, exemplary as one who puts his own words into action. The text refers to the four passions, this entry's core religious principle, as *shiki* 四気. One cannot know whether it is Gogaku's or Ichinokami's term, but it is certainly a reference to *shiyoku* 四欲, an esoteric Buddhist tenet appearing in the seventh century encyclopedia of Buddhist terms *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (Jp. *Hōon jurin*). Ichinokami's explanation of the principle also varies slightly from the original *shiyoku*, which consist of excessive emotion (情), lust (色), gluttony (食), and licentiousness (婬). Gogaku does not locate the term within Buddhist theology, and makes no effort to explain how avoiding passions protects one from harm. When Ichinokami's voice fails to do so as well, the entry loses doctrinal authority. Ichinokami, who studied Neo-Confucianism, worked as a Shinto priest, and modeled his life after a Buddhist principle, is himself enigmatic as a religious figure. The entry's apparently religious agenda, therefore, is indeterminate, leaving us with a moral intoned by Confucius (and countless times since): "Tzu-kung asked about the gentleman. The Master said, He does not preach what he practices till he has practiced what he preaches" (*Analects* 2: 13; 1989, 91).

Fuji-gyōja Tōshirō

A man called Tōshirō from Komagomi Takata village was a devout worshipper of Mt. Fuji, which he had climbed seventy-five times.[9] They say there was another Fuji cultist named Iseya Yaichi who lived in Aoyama Wakamatsu village sometime between the Hōreki (1751–1764) and the beginning of Kansei (1789) who had climbed the mountain eighty-three times. Yaichi erected a metal statue of the Buddha at the Shimo-sengen Shrine at the foot of Mt. Fuji. He died at age ninety-three in the early Bunka era (1804–1818) and was buried at Yotsuya Ryūshōji Temple. Tōshirō from Takata wanted to surpass Yaichi and acted much differently than other people. Somebody once asked him how it was that he climbed only Mt. Fuji so many times. Tōshirō offered the following lengthy reply:

> Many people believe in the Buddhist Law and pray they will go to paradise, but I have never seen a single person go to paradise. Before we die and go there ourselves, how can we trust what Heaven looks like? Mt. Fuji is the singular mountain for all three countries [Japan, China, and India]. Climbing it is the closest one can come to Heaven, and being so close puts one in a frame of mind to receive life. Nothing can compare to the venerable experience of being there at the eighth station on one's deathbed praying under the moonlight to be escorted to paradise, and then have the Three Buddhas [Amida, Kannon, and Seishi] arrive on a wisp of multi-colored smoke.[10] I truly believe there is no other paradise than this. Shakamuni taught that paradise is ten trillion worlds away, making it wholly inaccessible to us common folks. Instead, once a year we believers in the paradise on the heights of Mt. Fuji make our pilgrimage to worship there. But when evildoers climb the mountain, it soon starts shaking and sometimes even seizes them and throws them off, filling them with such terror that they are unable to return. Which is to say that Mt. Fuji is also a Hell. So this particular mountain is both Heaven and Hell, a place that not all should see with their own eyes. This is why we climb it every year.

This is what another had to say on the subject:[11]

> There are Fuji cult pilgrims who chant things that I don't understand and sound quite ridiculous. They are always talking about the Three Buddhas coming to deliver them to paradise. Last year I climbed Mt. Fuji and spent the night in the hut at the eighth station. Just after the first hour [of the five hours of night] my porter[12] spoke up: "They will be descending to greet you soon. You should pray." I went out and crouched beside a boulder to wait, and suddenly I saw the ring of the moon arise from beneath the pitch-black horizon. The circumference of the moon appeared to be about two *ken* (3.6 meters) around. I fixed my gaze on it to see if I could make out the shapes of the Three Buddhas. When I looked at the entire sphere of the moon, what did I see but three black shapes standing there, and I wondered if these three figures could be them. They suddenly rose up into the sky very quickly. From there, the moon appeared larger, the moonlight brighter, the

sky looked closer than usual, and a spectrum of colors was visible around the moon. The sky was clear and a cold breeze blew. There was no sound of chickens, dogs, or water; the only things visible were the moon, stars, and rocks. At this moment I recited *rokkon shōjō*, and as I purged the passions from my heart it seemed to me that I had ascended to Heaven.[13] Simple people interpret this as the paradise of Mt. Fuji, and now I can understand that perspective a bit. At dawn I prayed for the sun to rise, and it appeared looking especially big. It was red and beautiful, but not blinding. I could see its myriad colors and thought it venerable.

