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PHALLIC WORSHIP IN JAPAN: CELEBRATING THE PHALLUS

by

Ellen Quejada

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
Department of East Asian Studies
University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

Thesis title: Phallic Worship in Japan: Celebrating the Phallus
Submitted by: Ellen Quejada
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Master of Arts, 1998

Throughout Japan, the phallus has been venerated and celebrated for many centuries. Modern day festivals still preserve aspects of the phallic symbols from early Japanese literature and the agricultural practices of the Yayoi Period. However, considerable variation in phallic form among excavated artefacts from the Jomon Period has led to disparate interpretations of their influence on modern practices. Furthermore, our understanding of phallic worship is limited by its scant record in early Japanese literature. Investigation of the current phallic festivals and sites in Niigata, Gifu, Nagano, and Aichi Prefectures, revealed that although the practices of this tradition vary from region to region, one consistent distinction can be made between natural phallic forms and manufactured phalli. While former are primarily concerned with man's physical health (e.g. prevention of disease, easy childbirth, etc.), the latter are worshipped to inculcate agricultural success.
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Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

"Travelling from Utsunomiya to Nikko, in 1881, I found the road lined at intervals with groups of phalli... I once witnessed a phallic procession in a town some miles north of Tokio. A phallus several feet high, and painted a bright vermilion colour, was being carried on a sort of a bier by a crowd of shouting, laughing coolies with flushed faces who ziggagged along with sudden rushes from one side of the street to another" (Sioris 1987:133).

Such a scene was recorded by an amazed William Aston (1841-1911) who was living in Kobe. Phallic worship existed long before Aston stepped foot on Japan. Numerous excavations of phallic stone rods dating back to the Middle Jomon (ca 3600 B.C. - ca 2500 B.C.) period attest to the early forms of phallic worship. Over time, phallic worship developed into "the worship of a god of fecundity, fertility, and marriage, and amalgamated with the worship of Dosojin" (Ikeda 1962: 110). Why the shape of a phallus? Ritchie and Ito (1967) explains that the "erect penis both frightens and protects, both warns and consoles" (p. 51). Moreover, a limp phallus would not be able to perform adequately as a symbol. It must be "in that state of tension and rigidity which is necessary for the proper performance of its functions" (Jennings 1927: 336).

Phallic worship was not confined only to ancient Japan, but also extended to the ancient worlds of Europe, Southern Asia, and the Mediterranean. Ancient Greece worshipped the phallus, as is evidenced by vessels, vases, and drinking cups. Stone

1 William G. Aston was a British diplomat who worked in Japan from late Tokugawa (1600-1867) to early Meiji (1868-1912). See Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1992), p. 70.

2 The difference between the penis and phallus lies in their function: the penis means the member has a sexual role—its primary function is sexually and biologically. The phallus on the other hand has a symbolic role. Its function is imbued with meaning that take on "cosmic and personal significance" (Vanggaard 1972: 11-14).


4 See Eva C. Keuls. The Rein of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens.
and wooden hermas (four-sided columns with a man's head and a protruding phallus, without arms or legs) were placed at temples and in front of homes as protectors (Vanggaard 1972: 59). In ancient Denmark, stone phalli were found standing on the ground, in graves, or in marshes for cultic functions (Ibid: 82-83). Romans held an annual phallic ceremony in spring to honour Venus for ensuring agricultural and human fertility (Westropp 1970a: 30-31). The Hindus worshipped both male and female genitals as symbols of Siva, the god of procreation (Ibid: 15, 24-28; and Dulaure 1934: 82). In Egypt, the phallus is "frequently represented as the symbol of regeneration" (Westropp 1970a: 22-23). These are a few of many more examples but they highlight the phallus as an object of reverence and worship, not just as an anatomical representation.

In Japan, during the early rice cultivation era, the regenerative and fertilizing powers of Nature were consecrated in the phallus. Over time the agricultural concepts of phallic worship diversified; phallic worship became a symbol for guarding roadsides, granting fertility to infertile women, preventing disease of the lower regions, as well as other symbols. These new forms of phallic worship—solving not only agriculturally-related difficulties but also day-to-day difficulties—probably strengthened its position and appeal to the common people. Today many phallic festivals and phallic sites remain, drawing local people and visitors from abroad to its sites.

Although phallic worship in Japan has been thoroughly explored by Japanese scholars, it has received scant attention from Western scholars. Scholars in related fields such as anthropology and religion would gain fresh insight on Japanese customs and festivals that were inspired by phallic worship. Studying phallic worship is indispensable in understanding customs, festivals, and forms of worship in Japan.

This paper will study phallic worship as indigenous worship, not as an imported worship, as in the amalgamation with the Kangiten (elephant deity) of the Shingon sect. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1985).
The Kangiten images are venerated for their association with sexual pleasure and source of enlightenment, in contrast to indigenous Japanese phallic worship. Additionally, the early pre-historic periods of the Jomon period (ca 11,000 B.C. - ca 300 B.C.) and the Yayoi period (ca 300 B.C. - ca A.D. 300), early literature, and present day festivals and sites will be examined.
Chapter II: PHALLIC WORSHIP AND PREHISTORIC REMAINS

Long before the written word was established, that recorded the early mythological phallic gods, phallic worship was prevalent, as indicated by the archaeological remains of sekibo (石棒; stone rods). The archaeological remains of the sekibo deserve attention for two reasons. First, the excavations of sekibo shed light on their usage and function. Second, and more specifically, the sekibo helps in tracing the development of phallic worship.

This section will examine the origin and development of phallic worship in relation to the sekibo, beginning with the background of sekibo.

Background of Sekibo

The precursors to the name sekibo were raitsui (雷槌) and raichin (雷砲) (thunderbolts). In the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), a group known as the Nihon Senshigaku no Kumi (Association of Scholars on the Prehistoric Study of Japan) published on sekibo until the Meiji period (1868-1912). Matsuura Takeshiro (1818-1888) first introduced the sekibo under the names raitsui and raichin in a publication of 1878. Kanda Takahira (1838-1898), a collector of sekibo, also mentioned raitsui in his Nihon Taiko Sekkiko (Research on Ancient Japanese Stone Implements) (1886). Some of his collections are recorded in Munro's Prehistoric Japan (1911) (Figure 1). In the same year, Wakabayashi Katsukuni was the first person to coin the name sekibo in place of raitsui and raichin in his publication Sekibo no Kikaku Kenkyu (Study on the Standardization of Sekibo). In this, scholars had to grapple with the correct reading of the characters chosen by Wakabayashi (石棒). Should they be read as ishibo or sekibo? After many discussions, it was decided sekibo was the correct one. Soon after, the Sutoonu Kurabu (Stone Club) was formed, later changed to Sekibo Kenkyu (Study
Fig. 1. Schematic Drawing of Sekibo from Kanda Takahira's Private Collection (After Munro 1911: 163)
of Sekibo) (Gifu ken kyoikuinkai 1995: 2). At the Hida Misegawa Symposium organized in 1995 by researchers of sekibo, three problems were recognized: first, the problem of a standard for the classification of sekibo; second, the use of sekibo; and third, the classification of the types of sekibo (Shibuya 1995:1).

One of the early classification system was established by Kanda Takahira who divided the sekibo into four categories: 1. on both thick ends, the sekibo has a head; 2. for almost the same type, one end only has a head; 3. other one-headed ones are wooden pestles; and 4. both ends have heads. His classification was later refined by other researchers who specified the types. In 1924, one such researcher was Torii Ryuzo who divided the classification into three divisions: 1. system for coarse and refined sekibo; 2. system for single-headed, two-headed, and no-headed sekibo; and 3. system recognizing system "1" and system "2" will blend in their classification.

### Sekibo Classification

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<th>No Head</th>
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<tr>
<td>Single Head</td>
<td>Two Heads</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simple Tip</td>
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<tr>
<td>- 2 Step Umbrella Type</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Umbrella Type</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Reverse Bowl Type</td>
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<td>- Sword Guard Type</td>
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(Torii in Shibuya 1995: 4)

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Jomon Period (ca 11,000 B.C. - ca 300 B.C.)

Excavations of sites dating from the Middle Jomon period (ca 3600 B.C. - ca 2500 B.C.) have revealed a large number of sekibo. The general belief about the Jomon period is that its people engaged in a nomadic hunting and gathering lifestyle; however, recent excavations suggest more. The remains of chipped stone axes and patterns in the settlement suggested that shifting agriculture was practiced as early as this period (Sasaki in Matsuo 1986: 41). Watanabe Hitoshi (1986) argues against the theory of the Jomon hunters and gatherers, but rather, he supports the view that the Jomon people had residential stability, given the following evidence: first, the manufacture and use of pottery; second, the weight of stone implements; third, the time invested in their dwellings; fourth, the presence of cemeteries; and fifth, the permanence of the dwellings (p. 251). In the central areas of Japan, the Middle Jomon period witnessed a growth in the regional population, particularly on the slopes of Mount Yatsuga (or Yatsugatake, Nagano Prefecture) (Aikens and Higuchi 1982: 137).

Behind this background of a Middle Jomon period characterized by stable communities and growth in population, the sekibo likewise flourished. The sekibo made in this period were distinct from later sekibo. These sekibo were large, simple, and about one metre tall (Mizuno 1959: 557; and Ueno 1983: 100). Another characteristic was their roughness (Fujimori 1969: 208).

Sekibo Sites

1. Toyama Prefecture

Although sekibo sites were found throughout Honshu and parts of Kyushu, their principle areas were concentrated in central and northeastern Honshu. In Himi city, Toyama Prefecture, an exhibition on local excavations dating back to the Jomon period was held in 1996. The sekibo of the Middle Jomon period found in the areas by the
Japan Sea—from the Hokuriku region to the Tohoku district—share a distinctive feature: large sekibo are carved with a sword guard shape that encloses the head, and the testicles are carved with a ‘V’ formation (Himi shiryu hakubutsu kan 1996:10)\(^8\). The exhibition featured a replica of an archaeological find in a cave by the boundary of Himi City where a large stone phallus was carved with this distinctive design. In the middle of the testicle was a three-pronged fork and a ‘V’ formation was carved (Figure 2).

2. **Gifu Prefecture**

The mountainous region of Gifu has yielded a substantial sekibo excavation, particularly in northern Gifu. In 1992, in Yoshiki County, Miyakawa Village (Figure 3), Late Jomon (ca 2500 B.C. - ca 1000 B.C.) remains were excavated. On the isolated mountain of Miyakawa village, near the Miyakawa river bank, about nine hundred items of sekibo and sekibo products, such as beaten rock, grindstones, and tools for manufacturing, were uncovered in a 400 m\(^2\) site (Himi 1996:18) (Figure 4). From this, seventeen large and small phalli were collected and enshrined in the jinja (shrine) built in the vicinity—the Shiogama Kinsei Jinja. These phalli are worshipped in connection with *Ohase kata no kami* (男茎形神)\(^9\) (Miya kawa mura kyoiku iinkai 1993:32).

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6 The Hokuriku region is comprised of Fukui Prefecture, Ishikawa Prefecture, Toyama Prefecture, and Niigata Prefecture.

