

The Dissolution of Early-Modern Urban Society and the Activities of Shinto Priests in Edo and Tokyo

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Introduction

In early modern Japan, large cities like Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo were home to thousand of Buddhist monks (*shugenja*) and Shinto priests. While many of these monks and priests were directly affiliated with the numerous Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, many more earned a meager living by offering their services in incantation, fortune telling, or public entertainment. In line with the religious policies of the Tokugawa Shogunate, most temples and shrines in these cities fell under the control of ether court nobles or the main *honjo* temples and shrines. Also those *honjo* had to control Buddhist monks and Shinto priests having lived in commoner's districts of large cities.

Despite their very visible presence in Japan's early modern cities, however, these city-dwelling monks and priests have largely been overlooked by much of the research on the history of religion in Japan, which has for the most part focused on the origins of National Shintoism (*kokka shintō*) and the rapid growth of new religions in the modern period.¹⁾ Scholars of early-modern urban society, however, have recently focused on the lower ranks of these religious practitioners in order to explore their ambiguous social-status and their association with religious groups.²⁾ Owing to these recent studies in urban social history, it is possible for the first time to outline the livelihood of these people. Nonetheless, much work remains as little is known about the activities, lives, and social relations of the many different kinds of monks and priests and much less is known about what happened to these city-dwelling priests in the wake of the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

The first part of this essay reconstructs the lives and activities of hereditary priests and their shrines in Edo around the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate's Tenpō Reforms (1841–43) by using documents produced by Shinto priests at the Suginomori Shrine near Nihonbashi and the Sumiyoshi Shrine on Tsukuda Island in the mouth of the Sumida River. Having described these priests' responses to the changes unleashed by the Tenpō Reforms, the second section shows how these priests reacted to the slow dissolution of Edo society by looking at their forced relocation during the Tenpō Reforms. Having described the social structure of these shrines in the early-modern period, the last section of this paper describes the disruptions caused by the Meiji Restoration.

Reform of Edo's Shinto Priest Organizations in the Tenpō Period (1830–44)

Due to the rapid growth of the country's population and the increase in their commercial activities during the seventeenth century, the number of the Shinto priests also increased and their occupational specialization,³⁾ increasing hierarchization within religious groups continued well into the eighteenth century.⁴⁾ As a result, many Shinto priests migrated to Edo, Osaka, Kyoto and other cities governed by the Tokugawa Shogunate creating problems related to organization and control for both the Shogunate's administrators and the heads of Shinto-priests organizations like the Kyoto-based Yoshida and Shirakawa families.

In response to these social changes, in 1791 the Yoshida and Shirakawa families established the Kanto Branch Office (*Kantō yakusho*) in Edo to oversee the activities of their subordinate priests living in eastern Japan. In the process, the Kanto Branch Office also assumed direct administration over more than half of the priests living in Edo. Most of the remaining Shinto priests were organized into groups from between two to sixteen members under the jurisdiction of the chief priests of Edo's dozen or so Historical Shrines (*Kosekichi jinja*). These Historical Shrines (and temples) were the religious organizations that the Temple and Shrine Magistrate (*Jisha bugyō*) had officially recognized and registered before the end of the seventeenth century. Typically, chief priests at these Historical Shrines used a number of subordinate priests to assist in various regular and irregular Shinto ceremonies. With its different vertical and horizontal forms of administration, however, the organization of Shinto priests in Edo remained very complicated until the reforms of the Tenpō period.