But we must pursue this business of the Three Buddhas. If it is not the form of Buddha, as Master Shūsai has said, it is not the individual's reflection either.[14] In a book by Katsura [unidentified] it is written: "when one climbs Mt. Fuji and prays for sunrise, one can see shapes like the Three Buddhas in the sun. People think it venerable and bow their heads in prayer. But if one stands and nods one's head, the Three Buddhas also nod; when one raises one's hand to beckon them, they raise theirs to beckon. It turns out to be nothing more than our shadows." But this is a big lie. When I raised my hand and beckoned, the Three Buddhas did not beckon, and when I nodded they did not. I wonder why Old Man Shūsai wrote a similar thing in his book on science: "On Mt. Gabi, after nightfall one can see a white mist form and halos reflecting on it like a mirror.[15] It is said that Buddhas appear. But when one puts on one's hood the Buddha bathed in light also puts on a hood, and from this one realizes it is only a shadow projected upon the mist."

When I read this explanation I wondered if it explained the Three Buddhas I saw on Mt.Fuji. But how could a person's reflection appear as the Three Buddhas? By this logic if ten people went there to pray, ten Buddhas would appear, and if five people prayed five Buddhas would appear. [What these authors describe] is not people's shadows; it must be reflections cast on the earth as the moon rises over the horizon. The moon shines by receiving the light of the sun that has set and then casts reflections upon the earth. The earth is a sphere but is not perfectly smooth; its surface has bumps and irregularities. So one cannot see Three Buddhas in the sun.

This entry is unique in its length and use of competing voices. The two speakers debate the validity of Fuji worship—belief in the holy mountain as a portal to Heaven, but ultimately their different paths lead to similar conclusions. Tōshirō is a devout Fuji worship practitioner, but his is a resigned faith. In what today might be described as religious humanism, he acknowledges that actual paradise is beyond his reach as an ordinary man, and that his individual brand of Fuji worship is the best he can do given his lot in life. He is no blind follower; he is a man of agency who understands his position, his religious options, and has determined his best methods of religious practice.

The subsequent voice is equally candid in recounting its skepticism toward Fuji cult rhetoric, which it finds ridiculous. But, like Tōshirō, this is a person of religious agency who goes to the mountain to see for himself. He is won over, for

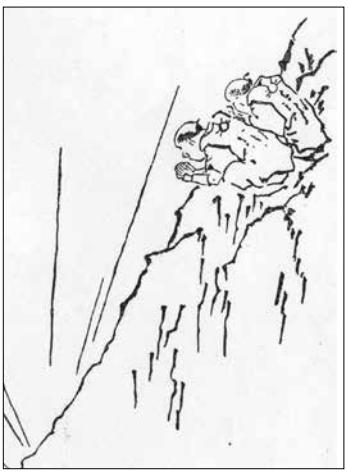

FIGURE 1. Fuji-gyōja Tōshirō (left); FIGURE 2. Shichihei the ascetic (right).

seeing is believing, but his conversion is as much a personal and intellectual exercise as a religious epiphany. He continues to deliberate over his former skepticism, recalling other skeptics who have discredited the testimonies of mountain worshippers claiming to have witnessed Amida Sanzon apparitions. After considerable rumination he finally rules out others' denials of apparitions as nothing more than reflections or shadows cast upon a screen of mist. And his argument is sound, for it employs reason and scientific knowledge. Both Tōshirō and the unknown skeptic, then, come to rational, deliberate, and individually formulated forms of Fuji worship. Theirs is a homegrown spirituality: non-doctrinal and individually-tailored.

Shichihei the Ascetic

> In the Enpō era (1673–1681) an old man named Shichihei lived in Yokkaichi, Nihonbashi, in Edo where he was employed by various shipping houses (boat merchants) to crew their boats. He was a singular oddball and, having no home to go to, slept in the bottom of his own boat. He received nearly all his breakfasts and dinners from local boat merchants or would cook his own rice on board. He worshipped Mt. Yudono and Mt. Haguro, two of the three sacred peaks in Dewa province [present-day Yamagata prefecture], and paid homage at each of them three to four times a year. He always completed these pilgrimages remarkably quickly, making the trip there and back in ten days.
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> Shichihei was always dressed in grimy clothes and shunned delicious food. He simply rode in his boat and whenever he earned a few pennies would leave them at somebody's house for safekeeping. Then, when he felt he had accumulated enough, he rushed out for a pilgrimage to Mt. Haguro. Whenever he encountered a sick person he stopped to pray for them, whereupon they were healed immediately. He cured colic and other infant ailments the same way. His prayers were so effective, in fact, that hordes from near and far came calling at his boat to ask that he pray for their divine protection. And thus he became known as Shichihei the

ascetic. He always had one piece of advice for people. "It is said that those who go to pay tribute to Mt. Yudono will be reborn as samurai foot soldiers. Since reaching adulthood, I have undertaken pilgrimages to Mt. Yudono and Mt. Haguro ninety times. In the next life I am sure to be born the lord of a certain domain," he was fond of saying, but all those who heard just doubled over laughing.

