#### SHINTO SYMBOLS

#### I. INTRODUCTION

A symbol is an object, gesture, word, or anything which through relationship, association, convention, or accidental (not intentional) resemblance has acquired a special significance which causes it to suggest to the mind a certain person or persons, object, idea, etc. A symbol suggests or stands for something, usually, something quite different from the symbol itself. Its meaning depends entirely upon the knowledge and experience of the individual or group concerned. Where there has been no previous association in the mind between the symbol and the thing it suggests to the initiate, it is not symbolic. Thus, while to the initiate a symbol may have deep significance, to the novitiate or outsider it may have none at all.

To a person unfamiliar with Western history or Christianity, a cross probably has no special religious meaning. It is simply two beams of unequal length fastened together and set up in a special manner; but to a Saint Paul or a devout Christian believer it is fraught with meaning. The finger positions of the Great Buddha in Kamakura are merely interesting to the Westerner until he learns that finger positions have esoteric meanings in Buddhism, and those of the Kamakura Buddha mean "entered into meditation." People often interpret the same symbol differently. The Japanese flag with the flaming beams spreading from the center to the edge meant one thing to Japanese soldiers, and quite another to the Americans.

Furthermore the same flag today presumably means something quite different from what it formerly meant. Thus objects, which to a Westerner are symbolic, may not be so regarded by the Japanese, and conversely, things which are symbolic to the Japanese may have no meaning at all for Westerners unfamiliar with Japan and its customs.

In considering Shinto symbols a distinction must be made between objects which are symbolic of Shinto and objects that are only used symbolically. The garb of a Shinto priest, for example, identifies the individual as a priest. If one knows enough about Shinto it may also indicate the priest's rank, but within Shinto the garb itself has no symbolic or mystic meaning. Thus the costume of a priest identifies him as belonging to Shinto, but it is not used symbolically. Distinguishing characteristics useful for identification may, or may not, be symbolic of Shinto itself.

Shinto symbols in general are of two kinds: symbols of the kami and symbols of the faith; but a clear distinction is not always possible. The first group considered in this study includes man, animals, objects of nature, crests, sacred vessels, tablets, charms, etc.; the second includes Shinto structures and equipment, ceremonial practices, sacred music, dances, costumes, oblations and offerings, sacred vessels, and festivals; the third group consists of crests which are called secondary symbols of Shinto. A thorough treatment of the subject, of course, would involve a complete analysis of Shinto itself. Only the barest outline of the subject is attempted here.

This study is intended primarily as an exposition of objects which have a symbolic value to the Japanese people as a whole.

It will not attempt to examine symbols from the Westerner's point of view, nor to discuss symbols of an extremely mystic or esoteric nature. Typical examples of each type of symbol will be examined and the origin, nature, use, and present significance will be explained.

#### II. MAN AS A SYMBOL OF THE KAMI

The symbols of the kami include man, animals, objects of nature, crests, sacred vessels, Shinto structures and equipment, amulets, and charms. The original symbolic use of these has been either lost or greatly altered; only the form remains today. This is especially true of man as a symbol of the kami.

#### MIKO

Modern scholarship appears to support Aston in believing

that the most primitive form of society in Japan was matriarchic. Astons says, "Women played a very important part in the real world of ancient Japan as in that of imagination. Women rulers were at this time a familiar phenomenon. Chinese and Japanese history both give us glimpses of a female Mikado who lived about 200 A.D. and whose commanding ability and strong character have not been wholly absorbed by



Chigo

the mist of legend. Women chieftains are frequently mentioned. Indeed, the Chinese seem to have thought that feminine government was the rule in Japan, for their histories frequently

referred to it as the queen country."1

This superior position of women in society is evident in the position they held in Shinto. Certain women relatives of village chieftains occupied a central position in the worship of the kami. They were called *miko*, a shortened form of *Kamu-no-ko* (child of the kami) which literally interpreted implies that the *miko* were descendants of the chief. In practice they were relatives and not necessarily direct descendants. Sometimes the chieftain himself was a *miko*.<sup>2</sup>

Those who were considered the most pure, and thus qualified to serve the kami in the rites of worship, became miko. At times they partook of the sacred offerings with the kami, or even in place of the kami. To partake of the sacred food offering was to take on the nature of the kami and was considered as the most sacred act in all Shinto rites. Some mike were regarded as kami. They were called hime-gami i. e. female kami, and although individual names are unknown, it appears that they were enshrined as himegami.4 Miko were also known as yorimashi, i. e. one who possessed the attributes of the kami, and as kamu-nushi, literally kami-master, were believed to both represent and interpret the will of the kami. An example of this is a famous story in the Kojiki concerning the Empress Jingu at the time of the invasion of Korea. The story relates how prior to the invasion, acting as a yorimashi, she received an oracle to invade and conquer Kudara.6