7 The Tohoku region is comprised of the northern prefectures—Aomori, Akita, Iwate, Miyage, Yamagata, and Fukushima.

8 Hereafter abbreviated as "Himi".

9 This kanji can also be read as *Dankon no kami* (god of the phallus). The word *kami* generally means "god"; however it is a god that resides in objects and people. The most general definition was articulated by the Shinto scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801): "The word 'kami' refers, in the most general sense, to all divine beings of heaven and earth that appear in the classics...the kami are the spirits that abide in and are worshipped at the shrines. In principle human beings, birds, animals...—all may be kami. According to ancient usage, whatever seemed strikingly impressive, possessed the quality of excellence, or inspired a feeling of awe was called kami" (Motoori in Ueda 1996: 35).
Fig 2. The Replica of Sekibo; Himi City, Toyama Prefecture
(After Himi shi ryu hakubutsukan 1996: 10)
Fig. 3. Map of Japanese phallic sites presented in this thesis.
Fig. 4. Various Sekibo Excavated at Miyakawa Village, Gifu Prefecture
From the archaeological data, researchers were able to theorize how the *sekibo* were manufactured in this region. Briefly, the theory on the manufacturing of *Sekibo* involve the following four steps: first, the Primitive stone (*Gen seki*); second, the Peeling process (*Hakuri kotei*); third, the Pecking process (*Kooda kotei*); and last, the Polishing Process (*Kenma kotei*) (Himi 1996: 18) (Figure 5).

South of Miyakawa village, located in the mountains of the Japan Alps, lies the Hida district. The area is famous for its production of wood carving; however, its hidden attractions lie with the five *sekibo* sites: Furukawa town, Kamitakara village, Takayama city, Kiyomi village, and Kuguno town. All the *sekibo* were dated from the Middle (ca 3600 B.C. - ca 2500 B.C.) and Late Jomon periods (Hayashi 1995: 16).

3. Nagano Prefecture

Nagano Prefecture has also yielded rich excavations. In Saku town, a large collection of Middle Jomon period remains were discovered in a swamp. In the swamp, now converted into a rice paddy, a five metre stone *sekibo* which can be seen from a distance was discovered (Fujimori 1969: 208-209). The results from this careful investigation leave no doubt that the collections of *sekibo* were made in the Middle Jomon period (Ibid: 209).

Additionally, two sites were discovered on the western slope of Mount Yatsuga. At the bottom of the mountain, several small streams wind through and meet a larger stream which eventually empties into Lake Suwa (Aikens and Higuchi 1982: 137). The Togariishi site\(^\text{10}\) (present day Toyohira village, Suwa county) has yielded thirty-three pithouses and on the neighbouring ridge, the Yosukeone site, has twenty-eight pithouses (Ibid). In some of these pithouses, phallic stone altars were excavated. The phallic altars had broken phallic pieces either on or beside the altars (Ibid 1982: 146-149; and Kidder 1959: 48, 85-87).

\(^{10}\) The Togariishi site was named after the huge boulder with a pointed head that was found on the site (Aikens and Higuchi 1982: 150).
Fig. 5. Manufacture of Sekibo; Miyakawa Village, Gifu Prefecture
South of Togariishi, about fifteen kilometres away, lies the Idojiri site. This site was once densely settled and yielded a large number of pottery pieces that were characterized by their elaboration and snake motifs (Ibid: 219). Fujimori Eichi, the principal investigator, had unearthed many sekibo of various shapes and sizes.

4. Yamanashi Prefecture

At 600 metres above sea level on Mount Yatsuga's Nanroku, a sekibo site that was formerly a burial ground was discovered. Among the stone remains, the Konsei Iseki site revealed stone phallus type moldings (Sato 1995: 11). In Nishimura, Otsuka village, archaeologists excavated a large free-standing sekibo (Kidder 1959: 77). In Nakakoma county, Shikishima town, there is a sekibo that became a grave marker. In Kushigata town (same county as above), a sekibo is worshipped as the god of the residence in a farming household. The sekibo is headless, short and fat, with a length of 9 centimetres in the front and 10 centimetres in the back (Nakazawa 1973: 140).

5. Others

Other large standing sekibo were unearthed at Muramitakadan (Shizuoka Prefecture) and Terayama (Kanagawa Prefecture) (Kidder 1959: 77).

Late Jomon Period to Yayoi Period (ca 300 B.C. - ca A.D. 300)

The shift from the Late Jomon period to the Early Yayoi period was of great importance because it marked the shift from movement and nomadic lifestyle to residential stability and cultivation. The Late Jomon people were already maintaining residential stability given the numerous artefacts that suggest this. Watanabe (1986) explains the findings of stone implements, structures of the dwellings, and cemeteries all indicate stability (p. 229). Ongoing excavations of the Kamegaoka site\(^{11}\), located 40

\(^{11}\) Specifically, the Kamegaoka site is located on the Tsugaru Peninsula. The pots that were discovered were known as "kamegaoka ware", hence the name (Bleed 1986:
kilometres west of Aomori City, revealed the rich development of the Late Jomon period (ca 2500 B.C. - 1000 B.C.) (Aikens and Higuchi 1982: 164). The site is near a rice field, formerly a marsh. Among the many collections of jewellery, there were remains of "finely made stone scepters, usually of phallic shape" (Ibid: 165).

The Yayoi culture appeared gradually, with the Itatsuke site (in Fukuoka City) heralded as the earliest Yayoi culture (Ibid: 330). Evidence showed that the Yayoi period developed in two stages: the first stage spread from south-western Japan to the Kyoto-Nagoya areas, then in the Middle Yayoi period (ca 100 B.C. - ca A.D. 100), the culture extended into the mountainous areas of central Honshu, the Tokyo area, and northern Honshu. In the second stage, the culture became more established in northern Honshu (Ibid: 191). Additionally, the beginning and end of the period ushered in two different transformations: the development of wet-rice agriculture and the progression towards a socio-political society, respectively (Barnes 1986: 313).

As the Early Yayoi period (ca 300 B.C. - ca 100 B.C.) progressed so did wet rice cultivation. The rice from this site resembled the rice from eastern China, thus supporting the theory that rice arrived to the southern islands first before spreading throughout Honshu (Kidder 1959: 93). Further evidence of rice husks imprinted on pottery strengthened this theory (Ibid). This development of rice cultivation meant that the need for stable communities, in order to ensure the growth of their crops, became important. By the Middle Yayoi period, communities expanded their land and explored the forested areas, and new tools and techniques were introduced (Kanaseki 1986: 319).

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12 Aikens and Higuchi (1982) noted this site has been an archaeological wonderland for plunderers from at least the 1600s and many valuable artefacts have been removed and distributed throughout Japan and abroad (p. 164).
Significance on the Locations

Most of the sekibo sites were discovered in close proximity to each other and concentrated in the Chubu district (comprising of the following prefectures—Niigata, Toyama, Ishikawa, Fukui, Shizuoka, Yamanashi, Nagano, Aichi, and Gifu). For example, on Mount Yatsuga, a number of settlements that were in close proximity revealed sekibo lying around low stone tables. This suggests influences between communities and perhaps, a sharing of ideas. However, the sites, discovered in isolated areas such as the remote mountainous regions in Gifu prefecture, lead one to think that the sekibo developed in isolation. The artefacts from Gifu do not reveal any cross-over from other sites, but rather reveal a completely independent style.

Significance on the Periods

The discovery of sekibo dating back to the Jomon period has inspired much speculation, with as many infinite and various interpretations on their meaning. Kidder (1959) writes: "The artifacts of the Middle Jomon period are replete with symbols that connote fertility...large stone clubs of phallic form, stone phalli, standing pillars in dwellings and other objects, more disguised but similarly symbolic, attest to the emphasis placed on the magical powers of the male organ" (p. 75). He puts forward two ideas in regard to the discoveries of sekibo: first, the Jomon people wanted their symbols to be more permanent, given the harder materials used at this time; and second, the sekibo reflected the introduction of new ideas "among the mountain-dwelling societies and expressed [their] ideas symbolically" (Ibid). However he qualifies the second theory by accounting the difficulties by providing evidence that the sekibo spread among mountain dwellers (Ibid). Nevertheless there is no doubt the large sekibo served as "magical symbols of procreation" (Ibid: 77).

Another interpretation emphasizes the use of the sekibo as a weapon. Munro (1991) theorized the sekibo "might have been used as weapons and as insignia of
authority; but the majority were in all probability phallic deities....Whether or not they originated in the grave-post and derived their virtue from the personality beneath, or whether they were directly conceived of as the symbols of renewed existence, they must have been regarded as possessed of influence in the days of the primitive culture" (p. 633).

The most common theory stresses the *sekibo* as holding a magico-religious meaning (Himi 1996: 10; Sakaguchi 199x; Mizuno 1959: 557; and Munro 1971: 163-164). One idea was put forward by Sakaguchi (199x) who suggested these relics were either tools or offerings to the temples (p. 109). Another idea was that, given their phallus-like shape, the *sekibo* could be linked to sex worship, holding sacred and guardian meanings (Saito 1992: 245).

Regarding the Himi excavations, the explanation of this kind of *sekibo* was that on the main body—the penis—the female genital was carved and as a result, both the penis and the genital were engaging in sexual intercourse (Himi 1996: 10).

Additionally, the incredible finds of various *sekibo* on Mount Yatsuga inspired Sato (1995) to voice his theory. According to Sato, the Jomon people believed in the land of the dead where evil spirits and polluted bodies existed (p. 11). For those living in the land of the living, it was suggested the people would be afraid the evil spirits would enter and invade their lives. As a result, the *sekibo* were used as a means to defend the living people and, by praying to the *sekibo* which were seen as gods, the people would be able to prevent the evil spirits from invading the land of the living (Ibid). Similarly, Hane (1972) notes the stone rods with mushroom heads could have some connection with burial rites; however, whether or not they were related to Nature worship remains inconclusive (p. 14).

Regarding the Yamanashi *sekibo*, Nakazawa (1973) speculates that the shape evokes sexual ideas. Originally, he thinks that the *sekibo* were used as a reproductive
tool but later converted into a hunting tool, given the excavations of sekibo that looked like swords (p. 141).

The discovery of these remains leads one to believe the ancient Japanese tried to understand life and procreation, although firm opinions have yet to be established on the nature of the rituals, the reasons behind the sekibo (stone rods), nor the relationship Man had with the sekibo. In the end, although the significance of the archaeological data is cloaked in ambiguity, one can only speculate and link the phallic objects as sex objects that indicate the beginning of phallic worship.

Changes in their lifestyle—from a hunting and gathering lifestyle to an agricultural lifestyle—meant changes in the usage and function of the sekibo. Perhaps, as the previous theories suggested, the sekibo were used for magico-religious purposes. Although there has been no conclusive evidence to support the speculations, the latter Jomon period and Early Yayoi period give grounds for more conclusive evidence on the usage and function of the sekibo. With the advent of agriculture, new elements were introduced that could have come to be associated with the stone phallus. One element was the power of procreation and regeneration. A second element was its use as a symbol to prevent against disease. Lastly, the phallus came to represent the power to grant success in marriage and childbirth.

In agriculture, there is "the dynamic cyclical course from sowing to the harvest, through germination, growth, and maturity. The cyclical idea of life and cosmology was based on this understanding of agriculture...." (Hori 1968: 20). The early agricultural people saw the procreative energy of Nature and the forces that contributed in the regeneration of their daily staples. Understanding the powers of regeneration was too difficult and abstract; thus, ancient man had to use the most familiar object, that was himself, in order to comprehend (Westropp 1970a: 11). "In this way, the phallus became the exponent of creative power; and, though to our eyes vulgar and indecent, have no improper meaning to the simple ancient worshipper" (Ibid: 21).
It was not unusual to ascribe human qualities to nature during the ancient period. In order to explain the mystery of Nature's regenerative powers, links between Nature and humans were explored. Plutarch (ca A.D. 46 - 120), the Greek biographer and philosopher, explained the processes of nature in human terms. "The sky...appeared for men to perform the functions of a father, as the earth those of a mother. The sky was the father, for it cast seed into the bosom of the earth, which on receiving them became fruitful and brought forth, and was the mother" (Westropp 1970a: 11; 1970b: 24). The analogy was easy to draw as both Nature and humans share similar characteristics. The sky pouring its life-giving water over the earth is similar to the phallus spilling its seed into the womb.