The problem of administering Shinto priests also led to other difficulties in maintaining the public peace in Edo. From the end of the eighteenth century, the number of violent outbreaks occurring among Edo's urban lower-class commoners increased dramatically. The Shogunate's administrators feared that religious individuals or groups may align with these uprisings among the commoners as they had in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth century *Ikkō* uprisings (*Ikkō ikki*), which involving the followers of the Jōdo Shin sect of Buddhism, or the uprisings led by Christians in the mid-seventeenth century (*Kirishitan ikki*). Consequently, the Shogunate's response to malfeasance by priests was often swift and harsh. In 1831, for instance, the Shogunate's administrators arrested Sasaki Iga, a Shinto priest living in Minamibanba-chō, and his disciples for swindling nearly 60-gold *ryo* from city residents.⁵⁾ According the account written by Matsura Seizan, the lord of Hirado domain, Sasaki and his followers had been tricking commoners into giving them money in exchange for an inflammable copper talisman and incantation to protect their homes from Edo's frequent fire.⁶⁾ In the end, Sasaki died in prison after a severe interrogation and torture and all of his followers were executed. This may seem like unusually severe punishment for a priest, but there were many similar cases where city administrators began strictly punishing Shinto and Buddhist monks who engaged in illegal matters.⁷⁾ In addition, city administrators also ordered Edo's district officials (*Machi-yakunin*) to begin keeping a register of the priests and their livelihoods. As in the 1831 Sasaki incident, the Shogunate's administrators also began to take precautions against Buddhist monks and Shinto priests to prevent them from banding together in criminal and rebellious activities.

Table: The Number of the Segregated Priests and Monks by the Tenpō Reforms

	Shinto Priest (Yoshida Family)	Shinto Priest (Shirakawa Family)	Shugen Monk (Haguro Sect)	Shugen Monk (Honzan Sect)	Shugen Monk (Tozan Sect)
Residential Area in Asakusa (former Shogunate's herbal garden)	12	7	13	15	15
Residential Area in Zoshigaya (former Kannō-ji Temple)		13			53
Residential Area in Shibuya (former Naitō Gin'ichirō's residence)	36		46	51	

In 1842, after a citywide survey of Edo's priests, the Shogunate banned Buddhist monks and Shinto priests from living in the commoner districts (*chōnin-chi*) of Edo. This was not only a policy for controlling city-dwelling priests but also part of the much broader Tenpō Reforms. Mizuno Tadakuni, the Shogun's Senior Councilor (*Rōjū*), and his subordinate Torii Yōzō, the City Magistrate of Edo (*Machibugyō*), sought to deal with the problem of urban overcrowding by forcing the return of tens of thousands of unregistered commoners to their home provinces. Desiring to re-segregate the monks and priests from commoner's districts, Torii ordered these city-dwelling priests to move from homes in commoner districts to temple or shrine areas of the same sect. The Yoshida and Shirakawa families and leaders of the Shugen sect, however, objected to the Shogunate's order because of both the insufficiency of space for Edo's monks and priests and the lack of time to complete the move. In addition, both Shinto and Buddhist leaders petitioned the Temple and Shrine Magistrate to allocate space where priests could relocate.⁸⁾ After deliberating the petition, the Shogunate's administrators designated three areas in Asakusa, Shibuya, and Zōshigaya for Shinto priests and Buddhist monks to reside (see **Table**).

At the same time, the Temple and Shrine Magistrate attempted to simplify its administration over Buddhist monks and Shinto priests. The Magistrate ordered the Yoshida and Shirakawa families to consolidate their control over the Shinto priests in Edo by placing them all, including the chief priests of Historical Shrines under the direct administration of the Kanto Branch Office. Thereafter, all the Shinto priests in Edo except for those of the large shrines under the direct patronage of the Shogun came under the Kanto Branch Office.⁹⁾ However, the chief priests (*kannushi*) of the Historical Shrines objected to being reduced to the same administrative level as those priests who had previously been their inferiors.¹⁰⁾ In other words, the chief priests' were angry over the Shogunate's order to deprive the status distinctions that allowed them to maintain their status above ordinary priests (*shinshoku*). Their concern was not simply about social status, though. It was also about social status and rights (*kannushi-kabu*) to income and assets. For example, in a report to the City Magistrate, a district headman (*Machi-nanushi*) explained that it costs as little as 30-gold *ryō* to establish a small district shrine (*hokora*).¹¹⁾ Meanwhile, a priest may have to pay as much as 1,000-gold *ryō* in order to assume the position of chief priest at an Historical Shrine.¹²⁾

During the Tenpō Reforms, the organization of Shinto priests in Edo underwent tremendous changes. These changes influenced both the chief priests' status, organization, and administration of their Historical Shrines and also created a more simplified administrative system for the Shogunate's administrators. In the following section, I discuss the situation following the Tenpō Reforms and how Shinto priests coped with the subsequent changes.

