

Shinto Funerals in the Edo Period

Elizabeth KENNEY

Nowadays very few people in Japan have a Shinto funeral. But things might have turned out differently if Shinto activists during the Edo and Meiji periods had achieved their goal of making the Japanese way of death the “kami way,” or making Shinto the Japanese way of death. This article presents a detailed look at the mortuary rites for two Shinto priests, one of whom died in the late sixteenth century and the other in the mid-eighteenth century. The first case is the earliest recorded example of a Shinto funeral. The second case, of no particular historical significance, is a funeral that was in part an attempt to replicate the funerals of Japanese mythology. Neither case can be deemed typical, and each is interesting precisely for its specificity. This article concludes with a look at a short essay by another Shinto priest who loathed Shinto funerals.

Keywords: Shinto funerals — mortuary rites — Yoshida Shinto — Hashimoto Tsunesuke — *monomasa* — Amewakahiko

DURING THE LATE EDO and early Meiji periods, politicians and ideologues reshaped Japan into a country both ancient and modern; the “ancient” part was “Shinto.” In a paradox well explored by KETELAAR (1990), the project of incorporating ancient Shinto into the modern state actually entailed inventing new old ways of Shinto, including funeral rituals. The few Western-language studies of Shinto funerals have analyzed them largely in terms of their political and ideological role during the Meiji Restoration (HARDACRE 1989; KETELAAR 1990; BERNSTEIN 1999). In this article, I mostly ignore politics and instead consider the funerals as rituals that were meaningful to the participants as symbolic celebrations of death. In particular, the Shinto funerals of the Edo period present variations on two enduring themes of Japanese mortuary rites: a concern for the fate of the corpse, and a well-crafted continuing bond between the living and the dead.

This article is structured around three “scenes” of Shinto funerals in the Edo period. The first two scenes are the funerals of Shinto

priests: the funeral of Yoshida Kanemigi 吉田兼右 in 1573 (actually pre-Edo); and the funeral of Nemoto Tanemaro 根本胤満 in 1764. The Yoshida family was the most powerful Shinto family in the Edo period, well connected to the important political players of the era. Kanemigi was heir to the intricate religious vision of Shinto created by his grandfather Kanetomo 兼俱 (1435–1511) (GRAPARD 1992, YOSHIDA 1992). The Yoshida family were the earliest practitioners of Shinto funerals and later helped codify the ritual performance (MACÉ 1995).

The second “scene” is the funeral of Nemoto Tanemaro, a priest who had nothing like the status of a Yoshida. He died midway through the Edo period, when Shinto funerals were no longer a novelty yet still considerably varied in their formats. Nemoto’s funeral was one version of a Shinto funeral, an experiment in terms of both the ritual performance itself and the meaning ascribed to the ritual actors and actions.

In the third “scene,” we hear the voice of dissent and resistance. The Shinto priest Hashimoto Tsunesuke 橋本經亮 (1755–1805) expressed his disgust at Shinto funerals in a brief essay (*zuihitsu* 隨筆). Hashimoto’s comments remind us that there was room for disharmony even within the Shinto clergy. Priests like Hashimoto opposed the onward march of Shinto funerals no matter what political gains might have accompanied their propagation.

How Old Are Shinto Funerals?

Before turning to detailed presentations of two Edo-period Shinto funerals, I shall take a brief look at the historical setting of these funerals.¹ During the Edo period, under the temple-membership system (*danka seido* 檀家制度) all Japanese people, including Shinto priests, were required to belong to a Buddhist temple. The temple kept track of the population, watched out for illegal Christians, and performed funerals and other rituals. In 1785 the Edo bakufu permitted Shinto funerals for Shinto priests and their male successors if they had received approval from the Yoshida Shinto officials. Other family members mostly had Buddhist funerals under the *danka* system (although in a few places Shinto funerals were also authorized for family members). After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the government recognized Shinto funerals for family members of Shinto priests. Five

¹ My summary of Shinto funerals during the Edo period is based mostly on the *Shintō jiten* (KOKUGAKUIN DAIGAKU NIHON BUNKA KENKYUSHO 1994) and “Shinsōsai” (1991, pp. 24–25). For a longer discussion of the political ups and downs of Shinto funerals see BERNSTEIN 1999, pp. 55–100. KETELAAR (1990) offers a brilliant treatment of the promulgation of Shinto funerals. His focus is on the Mito and Satsuma domains, which conducted particularly rabid anti-Buddhist campaigns.

years later, Shinto funerals were permitted for the entire populace. In 1882 there was a slight reversal in the trend toward expanding the sphere of Shinto funerals when the government stipulated that priests at imperial and national shrines could no longer conduct Shinto funerals; priests at middle- and lower-ranking shrines continued to perform funerals.² This is how the situation remained until after World War II, when Shinto priests, of whatever rank, were allowed to perform funerals.

Given the pivotal role of the Meiji Restoration, one can see why Robert SMITH would write that “there can be little doubt that the Shinto funeral service is late-nineteenth-century in origin” (1974, p. 73). However, as the above summary shows, Shinto funerals were conducted legally eighty years before the Meiji Restoration, although for a limited clientele, to be sure. Moreover, from the mid-1600s on (*two hundred years* before the Meiji Restoration), Shinto funerals were performed in some parts of the country with the enthusiastic (indeed forceful) support of the local authorities. For example, in 1666 the Okayama domain not only permitted but strongly encouraged Shinto funerals, with the result that by 1669, 97% of its total population of more than 300,000 people were registered as Shinto (ITŌ 1981). Even earlier, leading members of the Yoshida school had funerals that were specifically Shinto.

It is worth noting that one Western observer, two decades into the Meiji, saw that for “the bulk of the nation, and in particular the country people,... the burials among the middle and lower classes are still carried out with Buddhist rites” (LAY 1891, p. 535). In other words, despite the Shinto funeral movement, Buddhism still held sway over death-related rituals. If Shinto ever achieved hegemony, it was for a very brief time. LAY provides the following statistics (“the latest obtainable”) for the total number of deaths in one year in Japan: out of 754,000 deaths, Shintoists numbered roughly one-third (224,500), while Buddhists constituted a two-thirds majority with 526,500; and the number of Christian deaths was 3,000 (1891, p. 542).

So how old are Shinto funerals? The oldest extant Shinto funeral manual is about four hundred years old. If this is older than some people might think, it is still not nearly as old as the Edo-period promoters of Shinto funerals liked to claim. In advocating Shinto funerals,

² See HARDACRE (1989, pp. 48–51) for a clear discussion of the complicated issues in the “pantheon dispute” (*saijin ronsō* 祭神論争) that led to the decision to bar high-ranking priests from performing funerals. It is important to emphasize that this prohibition was in no way a rejection of Shinto funerals per se. One of the prominent disputants was the chief priest of Izumo Shrine, Senge Takatomi, the founder of the Taishakyō sect (see SCHWARTZ 1913, pp. 673–77, for Taishakyō funerals).

the Edo priests saw themselves as restoring the Shinto funerals that they believed had been practiced in ancient times. The Edo-period Shintoists did not claim that Shinto funerals had *always* been performed, because they were only too aware that they were working to establish a new ritual that was, at least to them, somehow ancient. But they did claim that Shinto funerals used to be performed, and it was this lost performance that they wanted to revive.

Several years ago, two priests at Kamigamo Shrine in Kyoto told me that their shrine has been continuously performing funerals “since the Heian period.” Taken at their word, these priests apparently believed that Shinto funerals have been an institution at Kamigamo Shrine for well over 800 years. In all likelihood, funerals at Kamigamo are not much more than two centuries old. In Japan, as elsewhere, rituals quickly take on a patina of age, and practitioners imagine that their rites have always been thus.

Opening Act: The death of Yoshida Kanehiro in 1402

Before we come to the first scene, there is a brief prologue. It seems that at least one member of the Yoshida family was dissatisfied with Buddhist funerals more than a century before Kanemigi’s funeral in 1573. According to the diary of Yoshida Kaneatsu 兼敦 (1368–1408), his father, Yoshida Kanehiro 兼熙, aged fifty-four, died peacefully while chanting the *nenbutsu*.³ A week earlier Kanehiro had taken Buddhist vows, and upon his death he received a Buddhist funeral. Shinto funerals were still 170 years in the future, and in any event, since Kanehiro had died a Buddhist priest with Amida’s vow on his lips, a Buddhist funeral was appropriate. Kaneatsu, as a Shinto priest, had to observe the customary prohibition against contact with the pollution of death. As Kanehiro’s death approached, all of the Shinto priests in the family had to leave the room and stand in the garden. Buddhist priests stayed with Kanehiro as he died, then took care of his body, placed it on a board, and moved it to a Buddhist temple for the funeral.

In describing his father’s death, Kaneatsu wrote in his diary, “Being a Shinto priest is useless” (*shinshoku no mi muryoku koto nari* 神職之身無力事也). Kaneatsu thus expressed his grief and frustration at being banished from his father’s side. It seems that Kaneatsu wanted to be with his father during his last moments; he wanted to bathe and dress his father’s corpse. But he was forbidden to perform these final caring actions because he was a Shinto priest.

³ OKADA quotes from Kaneatsu’s diary and summarizes the description of Kanehiro’s death (1982, p. 3). The diary itself is unpublished.

Writing in 1402, Kaneatsu could not have imagined a Shinto funeral for his father, but he was chafing against the taboos concerning the avoidance of impurity that prevented him from being near his dying father. Kaneatsu's comment shows us a human side to the Shinto funeral movement. But the term he used, *muryoku*, also means "impotent" or "powerless," foreshadowing the more aggressive frustration that some Shinto priests felt at the ritual impotence forced upon them (as they saw it) by the Buddhist monopoly on funerals.

