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## Female Shamans in Eastern Japan during the Edo Period

### Abstract

Female shamans (*miko*) who transmitted the voices of the dead or departed have been active in Japan from ancient times to the present day. Particularly those in the far northeast and on the southernmost islands have been subject to much fieldwork and study. Yet most such research lacks a historical dimension. This paper seeks to offer some historical contextualization and analysis of female shamans in the Kantō region during the Edo Period (1600–1868). The study focuses on the control of *miko* by the institution headed by Tamura Hachidayū, *miko* occupations, anti-*miko* discourse, and the end of *miko* organizations during the early Meiji period. It suggests that *miko* institutions underwent considerable historical transformation over time and that *miko* practices were far more heterogeneous than is usually assumed.

**Keywords:** shamans—*miko*—*azusa miko*—Tamura Hachidayū—Sanja Gongen—Shinto

**T**HANKS largely to the efforts of many anthropologists and folklorists, including of course Peter Knecht, the longtime editor of this journal, the ghostly outlines of contemporary Japanese shamanism have begun to be transmitted to a non-Japanese readership. A rough picture had already emerged from publications of the 1960s and 70s (HORI 1968, 181–215; BLACKER 1975; HORI 1975) and in succeeding years more narrowly focused studies have filled in many gaps. RUCH (1990), for example, has presented a short description of medieval shamans, while BOUCHY (1992), MILLER (1993), KAWAMURA (1994), SASAMORI (1995), FRITSCH (1996, 232–47), and KNECHT (1997) have provided detailed accounts of the customs and arts of shamans in the Japanese northeast. In addition, female shamans in the Miyako islands on southern islands have been surveyed by TAKIGUCHI (1984; 2003a and 2003b).

Most studies of Japanese shamanism, particularly those in Western languages, tend to approach the subject from a phenomenological, psychologistic, or folkloristic angle. Historical features are thus usually relegated to the sidelines. Even when historical issues have been thematized, they have usually been framed in broad and vague terms, or limited to changes accompanying post-1868 forces of modernization and Westernization.<sup>1</sup> BLACKER (1975), for instance, offers a discussion of ancient shamanism only to leap almost directly into the twentieth century. IREGAMI (1994), on the other hand, supplies meticulous historical data regarding shamans in the northeast of Japan, but his dependence on newspaper reports requires him to focus entirely on twentieth-century conditions. Although twentieth-century studies based on fieldwork differ significantly in details, most authors present the view that Japanese female shamans were visually impaired, largely independent agents whose practices varied little over time.

In this short study I shall not seek to provide a general historical overview of Japanese shamanism. Instead, I wish to consider only a small segment of *miko* (神子 or 巫女) history: the rise and fall of Kantō-based female shamans known as *kuchiyose miko*, *azusa miko*, *ichiko*, and the like (below, I shall refer to them simply as *miko*). These *miko* made important contributions to the popular religious culture during the Edo period (1600–1868). Their history indicates that

what emerges from twentieth-century fieldwork is only a geographically and historically limited picture of a far broader phenomenon.

TAMURA HACHIDAYŪ AND THE SANJA GONGEN

One well-known nineteenth-century description of *miko* reads as follows:

*Agata miko* [県神子, literally “rural shamans”] or *azusa miko* [梓神子, literally “catalpa-bow (in fact cherry-birch) shamans”], also known as *ichiko* 市子... come under the control of the “Master of sacred dance” of “integrated Shinto” [*shūgōshintō* 習合神道], a certain Tamura who lives at Tawara-chō in Asakusa in Edo. He is the Shinto priest of the Sanja Gongen 三社権現, and not under the control of either the Yoshida or Shirakawa houses [of Shinto]. The husbands of *miko* are all Shintoists [*shindōja*] of “integrated Shinto.” These *miko* often travel throughout the land to make a living, but at the end of the year they always come back to their home province. Those who control them strictly forbid them to spend the turn of the year in another province.

(*Masaki no kazura*, p. 373)

The portrait sketched by this writer shares little with descriptions found in modern fieldwork reports. Nothing is said of a visual impairment, though *miko* with a visual impairment were indeed common in many northeastern areas during the Edo Period.<sup>2</sup> Nor do these *miko* appear to be the rootless, discriminated vagabonds Ruch has discovered in the medieval era.<sup>3</sup> For the *miko* mentioned above, religious occupation was related to their marriage to a Shinto priest or similar religious practitioner, perhaps someone who saw after rituals and ceremonies at a local shrine. As late Edo-Period documents from Nagano Prefecture indicate, young women who wished to serve as *miko* might also be adopted into the family of a “manager” (*sairyō* 宰領), someone perhaps also associated with a local religious institution. The “manager” toured with them and presumably reaped significant profits from their labor (NAGAOKA 1958, 697–701).

As the above citation suggests, Edo-Period Kantō-area Shinto practitioners, *sairyō*, and the *miko* who worked for them generally came under the control of “Tamura who lives at Tawara-chō in Asakusa,” a man with the hereditary name Tamura Hachidayū 田村八太夫. For much of the period he (below I shall refer to him as an individual) assumed the title “Head of the masters of sacred dance of integrated Shinto” (*shūgōshintō shinji* [or *jinji*] *mai-dayū kashira* 習合神道神事舞太夫頭), or, more compactly, *shinji mai-dayū kashira* (“Head of masters of sacred dance”). From the early eighteenth century Tamura’s jurisdiction extended to a large number of *miko* and “dance masters” (*mai-dayū*; men who might also serve as *sairyō*) in the eight Kantō provinces and a few in the provinces of Shinano (today Nagano Prefecture), Kai (today Yamanashi Prefecture), and the

Aizu region (today Fukushima Prefecture).<sup>4</sup> Tamura's rule was limited to *miko* who engaged in practices such as invoking the voices of the deceased or departed.<sup>5</sup> Neither he nor his precursors were allowed to regulate the kinds of *miko* who performed *kagura* at shrines in the Kantō area or environs, though some of his charges may have danced such genres anyhow. In any case, no *kagura miko* were attached to the Sanja Gongen, the shrine that served as Tamura's base of operations (MATSUDAIRA 1939, 151).

The shrine known as the Sanja Gongen (lit., "avatars of the three shrines"—in 1868 it was rechristened "Sanja Myōjin-sha" and in 1873 "Asakusa Jinja") was located within the Sensōji complex at Asakusa in Edo. It enshrined the three mythical founders of the Sensōji and was the site of a host of annual rituals, invocations, and observances, including sacred dances and other ceremonies conducted by Tamura and his assistants. The shrine was also the center of one of Edo's grandest festivals, the "Sanja matsuri," usually held biannually on 3/17–18.<sup>6</sup>

Tamura's professed faith of "integrated Shinto" apparently combined tenets of Shinto with esoteric Buddhism and even elements of Confucianism.<sup>7</sup> Its main function, however, was to distinguish Tamura and his organization from those of the far more powerful Kyoto or Ise-based schools of Shinto, as well as from the institutions of yin-yang diviners. Without such legitimacy, Tamura would have had a hard time justifying his rightful jurisdiction over the figures from which he derived the bulk of his income.