Schroeder (1927) expanded on this idea and explored the development of phallic worship in psychological terms, from ancient times onwards. Ancient man saw the procreative powers of Nature and at the same time, he saw himself as being procreative, and sought to understand both concepts. At some point, he began to see himself as being procreative, just like Nature, and linked the relationship between the two. Bearing this in mind, ancient man developed phallic worship (Ibid: 631-652).

For the ancient Japanese, agriculture and phallic worship are intimately connected (Kato 1927:262). The ancient Japanese worshipped Nature and its processes; worship was directed to the kami which resided in objects representing regeneration, such as the phallus (Czaja 1974). The phallus was not being worshipped; rather, it was what the phallus symbolized that was being worshipped. Agriculture was interwoven tightly with fertility and life, and the growth of the agricultural communities.

Early agricultural societies around the world also practiced phallic worship; the phallus was a symbol of procreation and regeneration. Around the fertile delta of the Nile River, the ancient Egyptians grew their rich harvest. The phallus was worshipped and revered, not only for its regenerative powers but also for its powers of resurrection
Ancient Greece also worshipped a phallic god, Priapus, who promoted fertility in agriculture and among people (Ibid: 18). Mircea Eliade (1958) sums up phallic worship succinctly: The rhythms of nature interweave with the regenerative power and the regenerative power is personified in objects, particularly the phallus (p. 331).

The second element of the phallus that became established was a symbol of prevention against disease and evil spirits. With the advent of wet rice cultivation, communities became established, reinforcing group ties. Because group ties were extremely strong in Japan, outsiders (i.e. people from other communities) were deemed suspicious as they might be carriers of evil spirits or disease. For this reason, there was a need for road-side guardians (Richie and Ito 1967: 51). These guardians were in a phallic form because the "erect penis both frightens and protects, both warns and consoles" (Ibid). Later, the phallus became associated with *kami* (gods) and was incorporated into events and festivals that were prevalent in the Heian period (794-1185), such as the *Michiae Festival* and *Sagicho Festival*.

The final element of the phallus was being endowed with procreative powers for fertility and childbearing. It is easy to make a connection between the phallus and fertility because of its association with procreation. The human process of fertility and birth is analogous to the agricultural process of planting and harvesting.

Over time, other elements also became associated with the phallus such as marriage, matchmaking, disease of the body, and good health.

**Discussion**

Phallic worship among ancient peoples appears to have evolved independently from one another. In Japan, the appearance of *sekibo* in various sites suggests phallic worship arose within the community. Additionally, among the *sekibo* sites, there was no evidence of cross-over among the artefacts to suggest any inter-settlement
influences; for example there was no evidence of influence between the Mount Yatsuga sites–Togariishi and Yosukeone–and the Hokuriku region and Tohoku district. It was also suggested the lifestyle of the Middle Jomon period was marked by residential stability from "the ceramic distributions of the Tokyo region during [the] Middle Jomon, [the Jomon people were] well established and quite self-sufficient within their particular small regions" (Aikens and Higuchi 1982:184). This meant that there were fewer opportunities to influence other communities than if the Jomon people were nomads. However, it can be argued that given the numerous rivers and streams that criss-cross between the mountains, these waterways could have provided opportunities for transportation, suggesting that the Jomon communities may have sent some of their members to visit other sites. Alternatively, spurred by curiosity, the early people may have travelled to distant communities. As a result, the visitors would have had an opportunity to note the sekibo and be influenced by them. If this were so, researchers would have to examine the types of stone and question whether or not the stone of the sekibo was indigenous to a particular region.

However, it was noted that later in the Jomon period there was evidence of overlapping ceramic types (Ibid: 185). From this, one can surmise that the usage and manufacturing of sekibo also overlapped. However, the available evidence suggests otherwise. The sword guard design characteristic of the Hokuriku region and Tohoku district remained confined to those areas. Therefore, the design was representative of a geographical area. It did not spread into other areas such as the interior mountains of Gifu Prefecture, or travel southward to Nagano Prefecture. Similarly, the Mount Yatsuga sites yielded broken stone phalli scattered around low stone tables. These remains were characteristic of this particular region.

The lineage formation on the sekibo and sekken (stone swords) has received different opinions which can be divided into two viewpoints. These viewpoints were expressed during the Hida Misegawa Symposium held on September 23-24, 1995. The
first viewpoint supports the idea that the development of the sekibo's geological formation was divided. Yoshida Tomio published *Sekibo, Sekken* (Stone Rods, Stone Swords; 1941), noting the two types of sekibo types: the crude manufacturing of the large fat types, and the refined manufacturing of the thin slender types. Therefore, he argued that the lineage of these two types must have been separate. Moreover, he hypothesized that wooden clubs existed before the existence of thin slender sekibo.

The second viewpoint supports the idea that the sekibo underwent variation in lineage, from the sekibo to sekken. In 1951, Kobayashi Yukio published one study, *Nihon Kogogaku Gaisetsu* (Outline of Japanese Archaeological Study), and in 1970, he published *Zukai Kogogaku Jiten* (Illustrated Dictionary of Archaeology). Both of these publications emphasized the changes in the sekibo. The sekibo in the later period became smaller and the carving on the head became more intricate and shaped more like a tortoise. Many designs also incorporated the female genitalia.

On the usage of sekibo, researchers held divergent views. One view emphasizes the purpose of the sekibo was for phallic worship. This view is a combination of folklore and archaeology built on the premise that the single-headed sekibo resembles the male reproductive organ. Ono Entaro's series *Jyoroku Kokuka Rikiho Ryokodan* (Conversations on Travels on a Misty and Endless Land; 1896) includes his observances of the many stone phalli that were worshipped. The worshippers believed these stones would cure both male and female diseases of the lower regions. He also noted that there was no great contrast in the shape of these stone gods that are worshipped by the people then and those of the Stone Age. These stone rods were identical to the ones from the Stone Age. Also, Torii Ryuzo\(^*\) adopted Ono's theory on phallic worship and combined it with his own investigation of the archaeological

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13 Torii Ryuzo (1870-1953) was an anthropologist who taught at Tokyo University and Peiping University, China. He became director of the Torii Anthropological Research Institute (*Japan Biographical Encyclopedia* 1964-65: 1722).
remains and folkloric examples. In 1923, he published *Gojin Sosen Yushizen no Dankon Suhai* (Prehistoric Phallic Worship of Our Ancestors) which emphasized that phallic worship already existed in the Yayoi period.

This view was also endorsed by Tanigawa Iwao who emphasized the shape of the *sekibo* expresses the *linga* (Sanskrit for phallus) in his work *Sekkijidai Shukyo Shiso no Ittan* (One Part of the Thoughts on Stone Age Belief; 1923). Following this, two more publications strengthened the thesis on the *sekibo's* function for phallic worship. Takefumi Ichiro's *Sekibo ni Arawaretaru Katsurei no Konseki ni Tsuite* (Concerning the Evidence of Circumcision Revealed in the Sekibo; 1924) observations on the *sekibo* were complete with illustrations and diagrams of the stone's exterior. He hypothesized the mark of the polished grindstones revealed circumcision and concluded the stone rods were used for sex worship. Kiyono Kenji's *Danjyosei Shokki wo Shimeshi Katsu Doji ni Kosatsu wo Imiseru Nihon Sekijidai Doseihin* (Revelations of Male and Female Reproductive Objects: Moreover, At the Same Time, the Significance of Sexual Intercourse of Japan's Stone Age Earthenware Objects; 1925) was based on examining pictures of stone crowns that resembled the types of earthenware objects. He believed the crowns were a combination of the male and female reproductive organs.

Another researcher focused on the usage for its practical aspect: the *sekibo* was used for pounding the cereals and clays. Nishioka Hideo developed his point in his work *Nihon ni Okeru Seikami no Shiteki Kenkyu Kogogaku; Minzoku Gakuteki Kosatsu* (Historical Research of Japan's Sex gods and Archaeology; Inquiry into Folkloric Studies; 1950). From the Middle and Late Jomon periods agriculture was practiced; thus, the early agricultural people would have used the stone rods as part of their farming tools. The primitive people likely associated the movement of raising and lowering with sexual intercourse.
The second view on the usage of sekibo emphasizes a prudent approach. Hachihata Ichiro acknowledges one part of the sekibo expresses the penis. However, he cautions against the assumption that its sole purpose was for phallic worship which is outlined in his work, *Nihon Senshijin no Shinko no Mondai* (The Problem of the Belief of the Japanese Prehistoric People; 1939). Similarly, Nakatani Juniro maintains that there are sekibo from the Stone Age which reveal the worship of procreative objects. Both authors recognize that one usage of the sekibo is phallic worship; however both express the need for prudence in giving a conclusive statement.

The final view departs from the two views and endorses the practical function of the stone rod. When the two kinds of sekibo—coarse thick type and refined slender type—were discovered, some researchers developed various theories on the functions, depending on the type. Shinta Kohei opposed the opinion that sekibo were objects for phallic worship. He offers several reasons why the stone rods were tools for daily use, gleaned from his work, *Nihon Genshijidai no Shukyo* (Religion of Japan's Primitive Age; 1937). First, the tool is extremely worn-out, meaning it has been well-used. As well, there is evidence that it was pounded as one side is worn-out. Second, the sekibo were deposited near a kitchen. Third, although the one-headed sekibo appear similar to a penis, how would one explain the no-headed and double-headed ones? Publications on the practical functions of sekibo have been flourishing since the Edo period. The researchers of the Hida Misegawa Symposium acknowledge that the problem of sekibo's manufacturing process and method of usage should be divided for consideration, rather than understanding both processes at the same time.

It must be considered that much of these studies and theories were completed before the Second World War. These studies and theories need to be reconsidered in light of more recent theories and new data that is emerging on the sekibo.

During the Yayoi period, answers surrounding the usage of the sekibo become more concrete. The ancient belief in phallic worship was an attempt to understand
Nature and its processes, and Man and his processes. The phallus was endowed as the symbolic emblem in order to explain the mysterious. Given the limited evidence, a cloud of uncertainty still prevails over any conclusive statements.
Chapter III: EARLY JAPANESE LITERATURE

Japanese mythological phallicism took different forms. The phallic symbol was strengthened in Japan owing to its association with the creation mythologies. In the earliest Japanese literature, the phallus was recorded as a symbol of a procreative tool in the creation of an island. Other kami in the mythologies also represented the phallus and in later years, certain kami came to be associated with certain festivals and organized under the umbrella term Dosojin (道祖神; road-side gods). This section will examine the mythologies and early literature which provide early written sources of phallic worship. The second section will focus on the various kami that are known under the collective term Dosojin, with most examples from the mythologies.

The phallus was first recorded in the Kojiki (A.D. 712; Records of Ancient Matters) and in the Nihongi (A.D. 720; Chronicles of Japan)\textsuperscript{14}.

Hereupoun all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities His Augustness, the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to "make, consolidate, and give birth to the drifting land." Granting to them an heavenly jewelled spear, they [thus] (bracket by author) deigned to change them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred with it...the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the island of Onogoro (Kojiki 1981: 19).

Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and held counsel together, saying, "Is there not a country beneath?" Thereupon they thrust down the jewel-spear of heaven, and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine which dripped from the point of the spear coagulated and became an island which received the name of Ono-goro-jima (Nihongi 1956: 10-12).

The interpretation of the "jewelled spear" (沼矛; nuboko) symbolizing the phallus has been endorsed by several scholars. Takahashi Tetsu (1991) affirms the

\textsuperscript{14} This is also read as Nihonshoki. See Sakamoto Taro The Six National Histories of Japan, transl. by Sakamoto Matsue. (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1991) pp. 30-33, on the theories concerning the two readings.
nuboko is clearly the phallus (p. 46). He draws his conclusion from the mythological creation of "the sea is stirred by a spear, and an island was made" as a sexual act (Ibid).