The Trends of Shinto Priests in Closing Days of the Tokugawa Shogunate

After the Tenpō Reforms, the Shogunate's administrators abolished the system that allowed chief priests of Historical Shrines to organize city-dwelling priests as their subordinates and use them to perform various Shinto ceremonies. This order dramatically changed the status of the chief priests, who thereafter struggled to retain their authoritative status over normal priests.

The chief priests of the Historical Shrines regarded their direct administration by the Temple and Shrine Magistrate as the source of their authority. After these reforms of the Shinto priest organizations, the chief priests sought relations with domain lords in order to compensate for their former authority. For example, the chief priest of Sumiyoshi Shrine on the estuary island of Tsukuda had few connections with domain lords because of the shrine's relatively remote location. Following the Tenpō Reforms in November 1844, however, the Sumiyoshi Shrine's chief priest, Hiraoka Hyūga, began visiting the estate of the Lord of Wakayama domain to offer monthly prayers for the safety and well being of the lord and his family. He established this relationship through one of his subordinate priests, who had previously studied under a Confucian scholar engaged by the Lord of Wakayama. This relationship between the chief priest and the Lord of Wakayama continued until the fall of the Shogunate in 1868.¹³⁾

The dissolution of licensed merchant associations (*kabu nakama*) during the Tenpō Reforms also forced chief priests to reconsider their relations with local parishioners. Until that time, the chief priests of the Historical Shrines had depended on relations with parishioners like merchant associations for monetary and material contributions. In the mid-eighteenth century, Sumiyoshi Shrine became particularly involved in the "Bannin-kō" confraternity, which was established by forty-eight commercial associations to pray for the safe passage of their ships and cargo while at sea. The organizer of this association was the wholesale merchant Shirokiya Hikotaro, who operated a well-known kimono and fabrics store in Nihonbashi. During their regular meetings, they held both a meal and prayer service at the Sumiyoshi Shrine in order to strengthen their sense of communion and cooperation.¹⁴⁾ Also, because of its location on an island in the middle of the estuary of the Sumida River, the Sumiyoshi Shrine was also entrusted by wholesale associations (*ton'ya nakama*) to keep their charters so as to prevent them from being burned in Edo's frequent fires.¹⁵⁾ Through relations such as these, the Historical Shrines had received both monetary donations as well as gifts, such as decorative stone lanterns or embroidered silk banners, and were able to raise money for annual festivals and the periodic rebuilding of their shrine buildings.

In 1845, after the Tenpō Reforms, Chief Priest Hiraoka asked the former cotton

and hemp fabrics wholesalers association (*futomono ton'ya nakama*) for 60-gold *ryō* to rebuild the main shrine building, which had been destroyed in a fire the previous year. Because the wholesalers association's fortunes had severely declined following the reforms, they were only willing to offer support in exchange for the head priest agreeing to conduct a prayer ceremony on their behalf for the next ten New Year's holidays.¹⁶⁾ Similarly, Hiraoka also asked the headmen of the fishermen's association in Tsukuda Island to support the shrine by becoming official caretakers of Sumiyoshi Shrine.¹⁷⁾ In short, these changes required chief priests of the Historical Shrines to seek more intimate and reciprocal ties with their parishioners.

