

# Women in Japanese Religions

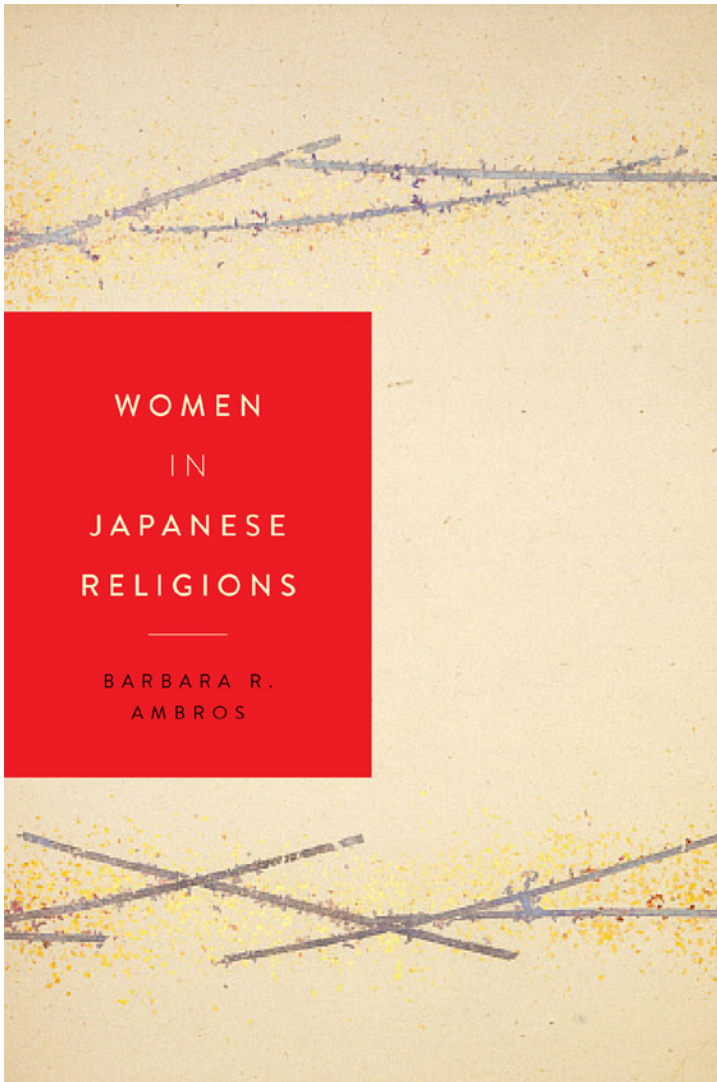
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## Instructor's Guide

Scholars have widely acknowledged the persistent ambivalence with which the Japanese religious traditions treat women. Much existing scholarship depicts Japan's religious traditions as mere means of oppression. But this view raises a question: How have ambivalent and even misogynistic religious discourses on gender still come to inspire devotion and emulation among women?

In *Women in Japanese Religions*, Barbara R. Ambros examines the roles that women have played in the religions of Japan. An important corrective to more common male-centered narratives of Japanese religious history, this text presents a synthetic long view of Japanese religions from a distinct angle that has typically been discounted in standard survey accounts of Japanese religions.

Drawing on a diverse collection of writings by and about women, Ambros argues that ambivalent religious discourses in Japan have not simply subordinated women but also given them religious resources to pursue their own interests and agendas. Comprising nine chapters organized chronologically, the book begins with the archeological evidence of fertility cults and the early shamanic ruler Himiko in prehistoric Japan and ends with an examination of the influence of feminism and demographic changes on religious practices during the "lost decades" of the post-1990 era. By viewing Japanese religious history through the eyes of women, *Women in Japanese Religions* presents a new narrative that offers strikingly different vistas of Japan's pluralistic traditions than the received accounts that foreground male religious figures and male-dominated institutions.



