

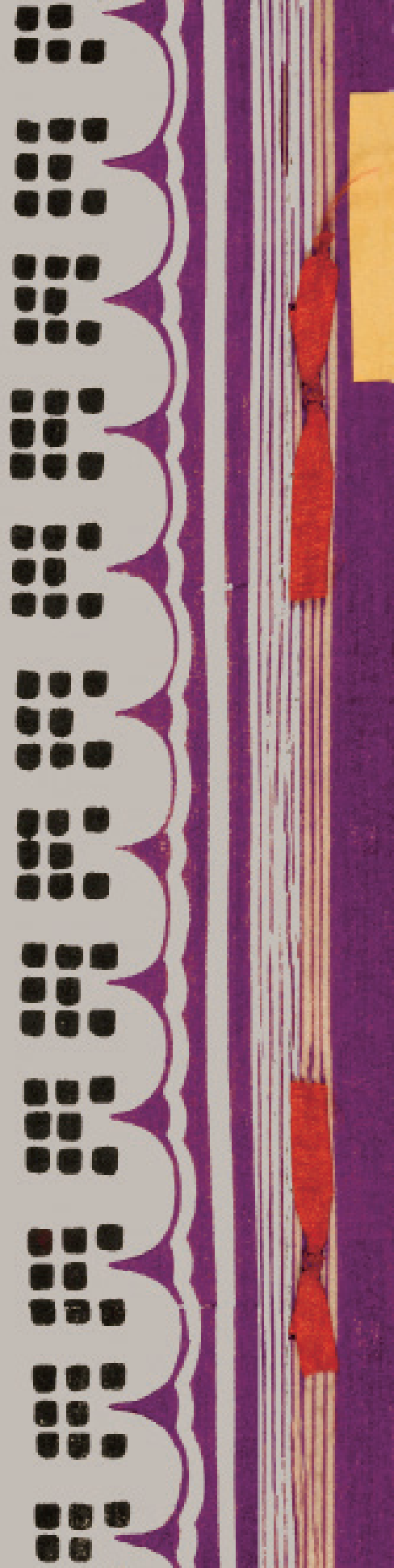
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Editorial Intent

Special Number: “Japanese Culture: Formation, Transformation, and Passing On”

Since its founding, Kokugakuin University has promoted the study of Japanese culture in various fields. These include history, religion, archaeology, and folklore. However, this “Japanese culture” is by no means static or fixed. As could be seen in the first KJS issue on “Interrogating the Boundaries of Japanese Culture,” the things included under this category are dynamic, in a constant state of flux—including the “Japanese culture” that has been presented as “traditional.”

This issue contains three articles on the formation, transformation, and passing down of Japanese culture. While focusing on different types of cases (historical documents, oral literature, and folk customs), they all look at culture as a dynamic process.

By comparatively examining historical documents like diaries and procedural manuals for deity rites, Suzuki’s paper traces how from the late eleventh century onward, shrines’ annual events took shape as imperial court events started to be regularly held at them. Itō’s paper, dealing mainly with stories of being bewitched by foxes and other animals from Fukushima Prefecture, examines the formation and disappearance of tales based on speakers’ interpretations. Finally, Hattori’s paper takes a comprehensive look at the customs of the Bon Festival held in the Nakiri 波切 hamlet in the Daiōchō 大王町 area of Shima 志摩 in Mie, noting the multilayered nature of *yorishiro* 依代 (temporary dwellings of spirits/deities) in various elements—not only umbrella floats (*kasahoko/kasabuku* 傘鉾) but also lanterns, shelves, and memorial tablets—and how they reflect the local view of life and death.

These papers trace how Japanese culture exists at ostensibly separate sites, such as shrines, temples, individuals, and communities. However, from a bird’s-eye view, one can see that today its formation, transformation, and passing on at multiple sites come together in multilayered, intertwined ways. The KJS Editorial Committee hopes that further similar examinations of such individual sites of culture will in the future develop into a more comprehensive elucidation of Japanese culture.

KJS Editorial Committee

The Background to the Formation of Shinto Shrines' Annual Events: Seasonal Celebration Rites

SUZUKI SATOKO

Keywords: shrine annual events (*jinja nenchū gyōji* 神社年中行事), twenty-two shrines (*nijūnisha* 二十二社), seasonal celebration rites (*setsujitsu shinji* 節日神事), similarity to imperial palace seasonal celebration banquets (*kyūchū sechie* 宮中節会), “vow” rites (*gogan saishi* 「御願」祭祀)

Author's Statement

Comparatively examining annual shrine events at the top-ranked shrines in the set of twenty-two shrines closely associated with the imperial court, we find that from the latter half of the eleventh century onwards, regular shrine events held in a similar manner to events at the imperial palace began to appear. In this paper, I examined this phenomenon in light of the historical background of the time.

Introduction

When and under what circumstances did the rites/events¹ held at Shinto shrines become annual ones (*nenchū gyōji* 年中行事)? What actors brought this about? Although there is scholarship on specific shrines and specific events, we do not have clear answers to these questions based on macroscopic comparative studies of shrines' annual events. This is due in part to comprehensive surveys being extremely difficult: there are many shrines throughout Japan, each with a different historical background, and, above all, a limited number of historical documents available for exploring such annual events.

* This article is a translation of Suzuki Satoko 鈴木聡子, “Jinja nenchū gyōji no keisei haikai: Setsujitsu shinji o chūshin ni” 神社年中行事の形成背景—節日神事を中心に—, *Kokugakuin zasshi* 國學院雜誌 122 (10) (2021), pp. 1–15. Translated by Dylan Luers Toda.

¹ *shinji* 神事 / *saishi* 祭祀 and *gyōji* 行事, respectively.

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Historical materials related to annual events at shrines began to appear in the Heian 平安 period (794–1185). A relatively large number from the middle ages (ca. late eleventh to sixteenth centuries) are related to the twenty-two shrines (*nijūnisha* 二十二社) closely associated with the imperial court and the primary state-sponsored shrines (*ichinomiya* 一宮) in each province that were involved with provincial headquarters (*kokuga* 国衙).² This paper focuses on the higher ranked of that set of twenty-two shrines (including Iwashimizusha 石清水社, Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja 賀茂別雷神社, and Kasugasha 春日社). These shrines were highly revered by emperors/empresses—they were sites of special rites (*rinjisai* 臨時祭), imperial visits (*gyōkō* 行幸), and so on—and share certain similarities in that they were located near the capital. By comparing aspects of their annual events from the Heian Period to the middle ages, I aim to clarify part of the background to the creation of shrines' annual events.

1. Shrines' Annual Events: Makeup and Issues

Medieval shrine annual events that appear in historical sources³ mainly consist of rites related to the shrines' origins and histories, joint rites for tutelary clan deities (*ujigami* 氏神), seasonal celebration (*setsujitsu* 節日) rites, rites related to agriculture, and Buddhist services (see **Appendix Table “List of Major Annual Shrine Events”**).⁴

Originally, in ancient times regular rites at shrines were centered on those for clan tutelary deities and were occasions that collectively affirmed clan members' status as such. When elucidating the changes in the national rites system from ancient times to the middle ages, Okada Shōji 岡田莊司 notes that from around the beginning of the Heian period, a rites system of a different character from that of this traditional *ritsuryō* 律令 one took shape.⁵ Okada shows in detail how beginning at the time of the Shōtoku 稱徳 dynasty's Kasuga Sai 春日祭 and into the Heian period, regular shrine rites dedicated to specific deities were positioned as official rituals (*ōyake matsuri* 公祭) that involve

² Suzuki, “Jinja nenchū gyōji kenkyū no genjō to sono igi ni tsuite.”

³ The following is a list of the shrine annual event-related historical documents that I used.

- Iwashimizusha: Kishō, *Miyadera narabi Gokurakuji kōrei butsushinji sōshidai* 宮寺并極楽寺恒例仏神事惣次第. Hōin Kishō 法印輝清 was the shrine's superintendent (*bettō* 別当).
- Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja: Kamo, *Kamo Wakeizuchi Jinja kagen nenchū gyōji*. Written by the head Shinto priest Kamo no Tsunehisa 賀茂経久 around the Kagen 嘉元 years (1303–1306). This is the oldest historical record of the annual events of this shrine.
- Kasugasha: Nakatomi, *Antei 3 nen shōi kangī gan nen kōrei rinji goshinji nikki*. Written in Antei 安貞 3 (1229) by Nakatomi no Sukesada 中臣祐定, a priest from the imperial family. I supplemented the descriptions of the sumo, as well as court dance and its music, held on the ninth day of the ninth month, with the Kenji 建治 1 (1275) *Nakatomi no Sukekata ki*.
- Matsunōsha: *Matsunō nenchū shinji shidai*. Written in Eiwa 永和 2 (1376).

⁴ Suzuki, “Jinja nenchū gyōji ni okeru kisoteki kōsatsu.”

⁵ Okada, “Heian zenki: Jinja saishi no kōsai-ka.”

the state's inner court organs and the monarch's closest advisors. Examples include the Shōtoku 称徳 dynasty's Kasuga Sai 春日祭, and then, into the Heian period, the Kamo Sai 賀茂祭, Matsunō Sai 松尾祭, and Iwashimizu Hōjōe 石清水放生会. These were dedicated to deities such as the clan deities of the monarch's maternal grandparents and the deities that protected the imperial capital (*ōjō chingo* 王城鎮護).

Buddhist services, on the other hand, have been studied mainly by Uejima Susumu 上島亨⁶ and Sagai Tatsuru 嵯峨井建,⁷ who contrast the nature of ancient shrines and medieval shrines, asserting that the performance of such services on shrine grounds is a characteristic of the latter. Ueshima focuses on the eleventh to early twelfth centuries as the formative period of medieval society, when social structure changes led to the establishment of a new religious order. He argues that a new kami of heaven and earth (*jingi* 神祇) order and a novel form of the amalgamation of Shinto and Buddhism developed, the former prompted by the Jōhei 承平 and Tennyō 天慶 uprisings and the latter a result of the holding, from the eleventh century onward, of special Buddhist rites at the aforementioned twenty-one shrines (established at the end of the tenth century and possessing close ties to the monarch). Also, both Uejima and Sagai make clear how in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, shrine organizations consisting of Shinto priests and Shinto shrine-Buddhist monks (*shasō* 社僧) were formed, Buddhist services became regular events, and Buddhist facilities (such as sutra reading rooms, sutra repositories, and stupas) were established within shrine precincts. Importantly, current and former imperial throne-holders, as well as the regent houses (*sekkanke* 摂関家), pushed this Shinto-Buddhist amalgamation.

On the other hand, as I noted above, there has been little progress in comparative research on the regular Shinto rites that make up shrines' annual events. One of the few examples is that of Ihara Kesao 井原今朝男. He points out that in the middle ages, events the same in content were held on the same day in each level of society—from the monarch to the aristocracy, warriors, and peasants—and that they functioned as rituals for unifying the people.⁸ Touching on shrine rites for seasonal celebrations (which he calls as the “five seasonal celebrations” or *gosekku* 五節供), Ihara examines rites as events that reaffirm the social community order in local areas, transcending the relationship of domination/subjugation between lord and peasant. He does so based on historical documents related to annual events at the estate-protecting shrines (*shōen chinjusha* 莊園鎮守社) and village temples/shrines to which peasants belonged in primarily rural areas. Ihara positions shrines such as those covered in this paper as examples of power-center

⁶ Uejima, “Chūsei shūkyō shihai chitsujo no keisei.”

⁷ Sagai, *Shinbutsu shūgō no rekishi to girei kūkan*.

⁸ Ihara, “Chūsei no gosekku to tennōsei.”

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temples/shrines (*kenmon jisha* 権門寺社) that had a relationship with the monarch and aristocracy, distinguishing them from the peasant class. He points out, “Monarchs were able to receive authority as ritual rulers (*gireiō* 儀礼王) precisely because their rituals existed on top of this people-unifying system” in which seasonal celebration rites were performed at each level of society.

However, Ihara only discusses annual events held on the same days in terms of their social unification function, thus obscuring the historical background of their formation and the dynamic relationship between Shinto rites and society.

Another problem remains: the essential part of this formation process remains unclear, namely, why was it necessary to make these rites regular occurrences at shrines?

The **Appendix Table** shows that seasonal celebration rites account for a large percentage of annual shrine events. And, notably, as I will show in Section 2, we can find cases of them being performed in a manner similar to seasonal celebration banquets (*sechie* 節会) at the imperial palace.

Also, importance was attached to particular annual rites at shrines. For example, the ninth day of the ninth month seasonal celebration rite at Matsunōsha 松尾社 is described as “this shrine’s primary major Shinto rite” in the *Tōji hyakugō monjo* 東寺百合文書 (The 100 boxes of manuscripts of Tōji) *kansenji* 官宣旨 draft edict from the sixth day of the ninth month of Karoku 嘉祿 3 (1227). Through the shrines covered in this paper, I want to further examine why seasonal celebration rites took shape as annual shrine events.

2. The Makeup and Characteristics of Seasonal Celebration Rites Offerings and Seasonal Celebration Rites

Originally, *setsujitsu*, translated here as “seasonal celebrations,” were days on which state events were held. The seasonal celebrations entry in the *Zōryō* 雜令 (Laws on miscellaneous matters) states, “The first, seventh, and sixteenth days of the first month; the third day of the third month, the fifth day of the fifth month, and the *daijō* 大嘗 day of the eleventh month are all *setsujitsu*.” The *Dairishiki* 内裏式 (Ceremonies of the residential palace), a book of ceremonies commissioned by Emperor Saga 嵯峨 in Kōnin 弘仁 12 (821), listed ceremonies on basically the same days: the first day, seventh day, sixteenth day, and first “day of the rabbit” day of the first month (*ganjōe* 元正会, *nanoka eshiki* 七日会式, *Jūroku nichi tōkashiki* 十六日踏歌式, *kamino unohi uzue o kenzu no shiki* 上卯日献御杖式), the fifth day of the fifth month (*kan umayumi shiki* 觀馬射式), the seventh day of the seventh month (*sumōshiki* 相撲式), the ninth day of the ninth month (*kikuka no eshiki* 菊花宴式), the *shinjōeshiki* 新嘗会式 in the twelfth month, and so on. Primarily during the early Heian period, imperial court rituals were developed, and the monarch would go to the Burakuin 豊樂院, Shishinden 紫宸殿, Butokuden 武徳殿, and

other venues at the turn of the seasons to hold imperial banquets called *sechie*. These banquets were held annually, bringing together the monarch and government officials on days of seasonal celebration. Importance was attached to them in ancient times as rituals connecting these two parties.⁹

The **Appendix Table** shows that on days of seasonal celebration, rites were also held at shrines (primarily the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the first month, third day of the third month, fifth day of the fifth month, seventh day of the seventh month, and ninth day of the ninth month).

There are two components of the rites performed on these seasonal celebration days. First, their core: the practice of offering seasonal plants and food to deities.