As the very important example of Yoshida Kanemigi (discussed below) shows, later generations of the Yoshida family took funerals and mortuary rites into their own Shinto hands. At the same time, they continued to perform Buddhist mortuary rituals and to socialize actively with Buddhist priests. They did not amputate Buddhism from their lives; rather, they moved Buddhism aside at some crucial points in the funerary process. They thereby "empowered" themselves to step into the house of death. When we remember Kaneatsu's sense of uselessness, we can imagine that the new Shinto mortuary rites gave at least some members of the Yoshida family not only political and social power in the real world but also emotional and spiritual strength in the intimate and private realm of family deaths.

Scene 1: The Funeral of Yoshida Kanemigi in 1573

The oldest eyewitness account of a Shinto funeral is found in the diary of Yoshida Kanemi 兼見 (1535–1610), who is also the author of the oldest extant Shinto funeral manual.⁴ Kanemi was the son of Yoshida Kanemigi 兼右 (1516–1573), and the household head in his own time. For more than two decades, Kanemi kept a diary, which is now called *Kanemi kyōki* 兼見卿記. The section from Kanemi's diary that describes his father's funeral is familiar to scholars of Shinto funerals, and it is sometimes quoted, *kanbun* intact, in articles by Japanese scholars.⁵ Here I look not just at the funeral but also at the months before and the years after Kanemigi's death. We can then see that the funeral is only one in a long series of mortuary rites, some Shinto, some Buddhist.

First, I summarize the diary entries that describe Kanemigi's last months. Prayers for a dying person, ritual remedies, and perhaps even medicine can be considered the first steps in the funeral process and so deserve more attention than they have so far received. In Kanemigi's case, it is noteworthy that all the healing rituals were Shinto, but it was Buddhist priests who brought the medicine.

⁴ The funeral manual, "Yuiitsu shintō sōsai shidai" 唯一神道葬祭次第, is included in *Shintō taikei* 1981, vol. 9 of *ronsetsu-hen* 論説編, and in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, pp. 81–98.

⁵ For example, OKADA excerpts the diary entries from the 10th to the 25th (1982, p. 14).

KANEMIGI'S FINAL ILLNESS

In the winter of 1572 (Genki 元龜 3), Kanemigi was fifty-seven years old, and he was sick. Just three months earlier, he had been perfectly healthy and active. He had visited his friend, a monk at the Rinzai temple Shōkoku-ji 相国寺; he had entertained powerful figures from the worlds of politics and arts such as Hosokawa Fujitaka 細川藤孝 (later Yūsai 幽齋, 1534–1610); and he had gone to visit Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀 (1528–1582), the future killer of Oda Nobunaga. All of that was in the sixth month. In the ninth month, among other activities, Kanemigi played go twice, one time with a group that included his son in a tournament held at the Rinzai temple Kennin-ji 建仁寺, where they stayed overnight. By the end of the ninth month, Kanemigi had fallen ill.

His son Kanemi recited a purification formula, *Tendo o-harae* 天度御祓, 360 times in hopes of curing his father's illness. By the middle of the tenth month, Kanemigi's condition had worsened, despite his having taken medicine. From the auspicious 11th day of the month, his son and others performed rituals aimed at Kanemigi's recovery. A special altar with gorgeous implements was set up, and the room was decorated with a dragon scroll and a scroll bearing the names of sixty-four kami. *Goma* rituals were performed at night, and a spirit-summoning ritual was also performed (this usually means calling back the spirit of the deceased).

On the 18th, a painter from the Kano school came to paint Kanemigi's portrait. This was a bad sign, since portraits were often prepared with the expectation that they would soon be used in mortuary rites. On the 22nd, Hosokawa Fujitaka and other friends came to visit Kanemigi, and more medicines were tried. The next day, a Shinto priest (not Kanemi) performed one hundred purification rituals.

Kanemi's diary says very little about his father's condition during the eleventh month. Perhaps Kanemigi was feeling better. Some people came to visit the sick man, but there was also sake-drinking and dancing late into the night. So Kanemi was not exercising self-restraint in anticipation of his father's imminent death. Kanemi went to Kitano Tenmangu Shrine on the 25th with his son, and on the same day he visited Hosokawa Fujitaka. In addition, there were shrine matters to attend to, including deciding whether residents near Yawata Shrine could receive permission to eat taboo bird-meat.

During the last month of the year, Kanemi wrote nothing about his father's sickness. On the second day of the new year, his father took a turn for the worse, and he was given medicine. On the 8th, Buddhist priests came to pray. On the same day, the dying Kanemigi uttered his

final testament. On the 9th, he gave his grandson a small sword, as the assembled family members wept. And on the next day Kanemigi was dead.

KANEMIGI'S FUNERAL

What follows is a translation from Kanemi's diary (vol. 1, pp. 58–59, Genki 4).

10th: Around ten in the morning, my father passed away. Everyone was sad when he died. On the eighth, he had announced the kind of [funeral] ceremony that he wanted. He instructed that after he died [his body] should be buried east of the Kannon Hall and that a shrine (*shadan* 社壇) should be constructed over the burial site. Today, in accordance with his instructions, Stable master of the right (右馬助) Suzuka Sadayo 鈴鹿定世 [oversaw] the building, land, and so forth. My father's resolution will definitely be carried out.

11th: In accordance with my father's last words, Bonshun 梵舜 (1553–1632) [Kanemi's younger half-brother, a Buddhist priest] was asked to prepare the enclosure east of the Kannon Hall and to come on the fifteenth.

14th: Tonight at around 2:00 a.m. [my father's] funeral was held. Suzuka Sadayo, wearing a formal hat (*eboshi* 烏帽子) and ritual robes, made offerings. The palanquin (coffin) was covered with cloth. Suzuka Migitada 鈴鹿右正 and Suzuka Kisuke 鈴鹿喜介 carried [the coffin] and put it in the enclosure. Not a single Buddhist monk participated.

15th: I stopped performing shrine duties [because of death impurity]. Bonshun performed the rites for the intermediate existence, together with three other monks [Kanemi identifies them by their temples or positions], three ordinary monks, five monks from Shōkoku-ji, and three monks from our own temple....

16th: Today [I?] started copying the *Lotus Sutra*.

17th: The rite of making offerings to the hungry ghosts (*segaki* 施餓鬼) [was performed].

21st: A [Buddhist] repentance ceremony could be heard from the garden.

25th: The period of the intermediate existence is over, and the monks have all gone back to their temples. (Kanemi then lists the "offering" [payment] given to each of the monks.)

27th: The copying of the sutra has been completed. I asked [one of the monks (a friend of Kanemigi's)] to dedicate it. I went to the newly-made garden. I looked at the books and put them on the shelves.

28th: I looked at my father's diary. [Kanemi refers to his father by his posthumous Buddhist name: 唯神院殿.]

29th: From the tenth [the day his father died] until today I have dreamed about my father every night except for two nights. These past two nights I did not dream about him. It seemed strange, so I asked [a Buddhist priest] to perform a divination. He said that it was very auspicious.

Kanemi gives only the barest description of his father's funeral. What made it a Shinto funeral? As far as the funeral itself goes, the answer is absence: "Not a single Buddhist monk participated" 僧一人モ不出也. This deliberate exclusion of the Buddhist clergy is the mark of a Shinto funeral. The rituals (not described) seem to have been performed by the Suzuka laymen, not by Kanemi. Interestingly, more than eighty years later in 1657, when Kanemigi's great-grandson Kaneoki 兼起 died at age forty, members of the same Suzuka family, along with others, were responsible for the funeral. A Yoshida family document uses almost the same sentence about Kaneoki's funeral: "not a single Buddhist monk participated" 出家一人モ不出 (OKADA 1986, p. 7).

But what did the Suzukas do? Recite purification prayers? Sprinkle salt or rice? Bow and clap? We will never know. The funeral manual that Kanemi wrote (probably after his father's funeral) is a rather strange document, with a mixture of Shinto prayers, Buddhist terms, and Chinese and Taoist elements. The funeral described by Kanemi in the manual includes the offerings of lanterns, flowers, sake, food, hot water, and rice, in addition to the burning of incense. Burial is prescribed, and there should be banners with specific phrases written on them. In the funeral manual, Kanemi twice wrote (with a Buddhist touch), "Life is the beginning of death. Death is the end of life." The funeral manual is significant in its own right, but we cannot be certain that Kanetomo's funeral was conducted as the manual prescribes.

KANEMIGI'S BURIAL

Burial was not uncommon among the general population, but cremation was preferred by the Buddhist-oriented aristocracy. By Kanemigi's time, burial, as opposed to cremation, had come to symbolize the Yoshida way of death. Kanemigi's grandfather, the important Yoshida thinker Kanetomo, mentioned earlier, was the first of his lineage to be buried, and a Shinto-style shrine (*reisha* 霊社) was built over his grave—at least this is what is recorded in a 1787 document called *Reibo* 霊簿, which is a kind of census of the shrines, graves, and memorial tables of the Yoshida lineage (reproduced in OKADA 1982, pp. 5-9). Earlier members of the Yoshida family had been cremated and, in some cases, portions of their bones or ashes had been taken to Mt. Kōya.

Many of the activities connected with Kanemigi's death were definitely Buddhist: sutra-copying, offerings to the hungry ghosts, intermediate-existence rites; a repentance ritual. These practices were not rejected and apparently did not compromise the Shinto-ness of the funeral.

After his father's death, Kanemi made monthly offerings at his father's shrine. But for a few months he could not perform other sorts of shrine rituals, having been made impure by his father's death. During the second month, Kanemi could not make his regular offerings at Kanetomo's shrine, nor could he go to the imperial palace to perform ceremonies. Kanemi refrained from the usual first-of-the-month shrine rituals for at least six months after his father's death (the next seventeen months of the diary are lost).

Death is not the end of things. After the funeral, postmortem mortuary rites for Kanemigi began. Regularly on the tenth day of the following months, Kanemi went to his father's shrine and made Shinto-style offerings or burned incense (incense was not yet rejected by Shintoists as being too Buddhist). Kanemi's diary records that he went to his father's shrine on the tenth day of every month for the next eleven years (until the diary stops). Bonshun, the younger son and Buddhist priest, continued the practice up until his own death in 1632 (in other words, every month for almost sixty years).