At age eighty-two he passed away in his boat. Neighbors and colleagues gathered to hold funerary proceedings and erected a memorial tablet at his burial site at Konzōin in Asakusa Teramachi. Thirty days later, however, several samurai arrived from somewhere and asked: "Is there someone called Shichihei the ascetic around here?" The boat merchants answered that he had indeed lived there but that he had recently died. The samurai asked for the location of his grave and were directed to Konzōin in Asakusa. They happily set off, and once they had arrived someone asked why they were inquiring about him. One vassal replied: "a baby son has just been born to our lord and the young master has blue marks on his palm that form the words "Shichihei the ascetic." It is said that the only way to remove them is to wash the hand with dirt from the old man's grave. With this mission in mind, yesterday retainers were deployed in all directions to locate Shichihei. We are delighted to have finally located him." So saying, they returned to the castle. Such a tale is difficult to fathom, I realize, but I record it here for your enjoyment.

Shichihei is a familiar persona. He recalls Zhuangzi's enlightened beggars and cripples, the mad, ragged monks depicted in Kamo no Chōmei's *Hosshinshū*, as well as transcendent buffoons from *kijinden* like *Hōsa kyōshaden* 蓬左狂者伝 (Biographies of Nagoya madmen, 1778).[16] For such personae, as for Shichihei, the strangeness manifested in extreme humility and piety begets spiritual merit.

This second successive entry on mountain worship adds a dimension to Gogaku's discussion of that cult. Shichihei is frugal and sets aside all available cash for pilgrimages, but he also possesses magical healing powers. He evokes the belief that *yamabushi* and *hijiri* 聖 (holy men) wielded supernatural powers, including immortality. Frugality, and the austerities performed on his ninety-some pilgrimages, have likewise endowed Shichihei with extraordinary abilities. Only some, like his ability to heal, are publicly recognized. Prognostication of his illustrious reincarnation invites only ridicule, but skeptics are silenced when he is later reborn as the province's future daimyo.

The single-minded and transcendent: tengu kōhei 天愚孔平; tōsai 唐斎; old man tatsumiya 辰巳屋の老翁; and oen of the kikyōya 桔梗屋のお園

Tengu Kōhei

Tengu lived in the villa of an unknown domain by the Akasakagomon gate [outside Edo castle]. He was commonly called Hagino Kinai; his given name was Nobutoshi, and his nicknames were Kōhei, Tengu, or Kyūkoku. He pos-

FIGURE 3. Tengu Kōhei.

sessed extensive knowledge and excelled at writing, by which he poked fun at the world. He economized and as a result his household was wealthy. While at home he wore a torn *hakama* and used the household palanquin as a place to read. There he could lean on his elbows, study his books, and never be bothered by others. It was a fine place for him to be.

Rain or shine Tengu wore a raincoat when going out. He made fun of himself for this habit, calling it "my roaming raincoat [*kachihaori*]." When he encountered straw sandals that travelers had discarded he picked them up and took them home, even if they were falling apart. He then re-stitched them and wore them the next time he went out. He was a most peculiar fellow. "Finding and repairing old straw sandals is practical. I like reclaiming and reusing things that others have discarded," he explained. People who saw this would laugh, and some thought he was a madman [*kyōjin*], but after meeting him and hearing him speak they knew that none could match his level of learning. In the prime of his life, whenever he visited temples and shrines throughout the region he was on everyone's lips by the time he left. He avoided the annoyances of carrying brush and inkstone. Instead he always carried around a seal engraved with the name Tengu Kōhei. When asked why everyone called him Tengu (Heavenly Fool),[17] he replied: "From birth Heaven endowed me with a foolish nature, so it just makes sense to be called Heavenly Fool." Even now a slip of paper bearing that stamp remains at a certain old temple. Nowadays the masses have adopted the same habit, traipsing through temples and shrines and defiling those sacred sites by leaving behind papers stamped with their names. It is a lamentable thing indeed.

Here again, Gogaku's entry is rife with allusions but omits concrete information. Nowhere does he reveal that Tengu is a samurai. The fact that Tengu wears a *hakama* 袴, has a palanquin, and is illustrated wearing two swords identifies him as such. That he lived in a domainal villa near Edo castle suggests that he is (or, if now retired, was) in service to a high-ranking *fudai daimyō* 譜代大名—a hereditary vassal to the Tokugawa. The loftiness of this position makes Gogaku's entry disorienting and accentuates Tengu's strangeness as a loner and a scrounge. The reader gathers that he had opted to relinquish his responsibilities and prestige for the life of an idle Confucian scholar, an odd life choice in itself, but this information is not explicitly provided. Gogaku wants us to know only of Tengu's extensive learning and of his charisma as a thinker and speaker. The contents of his thoughts and speech are again left unstated; his odd behavior alone is enough for us to recognize him as a transcendent being.