I will use the case of Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja to describe the ritual procedures involved. The following is a summary of the rituals performed on the first day of the first month, third day of the third month, fifth day of the fifth month, and seventh day of the seventh month based on a text that describes the annual events at this shrine during the Kagen 嘉元 years (1303–1306):¹⁰

- The *hōri* 祝 priest unlocks and opens the sanctuary door.
- The *shamu* 社務 [i.e., *kannushi* 神主] priest enters the sanctuary and is in charge of presenting the offerings, but until the offerings are handed over to the *shamu*, both the *negi* 禰宜 priest and the *hōri* priest share the responsibility of presenting the offerings.
- The *shamu* prays in the prayer hall.
- Removing the offerings, the *hōri* locks and closes the door.
- After the rite in front of the deity, the venue changes from the sanctuary to a new location for the priests' *naorai* 直会 (post-ritual gathering)/*kyōzen* 饗膳 (meal).

The main elements of these ritual procedures are the priests coming together to (1) make seasonal celebration offerings before the deity, (2) pray, and (3) hold a *naorai* meal in a different location following the ritual in front of the deity. As can be seen in the **Appendix Table**, these same seasonal celebration ritual procedures can be found at Iwashimizusha, Matsunōsha, and Kagusasha.¹¹

⁹ Yamanaka, *Heian-chō no nenchū gyōji*; Furuse, “Ritsuryō kokka kenryoku no henshitsu to girei”; Obinata, *Kodai kokka to nenchū gyōji*.

¹⁰ Kamo, *Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja kagen nenchū gyōji*.

¹¹ The same structure appears in, for example, the New Year's day entry in Iwashimizu's *Miyadera narabi gokurakuji kōrei butsubinji sōbidai*, as well as and the fifth day of the fifth month entry in Matsunōsha's *Matsunōsha nenchū shinji shidai*. Also, although *naorai kyōzen* at Kasugasha cannot be found in sources from the middle ages and early modern period, the other constitutive elements of that shrine's rites adopt basically the same structure.

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By repeating these procedures on days of seasonal celebration, these rites probably served to reaffirm the clerical organization, role divisions, and hierarchy, as well as strengthen and create the clerical order.¹²

As for the origin of presenting offerings on seasonal celebration days, at least in the case of Kasugasha this practice dates back to Kōwa 康和 3 (1103).¹³ It was probably started by Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実, the clan head of the regent houses at the time. At Kasugasha, the clan shrine of the Fujiwara clan, the clan's head had the authority to create shrine rites and was involved basically in the creation of all the shrine's annual events.¹⁴

As for Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja's seasonal celebration rites, we can assume that they were started by the Shinto clergy in the late eleventh to twelfth century, when the clergy was organized and, due to the shrine's land domain taking shape, its economic foundation stabilized; clerical organization hierarchy and rites' content were deeply connected.¹⁵

Similarities with Imperial Palace Seasonal Celebration Banquets

The second notable aspect of seasonal celebration rites at shrines is their similarity to the seasonal celebration banquets held at the imperial court in the early Heian period. Although not practiced at all shrines, the **Appendix Table** shows that in front of sanctuaries the white horse exhibition (*aouma* 白馬) was held on the seventh day of first month, circle dancing (*tōka/ararebashiri* 踏歌) on the fifteenth day of the first month, horse archery (*kisha/umayumi* 騎射)/horse racing (*kurabeuma* 競馬) on the fifth day of the fifth month, and sumo on the ninth day of the ninth month.

The horse archery/horse racing rite at Iwashimizusha on the fifth day of the fifth month included roles that originated in the imperial court seasonal celebration banquet held on the same day. They were performed by people affiliated with the shrine, including priests. In other words, the shrine side performed roles that imitated those of the banquet. In this and other ways, the shrine constructed a pseudo-correspondence with the banquet of the same day.¹⁶ The earliest example of this is from the fifth day of the fifth month of Daiji 大治 2 (1127), when a person affiliated with the superintendent (*bettō* 別当) of Iwashimizusha played such a role.¹⁷ This suggests that at least by this time, the rites on

¹² Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji ni okeru kisoteki kōsatsu."

¹³ In the *Ranshōki* 濫觴記 (Filling a wine goblet record), compiled in Kanbun 寛文 3 (1663) by shrine family member Imanishi Sukeyuki 今西祐舎 and others, we find, "The seasonal offerings to the kami began. On the ninth day of the ninth month of the third year of the late Emperor Horikawa's 堀河 rule—the seventy-third human emperor/empress— . . . they began and were carried out."

¹⁴ Suzuki, "Chūsei Kasugasha nenchū gyōji no seiritsu katei to Fujiwara sekkanke."

¹⁵ Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji no keisei to igi."

¹⁶ Suzuki, "Kokka sechie kara jinja nenchū gyōji e."

¹⁷ The earliest example is someone playing the role of imitation lesser general (*shōshōdai* 少将代) in the horse archery rite found in the miscellaneous section ("Zōrei" 雜例) of *Miyadera gogatsu itsuka no shinji kurabeuma yabusame no koto* 宮寺五月五日神事競馬流觴馬事 (Shrines and temples: The fifth day of the fifth month rite horse racing and horse

this day had become regular shrine events.

Also, looking at the white horse exhibition, horse race, and sumo rites of Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja that appear in *Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja kagen nenchū gyōji* 賀茂別雷神社嘉元年中行事 (Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja annual events of the Kagen years),¹⁸ while the procedures are similar to those of imperial palace seasonal celebration banquets, the rites are performed mainly by priests and do not directly involve the imperial court. Although the exact time is unknown, the shrine's fifth day of the fifth month rites appear to have been created by priests as they established a self-sustaining economic foundation with manors donated from the late eleventh century onward.¹⁹

The Kasugasha family's diary states that sumo, as well as court dance and its music (*bugaku* 舞樂), were held on the ninth day of the ninth month.²⁰ According to the entry from the first day of the ninth month of Bun'ei 文永 9 (1272) in *Nakatomi no Sukekata ki* 中臣祐賢記 (Nakatomi Sukekata journal),²¹ the priests carefully consulted with each other regarding the form of the rites to be held on the ninth day, as they would be held in during the morning period following the death of Emperor Go-saga 後嵯峨. Searching for precedents when doing so, they considered the rites from the ninth day of the ninth year of Eiman 永万 1 (1165) and Tenpuku 天福 2 (1234), the years of the deaths of Emperor Nijō 二条 and Go-Horikawa 後堀河, respectively. Therefore, these ninth day of the ninth month rites were already being held at least as far back as Eiman 1.²²

In this way, we can see a trend toward rites similar to the imperial palace seasonal celebration banquets from the late eleventh century/twelfth century onward and also catch a glimpse of how the rites themselves were performed with the imperial palace (the monarch) in mind.

3. The Background to the Formation of Seasonal Celebration Rites

Why, then, was there a tendency for shrine rites similar to imperial banquet elements to form around the late eleventh century and twelfth century? When considering the

archery): "The case of the superintendent disciple serving as the imitation lesser general. In addition to performing work like that of the lesser general, also did the work of deputy official (*daikan* 代官). The fifth day of the fifth month of Daiji 2, the thirty-first year in the sexagenary cycle, Itowaka's 糸與若 younger brother Gorō 五郎, a disciple of Hōin Kōshō 法印光清."

This imitation lesser general is probably meant to be the imperial bodyguard lesser general (*konoe shōshō* 近衛少将), who was the archer at the imperial palace seasonal celebration banquet on the fifth day of the fifth month.

¹⁸ The seventh day of the first month, first day of the fifth month, fifth day of the fifth month, and eighth and ninth days of the ninth month entries in Kamo, *Kamo Wakeizuchi Jinja kagen nenchū gyōji*.

¹⁹ Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji no keisei to igi"; Suzuki, "Kokka sechie kara jinja nenchū gyōji e."

²⁰ For example, the ninth day of the ninth month of Bun'ei 2 (1265) entry and the ninth day of the ninth month of Kenji 1 (1275) entries in *Nakatomi no Sukekata ki*.

²¹ Nakatomi no Sukekata, *Bun'ei 9 nen Nakatomi no Sukekata ki*, pp. 127–128.

²² Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji no seiritsu katei to kyūchū gyōji ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Sumō gyōji o jirei to shite."

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background of their formation, I also want to look at other annual events that began at the same time as the seasonal celebration rites.

Imperial Death Anniversaries (Iwashimizusha)

The *Miyadera narabi Gokurakuji kōrei butsuminji sōshidai* 宮寺并極樂寺恒例仏神事惣次第 (All procedures of shrines, temples, and Gokurakuji's regular Buddhist and Shinto rites) divides annual events into three categories: "ten imperial seasonal celebration events," "four imperial death anniversaries (*mikokki* 御国忌)," and "ten other seasonal celebration events."²³ The "four imperial death anniversaries" are the death dates of the shrine's enshrined deities that had been turned into annual events. These deities were Hime Ōkami 比咩大神 (the twenty-third day of the first month), Emperor Chūai 仲哀 (the sixth day of the second month), Emperor Ōjin 応神 (the fifteenth day of the second month), and Empress Jingū 神功 (the seventeenth day of the fourth month). According to the *Nenjū yōshō* 年中用抄 (Notes on annual activities), the death anniversaries of Himeko Daijin, Emperor Chūai, and Emperor Ōjin were established during the time of the twentieth Iwashimizusha superintendent Kiyonari 清成, and that of Empress Jingū in Enkyū 延久 3 (1071) during the time of the twenty-first superintendent Kiyohide 清秀. Both of these superintendents were in their positions in the mid-to-late eleventh century.²⁴

Mikokki, translated here as "imperial death anniversaries," are national days of mourning on the days of the death of imperial ancestors, former monarchs, empress dowagers, and so on. The first time one was observed was the ninth day of the ninth month of the first year of Emperor Jitō's 持統 reign (687), a year after the death of Emperor Tenmu 天武.²⁵ Ever since then, on the day of his passing, memorial death anniversary services were held. In addition, in Taihō 大宝 2 (702), it was decreed that the monarch would not carry out their duties on the death anniversaries of Emperor Tenmu and Emperor Tenchi 天智,²⁶ and an imperial death anniversary regime would take shape at the imperial court.

At first glance, the imperial death anniversaries at Iwashimizusha appear to have originated from such imperial court events. However, memorial days for the death anniversaries of emperors/empresses preceding Emperor Tenchi were not in place at the

²³ Kishō, *Miyadera narabi Gokurakuji kōrei butsuminji sōshidai*, p. 3.

²⁴ According to *Iwashimizusha kōnendaiki*, on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month of Kōhei 康平 5 (1062), Kiyonari handed over the position of superintendent to Kiyohide and became law and construction supervisor (*kengyō* 檢校).

²⁵ Entry for the ninth day of the ninth month of the ninth year of Empress Jitō's reign in *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀.

²⁶ Entry for the second day of the twelfth month of Taihō 2 in *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (Chronicles of Japan, continued).

state level, which means that Iwashimizusha created those on its own. Yokoi Yasuhito 横井靖仁 argues that by marking imperial death anniversaries, the shrine intended to combine its enshrined deities and the imperial ancestral spirits, and that these events' combination of penance and lectures on national protection scriptures strengthened the character of its deities as guardian of the nation.²⁷

In the mid-to-late eleventh century, Iwashimizusha established its own death anniversary ceremonies for its enshrined deities modeled after the imperial court's imperial death anniversaries and made them annual events.

Trimonthly Offering Rites (Kasugasha)

Next, let us turn to Kasugasha's trimonthly offering rites (*shun no gokū* 旬御供). As shown in the **Appendix Table**, the *Antei 3 nen shoi kangi gan nen kōrei rinji goshinji nikki* 安貞三年所謂寛喜元年恒例臨時御神事日記 (Antei 安貞 3/Kangi 寛喜 1 regular and special rites for deities) describes how such rites were held on the first, eleventh, and twenty-first days of every month.²⁸

According to the *Nakatomi no Sukekata Kasuga onsha engi chūshinmon* 中臣祐賢春日御社縁起注進文 (Report on the origin and history of Kasugasha by Nakatomi no Sukekata), which was written by the Shinto priest from the imperial family Nakatomi no Sukekata in Bun'ei 文永 12 (1275), in Hōan 保安 2 (1121), "His Imperial Highness the Regent [Fujiwara-no-Tadamichi 藤原忠通] began to make offerings in each third of the month." Albeit a historical document written by a Shinto priest in the early modern period, according to *Ranshōki* 濫觴記 (Filling a wine goblet record), this began in Hōan 2, when Fujiwara-no-Tadamichi was the Fujiwara clan head, due to the wishes of his father Tadazane 忠実. Arai Kiyoshi 荒井清志,²⁹ noting that the first instance of such rites (on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of Hōan 2) was performed by the Jingikan 神祇官 (Department of divinities) official "Kanayadono" 金屋殿,³⁰ argues that the fact that these rites were at first performed by a Jingikan official despite being held only at one shrine (Kasugasha) suggests two things. First, the official was dispatched to ensure that

²⁷ Yokoi, "Iwashimizu Hachimangū to chūsei shoki no ōken."

²⁸ Nakatomi, *Antei 3 nen shoi kangi gan nen kōrei rinji goshinji nikki*, pp. 116–134. In the Kenkyū 建久 4 (1193) *Nakatomi no Sukeaki ki* 中臣祐明記 (Nakatomi Sukeaki journal), they are called *shun-no-gokū* 旬御供.

²⁹ Arai, "Kasugasha no shun-no-gokū (shunsai) nitsuite."

³⁰ In the third month of Bun'ei 10 (1273) "Nangō jinnin tō jūchinjō" 南郷神人等重陳状 (Nangō shrine associate[s] defense statement) quoted in the first day of the fifth month of Bun'ei 10 entry in *Nakatomi no Sukekata ki*, we find: "Specifically, the *gogan* of Chisokuin-dono 知足院殿, the twenty-first day of the ninth month of Hōan 2," and "The government officials serving Kanayadono each were clothed in ritual attire and they presented to the shrine altar *gobei* 御幣 (sacred paper strips), *sanmai* 散米 (rice for scattering before deities), and so on." In other words, it was started due to the wish of Fujiwara no Tadazane (Chisokuin-dono), and on this day a government official performed the rite. Arai notes that this official is from the Jingikan (Arai, "Kasugasha no shun-no-gokū (shunsai) nitsuite," p. 269.)

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the trimonthly offering rites performed at the Jingikan would be adopted by Kasugasha. Second, the ritual implements only used for trimonthly offering rites (eight-legged table, altar cloth [*uchishiki* 打敷], and circular tray) were brought from the imperial palace at this time.³¹

While Kasugasha's trimonthly offering rites were adopted from the imperial court in the early twelfth century and therefore have direct ties to it, they were initiated by not the court but the shrine-side Fujiwara clan head.