Hirata Atsutane (1776-1842)—the Nationalist scholar and Shinto theologian—writes that the heavenly spear that helped create the island is, indeed, the phallus (Krauss 1988: 28, 96). In his work Inyo Shinseki Zu (Illustrations of Yin-yang Rock Gods), he proposed that there were many distinctive rocks on Onogoro shima (Onogoro island); these rocks were male and female sex rocks that emitted a dew-like liquid, and inside the rocks, there was sand and earth.15

The Tokugawa scholar Sato Nobuhiro (1769-1850)16 in Yozo Kaiku Ron (Procreation of the Universe) inferred that the nuboko was shaped like the phallus. The Ame-no nuboko (Heavenly-jewel-spear), which the Ancestral Deities in Heaven bestowed upon Izanagi and Izanami had the shape of a phallus, so that the divine couple got suggestions through it...." (Kato 1927: 263, 264)17 Hara Mitsumasa (1971) in his work Seishin Fukei (The View of the Sex gods) also interprets the nuboko directly as "the penis" (p. 11).18 In Tokiguchi Seishi’s (19xx) article Sei to Shinko (Sex and Belief), he traces the origin of sexual awareness to the Kojiki. "The expression of words—its abstraction and complexity—holds many kinds of explanation, but it holds the

15 Hirata started writing such ideas in 1812, and although he theorized about the male and female sex stones having a close connection with the island, his view was not confirmed (Krauss 1988: 96, 97).

16 Sato Nobuhiro born in Yamagata Prefecture was a kokugakusha (National Learning scholar) and a disciple of Hirata Atsutane. Although his background was in agriculture, he was deeply interested in social reforms and imperialistic policies. See p. 1322, Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia. (Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd., 1993) and Japan Biographical Encyclopedia. (3rd edition) (Tokyo: The Rengo Press, 1964-65), p. 1337.

17 Kato has also interpreted the nuboko as a symbol of the phallus (Kato 1927: 286).

18 Hara Mitsumasa (1921- ) practices dentistry but has interests in folklore, archaeology, and history.
possibility of the origin of sex worship" (p. 79). The heavenly spear symbolizes the male and the water, which the spear dips into, symbolizes the female (p. 80).

In Chamberlain's footnote in the Kojiki (1981), he qualifies the etymology of "the jewelled spear" as a metaphor which the reader may interpret as he pleases (p. 19).

The characters of nuboko (沼矛) are translated as "jewelled spear" whose proper Chinese signification would be quite different. But the first of the two almost certainly stands phonetically for (瓗) or (玉), - the syllable nu, which is its sound, having apparently been an ancient word for "jewel" or "bead", the better-known Japanese term being tama (Ibid).

Although many scholars theorize the nuboko as being the phallus, other scholars remain skeptical. Herbert (1967) comments: "The jewelled spear has given rise to a considerable literature, and sex-obsessed western scholars have eagerly seized the opportunity for dilating upon this 'proof' of the existence in Japan of a phallic cult--of which it is no more difficult to find traces there than in any other country in the world" (p. 254).

In addition to the heavenly spear, the stone, erected by Izanagi to prevent Izanami from following him, was interpreted as one of the precursors to the phallic stones that were erected later throughout Japan (Richie and Ito 1967: 51). The story behind the stone begins with Izanagi who defies Izanami's wish not to look at her while she was in the land of Yomi (the underworld). After witnessing the hideous and putrid state of Izanami, he is chased by Izanami who cries she has been shamed. Thus begins the chase which ends with Izanagi, blocking Izanami's path with an enormous stone.

Last of all his younger sister Her Augustness the Princess-Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand-drought rock, and [with it] blocked up the Even Pass of Hades, and placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings... (Kojiki 1981: 40).

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19 He went further saying that the salt that dripped down from the spear was semen. This claim, however, was not qualified due to the ambiguity and lack of proof.
While the Ugly Females of Yomi were preparing to cross this river, Izanagi no Mikoto had already reached the Even Pass of Yomi. So he took a thousand-men-pull-rock, and having blocked up the path with it, stood face to face with Izanami no Mikoto, and at last pronounced the formula of divorce. (*Nihongi* 1956: 25).

Richie and Ito (1967) interpreted this stone as a preventer of evil and over time, the stones were erected along the roads to prevent and to discourage evil (p. 51). These stones which are erected on Japan are called Tategami (standing god) and Ishigami (stone god) (Ibid).

The *Manyoshu* (8th century; Collection of Leaves) describes Empress Jingu (A.D. fourth century)\(^2\) carrying stones for postponing childbirth, on her journey to Korea.

My tongue is awed-
   The Empress, to soothe her bosom
   And subjugate Shiragi\(^2\),
   Took up two gem-like stones,
   And held them in reverence.
   Then, on the plain of Kofu by the sea
   In far-secluded Fukae,
   She herself placed the stones
   Before the eyes of the world,
   To leave them honoured by all men
   Throughout all time to be.
   So, when I see these sacred stones
   Still remaining as deities,
   Reverence fills my heart (*Manyoshu* 1965: 203).

The stones that Empress Jingu carries have been interpreted as phallic stones.

The earliest written record on the phallus as a symbol for agricultural purposes is in the *Kogoshui* (A.D. 807; Gleanings of Ancient Records). When *Mitoshi no kami*

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\(^{2}\) Empress Jingu was a mythological figure who led overseas military campaigns against enemies (Brown 1993: 128).

\(^{2}\) Shiragi was a Korean state known as Silla located in the south-east area. See *Manyoshu (Collection of a Thousand Leaves)*, transl. by *The Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965). p. XXXVI.
(god of rice crops) set a plague of locusts on the field of Otokunishi no kami's (god of the Land) rice field, he sent a message to Otokunishi that in order to kill the locusts, certain steps needed to be taken: The Mitoshi no kami had to receive a phallic emblem from the people in order to be appeased (Kato 1927: 260). The Kogoshui recorded the recovery of a locust-ravaged field and the prayer of gratitude offered.

On one occasion in the Divine Age, when cultivating rice in a paddy field, Otokonushi no kami served his men with beef, while the son of the Rice-God Mitoshi no kami, when visiting that field, spat in disgust upon the dainty offered to him, and returning home, reported the matter to his father. Then Mitoshi no kami in wrath sent a number of noxious insects, or locusts to Otokonushi no kami's paddy field to kill the young rice plants....Mitoshi no kami disclosed the secret thus: "It is I that brought the curse. Make a reel of hempenstalks, and there—with clear the rice plants, by expelling the locusts with the hemp leaves....If, nevertheless, they will not retreat, place some beef at the mouth of the ditch in the field together with the phallic symbol (as a spell to appease the divine wrath), and put corn-beads, toothache trees, walnut-leaves, and salt beside the dykes" (Imbe 1972: 51-52).

Another literary work also revealed the early phallic worship. The Fuso Ryakki (A.D. 938), in the second year of Tengyo (A.D. 939) on the ninth day of the ninth month, records the wooden gods that stood on the roads in north-eastern Kyoto: male figures on one side and female figures on the other that faced each other (Aston 1905: 188; Daigo 1965: 560; and Sakaguchi 199x: 110). They stood at crossroads and guarded against plague, poverty, evil spirits, and devils (Ibid: 199x). These figures were called Chimata no kami (gods of the Crossways) and were worshipped by children who brought flowers and pieces of cloth as offerings (Aston 1905: 188).

Dosojin and Phallic Worship

Dosojin (道祖神; Stone gods, or Guardians of the Road)—known as a phallic deity—assume many names—Chimata no kami (god of the Cross-ways), Funado no kami (Pass not place god), Konsei Dai Myojin (or Konsei shin) (Root of Life Great Shining Deity), Kunado no kami (Come not place god), Sae no kami (god of Protection), and Sai no kami (god of Happiness) (Czaja 1974: 31; Daigo 1965: 34; Ito
and Endo 1972: 198; Nomoto 1975; Shimonaka 1937: 93; Wakamori 1960; Wakamori 1969: 37; and Yamamori 1995: 151). The *Sae no kami* is further divided into other names such as the *Chimata hime* (Crossroads princess), *Chimata hiko* (Crossroads prince), and *Kunado* (Bock in *Engi Shiki* 1972: 90-91; and Shimonaka 1937: 484) and *Eki shin* (or *Yaku shin*) (Pestilence god) (Aston 1905: 187; and Krauss 1988: 66). Depending on their functions in the community, the *Dosojin* assume certain titles.²² Whatever name the *Dosojin* assume, they are all phallic deities that come under the umbrella term of *Dosojin*.

Initially, the study of *Dosojin* arose as a hobby among different individuals, all having individual viewpoints. Their observations were conducted from three main sources: direct observation, literature, and documents (Yamada 1972: 134). The first person to comprehensively study and publish on *Dosojin* was Ito Kenkichi.²³ His publication, *Sei no Kami* (Sex gods) (1965), was the culmination of ten years of research on the *Dosojin* that were distributed in the Kanto and Chubu districts.

Although the origin of *Dosojin* is not clear, its origins can be traced to the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. The early written source for the word *Dosojin* is located in the *Wamyoruijusho* (Classified List of Japanese Readings), compiled by Minamoto Shitagau (911-983), a poet and scholar, during the reign of Emperor Daigo (885-930). The book writes *Dosojin* as *Sae no kami* (Ito and Endo 1972: 222).

Believers worship the *Dosojin* as a *kami* (god) that has the power to prevent evil spirits from entering their villages. Hence, the *Dosojin* figures are placed at the village boundaries (Ogawa 1985: 60). *Dosojin* serve several functions and are worshipped for

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²² From the Kanto to Chubu regions, *Dosojin* are called *Dorokujin* (Wakamori 1960: 117).

²³ Ito Kenkichi was born in Mie Prefecture in 1908. He has walked around to each region of *Dosojin* for his research. His research focuses on *Minzokuseikagaku* (Science of Sex and Folklore).
specific purposes. Most commonly, they are erected at the side of the road as protectors and guides for travellers, and at the border between two villages as a preventer of evil. The following sections examine the different phallic *kami* which are subsumed under the heading of *Dosojin*.

**Funado no kami (Kunado no kami)**

After leaving the land of Yomi, Izanagi, the celestial male deity, threw down his staff which turned into *Tsukitatsu no funado no kami* (Come not place god) and purified himself.

So the name of the Deity that was born from the august staff which he threw down was the Deity Thrust-Erect-Come-Not-Place [Tsuki-tatsu-funa-do]. The name of the Deity that was born from the august girdle which he next threw down was the Deity Road-Long-Space. (*Kojiki* 1981: 45).

In the *Nihongi*, however, the *Funado* was born when Izanagi, confronted by Izanami, the celestial female deity, throws down his spear in front to prevent Izanami from approaching closer.

When Izanagi ran away from the land of Yomi, he was confronted by Izanami and at that time, he threw his stick which bore a god known as Funado (or Kunado) no kami (Come not place god) in the Nihonshoki. Then Izanagi no Mikoto replied, saying "My beloved younger sister, if thou sayest so, I will in one day cause to be born fifteen hundred." Then he said, "Come no further, and threw down his staff, which was called Funado no Kami. (*Nihongi* 1956: 25)

Izanagi's staff has come to be interpreted as a phallus. According to Aston, the *Kunado* is a phallic symbol because "its shape, formed of Izanagi's staff, is consistent with this view" and becomes the phallic god of the roads (Aston 1905: 189). *Ekijin*,

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24 The *kami* in the brackets can be found in Chamberlain's notes in the *Kojiki* op. cit., p.47 nos. 5 and 9.