#### TAMURA HACHIDAYŪ'S HISTORY AND THE CONTROL OF MIKO

According to a 1684 document penned by Tamura Hachidayū's occupational precursor Kōwaka Kandayū 幸若勘太夫 (or Kōmatsu Kandayū 幸松勘太夫; the name Kōwaka may have been merely an "artist's name"), the latter's ancestor had received an official "vermillion-seal certificate" during the sixth month 1618 from none other than Tokugawa Ieyasu (who had in fact died in 1616). This weighty license supposedly granted Kandayū control of the "dance masters" (*mai-dayū*) and female "catalpa-bow shamans" (*azusa miko*) of the eight Kantō provinces, over 600 people in all (HAYASHI 1993, 3; for a 1790 listing of villages and number of houses see HAYASHI 2003, 64–65). Records from 1800 identify the initial recipient of Ieyasu's largesse as Kōmatsu Kan'emon 幸松勘右衛門; supposedly his son called himself Kandayū. Kan'emon had apparently arrived from Mikawa Province, the ancestral home of the Tokugawa family. Once in Edo, he was allegedly granted a plot of land at Tawara-chō and permitted to supervise the "dance masters" of Edo and the Kantō provinces (MATSUDAIRA 1942, 614).<sup>8</sup>

Whatever the truth of these assertions may be, a performer of *kōwaka* dances named Kandayū was indeed active during the late sixteenth century and probably succeeded in ingratiating himself with the Tokugawa clan. The general sociopolitical context against which Kandayū may have been awarded

the rights to supervise at least some of the “dance masters” in the region is also fairly clear. From the early seventeenth century the Tokugawa *bakufu* began to issue a series of laws and edicts designed to cement hierarchical relationships among Buddhist temples and to contain and organize most religious professionals operating outside the established Buddhist order. The main *shugen* (修験, “mountain ascetics”) institutions were already subject to important regulations in 1613. In 1640 the *bakufu* set up an office of religious registration (*shūmon aratame-yaku*) for territory under its direct control (in 1664 other domains were ordered to do the same) in order to enforce the ban on Christianity and the laws demanding everyone be registered with a Buddhist temple. In 1665 the *Shosha negi kannushi hatto* (諸社禰宜神主法度, ordinances for shrine priests) placed most shrines under the control of the Yoshida house. In 1683, jurisdiction over yin-yang diviners was granted to the Tsuchimikado house, which may have also lost control over female shamans to Kandyū’s association. Thereafter, the magistrates of temples and shrines continued to survey and seek to regulate all religious figures outside the official Buddhist, *shugen*, and Yoshida Shinto orders by issuing more edicts and decrees. Even though the role or position of female shamans in most of these laws and pronouncements was left unspecified, such women also found themselves subject to increasing restrictions and control. In some cases the interests of the *bakufu* in controlling popular religion and the interests of religious practitioners seeking official approval overlapped. In other cases, those who were to be registered, organized, and managed fiercely opposed any new strictures.

Once Kandyū was installed as head of “dance masters,” he no doubt set about fortifying his authority over female shamans. This, however, proved to be a difficult task. Any shaman or shaman-like religionist might engage in numerous occupations simultaneously, be licensed by various other venerable families, or perform heterogeneous genres—some traditional, some newfangled—depending on the occasion. Who controlled what was not something that had ever been frozen in time and stipulated in contracts or verifiable documents. Instead, “tradition” was a historically contingent amalgam, the result of complex habits, gradual change, piecemeal legislation, unsystematic court rulings, unpredictable political successes and failures. The vagueness and contradictory nature of extant practices and rights meant that Kandyū, in order to sustain or extend his influence, constantly found himself embroiled in disputes and lawsuits regarding the extent and degree of control over certain types of performers or specific genres and activities. Some of these problems and their consequences are listed in the following excerpt from a petition that Tamura Hachidayū submitted to the government in 1712 (all the officials named were magistrates of temples and shrines).

In the past, Kōwaka [a.k.a. Kōmatsu] Kandayū did not understand the house rules of “integrated Shinto” and issued occupational licenses, without, of course, consulting the officials and group heads (*yakunin kumigashira* 役人組頭) of the “masters of sacred dance.” He thereby made it very difficult for provincial subordinates to [uphold?] the old laws of “integrated Shinto.”

Thereafter [in 1693], Kandayū was involved in a dispute with yin-yang diviners regarding his house’s profession, and in 1695/11 Toda Noto-no-kami issued a verdict ordering that he be banished. At that time I, like my forefathers, served in the capacity of assistant to the “Master of sacred dance.” We consulted with officials and group heads of the “masters of sacred dance” and in 1696/4 submitted to the magistrates Honda Kii-no-kami, Toda Noto-no-kami, Nagai Iga-no-kami, and Inoue Yamato-no-kami the rules of the trade of the “catalpa-bow shamans” (*azusa-shoku*). We explained that these shamans are engaged in “bringing down” the gods, in performing *misaki-age* 神差帰上, prayers, and the [use of] sacred Shinto staffs, all in accordance with [the teachings of] “integrated Shinto.”<sup>9</sup> This was investigated and duly recorded. On 1696/5/18 Toda Noto-no-kami granted a [new] occupational permit and assigned it to us. He ordered that all permits that Kandayū had issued and distributed to subordinates be collected. This brought to a close the investigation of Kandayū. Thereafter men and women again engaged in the occupations of our house according to precedent and the teachings of “integrated Shinto.” Later, [in 1698/4] my son-in-law [also named] Kandayū filed an appeal with Matsudaira Shima-no-kami to be granted single headship.<sup>10</sup>

Then, in 1702, a dispute regarding occupations occurred with “Ebisu petitioners” [*Ebisu gannin* 恵比寿願人].<sup>11</sup> Abe Hida-no-kami was notified, and at a meeting of officials on ic. 8/27 Honda Danjō-shōhitsu, with Nagai Iga-no-kami present, inspected the history of the “Masters of sacred dance,” as well as a description of occupations and three illustrations and gave a verdict. At that time a document was presented to each official at the magistrates’ office regarding the men and women engaging in the occupations of “integrated Shinto.”

Six [by Western count, five] years ago, on 1707/12/18, [the new] Kandayū was involved in a dispute with yin-yang diviners. He was relieved of his headship because he had committed an indiscretion. According to precedent, I appealed to Honda Danjō-shōhitsu to appoint a successor head, but was told that it was not possible to appoint two heads, after one was exiled, which is reasonable. On 1708/3/18, after an appeal was made regarding occupational matters to Torii Harima-no-kami, Honda Danjō-shōhitsu took up the matter in a meeting with Horii Tango-no-kami in attendance

and occupational licenses were approved and granted. As a result, men and women were permitted to engage in the rites of “integrated Shinto.”<sup>12</sup>

In various provinces itinerant rural shamans (*miko*) pose as catalpa-bow shamans (*azusa miko*) who are under my control. The former types of *miko* practice a catalpa-bow occupation (*azusa shoku* 梓職). Because of this, individuals under my control are [unfairly] questioned. Meanwhile other types of *miko* maintain that they are associated with other houses; yet others claim, when they are questioned by those from these other houses, that they are *azusa miko*. This causes confusion and problems. Since those under my control live in many provinces, it is difficult to investigate each case individually. I therefore beg for permission to fashion certificates for the *azusa miko* under my control to be carried along with other articles *azusa miko* traditionally carry. These certificates shall be endorsed by a seal. As a result, the unofficial *miko* mentioned earlier will be eliminated. Disputes with *miko* from other houses will not occur and those under my jurisdiction shall be placed under more stringent control. Please accept and review my appeal on this occasion and grant me a merciful decision. Both I and my subordinates wish to express our appreciation.