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**INTRODUCTION: Why Study Women in Japanese Religions? – 2**

**CHAPTER 1: The Prehistorical Japanese Archipelago – 3**

**CHAPTER 2: Ancient Japanese Mythology – 4**

**CHAPTER 3: The Introduction of Buddhism – 6**

**CHAPTER 4: The Heian Period – 7**

**CHAPTER 5: The Medieval Period – 8**

**CHAPTER 6: The Edo Period – 10**

**CHAPTER 7: Imperial Japan – 11**

**CHAPTER 8: The Postwar Period – 12**

**CHAPTER 9: The Lost Decades – 14**

**ADDITIONAL RESOURCES – 16**

## INTRODUCTION

### *Why Study Women in Japanese Religions*

By viewing Japanese religious history through the eyes of women, this text presents a new narrative that offers strikingly different vistas of Japan's pluralistic traditions than the received accounts foregrounding male religious figures and male-dominated institutions. For instance, many traditional versions of Japanese religious history give considerable attention to monastic or priestly lineages, which largely excluded women. Such patriarchal lineages do not play a central role in this book's narrative. It emphasizes instead issues that transcend purely sectarian concerns: female divinities as the embodiments of ideal femininity and sources of political legitimation; changing definitions of female monastic renunciation; female shamans and their links to marginality and political authority; perceptions of women as emblems of defilement and demonic power; the religious implications of the fluctuating definitions of marriage and inheritance rights; and the movement toward and contestations of gender equality in the modern era. Comprising nine chapters organized chronologically, the survey begins with the archeological evidence of fertility cults in prehistoric Japan and ends with an examination of the influence of feminism and demographic changes on religious practices during the "lost decades" of the post-1990 era. By examining the *longue durée* of Japanese religions, this book demonstrates that key factors often cited as sources of women's oppression in Japan—for example, the taboos associated with menstrual blood, the patrilineal household, and the exclusion of women from the political sphere—have not been fully hegemonic through all periods of Japanese history, nor have they been unchanging. In order to avoid essentializing the religious experiences of women across Japanese history, it stresses that there are considerable variations across different time periods in the religious and economic roles of women based on class differences, regional idiosyncrasies, and the diversity of Japan's religious traditions.

## CHAPTER ONE

### *The Prehistorical Japanese Archipelago: Fertility Cults and Shaman Queens*

Our narrative of women in the religious history of Japan begins with archeological and limited textual evidence from Japan's pre- and protohistoric periods and addresses important questions and issues that are raised by the material. This chapter singles out two important facets of prehistory that speak to women and religion: female clay figures from the Jōmon period (ca. 10,000 BCE–300 BCE) and the story of Himiko, the Queen of Wa, from the Yayoi period (300 BCE–300 CE). The most significant evidence related to women of the Jōmon period is the great number of clay vessels and figurines discovered in these settlements. Many of the clay implements have clearly female characteristics such as prominent breasts, wide hips, and protruding abdomens, and many of these objects seem to have been deliberately smashed into pieces and scattered about. The chapter offers a range of contrasting interpretations of these broken figurines and juxtaposes the material evidence with myths from the ancient national chronicles of Japan, the *Kojiki* (712 CE) and the *Nihon shoki* (720 CE), which contain the earliest extant written records of Japanese mythology. The chapter then turn to the figure of Queen Himiko, who is equally enigmatic. Reading Chinese records alongside archeological evidence and the ancient national chronicles of Japan, the chapter gives an overview of the debates surrounding the location of her chieftdom known as Wa, her identity as shamanic ruler, the extent of her political and religious power, and the social and kinship structures of the Wa. In both the case of the Jōmon clay figurines and the case of Queen Himiko, women emerged as powerful symbols of fertility and as politico-sacerdotal figures. The chapter concludes that as we try to understand these materials, we must be careful not to let our modern assumptions of normative gender roles color our reading of these sources. Modern Japanese folklorists have sometimes been quick to assume that prehistoric women were exclusively associated with spiritual power and fertility while men took charge of the political sphere, but this view is based on biological determinism. There is convincing evidence that spiritual power was not understood in ancient Japan to be unique to women but, rather, that women and men usually conducted rituals jointly. Similarly, divisions between religious and political, private and public spheres did not exist in the modern sense. Therefore, we should be cautious about presuming that women did not serve as full-fledged political leaders but were limited to sacerdotal functions. Furthermore, while some scholars have tried to elucidate the archeological record by seeking parallels and explanations in Japan's ancient myths, such a methodology has its own problems and often unveils as many contradictions as parallels between the myths and the archeological record.