Gogaku's closing sentiment confirms Tengu's spiritual preeminence, for whereas others defile sacred places with their own names, Tengu honors them with his. He is a saint and a sage, but the source and exact nature of his saintly virtues are unstated. The hagiography is stripped down to the subject's level of learning, level of devotion, and odd behavior. The reader is to evaluate him on these criteria alone. As we see in Shichihei and other entries, we are forced to determine whether the boundaries between foolishness and wisdom, madness and sagehood are thin or illusory. Regarding foolishness, *Meiji kijinden* (Accounts of Meiji eccentrics, 1903), that era's most ambitious contribution to the genre, states that while *kijin* may appear foolish to others their freedom from social constraints affords them enviable latitude for independent action. This autonomy yields accomplishments that are beyond the reach of most (Brecher 2010, 223).

Tōsai

> There was a Confucian scholar named Tōsai who lived in Azabu in Edo. He loved books and acquired a broad knowledge of things. This old Confucian was quite an eccentric [*kijin*], for when well-wishers came to extend New Year's greetings he sent them away without receiving them. Resolving to discourage this stream of New Year's visitors, he shut his gate, lowered his bamboo blinds, and posted a note reading "In Mourning." His neighbors were surprised to see this. "I have no idea who could have died," they said. Presently Tōsai's friends came by to visit. He received them, offered them wine, and then a confession: "I posted that sign because all those people constantly dropping by were annoying me."
>
> Tōsai adored pickled daikon so much he craved it constantly. Every year he bought a mountain of daikon and pickled it, but occasionally the stone lid of his pickling tub was stolen. Irritated, he carved a Buddhist posthumous name into the stone and it was never stolen thereafter. He also loved sparrows. Every morning after breakfast he sprinkled a bowl of rice in his garden, clapped his hands, and soon hundreds of sparrows had gathered to feed. After a while he clapped his hands again and immediately all his sparrows flew up and disappeared. Following the same routine, he fed them this way three times a day.

> Afterward, little was known of Tōsai's whereabouts. For a while he stayed at a temple called Azabu Sendaizaka Tōjū-in [in Edo] where he served as a priest offering protective prayers, though details of this are unclear. For the last forty-five years a few of his books have been held at the Hodogaya inn on the Tōkaidō highway, and at the Chūtoki-an hermitage at the Hōrinji Temple in Nagata where he passed away.

Like Tengu, Tōsai is highly knowledgeable, but the entry instead showcases his renunciation of the world and behavioral idiosyncrasies. He possesses a single-mindedness and antisocial demeanor that others find eccentric. He lives deliberately and simply, taking delight in only the most humble matters—daikon and sparrows, and in this way remains unsullied by profane concerns.

Old Man Tatsumiya

> Tatsumiya Sōbei lived on the corner of Dentsūin-mae Omotemachi in Koishikawa in Edo. He was a singluar *kijin* who from his earliest years loved to dance. He took an apprenticeship at Kōemon's establishment, a tatami merchant from the same neighborhood. During the day he was given responsibilities in the master's household but never did much of anything. On the first evening after his master had gone to bed Sōbei climbed to the second floor to sleep but arose after a little while and started dancing in earnest. Throughout the night his footsteps echoed through the house from the second floor. Greatly startled, the master went upstairs and found his apprentice dancing deliriously. He scolded him loudly.
>
> During the long summer days when most people were napping, Sōbei stole off to the barn or a room separated from the rest of the house and danced up a sweat. As fortune would have it, at that very time his parents passed away and he was summoned home. Thereafter he danced even more. After becoming an adult his skills had improved so much that the local shrine commissioned him to dance during festivals. He performed so exceptionally that his reputation spread, and as he acquired a fondness for festivals he began to dance at more of them. Before long there was no festival at which he did not perform.
>
> On stage Sōbei donned a young woman's wig, a long-sleeved patterned kimono of black cotton, and held a small parasol. He nibbled on sweet potatoes as he danced. When he dressed in his young woman's outfit and covered his wrinkled face with white makeup, his dance was even more hilarious. Everyone competed to get a peek at this spectacle who called himself Old Man Tatsumiya. After turning sixty he got around on horseback.
>
> During the roughly sixty years between the 1750s and the 1810s, he lived by amusing himself at the various festivals and never missed a day due to illness. He had one daughter, and when it came time to select a son-in-law he made inquiries to only those young men who appreciated fine dancing, regardless of their attractiveness. He passed away at the age of eighty-nine on the twenty-eighth of the tenth month of 1821. Youths from the neighborhood gathered and paraded his casket through the streets like a portable shrine (*mikoshi*). They hung mir-

FIGURE 4 (left). Old Man Tatsumiya; FIGURE 5 (right). Oen of the Kikyōya.