The above is a brief review of the imperial death anniversaries of Iwashimizusha and the trimonthly offering rites of Kasuga Shrine, both of which were established as annual events from the mid/late eleventh century into the twelfth century. We can see that all of these events were created at the behest of the shrines, imitating events of the imperial palace.

Shinto Shrines' Views of Annual Events and the Historical Background

What is the background to the formation of events at shrines with content similar to those held at the imperial palace?

Looking at the historical backgrounds of the shrines covered in this study, we can see that this was deeply related to the gradual shift, in the Heian period and later, from the *ritsuryō* rites system to new state rites (the Heian rite system). This shift was based on both the monarch's religious beliefs regarding specific shrines as well as the shrines' relationships with the inner court. This Heian rite system was characterized by official rituals (*ōyake matsuri*), offerings to eminent deities (*myōjin hōbei* 名神奉幣), the sixteen/twenty-two shrine system, and the regularization of shrines' special rites.

Particularly noteworthy is that in the Heian rite system, *gogan* 御願 (“wish”) rites based on the monarch's own volition appeared. In these rites, which were carried out with the most respectful etiquette, the monarch went with imperial court rites envoys (*saishi* 祭使) to a place near the shrine buildings, and then the envoys went to convey the wish of the monarch to the deity.³²

The earliest such visit to a shrine by an monarch was that of Emperor Suzaku 朱雀 in the fourth month of Tenryō 5 (942), two days after Iwashimizu's special rite that was performed as a celebration of the pacification of the Jōhei and Tenryō uprisings.³³ In Tengen 天元 1 (979), due to the long-held wishes of Emperor En'yū 円融, visits by

³¹ The first day of the first month entry in *Kasugasha nenchū gyōji*, which is apparently copy of an Enpō 延宝 8 (1680) report, describes the procedures for the trimonthly offerings, and mentions these and other implements used only for this rite.

³² Okada, “Jinja gyōkō no seiritsu.”

³³ Twenty-ninth day of the fourth month of Tenryō 5 entry in *Honchō seiki* 本朝世紀 (Chronicle of imperial reigns).

emperors to Iwashimizusha began on the twenty-seventh day of the third month, on the same day as the Iwashimizu special rites.³⁴ The practice of the monarch visiting ten shrines was established during the reigns of En'yū, Ichijō, and Go-sanjō. Emperor En'yū visited Iwashimizusha, Kamosha, and Hiranosha 平野社; Emperor Ichijō visited those and Kasugasha, Ōharanosha 大原野社, Matsunōsha, and Kitanosha 北野社; and Ichijō added to this list Hiyoshisha 日吉社, Inarisha 稻荷社, and Gionsha 祇園社. Such visits would become a regular part of the post-accession rituals.³⁵ Shrine visits reached their zenith during the time of Emperor Shirakawa 白川. In Jōhō 承保 3 (1076), it was decided that he would visit Iwashimizusha and Kamosha yearly.³⁶ In addition, after Emperor Shirakawa retired, he established the precedent of freely choosing miraculously efficacious shrines to pray at out of his own religious beliefs. He was not subject to the same restrictions as when he was monarch, and could pay homage directly in front of deities. His main focus was on prayers to protect his personal lineage, including that its members would succeed to the throne.³⁷

Iwashimizusha, Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja, Kasugasha, and others were positioned as the very central shrines for the monarch's and the retired monarch's *gogan* rites, and the latter two shrines in particular were transformed from places for the joint worship of clan deities into shrines that protected an order centered on the (retired) monarch.

When the (retired) monarch would visit, they would donate land to the shrine and add and promote *shashi* 社司 priests, thereby stabilizing the shrine's economic base and influencing the organization of the clergy. This was a major impetus for the birth of shrines with self-reliant structures that were unlike the shrines of previous periods.³⁸

However, from the end of the eleventh century to the twelfth century was a time when the monarch, the retired monarch, and the regent houses advanced the amalgamation of Shinto and Buddhist practices at shrines, which included the performance of Buddhist rituals and the establishment of Buddhist facilities on shrine grounds. It is not surprising that this prompted a sense of awareness among shrines, which were in the process of becoming self-reliant, that they were distinct from Buddhism, and it is probably one of the motivations for the creation of new regular rites.³⁹

These things likely provided the basis for the establishment of events that, oriented

³⁴ Twenty-seventh day of the third month of Tengen 天元 2 entry in *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (Abbreviated history of Japan).

³⁵ Okada, "Jinja gyōkō no seiritsu."

³⁶ Fourth day of the third month of Jōhō 3 entry in *Fusōryakuki* 扶桑略記 (A short history of Japan).

³⁷ Okada, "Jinja gyōkō no seiritsu."

³⁸ See section two "Chūseiteki 'jinja kannushi' no keisei" 中世的「神社神主」の形成 (The formation of medieval shrines and head shrine priests) in Mitsuhashi, "Kannushi."

³⁹ I presented the cases from Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja and Kasugasha in Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji no keisei to igi."

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toward connecting with the imperial palace, actively incorporated rituals and events that had been conducted mainly by the monarch at the palace, such as seasonal banquets, trimonthly offerings, and imperial death anniversaries.

Conclusion

Above, I have compared and discussed the background of the creation of the regular rites/events that comprise the annual events for the top ranking imperial court-associated shrines, albeit in broad outlines.

Focusing mainly on seasonal celebration rites, I observed that rites similar to imperial palace seasonal banquets were created from the late eleventh to the twelfth century, and that although carried out by Shinto priests and other shrine personnel, these rites performatively staged a connection with the imperial palace (monarch). We saw this in the case of Iwashimizusha, where rite roles derived from the imperial court seasonal banquets were put in place. Also, it is clear from the contemporaneously-created imperial death anniversaries of Iwashimizusha and trimonthly offerings of Kasugasha that this was not only the case for seasonal celebration rites.

In other words, the new annual shrine events that emerged during this period were created mainly by individual shrines, but they took shape in imitation of imperial palace events.

In the background to shrines taking the lead in creating these annual events was the strengthening of shrines' structures (thanks to the establishment of economic bases and the organizing of the priesthood) as well as shrines' growing awareness of themselves as kami rite-performing shrines that (retired) monarchs and regent houses' had syncretized.

The most important factor behind the decision to adopt imperial palace events as models was the exceptional reverence for shrines, in the form of (retired) monarch visits, that developed during this period. In other words, it appears that as the divine authority of shrines as guardians of a (retired) monarch-centered order grew—with shrines becoming the recipients of the (retired) monarch's wishes (*gogan*) and direct links between the imperial court and these shrines appearing—the forms of imperial palace events were actively incorporated into new events at shrines.

(Translated by Dylan Luers Toda)

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Appendix Table. List of Major Annual Shrine Events

	Kamo Wakeikazuchi jinja 賀茂別雷神社	Iwashimizu sha 石清水社	Matsunō sha 松尾社	Kasuga sha 春日社
First day of the first month 1・1	mitobiraki no goshinji (mitobiraki, byakusan) 御とびらきの御神事 (御戸開き・白散)	chōhai, osechi 朝拝・御節	mitobiraki 御戸開	gosekku [First to eighth days], goshinji (shun no goku) 御節供 [1日～8日]・ 御神事 (旬御供)
First to seventh days of the first month 1・1～7		shūshō 修正		
Second day of the first month 1・2		osechi 御節	okowamono, nikku kyōshin 御こわ物・日供供進	
Third day of the first month 1・3		osechi 御節	okowamono, nikku kyōshin 御こわ物・日供供進	
Seventh day of the first month 1・7	nanoka no goshinji (aouma) 七日御神事 (白馬)	osechi (nanakusa wakana sonaematsuru) 御節 (七種若菜奉備)	okowamono nikku tatematsuru, aouma 御こわ物日供奉・白馬	
Eleventh day of the first month 1・11				goshinji 御神事
Fourteenth day of the first month 1・14	ontana goshinji 御棚御神事			
Fifteenth day of the first month 1・15	kayuzue goshinji 粥杖御神事	osechi (okayu sonaematsuru), tōka 御節 (御粥奉備)・踏歌	okowamono, okayu kyōshin 御こわもの・御粥供進	onsekku 御節供
Sixteenth day of the first month 1・16	busha no yumi no goshinji ふしやのゆみの御神事			
Nineteenth day of the first month 1・19		shingyōe 心経会		
Twenty-first day of the first month 1・21				goshinji, shatō issaikyō tendoku 御神事・社頭一切経転読
Twenty-third day of the first month 1・23		nishigozen himeōkami mikoki 西御前比咩大神御国忌		
First day of the rabbit of the first month 1・初卯	uzue no goshinji 卯杖の御神事			
A day of the rat in the first month 1・子	nentō no goshinji ねんどうの御神事			
Last day of the first month 1・晦日			shingyōe 心経会	
First day of the second month 2・1			gosettō shinji 御石塔神事	goshinji 御神事
Sixth day of the second month 2・6		Chūai tennō mikoki 仲哀天皇御国忌		
A day of the monkey in the second month 2・申				kōrei niki gyoasai 恒例二季御祭
Eleventh day of the second month 2・11				goshinji 御神事
Fifteenth day of the second month 2・15		Ōjin tennō mikoki 応神天皇御国忌	tōka okashi ku 踏歌御菓子供	
Twenty-first day of the second month 2・21				goshinji 御神事
First day of the rooster in the second month 2・初酉			kinen shinji 祈年神事	
A day of the rabbit in the second month 2・卯		okagura shinji 御神楽神事		
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the second month 2・吉日	toke no omatsuri とけ (土解) の御まつり			
First day of the third month 3・1				goshinji 御神事

	Kamo Wakeikazuchi jinja 賀茂別雷神社	Iwashimizu sha 石清水社	Matsunō sha 松尾社	Kasuga sha 春日社
Second day of the third month 3・2			yayoi no mikka goshinji (shōnegi chōshin gokū) 三月三日御神事 (正禰宣調進御供)	
Third day of the third month 3・3	yayoi no mikka goshinji (matsu mochii, kusa mochii, tōka) 三月三日御神事 (松もちゐ・草もちゐ・ 桃花)	osechi (kutōka, shu ninnōkō) 御節 (供桃花・修仁王講)	yayoi no mikka goshinji (shōhōri chōshin gokū) 三月三日御神事 (正祝調進御供)	onsekku 御節供
Eleventh day of the third month 3・11				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-first day of the third month 3・21				goshinji 御神事
Second day of the rabbit in the third month 3・第2卯			mikoshi mukae shinji 御輿迎神事	
Second ox day in the third month 3・中午		rinji sai 臨時祭		
Last day of the third month 3・晦日		sotobae 卒塔婆会		
First day of the fourth month 4・1	kibune no goshinji きぶねの御神事	kōi no osechi 更衣御節		goshinji 御神事
Third day of the fourth month 4・3		osechi 御節		
Eighth day of the fourth month 4・8		kanbutsu, osechi 灌仏・御節		
Ninth day of the fourth month 4・9				kōrei niki okagura 恒例二季御神楽
Ninth to thirteenth days day of the fourth month 4・9-13				kōrei niki gohakkō 恒例二季御八講
Eleventh day of the fourth month 4・11				goshinji 御神事
Seventeenth day of the fourth month 4・17		Jingūkōgō mikoki 神功皇后御国忌		
Twenty-first day of the fourth month 4・21				goshinji 御神事
First sheep day of the fourth month 4・初未			uzuki no sairei goshinji 四月祭礼御神事	
First rat day of the fourth month 4・初申			uzuki no sairei goshinji 四月祭礼御神事	
First rooster day of the fourth month 4・初酉			uzuki no sairei goshinji 四月祭礼御神事	
Second ox day in the fourth month 4・中午	gosai (gokei), miare no shidai 御祭 (御禊)・みあれの 次第			
Second rooster day in the fourth month 4・中西	omatsuri 御まつり			
Second dog day in the fourth month 4・中戌	kaeri asobi かえりあそび			
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the fourth month 4・吉日	ue no omatsuri うゑの御まつり			
First day of the fifth month 5・1	oumaban no goshinji 御馬番の御神事			goshinji 御神事
Fourth day of the fifth month 5・4	shōbu no goshinji 菖蒲の御神事		shōbu no shinji (shōnegi chōshin gokū) 菖蒲神事 (正禰宣調進御供)	
Fifth day of the fifth month 5・5	itsuka no goshinji (shōbu gushin, kurabeuma) 五日御神事 (菖蒲供進・競馬)	osechi (shōbu kyōshin, umayumi, kurabeuma) 御節 (菖蒲供進・騎射・競馬)	shōbu no shinji (shōhōri chōshin gokū) 菖蒲神事 (正祝調進御供)	onsekku 御節供

Suzuki: The Background to the Formation of Shinto Shrines' Annual Events

	Kamo Wakeikazuchi jinja 賀茂別雷神社	Iwashimizu sha 石清水社	Matsunō sha 松尾社	Kasuga sha 春日社
Eleventh day of the fifth month 5・11				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-first day of the fifth month 5・21				goshinji 御神事
A day in the fifth month 5月中			kyūri goryō 胡瓜御料	
First day of the sixth month 6・1				goshinji 御神事
Eleventh day of the sixth month 6・11				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-first day of the sixth month 6・21				goshinji, shunki goku bishin 御神事・春季御供備進
Thirtieth day of the sixth month 6・30	minazuki no goshinji みなづき御神事	oharai no osechi 御祓御節		
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the sixth month 6月吉日	mitashiro no shinji (shamu, negi kata) 御手代神事 (社務・禰宜方)		mitashiro no goshinji 御田代御神事	
First day of the seventh month 7・1				goshinji 御神事
Seventh day of the seventh month 7・7	nanoka no goshinji (mugi gushin) 七日の御神事(むぎ供進)	osechi (sakuhei kyōshin) 御節(案餅供進)	nanoka no shinji (mugi sonaematsuru, mushi harai) 七日神事 (むぎ奉備・むしはらい)	onsekku 御節供
Eleventh day of the seventh month 7・11				goshinji 御神事
Fifteenth day of the seventh month 7・15		urabonkō, ango 盂蘭盆講・安居		onsekku 御節供
Twenty-first day of the seventh month 7・21				goshinji 御神事
A day in the seventh month 7月中	mitashiro no shinji (hōri kata) 御手代神事(祝方)		tsukiage shinji [before the fourteenth day] 春上神事 [十四日以前に行う]	
First day of the eighth month 8・1				goshinji 御神事
Eleventh day of the eighth month 8・11				goshinji 御神事
Fifteenth day of the eighth month 8・15		hōjōe 放生会		
Sixteenth day of the eighth month 8・16		mikura osame 御倉納		
Twenty-first day of the eighth month 8・21				goshinji 御神事
First day of the ninth month 9・1			tsuitachi no goshinji 一日御神事	goshinji 御神事
Fourth to eighth days of the ninth month 9・4-8				kōrei niki gohakkō 恒例二季御八講
Eighth day of the ninth month 9・8	uchitori うちとり(内取)		kokonokae shinji (shōnegi chōshin goku) 九日会神事 (正禰宜調進御供)	
Ninth day of the ninth month 9・9	kokonoka kiku no goshinji, sumai jūban 九日きくの御神事・相撲 十番	osechi (kyō kikka) 御節(供菊花)	kokonokae shinji (shōhōri chōshin goku, sumai, mikoshi gyoshutsu) 九日会神事 (正祝調進御供・相撲・ 神輿御出)	onsekku, sumai, bugaku 御節供 相撲・舞楽
Eleventh day of the ninth month 9・11				goshinji 御神事
Sixteenth to seventeenth days of the ninth month 9・16-17				wakamiya onmatsuri 若宮御祭