### Questions for Discussion

1. Identify different interpretations of the female Jōmon clay figurines. Which do you find most convincing and why?
2. What kind of political powers, if any, did Himiko have? How did these relate to her spiritual powers? How should we understand Himiko's relationship with her brother? What do we make of the fact that she remained unmarried? What role did Himiko's relationship with Wei China play in securing her political power?
3. What, if anything, do the records about Queen Himiko and Wa teach us about women in proto-historic Japan? What does it not teach us?

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## CHAPTER TWO

### *Ancient Japanese Mythology: Female Divinities and Immortals*

This chapter examines the myths in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* while placing them in the historical context in which they were compiled. Both texts are important sources for our knowledge about ancient Japan, not only as historical chronicles but also as the earliest extant sources for Japanese mythology. While these chronicles might teach us about early Japanese conceptions of female divinities, female ritualists, and gendered kinship practices, they invariably reflect continental influences and the ideological agendas of the ruling elites. The influence of the imperial line is particularly evident in their descriptions of the heavenly pantheon, cultural heroes, and courtly rituals. This chapter focuses on two important female divinities, Izanami and Amaterasu, and correlates them with contemporaneous ritual practices involving women at the court. The chapter begins with an overview of the introduction of patriarchal legal structures from the Asian continent and actual Japanese practice, before exploring important concepts such as yin and yang, ritual pollution, sexuality, immortality cults, and sericulture rituals in the myths of Izanami, a creator goddess, and Amaterasu, the sun goddess. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the office of the royal high priestess at the Ise Shrines where Amaterasu is venerated. The myths of Izanami and Amaterasu give us clues about ambivalent and sometimes contradictory constructions of femininity and masculinity in ancient Japan. Women were thought to cause chaos, pollution, and destruction, but they could also be symbols of purity, sovereignty, immortality, and fertility. Izanami is a creator goddess associated with the realm of the dead and death itself. Amaterasu is ambivalent as well. On the one hand, she was constructed as a powerful (and sometimes irascible)

ancestor of the royal line. On the other hand, she was described as a vulnerable weaver maiden. There is also evidence that Amaterasu was not always considered the progenitor of the royal line. Multiple sun cults existed in ancient Japan, several of which were tied to immigrant clans and centered on both male and female divinities. The pluralism of the early Japanese mythological landscape is also evidenced by the tensions between the versions of myths contained in the *Nihon shoki*, a text that prized encyclopedic diversity, and the versions in the *Kojiki*, a text that claimed exclusive authoritativeness in order to bolster the legitimacy of the royal lineage. As a result of these variations, scholars have reached no definitive consensus on how to define gender relations based on these myths. Perhaps the safest interpretation is that these tales reveal considerable diversity between regions and lineages that can possibly be extended to the estimation of and roles given to women.

### Questions for Discussion

1. What do the myths of Izanami and Amaterasu suggest about the gender and sexual relations and about kinship structures? What images of femininity and masculinity do we gain from the early Japanese myths?
2. What, if anything, does it mean that the primary royal progenitor and ruler of the Heavenly Plain is a female divinity? How does the myth portray her as a ruler and what means does she use to rule?
3. Consider the office of the Ise High Priestess and her sacerdotal role, daily taboos, and religio-political functions. What are the implications of the stipulation that the High Priestesses had to remain celibate during their tenure and that a violation of this rule would lead to their dismissal?



