

# The Influence of Nineteenth Century Urbanization in Hirata Atsutane's *Tamadasuki*: Religious Views and Domestic Practices

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## Introduction

In every school of learning, there is always one who breaks away from the mainstream and carves a niche out for himself. Such a thinker may not win the favor of all, but deserves consideration if not approbation. Within the *Kokugaku* (国学) school of national learning or nativism, Hirata Atsutane (平田篤胤) (1776-1843) is one such rare intellectual. Unlike the other disciples of Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長) (1730-1801) who were absorbed in literature and philology, Hirata expanded academic borders into various fields.

Hirata Atsutane is noted for his interest in local beliefs and the occult and is considered a forerunner of Japanese folklore studies.<sup>1)</sup> It is true that his thought and behavior is unique in many respects, but he is also the child of his age. The rationale for his studies on folklore was to maintain social order during a period of extreme political and economic unrest. It must be noted that his works were derived from an acute political awareness. As if responding to a summons, many of Hirata's disciples were in charge of village social welfare; they engaged in a constant struggle over local problems. The members of the Hirata school may not have been as sophisticated as those who studied at Norinaga's side, but they were eager and sincere to solve practical problems. Both schools share the same question, what must be done to preserve the cultural framework and heritage of Japan? The dividing point of the two groups may lie within their views of urban life style and economy, whether to cherish the merits of urban life or not.

There are hints and evidence that show Hirata's awareness of Edo period urbanization. He knew from his own experience that city life could be the major cause of the breakdown of the traditional foundations of society and community. Seen from this point of view, it is important to focus on Hirata Atsutane's views concerning the negative impact of urbanization and over-population in major cities, particularly Edo and Kyoto. From his day to the present, the megalopolis mirrors social problems of the day.

In order to analyze Hirata Atsutane's views of urban life, this paper will focus on a short text about toilet manners for the public. This text is interesting because it reflects his awareness of urbanization, public sanitation and housing problems.<sup>2)</sup> As can be imagined, Motoori Norinaga's followers did not discuss such mundane and embarrassing topics. This text is a sign of Hirata's awareness of living conditions and the welfare

of the society of his day.

The discussion of toilet manners appears in Hirata's work *Tamadasuki* (玉櫛). Hirata had begun writing the manuscript as early as Bunka 8 (1811) but the first publication of the present version came out on Tenpō 3 (1832).<sup>3)</sup> *Tamadasuki* is a guidebook for everyday Shintō worship, especially for domestic worship within the household. In this book, Hirata established common guidelines for domestic practices and religious duties for the general public. Hirata meant the book to be read by citizens who wish to worship Japanese deities in an authentic manner. Not only the famous and popular gods and goddesses, but of equal importance, Hirata maintained that household deities were the subject of worship. His emphasis on domestic and local deities is characteristic of this text. Miyagi points out that *Tamadasuki* was written as a note to *Maiasa shinhai-shiki* (毎朝神拝詞記), which was written following the model of Norinaga's *Maiasa haishin-shiki* (毎朝拝神式), a guideline for domestic Shintō practice.<sup>4)</sup> Norinaga does indeed state the procedure of everyday worship, but does not discuss the detail of each deity in the text. It must be emphasized that Norinaga made no mention whatsoever on the subject of the toilet, neither in terms of religion nor etiquette.<sup>5)</sup> Through this comparison, it is clear that Hirata Atsutane seriously considered the needs of his audience; he clearly directed his work at the masses, the common citizens of various occupations. Miyagi also informs us that *Tamadasuki* was written during the period when Hirata was engaged in writing introductory works on Shintō and Japanese mythology such as *Tama no mihashira* (靈能真柱). However Miyagi also admits that it is impossible to trace how popular readers responded to the first version of *Tamadasuki*.<sup>6)</sup>