1712/10, year of the dragon

Head of the “Masters of sacred dance”: Tamura Hachidayū (seal),

(To:) The Magistrates of Temples and Shrines

(*Shinji mai-dayū yuishogaki*; see also HAYASHI 1993, 5–6)

The above account chronicles several milestones along the tortuous path of separating and clarifying spheres of influence and rights over various arts. Since it focuses only on matters pertaining to Tamura Hachidayū’s immediate purposes, it is hardly complete, failing to mention, for example, that the Yoshida house of Shinto had already issued an edict in 1650 stipulating that “catalpa-shamans” and similar types were not to serve at shrine functions (*shin’yaku* 神役), something they had evidently done in the past.<sup>13</sup> The cited passage also omits the fact that as early as 1667 Kandayū had been involved in a dispute with “Ebisu petitioners” over the rights of distributing certain types of amulets or talismans, of which more will be said later. This row probably resulted from the fact that the god Ebisu was normally worshipped in tandem with the god Daikoku 大黒, whose talismans Kandayū (and later Tamura Hachidayū) would claim as his monopoly. This quarrel appears to have been resolved by allowing Kandayū’s underlings to distribute Daikoku talismans and the “Ebisu petitioners” to peddle their “Ebisu talimans,” while both sides were to cease and desist from dealing in “twelve-god talismans” (*jūni-ten fuda* 十二天札, twelve protector gods of Buddhism), talismans normally handled by yin-yang diviners (SATŌ 1998, 245–49). Once again, both Kandayū and the *bakufu* were evidently seeking

to sort out a complex social situation, riddled with precedent, strife, and conflicting interests, in order to grant each party its “appropriate” rights. And, as usual, the issue was never fully settled. In fact, Tamura Hachidayū continued to produce and vend small wooden images of both Ebisu and Daikoku at the year-end fair that took place annually at the Sensōji (MATSUDAIRA 1942, 422).

The petition cited above also remained silent regarding a 1672/6/27 court case involving “dance masters” and “mountain ascetics” (*yamabushi*). The outcome of this row seems to have been that “dance masters” were ordered to take *azusa-miko* as their wives (HAYASHI 1993, 3). Perhaps *bakufu* administrators were seeking stricter regulation of provincial “itinerant rural shamans” (wives and daughters of *yamabushi*?) of whom Tamura Hachidayū complains in the above document.

The 1693 conflict appears to have been initiated by a campaign to count and register those in Kandayū’s organization, ostensibly because Kandayū’s rights were being infringed by yin-yang diviners, who had been extending their power and influence in the Kantō region since the previous decade. In 1693/3 Kandayū made the mistake of submitting a spurious document to the magistrate of temples and shrines backing his claim. Two years later, in 1695, Kandayū and the yin-yang diviners faced off in court and the former apparently again submitted a fraudulent document. The authorities did not look lightly on this ruse and banished Kandayū (HAYASHI 1993, 4–5; 2003, 58–59). The magistrates, however also appear to have ruled that “catalpa-bow individuals” (*azusa-kata* 梓方) did not come under the control of the Tsuchimikado house. The Tsuchimikado apparently acceded to this decision and in 1695/5 the heads of their Kantō office ordered that their wives and daughters should not “associate indiscriminately” with (i.e., join the ranks of) female shamans controlled by other houses (HAYASHI 1998, 281). In 1695/8 the magistrate of temples and shrines had both sides proffer written listings of their occupations and promises not to interfere with one another’s activities (evidently such documents had in fact already been submitted in 1684; see HAYASHI 2003, 59–60). *Miko* were now separated not just from “Ebisu petitioners” and *yamabushi*, but also from yin-yang diviners.

It was only on 1708/3/18, after another lawsuit involving yin-yang diviners, that Kandayū’s assistant Tamura Hachidayū, who had probably arrived from rural Sagami Province (today Kanagawa Prefecture) a generation or more earlier, was promoted to the position of “head” (*kashira*) of the organization of “dance masters” in Edo and the surrounding provinces. On 1713/1/18, after two years of official investigations and a petition by Tamura Hachidayū, the magistrates of temples and shrines granted him full official jurisdiction over “catalpa shamans” in the same geographical area.<sup>14</sup> Tamura’s star continued to rise for some time thereafter. In 1726 he was allowed to wear formal clothing befitting his station; on 1752/5/6 he was awarded “universal jurisdiction” (*sō-shihai*) of his



organization (*Shisō zasshiki*, fascicle 36, p. 838). Finally, in 1766 he was granted the high privilege of donning a sword, a right that extended to his male underlings. Throughout the period he bragged that both he and his subordinates, young and old, men and women, maintained warrior status (*Edo machikata kakiage*, *Asakusa [jō]*, p. 321).

By the mid-eighteenth century Tamura Hachidayū had thus succeeded in establishing a fairly secure base of control over *miko* in the Kantō era. *Miko* living in his sphere of influence who wished to practice their trade openly and who were not associated with other approved institutions (such as *shugen* sects) now needed to be licensed by his organization.<sup>15</sup> A document, probably from the eighteenth century, from Takasaki (today in Gunma Prefecture) notes that a fee of 600 coppers was paid twice a year to Tamura, regardless how many “catalpa-bow shamans” and “sacred dance masters” were active in town (GUNMA-KEN SHI HENSAN IINKAI 1978, 258). Similar fees pouring in from countless towns and villages throughout the Kantō area must have allowed Tamura to live far better than the average religionist in Edo.

After the first half of the eighteenth century, however, Tamura Hachidayū’s fortunes began to wane, first slowly and then with increasing speed. By 1838 he was complaining that since the 1720s some seven hundred to eight hundred rural families once under his control in the countryside had been ruined and that his jurisdiction now extended only to some thirty-odd houses (*Sensōji nikki*, vol. 21, pp. 522–523). After the mid-nineteenth century he was even relying on loans from rural subordinates in Sagami Province to stave off a complete collapse (HAYASHI 1998, 280). Documents from Nagano Prefecture also confirm that the number of houses under Tamura’s control declined rapidly after the mid-eighteenth century. His funds were drying up and his demands were increasingly ignored. *Miko* were even spending the end of the year wandering the streets of distant parts (NAGAOKA 1958, 699, 703) and in 1788 the *bakufu* had to step in to prevent villages in Kai and Suruga from putting up signs prohibiting *miko* from passing through or working in the area.<sup>16</sup>

The reasons for this decline are complex, probably a combined result of the power of the Yoshida house in regulating Shinto-based activities, a gradual impoverishment of the lower strata of rural society in some areas of the Kantō region and environs, and the lack of an efficient apparatus for enforcing Tamura Hachidayū’s monopoly privileges. As *kagura* was becoming a more commercialized endeavor Tamura’s “dance masters” were selling their performances to whatever shrine or village had the money to pay for them. A handful of the better troupes no doubt drove smaller, less adept ones out of business. Female shamans probably also increasingly relied on local demand for their services rather than on the authority provided by Tamura’s organization.