In addition to the monthly visits to the shrine, other periodic memorial services were held. Thirty-five days after Kanemigi's death, Bonshun officiated at a Buddhist memorial service. On the yearly anniversaries of the death, memorial services were held in either a Shinto or Buddhist mode.

Half a century later, on the fiftieth anniversary of Kanemigi's death, various ceremonies were observed. One month before the actual fiftieth anniversary, Bonshun, then about seventy years old, conducted a Buddhist memorial service in his temple. On that occasion, Bonshun wrote a prayer (*saimon* 祭文)⁶ in which he said that the family had made offerings every month at Kanemigi's shrine and lit lanterns every night. Exactly fifty years after Kanemigi's death, a smaller ceremony was held at the Shinto shrine that stood over his buried corpse.

The Yoshida lineage-holders like Kanemigi had "graves" (*haka* 墓) marked with a tombstone or stone pagoda. But if his body was under the Shinto shrine, who was buried in Kanemigi's grave? It seems likely that a symbolic object, perhaps a plaque or a kind of relic, was placed under the tombstone (OKADA 1982, p. 17). During Bon, Kanemi visited

⁶ See *Shun kyūki*, vol. 6, pp. 61–62 (Genna 8, 11th month, 10th day) for the text of the prayer.

the graves of his “ancestral kami,” as he called them, offered water, burned incense, and lit lanterns. Bonshun and other monks chanted sutras. Even though there were no corporeal remains in the graves, the Yoshida family attended to them in a predominantly Buddhist fashion.

There are at least five features of Kanemigi’s funeral that signified that it was Shinto. Two features, already pointed out above, are the absence of Buddhist priests and the burial of the corpse. A third feature is the timing of the funeral, as funerals held in the middle of the night are more often associated with Shinto than with Buddhism. Fourth, is a final, unmistakably Shinto vow to become a guardian kami (*shugoshin* 守護神) of the Yoshida household that, according to later entries in Kanemi’s diary, Kanemigi was supposed to have uttered. Fifth, and finally, is the Yoshida innovation of building a small Shinto shrine over the corpse. These shrines are particularly noteworthy because they acted as places of worship separate from the grave and incorporated the corpse into the worship site, which indicated that the kami body was free of pollution.

Scene 2: The Funeral of Nemoto Tanemaro in 1764

In 1764 Nemoto Tanemaro, a Shinto priest, died at the age of seventy-four. His nephew, Fujiwara Mikimaro 藤原幹満, wrote a description of the funeral, and Nemoto’s grandson Nemoto Yoshitane 根本佳胤 later made some corrections to Fujiwara’s account. There are two extant manuscripts, very similar, one entitled *Soreishiki* 葬礼式 (Funeral Ceremony) and the other called *Kikuma gūji soreishiki* 菊間宮司葬礼式 (The Funeral Ceremony of the Priest of Kikuma [Shrine]).⁷

At his death, Nemoto was a priest at a shrine in present-day Chiba Prefecture.⁸ Earlier in his life, he had worked at Inari shrines and written one book on Inari. He was a student of one of the first and most prominent Kokugaku scholars, Kada no Azumamaro 荷田春満 (1669–1736), himself a priest at Fushimi Inari Shrine in Kyoto.⁹ One document states that “as soon as [Nemoto] Tanemaro became a priest [at Kikuma Hachiman-gū] he got rid of all the Buddhist implements

⁷ See SUGIYAMA (1993, p. 2) for a discussion of the two manuscripts. Both manuscripts are in the possession of the Sugiyama family. ASOYA and TANUMA have translated the record of Nemoto’s funeral into modern Japanese, with a few notes and comments (1995, pp. 67–70; 379–87). The translation in SUGIYAMA 1993 is more readable, and the treatment of the funeral is more thorough and interesting. SUGIYAMA also includes the original Chinese (*kanbun*) text.

⁸ SUGIYAMA summarizes what is known of Nemoto’s life (1993, pp. 17–23).

⁹ On Kada no Azumamaro, see NOSCO 1990, pp. 71–97.

in the shrine, thereby making a great reformation” (ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, p. 68). Nemoto’s expulsion of Buddhism from the shrine identifies him as an early anti-Buddhist activist, sweeping Buddhism out of his Shinto shrine decades before such purges became common. But already a century before Nemoto it was Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀 (1628–1701) who shut down half the Buddhist temples in his domain and removed Buddhist items from Shinto shrines. Given Nemoto’s attraction to early Kokugaku thought and his purge of Buddhism from his shrine, his funeral must have been the last act in the life of a man committed to, as he might have put it, reviving the ancient ways of Shinto.¹⁰

Some Edo-period Shinto funerals were based on a Confucian model, and others were patterned after the funerals described in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. Nemoto’s funeral was of the latter type. In my discussion below, I compare Nemoto’s funeral with other Shinto funerals of the period in order to elucidate the meaning of some of the ritual actors and actions, as well as to highlight the uncommon elements in Nemoto’s funeral.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FUNERAL

Before the funeral could be held, there was much work to be done. The house had to be prepared; special clothes, hats, and funeral items had to be made; tasks had to be assigned. In front of their house the Nemoto family set up a white cloth banner with the words, “This house is in mourning” (*sōka nari* 喪家也). A funeral hut (*moya* 喪屋) was erected, and a temporary gate was opened. Using a temporary or separate gate meant that pollution would travel in and out of the household by a route different from that taken in everyday affairs.

Relatives and friends were assigned a remarkable variety of specified roles, and the record of Nemoto’s funeral gives the names of some of the people who participated. Some of these roles were based on the *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki*, while others must have been based on folk custom. Below I list the titles of some of the roles of participants and provide some notes and comments.

- the pounding-women (*tsukime* 舂女) [see MACÉ 1986, pp. 158–59]
- the *monomasa* 尸者 [I have much more to say about him below]
- the wailers (*nakime* 哭者)
- the *mikebito* 御食人 [this man was in charge of the food offerings]
- the cotton-makers (*watatsukuri* 造綿者) [these people were in

¹⁰ An earlier funeral (1740) for another student of Kada no Azumamaro, Sugiura Kokuto 杉浦国頭, is included in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, pp. 355–78.

charge of the cotton that was stuffed into the coffin to keep
the corpse from moving]
the broom-bearers (*hōki-mochi* 帚持者)
the rope-bearers (*kisari-mochi* 傾頭持者)

Comment: The term *kisari-mochi* comes from the *Nihon shoki*. Aston gives it the literal and unhelpful translation of “head-hanging bearers” (whatever that might mean). The 1994 Japanese editors of the *Nihon shoki* write that the *kisari-mochi* carried the food for the deceased and offered it (p. 115). The editors also tell us that there is no explanation for the reading *kisari-mochi*. I am following Sugiyama in translating it as “rope-bearers,” based on the actual job of the *kisari-mochi* in Nemoto’s funeral.

A 1769 funeral manual by Sugawara Nobuyuki 菅原信幸, which includes many well-researched explanations of terms, states that the *kisari-mochi* was in charge of preparing the corpse.¹¹ Together with the pounding-women, the *kisari-mochi* had the job of stuffing a chopstick or twig into the mouth of the deceased and binding the legs of the deceased. However, there is no evidence that the *kisari-mochi* did this job in Nemoto’s funeral. Another funeral manual written no later than 1761 creatively solves the puzzle of what the *kisari-mochi* does. Based on the understanding that a *kisari-mochi* is “the one who holds the hanging head,” this manual states that the *kisari-mochi* is the person who holds the head of the deceased as the body is bathed immediately after death.¹² The common thread in both explanations of the *kisari-mochi* is that he helped prepare the corpse before the funeral.

The *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* can be obscure, to put it kindly. It must sometimes have been a vexing task for the Edo-period Shintoists to enact (or even just to describe) concretely a funeral based on a mythic scenario that was part cryptic and part unintelligible. On the other hand, the vagueness of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* granted freedom. The Shinto funeral manuals written in the Edo period varied much more than do today’s Shinto funeral manuals. With codification, a certain creativity has been lost.

The next eight roles do not appear in the *Nihon shoki* but most are common within traditional Japanese funeral processions:

the grave-makers (*yama-tsukuri* 山作者) [these two men select-
ed the site for the grave and dug the hole]
the flag-bearer (*hata-mochi* 旗持者)
the umbrella-bearers (*amagasa-mochi* 雨傘持者)

¹¹ “Heiri shinkan funjū ki” 弊里神官憤終記, in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, p. 390.

¹² “Yoshimi Sōsai ryakushiki” 吉見葬祭略式, in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, p. 302.

the staff-bearer (*tsue-mochi* 杖持者)

the shoe-bearer (*kutsu-mochi* 沓持者)

Comment: The shoe-bearer, his prosaic name notwithstanding, is a mysterious figure. He is not found in the *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki*, so presumably he derives from the Japanese folk tradition. The term *kutsu-mochi* can mean a clown or a jester. The presence of a jester at the funeral is intriguing, since a clown is the this-worldly version of a shaman. However, I think the clown turns out to be a red herring: first, there was nothing amusing about Shinto funerals, as far as I have seen; second, the illustrations in some Shinto funeral manuals depict the *kutsu-mochi* as indeed carrying shoes and not looking particularly comic. So we are back to where we started: why bear shoes? Did Nemoto need the shoes for his journey to the other world? Had the shoes been worn by him in life? What did the *kutsu-mochi* do with the shoes at the grave site? Shoe-bearers appear in a few of the Shinto funeral documents (edited by ASOYA and TANUMA 1995), but none of the texts explains the shoes. Shoes are still a feature of contemporary Shinto funerals, according to the instructions issued by the central Shinto headquarters (see, for example, JINJA HONCHŌ CHŌSABU 1994). If there is a funeral procession, then a pair of shoes is carried in the procession, just as during the Edo period. During the funeral itself, the shoes are placed on a table at the back of the altar, near the head, not the foot, of the coffin.