25 *Ekijin*, also read as *Yakujin* and *Ekishin*, has the same meaning: god of pestilence. See Shimonaka Yasaburo *Shinto Daijiten* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1937), p. 206.
also identified as Kunado, is called a god of Pestilence, but does not produce pestilence, rather it guards against pestilence (Krauss 1988: 66). The link between Ekijin and sex objects is explained thus: "The sex objects produce reproduction because the Eki shin protects against sickness and sickness related to sex" (Ibid).

**Konsei shin**

The Konsei shin is also known as Dosojin, Sae no kami, and Funado, and is symbolized by a wooden or stone phallus. In Makibori Temple, Makibori Village, Iwate Prefecture, the Konsei Dai Myojin was established during the era of Eisho (1504-1521). The Konsei shin is worshipped for various reasons including, prosperity of descendants, easy delivery, pregnancy, prevention against diseases of the lower regions, harmony in the family, finding a marriage partner, prosperous harvest, and prosperous business (Oto 1960: 438; and Yamamori 1995: 150-156).

One of the famous Konsei sama26 worshipped today is located on a mountain pass in Nikko City, Tochigi Prefecture. On Nikko's Konsei Togei (Konsei Pass)27 there is a small shrine with the phallic Konsei sama. This shrine was mentioned in the publication of Nikko Sanshi which was published in the seventh year of Tempo (1836) which describes a small shrine named Konsei Gongen28, located about four to five kilometres in a mountain pass. This shrine once housed a copper-plated phallus which was the shintai (body of the kami) (Daigo 1977: 758). Today the copper-plating no longer remains, only the original rock underneath remains. Another famous Konsei shin boasts a much older origin. At Makihori Shrine, located in Makihori Village,

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26 Sama is equivalent to the English Mr., Mrs., and Ms..

27 The Konsei Pass is a mountainous pass which begins in Nikko National Park, Tochigi Prefecture. It crosses between two prefectures—Tochigi and Gumma.

28 Gongen refers to Buddhas and bodhisattvas (beings that have not become a Buddha) that become kami in Japan.
Iwate Prefecture, the shrine is well known for its worship of the Konsei Dai Myojin. The shrine was built during the Eisei era (1504-1521) (Oto 1960: 438).

The folklorist Yanagita Kunio (1875-1912) published Tono Monogatari (Legends of Tono) in 1910 which described the worship of Konsei sama. In Tono city, Konsei sama closely resembles Okoma sama (御駄様). Yanagita visited a shrine where male stone organs were worshipped. These venerated organs, known as Okoma sama, were dedicated in Komakata Jinja. The history behind the shrine's existence is explained thus: Many years ago, a traveller was passing through the area. It was during the planting season in May so he saw many young women of the village sowing the seedlings. Then, he chanced upon a strange-looking child bundled on the back of one these women. The child had neither eyes nor a nose, and its head was covered by a red scarf. It was said the traveller either rested or died at this spot, and that the temple was built at that site where the man had once rested or died (Yanagita 1972: 127).

In the villages, there are many shrines of Okoma sama that are represented as a wooden or stone phallus. However, this type is gradually disappearing (Yanagita 1972:73) and may no longer exist in that area. He also described an enormous stone phallus in Tono City, Iwate Prefecture. The stone is known as Konsei sama.

It is said that long ago barren women would touch this rock, then touch their own waist in the hope that they would become pregnant. Because a child was granted if one prayed with her heart, this place bustled (Sakaguchi 199x: 112).

One story which Yanagita recorded was the origin of Konseishin. Beyond Tsuchibuchi village and Oguni, it was said there was a god of stone on the crest of Mount Tachimaru Pass. The origin of Konseishin was said to have originated at this crest. However, the Konseishin appeared to be found in other sites (Yanagita 1972: 127).

Another story which Yanagita recorded relates a legend which took place in a Tochinai no wano in Tsuchibuchi Village. According to the story, there was a solitary
sekiibo located within the Tsuchibuchi Village, standing in a farm field. This sekiibo was said to heal female ailments. Because it stood as an hindrance to the owner of the land, the farmer was bent on pulling out the sekiibo. While he was digging around the sekiibo, he discovered many human bones. Fearful of a curse, the farmer abandoned his digging and left the sekiibo standing. According to the late Mr. Ino, other examples of sekiibo, which yielded human bones near their sites, also took place in the Ezozuka mounds of Kotomo village and up to two places in Ayaori village (Ibid).

*Sae no kami (Chimata hime, Chimata hiko, and Kunado)*

In ancient Japan, the *Sae no kami* was worshipped to prevent against pestilence and evil spirits. In 839, a foreign envoy was visiting the capital, Kyoto, and two days prior to their arrival, a ceremony invoking the help of *Sae no kami* was performed. Aston (1905) notes the ceremony was performed to guard against the pestilence and evil spirits which the foreign envoy might have carried with it (p. 188).

Travellers also worshipped the phallic deities on the roadside for protection and safety (Ibid). Similarly, in ancient Greece, stone phalli were erected at cross-roads to protect travellers (Dulaure 1934: 103; and Vanggaard 1972: 59).

Three other phallic deities are linked to *Sae no kami: Chimata no hiko* and *Chimata hime*\(^2\) (which are phallic deities that protect travellers), and *Kunado* (a phallic deity that guards against evil) (Bock in *Engi Shiki* 1972: 91). Tsugita\(^3\) (1927) writes the *Chimata* and *Kunado* are also called *Sae no kami*, which mean “the gods that ward off disaster and disease” (Tsugita 1927: 354; and Yamada 1927: 93).

\(^2\) *Chimata hime* and *Chimata hiko* are also read with the honourable suffix "ya" thus *Yachimata hime* and *Yachimata hiko*. *Hime* means princess and *hiko* means prince.

Another festival which invoked the help of *Sae no kami* was held in Kyoto. During the Heian period, the *Michiae Festival* (Banquet of the Road) was held twice a year to prevent evil and misfortune from entering the capital (Ibid). In a festival in Kyushu, the *Sae no kami* was invoked to appease an epidemic. The Governor of Dazaifu in Kyushu was ordered to celebrate a *Michiae Festival* in 735. (Ason 1905:188).

Ito and Endo (1972) enquire into the different readings for *Sae no kami*, such as 塞神 (*Sae no kami*), 幸神 (*Sai no kami*), 妻野神 (*Sai no kami*), 佐倉乃加美 (*Sahe no kami*) (p. 222). In Kanagawa Prefecture, there is a *Dosojinja*; the characters are not read as *Dosojinja* but as *Sae no kamisha* (Ibid). The reason for this is due to the pronunciation in the writing of "dosou".

The difference between *Sae no kami* and *Sai no kami* resides in their placement. Yanagita Kunio exchanged a number of letters with other scholars on various subjects. In *Ishigami Mondo* (Questions and Answers on Stone gods), he dealt with *Dosojin* and *Sae no kami* in depth. Yanagita noted the *Sae no kami* were placed by the roads and at intersections, whereas the *Sai no kami* were located in obscure mountain paths and on river banks (Yanagita 1963: 47).

In the *Kojiki*, the *Chimata no kami* was born when *Izanagi* purified himself after leaving the land of the *Yomi*. "The name of the Deity that was born from the august trousers which he next threw down was the Road-Fork-Deity [Chi-mata-no-kami]" (Kojiki 1982:45).

One northern area of Gifu Prefecture, in Kamioka village, felt a need for a guardian deity in ancient days. Many *Dosojin* called *Sae no kami* and *Sai no kami* were erected and worshipped at the edge of the village to prevent evil spirits and pestilence

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31 The *Michiae Festival* is discussed in more detail under this paper’s section "The Ancient Phallic Festivals".
from entering. To date, there are thirty-nine stone *Sae no kami* (Kamioka shinseki kenkyukai 1996:1-2).

Villagers also celebrated a *Sae no kami* Festival. In the second year of Temmei (1782), one person left his hometown to travel the northern prefectures—Iwate, Akita, and Yamagata—and published his travel experience in *Yurankai* (Record of Sightseeing) (Sato 1995: 109). He recorded one town which held a *Sae no kami gyoji* (*Sae no kami* Event) at Omori ward, Shoseki town, Akita Prefecture. The event was held at a house and the *Sae no kami* was represented by a phallic rod fastened with *gohei* (ceremonial paper strips) at the ends, which the men held (each man had a *Sae no kami* phallus). The arrival of the *Sae no kami* was announced by the men walking around the room and flinging the phallus into the middle of the room (Ibid: 111). If the men attended the house of the new bride, they would tap the bride, who sat in the middle of the room, with the *Sae no kami* rods (Ibid: 112).

**Saruta hiko**

The origin of *Saruta hiko* as a protector of travellers also has mythic origins. *Sarutahiko no kami* (prince Monkey Rice Field) guided *Ninigi no mikoto*’s (prince Ninigi) ascent from *Tamahahara* (heaven) to Japan.

"This being the road by which our august child is about to descend from Heaven, who is that is thus there?" So to this gracious question he replied, saying "I am an Earthly Deity named the Deity Prince of Saruta. The reason for my coming here is that, having heard of the [intended] (author's brackets) descent of the august child of the Heavenly Deities, I have come humbly to meet him and respectfully offer myself as His Augustness's vanguard." *(Kojiki 1981: 130)*

She [Ame no Uzume (Terrible female of heaven)] answered and said: 'I venture to ask who art thou that dost thus remain in the road by which the child of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is to make his progress?' The God of the cross-ways answered and said:--"I have heard that the child of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is now about to descend, and therefore I have come respectfully to meet and attend upon him. My name is Sarutahiko no Oho-kami." *(Nihongi 1956: 77)*
Wheeler (1952) and Sato (1995) wrote that the *Sarutahiko no kami* is of phallic origin and is characterized by an enormously large nose, carrying a long staff (p. 484; and p. 24), and has glossy eyes that reflected, like mirrors (Ito and Endo 1972: 199). Not only does the *Sarutahiko* stand at the side of the road as a guardian of travellers, but also stands—represented as a small phallus—in some brothel businesses where it is prayed to for prosperity (Wheeler 1952: 400).

Several shrines consecrate *Sarutahiko*. The most famous shrine is in Kasashima, near Sendai (Wheeler 1952:485). According to legend, the shrine was founded in the third century B.C. (Ibid). In Makibori Village, Iwate Prefecture, *Sarutahiko* is worshipped with *Izanagi* and *Izanami* (Ibid).

**Discussion**

Most of the phallic kami, with the exception of *Konsei shin*, were derived from the ancient mythologies. How do the myths and phallic worship function together?

The word "myth" is derived from the Greek word *mythos* which means word or story; thus a myth is a narrative, in written or oral form.\(^2\) Myths do not share the same origins or functions. On this subject, different theories have been explored by different scholars: myths are reflections of the unconscious (Sigmund Freud); myths "recreate the creative past (Mircea Eliade); and myths justify rituals (James Frazer) (Kirk 1984: 54). Generally myths explain the mysterious forces of nature and the purpose of Man's existence (Bonnefoy 1993: 4-5; Campbell 1968: 4-5; and Leeming 1990: 3-4). Finally, myths "justify power, authority, ideologies, and political acts" (Leeming 1990: 5).

In Japan, the myths legitimized the divine position of the emperor. Emperor Temmu (r. 673-686) ordered the organization of the myths in order to give himself the

\(^2\) However, not all narratives are myths. See G.S. Kirk "On Defining Myths" *Sacred Narratives: Readings in the Theory of Myth*. Edited by Alan Dundes. (California: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 53-61.
justification of maintaining authority, exerting control, and upholding divine status (Kitagawa 1987: 83, 111). According to the mythologies, the first emperor of Japan, Emperor Jimmu (r. 660 B.C. - 585 B.C.), was the great, great grandson of the sun-goddess Amaterasu (ancestress of the Japanese emperors). This reinforced the emperor's ancestral ties to the divine and gave Emperor Temmu the legitimate right to claim divine status (Ibid: 145-46).