## CHAPTER THREE

### *The Introduction of Buddhism: Nuns, Lay Patrons, and Popular Devotion*

Women played significant roles in the introduction and spread of Buddhism from the sixth through the eighth centuries as Buddhism evolved into a state religion. At the same time, we are also faced with important questions concerning this period of Japanese religious history: How did the introduction of Buddhism affect women's lives? Did it influence the lives of women beyond the upper elites in any significant way? How did Buddhism, a highly patriarchal tradition, incorporate Japanese women who had played significant roles as shamans and priestesses in local cults? In order to address these questions, this chapter examines the introduction of the nuns' order to Japan and its early development, the roles of female monarchs as great patrons of Buddhism, and the spread of Buddhism beyond the confines of court society as reflected in an early Buddhist tale collection, the *Nihon ryōiki*. From its introduction in the sixth century until the end of the Nara period, the Buddhist tradition was relatively inclusive of women in Japan. Female monastics were included in the state-sponsored temple system and fulfilled priestly functions similar to those of their male peers. That the full ordination tradition had not been transmitted to Japan seems to have been of little consequence for these female monastics during this early period. On a popular level, a positive and inclusive attitude toward women prevailed as well. Many of the negative concepts that would become more important in the Heian and medieval periods—such as those relating to women's Five Obstructions and Three Obediences, the need for female-to-male transformation in order to achieve Buddhahood, and the pollution associated with female reproductive functions—were not widespread during this period. As a result, women participated in the Buddhist tradition in multiple ways: as nuns, patrons, devotees, and even venerated exemplars of Buddhist virtues. On a social level, Buddhist renunciation provided new social options for women, including celibacy and communal living segregated by gender.

#### **Questions for Discussion**

1. What roles did women play in the introduction of Buddhism to Japan? How did the establishment of the female monastic order in Japan affect the lives of women? What new options did this path offer them? Do you see anything distinctly Japanese about the roles women took in the tradition?
2. Does it matter that orthodox ordinations for women were not transmitted to Japan? Did it matter to women in ancient Japan? Why or why not?



3. What does the *Nihon ryōiki* teach us about women and Buddhism in ancient Japan?
4. How do we explain the comparative inclusiveness of early Japanese Buddhism?

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### *The Heian Period: Women in Buddhism and Court Ritual*

From the sixth through the eighth centuries, Buddhism was marked by a relative inclusiveness toward women. This began to change in the Heian period (794–1185), but prevailing marriage and inheritance practices still gave elite women considerable privileges and freedoms because they remained integrated into their natal families. Women were largely excluded from holding political and religious offices, but they could still serve as palace attendants or, to a limited extent, as priestesses at state-sponsored shrines as the power of female shamans waned. In the highly aestheticized society of Heian Japan, polygyny posed problems for elite women even though they were economically privileged. Repressed tensions within polygynous relationships, such as overt female sexuality, jealousy, and resentment, were expressed metaphorically by likening women to demons—potentially demonizing women themselves. Women were also understood to be particularly susceptible to spirit possession, which paradoxically may have offered women in polygynous relationships a means by which they could find empowerment. Spiritual concepts such as the Five Obstructions, the Three Obediences, the transformation from female to male, and the notion that the female body was exceptionally polluted had not yet become wide accepted, even though these ideas existed in the writings of contemporaneous scholar monks. And women were not prevented from seeking private ordinations, engaging in personal devotion, and even becoming great patrons of Buddhism.

#### **Questions for Discussion**

1. How did the concept of marriage change from the Nara to Heian period in premodern Japan? How did these changes affect the status of women within the family? How did the change in marriage customs affect religious practices?



2. Do you think that Heian accounts of spirit possession depict women as weak, passive victims or do they show women as active and empowered? Provide evidence for both interpretations. Which do you find more convincing? In what respects did spirit possession allow women to cope with the problems generated by polygyny?
3. Why did the institution of state-sponsored convents decline in the Heian period? Give several possible reasons. How did it affect the opportunities women had in the monastic orders?
4. Why did women choose renunciation during this period? In what respects did becoming a nun allow women to cope with the tensions generated by polygyny?