If the shoes are Nemoto's, he must be either barefoot or wearing the sandals appropriate for a journey to the other world. He certainly cannot walk in this world. Following Carlos Ginzberg, let me suggest that—in the broadest of symbolic terms—the shoes Nemoto does not wear are a sign that he is on his way to the realm of the dead. GINZBERG lists many examples of a widespread motif found in the myths and rituals of many cultures according to which “the lame, the one-footed, those who limp, stumble, hop or hobble, those who walk barefoot or wear only one shoe, those whose feet have been injured, disfigured or marked—in short, people whose feet stand out as different, usually deformed—are intermediary figures between the living and the dead and sometimes have returned from the realm of the dead” (1991, pp. 226–27). Ginzberg discusses Oedipus, Achilles, Cinderella, and other examples.¹³ I can add the example, apparently

¹³ Ginzberg's theory sheds new light on the Cinderella coffin offered by an Osaka hotel (see Rowe in this issue, pp. 353–78). After all, it is not Cinderella but another fairy-tale princess, Snow White, who falls into a death-like sleep. Should not the hotel offer a Snow White coffin? Why does Cinderella belong at a funeral? The Japanese Cinderella coffin expresses, in a very concrete form, the funerary elements in the Cinderella tale, with its

unknown to Ginzberg, of Bodhidharma, arisen from his coffin wearing only one sandal, ready to embark on shamanistic travels bridging the realms of the dead and the living.

The motif of lameness or barefootedness may be rather faint in Japan. Many corpses, even today, are shod in old-fashioned straw sandals (*zōri*), and there are places, such as Osore-zan 恐山, where *zōri* are used as mortuary offerings. Although it is true that these *zōri* highlight the feet, they are best understood as symbolic of the journey to the next world, not of lameness. The wooden staff often placed on top of the corpse is a better symbol of lameness, since walking with a staff turns even the able-bodied dead into asymmetrical limpers. A funeral practice observed by SUTŌ Isao in Iwate in 1967 is a clear example of symbolic funeral lameness (1996, pp. 53–54). According to Sutō's account, the relatives of the deceased tied twisted pieces of white paper onto their shoes before walking in the funeral procession. When they reached the grave site, they threw the paper into the grave hole. These *shibito zōri* 死人草履 (dead man's sandals) are a temporary and symbolic disfigurement of the feet of the living. The relatives of the deceased are close to death in terms of physical proximity and pollution, and the dead man's sandals indicate that they have, so to speak, one foot in the grave.

If we can accept Ginzberg's theory, then the shoes carried in Nemoto's funeral procession become much more interesting. They represent the fact that Nemoto, newly dead, connects the realms of the living and the dead. At the same time, the shoes betoken the acquisition of shamanistic powers to travel freely between the two realms. We can also remind ourselves that the same type of shoes are among the objects set out (but not worn) for the emperor's *daijōsai*, the mysterious night-time ritual that transforms the emperor into a fully divine being.

The final three roles in the procession were:

- the sack-carriers (*fukuro-ou* 袋負者)
- the torch-bearers (*taimatsu-mochi* 秉炬者)
- the palanquin-bearers (*yochō* 與丁者)

Once the roles in the funeral had been allotted, the next step was to prepare the body. The "cotton-makers" bathed Nemoto's corpse and

many variants, which have been expunged from the tame contemporary version—except for her glass slipper. GINZBERG uses the Cinderella tale complex as a test case for his "monosandalism" theory and concludes that Cinderella, with her single shoe, is a visitor to the palace of the dead (1991, pp. 243–48). The death symbolism of Cinderella has not been forgotten by the Osaka hotel.

put cotton and a mat into the coffin to ensure that the body lay face up. Then they placed on top of the corpse a talisman that read, “kami and humanity return to unity” (*shin jin kiitsu* 神人歸一).¹⁴ Next the *monomasa* purified the coffin and closed it; the coffin was then moved to the funeral hut. The coffin stayed in the hut for a three-day *mogari* 殯 (an interim period before burial). The account does not say what rituals or other activities took place during the three days.

DEPARTURE OF THE COFFIN

Relatives and friends gathered together with the ritual officiants and musicians. The *monomasa* and the *mikebito* performed short rituals. Presumably all this took place inside or near to the funeral hut. The *monomasa* stood in front of the coffin, bowed, and clapped his hands. Next the *mikebito* made food offerings in front of the coffin. Some time before, during or after these rituals, everyone was eating. There is no description of the meal; whether it was a splendid feast or a few grains of ritual rice, we do not know.

Then the *monomasa* read a prayer to the spirit of Nemoto. In summary, the prayer went as follows:

We humbly make these offerings before you. Your spirit has flown off to its permanent home. You have spent a few days and nights in the funeral hut. Now we have come to put your bones in the grave. According to the ancient rituals, we have determined who would fulfill the various positions of pounding-women, *monomasa*, cotton-makers, *mikebito*, wailers, *kisari-mochi*, broom-bearers, and so forth. Following the instructions of Susa-no-o, we have used *maki* to make a coffin,¹⁵ and everyone from the heir on down has put on mourning garments. Your last meal has been eaten together with everyone. Now we are bringing you to the purified grave to bury you.

Next occurred a queer and distinctive moment in Nemoto’s funeral: the mourners beat their chopsticks together. Having eaten the last meal together with the deceased, the mourners “cried” (*naku*, meaning both to weep [泣く] and to cry like a bird or animal [鳴く]) with their chopsticks. No explanation for this chopstick lament is offered in the text, so we are left to our own interpretive devices. (1) Is it a

¹⁴ In one of the two manuscripts, a piece of paper with the words “united as one, return to the origin” (合一歸元) has been pasted over the four characters 神人歸一.

¹⁵ Susa-no-o, the brother of Amaterasu, is best known for his unruly behavior and excessive energy. But he ends up as the ruler of Ne-no-kuni 根國, the land of the dead. Perhaps it is for this reason that it is wise to heed his advice on coffins.

case of ritual inversion? In most social settings, it would be rude to make noise with one's chopsticks, and only children would hit them together. But at this final, highly charged moment of separation, behavior that is taboo in ordinary life becomes appropriate. (2) Is noise the point? Loud noise symbolically wards off malevolent forces and helps people cross boundaries. A few examples (for the sake of suggestive comparison) will suffice: drums or even firecrackers are part of Chinese funeral rites; gamelan gongs are played during Balinese cremation ceremonies; twenty-one-gun salutes are heard during Western military funerals. Comparative studies of funerals and other rites of passage have shown that percussion often accompanies transition.¹⁶ Chopsticks are like miniature drumsticks and so are a handy percussive instrument. (3) But was noise the only point? Chopsticks are primarily associated with eating. The complex symbolism of food (eating, feeding, exchanging) is woven throughout Japanese rites for the dead, and this action of making noise with chopsticks was probably a variant on the food theme.¹⁷ After all, the *monomasa* had just addressed Nemoto, telling him that he had eaten his last meal. Even today, at least in Kyoto funerals, the rice bowl used by the deceased is thrown onto the ground outside his house. The shattering of the rice bowl demonstrates, with a tragic harshness, that the deceased will not eat at the table of the living ever again. When the rice bowl is smashed, a food connection is also broken. Unfortunately, it is impossible to fathom exactly what was being "said" with the crying chopsticks at Nemoto's funeral, but perhaps this unusual gesture was a dramatic enactment of the fact that the deceased would never use the eating implements of the living again. (4) The chopstick-drumming might have been borrowed from local folk tradition, as SUGIYAMA guesses (1993, p. 5), but we still would like to know more about the particular significance of this rite and why this custom, among so many, was especially attractive.

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION

The text gives a detailed account of the long procession from the hut to the grave. There were sixty-six people with specific tasks, plus relatives (son, great-grandson, a concubine's grandsons, nephews, unidentified relatives) and other assorted people (friends, servants, women and girls). There must have been more than a hundred people altogether.

Some of the men in the procession carried specific items: torches,

¹⁶ METCALF and HUNTINGTON have a section on noise in funerals (1991, pp. 64-71).

¹⁷ See KENNEY 1996-1997 for some discussion of food and cannibalistic symbolism in present-day Japanese funerals.

flags, brooms, lanterns, sacks, a sword, and a staff. Others carried the coffin on a palanquin. There were also musicians, who do not often appear in Shinto funeral documents.

Two men led a horse.¹⁸ Western readers might be reminded of the “riderless horse” in funerals, and perhaps this horse was in fact Nemoto’s horse. But we should also remember that a horse is a common symbol of a Shinto kami, often considered the kami’s vehicle. Whether it was Nemoto’s horse or a kami’s horse may amount to the same thing in the end, since Nemoto was about to become a kami.

Also in the procession were two men carrying sacks. In each of the sacks was a *hō* 袍 (a smock-like upper garment worn by Shinto priests) and a *hakama* 袴 that had been worn by the deceased. (The use of these clothes becomes clear below.)

THE GRAVESIDE FUNERAL CEREMONY

After the procession had reached the funeral site (near the grave), the coffin was placed in front of the hole that had been dug for the grave. Some people sat down, while others set up a high table in front of the coffin. The *mikebito* rose and went to the table to put out the food offerings of sake and fruit. He said a brief eulogy, praying that Nemoto would accept the offerings. Next the *monomasa* went up to the coffin. After bowing and clapping, he took a pair of chopsticks and stuck them into a bowl of rice. This differs from the usual practice of neatly laying down chopsticks (if used) beside the food. In both China and Japan today, chopsticks stuck straight up in a bowl of rice signify bad table manners as chopsticks should be positioned as such only for the dead. The *monomasa* next sprinkled sand (for purification) and made offerings of water and eight types of grain. It was these two men, the *monomasa* and the *mikebito*, who were the main actors at the funeral.