	Kamo Wakeikazuchi jinja 賀茂別雷神社	Iwashimizu sha 石清水社	Matsunō sha 松尾社	Kasuga sha 春日社
Twenty-first day of the ninth month 9・21				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-fourth day of the ninth month 9・24				kasuga dokkyō 春日読経
Last day of the ninth month 9・晦日		sotobae 卒塔婆会		
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the ninth month 9・吉日			rokusetsu shinji 六節神事	
First day of the tenth month 10・1		kōi no osechi 更衣御節	gosekitō shinji 御石塔神事	goshinji 御神事
Fifth day of the tenth month 10・5			gosekitō shinji 御石塔神事	
Eleventh day of the tenth month 10・11				goshinji 御神事
Sixteenth day of the tenth month 10・16			gyoyu shinji 御油神事	
Twenty-first day of the tenth month 10・21				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-second day of the tenth month 10・22	issaikyōe 一切経会			
First day of the eleventh month 11・1	kibune no goshinji きぶねの御神事			goshinji 御神事
Eighth to ninth days of the eleventh month 11・8-9				kōrei niki no omatsuri 恒例 二季御祭
Eleventh day of the eleventh month 11・11				goshinji 御神事
First rabbit day of the eleventh month 11・上卯		osechi, okagura 御節・御神楽		
Second tiger day of the eleventh month 11・中寅	osōji no goshinji 御さうじ(掃除)の御神事		simotsuki okagura no shinji (shōnegi chōshin goku) 十一月御神楽神事 (正禰宜調進御供)	
Second rabbit day of the eleventh month 11・中卯	sōshōe shinji さうしやう系(相嘗祭) 神事		simotsuki okagura no shinji (shōhōri chōshin goku) 十一月御神楽神事 (正祝調進御供)	
Second dragon day of the eleventh month 11・中辰	naurai no goshinji なうらひ(直会)の御神事		simotsuki okagura no shinji (naurai) 十一月御神楽神事(直会)	
Twenty-first day of the eleventh month 11・21				goshinji 御神事
First day of the twelfth month 12・1				goshinji 御神事
Eleventh day of the twelfth month 12・11				goshinji 御神事
Around twentieth day of the twelfth month 12・20 ごろ	gosanjikkō 御三十講			
Twenty-first day of the twelfth month 12・21				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month 12・29	shōtsugomori goshinji 少つごもり御神事			
Thirtieth day of the twelfth month 12・30	gotō no goshinji 御とうの御神事			
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the twelfth month 12・吉日		rinji goku 臨時御供	gekōshin shinji 御庚申神事	

The Sites of Tales' Births and Deaths: “Disorienting Deity”-type Bewitching Fox Stories¹

ITŌ RYŌHEI

Keywords: the extraordinary (*hi nichijō* 非日常), interpretive devices (*kaishaku sōchi* 解釈装置), spirit foxes (*yōko* 妖狐), tales (*monogatari* 物語)

Author's Statement

In Japan, there is folklore about animals bewitching people. However, an analysis of individual stories reveals that in many cases, an animal does not appear but is simply the speaker's interpretive device. This paper examines the dynamism of tales coming into existence (or dying) depending on the speaker's interpretation.

Introduction: Stories Born from Interpretations

When I was an undergraduate student, I learned the technique “when in trouble, bewitched by a fox (*kitsubaka* 狐化)” from a senior member of Kokugakuin University's Setsuwa Kenkyūkai 説話研究会 (Myths and old tales study group). In other words, if you are unable get someone to talk during fieldwork, try asking, “Is there anyone who has been bewitched by a fox?” The person will respond in some way, and you can use their response to broaden the conversation topic.

I often heard about people being bewitched by foxes, raccoon dogs, and badgers (which I'll collectively refer to as “bewitching fox stories” for convenience). One of the most common stories I heard—so many that it seemed there was no end to them—was of someone walking along a mountain road after dark, being bewitched by one of these animals, and losing their way.

Elsewhere, I have called such tales “disorienting deity” (*madowashigami* 迷ハシ神)-type bewitching fox stories.² The name comes from the words of the protagonist of “The Story of the *Sakan* of Sakyō ‘Kuni-no-toshinobu’ Encountering a Disorienting Deity”

¹ This article is a translation of Itō Ryōhei 伊東龍平, “Monogatari ga umareru ba, shinu ba: ‘Madowashigami-gata’ yōkotan o rei to shite” 物語が生まれる場、死ぬ場—「迷ハシ神型」妖狐譚を例として—, *Nihon bungaku ronkyū* 日本文学論究 81 (2022), pp. 5–14. Translated by Dylan Luers Toda.

² Itō, “‘Madowashigami’-gata kitsubaka-tan no kōsatsu.”

(Sakyō-no-sakan Kuni-no-toshinobu, madowashigami ni au koto 左京属邦利延、值迷神語), the 42nd episode of the twenty-seventh volume of *Konjaku monogatari-shū* 今昔物語集. When he lost his way in Kyoto, a city he was used to, he said, “I’m going round and round in the same place. This must be because a disorienting deity possessed me from around Kujō 九条 and made me walk in the wrong direction.” At the end, a few sentences reflect on the story content: “It is very rare to encounter a disorienting deity. [The deity] tricked³ him into going the wrong way. Was it a fox or something similar?”⁴

Neither a disorienting deity nor a fox appear in this story. As in many of today’s bewitching fox stories, the only fact is that the person has “lost their way,” and a fox appears only in interpretations. People’s brains—those of the person who wander astray, the people who were around that person, and the people who heard that person’s story—try to understand an inexplicable situation. In this process, they see “getting lost” as the result of something and point to a “fox” as the cause, thereby creating a causal relationship. In such cases, the “fox” functions as an interpretive device.⁵

Iijima Yoshiharu 飯島吉晴 states this “fox interpretive device” is used “used to express phenomena that cannot be explained by the logic of this world, or that escape the logic and order of everyday life and do not fit within the classification system of a culture.”⁶ By doing so, the extraordinary is transformed into the ordinary, or into the interpretable extraordinary.

With this point in mind, the sheer number of bewitching fox stories becomes understandable; if the same situation (the experience of wandering astray) is interpreted with the same interpretive device (fox/raccoon dog/badger), it is only natural that the stories will be similar. Even if the stories themselves have not been handed down over generations, similar stories will naturally arise if the interpretive device has been.

A story is born when a fox, raccoon dog, or badger is brought in as an interpretive device and causality arises. In this paper, I want to consider the relationship between interpretive devices and story generation.

³ *kokoro o mo* [missing character] *kashi* 心ヲモ□カシ. The missing character is probably “誑.”

⁴ Mori, *Konjaku monogatari-shū*, pp. 173–174.

⁵ Regarding the word “device” (*sōchi* 装置) in folklore studies, Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦, in a discussion with Seki Kazutoshi 関一敏 and Satō Kenji 佐藤健二, says, “Necessarily, there is an assumed subject who activates this ‘device.’ When confronted with an event, this subject speaks using this device to process the incident, and we obtain a ‘text’ as a result of this speaking. We need to read between the lines to find the subject who is behind the speaking (the text).” Komatsu and Seki, *Atarashii minzokugaku e*, p. 21.

⁶ Iijima, “Kitsune no kyōkaisei,” p. 55. Regarding “disorienting deity”-type bewitching fox stories, see Iijima, “Kitsune no kyōkaisei” and Totsuka, “Seken banashi no ichikōsatsu.”

1. Ueda Akinari's Strange Experience

In the essay collection *Tandai shōshinroku* 胆大小心録 (Bunka 5 [1805]) by Ueda Akinari 上田秋成, we find the below passage. The “elder brother” in the text refers to Nakai Chikuzan 中井竹山, the biological older brother of Nakai Riken 中井履軒 (here and below, interpretations are underlined).

Riken is different from his elder brother and speaks like a person of great ability, but this is also fake. When I talked about an old man being a spirit, he greatly humiliated me: “You’re such an illiterate idiot. There is no such thing as a possession by a spirit fox. Everything said to be fox possession is pathological fastidiousness.”⁷

In the underlined portion, two interpretive devices are used for symptoms that today would be described as a certain type of mental illness. One is fox possession, and the other is *kanshōyami* かん症病み, translated above as “pathological fastidiousness.” Although the essay does not include the details, apparently Akinari adopted the former interpretation, Riken adopted the latter, and Akinari was ultimately defeated in this debate.

After this episode, Akinari wrote the below rebuttal to Riken’s logic. The character Hosoai Hansai 細合半齋 is a Confucianist, and the ill nun is Akinari’s adopted daughter.

Riken said, “A fox never approaches people. In the first place, [people] are not bewitched by them.”

By nature Hosoai Hansai is courteous, and he is polite. The people of the world, actually disdaining this, are the ones who are negligent. He was in Kyoto and was going to go to Nishi Honganji 西本願寺. The following day, he left Sanjō Abura no Kōji 三条油の小路, and had not arrived even after midday had passed. Eventually, the sun set, and he returned home, bewildered. A fox/raccoon dog made even the level-headed [Hosoai Hansai] lose his way.

Also, one day, this old man [i.e., I, Akinari] left my home on the embankment of the Kamo 鴨 [River], and, to go to Jōdoin 浄土院 in front of Ginkakuji 銀閣寺, [chose] a route that went north of the Yoshida 吉田 hill and then east again. The roads are not too narrow. How did I get [all the way] to Shirakawa 白川? I realized, thinking about things, that I had been confused, and I finally came to Jōdoji village in the southeast and spoke with the head priest Tonan 図南 about this matter. The Buddhist priest said, “You must be ill. Please be very careful.” On the way back, I tried again to go north of the Yoshida hill and then west along large roads. I managed to arrive in front of the

⁷ Nakamura, *Ueda Akinari shū*, p. 268.

Hyakumanben 百万べん temple [as I had intended]. Here, I found out: [earlier] a fox had made me lose the way. However, not frustrated, in the afternoon I returned home.

Also, one day I was going to visit the deity of Kitano 北野. The following day, I went to the shrine, and when I was going to head east [to return home], spring rain started coming down a little bit. This old man's legs were weak, and I was again troubled by darkness in my eyes. I mourned Ōga Iga 大賀伊賀 and ate lunch. The rain was coming down harder and faster, so I could not stick my head out. When I said, "I guess I'll stay here tonight, or, if not, call a palanquin," the rain stopped a bit. My home was about 1.3 or 1.4 kilometers away. I was so used to [the route] that I thought it would not be hard. "Let it rain," I said, and went out the gate and headed east. The rain grew intense as I reached Ichijō Horikawa 一条ほり川. [This old man thought:] going with [my] umbrella into the rain, if I stay on the main roads, I will not get lost. As the rain came down more, I arrived at Horikawa Sawaragichō さわら木丁. Here, I realized for the first time: tilting my umbrella, I might of mistaken the southeast direction. Figuring out where I was, I managed to clear my mind and ultimately just headed east on Marutamachi 丸太町, returning home. The sun was about to set. The sick nun was waiting impatiently on the side of the road. I only answered, "I was at Ōga's" and entered, but my legs were tired, my eyes were dark, and I felt more and more gloomy. I laid down on the floor under the light, and slept deeply until dawn. Is this also losing one's way due to fox possession?

The fact that both Hansai and I, being the same in nature and spirit, lost our way one day is a fox's artifices surpassing humans. A person who knows nothing of the real world and does not even sometimes get out declares that foxes do not bewitch people. It is quite laughable, quite laughable.⁸

Three typical "disorienting deity"-type bewitching fox stories are found above. The first is about Hosoai Hansai's experience, and the latter two are about Akinari's own experiences. Three interpretation devices are used in the underlined portions: fox/raccoon dog, illness, and tilted umbrella.

The Buddhist priest, who seems to have had a close friendship with Akinari, uses the illness interpretive device to calm him as he told the priest about his experiences wandering astray in the city. On the other hand, Akinari himself, who is wandering astray in the city, uses the titled umbrella interpretive device to calm his mind. Through interpretation, the mind tries to bring extraordinary experiences within the scope of the ordinary.

⁸ Nakamura, *Ueda Akinari shū*, pp. 270–272.

Ultimately, he adopts the fox interpretative device in place of illness and titled umbrella. Using a fox as an interpretive device does not return the extraordinary to the ordinary, but it does make the extraordinary interpretable. The most frightening is the uninterpretable extraordinary.

If Akinari had chosen the interpretative device of illness or tilted umbrella instead, he would not have presented this episode as a bewitching fox story. Not only that: the event itself would not have become an episode, but would have sunk to the bottom of memory and faded away into the distance of time. The choice of interpretive device is the difference between whether a story is born or not.

2. *When a Story is Born*

The experience of a story being born, failing to be born, or dying depending on the speaker's interpretation is not uncommon in fieldwork settings. The following is a story from the village of Miyakoji 都路 (now the city of Tamura 田村) in Fukushima Prefecture's Tamura 田村 district. I heard it from "Y" (male, born in 1923). Sekine Ayako 関根綾子 and I conducted the survey on 23 March 1994 (—: Sekine; ≡: me). I have withheld the main character's name.

Document 1

≡Have you heard of any stories around here where people have been bewitched by a fox?≡

Hmmm...these things happen. This is a really old story.

About the old man from down there. His name's ****. He went to pick mushrooms. Around December, I think. When he went to pick mushrooms and did not come back in the evening, the whole hamlet—unlike today, there were no police or fire brigade back then, so the whole hamlet mobilized to search the mountains for him. Walked the whole day and couldn't find him. Then, the next day, when everyone went to look, they found him alone in a charcoal shack . . . a shack for charcoal grilling. I heard there were two or three mushrooms in there. He said, "I gave all of them to a person in this house." Even though there was no one in the charcoal hut (laughs). Then, when asked, "Did you have dinner?" the old man said, "I was treated to some delicious *botamochi* ぼた餅."

That's impossible, so people wondered what happened, and thought, "Wasn't he bewitched by a fox?" as people say. The next day, they brought him out, and he hadn't forgotten: "I ate *botamochi* last night, and I gave them the mushrooms that I picked."

≡He gave mushrooms to the person who gave him the *botamochi*?≡

He said that he gave mushrooms to the person who gave him *botamochi*. But

there was no one.

—In the charcoal grilling shack?—

Yeah. But as I just stated, people said, “Wasn’t he bewitched by a fox?” I heard that kind of legend (laughs).