> rors on three sides and adorned it with *shikimi* leaves, and bore his coffin along dancing to the cadence of flutes and drums.[18] The pageant ended near his house at the Jishuin Temple in Koishikawa Sanbyakuzaka. Had it been anyone else this procession would have been dispersed by the authorities, not to mention refused by the temple. But all proceeded without incident and concluded as a joyous event. Today within the temple precincts one can still find a memorial sculpture of an old man dancing, dressed as a young woman wearing a black, long-sleeved kimono. He was truly a comical old gentleman.

Tatsumiya is no intellectual, more of a bungler and a simpleton. As a worker he is inept, and as a father displays poor judgment. While likely a means of dealing with stressful matters beyond his control—a demanding master; his parents' death—his dancing proves to be the very mechanism he needs to successfully navigate the world. For Tatsumiya, dancing is an expedient means (*hōben* 方便) of enlightenment, a posthumous accomplishment confirmed unambiguously by his funerary celebration. Placement of the three mirrors (the mirror of self, of others, and of Dharma) around his casket signifies that he has achieved enlightenment and reflects knowledge thereof to the world. His single-mindedness begets an unencumbered and thus unsullied mind. Clarity through emptiness is a familiar Buddhist pursuit that Tatsumiya achieves through his own distinctive methods.

Oen of the Kikyōya

> In the An'ei era (1772–1780) there lived a woman called Oen who worked at the Kikyōya inn in Fujisawa, a station on the Tōkaidō highway. Oen was a farmer's daughter from Ichinomiya, and by nature she loved making and eating soba. She would not even touch rice or wheat noodles, living on a diet of soba alone. She

was also strangely skilled at making soba. Because she was so strange, she had few acquaintances and no husband. From the spring of her eighteenth year she suddenly came to work at the Kikyōya inn at Sagaminokuni Ōyama, the mountain where people offer prayers to Ōmunachi no mikoto.[19] From the beginning of the sixth month through the end of the seventh, crowds of pilgrims, particularly mountain worshippers from Edo, stopped by and the inn flourished.

Oen soon became renowned for her soba-making skills, and many Edoites came to stay there and have her cook for them. She was also good at selling soba, for when a customer finished their bowl, Oen would fill it back up by flinging another soba ball into it from afar. She seldom missed, for rare was the case of tossed noodles slipping out of a traveler's bowl. Oen could serve ten or even twenty customers by herself, tossing soba into empty bowls in all directions, each projectile neatly hitting its mark without spilling a single morsel onto the tatami. She practiced this skill incessantly. But she wasn't the only one, for it is said that the women in all the villages in Sagami[20] love soba and are skilled at cutting and throwing it to their guests. Oen was so talented, though, that her reputation spread through Edo and into neighboring provinces, attracting travelers and enabling Kikyōya to outcompete the other inns. For even during the off-season when the others failed to attract a single guest, Kikyōya would have fifty or sixty.

And so it came to be that Oen was referred to as the inn's lucky rat (*fuku nezumi*), for it was through her efforts that it prospered for eight or nine years. Then to everyone's surprise a scandalous event occurred and the wife of the establishment relieved Oen of her duties. Afterwards, the number of guests dwindled and the inn fell into decline, and even though it employed another woman who specialized in cutting and flinging soba, it never regained its former glory.

Voicing the merits of a focused rather than a scattered approach to life would have been a familiar refrain to Gogaku's readership. Not only is the principle fundamental to Buddhist philosophy, it appeared in a range of rhetorical sources, from child-rearing manuals to treatises on *bushidō*. As *Hagakure* 葉隠 author Yamamoto Tsunetomo 山本常朝 (1659–1719) advised: "Matters of great concern should be treated lightly [and] … Matters of small concern should be treated seriously"; "The right and wrong of one's way of doing things are found in trivial matters" (Yamamoto 2002, 27, 55).

Oen's single-minded devotion to soba leads to commercial profit rather than transcendence. The tone of the entry, however, is typically hagiographic in its portrayal of her as a "patron saint" of soba, a uniquely talented misfit unable to marry but who uses her skills to benefit others. The entry is representative of many others in HKD, whose subjects both confuse and amuse people by fixating on a single object or pastime. Individuals in the next category take this fixation to extremes.

Obsessive-compulsives: Shōbukawa Bakan 菖蒲革馬肝; Striped Kanjūrō 縞の勘十郎; and others

Shōbukawa Bakan

> Bakan was a haikai poet who lived in Azabu Shirokane. He liked the design of irises printed on tanned deer leather (*shōbukawa*) and so dyed all his clothes, tops and bottoms alike, a light green color and scattered the triangular pattern all over them.[21] He decorated each wall of his house with the same pattern. Many of the various implements in his house were also light green. He had triangular-shaped containers, and for his three daily meals he packed his rice into triangular molds before eating. It was very funny. Once his associates wondered what sort of presents would make the master happy. They talked it over and one gave him a wallet with an iris pattern and one gave him a triangular brazier. A third gave him some grated wasabi but Bakan preferred the other gifts.