In later centuries, as man came to occupy a more significant role than women in society, the place of woman in religion was lowered until today she usually serves only in minor matters such as the pantomimic dances and the preparation of food offerings.<sup>7</sup> There are a few exceptions, however, which reveal the earlier position of women as *miko*. The *naiji* or *naishoten*, i. e. one who is privileged to enter into the holy of holies of the Imperial Sanctuary (Kashikodokoro), and the *saishu-no-miya*, i. e. the high priestes of the Grand Shrine of Ise, all unmarried women, continued to occupy a significant position in ritual practices.<sup>8</sup>

The young unmarried girls in vermillion skirts and white

blouses seen at the larger shrines are now merely assistants to the priests; but their position and garb are relics of the primitive *miko*. These girls may be found selling post cards and charms at booths, serving tea to guests, or performing the sacred dances, and are in no way the symbols of kami they once were. The little girls in the same type of garment and with whitened faces are called *chigo*. An offshoot of the *miko* tradition, they are usually daughters of prominent pa-



Modern Miko

rishioners, and although their dress identifies them a belonging to Shinto, *chigo* have no special religious significance today.

#### KANNUSHI

With the passing of the matriarchic period men assumed a leading position in Shinto. They replaced women as kannushi or kamu-nushi and the term came to be applied exclusively to men. Other terms used for kannushi were  $g\bar{u}ji$  (shrine care-

taker), kokuzō (creator of the country), hafuri (exact meaning uncertain), saishu (ceremonial chief), and negi (one who offers prayers). According to the Kojiki and Nihongi the priesthood should be hereditary.<sup>11</sup>

As the literal meaning of *kannushi* suggests, the priest was regarded as the possessor of special powers over the spiritual world. In certain cases apparently he was regarded as a sub-



according to folklore, the kami of Suwa Shrine once appeared, saying, "I have no visible body. You shall consider the *hafuri* at the object of worship." In the Mishima Shrine of Iyo until the Sengoku period (1467–1568), the *ohafuri* 

stitute or representative of the kami. For example,

was called han-myōjin, i. e. a half kami. 13

At the time of the founding of the state, the clan system was becoming consolidated with men as clan chieftains who usually conducted the ceremonial rites before the clan deity (ujigami). By the Kamakura period (1192–1333) village chieftains of a given clan were conducting rituals (kami-matsuri) in turn at the clan shrine. In time a professional priesthood developed which replaced the village heads but there is little information regarding its development. However, records indicate that in general, both miko and kannushi functioned side by side in shrine ceremonial practices, although in some

shrines there were only miko and in others only kannushi.16

Basically a priest (*kannushi*) was one who had a special blood relationship with the clan deity, i. e. the *uji-kami*. He had to be an *uji-ko*, a child of the clan.<sup>17</sup> Thus at Ise only those of the Yamato clan became priests or priestesses of the Sun Goddess. The same applied fundamentally to all clan deities. Outsiders were not permitted to serve at the clan shrines.

As the priesthood became a profession, blood relationship was not required. Priests for a time were apparently accepted by the common consent of the community. Then as other standards were introduced the priests of larger shrines became versed in the esoteric practices which had become a part of Shirakawa and Yoshida Shinto. By the Edo period novitiates were expected to master these practices before they could qualify as priests. 19

With the beginning of the attempt of the Meiji government to create a state cult, the professional priest became a government official and his professional status became compromised by his political obligations. He was, therefore, a representative of the State as well as of Shinto.<sup>20</sup> In the decades following the Restoration, political influence prevailed and the priesthood, in general, fell into the hands of men without qualifications.<sup>21</sup> Although Shinto has been freed from state control for two years and there have been some internal changes, the general situation remains the same; ninety-five percent of shrine priests are without professional training.<sup>22</sup> Because of the special situation created by the war, widows of priests may now take over shrines as replacements for their late husbands and are con-

sidered *kannushi*. Only in rare cases do they have the professional or spiritual background for religious leadership.<sup>23</sup>

Thus *kannushi*, who originally were men of the clan and regarded as related in a peculiar way to the kami, have become lay ritualists. They are the leaders of the parishioners in worship. Custom and tradition invest them with the right to perform ceremonies. But, except in a most intangible way, they are not thought of as possessing any special spiritual prerogatives outside the ceremonies and even then, there are no longer any binding rules governing them. In general it is tradition which enables them to maintain their position.<sup>24</sup>

The Shinto priest on the street wears no special mark of identification. Within the shrine precincts, and in his robes, he represents Shinto and its faith but, in himself, he has no symbolic quality; but before the enshrined kami he is a connecting link expressing the feelings of the people to the kami. Thus the priest by his costume is identified as belonging to Shinto, but he has no other symbolic significance.