The chapters of this text that refer to domestic deities, or guardians of the house, offer information on basic facilities in traditional Japanese housing. Hirata refers to gods such as *Ie no kami Yabune no kami* (宅神屋船神) (the deity of the house, deity of the palace, including the *Daikokubashira* 大黒柱, main pillar), *Toshigami* (歳神) (household guardian deities), *Kamado no kami* (竈神) (the god of the kitchen), *Ido no kami* (井神) (the god of the well), and the *Kawaya no kami* (廁神) (god of the toilet).<sup>7)</sup> Domestic deities other than the toilet are introduced and explained in a ritualistic framework. Hirata Atsutane tried to present the subject in a sophisticated manner, placing emphasis on the holiness of the deity and the importance of ritual. However, the section on the toilet deity is different in many regards. Practical awareness of the community and public welfare is mirrored within the logic of religious purification. Readers are strongly encouraged to abide by social obligations and duties. Though the subject is toilet manners and worship of the toilet deity, Hirata warns against urbanization and the unwelcome changes in society it produces.

### Toilet Manners and Religious Practice: The Rationale for Public Morals

Hirata Atsutane's discussion of *Kawaya no kami* (廁神), the toilet deity, consist of three themes, first a linguistic explanation of the toilet deity and toilet systems; second, details on the religious and hygiene rationale on toilet cleaning; and finally, encouragement for the agricultural use of night soil.

According to Hirata, the term *kawaya* (廁) was originally *kawaya* (河屋) because toilets were originally built over streams.<sup>8)</sup> Human waste was therefore washed away

in running water. He introduces the identity of the toilet deity from Japanese mythology. It is interesting to note that Hirata refers to a history of two different Japanese toilet systems. He notes that *kawaya* (河屋), a virtual water closet, was the original style of toilet, but toilets known as *setchin* (雪隠), consisting of little more than a *kakomi* (圍み), a closet for human waste, gradually became more common.<sup>9)</sup> Hirata does not encourage this style of toilet, maintaining that it may be the source of pollution to have human waste confined within such a small closet. At the same time he understands that it is impossible to establish a water closet in every household since it must be set over stream of running water.<sup>10)</sup> For this reason, the majority must compromise with a simple closet for human wastes. Hirata Atsutane was, of course, aware of the overpopulated neighborhoods of Edo where it was impossible to furnish toilets that could both rinse and purify the source of pollution. Hirata Atsutane's linguistic analysis or philological statement needs to be understood within this realistic observation. However, Hirata does not put forward plans to improve housing conditions or create new sewerage systems; rather he develops his argument within a religious context.

Hirata understands the truth of how people become careless when they use the toilet. But he is strict regarding advice to keep the toilet clean. One must never defile the toilet because it contains human wastes. A sacred deity resides in the toilet so one must remember to pay due respect. Hirata Atsutane's argument on toilet manners consists of two points. The Japanese deity resides in all places and all things. One must learn to pay respect to the gods at all times. He also relies heavily on local beliefs to provide examples of cleaning the toilet. He constantly warns the readers how evil and misfortune derive from foul toilets, whereas those who clean the toilet regularly will be saved from various diseases and poverty.<sup>11)</sup> Hirata further warns readers that evil spirits of all kinds enter from ill kept dirty places. In a religious context, pollution will bring misfortune upon those who do not heed these warnings. He stresses that toilet and litter mounds *chirizuka* (塵塚) must be kept thoroughly clean lest evil enter the household.<sup>12)</sup>

Hirata offers ideas to mind manners in the toilet. He urged the pasting of a notice on the toilet door reminding people to bow before entry and claims that this daily practice will quickly become second nature.<sup>13)</sup> He also instructs readers not to spit in the toilet and not to splash urine on the upper boards.<sup>14)</sup> Hirata provides a local spell to ward off evil in the toilet: hold your breath, cover your nose with your sleeve, and close your fists tightly around your thumbs.<sup>15)</sup> This sort of superstition is clearly derived from practical concerns. Though the discourse is framed with the context of local beliefs and housewives tales, it is easy to understand how these instructions were formed around practical concerns of hygiene and sanitation. Thus, Hirata Atsutane's message is clear: "take heed to keep the toilet clean, lest misfortune and disaster enter your house."