An assistant summoned the sack-carriers, took the clothes out of the sacks, and gave them to the *monomasa*. The *monomasa* then lifted up (*sasageru* 拝) the clothes and performed a dance of worship (*haibu* 拝舞). This clothes-lifting worship-dance appears to be unique to Nemoto’s funeral.¹⁹ Unfortunately, we know nothing for certain about the form or meaning of the dance. The clothes are perhaps a kind of contact relic of the deceased, imbued with his smell, a powerful

¹⁸ SUGIYAMA states that a horse appears in no other Shinto funeral (1993, p. 7), but in fact a horse is part of the procession in a 1715 Shinto funeral manual (“Shintō sōsai karei” 神道葬祭家礼, in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, p. 251).

¹⁹ See SUGIYAMA 1993, p. 9, and ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, p. 69; but neither source makes any effort to explain the dance.

reminder of the physicality of him who is now gone. The dance might be a last attempt to call back the spirit of the deceased and then to pacify the spirit (*chinkon-sai* 鎮魂祭).²⁰ We are not told what happened to the clothes, whether they were buried, burned, passed on to the heir, or used later as a ritual substitute for the deceased.

After finishing his dance, the *monomasa* read a eulogy that was a brief summary of Nemoto's life. It ended with a poignant lament about the brevity of human life (sounding Buddhist) and the sadness of loss: "The morning dew suddenly vanishes, and the evening smoke is quickly extinguished. As the evenings grow colder, the singing of insects becomes weaker day by day. The yellow leaves on the tree are scattered by the cruel wind. How painful, how the heart sinks."

After a few more brief activities, Nemoto's son and others returned to the house. The funeral record includes a moment of dramatic grief: "the son was not able to stand on his own, so some of the disciples supported him." Then the son and others, "with their eyes gazing back at the coffin," returned to the house. Note that the mourners all left the grave before the coffin was buried. The burial itself was performed while the mourners were back at the house. Charcoal and ashes were put in the hole, then the coffin was buried. The dirt was piled on top of the grave into an egg shape (*tamagogata* 卵形). They planted a tree and hung a mirror and strips of hemp on the branches. Then they built a fence around the grave. And, with that, the funeral was over.

On the same day, the ancestral altar (literally, "spirit seat" 靈座) was set up in the house, and the memorial tablet (*reiji* 靈璽) was placed on it. Food was offered, and prayers were made.

POST-FUNERAL MEMORIAL RITES

Thirty days after Nemoto's death, his disciple Yoshida Sakyō 吉田左京, who had acted as *mikebito* during the funeral, purified the house of the pollution of death and changed the household fire. Members of the household who were not bound by the stricter mourning regulations could now engage in worldly activities. The son, however, had to spend fifty days in a mourning hut. After that, he could do certain types of work at the shrine but could not yet undertake religious activities, because he was still in a taboo condition due to the impurity of death.

²⁰ EBERSOLE (1989) discusses the *chinkon-sai* in ancient Japan at several points. For what might be a vestige of the *chinkon-sai*, we can look at the funerals held in Shiromi 銀鏡, a 150-household village in Miyazaki Prefecture that is almost exclusively Shinto. As part of the funeral for an important person, a *kagura* dance is performed, accompanied by the music of flutes, drums, and gongs. This *kagura* performed in front of the coffin struck at least one Japanese observer as odd (SUTŌ 1991).

A year later, offerings were made to the spirit of Nemoto. Family members and disciples gathered together to eat a simple meal. The house was purified, and the fire was again changed. Now the son no longer had to wear mourning clothes and he could perform purifications and do other religious activities at the shrine. At this one-year anniversary of Nemoto's death, a tombstone was erected over his grave, with a stone *torii* directly in front and a stone fence all around.²¹

Impersonating the Dead: The Monomasa

The chief actor in Nemoto's funeral was the *monomasa*. *Monomasa* means literally "the corpse." A strange funeral it must have been, with "the corpse" moving about and leading the ceremony.

The *monomasa* is a distinctive element in some, not all, of the Edo-period Shinto funerals. He does not appear in Buddhist funerals, nor does he show up in modern Shinto funerals. The *monomasa* belongs to a particular moment in Japanese religious history when Shinto funerals were the experimental creation of a Shinto elite who used the rituals both to worship and to express ideology.

The origins of the *monomasa* are clear enough. The immediate inspiration is the *Nihon shoki*, which mentions the *monomasa* in a variant passage on Amewakahiko's funeral.²² This is what the *Nihon shoki* tells us: among the birds in the funeral procession for Amewakahiko was the kingfisher, who acted as the *monomasa* (以鷓為尸者).²³ On the basis of this *Nihon shoki* description of ancient Japanese funeral rites (myth with a touch of history), some Edo-period Shintoists scripted a role for the *monomasa* in their funerals. Nemoto's funeral procession was remarkably inclusive: there were the *Nihon shoki* bird-officers, the usual participants in Japanese funeral processions (flag-bearers, torch-bearers, and so forth), and even the seldom-seen sack-carriers. But the *Nihon shoki* itself does not describe the actions of the *monomasa* or the significance of the role; in fact, the whole bird procession remains enigmatic.²⁴

²¹ A photo of Nemoto's grave is included in SUGIYAMA 1993, p. 24.

²² The word *monomasa* is not found in the *Kojiki*.

²³ See *Nihon shoki* (1994, pp. 114, 453); ASTON 1972, p. 66. The character used for "kingfisher" is an unusual one. One cannot help but wonder if there might not be some significance to which bird was chosen for which position, but I know of no study that addresses this question.

²⁴ In Japan, as in many cultures, the winged creature is a symbol of the soul and/or the divine realm—think of Christian angels or Taoist immortals. See MATSUMURA 1996 for a treatment of birds and bird symbolism in Japanese mythology. EBERSOLE discusses birds several times throughout his book and suggests that the ancient Japanese dressed up in bird costumes during funeral rites (1989, p. 89).

In the oldest Chinese ritual classic, the *I-li* 儀禮, the *shih* 尸²⁵ appears at funerals and ancestral rites.²⁶ In translation, we may call this person the “personator” or “impersonator,” but we should remember that in Chinese he is literally “the corpse.” The *Chou-li* 周禮 also includes a role for the *shih*.²⁷ He is the grandson or other male relative (a brother, according to some Chinese dictionaries) of the deceased and acts as a stand-in for the deceased during parts of the funeral rituals and ancestral rites. His particular task is to eat food in place of the deceased and to offer his body as a temporary abode for the spirit of the deceased. As time went on, Chinese Confucians grew distant from, perhaps uncomfortable with, the shamanistic origins of the *shih*, and the impersonator was dropped from later ritual manuals (EBREY 1991, p. xviii). However, the Chinese continued to provide a residence for the spirit of the dead, usually a memorial tablet. Sometimes they used a portrait of the deceased (画像) or a paper effigy (形代)²⁸ instead of the human *shih* stand-in.

Most of the Shinto funerals also used a memorial tablet to represent the deceased. However, some of the texts use terminology that is still evocative of the effigy. For example, in the 1672 funeral of Hoshina Masayuki 保科正之, the half-brother of Tokugawa Iemitsu and the lord of Aizu 会津 domain, a *katashiro* 形代 (effigy) is an integral part of the ritual.²⁹ There is no information on what this *katashiro* looked like, but it was more likely a memorial tablet than an actual figure. In another example, a Shinto funeral manual written in 1715 describes a ritual object termed a “body substitute” 体代, with the same pronunciation *katashiro*. This manual gives clear instructions on what the *katashiro*

²⁵ It should be clear that the addition of the nominalizing particle 者 to make the Japanese word *monomasa* 尸者 does not take us away from the Chinese *shih* 尸 (especially since 尸者 could reasonably be used in classical Chinese as well). Of course, however similar the characters, it is the understanding of that term in the two different contexts that is precisely what we want to investigate.

²⁶ See STEELE 1917 for a complete translation of the *I-li*. Steele translates *shih* as “personator,” whereas EBREY 1991 translates it as “impersonator.”

²⁷ For a comparison of some passages from the *I-li*, *Chou-li*, and *Hou-han shu* 後漢書, see ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, pp. 40–53.

²⁸ In modern Japan there is still an important role for the paper “doll” (人形, ordinarily called *nīngyō* but also pronounced *hitogata* or *katashiro*). At Shinto shrines people buy small paper dolls, then write their names and ages on them, blow on them, or press their fingerprint onto them. In any case, the person transfers his or her impurities onto the paper human form and then the paper doll is destroyed, usually thrown into a river. The doll is a scapegoat. The *monomasa*, acting as a substitute for the deceased, probably also absorbed some of the death pollution. Of course, the *monomasa* is not sacrificed, and the scapegoat role is overshadowed by a different sort of purification by proxy.

²⁹ See “Hoshina Masayuki sōgi kiroku” [1672] 保科正之葬儀記録 in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, pp. 185–92.

should look like: it is a rectangular wooden tablet stood up in an eight-sided wooden base; a *shaku* 笏 can also be used.³⁰ In other words, the “body substitute” is the familiar memorial tablet.

Although tangential to the discussion here, studies of Ch’an/Zen mummies, relics, and statues help illuminate some of the patterns we see in the Shinto *monomasa* who impersonates the deceased (SHARF 1992, FAURE 1991, pp. 132–78). The Zen statues of dead masters are not just lifelike; they are, all at once, substitutes, doubles, and somehow the real thing. Could it be that the Shinto living corpse has gone Zen one better? In the Shinto case, the substitute really is alive.

The Edo-period Shinto funerals that included a *monomasa* were self-consciously patterned after archaic Japanese records and even more ancient Chinese ritual manuals. By casting the *monomasa* as one of the *dramatis personae* in the funeral, the producers of these funerals revived a ritual actor who had long been off the stage. Since the Edo-period Shinto activists were engaged in a project of imaginative construction (not recovery or revival of the “true” Shinto funerals of the past), we need to know what the *monomasa* meant to the people who reintroduced him.