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### *The Medieval Period: Buddhist Reform Movements and the Demonization of Femininity*

Japan's medieval period (1185–1600) was marked by political and military instability and multiple power centers, including warrior governments and an imperial court split into two competing lineages for nearly sixty years during the fourteenth century. A single imperial lineage was reestablished in 1392, but peace was short-lived. The Ōnin War (1467–1477) marked the beginning of a period of protracted warfare between rival regional warlords that lasted into the late sixteenth century. Among the most important legal developments for women were changes in marriage and inheritance patterns spurred on by political and military instability. While women retained a fair amount of autonomy until the end of the Kamakura period (1185–1333), they became increasingly integrated into their husbands' households during the fourteenth century. The rise in virilocal marriages was accompanied by a loss of women's inheritance rights. Additionally, remarriage gradually became less acceptable for widows, due primarily to the spread of Confucian ideas about marriage and feminine ideals such as the Three Obediences (to father, husband, and son). These changes had far-reaching repercussions for female renunciation, the increasing demonization of female jealousy and sexuality, the association of women's bodies with pollution and defilement, and the exclusion of women from some religious spaces. At the same time, women found new opportunities for participation in religious practices in Buddhist revival movements, the emergence of new forms of Buddhism, and the growth of devotional and pilgrimage cults, as well as the introduction of Christianity toward the end of the period. Throughout the medieval period, women were active as various types of religious professionals—nuns, shamans, dancers, and Christian catechists. Despite facing increased

emphasis on the notions of female pollution and spiritual inferiority, women derived meaning from the religious teachings of their time, becoming devoted adherents of Pure Land or Nichiren Buddhism, Zen adepts, orthodox Ritsu nuns, and popular preachers. Women continued to flock to important temples and shrines that did not exclude them, such as Kumano and Zenkōji, and organized themselves in devotional consorceries. Despite the development of the virilocal, patrilineal household, women continued to enjoy a limited measure of independence through their right to transmit and inherit property, at least through their maternal lineage.

### Questions for Discussion

1. How did the concept of marriage change from the ancient to the medieval period in premodern Japan? How did these changes affect the status of women within the family? How did premodern marriage customs influence religious practices?
2. How did views of women change during the medieval period? How do you reconcile the fact that new theories of salvation for women and a revival of the nuns' order emerged just as women became increasingly associated with impurity and spiritual hindrances? How do you explain the fact that women found meaning in the Japanese Buddhist tradition despite its androcentrism?
3. Give your own interpretation of the Blood Pool Sutra. How does the idea of the Blood Pool Hell correlate to the increasing demonization of women and the shift toward patriarchal family structures during the medieval period? How do you explain the fact that women themselves had a hand in the propagation of the Blood Pool Sutra?
4. What roles did women play in the introduction of Christianity to Japan? What new options did Christianity offer them?



## CHAPTER SIX

### *The Edo Period: Confucianism, Nativism, and Popular Religion*

In contrast to the turbulent medieval period, the Edo period (1600–1868) was marked by relative political stability. Edo society was profoundly hierarchical and status-conscious. Officially, society comprised four main hereditary status groups: warriors, peasants, tradesmen, and merchants. Social groups outside the official status system included aristocrats, Buddhist clerics, other religious professionals, performers, and outcasts. The period has often been described as a low point in the status of Japanese women. As this chapter demonstrates, the solidification of the patrilineal household, the emergence of a hierarchical, stratified status system, and the spread of Confucian values during the period strongly supported patriarchal values. The development of an extensive print culture together with widespread basic literacy among women further facilitated the diffusion of these patriarchal ideas. A large number of primers infused with patriarchal values instructed women on acceptable social conduct, health, and practical knowledge. Nevertheless, women in the upper strata of society enjoyed access to education and relative stability through their positions within the patrilineal household. Despite its restrictions, the patrilineal household also had advantages for women. Women operating outside the patriarchal family and outside religious institutions, such as convents, were often left with few means to survive, and were therefore vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Moreover, early modern Japanese society showed considerable variations based on region and class. While status-group membership was not nearly as rigid as it might first seem (especially for women), women beyond the social elites enjoyed much greater freedoms in regard to gender relations than did their privileged counterparts. Some of these women participated in and even founded new religious movements.