Hirata's discussion shows that cleanliness is an act of religious purification. Housecleaning, he maintains, is not the simple routine work performed by housewives. Rather, untidiness and dirt is a mark of religious taboo and pollution, which in serious cases may be the cause of religious chaos. It may be difficult for modern day readers to agree with Hirata's use of local beliefs and superstition as hard evidence, but his practical awareness of hygiene and sanitary conditions are eloquent within this dis-

course.

The section of toilet manners, however, does not end with a call to improve public health. Instead, Hirata provides a first hand witness to a quarrel between a carpenter and a night soil merchant. This detailed episode demonstrates that his interests go beyond that of sanitary conditions; it shows that night soil is useful as fertilizer, and sheds light on negative aspects of urban lifestyles and values.

The quarrel began when Shinkichi, a regular carpenter under long term contract, then staying at Hirata Atsutane's residence, one day urinated directly into a barrel used for the collection of night soil. The collector, who was around the age of fifty and hailed from the Kasai district, was furious, and shouted at Shinkichi for spoiling the merchandise. Shinkichi, whom Hirata described as arrogant and quick tempered, retorted immediately that it was in his right to put the contents of the toilet in the same container. The night soil merchant, whose occupation was a farmer, argued back in retaliation that night soil is not dirty waste but precious fertilizer. It is useful for growing rice crops and vegetables, necessary resources for life and offerings for the gods. He demanded that night soil be handled with care and respect. Hirata who overheard the commotion out on the street was anxiously observing how Shinkichi would respond to this reasoning. To Hirata's great surprise, Shinkichi grew red in the face, bent his knees and bowed low from waist upward with words of apology to the farmer. Hirata reports that Shinkichi said he never knew that night soil was useful as fertilizer. He had always been a carpenter and knew nothing about farming. He insisted that he pay for the loss and begged the farmer to dispose the waste elsewhere. The farmer who was a good-natured man, forgave Shinkichi, took the barrel of night soil and left. Hirata praised the farmer for his speech on the uses of night soil and the importance of farming. Hirata notes that it was a pity he could not ask the farmer for his name and address, since he had so forcefully spoke the truth regarding life and farming.<sup>16)</sup>

This dialogue is interesting for two reasons. First it gives evidence that urban citizens were ignorant of agriculture and the life of local farming village. Second is Hirata's concern that urbanization was the main cause for the gradual erosion of traditional Japanese norms at all levels of society. The episode is not a simple glorification of agriculture. Shinkichi's behavior is disgraceful, but he offers evidence of rapid social change and of a growing generation gap in the mid nineteenth century Japan. Just at this time many local communities were suffering from population loss and consequent fiscal crisis; poverty-ridden farmers were flooding into cities, where they were living in slum-like conditions in highly over-populated neighborhoods. The capital Edo was a melting pot of inhabitants from all over Japan, meaning that crowds lacking common values and cultural heritage were huddled in poor living conditions. It is easy to assume that family discipline and household education had lost its significance. Lack of shared values and beliefs, loss of domestic practices were signs that Japanese community spirit was disintegrating rapidly. It was not surprising to find adolescents disregarding public morals. The growth of urban economy and non-traditional lifestyles meant, Hirata feared, that the Japanese people were losing touch with their religious heritage. Seen from this light, Hirata Atsutane's call for household discipline is grounded on the urgent need to reconstruct and restore the framework of local community, including the need to practice religious purification in all domestic activities. Under

the pretext of toilet manners and the praise for farming, this section is an imperative to observe social obligations and perform one's civil duty. By encouraging urban dwellers to observe toilet hygiene and appreciate the productive uses of night soil, Hirata made an effort to shift attention on agriculture and farming as a significant occupation. Underneath the texture of local beliefs and purification, there is a call for social reform.