On the other hand, the experience of Historical Shrines situated in central Edo was somewhat different. As suggested by the well-known saying "Fire and fights are the flowers of Edo" (*kaji to kenka wa Edo no hana*), fire often destroyed shrines so chief priests frequently had to ask their parishioners for help in rebuilding their shrines. The Suginomori Shrine in Nihonbashi offers a good example of this relationship. For instance, despite receiving the support of parishioners, the chief priest of Suginomori Shrine, Kobari Oribe, was frequently unable to collect enough money to rebuild the main shrine after a fire. For this reason, the chief priest often sponsored a Sumo performance or a lottery on the shrine's grounds in order to raise further funds for rebuilding. Moreover, the parishioners usually bore the expenses for the succession of a new chief priest and the Suginomori Shrine's annual festivals.

This kind of reciprocal relationship between chief priests and their parishioners became more apparent as general social unease increased throughout the 1850s and 1860s. For instance, in response to a cholera epidemic during the ninth and tenth months of 1858, wealthy merchants, tenement managers (*yamori*), and representatives for the local young men's association (*wakamonogumi*) variously requested the chief priest to hold temporary festivals and to bring the sacred palanquin (*mikoshi*) to the parishioner district to perform special exorcisms. And, after both his father and wife died in the cholera epidemic, parishioners assisted the chief priest with the arrangements for their funerals. All recorded in the diary of Kobari Oribe, these episodes display the development of an intimate and substantive relationship between Suginomori Shrine and its parishioners.¹⁸⁾

The activities and lives of ordinary Shinto priests, however, did not change much following the Tenpō Reforms. While they were forced to move to the newly established quarters for monks and priests, ordinary priests continued their activities as before with little other change in their lives or livelihood. However, these priests still had to compete against other priests from the same and other sects for the patronage of commoners, and some even managed to earn a handsome sum of money from their administration of shrines that were popular with Edo's commoners. For instance, as the Okina-Inari Shrine on the south side of the Nihonbashi Canal near Edobashi Bridge (*Edobashi hirokōji*) increased in popularity, the administering Shinto priest Kaneko Izumo purchased the right to eternally administer the shrine from the district official (*machiyakunin*) of Aomono-chō. This is perhaps not surprising, though, because Kaneko had considerably influence in the surrounding districts (*chō*) through his lending of money to merchants and peddlers living near the Okina-Inari Shrine, including the above mentioned district officials of Aomono-chō. In his efforts

to raise the prestige of the Okina-Inari Shrine, Kaneko requested and received the support of both the Aomono-chō district officials and the administrator of Wakayama domain's mandarin orange storehouse (*Kishū kokusan mikan kakoisho*) in a petition to have the shrine recognized as a quasi-Historical Shrine. Despite this support, however, the Temple and Shrine Magistrate rejected his request after an investigation revealed the more recent and mundane origins of Okina-Inari Shrine.¹⁹⁾ Thus, even if these ordinary Shinto priests' gained wealth and local prestige, the Shogunate's administrators were not necessarily inclined to legitimize their new standing with official titles.

Shinto Priests following the in Post-Restoration Tokyo

After the Meiji Restoration, the new government established the Bureau of Shinto Affairs with the aim of unifying Shinto and state policies. With the establishment of this bureau, the government began to directly oversee the affairs of Shinto priests nationwide. At the same time, the number of Shinto priests rapidly increased due to the conversion of Buddhist monks and ascetics following the government's promulgation of laws to define and separate Shintoism and Shinto institutions from Buddhism. Numerous scholars have pointed out how the Meiji government intended to establish this new system of National or State. Few, however, have given much attention to understanding how ordinary Shinto priests grappled with these changes. Two years after Edo was renamed Tokyo, an 1870 survey of the city's Shinto priests found the number to be 408, an increase of four times over the number found in a similar survey made in 1844 during the Tenpō Reforms.²⁰⁾ In this final section, I explore how these Shinto priests approached and struggled with the rapidly changing political and social environment of the post-Restoration period.