#### **Questions for Discussion**

1. How did the spread of the patrilineal household social stratification affect the lives of women and their religious practices and opportunities during the Edo period?
2. How did the spread of Neo-Confucian values affect the lives of women and their religious practices and opportunities?
3. What kind of ideal feminine virtues did the Great Learning for Women and other early modern Confucian texts promote? How do the ideals of the Great Learning for Women compare to medieval Buddhist conceptualizations of women?

4. Scholars have often dismissed Confucianism as a quintessentially patriarchal tradition that exemplifies the oppression of East Asian women in the premodern era. How do you explain the fact that women found meaning in Confucianism despite its androcentrism?
5. What alternatives to Neo-Confucianism, if any, did Nativism and popular religion offer women?

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *Imperial Japan: Good Wives and Wise Mothers*

As Japan became a modern imperial state between 1868 and 1945, the religious landscape and women's roles and opportunities within it were also transformed. Paradoxically, while marriage was redefined as monogamous and was ideally supposed to consist of a partnership, the patrilineal household became more hegemonic than ever across all social classes. Women were encouraged to emulate the ideal of the good wife and wise mother, in whose name they were officially excluded from politics and from the public sphere. Many established religious organizations promoted visions of femininity that reinforced the good wife and wise mother ideal, which proved to be double-edged: by strategically invoking this ideal, women gained great access to educational opportunities and representation in their religious organizations and found ways to be active in public through married women's associations. By contrast, women who violated the new imperial order through their religious activities—shamans, faith healers, and founders and adherents of new religious movements—were subjected to varying degrees of suppression and vilification by the modern news media. Nevertheless, certain women demonstrated great persistence, ingenuity, and vigor despite these social constraints. This chapter traces the concept of the good wife and wise mother through various religious contexts such as Buddhist monastic reform movements and married women's associations, the masculinization of the Shinto priesthood and the establishment of Shinto weddings, and the repercussions for new religious movements that could either implement accommodations or face suppression, as illustrated through the examples of Tenrikyō and Ōmotokyō. Eventually, even new, seemingly heterodox religious organizations began to reiterate the ideal of the good wife and wise mother.

### Questions for Discussion

1. Explain the concept of “good wife and wise mother.” How did this concept arise? How did it shift from the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries? How did it construct ideal femininity in prewar Japan? To what extent was this concept indebted to Confucian constructions of gender? To what extent was it indebted to bourgeois nineteenth-century Euro-American constructions of gender? How did this concept simultaneously constrain and provide opportunities for women? How has the concept of “good wife and wise mother” influenced religious practices and religious institutions?
2. How did women employ both emerging feminist discourses and the concept of “good wife, wise mother” to further their own agendas and to become active in the public sphere, including religious organizations?
3. How did more rigid ideas about gender and about the boundaries of religious traditions affect women’s opportunities within religious institutions?
4. Some scholars contend that the new religions offered radically different ways of participation and access to salvation for women than more established religions. Do you agree?

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

### *The Postwar Period: Nostalgia, Religion, and the Reinvention of Femininity*

The end of World War II brought sweeping social changes to Japan. The new constitution of 1947 and other civil and labor laws promised gender equality and gave religious organizations greater freedom from state control. However, despite legal reforms, during the postwar period the figure of the housewife became a hegemonic ideal of femininity that placed women in the domestic sphere. This chapter investigates how these developments affected, Buddhist nuns and temple wives, Shinto weddings, new religious movements and Buddhist lay movements (including Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō, Mahikari, Reiyūkai, and Sōka Gakkai), and rituals for *mizuko* (aborted and miscarried fetuses). While Japanese religious institutions affirmed to varying degrees these new ideals of egalitarianism and democracy, they also resisted the resultant changes in the family system and in women’s roles. Many Buddhist, Shinto, or new religious organizations chose to promote so-called traditional values that cast women as good wives and wise mothers and placed them in the home. Women reacted in various ways. Some lobbied for changes within existing religious

structures, while others took advantage of the new legal system to found their own independent religious organizations. Many women, however, chose to embrace their identities as wives and mothers (at least nominally) by joining the married women's divisions of their respective religious organizations, through which they found ways to become publicly active outside the home. On the whole, women in the post-war religious organizations tended to be more socially and politically conservative than were secular feminists, who often belonged to the political left. Yet not everyone has accepted this normative vision of femininity. Some women within the religious organizations have used the new legislation to call for reform and for religious organizations to face postwar demographic realities, rather than cling to nostalgic longing for an idealized past.