## Conclusion

As seen above, Hirata Atsutane's discussion on toilet manners is a reflection of his awareness of social order and domestic discipline. His insistence on details of domestic practices reflects the fact that people were lacking common grounds, community support, free of social bonds and duties in the crowded city life. Those who constituted the low class of the capital Edo were suffering from low income, overpopulation and poor housing conditions. They were living at the verge of losing social respect, living from hand to mouth. As a result, what was once taught and learned within the family was in the process of disappearing. For Hirata and his supporters, this situation demanded that they warn the people that they were losing touch with their religious heritage. Hirata learned through everyday experience that the lack of common heritage and common values signify that groupings of people—the masses—were not necessarily respectable members of society. It is for this reason that his works convey a political message: restore Japanese society as it was and will always be. Peter Nosco showed how the *Kokugaku* movement was formed around the sentiment of nostalgia.<sup>17)</sup> His argument helps researchers to understand the ideological foundation and vision of Hirata Atsutane's socio-political interests. In order to restore Japanese society from its collapsed state, confronted in the mid-nineteenth century by domestic and diplomatic crises, Hirata and his supporters sought rebuild social order beginning at the level of household practices and everyday duties.

To conclude, the negative impact and conflict of urban life was the major force to shape Hirata Atsutane's religious views and political interests. Hirata's supporters were wealthy farmers in charge of social welfare and local governance. They were especially concerned about the corrupting influence of urbanization on established lifestyles, and had a keen interest in how the glamour and temptations of city life were causing drastic changes in values and practices. Both Hirata and his followers sought systematic teaching and instructions. It is for this reason that they tried to set a standard of Japanese religious practices for the local public. Household discipline such as toilet manners and religious purification had to be learned and checked by published books, lest the cultural backbone of Japanese society cease to exist.

However, we must ask whether their efforts to instill discipline bore fruit or not. There is no clear definition of what constitutes cleanliness within an urban environment. Researchers must distinguish between concerns of religious purification and the demands of public sanitation. During the nineteenth century, there were six outbreaks of cholera, dating from Bunsei 5 (1822) to Meiji 10 (1877). The most serious epidemic occurred in Ansei 5 (1858), claiming the lives of approximately 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants of the capital city of Edo. This outbreak came after Hirata Atsutane's death, but nonetheless serves as counter-evidence of cleanliness of Edo, one of the world's

largest cities.<sup>18)</sup>

Watanabe Kyōji (渡辺京二) contends that the general reputation of Edo's clean streets and cleanliness of the capital Edo may be a result of comparison with the slums of industrialized nations, such as nineteenth-century London, or the cities of the Qing dynasty.<sup>19)</sup> Religious purification may well place emphasis on social conformity rather than on public hygiene or attempts to prevent the spread of disease. A study of public hygiene during the Edo period and its connection with social unrest is a topic for further research, especially at the local level.

In previous research, Hirata Atsutane's works on folklore has been analyzed solely within the context of religious understanding and his interest in occult.<sup>20)</sup> His views of afterlife and interpretation of certain deities, especially the status of the *Ubusuna no kami* (産土神) is the center argument of research. Recent work on Hirata focus on his local activities and the academic network of Atsutane's supporters.<sup>21)</sup> And yet, it is important for one to observe and recall how the glorification of country life and farming will emerge only after such an idyllic agricultural society ceased to exist. Such discourse is either an elegy of the past or a protest against hard truth. In order to analyze and understand the structure and format of Hirata Atsutane's arguments, it is important to approach the text from the viewpoint of urbanization and social problems.<sup>22)</sup> Hirata Atsutane's *Tamadasuki* is based on the awareness of the lack of moral guidance and religious teaching. In it, he strives to restore what he considers to be Japan's traditional social framework by urging readers to heighten their morale. The strength of his appeal lies in the promotion of everyday remedies such as toilet manners and ritualistic practice. In other words, daily duties and domestic work are used to convey a message of political conformity, a topic that will be examined in future research. Here, however, we can see how Hirata Atsutane's personal character and social awareness is mirrored within the realm of domestic activities.