The Meiji government intended the new Office of Rites (*Jingikan*) to administer and oversee the affairs of all Shinto shrines throughout the country, excepting those such as Ise Jingu where imperial ceremonies were performed. Accordingly, the Bureau of Shinto Affairs quickly prohibited the Shirakawa and Yoshida families from administering further the affairs of Shinto priests.²¹⁾ While this order succeeded in separating Shinto priests from their early-modern overseers, there was considerable continuity in the new national government's actual organization and regulation of Shinto priests. This continuity can be seen in the Tokyo Prefectural government's administration of its shrines. The Prefectural Government divided Tokyo into four administrative areas and appointed a head priest (*furegashira*) to supervise the priests within each area.²²⁾ These new head priests were the chief priests of the formerly designated Historical Shrines. In Tokyo, moreover, there was no remarkable change in part because the new Shrine and Temple Office (*Shaji kakari*) simply took over the responsibilities of the former Temple and Shrine Magistrate (*Jisha bugyō*).

After the collapse of the Tokugawa regime, the new government's efforts at redeveloping the estates of former domain lords fostered an increase in the number of ordinary Shinto priests and their struggle to establish new local shrines. Once occupying nearly seventy percent of the city, many of the warrior estates came under the control of the new government, which variously used the land to locate its new ministries, drill its troops, and compensate former domain lords for relinquishing their

claims to both title and territory.²³⁾ In a number of cases, however, these estates were also sold off and redeveloped as new urban districts (*shinkaichō*). Seeking to increase their income by establishing new shrines or expanding the precincts of existing shrines in these new neighborhoods, many chief and ordinary priests filed petitions or complaints with the new Shrine and Temple Office.²⁴⁾ In one such case, the chief priest of the Hacchōbori-Inari Shrine, a former Historical Shrine, filed a complaint against an ordinary priest who had established a small shrine within the newly opened Shin-Shimabara licensed pleasure quarter. Although the Shin-Shimabara quarter was a new development, the land had previously been a samurai residence within the parishioner area of Hachōbori-Inari Shrine.²⁵⁾ This case shows how ordinary Shinto priests actively sought to establish and develop their own shrines within the city. It is difficult, however, to investigate in detail how these priests managed in the early Meiji period because so many of the related documents have been lost.

From 1871 to 1873, a new policy of administrating shrines was as yet undetermined. The Council of State (*Dajōkan*) declared new regulations for the administration of regional shrines (*gōsha teisoku*), but few of these policies were fully implemented. In 1872, the government divided Shinto shrines into three classes: prefectural shrines (*fusha* or *kensha*), regional shrines (*gōsha*), and village shrines (*sonsha*). Prefectural shrines administrated and often supported regional shrines and also acted as intermediaries by relaying down government ordinances and passing up petitions from regional and village shrines.²⁶⁾ One of the reasons why the government sought to reform the administration of these shrines and their priests was their initial desire to establish a census registration system similar to the early modern system of resident registration (*ninbetsuchō*). Despite completing a survey of the number of parishioners in Tokyo, the government eventually abandoned the idea of using shrines to create a national census, much to the dismay of Shinto priests who were expecting considerable financial support from the government for their efforts.

In Tokyo in 1872, the prefectural government appointed the Kanda Shrine (formerly *Kanda Myōjinsha*) and Hie Shrine (formerly *Hie-Sannō Gongensha*) to act as prefectural shrines and charged them with overseeing most of the shrines within the prefecture's boundaries. While Sumiyoshi Shrine became a village shrine under the administration of its chief priest, Suginomori Shrine was recognized as neither a regional nor a village shrine and instead became a branch of the Kanda Shrine. Moreover, Suginomori Shrine's chief priest Kobari was demoted and dispatched to be the chief priest of Iko Shrine in northern Tokyo's present-day Adachi Ward.²⁷⁾ As a form of mild protest, Kobari insisted on continuing his residence in Nihonbashi and walking the long distance to and from Iko Shrine everyday. Throughout this time, the relationship between the former-chief priest and his parishioners continued, and in 1873 the Tokyo prefectural government eventually reappointed him chief priest of Suginomori Shrine.²⁸⁾