===When is this story from?===

This was when I was a child, so I guess it must have been in 1937 or 1938.⁹

This is another typical “disorienting deity”-type bewitching fox story. The villagers’ reactions in the story suggest that the interpretive device of the fox was well-known within the community.

It should also be noted that this story follows the story pattern of the old tale “Horse Dung Dumplings” (*Uma no kuso dango* 馬の糞団子). For reference, below, I have quoted the plot of this story from *Nihon mukashibanashi taisei* 日本昔話大成 (Taisei No. 271B).¹⁰

1. A man who says he is not tricked by foxes follows a fox as it disguises itself as a woman, holds a stone in place of a child, and puts horse manure in a tiered food box.
2. The fox entered a house, so the people in the house did not know that the child is a stone and that horse dung is in the tiered box.
3. They are treated to the dumplings [in the tiered box]. When they are warned, they find themselves nipping at horse dung.

The *botamochi* motif is often found in old stories. Examples include “Botamochi wa kaeru” 牡丹餅は蛙 (The *botamochi* is a frog), “Botamochi de sengan” 牡丹餅で洗顔 (Face-washing with *botamochi*) “Nageage manjū” 投げ上げ饅頭 (*Manjū* thrown upwards), “Nodo tsuki dango” 咽突き団子 (Choaking on a dumpling), “Shiri ni dango” 尻に団子 (Butt dumplings), “Mochi wa bakemono” 餅は化物 (Mochi is a monster), “Dango muko” 団子婿 (Dumpling son-in-law), and “Jūgoya no tsuki” 十五夜の月 (The full moon celebration’s moon).¹¹ Researchers were often told stories in the pattern of “Dango muko” in the district of Tamura. Some people who heard the story about the man may have been thinking of these old stories.

From the above, we can see how, by people using the fox interpretive device, a story was born from everyday life, clothed in motifs, and sublimated into a story pattern. On the other hand, however, this was fluid and could disappear at any moment.

After the story in Document 1, Y also said the following: “Now that I think about it,

⁹ Itō, *Fukushima-ken Tamura-gun Miyakoji-mura setsuwa-shū*, pp. 133–135.

¹⁰ Seki, Nomura, and Ōshima, *Nihon mukashibanashi taisei*, p. 59.

¹¹ All story pattern names are from *Nihon mukashi banashi taisei*.

what were we talking about, being fooled by a fox? We must have been be confused in the head. That kind of thing's unthinkable"; "From modern people's point of view, it's our judgment that he must have drank alcohol, gotten drunk, lost his way, walked this way and that, and then people said the likes of, he was fooled by a fox"; "In the first place streets are narrow, and of course there are no flashlights, so when your candle or lantern . . . [unclear]. . . goes out, you lose your way no? He got lost at that time, and since it would have been off to say he got because he was drunk, people said, 'He was bewitched by a fox,' or something like that (laughs). That's what we imagine now."¹²

With such interpretive devices (delusion, alcohol), a bewitching fox story does not come into existence. In fact, even then, some people who heard the story would probably not have taken it as a tale of a bewitching fox. However, that this was not the interpretation of Y at the time of the incident in 1937 or 1938. He himself declares, "Now that I think about it."

3. *When Stories Die*

After listening to the story in Document 1, Y introduced us to S (female, 1917), who is related to the person supposedly bewitched by a fox. As before, the survey date was 23 March 1994, and the surveyors were Sekine Ayako and me. Y was also present.

What follows is a story about the same incident as Document 1, but S consistently rejects the fox interpretive device, and it does not become a bewitching fox story.

Document 2

S: A spirit's never appeared to me, and I've never been bewitched by a fox.

. . . [omitted] . . .

Y: No, right, but they said they want to hear about here, about those of the hamlet, the village.

S: Not here. There are no tales of people being bewitched by a fox or anything like that.

Y: Earlier I was talking about the being bewitched by a fox. I said this kind of thing happened to old man ****.

S: He just went mushroom picking and got lost.

Y: [People] said he was bewitched by a fox. He said he was treated to *botamochi*.

S: He was 72 . . .

Y: 70, not 80? I heard he was 80 something.

S: He died at 72.

Y: 72? I was wrong, earlier. She says 72.

——I see.——

¹² Itō, *Fukushima-ken Tamura-gun Miyakoji-mura setsuwa-shū*, pp. 133–134.

S: He went mushroom picking at 72 and got lost, it got dark, and he couldn't go home. And everyone looked for him.

Y: But he said he was treated to *botamochi*, no?

S: No way (laughs). He said nothing like he'd eaten *botamochi*, but he did say he hadn't eaten anything and was hungry until the next morning. He put the basket with mushrooms by the road and thought, "If I put it by the road, someone will find [me]," and then it was too cold [to stay there]. Back in the day during the war, people sent hay to the war zone, to the horses. He was sleeping in that hay, and his son went to get him there.¹³

Although the same person, the impression of the protagonist differs between Document 1 and Document 2. In the latter he seems foolish, while in the former he seems wise. This point is related to whether a bewitching fox story comes into existence. This first is a difference that arises due to the position of the speaker vis-a-vis that of the story, and, second, a difference that arises due to the relationship between the speaker and the researchers.

For Y, ****'s story was a third party's experience, and therefore, he adapted it, making it amusing. This resulted in the tone found in Document 1. On the other hand, in Document 2, S rejected the fox as an interpretive device, probably because it is a matter of her family's honor. We received testimonials from other people about ****, and they were not glowing.

The fact that the interviewers (researchers) were university students from Tokyo (Sekine and I) may have led to bias in how S talked about the event. Fieldworker discourse, which tends to assume that old customs remain in areas outside of major urban centers, sometimes makes local residents uncomfortable.

Next, let us turn to a case in which the protagonist (a person bewitched by a fox) is a third party from the perspective of S. In this case, S also uses a "fox" (in this case a badger) as an interpretive device.

Document 3

S: [Someone] said that he was bewitched by a badger, in the past.

Y: [We] don't know if he was bewitched or not (laughs).

S: [We] don't know.

Y: He went crazy, right? The guy in question.

S: Being bewitched by a badger . . . That's going crazy.

Y: He got drunk and said all kinds of crazy things, so [others] said he "was bewitched by a fox" (laughs).

¹³ Itō, *Fukushima-ken Tamura-gun Miyakoji-mura setsuwa-shū*, pp. 175–176.

... [omitted] ...

S: [People] say, a badger changed form, into a young lady, into an old lady, came after becoming a middle-aged guy, came after becoming a young lady. A badger changed form and came, saying, "Good evening! Please let me spend the night." Then, gradually, people find out, and the neighbors get together, go in that house, with sticks. A long time ago, a badger came to the house of @@@ next door neighbor ###, and would come every night [as] old lady ^^^, from back in the day. People said that upon killing it, it was a badger.¹⁴

In this way, in a case that does not involve her family member's experience, S actively uses the fox/badger interpretive device.¹⁵

4. Levels of Interpretation and the Divided "Narrator"

Y and S's stories are recollections nearly 60 years after the incidents in Document 1 and Document 2. The person who relays an episode is always someone here in the present. During those sixty years, Japan was defeated in the war, engaged in postwar reconstruction, had rapid economic growth, and experienced the burst of its bubble economy. As society and people's values continued to change, the way they perceived these incidents must also have evolved. What would have been their interpretations at the time of these incidents?

The following is a story about S's experience of wandering lost in the mountains when she was young (probably in her twenties).

Document 4

S: I've walked a lot at night but never experienced such a thing. Did I tell you when I had a rough time in Kurosawa? In the evening, I'd been walking in the mountains for ages, and I kept ending up in the same place. What was that? That. This kind of thing, yeah?

Y: You lose your sense of direction.

S: It's happened to me—you start thinking, "Did I go here?" and come to the same place three times, so you think, "This is when they say, 'When a fox bewitches you, sit down and think,'" so you sit down and think, "What is over there?" "What is over there?" And then you realize—I'm stupid.

Y: That's being bewitched by a fox.

¹⁴ Itō, *Fukushima-ken Tamura-gun Miyakoji-mura setsuwa-shū*, pp. 180–188.

¹⁵ On this day, S also told a bewitching fox story in which a fox/badger appears as a character (not as an interpretive device). She also talked about foxes and badgers as animals that do not involve the mysterious. She spoke about the bewitching fox story that I presented in this paper in this context.

S: Because I've had that kind of thing happen to me twice. I went to pick chestnuts on Samarajima[?]-san, the mountain in front of Kurōshika 九郎鹿, and heading home, I always came back to the same place. Foxes don't do that kind of thing.

Y: But even now, that happens even to us, that . . .

S: Does that kind of thing happen to us?

Y: No, not in the mountains, but when driving, I lose my sense of direction and go the wrong way.¹⁶

As noted earlier, S uses the “fox” interpretive device for third-party (non-family) experiences, even when the stories are quite involved. Furthermore, even in the case of a story in which a badger appears as an actual entity (not something in the speaker's interpretation), and—similar to “Botan dōrō” 牡丹燈籠 (Peony lantern)—visits a young man in a charcoal grill shack at night disguised as a beautiful woman, she tells it as something that actually happened. On the other hand, S never used the “fox” interpretive device for the experience of her own family member. Similarly, she does not use the “fox” interpretive device for her own experiences.

For example, young S describes encountering something that looked like a monster in the mountains at night. Realizing it was a horse, “I said to the horse, ‘You bastard!’ and was relieved.” She continued, “I wonder if that's what [people're] talking about when they say they've met a monster.” Similarly, when the young S encountered something in the mountains at night that emitted strange noises and realized that it was just a tree (Sawara cypress “Squarrosa”) and a tree frog, “I thought to myself there were no such things as monsters in the world, and after that, I lost all fear.”¹⁷ It is a “rational interpretation” in today's sense of the phrase.

In the story in Document 4, S also says, “I'm stupid” (i.e., deluded) and seeks an interpretation within. However, this was decades after the incident, and the young S, amid her wandering lost in the mountains, avoided trouble by remembering the popular belief, “When a fox bewitches you, sit down and think.” At the time, she probably thought she was being bewitched by a fox.¹⁸ A bewitching fox story came into existence at this point.

Here, the levels of experience and interpretation can be modeled as follows: (1) the interpretation of the person themselves, (2) the interpretation of those who were around

¹⁶ Itō, *Fukushima-ken Tamura-gun Miyakoji-mura setsuwa-shū*, p. 194.

¹⁷ Itō, *Fukushima-ken Tamura-gun Miyakoji-mura setsuwa-shū*, p. 198.

¹⁸ It was a common folk belief that this method is a way to deal with being bewitched by foxes and raccoons. See the fifth entry for “Kitsune” 狐 (“Kitsune ni bakasarenu hō 狐に化かされぬ法”) in Suzuki, *Nihon zokushin jiten*, pp. 199–202.

the person, (3) the interpretation of those who heard from the person himself, (4) the interpretation of those who heard from those who were around the person, (5) the interpretation of those who heard from those who offered the third and fourth level interpretations, and so on. The actual situation is more complicated, though, because the interpretation's time and setting, as well as speaker's position, come into play. However, for each person, there is a pattern as to the stage of interpretation at which the fox interpretive device appears. This pattern also relates to the generation of stories.

Expanding on this point, we can relativize the modern image of the "author." In Document 4, Y does not use the fox interpretive device but another one: a bad sense of direction. Here, the same Y who told a bewitching fox story in Document 1 rejects such a story. Interpretation is always situational and driven by the atmosphere in which one is speaking. In some cases, if one tries to make interpretation A work, interpretation B will no longer hold. In the field, the narrator appears as a contradictory being. The listener accepts the contradiction (or does not even notice the contradiction) and weaves a story *along with* the narrator. There is no unified "narrator" to be found.

We can clearly see that the modern image of an author who weaves a single story with a unified ego from beginning to end is quite different.

Conclusion: Looking to Unrealized Stories

In this paper, I have examined the relationship between interpretation and the generation of stories, focusing on the fieldwork space and fox interpretive device. To clarify my argument, I held that when the fox interpretive device is used, a story is born, and when it is not used, the story fails to be born or dies. However, strictly speaking, this is not so. If the fox is not used as an interpretive device when a person has lost their way, a story based on a different interpretation may arise.

Let us now return to *Tandai shōshinroku*. Regarding the experience of wandering lost in the city, Akinari used the fox interpretive device, while Riken used the pathological fastidiousness interpretive device. The Buddhist priest similarly used the illness interpretive device. While Riken seems to feel that Akinari deserves ridicule to a degree, and the Buddhist priest appears to be caring, both interpretations seek the cause (disease) inside the person. This was not in accordance with Akinari's own wishes; therefore, a story connecting illness and wandering lost in the city with the law of cause and effect was not born.

However, when understood with a present-day sensibility, the illness interpretation, not that of the fox, would be chosen. Whatever the actual circumstances, a scrofulous old author of strange stories having a fantastical experience in Kyoto in the middle of the day or in a light drizzle fits the public image of Ueda Akinari.

When one story fails to be born or dies, a new story is (sometimes) born. In other words, in the shadow of the creation of one story, there was another story that could have been born. The imaginative power to think about stories that were not born is important in research on both literature and folklore.

(Translated by Dylan Luers Toda)

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Umbrella Floats Connecting the Dead and Living: The First Bon Events of the Nakiri Hamlet in Mie¹

HATTORI HIROMI

Keywords: umbrella floats (*kasahokol kasabuku* 傘鉾), *furyū* 風流, Dainenbutsu 大念仏, venerating the newly deceased, *Kōya hijiri* 高野聖

Author's Statement

Nakiri 波切 is located in the Daiōchō 大王町 area of the city Shima 志摩 in Mie. The umbrella floats (*kasahokol kasabuku* 傘鉾) at the hamlet's Dainenbutsu 大念仏 have usually been described as newly deceased's *yorishiro* 依代 (temporary dwellings of spirits/deities). However, this paper examines how the event is carried out to show that there are other *yorishiro* as well, such as a group memorial lantern (*sōhi* 総碑) and *kiriko* 切子 lanterns. It also argues that the umbrella floats, which are continually passed from one person connected to the deceased to another, serve to memorialize the deceased.

Introduction

Umbrellas are everyday items used to block rain and sun. In Japan, many people run to a convenience store to grab a disposable plastic one during sudden rainstorms.

The word for umbrella in Japanese is *kasa*. Originally in Japan, there were *kasa* 笠 that were hats. Later, umbrellas with a handle meant for holding, written using the character “傘,” appeared. Then appeared the long-handled silk umbrellas called *kinugasa* 衣笠, oil-

¹ This paper is a translation of “Shisha to seija o musubu kasabuku: Mieken Shimashi Daiōchō Nakiri no shinbon gyōji kara” 死者と生者を結ぶ傘鉾—三重県志摩市大王町波切の新盆行事から—, *Kokugakuin zasshi* 國學院雜誌 118:4 (2017), pp. 153–170. Translated by Dylan Luers Toda.