One set of instructions for a Shinto funeral, already cited above in connection with the *kisari-mochi*, written by Sugawara Nobuyuki 菅原信幸 in 1769, just four years after Nemoto’s funeral, provides some clues to the Edo-period understanding of the *monomasa*.³¹ Sugawara cites the definition given by a fourteenth-century Shinto figure, Inbe Masamichi 忌部正通, author of a commentary on the *Nihon shoki*: “The *monomasa* wears the clothes of the deceased and welcomes the mourners [i.e., acts as their host].” Sugawara adds that during the wake and funeral the *monomasa* stays continuously in front of the coffin. In sum, then, in addition to giving the *monomasa* a role similar to that of the Chinese *shih*, Sugawara’s instructions place the *monomasa* in constant proximity to the coffin (which is to say, the corpse). The funeral procession is an exception in that, according to a chart, the *monomasa* walks not with the coffin but directly in front of the “spirit vehicle” (*mitama kuruma* 霊車) that carried the memorial tablet (霊璽). But this, after all, may have only been another way of “channeling” the spirit of the deceased (that is, through the tablet instead of through the corpse).

Interestingly, Sugawara knew that in ancient Chinese funerals the memorial tablet (or spirit tablet) was called the “double” (*chung* 重) (see ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, pp. 393, 401, 404). The Chinese *chung*

³⁰ See “Shintō sōsai karei” [1715] 神道葬祭家礼 in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, p. 255.

³¹ See “Heiri shinkan funjūki” [1769] 弊里神官憤終記 in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, pp. 388–425.

was nothing like the memorial tablets used in Edo-period Shinto funerals (or, for that matter, nothing like Confucian memorial tablets). It was a nine-foot wooden pole, with two X-shaped crosses attached. On each of the eight ends of the crosses a three-legged pot was hung, and in the pot was rice gruel (ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, p. 73). It is not easy to picture this “double” as a human figure, even a stick figure. It seems more like a lightning rod for the hungry dead.

Sugawara’s *monomasa* seems to be close to the *I-li* impersonator, i.e., a person who acts the role of the deceased. It may be relevant that Sugawara is more outspoken in his anti-Buddhist diatribes than other Shinto writers. He insists that the chanting of *nenbutsu*, *daimoku* 題目, or Buddhist scriptures is strictly forbidden. On eschatological matters, he finds much to criticize in Buddhism: “the Buddhists talk of paradise, hell, or rebirth, but this convenient talk of theirs is absolute falsehood.” Sugawara, perhaps motivated by his disgust at Buddhist nonsense, consulted scholarly works and investigated Chinese texts to understand the *monomasa* and the other ritual actors. He then created a Shinto funeral that was free of Buddhist elements and brimming with Confucian ingredients.

Finally, it should be noted that Sugawara’s manual is the only document I have seen that uses (just once) the single character 尸 to mean *monomasa* (ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, p. 393). All the other Edo-period funeral manuals and records use 尸者, as written in the *Nihon shoki*. Sugawara’s 尸 *monomasa* is not a mistake; the one-character orthography points to the Chinese ritual origins of the *monomasa*.

In several of the Shinto funeral manuals, the word *kabane* 尸 is used for “the corpse” (e.g., “set out food in front of the corpse”).³² In some of these same texts, we find often enough another term, “the deceased” (*shisha* 死者), e.g., “offer the same food that the deceased ate in life.” These two terms may indicate a splitting of the dead person into his physical remains (that is, the corpse), which receive food offerings, and his former and continuing spiritual self (that is, the deceased), which also maintains an interest in food. We then add a third term, the *monomasa* 尸者, with the *kanji* for corpse, and, for the unwary reader, a possible pronunciation of *shisha*.³³ Within this

³² In a couple of cases, there is an interesting mistake: the *sutae* 棄尸 (“completed coffin”) is written with the character for “corpse” instead of “house” (棄尸), making the meaning of the term “thrown-away corpse” rather than “thrown-away house”—a Freudian slip of the brush? See “Shintō sōsai karei” and “Heiri shinkan shinjū ki” in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, pp. 248 and 393.

³³ The term *monomasa* is found in written documents rather than in popular tradition. A non-*Nihon shoki* specialist who encountered the term without any pronunciation guidance would probably read it as “*shisha*,” pronouncing it the same as the word for “the deceased.”

triangle of terms, the corpse is still present in the person of the *monomasa*.

WHAT DOES *MONOMASA* MEAN?

Another approach to analyzing the *monomasa* is to focus on the meaning implied by the Japanese pronunciation of the word, not the meaning of the Chinese characters. According to Haguenaer, the syllables should be read as *mo-no-masa* (“pas *mono-masa!*”) to mean “one who regulates the funeral.” The “correct” way of writing *monomasa* would then be 喪の正, nothing to do with corpses or doubles or impersonators. In HAGUENAUER’s view, the Japanese *monomasa* is simply a funeral functionary, perhaps a priest or elder, very different from the Chinese *shih* who, as we have seen, was the stand-in for the deceased to whom the rites were addressed and offerings made (1937, p. 170, n. 1).

Haguenaer is interested in ancient Japan, not the Edo period. Nonetheless, his theory would hold for many Edo-period Shinto funerals. Often enough, the *monomasa* is plainly the main ritualist: he recites *norito*, claps, bows, and wears the *eboshi* hat. A 1695 Shinto funeral manual states, “The *monomasa* 喪の主 [=the person in charge of the funeral] must be decided from among the close relatives. This (person) is called the *monomasa* 尸者.”³⁴ In contemporary Japanese funerals, Buddhist or Shinto, the “chief mourner” or “next of kin” (usually the eldest son of the deceased) is called *moshu* 喪主, written with the same *kanji* just used to explain *monomasa* in the 1695 manual. I would add something that I have not seen any Edo-period Shintoists note. The Chinese word *shih* 尸 also has a verbal meaning of “to be in charge” or “to conduct” (something like 司). So the *monomasa* 尸者 could be explained as “the one who conducts” the funeral.

Haguenaer argues that the *shih* in China continued to substitute for the deceased in later ancestral rites but that there is no trace of this practice in Japan. To Haguenaer, this difference is evidence that there is no genuine similarity between the *monomasa* in Japan and the *shih* in China. He suggests that the *monomasa* was borrowed from the

³⁴ See “Shintō sōsai shiki jitsu” 神道葬祭式実 in ASOYA and TANUMA 1995, p. 114. I cannot resist mentioning here that this 1695 manual instructs that the nails, hair, and teeth of the deceased should be put into the coffin along with the corpse. It is fascinating to see the absolute contrast with Emperor Gomizuno-o’s use of these same body parts a few decades earlier (he died in 1680; see Fister’s article in this *JRS* issue). The Shinto funeral manual reflects a Confucian emphasis on the importance of the integrity of the body, even unto death, whereas Emperor Gomizuno-o followed a Buddhist belief in the spiritual power of body parts as relics. At the very least, these two examples show us that the religious world of seventeenth-century Japan accommodated antithetical views on the proper disposition of discrete body parts. Also of note is the fact that it *mattered* what one did with any hair, teeth, or fingernails that had been detached from the body.

Chinese rituals, inserted into one version of a myth, but was never an actual actor in ancient Japanese funerals (he would be wrong about Edo-period funerals, but they are not his topic). Still, this leaves the question of why a mere officiant, in no way a substitute for the deceased, was called “the corpse.” Why not use one of the other terms available? For example, if the *monomasa* serves as the main liturgist, then he could be referred to as *saishu* 祭主 or *dōshi* 導師. As I will suggest below, I think (pace Haguenauer) that there are very clear traces of the substitute-for-the-dead practice in Japan.

Macé criticizes Haguenauer for not being consistent in his criteria. When Haguenauer discusses the *asobibe* 遊部, a single late mention is sufficiently credible to grant historicity, but the *monomasa* is rejected by Haguenauer, although the textual support is similar (MACÉ 1986, pp. 324–25). Macé proposes another etymology for *monomasa*: *mono* means the spirit of the deceased, and *masu* is the honorific form of the verb “to be.” Macé suggests two possibilities: either the Chinese impersonator did play a role in Japanese funerals for a certain period of time or there was an indigenous Japanese ritual role similar enough to the Chinese *shih* to be called by the same characters.

The *Nihon shoki* editors’ proposed etymology is somewhat different from Macé’s (*Nihon shoki* 1994, p. 115). *Mono* means “spirit” (*seirei* 精霊), i.e., the spirit of the deceased (as Macé also suggests, but different from Haguenauer’s interpretation, “funeral” 喪). The *Nihon shoki* editors do not propose any corresponding *kanji* to be read as “*mono*,” but 物 would seem to be the only choice (may the spirit of Haguenauer not be shocked). *Masa* is the nominalizer written as 座 (just as 者 is a nominalizer and, to confuse matters, often pronounced *mono*). In sum, the *Nihon shoki* editors suggest that 尸者 corresponds to もの(=物)座.

In explaining the *monomasa*, the *Nihon shoki* editors cite two old commentaries on the *Nihon shoki*. *Shindaiki kuketsu* 神代紀口訣 (Secrets of the Record of the Age of the Gods [1367]) states that the *monomasa* wears the clothes of the deceased and performs acts of mourning.³⁵ Another commentary says that the *monomasa* is the person who substitutes for the deceased and eats in his place. Now the *monomasa* is no mere master of ceremonies; he sounds like the Chinese *shih* again!

WHAT DID THE MONOMASA DO?

The *monomasa* does not make an appearance in every Edo-period Shinto funeral, and of course he never shows up at all in present-day Shinto funerals. Still, Nemoto’s funeral was not a unique case. The *monomasa* can be found in at least six of the twenty-three Edo-period

³⁵ This is the same commentary by Inbe Masamichi cited by Sugawara in 1769.

Shinto funeral documents edited by ASOYA and TANUMA 1995 (some of these cases have already been discussed). These records give us a good idea of what the *monomasa* did, even if the symbolic significance of this eerie figure remains elusive. He stood up, sat down, bowed, recited prayers, offered food, scattered salt on the grave, and so forth. These actions certainly mark him as a ritualist or liturgist. In most of these funerals the *monomasa* appears to be a ritual functionary with no profound symbolism attached to his role.