Over the years, the mythology served to propagate the sovereignty of the emperor. In the Meiji period, State Shinto was established which emphasized the unquestioning divine right of the emperor. Holtom (1963) writes: "...the national propaganda exalted this ancient sun-goddess above all other personages and that the main purpose of educational instruction, was to predispose the national character to the unquestioning acceptance of the idea that the emperor's rights of sovereignty were intimately associated with the worship of this deity [Amaterasu]" (p. 192).

Just as myth legitimized the emperor's divine status, it also legitimized phallic worship. The myths enhanced the status of phallic worship; the status was associated with the kami. Venerating and worshipping the phallic gods were deemed acceptable, not only with the imperial court but also among the common people. However, mythologies hardly touched upon the people's lives (Harada in Kitagawa 1966: 16). "Myths hardly touched the lives of the common people", for, as Harada points out, "the descriptions of the mythological age [in the official chronicles of Japan] (brackets given by Kitagawa) were the products of a special idea peculiar from the ones of communities, or, uji-gami born from the actual daily life of the people" (Harada in Kitagawa 1966:16). When did the phallic kami from the mythologies become part of the phallic worship of the common people? At some point, they must have been disseminated to the commoners.

One can speculate that the methods of dissemination were through shrines or imperial festivals that held phallic worship. One possibility was during the time when
shrines venerated and erected the phallic kami, and the common people may have become influenced. In honour of the phallic kami, the shrine might hold a festival thereby strengthening beliefs. The Yamato court (fourth-century to eighth-century), for example, commissioned a national system of rites and myths (Matsumoto 1996:15). With this, the dissemination of ideas can easily permeate to the lives of the common people as the community shrines erect the kami to be venerated and hold rituals and festivals to honour the kami.

Moreover, during the mid-Heian period (897-1068), the rituals and worship performed at the capital spread to the countryside. Shrines, Buddhist monasteries, and aristocratic families were granted shoen (manors) as their permanent income. "Shoen owners [transferring] their tutelary or ancestral deities, including the festivals and rituals, to their territories" (Plutschow and O'Neill 1996: 37) meant that at some point, these rituals and worship were assimilated among the common people.
Chapter IV: FESTIVALS AND WORSHIP

Different communities celebrate phallic festivals and assume different names such as the Dosojin Festival and the Fire Festival. In the ancient period, the earliest phallic festivals were the Goryosai (or Goryo Festival; Festival of the Plague gods), the Sagicho Festival, and the Michiae Festival (Festival of the Crossroads, or Banquet of the Road). These festivals were dedicated not solely to the agricultural lifestyle but also to the preventive aspect. Some festivals thrived without being influenced by sekibo. In the Chubu district (Niigata Prefecture, Toyama Prefecture, Ishikawa Prefecture, Fukui Prefecture, Shizuoka Prefecture, Yamanashi Prefecture, Nagano Prefecture, Aichi Prefecture, and Gifu Prefecture), the most concentrated festivals and phallic customs are located here, particularly in Shizuoka Prefecture, Yamanashi Prefecture, Nagano Prefecture (420 phallic stones were counted in 1953) and Aichi Prefecture (Richie and Ito 1967: 14).

Early Phallic Festivals

1. The Goryosai (Festival of the Plague Gods)

The Goryosai was the precursor to the present day Gion Festival (July 16-17) that is held in Kyoto. Part of its origin is derived from phallic worship. The belief in goryo (malevolent spirits of people of rank) flourished during the Heian period (794-1185), with its origin traced to the ancient belief in the hito gami (man-god) (Hori 1968: 111-112). The belief in the hito gami was based on the idea that certain men and kami held a special relationship in which the kami could transmit through the shaman or medicine man (Ibid: 31). It was believed goryo were spirits of people of rank who died an "untimely death" or in anger and were capable of wreaking environmental havoc and bringing about social crises such as earthquakes, plagues, diseases, and death (Hori 1968: 72; and Plutschow and O'Neill 1996: 16-17, 72-73). The degree of
harm depended upon the degree of the status of the person. For example, if the local village headman became a *goryo*, he would bring harm to the local area only; he would not harm the entire nation (Ibid 1996: 72-73).

During the reign of Emperor Seiwa (A.D. 858-876), "there had already come into existence five major *goryo-shin* [goryo deity] deities: the spirits of two disenthroned crown princes, the real mother of one of these princes, and two ministers who had suffered martyrdom. At this time epidemics were frequent, and many people died" (Hori 1968:112). Indeed, a plague did ravage Japan which forced the emperor to request the priests at Yasaka Jinja\(^33\) (Yasaka Shrine) to perform rituals to appease the *kami*. In 869, the first *Goryosai* was held and dedicated to *Sae no kami* that would guard Kyoto against the evil spirits and pestilence (Aston 1905: 306-307; and Wheeler 1952: 399). The festival featured a procession of sixty-six *hoko* (halberd) floats which represented each province, and *yama* (mountain) floats.\(^34\) Aston (1905) and Wheeler (1952) interpreted the *hoko* as old representatives of the phallus (p. 141; and p. 399). Joining in the procession were three *mikoshi* (portable platform of the enshrined deity) which enshrined the three *kami* of Yasaka jinja—*Susanoo no mikoto, Yasaka no sume* (also called *Gion san*), and *Inada hime no mikoto*\(^35\) (Herbert 1967: 209). The festival was a success as the pestilence did subside. In 907, it was decided the *Goryosai* was to be held annually as an expression of gratitude (Ibid: 208). Although the festival had phallic origins, that meaning is lost in the modern day *Gion* festival.

\(^{33}\) Yasaka Jinja was formerly called *Gionsan* and *Gion Tenjin*. It was changed to Yasaka Jinja in 1868 (*Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* 1993:1739).

\(^{34}\) The *hoko* floats were three or four storeys high and pushed and pulled on wooden wheels. The *yama* floats were carried on the shoulders.

\(^{35}\) *Inada hime no mikoto* was the last daughter of the old man and old woman whom *Susanoo no mikoto* met upon his descent to *Izumo*. After slaying the serpent, *Susanoo no mikoto* married *Inada hime no mikoto* (Ponsonby-Fane 1962:6, 429). See footnote 51 for full details.
2. *Sagicho Festival*

This famous event was formerly celebrated by the Imperial Court and court nobles during *shogatsu* (New Year's). Records can be traced to the Heian period and has two different readings: 三鞠打 (Sagicho) and 三毬杖 (Sagicho) (Sakurai 1997: 187). Aston (1905), translating from the *Wakan Sansai Zue* (1712; Japanese Chinese Illustrated Assemblage of the Three Components of the Universe), notes the *Sagicho* Festival was celebrated in Kyoto in order to drive out evil spirits:

"On the fifteenth day of the first month green bamboos are burnt in the courtyard of the Seiryoden, and happy reports sent up to Heaven therewith. On the eighteenth also, bamboos are dressed up with fans attached to them, which are burnt at the same place. There is a reader of spells called Daikoku Matsudaiyu, who has four followers, two old men and two old women. These wear devil-masks and 'red-bear' wigs. The two old women carry drums, and the two old men run after them trying to beat the drums. There are two boys without masks, but with 'red-bear' wigs, who beat double cymbals. Moreover, there are five men in dress of ceremony who stand in a row and join in with cries of 'dondoya', while one, costumed somewhat differently, calls out 'Ha!'" (p. 307).

Over time the event was celebrated among the folk people and called by various names: *Tondo, Dondo yaki, Saito, Sankuro wayaki, Hochoji, and Hokengyo* (Sakurai 1997: 187). In Kyushu, it is called *Onibi* and celebrated on the seventh of January (Ibid). Ordinarily the festival is celebrated on the evening of the fourteenth of January and the morning of the fifteenth. In various parts of Nagano Prefecture, Niigata Prefecture, Saitama Prefecture, Kanagawa Prefecture, Yamanashi Prefecture, and Tokyo City, the *Sagicho* is connected to the *Dosojin* Festival (Ibid).

The *Sagicho* Festival is marked by a bonfire that burns a sacred tree. The bonfire is a symbol of bidding the spirits farewell and expressing gratitude for successes the spirits have bestowed upon the people. Before the burning, a temporary hut for the spirit of the *kami* is erected near the bonfire. Next, the *matsuzakari* (New Year's pine decorations) that are collected from each household are burned and the left over fire is used to heat *mochi* (glutinous rice). It is believed eating this heated *mochi* will prevent illness (Ibid: 188).
Yanagita Kunio believed the *Sagicho* Festival and *Dosojin* festival to be related with old meanings attached (Yanagita 1963: 109). His description of the *Sagicho* Festival is somewhat different: rather than focusing on the main symbolic event of burning the sacred tree, he stresses that the *Sagicho* Festival and the Gion Festival share similar elements, such as the prominent *hoko* (mountain floats) (Ibid). Some areas refer to the *hoko* in their festivals as *danjiri*. The *dan* (stage) of *danjiri* resembles the places of worship of Taoism and "secret religions" (Ibid). Namely, the word refers to *tsuka*, meaning "mounds". In the past, the altars were built and carried around the suburbs and after the festival, the altars were burned (Ibid).

There are various speculations on the etymology of *Sagicho*. From Kanto District to Niigata, the word *Sagicho* is applied to the pokers used for fires that are used on special occasions. Also, it could refer to three pieces of wood or bamboo tied together to be used as drying poles. In Mutsu and Dewa\(^3\), it could have been used on top of tombs or at cremation sites. They are also called *Sankyo*, meaning objects that are made of three legs of wood to suspend the sickle. There is some likelihood that originally, it was a tripartite stick that was joined together when the tree was broken into three parts in order to hold the sickle. Originally, they were three pieces of bamboo or wood that were tied together for standing (Sakurai 1997: 187).

3. *Michiae Festival*

The *Michiae Festival* (道饗祭) was held on the last days of the sixth and twelfth months (Omori 1997:389) and held in the four corners of the capital (Ponsonby-Fane 1962: 61, 376). Later, it was called the *Shikaisai* Festival (Festival of the Four Borders) (Ibid). The *Engi Shiki* (Tenth-century; Procedures of the Engi Era) includes a *norito* (ritual prayer) which invokes the help of the *Sae no kami* in a festival called the *Michiae Festival* (Banquet of the Road) (Bock in *Engi Shiki* 1972:91). This

\(^3\) Mutsu and Dewa were the old province names of Yamagata Prefecture and Akita Prefecture, located in the extreme north of Honshu island.
festival, held twice a year, was to prevent evil, disease, and misfortune from entering
the capital. Three kami were invoked—Chimata hiko and Chimata hime are phallic
deities which protect travelers, and Kunado which guards against evil—and they are
collectively known as Sae no kami (Ibid 1972: 91; and Tsugita 1940: 349). The
norito is chanted as thus:

Having commenced in the Plain of High Heaven by the command of the
divine descendant, we raise these words of praise before the mighty kami, who as if by means of a powerful mass of rock, blocked off the
great crossroads. Thus we humbly speak. Making bold to utter the hallowed names of Yachimata-hiko and Yachimata-hime and Kunado,
we raise our words of praise to them. We beseech that if things of evil intent that are hateful arise from the country beneath, from the nether
regions, let there be no contact with them, let there be no speaking with them. If they should pass below, protect us below, if they should pass
above, protect us above; protect us by night, protect us by day, we humbly beseech ye...May we close off the many crossroads as with a
magic mound of rocks...." (Engi Shiki 1972: 91-92).

As mentioned earlier, the governor of Kyushu had to perform a Michiae Festival to
ward off the pestilence in 735. Today, the Michiae Festival is celebrated among the
folk people as an event in preventing pestilence (Omori 1997: 389).