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paper umbrellas with bamboo frames called *karakasa* 唐傘, and the black Western-style umbrellas called *kōmorigasa* こうもり傘.

Umbrellas have not only been tools for sheltering from rain and sun. In the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, Taokihooi no Kami 手置帆負神, ancestral deity of the Inbe clan from Kii, was ordered to serve Ōmononushi no Kami 大物主神 as “*kasa* maker” (*kasani* 作笠者) by Takamimusubi no Mikoto 高皇產靈尊. In other words, these hats were used as offerings during Shinto rites.²

Also, in “A Waste of Weeds” (*Yomogiu* 蓬生) scene from *The Tale of Genji Picture Scroll* (*Genji mongatarai emaki* 源氏物語絵巻; National Treasure) held at the Tokugawa Art Museum, we can see that long-handled umbrellas were symbols of the aristocracy. Therein, an attendant holds an umbrella over Hikaru Genji 光源氏 from behind as he visits the deserted residence of Suetsumuhana 末摘花.

Turning to folklore, *kasa* hats have been seen as tools for curses. In oral literature, for example, invisibility hats are demons’ treasures. Umbrellas were also once an essential part of a trousseau in Japan. In the *kasa-watashi* 傘渡し ritual found in Fukui, parents hand an umbrella over to their daughter so that she will be protected.³ In the Tokushima town of Ichiba 市場, during bridal processions, it was customary to exchange *takarabachi* タカラバチ (umbrellas made of bamboo shoot bark) when passing other processions. This signified good luck, and the older and more torn the umbrella was, the better.⁴

Japanese people of all generations have come across drawings on school blackboards of two people sharing an umbrella, a common visual representation of a romantic relationship. There is also the custom of hanging various items under umbrellas. For example, the umbrella floats that appear during the Dainenbutsu 大念仏 in Nakiri 波切, a hamlet in the Daiōchō 大王町 area of the city Shima 志摩 in Mie. (Umbrella floats are generally called *kasahoko* 傘鉾, but in the context of this event, they are called *kasabuku*). They are prepared by families of people who died in the past twelve months, referred to as the “newly departed” (*shinmō* 新亡). The families attach a white cloth curtain called a *mokō* 帽額 to a *karakasa* and hang the departed’s beloved items under it. Every year on the evening of 14 August, people carrying umbrella floats go around in a circle at the Dainenbutsu venue.

While most existing scholarship has examined umbrella floats as *yorishiro* 依代 (temporary dwellings of spirits/deities), or considered the forms of these floats, this paper will reconsider them in light of Nakiri’s actual Bon 盆 events for the newly departed, referred to as New Bon (Shinbon 新盆), and examine their functions.

² *Nihon shoki*, p. 153.

³ Hashimoto, “Kasa no shita no kūkan wa magiremonai bunka,” p. 29.

⁴ Okada, “Ichibachō no kon’in shūzoku.”

1. *Umbrella Floats: Literature Review*

Existing research on umbrella floats holds that the umbrellas function as seats of the plague deity (*ekijin* 疫神), mainly focusing on the semiotics of form. This scholarship seeks to understand how these floats appeared in the past by examining, for example, the Shijō Kasahoko 四条傘鉾 of Kyoto's Gion Matsuri 祇園祭 and the flower umbrellas (*hanagasa* 花傘) of the Yasurai Matsuri やすらい祭り at Imamiya Jinja 今宮神社.

Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 pioneered this semiotic approach in his 1915 “Higeko no hanashi” 髯籠の話 (Story of the beard-box), arguing that the Gion umbrella floats and the flower hats (*hanagasa* 花笠) of *dengaku* 田楽 dances were deities' *yorishiro*.⁵ In the same year, he published “Bon odori to matsuri yatai to” 盆踊りと祭屋台と (Bon Odori and festival stalls). He wrote that the format of dancers wearing flower hats while circling a pole-bearer in the Kiriake 切明 rite at Izumo's Susa Jinja 須佐神社 is “a legacy of the format” of Izanagi イザナギ and Izanami イザナミ “circling the *ame-no-mihashira* 天の御柱 (heavenly pillar),” as well as that the *ondotori* 音頭取り singers standing with an opened umbrella in the Bon Odori 盆踊り dance of Saka no Shita 阪の下 in Ise is, similarly, to be the “deities' vessels.” He lists Bon lanterns (*taka tōrō* 高燈籠 and *kiriko tōrō* 切籠燈籠) as similar examples. Orikuchi states that these *yorishiro* are necessary for Bon because ancestral spirits needed signs to guide them to their temporary dwellings.⁶

On the other hand, in the 1931 “Haru kuru oni” 春来る鬼 (The demon that comes in spring), he wrote the following about the umbrellas (called *ransan* 涼傘) installed at a worship spot in Cape Hedo 辺土, the northernmost point in Okinawa: “[They] apparently mean, ‘God is under here.’ It's like *kinugasa* in Japan. Many umbrellas are standing there. At this Hedo *utaki* 御嶽—an *utaki* is where deities descend—umbrellas stand and a festival begins, and only then do deities come to stay.”⁷ He suggests that the spaces below *ransan* (and *kinugasa*) are where deities exist.

Ogawa Naoyuki 小川直之, noting that Orikuchi Shinobu's “Higeko no hanashi” is about *yorishiro* that welcome deities from the heavens, argues that such *yorishiro* were derived from *shimeyama* 標山, sites where deities come to stay, as well as that these *shimeyama* sites would develop into the *hyō no yama* 標の山 found at the Daijōsai 大嘗祭 and into seats of deities like the *danjiri* and *yamahoko* 山鉾 floats.⁸ Orikuchi probably saw the *ransan* functioning as both *yorishiro* and *shimeyama*.

Ueki Yukinobu 植木行宣, while taking into account Orikuchi's ideas about *yorishiro*, points out that the term *yorishiro* has been interpreted so broadly by later researchers that

⁵ Orikuchi, “Higeko no hanashi,” pp. 201–2.

⁶ Orikuchi, “Bon Odori to matsuri yatai to,” pp. 240–43.

⁷ Orikuchi, “Haru kuru oni,” p. 132.

⁸ Ogawa, “Kami kyorai kannen to yorishiron no saikentō,” pp. 371–76.

detailed studies referring to the differences in the form of individual *yorishiro* have been neglected. Ueki attempts to make this clear using the *yamahoko* floats of Kyoto's Gion Matsuri. He concludes that the Gion Matsuri style of *hoko* floats, umbrellas, *tsukuriyama* 作り山 floats, and costumed people moving to a beat, began in the fourteenth century, and that these were so-called *furyū hayashimono* 風流拍子物 (“fancy dances and drumming”). Ueki states that the subsequent popularity of *furyū*, the aim of which was to amaze people, led to a new form of urban festivals in which larger-scale objects, such as *yamahoko* floats, were paraded through the streets.⁹ In villages, this developed into a folk performing art called *furyū odori* 風流踊, in which, generally, there were groups of percussion instrument-playing dancers who functioned as the *hayashi* ハヤシ (musician group), as well as creations, such as umbrella floats, made for deities to reside. Particularly in villages, the spirits of the newly departed, which had the potential to become vengeful, began to be entertained with music and seen off, and, in addition to the memorializing carried out at individual houses, Nenbutsu Odori 念仏踊 dances, such as the Ise-Shima Dainenbutsu, became established as local community Bon events.¹⁰ He says that a major characteristic of this *furyū odori* is its concentration in places with Nenbutsu Odori-type practices, and notes that it developed as a group dance inseparable from the local community because it was a performing art that spread with the establishment, from the late middle ages onward, of local communities (towns and hamlets) in the background.¹¹ Ueki argues that due to the local spread of *furyū hayashimono*, which was rooted in the Gion Matsuri, umbrella floats remained in hamlet folk performing arts, such as the Dainenbutsu.

When discussing the umbrella floats used during Bon in various places, Orikuchi does not mention the umbrellas and *hoko* floats used in the Gion Matsuri, but does say that Bon umbrella floats came from the Ise Odori 伊勢踊. This dance, performed when the Inner Shrine of Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮 was rebuilt and popular from the Muromachi period (1336–1573) onward, features an umbrella float to which a purification box (*mando barai* 万度祓い) was attached.¹² As evidence for this, he cites the appearance of the umbrella float called a *kasabōroku* 傘ぼろく in the Bon Odori celebratory dance (*shūgi odori* 祝儀踊り) on the island of Niijima 新島 in Izu. He also says that “*nenbutsu* practitioners (*nenbutsu-sha* 念仏者) who used the *monbome* 門ぼめ and *iebome* 家ぼめ styles of banzai” were involved in the propagation of this Ise Odori, and that the traces of their crossing to outlying islands “remain in the dances that bring to mind adolescence.”¹³

⁹ Ueki, *Yama, hoko, yatai no matsuri*, pp. 57–102.

¹⁰ Ueki, *Furyū odori to sono tenkai*, p. 34.

¹¹ Ueki, *Furyū odori to sono tenkai*, p. 11.

¹² Orikuchi, “Nenchū gyōji,” p. 65.

¹³ Orikuchi, “Kansha su beki shin Tōkyō nenchū gyōji,” pp. 472–73.

Hattori: Umbrella Floats Connecting the Dead and Living

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Danjō Tatsuo 段上達雄 has focused on the possibility that *kinugasa* 蓋 are the source of Japan's umbrella floats and *furyū* umbrellas, and has brought together and examined various examples of them.¹⁴ Although he does not draw a definitive conclusion, from his work it becomes clear that the umbrella is a political and religious symbol of authority, and it cannot be denied that umbrella floats are an extension of this. Exhaustively collecting materials related to *kinugasa*, *kasa* (both 笠 and 傘), and so on is necessary also to capture how people understand umbrella floats. For example, in “Yomogiu” from *The Tale of Genji Picture Scroll*, which I touched on at the beginning of this article, in addition to an attendant holding an umbrella over Hikaru Genji from behind, Fujiwara no Koremitsu 藤原惟光, the son of Genji's nanny, is depicted as playing the role of dew-sweeper (*tsuyuharai* 露払い) in front of Genji. This structure is like the Shijō Kasahoko procession, which also has an umbrella float and dew-sweeper.

Furthermore, Danjō also provides a detailed report on the umbrella floats found at Bon events in various places. The umbrella floats at the memorial Bon dance in the Miyanoura 宮野浦, area of Saiki 佐伯 in Oita consist of umbrellas used by the departed that are covered with the kimono, tied with belts (*heko obi* 兵児帯, *shigoki* しごき, etc.), and attached to the end of bamboo poles. Under the umbrellas, the departed's personal belongings are hung. Before the Bon Odori concludes, the bereaved family members form a circle around the singer's shelf (*ondo dana* 音頭棚) set up in the center. They hold the departed's portraits, memorial tablets, and the umbrella float, and walk slowly to express their grief during the final *kiri ondo* 切り音頭 song. After the dance, they hurry home while supporting the “spirit of the departed riding the umbrella float” by holding it as vertically as possible. Danjō argues that specific spirits are made to inhabit these umbrella floats, and also says that the umbrella floats in the Shima 志摩 region of Mie and on the island of Okinoshima 沖の島 in Sukumo 宿毛, Kochi, which have similar customs, may have been brought by the fishers of Shima.¹⁵

Keeping these previous studies in mind, below I will consider umbrella floats' meaning while reporting on the New Bon Dainenbutsu in Nakiri, Daiōchō.

2. The Dainenbutsu of the Nakiri Hamlet in Mie

2.1 Nakiri: An Overview

Daiōchō, where the Dainenbutsu is held, is in the southern part of the Shima Peninsula. It is bordered by Agochō 阿児町 to the north and, across the Fukuya Canal (Fukuya Suidō 深谷水道), Shimachō 志摩町 to the southwest. In Daiōchō's

¹⁴ Danjō has multiple articles on umbrella floats, including “Kinugasa 1: Kasahoko to furyūgasa no genryū” and “Kasahoko, furyūgasa no tanjō 1: Shinrei no yadoru kasa.”

¹⁵ Danjō, “Bon no kasahoko 1,” p. 24.

western part, Tomoyama 登茂山 Peninsula protrudes into Ago 英虞 Bay. Cape Daiō 大王, where the rough Pacific Ocean breaks, is a core feature of its eastern area. It separates the Kumano 熊野 Sea from the Enshū 遠州 Sea, and was a difficult place feared by seafarers (“Ise’s Kōzaki, Kuzaki’s Yoroi, and Nakiri Daiō—if only they didn’t exist”). However, Nakiri was also a busy port of refuge and a wind port between Edo 江戸 and the Kamigata 上方 region. The famous “Nakiri Riot” (Nakiri sōdō 波切騒動) occurred in Tenpō 1 (1830) over a shipwreck, and the names of those who died in the riot are engraved on the pedestal of the Thinking Jizō (Shian jizō 思案地藏).

Nakiri is the closest hamlet to the Cape Daiō Lighthouse, about twenty minutes by bus from the Kintetsu 近鉄 Line’s Ugata 鵜方 Station. Scattered throughout Daiōchō are the hamlets of Nakiri, Azena 畦名, Nata 名田, and Funakoshi 船越. The bus passes through these villages before arriving at the Nakiri stop. Nakiri has forty-five subdivisions (*koaza* 小字).

Looking back in history, we find that “Nakiri” appears in the dictionary *Wamyōshō* 和名抄. It is written using the characters “名錐”: “Nakiri, Ago 英虞 District, Shima 志摩 Province.” Its name can also be found on *mokkan* 木簡 (a thin wooden strip for writing) from the Heijō 平城 Palace. A *mokkan* from Tenpyō 17 (745) shows that Nakiri paid tribute in the form of items like wakame and abalone. Fishing developed in Nakiri from ancient times, and many kitchens and gardens for Ise Jingū were located here.

The fishing industry in the area can be traced back to the middle of the eighth century. According to village registers of the Tenpō years (1830–1844; *tenpō gōchō* 天保郷帳), the entirety the Ago District’s Azena, Nata, Nakiri, and Funakoshi were part of the Toba 鳥羽 Domain. It lists the likes of skipjack, sardines, shrimp, mackerel, and *Gelidiaceae* red algae as marine products. Abalone was also harvested. There is also a record of whaling until the Kyōhō 享保 years (1716–1736), and a round stone that is said to have come from the belly of a caught whale is enshrined in the precincts of Nakiri Jinja 波切神社. Skipjack fishing has been a major industry of Nakiri for a long time. According to an overview of Nakiri (*sashidashi chō* 差出帳) from Kyōhō 11 (1726), there were twenty-four skipjack boats in the village of Nakiri and nine in the village of Funakoshi. According to a Funakoshi skipjack fishing register (*katsuo mizuagechō* 鰹水揚帳) from Ansei 安政 6 (1859), more than 3,000 were caught between the thirteenth day of the fourth month and eighth day of the ninth month, the period when fishing was conducted.¹⁶ The amount caught by Nakiri must have been much greater. With more than ten people riding each boat, everyday relationships probably affected skipjack fishing. Perhaps skipjack fishing was something that tied the people of Nakiri together. A local shared

¹⁶ Daiōchōshi Hensan Iinkai, *Daiōchōshi*, pp. 324–26.