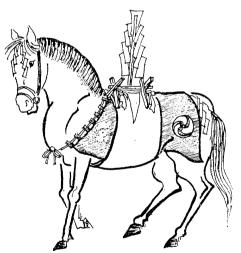
#### HITOTSU MONO

Another instance of man as a symbol of kami is the child who rides on a horse ahead of the procession of such shrines as Kotohiki Hachiman (Kagawa prefecture), Wakamiya of Kasuga Shrine, and Mibu Shrine (Wakayama prefecture). The child is called *hitotsu mono*,<sup>25</sup> literally, one-thing, which indicates that he is unique and has no substitute. At the Kotohiki Hachiman, a boy chosen for this position purifies himself for seven days prior to the festival. Then on the day of the festival a priest repeats magic formulas and puts make-up on

The hitotsu mono, which antidates the mikoshi, has been replaced by it. The divine spirit (shinrei), which was believed to dwell in the child, now rides in the mikoshi. It is strange, therefore, that the custom of having a hitotsu mono persists at all and is observed alongside of the mikoshi. In primitive times the child under the influence of the trance was believed to deliver oracles but at present there is no such expectation.

There were evidently several parallel developments of the

In some hitotsu mono. instances a doll and in others a gohei26 replaced the child on the saddle. The hitotsu mono is symbolic of the kami possessing and dwelling human beings. It is doubtful, however, whether this is known and understood by people other than the priests who specialize in such matters



Gohei Riding Horse<sup>27</sup>

#### III. ANIMALS AS MESSENGERS OF THE KAMI

The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* contain many tales of animals as messengers of kami. *Nakime*, a pheasant, was sent from the Plain of High Heaven (Takamagahara) by Omoikane-no-Kami to Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto in the lower world.¹ Hikohohodemi-no-Mikoto was able to ride back home on a crocodile from the bottom of the ocean through the kindness of the sea kami.² Yamato-takeru-no-Mikoto (the second son of the Emperor Keikō, 71—130) summoned a serpent as a messenger of the Rough (*ara*) Kami. This serpent is the first animal specifically referred to as a messenger.³

Additional animals appearing most prominently in early Shinto as messengers of kami are: doves, cranes, kites, snow herons, hens, pheasants, eagles, deer, monkeys, rats, foxes, boars, bees, tortoises, eels, carps, etc.<sup>4</sup>

Usually each kami has only one kind of messenger, but some have two or more. For example, the kami of Hiyoshi Shrine use monkeys as their primary messengers and deer as secondary. On the other hand the kami of Itsukushima, Sumiyoshi, and Kumano shrines use only crows as messengers.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE HACHIMAN DOVE

There are several explanations offered regarding the origin of the dove as the messenger of the kami of the Hachiman shrines. According to one tradition the Hachiman kami descended at Usa in the form of a dove. Another states that the name comes from the fact that Iwashimizu Hachiman is located on Hato-mine (Dove Peak) which is noted for its doves. A third explanation calls attention to the similarity between the word for eight-doves, *ya-hato*, and an alternate reading of Hachiman, *ya-hato*.<sup>6</sup>

The Okagami (a book of Japanese history from 850-1026) contains a story of Masanobu Minamoto (920-978), a court noble and worshipper of Iwashimizu Hachiman, who was pleased to see doves appear whenever he offered a sacred horse to the kami of Hachiman and who thought that the kami appeared in the form of doves to accept his prayers.7 The Heike Monogatari (a book on the rise and the fall of the Taira clan, about 1185) contains a story of Kiso-voshinaka of the Minamoto family who dismounted from his horse, took off his helmet and bowed respectfully before the doves at the battle field on Kurigara Toge where he encountered the Taira forces.8 The author of Azuma-kagami (a book on the rise and fall of the Kamakura shogunate, 1180-1266) relates the assassination of Sanetomo Minamoto at Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine to the death of two doves in the shrine compounds two days before the event. The historicity of these tales aside the fact remains that the dove has always been associated in literature and art with Hachiman shrines. Apparently it has no present significance except as a messenger of the enshrined kami. Obviously its symbolic meaning will depend largely upon whether Hachiman is considered to be a war kami or an agricultural kami. 10 In actual practice the dove seems to play no part in the rites or festivals of the shrines.