Striped Kanjūrō

> A man named Sakuragi Kanjūrō lived by Muromachi-dōri at Sanjō in Kyoto during the Genroku period (1688–1704). He was an appraiser of antiques and scrolls who liked rare and strange items, especially striped items. From his clothes to his sash to his fan, wallet, and sandals, he wore nothing that was not striped. For breakfast and dinner he cut strips of long items like daikon or burdock and arranged them in stripes on his bowl or tray. His house also contained a number of unusual features. Using various types of imported wood, he integrated a striped pattern into the lattice around the front of the second floor. In front he erected a Sakai lattice, alternating vertical boards with blue shells in an arabesque pattern, and overhead he decorated the rafters under the eaves with stripes of thin lengths of purple bamboo. There was also a pond in the courtyard filled with goldfish, and from it to the second floor of the living room extended a stairway whose handrail was decorated with imported onion-capped pillars. In addition, the entire courtyard, from the north side to the wall, was painted in stripes. For these reasons everyone called him Striped Kanjūrō.

Shōbukawa and Kanjūrō will suffice as examples of the obsessive individuals compiled in HKD. Gogaku is clearly interested in such individuals, for he writes of many. The reclusive Toyama Seizan 外山成山 loved peaches so much that children called him Momotarō 桃太郎; he surrounded his house with various species of peach trees, always wore peach-colored clothing, and travelled as far as Fushimi, famous for its peaches, for flower-viewing. Ugly old Yoshihei 吉兵衛 the tobacco merchant liked everything red and delighted in going around the city to watch fires. Kichibei 吉兵衛 from Osaka would change his sash seven or eight times each day before going for walks.[22] Though he always wore the same set of clothes, he owned over one hundred sashes. Ōshimaya Hikohei 大島屋彦兵衛 inherited folding

screens from his ancestors but bought as many others as he could, eventually collecting some two hundred.

The transcendence suggested by these examples of obsession evokes esteemed but conflicting literary antecedents. As a popular topos in Noh 能 and Kyōgen 狂言 drama, emotional derangement (*monogurui* 物狂い) served, again, as a *hōben* by which the afflicted individual attained enlightenment. More commonly, however, obsession—whether driven by love, anger, hatred, or longing—was viewed as a worldly attachment that obstructed Buddhist transcendence. HKD takes the former interpretation. Just as Tatsumiya's dancing enabled his own spiritual deliverance, the odd obsessions driving individuals like Shōbukawa and Kanjūrō constitute a similar spiritual potentiality. Next we explore connections between eccentricity, spirituality, and a nascent interest in self.

Spirituality and self

In 1835, the year HKD was published, Japan was reeling from the great Tenpō famine 天保の飢饉 and had just witnessed a fire in Edo that killed 4,000 residents. It was on the cusp of several grassroots rebellions that, while unsuccessful, reflected widespread public alarm over economic exploitation, the country's ineffectual leadership, and a general sense of decline. As people sought sociopolitical and religious salvation, *kijinden* responded by propping up eccentrics as saviors. As a parodic work, HKD responded by transforming idiots into sages, serving up moralism with generous helpings of wackiness. Among the devout, the reclusive, and the obsessed, some bear spiritual potency, others bear moral potency. Some are antisocial, but all are humanitarian, and as such are admirable. Adopting a hagiographic tone, Gogaku achieves comedic effect by replacing Bodhisattvas with humble oddballs and then elevating those lowly characters to saintly stature. As such, the work is a *mitate* 見立 (a layered parody) of Buddhist hagiographies. But the text is too ambitious and developed to stand on the comic impact it gleans as a work of *mitate*. Its attention to transcendence seeks to resonate with its readership's own interest in spiritual matters.

HKD makes self-cultivation subject-centric, and thus accessible. Religious doctrine is either unstated or unexplained and appears to be of little interest to the subjects themselves, who are content to deliver their theologies through one-liners: Ichinokami's four passions; Tōshirō's purification of the six senses; even Tengu's sandal-mending. As comic misfits carry out acts of extreme religious piety, their baseness casts no doubt on the religious merit of those obsessions. Tōshirō rejects other Fuji cultists' methods of worship, has no concrete method of his own other than the act of climbing, and yet earns our adulation; Shichihei's ninety pilgrimages to Mt. Yudono 湯殿山 and Mt. Haguro 羽黒山 were completed in such a rush that they could not have entailed much reflective onsite worship. In all cases, readers are asked to honor personally devised forms of spiritual practice, rituals that hold deep religious meaning for the individual but that would be rejected as

meaningless or even blasphemous by mainstream religions. How are we to interpret self-directed devotion of this nature?