Many of the ordinary priests remained in Tokyo immediately following the Meiji Restoration. Their livelihoods, however, underwent a steep decline that proved to be as difficult as the unsettled years leading up to the Meiji Restoration. The reason why these changes distressed ordinary priests' lives owed to the upheavals of the Restoration and the removal of tens of thousands of the Shogunate's retainers from

Tokyo. In a petition to the new Meiji government, the chief priest of Shinagawa Shrine describes how ordinary priests in the Shibuya area were suffering due to the sudden decrease in warriors and commoners and thereby also the money they once gave to the priests to perform various prayers and rites.²⁹⁾ As such, ordinary priests were not able to earn enough money to support their families.³⁰⁾ To make ends meet, some ordinary priests accepted pupils from peasant families living in rural communities near Tokyo. For example, in 1869, a peasant who lived in a village to the northeast of Tokyo and wished to further his study of Shintoism petitioned to move into the house of Nanba Nobushige, a Shinto priest living in the former monk and priest's residential area of Zoshigaya.³¹⁾ In Edo as well, commoners had occasionally become disciples of ordinary priests and assisted the priests in various activities.³²⁾ Thus, although the plight of priests during this period was real, many found ways of supporting themselves and their religious activities.

Nonetheless, since the Tenpō Reforms, the number of ordinary priests in Edo was declining. In 1843, the number of ordinary priests and Buddhist monks forced to relocate from the commoners' districts to Zoshigaya was twenty four and forty eight 48 respectively. Even though the new Meiji government ordered all Buddhist monks to convert to Shintoism if they desired to continue administering the now strictly Shinto shrines, twenty six ordinary priests remained in the Zoshigaya area in 1871.³³⁾ Most of these remaining priests earned a living by seeking out the patronage of neighboring commoners. Following an 1872 order from the government that restricted the performance of a number of religious activities to the priests of authorized village or regional shrines, a number of unaffiliated priests had little choice but to find new occupations. The effect of the Restoration on these ordinary priests was dramatic. A decade after the Restoration, in 1877, there were only five inhabitants remaining in the former Zoshigaya residential area for ordinary priests, a decrease in population of more than eighty percent. Lacking any other employment opportunities, these remaining five former priests petitioned and gained government approval to convert the area to agricultural lands.³⁴⁾

As exemplified by the above mentioned Nanba Nobushige, however, a few ordinary priests managed the transition quite well. After leaving from the Zoshigaya area, Nanba found a position as chief priest to a new Shinto confraternity association called the *Shusei-kōsha* that was established by a group of nearly one-hundred commoners in 1873.³⁵⁾ Nonetheless, Nanba's case was unusual. Most of the other ordinary priests who had lived in Zoshigaya had transferred their residences to the remaining five priests and left the area for good. By strictly limiting who could administer a village or regional shrine and who could perform Shinto rituals, the new Meiji Government succeeded in incorporating Shinto into its new national system of administration of religious affairs and thereby in transforming the very practice of Shinto as it had existed in the early-modern period.

Conclusion

During the transition from Edo to Tokyo, the religious beliefs of merchants and others also changed. During these unsettled times, a number of popular deities emerged, and people began to place new demands on religious institutions and

individuals to act as receptacles for releasing their various anxieties and desires. While Shinto priests bore part of this task, they also themselves were experiencing the dramatic transition and turmoil of the time with each one trying to maintain or improve their situation and lives.

Responding to the rising unease throughout society during the early and mid-nineteenth century, the Shogunate initiated several policies aimed at controlling the activities of monks and priests. These were typically a part of larger reforms that aimed to both quash and quell sources of unrest among the urban lower classes of Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. Culminating in the Tenpō Reforms of the early 1840s, the Shogunate ordered the simplification of the administrative system for Shinto priests and sought to reduce the potential for priests and monks to instigate uprisings by segregating their residence from commoner districts. Despite protests against this forced relocation, the Shogunate's policies can be judged in their own terms as a partial success. The Shogunate's magistrates were able to directly administer and punish priests. Moreover, priests were able to continue their relations with the world of commoners.