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with me that until the 1960s, there were about 200 bonito flake smoking huts. Skipjack supported the economy of Nakiri, but as the catch declined, the fishery also declined, and today only three huts remain.

In present-day Nakiri, the residents are aging, and few people can be seen going up and down the steep roads. However, there is a richness in the background to Nakiri's Dainenbutsu. It is a place that since ancient times has adopted a mindset similar to that of Kyoto, and taken in various cultures as a wind port. The feelings toward the sea that has brought blessings to the people of Nakiri can also be seen in the Waraji Matsuri わらじ祭り, a festival in which a large straw sandal is floated out to sea. Such is the ground upon which the Dainenbutsu, performed by the community as a whole, has been passed down.

2.2 Bon Events and the Dainenbutsu

In this section, I will describe in chronological order the events comprising Nakiri's Bon based on surveys I conducted in 2014 and 2016.

2.2.1 Welcoming the Spirits of the Newly Departed

The newly departed used to be welcomed on the sixth day of the seventh month on the old calendar, but now, on the evening of 6 August, people from the households of the newly departed go to the Nakiri Cemetery with zori to do so. The Nakiri Cemetery, located in the subdivision Suga 須賀, was completed in 1937, and then expanded in 1962 and 1978.

In Nakiri, a double-grave system (*ryōbosei* 両墓制) was in place from the Edo period until around the middle of the Meiji period (1868–1912), but as the number of households increased, the cemetery became too small, and as graves were repeatedly relocated and the cemetery expanded, a single-grave system (*tanbosei* 単墓制) was adopted. However, according to the priest Kaneda Toshiki 金田俊機 of Sen'yūji 仙遊寺, the traces of the double-grave system can still be seen in the individual family grave plots. The tombstone carved with the names of the departed that is farthest from the front of the plot serves as the visitation grave (*mairibaka* 詣り墓), while the natural stone placed in front of it serves as the burial grave (*umebaka* 埋め墓).

In the households of the newly departed, a three to seven-tier special shelf, consisting of thin paper covering a wooden frame, is placed in a tatami room. The departed's memorial tablet (*ihai* 位牌) is installed on top, and *kiriko* 切子 and *chōchin* 提灯 lanterns given by relatives and others are hung on both sides. Turning to the outside of the house, one finds an eave lantern hung from bamboo leaves that are tied in a crisscross pattern and attached to a pole standing at the gate. The lantern, hollowed out in the shape of the sun and moon, identifies the house as one with a newly departed. Nowadays, most

families with a newly departed order these lanterns from the Kosaka 小坂 branch of the Toba-Shima Agricultural Cooperative (Toba-Shima Nōkyō 鳥羽志摩農協) before Bon, as Bon goods are on display there.

2.2.2 Lantern Worship

Beginning on the evening of 7 August, people with ties to the newly departed come to visit the lantern inside the house. In Nakiri, people know where to visit because a list of the year's newly departed is circulated before Bon. In the past, the sounds of the *nenbutsu*, the religious music called *goeika* 御詠歌, bells, and gongs were constant in the households of the newly departed. Today, however, more and more households post signs declining First Bon offerings, and the custom of distributing *botanmochi* 牡丹餅 sweets to relatives and others with ties to the newly departed as a First Bon offering is less common.

2.2.3 The Motoya and Group Memorial Lantern

Nakiri had a *motoya* 元屋 system until 1992. The *motoya* was the household of the oldest male newly departed. On 7 August, a group memorial lantern (*sōbi* 総碑) was placed on the altar of that household. This lantern has all of the posthumous names (*kaimyō* 戒名) of the year's newly departed written around the front center characters *namu amida butsu* 南無阿弥陀仏. After the *motoya* system was done away with, the group memorial lantern came to be enshrined in the *nenbutsu* hut, only on the day of the Dainenbutsu.

2.2.4 The Welcoming of Spirits by Households Without Newly Departed

On the evening of 12 August, each family goes to the Nakiri Cemetery with *zori* to welcome ancestral spirits. Vegetables and sweets are placed on the household altar, and three meals are offered daily from the 13th to the 15th. It is said that ancestral spirits come on “lotus” leaves (taro leaves). A taro leaf is arranged in a vase on the Buddhist altar and taken to the cemetery when the spirit is seen off.

Some households erect a bamboo pole with a square wooden shelf attached at the outside gate. This is for feeding the hungry ghosts (*gaki* 餓鬼). From the 13th to the 15th, offerings are placed on this shelf.

2.2.5 Feeding Hungry Ghosts

Hungry ghost offerings at temples (*sanmon segaki* 山門施餓鬼), also called *mizumuke* 水向け or “water offerings,” are also held: on the 13th at Daijiji 大慈寺, on the 14th at Sen'yūji, and on the 15th at Keishōji 桂昌寺. Each family visits their parishioner temple and takes the provided plank stupa (*tōba* 板塔婆) and five-colored flag to their grave. In the *mizumuke* during prewar times, young fishers would crowd into the main hall, and when the sutra reading began, they would race to the altar on which the water tank was placed, and beat the poured fresh water using branches and leaves of Japanese star anise so much that they would get soaked.

Feeding of new hungry ghosts (the newly departed) is held at individual parishioner households and attended by all relatives.

2.2.6 The Dainenbutsu

On the evening of 14 August, from around 4:30 p.m., the Dainenbutsu is held in the open area in front of Nakiri Port's fish market. It used to be held at the beach Hōmon-no-hama 宝門の浜, but the venue was changed to Nakiri Cemetery's mourning site due to seawall construction and then to the current one because of its large parking lot.

2.2.6.a Organization

Until around 1965, the Dainenbutsu was performed mainly by a group of five older adults called the *toshiyori goninshū* 年寄五人衆. The five also saw to funerals and recited the names of thirteen buddhas and bodhisattvas (referred to as the *jūsan butsu* 十三仏) for the departed's well-being.

Currently, Sen'yuji, Daijiji, and Keishōji take turns assisting with the Dainenbutsu yearly, but are not part of the organization that carries out the event. In 2016, it was Sen'yuji's turn. All three temples are affiliated with the Myōshinji 妙心寺 school of the Rinzaï 臨濟 sect.

One month before the Dainenbutsu, the first general meeting of the newly departed's households is convened at the temple on duty. Two facilitators are chosen from each temple, and from these six, a representative and a treasurer are also decided upon. At the second general meeting, various roles, such as "name reader," and the budget are decided upon. The musician roles (*gaku* 楽), who beat a large drum and gong, are assigned to an experienced player, and the *nenbutsu* is recited by older women who regularly do so (*nenbutsu bāsan* 念仏婆さん). At Sen'yuji, there are about six such women in the community who meet at the temple regularly.

2.2.6.b "Standards for Carrying out the Dainenbutsu"

The abbot of the on-duty temple is given a letter box containing items related to the Dainenbutsu. Among these is a document titled "Standards for Carrying out the Dainenbutsu" (Dainenbutsu shikkō kijun 大念仏執行基準) bound with a string. It was written by the late Hidemori Tenrei 秀森典嶺 (1914–1997), the previous abbot of Daijiji, so that people would not have trouble running the event in the future. He probably wrote it in 1980; at the end, it says, "Equipment as of 1980."

The document begins, "From times of old, on the 14th day of the month during Bon, the Dainenbutsu has been an event to welcome the spirits of the newly departed followers of the three Nakiri temples and, also including all spirits of the three realms, chant the *nenbutsu* together in large numbers. Households of the newly departed march with an umbrella float and memorialize the spirits." It then lays out rules concerning the event. For example, it says that "the newly departed" means deceased whose funerals were held

at any of the three Nakiri temples from 13 August of the previous year to 12 August of the current year, that people who held a funeral elsewhere but joined one of the temples and will observe First Bon in Nakiri may join the Dainenbutsu, and that even those who do not fall under the above categories may apply to the abbots of the three temples for permission to join the Dainenbutsu but cannot bring an umbrella float and will not be listed on the group memorial lantern.

2.2.6.c Umbrella Floats

The umbrella floats used at the Dainenbutsu are called *kasabuku* 笠鉾, which is sometimes written using the characters “傘仏供” or “傘奉供.” These umbrella floats are made of a thin white curtain about 1 *shaku* 尺 wide (40–60 cm), called a *mokō*, hanging around a *karakasa* about 1.4 m in diameter. A piece of paper is attached to the curtain with the departed’s posthumous name, their age at death, and their house name (*yagō* 屋号). Nowadays, as with the lanterns, the umbrellas are often rented from the agricultural cooperative, and the items hanging from the umbrellas are readied by funeral homes (**Photo 1**). The items are: (1) *chōchin* lantern, (2) *agemaki* 総角 (a type of tied string; can be seen as a doll), (3) prayer beads (*juzu* 数珠), (4) prayer beads bag, (5) folding fan, (6) razor, (7) nail clipper (tweezers), and (8) Japanese star anise and *mushoage* ムシヨアゲ (a peach-colored small flower brought to the gravesite), (9) eggplant, cowpeas, etc. In



Photo 1. Lanterns and other items hung from under an umbrella float.

addition to this, for men they include a stiff obi (*kakuobi* 角帯) and intro, and for women, the departed's hair, comb, mirror, Japanese scissors, etc. Including the umbrella, people ensure that the number of items totals thirteen.

At the Dainenbutsu, relatives and acquaintances of the newly departed hold the umbrellas and slowly walk around in a circle. In 2014, there were seventy-five umbrella floats.

2.2.6.d Dainenbutsu Preparations

On the 12th, a *nenbutsu* hut is erected in the open area in front of the Nakiri Fishing Cooperative (Nakiri Gyokyō 波切漁協). From early morning on the 14th, people from the households of the newly departed set up the Dainenbutsu venue. The group memorial lantern is installed in the center of the *nenbutsu* hut, and *kiriko* lanterns are hung on both sides (Photo 2). White lanterns with the posthumous names of the newly departed are hung outside the hut. At the entrance to the fishing port, Japanese bamboo is placed and decorated with *hōzuki* 酸漿 lanterns. In front of the *nenbutsu* hut, a white circle is



Photo 2. The group memorial lantern enshrined in the *nenbutsu* hut.

drawn for people with the umbrella floats to go around, and a tower is erected in the circle's center. Next to the tower, a large drum and a bulletin board with pieces of paper displaying the names of the newly departed are set up. A white line is drawn outside the circle dividing the area into sections for the households bringing an umbrella float. Incense stands are placed in front of the *nenbutsu* hut and near the tower. There are also vendors at the venue.

After 4:00 p.m., people from the newly departed's households, dressed in mourning clothes, gather at the venue. They then place the umbrella float, folding chairs, cooler bags, food boxes, and so on in the space for their household.

2.2.6.e The Dainenbutsu's Content

A little after 4:30, the Dainenbutsu begins. First, a representative of the newly departed's households offers their greetings. Then, the closest family member to the departed opens their umbrella float and takes their family members and others with a connection to the departed out to the plaza. The umbrella float is supposed to be held by the man, while woman are supposed to fan it from behind.

People with umbrella floats line up along the white circle, and children holding banners with the departed's names also line up. They are called banner-holders or *hatamochi* ハタモチ. As the drum and gongs are sounded, the circle of umbrella floats and banners slowly begins to move counterclockwise (**Photo 3**). During this time, women are reciting the *nenbutsu* inside the *nenbutsu* hut.

Next to the drum is the "name caller" (*nayobi* 名呼び) who calls out the name of the newly departed. When their family member's name is called, the household goes to the



Photo 3. Umbrella floats and banners parading around the Dainenbutsu venue.

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name caller to light incense. For each spirit, the large drum is struck thirty-three times. In the past, the first to be called was the newly departed of the *motoya*, followed by the other newly departed in the order of the date and time of their deaths, but now names are called in the order of death.

Midway through, someone calls out, “Please start the *gacha gacha*.” The banner-holding children then gather in the middle of the circle and begin hitting their banners against each other. When the banners’ paper is torn up and gone, the banner holders abandon the poles and step out of the circle. In the past, the poles were washed out to sea, but now male event officers collect them and put them together behind the *nenbutsu* hut.

The procession of umbrella floats continues, and friends, acquaintances, family members, business associates, and so on take turns holding them. This is called “umbrella-holding” (*kasamochi* カサモチ). Individuals not from houses with newly departed burn incense and pay their respects at the group memorial lantern. The Dainenbutsu finishes in about three hours.

The newly departed’s immediate families and relatives clean up the venue and return home to remove the umbrella float decorations and eat.

2.2.7. Bon Odori

In the past, the Bon Odori was held from the night of the 14th to the night of the 16th, but now it is held from the following day, the 15th. Children start dancing at 7:00 p.m., followed by adult dancers, including women’s association members in matching *yukata* 浴衣 and people in costume, who dance to the accompaniment of songs. Finally, the *ondotori* 音頭取り singers climb up to the top of the tower and sing the *odorikudoki* 踊り口説. The *ondo* songs and *hayashi* 囃し music are performed by drummers and *ondotori*. Things end around 11:00 p.m. In the past, *ondo* songs of thirty-three locations in western Japan, as well as *odorikudoki* of Suzuki Mondo 鈴木主水, Shirai Gonpachi 白井権八, Ishidōmaru 石童丸, and other dancers, were sung. In 2016, Naruto of Awa (Awa no Naruto 阿波の鳴門) and other songs were sung, and the two singers were professionals.

2.2.8. Sending Off the Spirits

On the evening of 15 August, the spirits who are not newly departed are sent off. People sending these spirits arrive by car one after another to Nakiri Cemetery. Offerings of *miyage* dumplings (*miyage dango* ミヤゲ団子), rice, and sweets, as well as five-color banners with *namu amidabutsu* written on them, are placed in front of the graves as offerings, and incense is burned. People also burn incense in front of the six Jizō statues and elsewhere in the cemetery, and place offerings of rice and eggplant cut into small pieces in wooden boxes in front of them.

2.2.9. Sending Off the Spirits of the Newly Departed

On the morning of 16 August, all family members and relatives go to the cemetery with the *kiriko* lanterns and other items that had decorated their household lantern. They offer them at the graves. This was done on the 20th until 1943, when it began to be performed by the new calendar.

3. Nakiri's Dainenbutsu and Umbrella Floats: Discussion

Now that we have looked at the Bon events in Nakiri, I want to extract some key points and discuss them here.

3.1 The History of Nakiri's Dainenbutsu

At this time, no historical documents from before the modern period related to the Dainenbutsu have been found, but there is a 1976 text by Hidemori Tenrei on the origins of the Dainenbutsu. It describes how the Dainenbutsu was carried out more than forty years ago.¹⁷ Although somewhat lengthy, I present it here because of its valuable content.