## MIKO OCCUPATIONS

Just as the institutions regulating *miko* activities experienced historical change, so did *miko* occupations. Many of the lawsuits and altercations of the seventeenth century sought to separate the types of *miko* Kandayū or Tamura Hachidayū controlled from those that engaged in religious rituals of the sort that the Yoshida house, yin-yang diviners, or “mountain ascetics” believed to be their own right and privilege.

The earliest extant listing of occupations associated with *miko* under the rule of Kandayū dates from 1695/8/18, when the magistrates of temples and shrines sought to separate the occupations of yin-yang diviners from those of “dance masters” (this listing had apparently already been approved in 1684). So-called “catalpa women” (梓女) were allowed to “cut out paper ‘blue-robe’<sup>17</sup> talismans and paste them across the hearth being exorcised,” “New Year’s distribution of *ema* (絵馬, a kind of votive picture; in the case of *miko*, also sometimes referred to as “*ema* talismans” *ema-fuda* 絵馬札) depicting a monkey pulling a horse,” and “transmission of the voices of the dead using rosary beads” (HAYASHI 2003, 60).

Shortly thereafter, as Tamura Hachidayū explained in the document cited earlier, a 1696 petition (approved on 1698/5/9) again outlined the proper occupations of *azusa miko*. This document, whose details are unclear, appears to have provided Tamura, at the time the assistant of the banished Kandayū, with some degree of control over catalpa-bow shamans. A few years later, in records related to the legal decision of 1702/ic.8/27 regarding the “Ebisu petitioners,” “catalpa women” were renamed “catalpa shamans” (*azusa miko* 梓神子). Such women were now ordered to limit themselves to distributing “images of the god Daikoku,” “blue-robe” talismans of the god Kōjin (the god of the hearth), and *ema* (*Shisō zasshiki*, fascicle 36, p. 838). From 1711/1/18 the proper occupations of *miko* were again subject to an official inquiry (*Mikikigusa*, vol. 14 [fascicle *zoku* 6/4], 124) and on 1713/1/18 a decision was made regarding their nature (*Shisō zasshiki*, fascicle 36, p. 838). The details, reprinted on licenses distributed to *miko*, acknowledged that *azusa miko* maintained traditional rights of “appealing to all the gods” (*shoshin kanjō* 諸神勸請) and engaging in practices requiring the use of the catalpa bow. They were to carry out a form of exorcism that might be translated as “ceremony of rising to the gods” *misaki-age no hōshiki* (神差帰上之法式),<sup>18</sup> perform “protective Kōjin purification ceremonies” (*Kōjin chinjū no harae* 荒神鎮重之祓, probably an exorcism of the family hearth), and, when requested by patrons, offer prayers in the tradition of “integrated Shinto” while wielding a Shinto wand (*heihaku* 幣帛) (*Mikikigusa*, vol. 14 [fascicle *zoku* 6/4], 124–125). This broadening of the scope of *miko* activities emphasized ritualistic elements and must have allowed Tamura to strengthen the spiritual base of his

organization and provide something of a common ground for all those under his control.

Further changes promoting unity within Tamura's institution can be found in a listing of occupations approved by the magistrates of temples and shrines in 1829 (see HAYASHI 2003, 60). Now *both* men and women were recorded as rightfully participating in seven activities: distributing images of Daikoku; exorcising Dokō (土公 also read Dokū), the god of the hearth, with a five-colored Shinto wand (in earlier years the ritual was evidently performed while wearing a "lion" mask; see the listing from 1773 in *Shisō zasshiki*, vol. 8 [fascicle 36], p. 839); performing music and dance at shrine festivals; offering prayers to parishioners and cutting out Shinto paper strips at festive moonrise and sunrise occasions; cutting out "blue-robe" talismans or miniature versions and pasting them across the hearth being exorcised; distributing *ema*; and engaging in "catalpa activities" with the use of rosary beads. Though such a listing probably functioned to impress the authorities with the unity of purpose in Tamura's organization, other listings submitted to officials on various occasions until the Meiji period demonstrate that men usually engaged in the first four activities and women in the latter three. Let us examine these three *miko* occupations in turn.

#### "BLUE-ROBE" TALISMANS AND HEARTH EXORCISM

"Blue-robe" talismans were holy strips of paper that read approximately "Success, luck, great auspiciousness, and benefits: protect us from fires, god of the hearth (Kōjin), prevent fires, mysterious 'blue-robe' talisman. [Signed:] Integrated Shinto, Master of sacred dance, Tamura Hachidayū."<sup>19</sup> Already during Kandayū's days, "blue-robe" talismans were being pasted across the hearth in order to purify and protect it. This act was part of the ritual of hearth exorcism (*kamabara* 竈祓) (see SATŌ 1998, 250), but such talismans were also thought to be useful in preventing fire.

As mentioned earlier, "blue-robe" talismans are already mentioned in 1684, but were not officially sanctioned as rightfully controlled by Kandayū (and shortly thereafter Tamura Hachidayū) until 1702. This right seems not to have extended to the city of Edo until a successful petition from 1737/8/18. From that date on, "blue-robe" talismans were legitimately distributed by *miko* throughout the city during the first, fifth, and ninth months. By the 1750s, however, this practice seems to have declined.<sup>20</sup> On the last day of 1788 Tamura Hachidayū thus petitioned the magistrates for renewed rights to distribute such talismans throughout Edo and this request was granted early the following year.<sup>21</sup> In the following decade this edict again faded from memory and Tamura's talisman-distributing associates were regularly being mistaken as mere religious beggars. On 1807/10/4 Tamura thus again petitioned the magistrate of temples and shrines for the rights to "blue-robe" talismans, apparently successfully.<sup>22</sup> As late

as 1831/4 he was still notifying the authorities that he held the rights to distributing such talismans in the first, fifth, and ninth months every year, but was passing on this title to someone else.<sup>23</sup>

It is worth noting that during the eighteenth century the sale of “blue-robe” talismans was listed as the first *miko* occupation, no doubt because such talismans provided a substantial source of *miko* income. According to the *Shikidō ōkagami* of 1678, “hearth exorcism, also known as ‘Kōjin exorcism’ [*kōjin-barae* 荒神祓], is especially common in Edo. In other areas it is done by low-ranking Buddhist monks [*shamon* 沙門], ‘mountain ascetics’ [*yamabushi* 山伏], blind men, and the like. In Edo it is an occupation of women, some of whom are the wives of ‘mountain ascetics’ and yin-yang diviners” (FUJIMOTO 1961, 462). Though Edo commoners continued to have their hearths exorcised, especially at the end of each month in later centuries, one hears little of Tamura Hachidayū’s women specializing in this activity. Instead, roving vendors sold pine branches as a hearth ornament and as an offering to the god Kōjin (KITAGAWA 1992, vol. 1, 172).

#### EMA OR EMA-FUDA

*Ema*, literally “picture horses,” were illustrated plaques, often of horses, presented to temples or shrines as a plea for help or token of gratitude. The *ema* or *ema-fuda* (“picture-horse talismans”) of Tamura’s *miko* were probably miniature plaques or pieces of paper onto which the purchaser wrote a wish.