When the Tokugawa Shogunate collapsed and the new Meiji government was established in 1868, the situation changed radically. It is well known that the basics of the modern Shinto shrine system with its goal of unifying politics and religion (*seisai icchi*) were instituted through such nationwide policies as the regional shrine regulations (*gosha teisoku*), the investigation of Shinto parishioners (*ujiko shirabe*), and the extension of state patronage to Shinto priests in exchange for their role in edifying the people.³⁶⁾ It has also long been known that the chief priests of former Historical Shrines became the administrators of regional and village shrines or were given the new role as instructors of Shintoism. However, unable to carry out its policy of educating the people in matters of religion due to a shortage of qualified instructors and general administrative disorder at the local level, the government's more radical reforms came to an end in the late 1870s.

Despite these changes at the national and prefectural levels, there were numerous local shrines that went unrecognized by the newly formed prefectural governments and their system of regional and village shrines. Moreover, the social bonds whereby parishioners supported the priests of small and medium sized shrines continued into the modern period. In addition, the new government's 1872 proclamation banning non-affiliated priests from performing various prayers and rites led most of Edo's ordinary priests, a number of whom actually oversaw many of the city's local shrines, to abandon their priestly robes for other employment. In their place, the government permitted priests affiliated with either a village or regional shrines to offer incantations and perform various Shinto ceremonies at these smaller shrines. As in the case of ordinary priests living in Zoshigaya, however, little is known about what happened to them and their shrines following the turmoil of the 1870s.

For example, the residential area for monks and priests in Shibuya and Asakusa continued to function as such even after the Restoration. And, the residential area in Shibuya was actually renamed Kamihara-machi or "god field" district and appears as such on an 1888 map of Tokyo.³⁷⁾ Though I have yet to find documents that discuss the demographics of the local population of this district, this new place name would

suggest that the area retained its early designation and was given a name appropriate to its resident priests and gods.