#### THE KASUGA DEER

The deer is the messenger or symbol of the kami of Kasuga Shrine (Nara). According to legend, after the capital had been moved to Nara, the Fujiwara family urgently requested the kami of the Kashima, Katori, and Hiraoka shrines to come to Kasugano and found a shrine.<sup>11</sup> Deer were honored as symbols and messengers of Kasuga because the kami of Kasuga allegedly went to Kasugano riding on a deer. 12 They were at times held so sacred that an imperial edict was issued in the reign of Emperor Nimmei (841) prohibiting deer hunting in the Kasuga precincts.<sup>13</sup> Records reveal that members of the Fujiwara family always dismounted from their horses whenever they saw deer. 14 The Kasuga Mandala which appeared at the end of the Kamakura Period (14th century) pictures a deer on the back of which a sakaki tree is set. A large mirror hangs from the tree. 15 Killers of deer in the Kasuga precincts were sentenced to death in the Meiō and Bunmei eras (end of the 15th century). 16 However, later in the 11th year of the Kambun era (1670), an order was issued by the governor of Nara to cut the horns of the deer in the shrine compounds in the middle of October each year so they would not injure innocent people.<sup>17</sup> The ritual for cutting the horns of deer continues today.

#### THE KUMANO CROW

The Kumano Jinja and crows are inseparable. The popular belief in crows as messengers of the shrine appears to have originated in the story of the crow that served as guide to Emperor Jimmu at Kumano on his eastern compaign. Kumano shrines may be found in all parts of the country.

Over forty crows are printed on the Goō-hōin, the famous charm of the Kumano Gongen. This charm was believed to possess miraculous power during the rise of the shrine and the people also used the charm as a written oath which was some times burned and the embers eaten. It was said that a violator of the oath vomitted blood and died. The shrine still offers this charm today.

#### THE INARI FOX

Foxes are considered to be messengers of Inari shrines and, at times are worshipped as kami. The chief deity of the Inari shrines is the kami of food, especially grain, called Ukanomitama-no-Kami or Miketsu Kami. Miketsu-Kami may be written with characters which sound similar to those for the kami of the fox.<sup>20</sup>

Dakiniten, an Indian Buddhist



The Inari Fox

goddess, was fused with Inari belief in the Heian period (794—1191). She was called Hakushin-Koō Bosatsu, Fox Boddhisattva. The fox of Inari, therefore, was worshipped as kami as well as regarded as a messenger of the Inari kami. In the 17th century popular worship of the fox as the kami of good luck was widespread and still is very prevalent among the

common people.21

#### COMMON NON-SYMBOLIC ANIMAL IMAGES

The phoenix on the top of the *mikoshi*, the dolphins on the curved eaves of some shrines, and the grotesque stone dogs known as *koma inu*, which are usually found guarding the approaches to shrines, are decorative and are not symbolic in



Koma Inu

Shinto.<sup>22</sup> The horses frequently found in shrines, are sacred but not symbolic.<sup>23</sup>

Thus it can be seen that certain animals are still considered somewhat as symbols of kami, but the worship of them as kami or as messengers, although it still occupies a significant place in popular belief, has become weaker.

#### IV. NATURAL OBJECTS AS SYMBOLS OF KAMI

The Japanese of ancient times regarded the mysterious forces of nature and objects of unusual appearance as manifestations of kami. Certain objects and forces have stood out as peculiarly effective expressions of the spiritual in nature. Mountains, for example, have usually been looked upon with reverence and awe, and often have been objects of worship. A small shrine may be found at the summit of almost every peak or even some high hills. Likewise, unusually formed trees, rocks, etc., are worshipped.

#### MOUNTAINS

In the earliest records Mount Fuji itself was regarded as a kami and worshipped as such.¹ In the *Mannyōshū*, one poem reads: "The lofty peak of Mount Fuji is the kami mysterious who dwells there... the guardian kami of Yamato Province."² The author of *Sandai Jitsuroku*,³ a collection of historical tales of the period from 858 to 887, has a story of the eruption of Mount Fuji in 865 and the establishment of a shrine on the peak in order to control earthquakes, wind, and rain. In the same document we read that in 853 Mount Fuji was honored as Sengenjin,⁴ a name indicating the divinity of the mountain, and the shrine was ranked as a *myōjin taisha*,⁵ the highest rank of shrines listed in the *Engi Shiki* (901–923). It is still regarded by some as the dwelling place of kami who control human destiny.⁶

Next to Mount Fuji, Mount Ontake<sup>7</sup> is the largest center of mountain worship but the essential nature of the worship is the same.