But the image of the double remains powerful. Returning to Nemoto's funeral, we see a man standing near a coffin and an open grave, holding aloft the dead man's clothes, and moving with dance-like motions. It is the clothes and the dance that make this *monomasa* funeral different. It does not seem farfetched to suggest that Nemoto's spirit was transferred to the *monomasa* through the clothes. It may be a temporary transfer, just for the duration of the dance. Or it may be a more long-term transfer, like the transmission of authority from teacher to disciple in Zen Buddhism—also symbolized by the “transmission of the robe.” Given that the *monomasa* was a relative of Nemoto's, perhaps a Shinto priest himself, it makes sense that the *monomasa* would receive a transfer of authority, status, or knowledge when he holds the clothes.

We can know little about the dance movements performed by the *monomasa* in front of the grave. Japanese dictionaries define this term, *haibu/haimu* 拝舞, as a series of movements used at the court to express gratitude or congratulations: bowing, bending forward, looking to the right and left, moving one's arms. While it is by no means certain that the funeral dance had the same meaning as the court dance, we must consider that the *monomasa* might have been expressing gratitude (which, in any event, is not necessarily distinct from worship) to Nemoto for what he had given others while alive or for what the *monomasa* is now receiving from the deceased Nemoto. At this moment, the *monomasa* may be a double double: both himself (worshipper or grateful recipient, facing the coffin) and an embodiment of the deceased (like the *shih*).

THE LIVING DEAD

Before we leave the *monomasa*, let us go back to the death of Amewakahiko in the *Nihon shoki* and follow the story for another few lines. As we have seen, this passage is a crucial source for Edo-period Shinto mortuary rites, and it presents the first Japanese *monomasa* (the kingfisher). After the funeral attended by the birds, the body of Amewakahiko was kept in a mortuary hut. Another god, Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne 味耜高彦根, came to mourn his friend. The bereaved parents of Amewakahiko mistook Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne for their son. In a heart-

rending scene, the parents of Amewakahiko cried with joy to see (as they thought) their son alive and clung to him. But Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne was angered at being mistaken for a corpse. He demanded, “How could you mistake me for a dead person?” 何爲誤我於亡者。 In his indignation, he destroyed the mortuary hut and then, carried away by his rage, flew off in the form of a bird.

What is happening in this myth? How could the parents confuse a live visitor with their dead son? Most readers today are probably inclined toward a psychological interpretation of this tale of mistaken identity. The bereaved parents, blinded by grief, wrongly saw the deceased alive (1) because his return-to-life was wish-fulfillment or (2) because they were so preoccupied with thoughts of the deceased that they hallucinated that he had returned to their side. At the same time, the *Nihon shoki* account seems realistic, not fantastic, to some readers who have “seen” a dead friend—crossing a bridge, walking ahead—only to realize their mistake a moment later. This is not an uncommon experience, even in our modern world. It happened that, during my final week of writing this article, two people mentioned to me that they had mistakenly thought that they had seen a dead friend. In other words, even modern readers can imagine that the dead and the living sometimes do cross paths (if only in the longings of the living).

Is there more to the story of Amewakahiko and Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne than a case of mistaken identity? EBERSOLE, not convinced by the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* explanations that the two gods looked very similar, imagines that there might be “another version of the myth, in which Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne took on the mantle” of Amewakahiko (1989, p. 298 n. 5). In other words, the living god was wearing the dead god’s clothes. Ebersole’s new myth would match beautifully with the image of the *monomasa* draping Nemoto’s clothes over his own body, evoking the Chinese *shih* who was no mere master of ceremonies but actually took the place of the deceased. Regrettably, however, I think we must take the mythology as it stands and work only within its ample confines. There is no textual evidence that Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne put on Amewakahiko’s clothes.

Could it be that Amewakahiko’s parents made no mistake and that “the corpse” (the *monomasa*?) really did come to attend to mortuary matters? Surely parents can recognize their own son, and perhaps he really did come to the funeral, but in his friend’s form. Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne’s transformation into a bird may signify that he is the spirit of a dead person.³⁶ Birds also represent the boundary-crossing powers of

³⁶ EBERSOLE (1989) and MATSUMURA (1996) provide many examples proving that a bird often represents the soul or spirit of a dead person.

shamans. As we have seen, the Chinese *shih* of old may have gone into a trance to open himself to the spirit of the deceased. Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne, the friend, may be a shamanistic traveler, a voyager from the realm of the dead, who temporarily takes on the spirits of the newly deceased.

But then why did Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne become angry? Perhaps the parents in their misery inappropriately crossed ritual boundaries. They erred in treating Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne as *identical* to their son. Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne is a facsimile, a copy, a likeness, but not precisely identical, not the same. It is the complicit knowledge that the impersonator is not the original combined with the pretense that he *is* the original that gives the impersonation its *frisson*. Instead of letting Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne observe the mortuary rites, the parents of Amewakahiko disrupted the ritual (or shook Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne out of his trance?) and thereby destroyed the very contact with their lost son that they so sought.

There are still people in Japan today who serve as temporary abodes of the spirits of the dead. One place to contact the dead is Osore-zan on the northernmost tip of Honshu. I myself have spoken to my dead grandmother there through the medium of an old woman. Nobody at Osore-zan thinks that the shaman is *the same as* a dead relative, and it would be completely out of line to embrace the shaman (as Amewakahiko's parents did), no matter how overwhelming one's emotions (quiet weeping is acceptable). Nonetheless, the crucial attribute of the shaman is that he or she allows the dead to be present.

The name Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne is difficult to decipher. ASTON contends that there "is no satisfactory explanation of this name" (1972, p. 67 n. 1), while MATSUMURA suggests that Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne is an agricultural deity because *suki* means a spade or shovel (1996, p. 118). Another syllable in his name, *ne* (root), might also symbolize agricultural fertility. But I must also point out that this same *ne* might refer to Ne-no-kuni 根國, another name for the land of the dead (usually called Yomi). So his name may be additional evidence that Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne is a god from the netherworld.³⁷

Going back to the *Nihon shoki*, we have one more line to read. It is the moral, so to speak, of this sad tale of mistaken identity: "This is why it is bad for people to mistake the living for the dead" 世人惡以生誤死此其緣也 (1994, p. 116, 454). The most obvious message in this line is that the living and the dead must be kept separate, the categories must not be confused. But why do people need to be cautioned

³⁷ It is well understood that in Japanese mythology gods of death are often also grain gods. There is no contradiction between fertility and death, so Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne can be simultaneously a god of agriculture and of the netherworld. See MATSUMURA 1996.

against such an elementary mistake? The mistake can be serious only if the living and the dead really *do* sometimes exchange identities and there is some genuine risk of rupturing the permeable boundary between the living and the dead.

But this warning not to mix up the dead and the living is only part of the meaning of Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne's appearance in the *Nihon shoki*. I suggest that this strange tale of uncanny likeness is a vivid portrayal of the impersonation of the deceased at a funeral. The impersonator is not a fake; he is a genuine copy. Like the shamans at Osore-zan, he really does bring the dead to life. Other researchers have said little about Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne. But, if we can accept Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne as a mysterious counterpart to the *monomasa/shih*, then the Edo-period *monomasa* becomes an even more intriguing figure, one with deeper roots in Japanese myth and symbol than has been previously recognized.

Scene 3: A Shinto Priest Objects to Shinto Funerals

In devising Buddhism-free funerals, Shintoists of the Edo period reframed death rituals in terms congenial to their ideological and idealized notion of the true Japanese way. We have seen that there are variations in ritual components and diversity in interpretation. Next, as an antidote to the Shinto funeral enthusiasts discussed above, we shall meet one Shinto priest, Hashimoto Tsunesuke, who did not consider Shinto funerals an important part of his identity.

Hashimoto wrote *Kisō jigo* 橘窓自語 (Private words at the mandarin orange [*tachibana*] window); Tachibana was Hashimoto's original family name.³⁸ Hashimoto came from a Kyoto family that had close associations with the imperial household, and he was a priest at Umemiya 梅宮 Shrine in Kyoto. He studied with the famous Kokugaku teacher Ueda Shūsei 上田秋成 (also an author of ghost stories, especially *Ugetsu monogatari*). With this background, Hashimoto would seem to be a likely candidate to be an advocate of Shinto funerals. But he was not.

In a brief diary-like essay, Hashimoto records his opinion of Shinto funerals. He starts with the following: "Shinto priests who follow the Yoshida-Urabe 吉田部 school of Shinto have recently come to loathe the fact that when a burial is conducted in a religious manner, it is Buddhist priests who make offerings and say prayers. The Yoshida followers have created a Shinto funeral, and the more extreme among them even consider Shinto to be a religious sect (*shūmon* 宗門)" (HASHIMOTO 1975, p. 511). For his part, Hashimoto finds these ideas

³⁸ I thank Prof. George Hlawatsch of Kansai Gaidai University for helping me find Hashimoto's passage on Shinto funerals.

“extremely dubious” and “detestable” because such a thing as a “Shinto sect” was completely unknown in the past. However, given his position as a Shinto priest, Hashimoto writes, he is not free to voice his objections: if he were to criticize the Shinto “sect” or Shinto funerals, people might think he believed in Buddhism! Nonetheless, he is adamant that these new rites, which have not been transmitted from ancient times, should not be accepted.

Hashimoto concludes by quoting a line from Chu Hsi’s *Reflections on Things at Hand* (*Chin-ssu lü* 近思錄): “Ch’eng Shu said, ‘Our household conducts funerals without Buddhist [rites]. In Lo[-yang] there are also two or three other households that changed [from Buddhist to Confucian funerals]’” (see CHAN 1967, p. 231). Hashimoto’s comment: “Even in China, which had used Buddhism [for centuries], it is nothing new to find opposition to it; the Sung dynasty was an example” (HASHIMOTO 1975, p. 511). Hashimoto himself might have preferred a Confucian-style funeral to a Buddhist or Shinto funeral.