4. **Dosojin Festival**

The Dosojin festival (道祖神祭) is celebrated on January 14 and 15. Even in places where the Dosojin are not worshipped, the festival is celebrated (Ito and
Endo 1992: 226). Also known as the Fire Festival, this festival assumes different
names in different places: in Kanagawa Prefecture, Saito Harai and Sagicho; in
Nagano Prefecture, Onbeyaki and Sankuro yaki; in Shizuoka Prefecture, the Dondon
yaki; and in Hyogo Prefecture, the Saito (Ibid: 34). These festival names for the
Dosojin Festival are similar to the Sagicho Festival.

Although only one Chimata no kami was specified, the festival invokes two
Chimata no kami—a prince and a princess. At this point, no materials have explained
this reason.
The *Dosojin* Festival brings the community together to welcome and thank the spirit while praying for matchmaking, prevention of evil spirits, and others (Ito and Endo 1972:226). The culmination of the festival is setting fire to the sacred tree. People regard the fire as the spirit of *Dosojin*, endowed with special powers. Yanagita Kunio explained that the lighting of bonfires evolved from ancient practices that represented the "consecrated light" (Yanagita 1963: 192-93). In cold regions, the bonfires accentuated the feeling that everyone was waiting for the arrival of spring (Ibid).

If one cooks *mochi* over the fire and eats it, the person will be free from ailments or sickness. If one receives the heat from the fire, the person will be ensured an easy childbirth. And after the embers smolder, people scoop up the ash and spread it around their houses to ward off snakes and other similar creatures (Ito and Endo 1972: 226-228). On the evening of January fifteenth, in Kamii Saizawa, Nagai City, Yamanashi Prefecture, the children sing around the fire and believe they will not be harmed with illness (Ibid: 229-230).
Chapter V: PRESENT-DAY FESTIVALS AND SIGHTS OF WORSHIP

Worshipping the phallus continues in the countryside. Some festivals continue to thrive and attract visitors world-wide. The surviving festivals and sites are testaments that phallic worship continues among the folk people in countryside Japan. The following sites and festivals are one part of the many sites and festivals that exist presently. The author presents the following that were visited or within the boundary of research.

Niigata Prefecture

In Niigata, many phalli-stones and wooden-are worshipped and have different names. One famous phallus is a tall wooden phallus called Hodare sama in Tochio City. The eye-catching one metre-tall phallus with a circumference of 1.8 metres is revered for providing a bountiful harvest. A shrine was built for its consecration and in March, after the snowfalls have lessened, a Hodare matsuri (Hodare Festival) is held. The word Hodare comes from the rice ears that hang down, meaning the rice plants and millet ears are full, suggesting a bountiful harvest (Yokoyama 1988: 53).

Niigata is divided into four areas with different names for the phallic god:
1. Joetsu District - Ganda sama; The Ganda sama has become the provisional secret word for the sex objects (Ibid: 54). Belief in the Ganda sama is widespread in this district (Ibid: 62).
2. Northern-central Chuetsu District - Raseki san; The name Raseki means "gauze of hemp" in Sanskrit (Ibid: 56). It was said the most wicked of the Indian devil (referring to Mara, a kind of devil or evil spirit) would prevent the deeds of the virtuous people; hence, the name Raseki was adopted in order to dispel the evil spirit (Ibid). In other prefectures, the Raseki san is referred by other names, such as Kinmara in Kagawa, Shizuoka, Marayakuji in Gumma, and Kanamara in Kanagawa (Ibid: 62).
3. Joetsu District and surrounding areas - *Shishi Gongen Sama*; It has the ability to breed rapidly thus leading people in their belief in praying to it for granting them children (Ibid: 57). The people of the Joetsu district tend to worship the *Shishi Gongen Sama* (Ibid: 62).

4. Other areas - The other areas have popular names for their phallic gods, such as *Chonman sama, Onoko sama,* and *Ososo sama* (Ibid: 58, 60, 61).

1. **Kariwa County, Nishiyama Town**

   Overlooking a busy road and the Japan Sea stands a shrine that has a history of one hundred and fifty years of worshipping the phallus. Because of this long history, phalli of various shapes, sizes, and makes are consecrated. In the precincts of Ukebashi dera (Ukebashi Monastery), a shinto shrine is built with a wooden frame inscribed with the words *Raseki Dai Myojin.* The outside of the small *shaden* (main shrine building) is concrete and the wooden roof consecrated to different-sized phalli. Many small flags and candles venerate the phalli (Figure 6).

   Long ago, it was said a natural rock that resembled a metre-long phallus lay on the beach, and travelers would sit on this rock. On November 17, 1828, a ship loaded with timber for the rebuilding of a Hongan dera (Hongan Monastery) met high waves and capsized. The timber was washed ashore and lay for a long time, neglected. Since there were offerings of money made to the timber every day, a shrine was built. In August 1832, the *hanko* (official stamp) of the shrine *Inyo shin seki zu* was given.

   Praying to the phalli heals sexually transmitted disease and grants children to infertile women (Figure 7). It was said that barren women who put the stone phallus by their pubic region would become pregnant. Because of its healing properties, the shrine also bustled with the pilgrimage by prostitutes.

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38 The following section is cited from Sakaguchi Ichio *Nihon no Seikami 2* (Tokyo: Shinbisha, 19xx.) p. 50.
Fig. 6. Shrine of the Raseki Dai Myojin; Kariwa County, Nishiyama Town, Niigata Prefecture
Fig. 7. Close-up of the Enshrined Phallus
At present, according to local custom, one cannot touch the phalli but can pray to the kami and hope one's prayer will come true. At the base of the shrine, one can put one's hand in the square hole and touch the shindai (kami's body).

2. **Kashiwazaki City, Banjin Town**

Close to the neighbourhood shrine, Suwajinja (Suwa Shrine), the *Raseki Dai Myojin* is enshrined in a small monastery (Figure 8). From the shrine, the Japan Sea stretches below, and far off in the distance lies Sado Island. Long ago Sado Island was linked to the *Raseki Dai Myojin*. On March 15, 1274, Nichiren Shonin was exiled to Sado Island. Because of the raging high seas, shipwreck was inevitable. The wrecked ship was guided by Hachibanjin and drifted ashore, near Kashiwazaki's Hachibando. It was said that the light of the Hachibando was the sign for Nichiren Shonin to follow.

The origin of this rock is obscure but, according to local lore, the prostitutes would come and venerate this rock for fertility and males would come to ask for "vitality" many years ago (Figure 9).

3. **Hamochi Town, Sado Island**

This small island, thirty-five kilometres off the coast of Niigata Prefecture, is famous for its natural scenery of rocky coastlines and Mumyoi pottery, made from the iron-rich clay of Aikawa Town mines. Historically, the remote location of Sado Island was ideal for sending into exile political and religious figures such as Emperor Juntoku41 (1197-1242) and Nichiren42 (1222-1282), founder of Nichiren Buddhism. It

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39 The following section is cited from Sakaguchi op. cit., p. 48.

40 The following section was cited in Sakaguchi op. cit., p. 7, unless noted otherwise.

41 Emperor Juntoku collaborated with his father, the retired emperor Go-Toba, in the *Jokyu no ran* (Jokyu Disturbance). They plotted to overthrow the Kamakura Shogunate and reestablish the southern line of the emperor.

42 Nichiren was the Buddhist monk and founder of the Nichiren sect. In 1268, he was exiled to Sado for his outspoken views in denouncing the Nembutsu, Zen, and Shingon doctrines.
Fig. 8. The Enshrined Raseki Dai Myojin; Kashiwazaki City, Banjin Town, Niigata Prefecture
Fig. 9. Close-up of the Enshrined Phallus
also prospered as a gold and silver producing island.

Today, visitors can witness a valuable cultural heritage on April 28 and 29, the Tsuburosashi Festival. This festival is a ta asobi (rice-field playing)\textsuperscript{43} which is a prayer for a prosperous harvest. The main participants are the fue bito (flautist), taiko bito (drummers), and the shishi mai (lion dance). In an open ring, men disguised in a clown mask dance rhythmically to the women who play with bamboo whisks and to the sound of pa pa. Wearing women's long underwear that are tucked up with a red cord, the disguised men tuck a phallic wooden pestle, that is wrapped with the hairs of a red bear at the base, between their legs and dance around. The wooden pestle is stroked and rubbed and flung up and down in time to the music (Figures 10 and 11).

4. \textbf{Minami Kanbara County, Nakano shima Town}\textsuperscript{44}

At Nakanoo Monastery, which has existed since the Tokugawa period, the Raseki Dai Myojin is worshipped. The Raseki Dai Myojin is housed in a separate building. A wooden sign festooned with a shimenawa (a sacred straw coil) greets the visitor with the words Raseki Dai Myojin. Upon entering, one is greeted by the lanterns, symbolizing the light of the kami. To the side, strings of colourful paper-folded cranes hang from the ceiling. The dedication of one thousand cranes\textsuperscript{45} is in the heart of the prayers of the believers (Figure 12).

The sacred stone is enshrined in a small wooden shrine located to the far right, with electric candles lighted in front (Figure 13). On a red cushion, the sacred stone is laid (Figure 14). (Initially it looked as if there was only one stone; however, when the author lifted the long stone up, a smaller stone was discovered lying underneath.) On a

\textsuperscript{43} The old custom of ta asobi is a ceremony where the participants pray for a prosperous harvest (Joya 1963: 129-130).

\textsuperscript{44} The following section was cited in Sakaguchi op. cit., p. 52.

\textsuperscript{45} Cranes in Japan symbolize longevity and luck. It is said if one folds one thousand cranes, one's wish will come true.
Fig. 10. Tsuburosashi Festival; Hamochi Town, Sado Island
(Sakaguchi (I) 19xx: np.)
Fig. 11. Tsuburosashi Festival (Sakaguchi (I) 19xx; np.)
Fig. 12. Interior of the Shrine; Minami Kanbara County, Nakano shima Town, Niigata Prefecture
Fig. 13. The Enshrined Raseki Dai Myojin Shrine; Minami Kanbara County, Nakano shima Town, Niigata Prefecture
Fig. 14. Close-up of the Enshrined Phallus
low table set diagonally in front of the small shrine, a metal container with different coloured stones, mainly smooth to the touch, is laid out. These small stones are part of the devotions and prayers (Figure 15).

According to local folklore, the enshrined stone was discovered by a local shopkeeper. In the last days of the Edo Period, a shopkeeper by the name of Yamamoto Hatsuheisho of Hamochi town was returning from business. While he was walking, he heard his name being called out. He stopped, looked around and saw a natural stone phallus by the roadside. Feeling this was a good omen, he pocketed the stone and brought it to this monastery. Since that time, it has been said that the stone has come to be consecrated because in the stone dwells a soul. The stone is said to possess good fortune and has the power to give long success and children. However, one must be a long-time believer in order to have one's wishes granted.

Today the building is a meeting place for elderly people who meet for amusement and rest.

Gifu Prefecture

Miyakawa Village

In Miyakawa village, northern Gifu Prefecture, the villagers contributed their time and money for the carving of a large wooden phallus with an accompanying female genitalia companion. Local volunteers carved the wood in about three months. Both of the genitalia weigh nine thousand kilograms. Although the wooden sex objects are not used for any specific purpose, they serve as representatives of the local excavations of sekibo. They are locked in a large shed below the Building of Historical Data (Figures 16 and 17).

46 The following section was cited from Gifu ken kyoikuiinkai. Miyakawa mura no bunkasai (Gifu: Yugen Kaisha, 1993), pp. 32, 69; and interviews with the director of the museum.
Fig. 15. Small Stones Used for Devotions and Prayer
Fig. 16. Sculptured Phallus; Miyakawa Village, Gifu Prefecture
Fig. 17. Sculptured Genitalia
Down the road from the building is a shrine where a wooden phallus is venerated. The villagers wanted to honour the enshrined deity, *Izanagi no mikoto no kami*, at this local shrine, Shiogama Kinsei Jinja (Shiogama Kinsei Shrine) (Figures 18 and 19). Praying to the enshrined deity would ensure pregnancy, harmony between couples, safety in giving birth, and prevention from illness in the lower regions. Because of the miracles that have been granted, this shrine has become a pilgrims haven, drawing them from far and near.