Notes

- 1) For instance, on the transition of National Shintoism from the early-modern to the modern period, research has been done by a number of prominent historians, such as Fujitani Toshio, Yasumaru Yoshio, Sakamoto Koremaru, and Miyaji Masato. For a recent summary, see Sakamoto Koremaru 阪本是丸, *Kokka shintō keisei katei no kenkyū* [国家神道形成過程の研究], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994).
- 2) See, for instance, Tsukada Takashi 塚田孝, Yoshida Nobuyuki 吉田伸之 and Wakita Osamu 脇田修 eds., *Mibun-teki shūen* [身分的周縁], (Kyoto: Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo, 1994).
- 3) From the medieval to the early-modern period, most peasants took turns enshrining the village shrine and performing festivals in rural areas. This system was called *naorai*. There was no specialized priest in those villages.
- 4) See Takano Toshihiko 高埜利彦, *Kinsei Nihon no kokka-kenryoku to shūkyō* [近世日本の国家権力と宗教], (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1989).
- 5) Minamibanma-chō was a residential area for commoners in Honjo area on the east side of the Sumida River.
- 6) *Kasshi-yawa: zokuhen* [甲子夜話 続編], volume 5, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980), 218–221.
- 7) See Inoue Tomokatsu 井上香勝, “Shintōsha [神道者],” Takano Toshihiko ed., *Minkan ni ikiru shūkyōsha* [民間に生きる宗教者], Shirizu kinsei-no mibun-teki-shūen 1, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000).
- 8) Jisha-bugyō kakitome [寺社奉行書留], Kyū-bakufu hikitsugisho Collection [旧幕府引継書], National Diet Library.
- 9) For example, Hie-Sannō Gongensha, Kanda Myōjinsha, Nezu Gongensha, and two other large shrines were administrated by Shinto priests.
- 10) “Tsukibanchū goyōdome [月番中御用留],” *Sumiyoshi Jinja shozō monjo* [住吉神社所蔵文書], No. 4, *Keiei* [経営], 60.
- 11) “Shichū torishimari ruijū [市中取締類集],” 10, *Jiisho torishimari no bu* [地所取締之部], 2, (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1972), 208–210.
- 12) Ibid.
- 13) “Akasaka-oyakata goyōdome [赤坂御館御用留],” *Sumiyoshi Jinja shozō monjo* [住吉神社所蔵文書], No. 14, *Sonota* [その他], 50.
- 14) The chief priest of Sumiyoshi Shrine kept a record entitled “Bannin-kō.” See “Goshayō-dome [御社用留],” *Sumiyoshi Jinja shozō monjo*, No. 4, 57.
- 15) The copy of this charter is held by the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library.
- 16) The cotton and hemp fabrics wholesalers association (*futomono nakama*) hold a copy of the agreement from Hiraoka Hyuga, the Chief Priest of Sumiyoshi Shrine. A copy of this bond is in the Documents of Sumiyoshi Shrine (Sumiyoshi Jinja shozō monjo). “Goshayō-dome,” *Sumiyoshi Jinja shozō monjo*, No. 4, 66.
- 17) This fishermen’s association was called “Yotsude-nakama.” Its members fished with small boats for ice fish (*shirauo*) and eels. Most of the fishermen of Tsukuda island belonged to this association.
- 18) *Suginomori Jinja shozō monjo* [稻森神社所蔵文書：中央区文化財調査報告書], (Tokyo: Chūō-ku Kyōiku linkai, 1996), 44–46.
- 19) *Shichū torishimari ruijū*, 10, 208–210.
- 20) “Shaji zatsuroku” [社寺雜録], (Tokyo Metropolitan Archives), and Jisha-bugyō kakitome, Kyū-bakufu hikitsugisho Collection (National Diet Library).
- 21) Regarding the prohibition from the Bureau of Shinto Affairs, see Yasumaru Yoshio, *Kamigami no Meiji Ishin* [神々の明治維新], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1979).
- 22) See *Suginomori jinja syozō monjo*, 69–71, 188–192, and 201.
- 23) Matsuyama Megumi, “Shinkai-chō no tanjō,” *Nihon kenchikugakkai keikaku kei ronbunshū*, 571 (2003), 165–172.
- 24) *Fuchirusan* [府治類纂], 31, (Tokyo Metropolitan Archives).

- 25) *Fuchiruisan* [府治類纂], 31, (Tokyo Metropolitan Archives).
- 26) *Tōkyō-shi shikō: Shigai-hen*, [東京市史稿：市街編], volume 53, (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Archives [東京都公文書館], 1976), 886–897.
- 27) After this order, the Kanda Shrine, which had become a prefectural shrine for Tokyo, assumed the administration of Suginomori Shrine. See *Suginomori Jinja shozō monjo*, 111–113.
- 28) *Suginomori Jinja shozō monjo*, 113.
- 29) Shinagawa Shrine is in southern Tokyo. Shinagawa was the first inn town on the Tōkaidō highway that ran between Edo and Kyoto.
- 30) *Tōkyō-to jinja shiryō* [東京都神社史料], 5, (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to Jinjachō, 1968).
- 31) “Shaji zatsuroku,” 3, (Tokyo Metropolitan Archives).
- 32) See Inoue, “Shintōsha.”
- 33) “Shaji zatsuroku,” 3, (Tokyo Metropolitan Archives).
- 34) “Kaigiroku-shubikigai daikyū-daiku shaji agechi sagewatashi [回議録・朱引]外第九大区社寺上地下渡,” (Tokyo Metropolitan Archives).
- 35) “Kōsha oyobi kyōin senza yōhai shisai narabi ni sōgi [講社及教院遷座遙拜私祭社堂並葬儀],” (Tokyo Metropolitan Archives, 1874).
- 36) See Sakamoto, *Kokka shintō keisei katei no kenkyū*.
- 37) *Meiji nijūnen Naimushō jissoku Tōkyō gosen-bun-no-ichi* [明治二十年内務省実測東京五千分ノ一], (Tokyo: Jinbunsha, 1969).