### Questions for Discussion

1. How did the concept of marriage change in modern Japan? How did these changes affect the status of women within the family? How did changing marriage customs influence religious practices?
2. How has the prewar concept of “good wife and wise mother” been reified, adapted, and contested in postwar and contemporary Japan? How have religious organizations responded to this debate? How did postwar women appropriate the concept of “good wife and wise mother” to further their own agendas and to become active in the public sphere?
3. How did the status of nuns change during the modern period? Did it improve for all types of nuns? What drove these changes? How did clerical marriage affect nuns? Why has the relationship between nuns and temple wives been at times contentious? Who benefits from this situation?
4. How has clerical marriage challenged the ideal of the world renouncer? How have Buddhist sects handled this tension? What have the consequences been for temple families, particularly for temple wives?
5. What opportunities did women find in new religious movements during this period? How did these movements in particular appropriate or challenge the ideal of the “good wife, wise mother”?



## CHAPTER NINE

### *The Lost Decades: Gender and Religion in Flux*

In contrast to the confidence that filled the 1980s, the period since the 1990s has been marked by a sense of millennial crisis, social malaise, and economic stagnation, which together have earned the last twenty-some years the name “the Lost Decades.” Critical of institutionalized religion, which was perceived as calcified, predatory, and, in the case of new religious movements, dangerous, many people have turned away from communally oriented, established religions and older new religious movements. Instead, they have sought out new spiritual practices promising more individual choices and customization, seemingly more appropriate in the uncertain, complex environment of contemporary Japan. Simultaneously, the rise of new communication media, particularly mobile devices and the Internet, has created new opportunities for religious institutions and independent spiritual entrepreneurs to establish translocal, personalized networks. Older religious organizations in return have criticized the upsurge of individualism and social fragmentation, but the dismantling of traditional social structures has also opened up new opportunities. While social conservatives deemed the disintegration of traditional values to be a crisis, many who had felt constricted by the rigid hierarchies and social conformity of the bubble years have experienced this new era as liberating. These decades have brought greater legal protections for women at work and at home and better benefits for the socially disadvantaged. In this malleable climate, debates about the family and gender have emerged with new intensity as religious organizations try to come to terms with the economic and demographic realities of contemporary Japan. During this period, the intersection between gender and religion has been in great flux as new economic and demographic realities spurred deep social changes. As a result, many religious organizations may have become defensive and ultraconservative. However, some religious organizations, particularly new religious movements, have been eager to accommodate changing gender roles. Even conservative religious institutions are not monolithic in their attitudes toward gender: the younger generation may strongly disagree with the conservative positions of the senior establishment. Three examples of new religious movements explored in this chapter include Sōka Gakkai, Shinnyoen, and GLA. Female members of religious organizations have also taken active and varied roles in this debate: from Japanese feminists challenging traditional norms to conservatives nostalgically promoting traditional values.



### Questions for Discussion

1. What kinds of demographic changes and gender debates emerged in Japan starting in the 1990s?
2. How have these developments affected women's religious practices and modes of organization within religious institutions?
3. What has been the range of responses of religious organizations from conservatism to feminism?
4. How have new religious movements adapted to these developments?
5. What falls under New Age spirituality in Japan? Why have these practices been so popular among contemporary women?



## Additional Resources

This bibliography accompanies the book *Women in Japanese Religions* by Barbara Ambros. The following primary sources in translation can be paired with each chapter. Sources marked with an asterisk are more suitable for seminars and other upper-level courses than introductory surveys.