The right to distribute *ema-fuda* at New Year’s was also acquired in 1702 in the earlier-mentioned suit against the Ebisu petitioners, though this privilege too initially did not extend to the city of Edo. In 1816 Tamura Hachidayū thus petitioned for the right to distributing *ema-fuda* in the capital; this was granted in the twelfth month of the same year.<sup>24</sup> In the following decades, however, few sources refer to *miko* who distributed such *ema*. Instead, small *ema* featuring depictions of chickens were sold by the same Edo-based vendors who sold pine branches for decorating the hearth. These *ema* were also offered to Kōjin and were additionally believed to be effective in ridding one’s house of cockroaches (KITAGAWA 1992, vol. 1, 172).

#### KUCHIYOSE

Tamura Hachidayū’s *miko* evidently engaged in divination with beads (see NAKAYAMA 1969, 626) but still more commonly practiced the archetypal shamanic activity of *kuchiyose*. This performance, whose effectiveness depended more on the ability of each individual shaman than on the apparatus of holiness over which Tamura presided, required a medium to enter into a controlled possession in order to transmit divine oracles (*kamikuchi* 神口), messages of living spirits (*ikikuchi* 生口), or the words of the deceased (*shinikuchi* 死口).

Performances were normally accompanied by striking the string of a catalpa bow with a thin bamboo stick.

According to Tamura Tsuneko, the eldest daughter of the last Tamura Hachidayū, entering a trance state required considerable practice, but once she had acquired this ability, she could do so almost immediately. Her training included daily worship at various shrines and temples (NAKAYAMA 1969, 629). Rural *miko*, who probably received most of their instruction from a practitioner of this art living nearby, were trained from age seven to fifteen and married soon thereafter. Acolytes might be sent to the countryside to learn local dialects, for if these were not properly mastered, the speech of the dead would not sound realistic to rural inhabitants (NAKAYAMA 1969, 628).

Kikuchi Kiichirō recalled a typical *kuchiyose* performance from the late Edo period and chronicled it in 1905. During the *séance* the *miko* sat facing her client. After ascertaining whether the customer wished to hear the message of the dead, the distant, or even an oracle of the gods themselves (this was useful for prognosticating good and ill fortune in the upcoming year), she reverently unwrapped a box-like case. Then she carefully opened the lid, took out a bow to which she notched arrows, and turned to the east and west, saluting both directions. Next she placed a small bowl of water on her carrying case or on a small tray. The bowl, containing a *shikimi* leaf (Japanese star anise, *Illicium religiosum*), served as an offering to the gods. She then sounded the bowstring (by striking it with the bamboo stick) and faintly invoked the gods in the land. After this *kamioroshi* 神降 (“bringing down” or invoking the gods) she began to “act sleepy.” This entry into a trance state signaled her client to take the *shikimi* leaf from the bowl, add some more water, and spur her on to speak. In some areas clients stirred the water three times in a counterclockwise direction with a dead leaf if they wished to hear the voice of the dead; a message from the living required three turns in a clockwise direction with a green leaf; for an utterance of the gods a twist of paper replaced the leaf. In any case, the *miko* then commenced with her oracle, uttering it in a thin, melancholy voice. On hearing her words those who commissioned the ritual regularly burst out in tears. By the time Kikuchi witnessed this performance such shamans were almost all old women with rural accents who came to Edo only in the summer (KIKUCHI 1965, 279).

Vivid depictions of shamanic performances are also included in several early nineteenth-century novels. In his 1806 *Mukashigatari inazuma-byōshi* (“The lightning book-cover: an old tale”) Santō Kyōden (1761–1816), one of the most celebrated fiction writers of his day, recounts a scene that, for the purpose of the plot, happens to be set in Ōtsu (today Shiga Prefecture), but was certainly based on the author’s experiences in Edo.<sup>25</sup> After providing a brief description

of the setting, Kyōden records the *miko*'s performance of the *kamioroshi* and the ensuing *kuchiyose*:

In the spring of one year, on the death anniversary of his younger sister Fujinami, Matabei hired a shaman (*agata-miko*) recommended by his wife Saeda, Fujinami's younger sister Aryū, and others. The shaman, who was to transmit Fujinami's voice from the world of the dead, sat down at the highest-ranking spot of the room and asked whether the person to be summoned was dead or alive, of higher or lower status than Matabei. Saeda spoke up, answering that the one summoned was of lower status and deceased. After making an offering of water with a *shikimi* leaf, the shaman took out a thin bow and sounded the string. First she "brought down" the gods:

With great humility and reverence I deign to speak. In the heavens are [the protector gods of Buddhist law] Bonten (Brahmā) and Taishaku (Śakro devānām Indrah), and the four heavenly kings (guardians of the four directions). In the realm below are Enma Hōō [god of the underworld] and his officials of the five evil ways [*godō*, the fivefold division of all samsaric life into the realms of hell, beasts, hungry ghosts, human beings, and heavenly beings], the god of heaven and the god of the earth. Within the house dwell the god of the well and the god of the hearth. In Ise Province stands the great shrine of the sun goddess: the outer shrine with its forty branch shrines; the inner shrine with its eighty branch shrines; the rain shrine and the wind shrine, the shrine of the moon and the shrine of the sun, the gods of the month and the day.<sup>26</sup> In this province one finds the holy shrines of the Sakamoto Sannō Daigongen [the Hie Shrine at Sakamoto in Ōtsu, Shiga Prefecture], the Ibuki Shrine [at Maibara-shi Ibuki, in Shiga Prefecture], the Taga Myōjin [Taga taisha at Taga-chō, in Shiga Prefecture], the Chikubushima Benzaiten (on a small island in Lake Biwa), the Tsukuma Myōjin [in Maibara, Shiga Prefecture], the Tamura Shrine [Tamura no yashiro, probably the Tamura jinja, a shrine in Takamatsu, Kagawa Prefecture]. The Great Shrine (*ōyashiro*) at Izumo [today Shimane Prefecture] is the head office of all the gods of the sixty provinces of Japan. There are ninety-eight thousand and seven gods at shrines; there are thirteen thousand and four buddhas at holy spots. The spirits of the netherworld are startled and brought down to earth. How awesome! Now they inform the god of the catalpa bow of everything, leaving out nothing: the spirits of the entire family, the parental pair of bow and arrow, the eldest son and the youngest. People change and water is transformed, but the one thing that remains constant is



FIGURE 1: An early nineteenth-century *kuchiyose miko* transmits her oracle. From Santō Kyōden, *Mukashigatari inazuma-byōshi* (SANTŌ 1997, 502; pub. Edo, 1806). Illustration by Utagawa Toyokuni.

the five-foot bow. One stroke of its string echoes at every altar of every Buddhist temple.

Drawn by the catalpa bow, the absent spirit of Fujinami pays a visit:

“Ah the good old days—and you’ve made me an offering of water. Though my husband was my lord, in my heart I dared consider him my companion as he slept by my side. I bore him a son whom he treasured and raised lovingly, and he, too, was reassured as we lived in happiness. But things took a terrible twist and the cord unraveled: the dewdrop of my life ended when I was slain in innocence by the sword of evil. The flames of a horrible desire for vengeance burn in my soul; the boundless lack of fulfillment forms a dark path as I continue to wander astray.”