In Nakiri, until recently, there was a layperson *nenbutsu* group called the *toshiyori goninshū*. Similar to *kōya hijiri* 高野聖, one could say. . . .

For a long time, the people of Nakiri performed the Dainenbutsu at the edge of the waves on the beach Hōmon-no-hama (currently, due to coastal construction, the ceremony is held in the open area of the town-owned cemetery). On the 14th during Bon, to welcome the spirits returning from beyond the sea, two trunks of green bamboo are erected . . . and a net is stretched between them, and households with newly departed hang small white paper lanterns from it for each departed person. The lanterns bear the posthumous name of the newly departed. A hut is constructed and curtained, and a group memorial paper lantern, with the posthumous names of all the newly departed, is placed inside. It looks like the below illustration.

In the morning, the temple holds the feeding of the hungry ghosts, and from around 3:00 p.m. in the afternoon, children holding paper banners with the names of the departed written on them accompany the umbrella floats (a coarse oil-paper umbrella [*bangasa* 番傘] surrounded by a white cloth, inside of which are certain items, such as a lantern, things left by the departed, and offertory fresh vegetables) to the venue. Before World War II, children wore white headbands and white sashes and carried the banners on adults' shoulders. At the venue, the group of five strikes the bell and recites the *nenbutsu*. When the name caller calls out a name, a large drum (called *gaku* 楽) is struck 66 times for each spirit. Previously, there was the cry, "Ya (a)more, yassa, yassa."

¹⁷ Hidemori, "Dainenbutsu no yurai nitsuite no kōsatsu," pp. 23–24.

Comparing the above with today, several things have changed, the most significant being the disappearance of the group of five. With there no longer being any professional *nenbutsu* reciters, the format was changed to the current one, where women chant the *nenbutsu* in the *nenbutsu* hut. This hut is also referred to in the text as the “group memorial lantern hut.” Inside there were guards on either side of the group memorial lantern. It appears to have been treated with more cautious care than today. In any case, it is clear that in Nakiri’s rituals for the spirits of the newly departed, the work of the temple and its priests and that of five older adults were carried out in parallel. Regarding this, Hidemori notes that Zen temples in the area date back to the Sengoku period (1467–1615) at the earliest, and that the Bon feeding of the hungry ghosts has been done since then. He speculates that *nenbutsu*, typically considered a practice of Pure Land Buddhism, may have already taken root among the local residents before Zen spread.

The next major change is the banner-holding children. The white headbands and sashes probably signify diligence and pure behavior. Also, before the war, the children did not walk themselves but were carried on adults’ shoulders. Not allowing children playing the role of deities to step on the ground can be seen in local festivals, such as the Gion Matsuri’s *naginataboko* 長刀鉾 float children called *chigo* 稚児. Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 says this is because “the spiritual power of a child playing a sacred role escapes when their feet touch the ground.”¹⁸ It seems that the children who hold banners with the new departed’s posthumous names are playing a sacred role.

In addition, the call “Ya (a)amore, yassa, yassa” is now lost, and I did not come across the “inner dance,” in which people circled inside of the Dainenbutsu in pilgrim clothes, in my research. Who was in charge of that dance? People’s pilgrim-like appearances can be thought of as both *furyū* costumes and symbols of the newly departed’s spirits.

3.2 Multi-layered Yorishiro

The Nakiri First Bon events are unique in that the act of enshrining the spirits of the newly departed is performed in various settings.

Households with newly departed bring sandals to the graves to welcome the spirits of the newly departed before households without newly departed do so. A special shelf for the newly departed’s memorial tablet is set up in people’s houses. Around it hang *kiriko* lanterns given by the newly departed’s relatives. Eave lanterns are hung from bamboo leaves tied in a crisscross pattern at the gates of the houses of the newly departed, and the feeding of the hungry ghosts ceremony for the newly departed is held at houses, not at temples.

¹⁸ Yanagita, “Kataguruma kō,” p. 191.

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For the Dainenbutsu, a group memorial lantern is prepared with the names of all of Nakiri's newly departed, and it is placed in the *nenbutsu* hut at the venue. Lanterns with the newly departed's posthumous names are hung in a place with the ocean in the background. When the Dainenbutsu begins, the name of each newly departed is called out, the drum is sounded, and the *nenbutsu* is recited. Then people ready umbrella floats, from which are hung favorite articles of the newly departed, banners with their posthumous names, and other items. These are marched around in a large circle. As for the umbrella floats, people who knew the departed take turns carrying the umbrella.

After these communal events are over, the families and relatives of households with newly departed head to the graves after other households without newly departed and offer *kiriko* lanterns.

In this way, households, temples, and the local community are involved in the First Bon events of Nakiri in a multi-layered manner, and the newly departed's *yorishiro* are not only the Dainenbutsu's umbrella floats. Items that appear to be *yorishiro* of the newly departed—eaves lanterns at houses' gate entrances, the memorial tablets and the special shelves on which the tablets are enshrined, *kiriko* lanterns, the group memorial lantern, banners with the names of the departed—also exist in a multi-layered structure.

Ueki states that newly departed spirits are not dealt with on a household-by-household basis but are entertained and sent off by the entire community because of their potential to become vengeful. This point only stands if we only focus on the Dainenbutsu; there are *yorishiro* of the newly departed outside of those that are entertained and sent off at that event.

While, of course, the emergence of the cautiously respectful way that the community comforts the newly departed at the Dainenbutsu—the group memorial lantern, posthumous name banners, and umbrella floats—is due to a fear of curses, is there not another reason for the other ways in which communal reverence displayed toward the deceased, such as the *motoya* system that reflects community hierarchy, the circulation of a list of the newly departed to have society recognize them, and the relay of the umbrella floats by people connected to the newly departed? Namely, the strong unity that once existed in the area's skipjack fishing industry. The community revering spirits is a prominent part of the Bon events in other coastal villages as well: in Numazu 沼津 in Shizuoka, where I am from, villagers light torches to welcome and send off the spirits of the dead during Bon, and in the Kōgasaki 甲ヶ崎 area of Obama 小浜 in Fukui, where I have done survey work, large straw boats carry households' plank stupas out to sea.

3.3 Interaction Between the Dead and the Living

Nakiri's Dainenbutsu is the community sending off the newly departed's spirits. This can be seen in the placing of the group memorial lantern at the center of the venue.

While the umbrella floats, brought from the households of the newly departed, are paraded around in a circle, one by one the names of the newly departed are called out, and a drum is sounded and the *nenbutsu* recited for each of them.

During this procession, the *gacha gacha*, in which children hit posthumous name banners against each other, takes place. This act of hitting until the banners are in tatters and putting the poles that remain into the ocean probably signified a farewell that prevents the newly departed from remaining in this world.

Nearby in the Shimotsuura 下津浦 area of Nanseichō 南勢町, the *yassa yassa* pole toppling performed by people at the First Bon is for driving away misfortune. It is said failure to do so will lead to the spread of infectious disease in the year.¹⁹ In the Anori 安乗 area of Agochō 阿児町 as well, about fifteen children used to clash with bamboo sticks wrapped in cloth. This was called *kariyai* カリヤイ.²⁰ In the Goza 御座 area of Shimachō 志摩町, children read off posthumous names written on heavy paper and then tear it up. This is called “receiving the *nenbutsu*” (*nenbutsu o morau* 念仏をもらう).²¹ This can be seen as guiding the departed to enlightenment.

The Japanese view of children can be seen in the fact that in the Dainenbutsu ceremony, the children guide the deceased, which is usually performed by priests at funerals and other such occasions. Only children were allowed to commit violent acts against Sainokami サイノカミ and Jizō, and children have played the role of priests in such Shinto and Buddhist rituals.²² A similar feature can be seen in the children’s *gacha gacha*.

However, even after such parting rituals are over, people continue passing around the umbrella floats for some time. When a person comes across an umbrella float for a newly departed with whom they had ties, the person approaches it and takes over holding the umbrella. In the funeral rites that immediately follow death, rituals with the two opposing elements of adoring and parting ways have been performed without any incongruity. In *gacha gacha* and the passing of the umbrella floats as well, such opposing elements exist.

I heard about a certain person who, upon learning that an estranged friend had passed away, said, “I used to fight with him, but now he’s a newly departed, so I gotta go hold his umbrella.” The umbrella floats of the Dainenbutsu are not only *yorishiro* for the spirits of the dead, but also function to create spaces where the dead and the living can interact.

In the Bon Dance of the island of Manabeshima 真鍋島 in Okayama, dancers cover their faces with a cloth or a *sugegasa* すげ笠 hat to symbolize the spirits of the departed, and to show that the people memorializing the deceased are simultaneously spirits

¹⁹ Nanseichōshi Hensan Iinkai, *Nanseichōshi*, p. 533.

²⁰ Micken, *Miekenshi*, p. 449.

²¹ Shimachōshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shimachōshi*, p. 558.

²² Hattori, *Kodomo shūdan to minzoku shakai*.

receiving offerings.²³ Umbrella floats unite the living and the dead in this sense.

There are other examples of the dead and the living interacting or becoming one when spirits are sent off. In the city of Sakaide's 坂出 island of Yoshima 与島 in Kagawa, there is a dance in which families marking the First Bon carry memorial tablets of the departed on their backs. This is referred to as the Tōro Odori 灯籠踊り (Lantern dance) or Hotoke Odori 仏踊り (Buddha dance). *Kiriko* lanterns, which are said to represent the spirits of the newly departed, are hung from the tower from which the Bon Odori *ondodashi* 音頭出し singers hang off, and when the memorial tablets of the First Bon families are lined up on the table in front of the tower, the Bon Odori begins. From the tower, the Tōrō Odori song continues to be sung while the personal name and family name of each person that died in the past year is called out (for example, "Let's summon Nishida-san, may [Nishida] Tadashi-san rest in peace"). In the slow-moving clockwise Bon Odori circle, there is a dancer carrying the memorial tablet of the newly departed, wrapped in cloth, on their back. The island of Hitsuishijima 櫃石島 has a dance in which the newly departed's lanterns are displayed in a seaside area and their family members dance while carrying memorial tablets on their back. The dance is called the Shinrei Odori 心霊踊り (New spirits dance). There is no song that calls out the names of the newly deceased, but the *ondotori* sings the *odorikudoki* to the accompaniment of a large drum. People dance while taking turns with the memorial tablet on their back, and it is said that when a person who had applied water to the deceased person's lips after death (*shinimizu o toru* 死に水を取る) does so, they feel warmth on their back.²⁴

Furukawa Shūhei 古川周平, who has written about this, says that the memorial tablets carried on the dancers' backs make visible the spirits of the newly departed, and that dancing with these tablets on the back expresses that the spirits of the dead are alive and moving in unison with the dancers' bodies.

In the Bon Odori of the islands of Ōsakikamijima 大崎上島 in Hiroshima and Hotojima 保戸島 in Oita, people dance with the portrait of the departed on their backs. It appears that people used to do so with memorial tablets until recently.²⁵

Conclusion

This paper has considered umbrella floats in light of New Bon events in Nakiri. As has been noted in previous scholarship, there is no doubt that the umbrella floats of Nakiri's

²³ Okayamakenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Okayamakenshi*, p. 197.

²⁴ Furukawa, "Shiryō no sōsō girei to shite no bon odori."

²⁵ According to Kagawaken, *Kagawakenshi*, p. 521, people from households with newly departed danced with memorial tablets on their backs during the Bon Odori on the island of Teshima 手島 in Marugame 丸亀 as well. When considering the transmission of such customs, it is interesting to note that many of the local servants (*hōkōnin* 奉公人) came from the Okayama islands of Kitagishima 北木島 and Manabeshima.

Dainenbutsu play the role of the newly departed's *yorishiro*, as they appear when spirits are sent off by the community. However, this a conclusion that only takes into account the Dainenbutsu, and is not a comprehensive explanation of the various *yorishiro* found in Nakiri's Bon events. In addition to the umbrella floats, *yorishiro* of the newly departed exist in a multi-layered fashion. These include, of course, the Dainenbutsu group memorial lantern and posthumous name banners, as well as the memorial tablets and *kiriko* lanterns enshrined in houses.

This means that the places enshrining the newly departed also exist in a multi-layered fashion. These places were created on top of the human relationships that spread out like a web within the local community.

The ties between people in the community are well illustrated by the umbrella floats being passed around to people with ties to the newly departed during the Dainenbutsu. Umbrella floats are community tools that connect and unite the dead and the living, as well as the living with each other.

Currently, the increase in family-only funerals and graves being dismantled (*haka jimai* 墓じまい) is a societal issue. In Nakiri as well, the aging of the population is making it difficult to carry on these events. As people say, "The elderly can't walk around with those umbrellas." If this trend accelerates, death will become even more abstract as the relationship between the dead and the living diminishes. Nakiri umbrella floats bring into relief a certain view of life and death precisely because we live in such an era. Who do I want to hold my umbrella float after my death? Whose umbrella float do I yearn to hold? . . . Asking ourselves these questions reminds us of how we should live our lives amidst relationships with others.

Future tasks for research include investigating and building a body of data about the distribution of umbrella floats throughout Japan. For example, I once conducted a survey of the Shōnai 庄内 region's *kasafuku* 傘福, umbrellas with *chirimen* 縮緬 handicrafts in the shape of lucky charms, such as monkeys, peaches, and shrimp. While some say that their origin can be traced back to the turtle umbrella float (*kame kasahoko* 亀傘鉾), that Honma Mitsuoka 本間光丘 had a Kyoto doll maker construct for the Sannō Matsuri 山王祭 in Sakata 酒田, the *kasafuku* made by common people have been offered to temples and shrines to pray for safe childbirth, children's growth, and improvement in needlework skills. The umbrella floats at the Sakata temple Kaikōji's 海向寺 Kannondō 観音堂 have been offered to pray for easy childbirth and healing of women's illnesses.²⁶ At Shōryūji 青竜寺 in Tsuruoka 鶴岡, on 24 March and 24 August (or the last Sunday in August), the youngest wives of each household gathered at the temple to make and present umbrella

²⁶ Hattori, "Shōnai chihō ni okeru hina matsuri no kazarimono."

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floats to pray for safe childbirth and children's growth.²⁷ In addition, during the Edo period at the Gion Matsuri of Hiromine Jinja 広峯神社 in Obama, there were umbrella floats strongly influenced by Kyoto's Gion Matsuri. However, it is said that after entering the modern period, these floats were dropped, leaving only rod wielders (*bōfuri* 棒振り) and a large drum.²⁸ I plan to engage in local research by extracting various folkloric elements from the specific forms of umbrella floats handed down in various places and clarifying which elements played a strong role in the localization of umbrella floats.

(Translated by Dylan Luers Toda)

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²⁷ Seijō Daigaku Minzokugaku Kenkyūkai, *Shōryūji minzokushi*, p. 45.

²⁸ Kakitō, "Obama Gion Matsuri no hoko," pp. 15–28.

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