The text lacks a concrete religious orientation or agenda, though its comparative preponderance of entries about mountain worship is noteworthy. Its spiritual ideology emerges through successive references to transcendence achieved through its subjects' scholarly accomplishments or idiosyncratic behavior. Eccentricity crystallizes as an ideology by which individuals achieve spiritual merit. This merit is generally evident as internal—the cultivation of self-possession, single-mindedness, and peace of mind—and includes a rejection of material possessions and public recognition. But it is also reflected outward through teaching and philanthropic endeavors. Ichinokami, Shichihei, Tengu, and Tōsai all exhibit such tendencies.

HKD is adaptive in the sense that it replaces doctrinal tenets with notions of religiosity as a set of largely unspecified but vaguely spiritual antics. As it subordinates doctrine, it elevates the sacral qualities of the profane, converting sandal repair, sparrow feeding, and soba flinging into acts of devotion, and transforming stripes, triangles, and peaches into objects of religious worship. The net outcome of this lowering and elevating is an overall social leveling. The lowly are redeemed; the high are humbled. Indeed status, having been scrubbed from every entry, is rendered irrelevant. As we read and evaluate these *kijin*, we are not permitted to be swayed by rank. Behavior is to be the sole determinant of an individual's spiritual merit and overall social value.

Humanism's valuation of the individual, the subject, is also a self-indulgent exercise. It ponders the self (the ordinary) and the self's legacy. If marginal figures (the extraordinary) can be recovered and memorialized, why not oneself? In this sense, *kijinden*, as hagiographies for the extraordinary, also function as hagiographies of the ordinary. They gild the ordinary with spiritual merit, creating a legacy for those who would otherwise be forgotten. Sakai Wakachi's 阪井弁 preface to *Meiji kijinden* 明治奇人伝 avers that "truly eccentric, noble patriots (*shishi* 志士) do not fit their age [and tend to be overlooked] so their stories should be told before they disappear from sight" (Brecher 2010, 223–24). People naturally reflect on mortality and legacy, hoping to be remembered and appreciated. While Sakai voices this sentiment seventy years after Gogaku, he articulates Gogaku's effort to memorialize the ordinary as extraordinary.

HKD taps a sentimental desire to preserve for posterity marginal individuals whose strangeness invites a mixture of wonder and ridicule, who are truly exceptional and worthy of being remembered. Its eccentrics are extraordinary, but are also patently ordinary in that, like the rest of us, they lived, struggled, died, and were forgotten. The text's sacralization of the ordinary and the lowly thus speaks to growing interest in self. Its rejection of status, an imposed hierarchy whose applications are primarily external, also suggests interest in personal interiority. It can be no coincidence that the early nineteenth century's *kijinden* boom was accompanied by a growing body of autobiographies and self-portraits, that is, with a preoccupation with self.[23] And while no commercial space existed for autobiography and

self-portraiture, particularly of the ordinary, there was tremendous commercial potential for hagiographies of the extraordinary.

While Gogaku's subjects do acquire exterior recognition, the locus of their spiritual fulfillment is internal and private. Some have denied the existence of private spheres during the Edo period. Ideologically the private realm was unrecognized, and in principle, at the official level, it was ascribed a lower moral standing than public concerns (Ikegami 1995, 170, 238). Yet as Peter Nosco (2002, 342) has shown, while the Confucian perspective "found privacy ultimately indistinguishable from selfishness," the period's strengthening civil society was nonetheless enabled by the aggregation of multifaceted private spheres.[24] In off-duty contexts, in recreational times and spaces, private lives flourished, and religious practice also variously assumed its place within those interiorities. People selected from a ballooning menu of syncretic folk religious beliefs and were generally allowed to practice even proscribed faiths, if done so privately and in non-threatening ways.

It was no accident that rapid urbanization coincided with this crystallization of private spheres. First, denizens patronizing licensed and unlicensed recreation areas sought absolute privacy from the various restrictions and obligations endemic to public spaces. Second, the crowding and atomization of urban environments fostered within many a need for escape, a retreat either to rural environments or a retreat within (Sonoda 2003, 135). (Research has indeed found that modern cities induce a higher incidence of psychosis and alienation.) While one cannot ascertain any causal relationship between urbanization and the obsessive, reclusive, and otherwise antisocial behaviors described in HKD, I propose that urbanization, the aggregation of private spheres, and growing self-consciousness during the final decades of the Edo period did not occur independently of one other.

Collectively, Gogaku's *kijin* are eccentric but their forms of transcendence are familiar. They live deliberately, sweating the small stuff and following their convictions; they also live by their principles, doctrinal support for those principles being quite beside the point. For most, the objects of their devotion are not Buddhas or *kami* 神, they are worldly: mountains, daikon, triangles, and peaches, but their devotion to them is spiritual. It is an interior spirituality, invoking the divine but formulated and completed by the self. Through them we discover the unmistakable influence of humanism. Gogaku's subjects take charge and are in full command of their spiritual lives, which is to say that humanism has in no way replaced religious pursuits. The continuing centrality of religiosity (in whatever form) in daily life is plain. Rather, it places the means of carrying out those pursuits more squarely into individual hands, an exercise that ultimately affirms our own life choices, and our subjective desire for self-validation.