(SANTŌ 1997, 499–501 [vol. 4, section 14 of the original])

At these utterances Saeda and Aryū experience a kind of catharsis and burst into tears. Unfazed, the medium continues her litany, revealing the terrors of hell with the fantastic, sadistic images typical of popular Buddhism. Those who were murdered by the sword must, she reports, enter the “sword-mountain” hell, a world in which blades are arrayed like icicles growing from the ground and

where hapless, screaming victims are continually chased around by torturer-demons brandish iron whips. She laments that she must constantly endure such horror, that she is made to ride a flaming carriage to the “hell of darkness,” dunked into a “lake of blood,” singed by rains of fire, locked helplessly into a frozen hell of ice, and treated to every other conceivable form of misery and suffering. Yet despite all this, she simply cannot forget her husband and her time on earth.

#### OTHER OCCUPATIONS

Besides the activities described above, Edo-Period *miko* in the Kantō area might be asked to cure illnesses by exorcising evil spirits. In 1833, for example, it came to light that a “master of sacred dance” (presumably under Tamura Hachidayū’s control) who functioned as the head of the Sengen Shrine on the grounds of the Sensōji, was engaging in illicit endeavors. He and his wife Iyo-ō had been living together with a *miko* named Miyazaki and were moving about town without giving proper notice. The two, and presumably Miyazaki as well, had set up an image of the god Fudō on the second floor of their abode and were making money “curing” people through “weird” prayers and exorcism (*Sensōji nikki*, vol. 19, p. 313). The authorities did not approve of this situation and put an end to their efforts by kicking the “master of sacred dance” out of town.

Another interesting case, portraying both the possibilities and the problems of being a *miko* during the Edo Period, stems from the Tokorozawa region of Saitama Prefecture (HASHIMOTO 1996, 30–33).<sup>27</sup> In the tenth month of 1840 a certain peasant whose seventeen-year-old daughter had become seriously ill came to the home of Ishiyama Bungo, the “master of sacred dance” of Hikawa Village. Bungo was asked to perform a ritual at the peasant’s house, which he did to the tune of two-hundred coppers. The next month, however, with the daughter’s condition showing little sign of improvement, Bungo was again begged to intervene. This time Bungo was ill himself, so he asked his “catalpa-bow shaman” wife Yamato (大和, her real name was Yama) to go in his stead.

By the time Yamato arrived at the peasant’s house, the daughter was hallucinating and uttering incoherent statements, leading her parents to suspect that she was possessed by a fox. They implored Yamato to remove this evil spirit, but Yamato protested that her house tradition did not include any prayers for exorcising foxes. Unconvinced, the parents continued to plead for Yamato to perform some kind of prayer on behalf of the suffering daughter. Yamato reluctantly conceded and to the joy of the parents offered a *sasabataki* (“bamboo leaf exorcism”), for which she was awarded a measure of white rice.



Just as Yamato was preparing to return home the ailing daughter suddenly cried out, “Two foxes have crawled under the dress of my aunt in Hikawa Village!” Now the parents suspected that Yamato and her husband had not removed the fox, but rather purposely infected their daughter with such a malevolent spirit. When Yamato could offer no convincing counterargument, the parents became enraged and showered Yamato with abuse. The latter took heel, fearing for her life.

Two weeks later the parents, accompanied by several relatives, stormed into Yamato and Bungo’s home to demand an explanation for the cruel motivations that had led the two to implant a fox spirit in their helpless daughter. Once again, they demanded that this evil force be promptly removed once and for all. As the debate heated up, one caller took to the insulting behavior of strewing sardines—the favorite treat of a fox—around the abode. Soon thereafter some thirty or forty inhabitants of the visitors’ village appeared and began to demolish the fence surrounding the home. Bungo and his wife, again sensing their life to be in danger, fled the scene, allowing the daughter’s father and his cohorts to start a bonfire within the house and to deface the sliding doors with graffiti. Since Hikawa Village had only seven houses, nearby residents could do little to stop several dozen irate vandals.

After everything had calmed down, Bungo attempted to regain his reputation by consulting with the head of his local “integrated Shinto” association, which sought the advice of the village head. This led to no satisfactory settlement, so Bungo filed a lawsuit. His grievance, however, failed to be heard because of a technical matter concerning the manner in which he had signed his petition. We do not know how the incident was resolved, but the episode suggests that rural *miko* functioned in ways not reported by Tamura Hachidayū and that *miko* powers were taken very seriously by rural residents.

#### ANTI-MIKO DISCOURSE AND LAWS

Even if clients trusted the abilities of the shaman, not everyone was equally impressed with *miko* and their performances. Typical critical sentiments can be found in a 1789 volume by Arai Hakuga, who stemmed from a family of diviners of a more exalted sort. He writes that popular shamans “are not, to begin with, Confucian or Shinto, and certainly not Buddhist—what a terrible pity that ignorant old men and women take great pleasure in falsely thinking them to be Buddhist.” When such “stupid old men and women who live in rented backstreet abodes” called in a *miko* and commissioned her to perform, he notes, neighbors swarmed around and listened intently to her speech. They exclaim, “‘It’s my father!’ or ‘It’s my child!’, shed tears, and speak happily to them as if they were still alive” (*Yami no akebono*, 282–83). Arai’s dismissive stance was nothing new. Already in the late thirteenth century, for example, shamans were prohib-

ited from delivering oracles within the Ise Shrine grounds, since they “concealed the truth” from “stupid commoners who believe in falsehoods and become enraptured with deceptive spells” (“Zō Ise ni-sho tai-jingū hō kihon-ki,” 70/2). Such assertions, reformulated later by many others, invariably ignored the fact that *miko* were usually more in touch with the psychological needs of their clients than Buddhist monks mumbling unintelligible Sanskrit formulas or Shinto priests with their stiff rites and almost pathological fear of “pollution.” And whatever doubting Thomases may have thought of a *miko*’s claim of communicating with shades and phantoms, she was certainly no less able to do so than anyone else, including those who had received the government’s stamp of approval.

Even uncharitable witnesses sometimes enjoyed *miko* performances, though not necessarily in the way a *miko* would have wished. A rake with nothing better to do might entertain a party of friends by commissioning a séance invoking the souls of his parents who were in fact alive and well, thereby providing the unwitting *miko* with an opportunity to make a fool of herself. Comedy also informs Jippensha Ikku’s description of a medium who ends her performance with a command by the dead person to reward her with a handsome amount of cash.<sup>28</sup>

*Miko*, like many other women who practiced an art or skill for a large number of paying customers, were commonly thought to have loose morals or even serve as hookers in disguise. In a book published in 1711, for example, *miko* are listed alongside dyers, dancing girls, itinerant nuns (*bikuni*), and others as a typical form of illicit prostitute (ASAKURA 1992, 101–102). Apparently no upright woman in town wished to be mistaken for a *miko*. According to a 1789 volume, “Around the third month, women wearing woven bamboo hats pass through the wards of Edo; these are *kuchiyose miko*. For this reason, no other woman of Edo wears such an unusual wide-brimmed hat.”<sup>29</sup> Such a reputation, based on male fantasies, ancient prejudices, and female hardships, was to hound *miko* wherever they went.