## HIMIKO

de Bary, William Theodore, et al., eds. “Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories.”  
*In Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 1, *From Earliest Times through the  
 Sixteenth Century*, 5–13. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.  
 (Chapter 1)

## HANIWA

\*The Asia Society, ed. *Haniwa*. New York: The Asia Society, 1960.

## MYTHOLOGY

Aston, William George, trans. *Nihongi; Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to  
 A.D. 697*. Rutland, VT: Charles Tuttle, 1972.  
*Pages 1:32–33 contain the story of Tsukiyomi slaying the food goddess  
 Ukemochi. (Chapter 1)*  
*\*Pages 1:1–52 contain a full account of the Age of the Gods. (Chapter 2)*

de Bary, William Theodore, et al., eds. “The Earliest Japanese Chronicles,” and  
 “Legends Concerning Shinto Deities.” In *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol.  
 1, *From Earliest Times through the Sixteenth Century*, 13–31. New York:  
 Columbia University Press, 2001. (Chapter 2)

Philippi, Donald. trans. *Kojiki*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1989.  
*Page 87 contains the story of Susanoo slaying the food goddess Ōgetsuhime.  
 (Chapter 1)*  
*\*Pages 48–86 contain a full account of the Age of the Gods. (Chapter 2)*

## THE ISE HIGH PRIESTESS

Bock, Felicia. “Introduction to the Translation: Engi-shiki, Book V: Bureau of the  
 Consecrated Imperial Princess.” In *Engishiki: Procedures of the Engi Era  
 Books I–V*, 51–56. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970. (Chapter 2)

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 In *Engishiki: Procedures of the Engi Era Books I–V*, 151–54. Tokyo: Sophia  
 University, 1970. *Introduction to the chapter on the office of the high priestess  
 at the Ise Shrines. (Chapter 2)*

## THE ISE HIGH PRIESTESS (CONT'D)

Philippi, Donald, trans. "XXIII. Grand Shrine of Ise: When the High Priestess Assumes Her Office." In *Norito: A Translation of the Ancient Ritual Prayers*, 66. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990. (Chapter 2)

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\*Aston, William George, trans. *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*. Rutland, VT: Charles Tuttle, 1972.  
*Excerpts on the introduction of Buddhism to Japan on pages 2:96, 2:101–05, 2:113, 2:118.*

Nakamura, Kyōkō Motomochi, trans. *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon Ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.  
*See stories 1.13, 1.35, 2.4, 2.8, 2.11, 2.12, 2.14, 2.27, 2.28, 2.30, 2.41, 2.42, 3.11, and 3.34. (Chapter 3)*

\*Sansom, George, trans. "Early Japanese Law and Administration, Part II." *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Second Series* 11 (1934): 127–33.  
*Articles 1, 2, 5, 6, 11, 12, 22, 23 of the Sōniryō (Regulations for Monks and Nuns).*

Stevenson, Miwa, trans. "The Founding of the Monastery Gangōji and a List of Its Treasures." In *Religions of Japan in Practice*, ed. George Tanabe, 299–315. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999. (Chapter 3)

Young, Serenity, ed. *Sacred Texts by and about Women*. New York: Crossroads, 1995.  
*Pages 317–23 in the Buddhism chapter contain key passages from the Devadatta and Avalokiteśvara chapters of the Lotus Sūtra, the encounter between the goddess and Śāriputra in the Vimalakīrti Sūtra, and the prophecy of Queen Śrīmālā's Buddhahood in the Śrīmālā Sūtra. (Chapter 3)*

## THE KAMO SHRINE PRIESTESS IN THE HEIAN PERIOD

Bock, Felicia. "Introduction to Book Six: The Princess Consecrated to the Kamo Shrines." In *Englishiki: Procedures of the Engi Era Books VI–X*, 1–8. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1972. (Chapter 4)

## THE KAMO SHRINE PRIESTESS IN THE HEIAN PERIOD (CONT'D)

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\*Morris, Ivan, trans. *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.  
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