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### Notes

- 1) Miyagi Kimiko 宮城公子, *Bakumatsuki no shisō to shūzoku* 幕末期の思想と習俗, (Perikansha, 2004), 8-9, 205-06. For an overview of Hirata Atsutane's works, autobiography and profile, see Muraoka Tsunetsugu 村岡典嗣, *Norinaga to Atsutane* 宣長と篤胤, (Sōbunsha, 1957). Tahara Tsuguo 田原嗣郎, *Hirata Atsutane* 平田篤胤, (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1963). Koyasu Nobukuni 子安宣邦, "Hirata Atsutane no sekai" 平田篤胤の世界, in vol.24, *Nihon no meicho* 日本の名著, (Chūōkōronsha, 1984), 25-80. Minamoto Ryōen 源了圓, *Tokugawa shisō shōshi* 徳川思想小史 (Chūōkōronsha, 1995), 202-07. For an English version of Hirata Atsutane's autobiography, see Tsunoda Ryusaku, De Bary, Wm Theodore, Donald Keene Comp., *Sources of Japanese Tradition vol.2*, Introduction to Oriental Civilizations, (New York: Columbia University press, 1964), 35-37. For an overview of previous research on Hirata Atsutane see Hoshiyama Kyōko 星山京子, "Kinnen no kokugaku kenkyū" 近年の国学研究, *Nihon shisōshigaku* 日本思想史学, 39, (2007), 35-47. Hoshiyama's paper encouraged me to pursue the topic of urbanization as a focal point (ibid., 38-39, 41). Finally, for a detailed analysis of Hirata Atsutane's studies on folklore and his influence on the later generation of Japanese folklore studies, see Kojima Yasunori, "Hirao Rosen: Late Tokugawa Folklorist from Tsugaru Domain" *Asian Cultural Studies*, 36, (2010), 1-24. I would like to note that Kojima's research formed the bases of my interest of the interrelationship between Hirata Atsutane and Japanese folklore. I would also like to note that I