After 1867 the Meiji government’s desire to create a form of state Shinto headed by the emperor—the shaman-in-chief of the nation—meant that Shinto needed to be segregated from both Buddhism and folk-religious beliefs. As a result, official discourse increasingly repeated negative views of *miko* and their institutions. On 1868/11/4 Tokyo City government officials initially told Tamura Hachidayū to continue as he had done in the past, but a few months later, on 1868/7 the city issued a decree that abolished the title “Head of sacred dance masters” (*shinji mai-dayū kashira*) in favor of “Head of dance masters” (*mai-dayū kashira*). Thus desacralized, Tamura Hachidayū was informed that neither he nor his subordinates were to distribute Daikoku, *ema*, and “blue-robe” talismans. Nor were they to engage in hearth exorcism or other rituals with a Shinto staff, which was now associated with more elite types of ritual. The name “catalpa shaman” (*azusa miko*) was eliminated as well, probably because the word *miko*,

often written with the characters for “god” and “child” (神子), was to be reserved for women attached to state-sanctioned Shinto shrines. Finally, *kuchiyose miko* were to revert to the old appellation of “catalpa woman” (粹女 *azusa-onna*, or perhaps *azusa-jo*—in the spoken language the label was never widely accepted) (NAKAYAMA 1969, 630–631).

On 1870/ic.10/7 “dance masters” and shamans were transformed into commoners, putting an end to a long history of the special status that had differentiated them from peasants, merchants, warriors, and others (*Meiji sesō hennen jiten*, 41). From around 1871, Tamura Hachidayū’s given name, which included the “feudal”-sounding status distinction “*tayū*” (太夫, master), was replaced by *Kasshitarō* 甲子太郎, which no doubt sounded more modern to Meiji-period ears.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps this name was chosen because the “*kasshi*” (甲子) day was the one on which the Daikoku festival had traditionally been held.

After the 1871/4 edict that separated Buddhism and Shinto, Tamura’s *miko* were still allowed to offer “divination with [rosary] beads” but were proscribed from engaging in anything that resembled a Shinto practice.<sup>31</sup> Such bans were transmitted throughout the Kantō area and reissued by regional governments.<sup>32</sup> Probably in response, Tamura appears to have made a short-lived attempt to reorganize and turn his association into a church based on the eight arts of the “Shinto catalpa-women’s creed” (NAKAYAMA 1969, 632). This attempt came to nothing when on 15 January 1873 the Ministry of Religion (Kyōbushō) issued the following edict, repromulgated by the Tokyo City government some four days later:

Prohibition of prayer services (*kitō* 祈祷) by *azusa miko*

In the past those who call themselves catalpa shamans, *ichiko*, possession-prayer performers, fox exorcisers, and the like have executed divination with beads and engaged in *kuchiyose*, thereby deceiving the people. Henceforth this is strictly prohibited. (*Tōkyō-shi shikō* 1963, 118)<sup>33</sup>

Now such *miko* found themselves almost entirely on the wrong side of the law. Conditions had changed drastically from those of the medieval era or the Edo Period, but once again *miko* were wedged between the support of their patrons and the opposition of those who sought to promote the state-backed religions on which political power so heavily relied. “Catalpa shamans” rapidly disappeared from the terrain that Tamura Hachidayū had once cultivated, replaced chiefly by a growing number of new religions and unorthodox practitioners of ritual and prayer. Though often persecuted, such individuals and associations continued to fulfill the needs of a population dissatisfied with the services provided by government-approved, hegemonic religious institutions.

## CONCLUSION

As we have seen, the organizational structures and arts practiced by female shamans in eastern Japan underwent significant transformations during the Edo Period and in the following eras. Moreover, considerable heterogeneity existed among *miko*: some were blind, some not; some worked in groups, some individually; some were organized in the hierarchical association headed by Tamura Hachidayū, while others labored on the sly; some specialized in transmitting voices of the deceased or departed, but others looked to various forms of exorcism or the distribution of talismans for a source of income. Indeed, it would be difficult to define an “essence” that all *miko* shared throughout their long history. How the nature of Japanese shamanism changed over time is something we have just begun to understand. Connections between shamanic institutions and practices in geographically diverse areas of Japan also remain largely obscure. As more documentation is discovered and subject to more sophisticated modes of analysis, the history of *miko* will no doubt turn out to be more diverse and dynamic than has usually been assumed.

## NOTES

1. In Japanese, Yanagita Kunio’s pathbreaking study “Miko-kō” of 1913 (YANAGITA 1982) was almost entirely ahistorical. The first major scholarly monograph on *miko*, Nakayama Tarō’s 1930 *Nihon miko-shi* (NAKAYAMA 1969), utilizes a huge number of sources from different eras, but again seeks mainly to highlight certain ahistorical categories or phenomena of shamanic practice. More recently, KANDA (2001), focusing on northeastern Japan, has incorporated historical materials into a major work of “religion-folklore studies” (*shūkyō minzokugaku*) with some success (see especially 65–91, 385–513). Twentieth-century research on *miko* in Japanese is aptly summed up in KANDA 2001, 23–46. The individual studies I shall cite below have contributed even more to our knowledge of the historical specificity of various forms of Japanese shamanism.

2. For example, an 1815–16 ethnography of the Akita domain notes that from the time of the second-month equinox “*kuchiyose* occurs. ‘Catalpa-bow shamans’ are known as *echiko*. They are all blind women. They strike a catalpa bow and transmit the voices of the departed” (*Dewa no kuni Akita-ryō fūzoku toijō no kotae*, 497). Countless eighteenth- and nineteenth-century records from other northeastern and northwestern provinces leave no doubt that the majority of female shamans in such areas were visually impaired.

3. *Miko* in Edo-Period Osaka were also settled rather than nomadic, living in the “Miko-machi” near the Tennōji. Clients came to their houses, rather than vice versa. See *Naniwa hyakujidan*, 270–271 and *Kōto gosui*, 530.

4. *Edo machikata kakiage, Asakusa (jō)*, 322 (1825/10); MATSUDAIRA 1942, 616. On the situation in Kai see *Kai koku shi*, vol. 12, 1458, TAKAYAMA 1994, 13–15, and NISHIDA 2000. On Shinano, see NAGAOKA 1958.

5. During the eighteenth century Tamura’s wife was granted permission to deliver the oracle of the white fox spirit at a small Inari shrine found on the premises of his office-cum-residence at Tawara-chō (*Edo machikata kakiage, Asakusa [jō]*, 322). His occupational ancestors, too, may have had wives or daughters who served as shamans. On Inari worship

in general, see SMYERS 1999, especially 14–22. Nakagawa Sugane presents some information on *miko* and Inari worship in nineteenth-century Osaka in NAKAGAWA 1999. It should be noted that the dividing line between the *miko* as “shrine maiden” and as “female shaman” was no ahistorical constant. Perhaps the wives and daughters of Tamura Hachidayū’s rural subordinates may well have occasionally served in shrine rituals or performances, even if they were not officially licensed to do so.

6. For an English-language book-length discussion of the Sensōji, see HUR 2000. The festival was cancelled for many decades in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

7. In some documents this religion is termed “*ryōbu shūgō shintō*” 両部習合神道. Tamura Hachidayū’s faith was probably a version of *ryōbu shintō*, which combined indigenous and Buddhist tenets. In some documents Tamura’s occupational ancestors are recorded as adhering to *ryōbu shintō* (see for example HAYASHI 2003, 58).

8. It should be mentioned that the term “masters of sacred dance” (*shinji-mai dayū*) was not commonly used until Tamura’s days. In earlier ages one reads only of “dance masters” (*mai-dayū*), though such figures were evidently already engaging in a variety of religious or semireligious practices.