Subjectivity, of course, would not be fully explored and articulated until later in the century. Meiji period Buddhist reformer Kiyozawa Manshi 清沢満之 (1863–1903) fused existentialism with Shin Buddhism to advance a set of principles that he called Seishinshugi 精神主義 (spiritualism, or "cultivating spirituality"). It connoted an individually-determined spiritual path for oneself whose benefits could then be extended to society at large. In his own words: "Seishinshugi is the prin-

ciple of putting things into practice while coursing through the world, the first of which is to search for a complete sense of fulfillment within one's own mind" (BLUM and RHODES 2011, 37). Kiyozawa thus rejected the possibility of a religious life without subjectivity. The whole purpose of meditation, he asserted, was the clarification of the internal self. Any religion that is not so validated is false, for one cannot practice it without prior knowledge of oneself. Religion proceeds first through introspection and only then through internally-initiated practice (BLUM and RHODES 2011, 41). Such a world view, I maintain, is discernable, if not explicitly articulated, sixty years earlier in Gogaku's portrayal of oddballs like Tōshirō, Tōsai, Tengu, and Shichihei. This collection of saints, who would have been considered heretics only generations earlier, has expanded the boundaries of normative behavior, particularly religious behavior. They also illustrate that within the context of late Edo, popular perceptions of Buddhism, Confucianism, or Kokugaku are more syncretic and personalized than is often recognized.

NOTES

1. For discussion and analysis of this phenomenon, see SCREECH (2000).

2. For more on grassroots religious practice, see MURAKAMI (1988, 7–22).

3. For the secularization of pilgrimage see VAPORIS (1995).

4. See JOSEPHSON (2012, 137). It bears mentioning here that neither HKD nor its readers thought of "religion" and "secularity" as currently conceived. As Josephson reminds us, this was a Western binary that would not be "invented" in Japan until the Meiji period.

5. For the late Edo period as a "culture of play," see HAROOTUNIAN (1989).

6. For a full discussion of this phenomenon, see chapter 6 of BRECHER (2013).

7. I use the term "obsessive-compulsive" here to indicate an unusual fixation, not to connote any form of clinical abnormality or mental illness.

8. The text mistakenly glosses Inaba Usai 稲葉迂齋 as Inaba Jinsai 稲葉仁斎. *Nihon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典 (SHIMONAKA 1979) affirms that Sasaoka studied under Usai.

9. The Mt. Fuji cult (Fujikō 富士講) was started by Hasegawa Kakugyō 長谷川角行 (1541?–1646?), after reaching enlightenment in a cave on the mountain. It was one of the more popular among the *Edo happyaku yakō* 江戸八百八講 (the 808 cults of Edo), a term meant to parody the *Edo happyaku yachō* 江戸八百八町 (the 808 towns of Edo).

10. This refers to the descent (*raigō* 来迎) of the Amida Sanzon 阿弥陀三尊 (the Amida Triad consisting of Amida 阿弥陀, Kannon 観音, and Seishi 勢至) arrive on a multicolored or purple cloud to carry the believer to paradise.

11. Gogaku does not identify this speaker.

12. Mt. Fuji was commonly climbed with a guide, who also helped carry supplies.

13. *Rokkon shōjō* 六根清浄 (purification of the six senses) is a mantra, like a *nenbutsu* 念仏, chanted by Shugendo practitioners and mountain worshippers.

14. This is probably a reference to the Nativist scholar Saka Shūsai 坂秋斎 (1697–1785).

15. Mt. Gabi 峨嵋山 (Ch. Emei Shan) in Sichuan province is one of four sacred Buddhist mountains in China.

16. For a translation of the latter, see BRECHER (2005).

17. Tengu (天愚) is a homophone of 天狗, a long-nosed goblin that lives in the mountains.

18. *Shikimi* しきみ (Japanese star anise) leaves are burned as incense.

19. Ōmunachi no mikoto 大己貴命, a descendent of Susanoō 凄ノ王 and brother of Amaterasu 天照, is referred to in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (see Chamberlain 1919, 81–82) as Ōkuninushi no mikoto 大国主命.

20. Sagami province is present-day Kanagawa.

21. *Shōbukawa* is tanned deer leather dyed with a triangular pattern of white irises (*shōbu* 菖蒲). S*hōbu*, also meaning combat, was favored by warriors and so also printed on armor.

22. The previous two individuals share the name 吉兵衛. To facilitate differentiation, I render them as Yoshibei and Kichibei, both possible readings of 吉兵衛.

23. See chapter 7 of Brecher (2013).

24. For a thorough analysis of privacy and self in the early modern context, see Nosco (2015).

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