- have followed the *Monnumenta Nipponica* Style Sheet for Romanization of Japanese terms and sources and citations. Type and punctuation errors in this paper are my own.
- 2) It is interesting to note that Hirata Atsutane was obliged to cope with urban housing problems. In the early stages of his academic carrier, he is known to have changed residence frequently, See Nakagawa Kazuaki 中川和明, *Hirata kokugaku no shiteki kenkyū* 平田国学の史的 연구, (Meicho kankōkai, 2012), 31-32, 34. Nakagawa presents this information as evidence of Hirata Atsutane's endurance.
  - 3) Endō Jun 遠藤潤, *Hirata kokugaku to kinsei shakai* 平田国学と近世社会, (Perikansha, 2008), 320, 336. Endō notes that vol.8 of *Tamadasuki* was published in Ansei 2 (1855). The manuscript of *Tamadasuki* came to shape during the epochal years of his trip to Kyoto and Matsuzaka. (Miyagi, *Bakumatsuki no shisō to shūzoku*, 227). For details concerned with this epochal trip, see also Nakagawa 2012, 262-63, 269-70.
  - 4) Miyagi, *Bakumatsuki no shisōto shūzoku*, 206.
  - 5) Motoori Norinaga, *Maiasa haishin shiki* 毎朝拜神式, in vol.20 of *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 本居宣長全集, (Chikuma shobō, 1991), 181-82. Norinaga does indeed mention the deity of the *Kamado* 竈 and the water well, but nothing more (ibid., 181).
  - 6) Miyagi, *Bakumatsuki no shisō to shūzoku*, 238. It is significant to identify the sponsors who funded and encouraged the publication of *Tamadasuki*. It is a question to be pursued in future research.
  - 7) Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤, *Tamadasuki* 玉禰 in vol.6 of *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū* 新修平田篤胤全集, (Meicho shuppan 1977), 414-78. It is interesting to see the connections between Hirata's awareness of preserving the ancient customs *kofū* 古風 and his concerns of urbanization in his discussion of domestic deities. For example, in the chapter of *Ie no kami Yabune no kami*, 宅神屋船神 Hirata explains the religious rationale of setting a main pillar in the house. Hirata notes that in thriving districts such as the capital Edo, people are apt to forget old customs in the pursuit of new styles. He closes this note claiming that vestiges of old customs are preserved in the countryside (ibid., 417).
  - 8) Ibid., 471-72. As a matter of comparison, Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 has written an entry for the term *Kawaya* 厠 in his dictionary *Tōga* 東雅. Hakuseki also points out the linguistic origin of the term to have derived from the custom of setting toilets over streams and rivers. Hakuseki notes that because the shape resembles that of the *mandala* as does the mountain silhouette of the Kōyasan, it has been said that the facility must be kept above defilement (see Arai Hakuseki, *Tōga* vol.6 in *Arai Hakuseki zenshū* 新井白石全集 vol.4 (Kokusho kankōkai, 1977), 121-122). Hakuseki is determined to keep the subject within the framework of linguistics, clearly indifferent on matters of toilet etiquette. However he does make a detailed comment and linguistic analysis of the *Kuriya* 厨 the kitchen and the *Kamado* 竈 (ibid., 120-21). Other Edo period dictionaries seem to have followed this rule of omitting toilet manners from their entries. See the entry of *Kawaya* 厠 in the *Rigen shūran* 俚言集覽, vol.1, (Meicho kankōkai 1978), 3 vols., 596-97. This entry also explains that water closets were furnished above water and also refers to portable toilets. For an entry of *Setchin* 雪隠 see vol.2 (ibid., 468). Sources other than dictionaries observe the topic from a different angle. A ladies expression of "chōzu ni yuku" 手水にゆく (going to wash my hands) is mentioned in Matsuura Seizan 松浦静山 *Kattshiyawa* 甲子夜話, vol.6 (Kokusho kankōkai 1910), 3 vols., 80-81. Matsuura notes how ladies avoid direct expressions when in need to use the toilet. This section is not exactly on toilet manners but it reveals how Edo period citizens were reluctant to speak out their needs to go in public. Hirata Atsutane's contemporaries had used various expressions when in need to use the toilet.
  - 9) Hirata, *Tamadasuki* in vol.6 of *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, 473-74. Also Hirata notes that toilets were built away from the main building of the house, hence the term *Kawaya* 側屋, (outer building) was coined. (ibid., 471).
  - 10) Ibid., 474.
  - 11) Ibid., 472-73, 475, 478. It is interesting to see sources of superstitions and local beliefs of the matter.
  - 12) Ibid., 474. This paper is focused on matters of urbanization and toilet manners so I have omitted superstitions of the kitchen oven and instructions of extinguishing the fire, (ibid., 455). Hirata disapproves spitting to put out small fires but is careful not to criticize local practice. A further analysis on Hirata's views of the kitchen deity will be pursued in another paper.
  - 13) Ibid., 472.
  - 14) Ibid., 476.
  - 15) Ibid., 478. Miyagi explains this section as evidence of how such practices are indicated in contempo-