9. I have taken the unusual reading of these characters from NAKAYAMA 1969, 632 (page 628 gives *misaki-ago*). *Misaki* probably refers to the spirit of the deceased. *Age* no doubt refers to “raising” this spirit from the dead. For more on this ritual see note 18 below.

10. This Kandayū was originally named Kikuchi Kudayū 菊池久太夫 and probably changed his name soon after the appeal was granted in the fifth month of the same year (see MATSUDAIRA 1942, 615).

11. Details of the lawsuit are found in SATŌ 1998, 249–54. *Ebisu gannin* transmitted appeals to the god Ebisu at the Ichinomiya Shrine in Owari Province (today Aichi Prefecture).

12. At this point Tamura Hachidayū was apparently granted headship. See MATSUDAIRA 1942, 615.

13. See KASUKABE-SHI KYŌIKU IINKAI SHISHI HENSAN-SHITSU 1983, 866.

14. See *Shinji mai-dayū yuishogaki*; MATSUDAIRA 1942, 614–615; *Mikikigusa*, vol. 14, pp. 124–125; NAKAYAMA 1969, 615, 622–23; *Shisō zasshiki*, fascicle 36, 838.

15. The cost of a license during the Edo Period is not known, but during the Meiji period it was about one *yen* and twenty *sen* a year, by no means cheap (NAKAYAMA 1969, 629).

16. *An’ei sen’yō ruishū*, section 5 (*ofure machibure no bu*), no. 57 (1788/6).

17. I have rendered the characters 青襖 as “blue-robe.” The proper reading and meaning of these two characters already puzzled Edo-Period scholars. 青 (*ao*) means “blue”; 襖 may be read in a number of ways, especially in compounds, and usually refers to some kind of lined robe-like garment. In a document submitted by Kandayū in 1695/8, the term is written 青ふす, suggesting that at the time the term was read *aofusu* (see HAYASHI 2003, 60). Since 襖 may also be read *ao*, 青襖 should perhaps be read *ao-ao*, as noted in the document 青襖記 (“records concerning 青襖”) supposedly written in 1737 and submitted by Tamura Hachidayū’s organization to the magistrates of temples and shrines at the time of the petition mentioned below (the document is included in *Shinji mai-dayū yuishogaki*). Around 1830 Kitamura Nobuyo guessed that these characters referred to “Asuha,” for Asuha-no-kami, a god who appears in the *Kojiki* and *Man’yōshū*, and may have been a god of the hearth (KITAMURA 1974, vol. 1, 645). The reading *suō* (a kind of robe), which presumes that 青襖 is an error for 素襖 (a possibility that the writer of 青襖記 also considers), is provided in *Kasshi yawa zokuhen*, written by Matura Seizan 松浦静山 (1760–1841) (see MATSURA 1980, 198 [fascicle 37], lit. スアフ, “*su-a-fu*.” *Edo machikata kakiage*, Asakusa, jō, 320 gives the ideographs 空襖, no doubt again in error.

18. *Hōshiki* refers to the ritual. A similar term, perhaps read *misaki-age* [*no*] *hōshiki kamiwabi sasabataki* (神差婦上方式神詫笹祓), said to be the “original secret” (*genpi* 源秘) of this group of “integrated Shinto” practitioners, is found in an 1819 document of the Ishiyama 石山 family in what is now Tokorozawa of Saitama Prefecture. For this ritual, a spell (*jumon* 呪文) was first intoned; this was followed by a holy song (*shinka* 神歌, perhaps a Shinto prayer or *norito* 祝詞), performed while the performer wielded a Shinto staff and “brought down” the gods. Next an apology was made to the tutelary gods and spirits of the home of the afflicted person. After this, the nature of the curse or divine cause was made evident and prayers were offered to remove the source of the problem (HASHIMOTO 1996, 29).

19. KITAMURA 1974, vol. 1 (*kan* 5), 645; vol. 2 (*kan* 11), 639.

20. KITAMURA 1974, vol. 1 (*kan* 5), 644; vol. 2 (*kan* 11), 638–39; see also *Edo machikata kakiage*, *Asakusa* (*jō*), 320; *Shōhō jiroku*, vol. 3, 25 (law no. 2464); and SATŌ 1998, 240.

21. *An'ei sen'yō ruishū*, section 45 (*jisha no bu*), no. 28 (1789/4); KITAMURA 1974, vol. 1 (*kan* 5), 644; see also *Shinji mai-dayū yuishogaki*.

22. KITAMURA 1974, vol. 1 (*kan* 5), 644–45, vol. 2 (*kan* 11), 638–39.

23. *Tenpō sen'yō ruishū*, section 6 (*Ofure machibure no bu*), no. 23 (1831/4).

24. *Edo machikata kakiage*, *Asakusa* (*jō*), 320; *Fujiokaya nikki*, 192.

25. Another *kamioroshi* is recorded in Shikitei Sanba's 1814 *Ukiyo-doko* (SHIKITEI 1971, 329–30). It is nearly identical to what I have translated below, but replaces the listing of shrines in what is today Shiga Prefecture with famous shrines throughout Japan. The *kuchiyose* that follows in Sanba's description is, however, far longer and more elaborate (see SHIKITEI 1971, 330–32). Jippensha Ikku's *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* (JIPPENSHA 1958, 150–59; for a translation, see SATCHELL 1960, 104–109) also includes a *kamioroshi* and a comic *kuchiyose* (the term *ichiko* is unfortunately rendered as “witch”). That Kyōden, Sanba, and Ikku all present similar *kamioroshi* suggests that this is what shamans of the day active in Edo in fact recited.

26. Although the rain shrine (*Ame no miya*) and the wind shrine (*Kaze no miya*) are often counted among the one hundred and twenty branches of the great Ise Shrine, the former does not exist and the latter is a separate edifice. The shrine of the moon (*Tsukiyomi no miya*) is also separate from but related to the Ise Shrine.

27. For reasons of privacy Hashimoto has censored the names of some of the villages and individuals involved. The original documents belong to the Ishiyama family (石山家文書).

28. JIPPENSHA 1958, 153. For a translation, see SATCHELL 1960, 106.

29. *Yami no akebono*, 282 (written 1789). For more material and a rather uncritical discussion of this subject, see NAKAYAMA 1969, 734–36. The hat itself (*ichiko-gasa*) is illustrated and discussed in KITAGAWA 1992, vol. 4, 196–97 and 218.

30. See for example SAMUKAWA-CHŌ SHI HENSHŪ IINKAI 1997, 97, 138 (1871/5/20); NINOMIYA-CHŌ 1990, 708 (1871/6).

31. The version of the edict reprinted in HADANO-SHI 1983, 674 gives the date of promulgation as 1871/4. HAYAMA-CHŌ KYŌIKU IINKAI 1958, 1239 mentions 1871/4 as well, but suggests it took several months for the edict to make its way to the provinces. See also NINOMIYA-CHŌ 1990, 708 (1871/6).

32. See, for example, SAMUKAWA-CHŌ SHI HENSHŪ IINKAI 1997, 97 (Kanagawa Prefecture, 1871/4/20).

33. In Osaka an edict outlawing *miko* who “brought down the gods” or “brought down Inari” had already been issued on 1872/4/14 (*Ōsaka-fu furei-shū*, vol. 1, 509–510).

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