**Nagano Prefecture**

1. **Utsukushigahara Onsen, Matsumoto City**

   Utsukushigahara Onsen boasts a grand majestic wooden phallus. This onsen (hot springs bath) was once under two pseudonyms: *Tsukanoma no Yu* and *Shiraito no Yu*. One of the thirty six great poets of the Heian period was Minamoto no Shigeyuki (? - ca 1000 A.D.) who recommended there be a place for an onsen in the northeastern region of the remote mountains. As a result, a shrine dedicated to the Buddha of healing was built. Every September 23 and 24, a *Dosojin* Festival was held.

   At the entrance of the pathway leading to the revered wooden phallus are a stone statue of Minamoto no Shigeyuki and a large stone phallus wrapped in *shimenawa* (sacred rope made from straw) (Figure 20). For about one hundred metres the stone path winds to the beginning of the stone steps that leads up a sharp incline to the enshrined phallus. The phallus is housed in a small wooden building that is set in a forested hillside (Figure 21).

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47 The following section is cited in Sakaguchi op. cit., p. 38.

48 He was a Waka poet and son of Minamoto Kanenobu and adopted by his uncle Kanetada. During his lifetime he served five emperors—Murakami (946-967), Reizei (967-969), Enyu (969-984), Kazan (984-986), and Ichijo (986-1011). Some of his poems are located in *Jui waka shu* anthology. See p. 849 in *The Japan Biographical Encyclopedia* (3rd ed.) (Tokyo: The Rengo Press, 1964-65).
Fig. 18. Shiogama Kinsei Shrine
Fig. 19. The Enshrined Phallus–Izanagi-no-mikoto-no-kami
Fig. 20. Entrance to the Yakushido; Utsugushigahara Onsen, Matsumoto City, Nagano Prefecture
Fig. 21. Steps Leading to the Enshrined Phallus
The padlocked building safeguards the rough-hewn wooden phallus, which is accompanied by other smaller phalli—some stone, some wooden, some dressed (with a bib-like garment), and others undressed. The length of the phallus is one metre and 60 centimetres and weighs 90 kilograms (Figure 22).

During the festival, the phallus is carried on the shoulders by the men of the neighbourhood and paraded on the streets. Its purpose is three-fold: first, the phallus safeguards the benefits of the onsen; second, the festival is an opportunity for the people to give thanks to the Buddha of healing; and third, the people pray for the development of the land.

2. Yamabe, Kitacho matsu, Matsumoto City

East of Utsukushigahara Onsen, in Yamabe, Kitacho matsu, stands Yasaka Shrine which has a lineage with Kyoto's Yasaka Shrine where the enshrined deity is Susanoo no mikoto. According to local folklore, Susanoo slew a yamata no orochi, the eight-headed, eight-tailed snake-like monster, in the Yamabe's Susuki River. Yasaka Shrine defended against the great flooding.

In ancient times, Yamabe was the provincial capital, known for its picturesque and beautiful scenery and a high quality medicated bath that gushed freely. Entering the shadowy precincts of this shrine, one feels completely enclosed by the towering trees and shrubs that crowd along the side (Figure 23). Despite a cloudless summer

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49 This was cited from Sakaguchi op. cit., p. 36; unless noted otherwise.

50 In the Kojiki and Nihongi, Susanoo no mikoto was the son of Izanagi and younger brother of Amaterasu, the sun goddess. He is known as the god of storm.

51 According to the Kojiki and Nihongi, Susanoo slays the mythological snake in another river in another prefecture, in another river in Shimane Prefecture. The yamata no orochi had preyed upon the seven daughters of an old man and an old woman. When Susanoo descended upon them, he discovered their only daughter was the last to live. He then intoxicated the serpent and slew it while it was sleeping. See Kojiki, transl. by Basil Hall Chamberlain p. 71, and Nihongi, transl. by William Aston pp. 52-53.

Susanoo no mikoto is worshipped in many Yasaka Jinja throughout Japan (Herbert 1967:528).
Fig. 22. Close-up of the Enshrined Phallus
Fig. 23. Entrance to Yasaka Shrine; Yamabe, Kitacho matsu, Matsumoto City, Nagano Prefecture
day, the darkness and silence pervade. Nearby the Susuki River burbles. To the side, a *shimenawa* marks the sacred place and behind the two trees, a stone phallus and a stone female genitalia sit (Figure 24). The height of the male stone is 90 centimetres and the female stone is 56 centimetres. The male stone was discovered on the paddy field, by the Susuki River, when construction was taking place. The female stone was found at the mouth of the Susuki River. Today, they are worshipped as *Dosojin* (Figure 25).

3. **Iriyamabe, Miyahara**

Further east in Iriyamabe, Miyahara, in Tokunji (Tokun Monastery), a large stone phallus is kept hidden on the side.

Tokunji was established in the Kamakura period (1331) by a local lord of the manor. While Yukihara Tomoume, a high priest in the Zen sect, was on his pilgrimage visiting several shrines in the area, he held a session in the famous monastery.

Tokunji was ravaged by fire twice during the Edo Period and was restored immediately. Even though the monastery had a history, the ancient documents were lost and scanty archaeological remains could not testify to the monastery's history. Nevertheless, in October 1939, Tokunji received the title of designated historical landmark of Nagano Prefecture (Figure 26).

In the precincts of Tokunji, the row of stone Jizo Bodhisattvas dressed in red head pieces and bibs stands about 80 centimetres in height. Tucked away to the side, in a small wooden shrine, is the *Sen Ken Dai Myo Jin* phallic rock that was allowed to remain, out of courtesy to those who wished to worship the stone (Figure 27). Next to the phallus is a large female genitalia (Figure 28).

The origin of these sex stones is based on local lore. Close to a hundred years ago, the male and female stones were found floating in the Susuki River. About

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52 This was cited from Sakaguchi op. cit., p. 34; unless noted otherwise.

53 Locals think the discovery of two phallic stone rocks in the same river (see Yamabe, Kitacho matsu) are a fateful coincidence.
Fig. 24. Enshrined Phallus
Fig. 25. Enshrined Phallus and Genitalia
Fig. 26. Entrance to Tokun Monastery; Iriyamabe, Miyahara, Nagano Prefecture
Fig. 27. Enshrined Senken Dai Myo Jin
Fig. 28. Close-up of the Enshrined Phallus
twenty years ago, the *danka* (families supporting the monastery) of Tokunji donated these rocks as presents. They were placed into a small wooden shrine and shifted to the side of the precincts, where they stand today.

Both rocks weigh about 560 pounds (262 kilograms). Transportation of the rocks was difficult as they were carried on the bearers' shoulders, and the locals thought it strange that both rocks weighed the same.

From the Edo period to the Meiji period, the Matsumoto city *geisha* (ladies of entertainment) from the red light district did decrease in numbers and many visited the shrine and prayed for a marriage partner. Even today, people come to pray in private.

**Aichi Prefecture**

**Tagata Shrine, Komaki City**

Near Inuyama City, in Kuboishiki, Komaki City, a phallic festival is held annually at Tagata Jinja (Tagata Shrine). The festival, also called *Henoko Matsuri* (Festival of the phallus), draws wide media attention and numerous foreigners.

At the head of the procession, a banner bearing a phallus is in the lead. Several feet back is a red-lacquered *mikoshi* (palanquin for the enshrined deity) bearing an enormous wooden phallus. This five-hundred metre long phallus is the enshrined deity *Take inazumi no mikoto*. Following the *mikoshi* is the sacred Shinto tree that is carried by young male volunteers of the city. The participants chant the following, while walking in the procession: "*Oohenoko, oohenoko, agata no mori no oohenoko*" ("Oh great phallus / Oh great phallus / Oh great phallus of the prefectural woods!") (Haga 1964: 53).

From long ago, Tagata Jinja gave respect to the *kami* for abundant harvest and prosperity in families. Among the farming households, every year they held a
ceremony for the *Ta no kami* (god of rice) and held the ceremony in the bed of rice seedlings, where they prayed for an abundant harvest. Businesses also carried a charm, which was a small brass penis mounted on paper and was venerated for success.

Other requests were also made for the prosperity of descendants, late married couples, and childless couples (Hara 1971: 81; and Ozawa 1972: 242). According to custom, those people whose prayers were granted venerated the phallus in thanksgiving and gratitude (Ibid 1971). The infertile women, however, hold a large wooden phallus and pray.

Today the shrine and the festival have changed to reflect the needs of the present. The outer hall of worship provides services for marriage ceremonies and arrangements for general marriage events. Additionally, the festival has become commercialized in recent years after losing government funding. The focus on the festival changed from the worship of the phallus for a prosperous harvest to an emphasis on the "sexual aspects of the gods...in order to attract bigger audiences and more income" (Plutschow and O'Neill 1996: 262) (Figures 29, 30, and 31).
Fig. 29. The Enshrined Phallus at Tagata Shrine (Front-view);
Komaki City, Aichi Prefecture

The sign reads: "Every year, a new one is made for the March 15 Festival."
(Photo courtesy of Catherine Ludvig)
Fig. 30. Close-up of the Enshrined Phallus (Side-view)

(Photo courtesy of Catherine Ludvig)
Fig. 31. Enshrined Phalli from Previous Parades

(Photo courtesy of Catherine Ludvig)
Chapter VI: CONCLUSION

Numerous excavations of Jomon sekibo, concentrated primarily in the Chubu area, have prompted equally numerous suggestions on their origin, usage, and functions. Nevertheless, ambiguity still prevails owing to limited evidence.

However, the Yayoi period sekibo permit more conclusive statements. The rice cultivation of the Yayoi period was the impetus behind the theory linking phallic worship to fertility. The processes of Nature could be understood through a symbol which Man could understand. The archaeological evidence suggests that phallic worship was an indigenous development, not an imported belief.

The Japanese mythologies—Kojiki and Nihonshoki—have yielded rich insights into the legendary accounts of the birth of Japan but, more importantly, identified the early phallic symbols that were represented by the "heavenly spear" and by various kami—Kunado, Chimata no kami, Sae no kami, and Sarutahiko. These mythologies were created by the imperial court as a means of legitimizing their position. Moreover, the myths legitimized phallic worship which over time, was disseminated among the common people. One method is by installing a festival which invoked the help of a phallic kami. The Goryoe Festival held in Kyoto appealed to Sae no kami to prevent pestilence. The Goryoe Festival was established in provinces all over Japan, which helped in the dissemination. Over time, Sae no kami were incorporated into villages and erected at village boundaries to prevent pestilence from entering.

Many festivals retain their origins in agricultural practices; however, many others serve a variety of needs such as fertility of women and easy childbirth. Depending on the situation in which phallic worship came to be established, the reasons for phallic veneration differ from place to place. For example, in areas where a

stone phallus was found, such as Tokun Monastery in Nagano Prefecture, or the Raseki Dai Myojin found in Nishiyama Town of Niigata Prefecture, the phallus was usually not associated with agriculture but was concerned with man's physical and emotional needs. This indicates that found phallic objects hold more diverse powers, compared to the phallic stones that were specially manufactured for agricultural purposes. Despite the diversity in phallic worship, it still maintains its respectful and reverential atmosphere and continues to attract adherents.

Although the study of phallic worship has many unsolved riddles, it continues to engage interest among Japanese Scholars. Explaining the development of phallic worship in Japan cannot remain solely in the hands of Japanese Scholars. This study should be instructive for Western Scholars who are studying Japanese customs, festivals, and worship, and thus can provide an alternative perspective in their research.
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