At the very least, Hashimoto’s essay makes us curious to know more about Edo-period Shinto priests who did not support Shinto funerals. Hashimoto did not specifically mention death pollution, but it is possible that impurity was an issue for him. Hashimoto rejected Shinto funerals because they are not traditional, not truly old. He shrewdly cited Chu Hsi, who was “militantly Confucian” and thoroughly anti-Buddhist in matters of funerals (EBREY 1991, p. xv). It was Chu Hsi’s Neo-Confucian funeral manual that served as a blueprint for some of the Shinto funeral manuals written during the Edo period.

Hashimoto was a Shinto priest who did not want anyone to think he was pro-Buddhist yet privately objected to Shinto funerals and cited an eminent anti-Buddhist Confucian to support his own rejection of the Shinto movement to reject Buddhist funerals. There were undoubtedly many other Shinto priests who resisted Shinto funerals. For example, Okada cites passages from the writings of Tani Jinzan 谷 秦山 (1663–1718), who was a student of the Confucian-Shinto thinker Yamazaki Anzai 山崎闇齋 (1619–1682) for a few years. Tani Jinzan, like the lesser-known Hashimoto, detested the Yoshida combination of shrines and corpses. He made no bones about his abhorrence of death pollution (OKADA 1982, pp. 30–31). If we locate and listen to these voices of the priests who derided Shinto funerals, then we can develop a better sense of the complex debate over Shinto funerals in the Edo period.

Conclusion

The scenes of Edo-period Shinto funerals presented in this article are based on diaries, essays, and a record of a funeral. I have used these

sources, rather than funeral instruction books, in the hope that such materials, descriptive rather than prescriptive, give us the best possible idea of what a Shinto funeral in the Edo period was really like. It goes without saying that no diary entry is a perfectly accurate and complete account of an event. Moreover, every diary has intended audiences, subtexts, and silences. Nonetheless, Yoshida Kanemi's diary, in its terseness, and Fujiwara Mikimaro's account of his uncle's funeral, in its wealth of detail, both seem to be reliable narratives.

An instructive contrast can be made with a 1525 account of Rennyō's funeral, held in 1499.³⁹ This account, compiled by Rengo 連悟 (1468–1543) and recorded by Jitsugo 實悟 (1492–1584), two of Rennyō's twenty-seven children, is full of the wonderful supernatural elements that make Buddhist biographies sparkle: purple clouds, heavenly music, rains of flowers, cremation smoke that forms into dragons. In contrast, the Shinto funeral records used in this article are sober and down-to-earth. But this is not to say that the Shinto documents present us with a materialist view of death. Quite the opposite—the corpse itself is both an object and a subject of great attention, and the spirit of the deceased is an active, if perhaps unstable, presence. Thus, the Shinto funerals are a public performance of a variety of symbolic interactions between the living and the dead (pacification, communal eating, conversation, offering, and more). Perhaps what is most powerfully evident in the Shinto mortuary rites is the continuing bond between the living and the dead. Right after Yoshida Kanemigi's death, one son, Kanemi, sees him in his dreams. The other son, Bonshun, visits his father's shrine every month for the next sixty years.

The Yoshidas of the seventeenth century cast aside the traditional Shinto priestly aversion to death and the impurity of the corpse. They turned around to embrace death and welcomed the corpse onto the shrine grounds. Many years later, Nemoto's funeral greets death with more ambivalence. At the last moment, the physical remains of the deceased are shunned (so that the mourners did not attend the burial) and the spirit of the deceased may have been considered an unstable force that needed to be pacified and controlled. For Hashimoto and Tani, there was no ambivalence about the corpse, just a straightforward aversion to its impurity.

³⁹ I am very grateful to Wayne Yokoyama for letting me read his unpublished translation of *Rennyō Shōnin itoku ki*.

REFERENCES

SOURCES CITED BY TITLE

Kanemi kyōki 兼見卿記

1987 2 vols. *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai* 続群書類従完成会, ed. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai.

Nihon shoki 日本書紀

1994 5 vols. Translated into modern Japanese, annotated, and edited by Sakamoto Tarō 坂本太郎, et al., eds. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Rennyō Shōnin itoku ki 蓮如上人遺徳記

1969–70 *Shinshū Shōgyō Zensho*, vol. 3, pp. 869–91. *Shinshū Shōgyō Zensho Hensansho* 真宗聖教全書編纂所, ed. Kyoto: Ōyagi Kōbundō.

“Shinsōsai” 神葬祭 (Shinto funerals)

1991 *Sōgi* 葬儀 1(4): 21–36.

Shinsōsai daijiten 神葬祭大事典

1997 Katō Takahisa 加藤隆久 et al., eds. Tokyo: Ebisu Kōshō.

Shintō taikai 神道大系

1981 *Shintō Taikai Hensankai* 神道大系編纂会, ed. Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai.

Shun kyūki 舜旧記

1970–1994 6 vols. *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai* 続群書類従完成会, ed. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai.

SOURCES CITED BY AUTHOR'S NAME

ASOYA Masahiko 安蘇谷正彦 and TANUMA Mayumi 田沼真弓, eds.

1995 *Shinsōsai shiryō shūsei* 神葬祭資料集成. Tokyo: Pelikansha.

ASTON, W. G., trans.

1972 *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*. Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle.

BERNSTEIN, Andrew

1999 The modernization of death in Imperial Japan. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.

CHAN, Wing-tsit, trans.

1967 *Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology compiled by Chu Hsi and Lū Tsu-ch'ien*. New York: Columbia University Press.

EBERSOLE, Gary L.

1989 *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

EBREY, Patricia Buckley

1991 *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the*

Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites.
Princeton: Princeton University Press.

FAURE, Bernard

1991 *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism.*
Princeton: Princeton University Press.

GINZBERG, Carlos

1991 *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath.* Raymond Rosenthal,
trans. New York: Penguin Books.

GRAPARD, Allan G.

1992 The Shinto of Yoshida Kanetomo. *Monumenta Nipponica* 47: 27-58.

HAGUENAUER, Charles

1937 Du caractère de la représentation de la mort dans le Japon
Antique. *T'oung Pao* 33: 158-83.

HARDACRE, Helen

1989 *Shintō and the State: 1868-1988.* Princeton: Princeton University
Press.

HASHIMOTO Tsunesuke 橋本經亮

1975 *Kisō jigo* 橘窓自語. Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei 日本隨筆大成 series 1, vol.
4. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

ITŌ Tasaburō 伊東多三郎

1981 Kami to hotoke no aida 神と仏の間. *Shintō taikai geppō* 16: 1-5.

JINJA HONCHŌ CHŌSABU 神社本庁調査部, ed.

1994 *Shinsōsai no shiori* 神葬祭の栞. Tokyo: Jinja Honchō [1970].

KENNEY, Elizabeth

1996-1997 Shintō mortuary rites in contemporary Japan. *Cahiers d'Ex-
trême-Asie* 9: 397-439.

KETELAAR, James

1990 *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution.*
Princeton: Princeton University Press.

KOKUGAKUIN DAIGAKU NIHON BUNKA KENKYŪSHO 國學院大学日本文化研究所, ed.

1994 *Shintō jiten* 神道事典. Tokyo: Kōbunkan.

LAY, Arthur Hyde

1891 Japanese funeral rites. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*
19: 507-44.

MACÉ, François

1986 *La Mort et les funérailles dans le Japon ancien.* Paris: Publications
orientalistes de France.

1995 Le shintō en mal de funérailles, *Japon Pluriel: Actes du premier col-
loque de la Société française des études japonaises.* Patrick Beillevaire
and Anne Gossot, eds., pp. 45-51. Arles: Éditions Philippe Pic-
quier.

MATSUMURA, Kazuo

- 1996 Birds as symbols of the realm of the sacred in Japanese myth. *Tenri Journal of Religion* 24: 97–134. (Originally in Japanese: *Nihon shinwa ni okeru tori to seikūkan* 日本神話における鳥と聖空間, *Shintō shūkyō* 134: 23–54.)

METCALF, Peter and Richard HUNTINGTON

- 1991 *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

NOSCO, Peter

- 1990 *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

OKADA Shōji 岡田莊司

- 1982 Kinsei Shintō no jomaku: Yoshida-ke no sōrei o tōrimichi to shite 近世神道の序幕—吉田家の葬礼を通道として. *Shintō shūkyō* 109: 1–35. (Reprinted in *Shinsōsai daijiten* [1997, pp. 323–43], with clearer photographs and illustrations)
- 1986 Shintō sōsai seiritsu kō 神道葬祭成立考. *Shintōgaku* 128: 1–21.

SCHWARTZ, W. L.

- 1913 The Great Shrine of Idzumo. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 61: 493–681.

SHARF, Robert

- 1992 The idolization of enlightenment: On the mummification of Ch'an masters in medieval China. *History of Religions* 32: 1–31.

SMITH, Robert J.

- 1974 *Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

STEELE, John, trans.

- 1917 *The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*. London: Probsthain & Co.

SUTŌ Isao 須藤 功

- 1991 Narimono iri no shin-shiki sōgi 鳴り物入りの神式葬儀. *Sōgi* 1/2: 62–63.
- 1996 *Sōshiki: Anoyo e no minzoku* 葬式—あの世への民俗. Tokyo: Seikyūsha.

SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu 椛山森継

- 1993 Nemoto Tanemaro no sōgi: Kinsei chūyō ni okeru Shintō sōsai-shiki saihen no ichirei to shite 根本胤満の葬儀—近世中葉における神道葬祭式再編の一例として. *Shintō shūkyō* 152: 1–35.

YOSHIDA Kanetomo

- 1992 *Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshū* (Translated by Allan G. Grapard). *Monumenta Nipponica* 47: 138–61.