- rary research of Japanese folklore studies (Miyagi, *Bakumatsuki no shisō to shūzoku*, 220). Miyagi forms her thesis based of folklore, therefore the topic of medicine has been omitted. For Hirata Atsutane's view on medicine, see Hirata Atsutane *Shizu no iwaya kōhon* 志都能石屋講本 in vol.14 of *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū* 423-506. Analysis of Hirata's views on medicine is a topic for further research. It is interesting to note that Hirata refers to the causes of illness and disease in terms of afterlife. See his *Tama no mihashira* 霊能真柱 in *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系 vol. 50, (Iwanami shoten 1973), 125, 127, 128-129.
- 16) Hirata, *Tamadasuki* in vol.6 of *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, 476-77. For Hirata's social views and praise of farmers and farming see, (ibid., 436-37). Hirata presents his statement of ideal national governance, but further analysis of this text is a topic or another paper. Other sources on business deals between landlords and night soil merchants see the section of landlords in Kitagawa Morisada 喜多川守貞 *Morisada mankō* 守貞漫稿, vol. 4, (Tokyodō shuppan 1981), 3 vols., 50. See also Anne Walthall, "Material Culture: Night Soil" in *East Asia: A Cultural, Social, and Political History* ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Anne Walthall, James B. Palais, (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), 337. For Edo period toilet culture and night soil collecting see Watanabe Shinichirō 渡辺信一郎, *Edo no otoiire* 江戸のおトイレ, (Shinchōsha 2006). Watanabe describes in detail of public hygiene and night soil, exchange deals between townfolk and farmers (ibid., 180-211). Watanabe uses primary sources from literature, essays, diaries and dictionaries to examine toilet culture of the Edo period. On archaeological analysis of sewerage system in the Edo period see Kurita Akira 栗田彰 "Edo no gesui shiryō" 江戸の下水史料 in *Edo no josuidō to gesuidō* 江戸の上水道と下水道 ed. Edo iseki kenkyūkai, 江戸遺跡研究会, (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2011), 195-214. On local regulations and legal records concerned with the prices of night soil see *Edo machibure shūsei* 江戸町触集成, vol.9, ed., Kinsei shiryō kenkyūkai, 近世史料研究会 (Hanawa shobō, 1998), 76-82. This town notice was distributed in Kansei 2 (1790) when the aftermath of the Tenmei famine (1783-1787) was still afresh. For further regulations, see also *Edo machibure shūsei* 江戸町触集成, vol.14, ed., Kinsei shiryō kenkyūkai, 近世史料研究会 (Hanawa shobō, 2000), 427-29. Town notices including petitions on night soil prices see *Edo machibure shūsei* 江戸町触集成, vol.18 (Hanawa shobō, 2002). 205-06, 229-31.
- 17) Peter Nosco, *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth Century Japan*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Council of East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1990.), 4, 6-8, 144-46, 239-41, 247-48.
- 18) Of the cholera epidemic during the Edo period see Sakai Shizu 酒井シヅ *Yamai ga kataru nihonshi* 病が語る日本史, (Kōdansha, 2002), 143-150. See also Ujiiie Mikito 氏家幹人 *Edo no Yamai* 江戸の病, (Kōdansha, 2009), 7-12. Ujiiie discusses Edo period illness, medicine and nursing in detail. See also Ann Bowman Jannetta, *Epidemics and Mortality in Early Modern Japan*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987). Analysis of living conditions, local regulation on public hygiene and medicine of the Edo period is a topic for further research.
- 19) Watanabe Kyōji 渡辺京二 *Yukishiyo no omokage* 逝きし世の面影, (Heibonsha, 2011), 131-38.
- 20) See Yoshida Masaki 吉田真樹, *Hirata Atsutane: Reikon no yukue* 平田篤胤：靈魂のゆくえ, (Kōdansha, 2009). An English research on Hirata Atsutane's folklore studies see Wilburn Hansen, *When Tengu Talk: Hirata Atsutane's Ethnography of the Other World*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii press, 2008). Hansen analyzes the text *Senkyō ibun* 仙境異聞 from many levels to reveal the fabric of Hirata's interest and argument. For some reason, the most recent Japanese research works on Hirata Atsutane, do not refer to this book. I provide information of this research for the benefit of those who wish to study Hirata Atsutane in English. For an English paper discussing Hirata Atsutane's religious views and political awareness, see Suzuki Takako, "Hirata Atsutane's Views on the Nether World" *Study of the Nineteenth Century Scholarship* 19世紀学研究, vol.4, (2010), 171-85.
- 21) Yoshida Asako 吉田麻子, *Chi no kyōmei: Hirata Atsutane wo meguru shomotsu no shakaishi* 知の共鳴：平田篤胤をめぐる書物の社会史 (Perikansha, 2012).
- 22) Miyagi does point out that in the early nineteenth century, the surrounding atmosphere of Japanese popular religion had undergone drastic change (Miyagi, *Bakumatsuki no shisō to shūzoku*, 238). She points out how it is possible to understand the inner structure of Hirata Atsutane's academic pursuits and movement from this context. It is an interesting topic and research question to be discussed in another paper.