A mountain which is an object of worship does not have to be in the immediate precincts of the shrine at which it is worshipped. There are many Sengen Jinja all over the country which worship Mount Fuji. In Utsunomiya city there is a Futara Jinja which worships Mount Nantai. It is not a branch shrine. The numerous Mitake shrines also illustrate the same point.

Mountains that are generally regarded as sacred are not necessarily viewed in the same manner. To some a mountain itself is a kami, to others it is the dwelling-place of a kami, to still others it is a manifestation of kami. To most people it is probably not clear how they regard them.

Because of its unusual grandeur Mount Fuji stands out as a symbol, not only of the divine, i. e. of the kami, but as a symbol of the nation itself. During the period of ultranationalism, the sight of it stirred up ultra-nationalistic pride. Religious fanatics, who were also ultra-nationalists, went to Mount Fuji to purify their spirits and pledge their devotion to the nation; but there is no reason to believe that Mount Fuji or any other mountain necessarily has any nationalistic or militaristic implications. To see Mount Fuji in pictures or to mention it in speech or song is to suggest Japan itself. It is a symbol of the nation, not of nationalism.

As religious implications vary with the religious faith of the individual, a mountain peak in itself is not a symbol of Shinto, Buddhism, or any other sect except those specially devoted to its worship. Likewise, all mountains which are objects of worship are symbols of the divine, but they are only symbolic to the people of the vicinity who regard them with special veneration. Some additional identifying object, such as a cross, shrine, or image is necessary before a mountain itself becomes symbolic of any religion or sect.

#### TREES

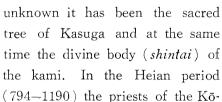
Trees and woods were also objects of worship in primitive Japan. The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* name Kayano-hime as the parent kami of grasses (Kusano-oya), and Kayano-hime-no-Kami as kami of grasses (Kusa-no-Kami), and Kukumuchi-no-Kami as the kami of trees.<sup>8</sup> The *Engi Shiki* records a *kinomi*-

tama-no-maturi (ritual for the spirit of trees) conducted on the occasion of felling trees to be used in building ships for emissaries to China.<sup>9</sup>

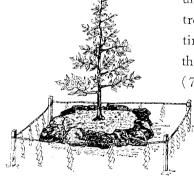
Trees of great age and size or deep forests were looked upon as sacred and possessed by kami. <sup>10</sup> People selected specific spots or specific trees in woods or forests as *himorogi*, i. e. seats of the kami, and specially honored them as places of worship. <sup>11</sup>

From the belief that trees were the abode of spirits developed the idea of sacred trees (*shinboku*) as symbols of the kami. For example, the *sakaki* (*eurya orchanacea*) is the sacred tree of Kasuga shrines, the cedar of Inari shrines, and the laurel of Hiyoshi shrines, etc.<sup>12</sup>

The *sakaki* is unquestionably the best known and most common tree symbol in Shinto. Its history is unique. From times



fukuji (temple), the family temple of the Fujiwaras, <sup>13</sup> carried a branch of a *sakaki* tree with a mirror on it to Kyoto in order to demonstrate the



Sakaki

authority of the shrine to the imperial court.<sup>14</sup> People called this journey of the *sakaki* to Kyoto, *shimboku juraku* that is a visit of the sacred tree to Kyoto, or *shimboku-doza*, that is, the moving of the sacred tree. The records say that the im-

perial court was striken with awe and sent messengers with oblations to the Kasuga Shrine to quiet the wrath of the kami. Such visits (*shimboku juraku*) were repeated over seventy times between the years 908 and the beginning of the 16th century.<sup>16</sup>

The *sakaki* of the Kasuga Shrine was transplanted to the branch shrines of Kasuga and the branch temples of Kōfukuji and were objects of worships in these shrines and temples during the middle ages and performed a significant symbolic role for the Kasuga Shrine. Today the *sakaki* has lost this unique position and has become symbolic of the kami in general. It receives special homage not only by reason of its association with the kami of Kasuga to other shrines as well. Its symbolic value, however, is dependent upon its association with other Shinto objects. In a forest or by itself it has no intrinsic divinity.

Sacred trees (*shimboku*) as symbols of the kami were used for the design of the crests and charms by worshippers. Nagi (a kind of evergreen tree), the *shimboku* of the Kumano Shrine, was adopted as the crest of the Suzuki family, the *shake*, that is, the priest-family of the shrine, and cedar, the sacred tree of the Ōmiwa Shrine, became the family crest of its priest-family.<sup>19</sup>

In primitive Shinto, specific evergreen trees, such as pine, oak, and cedar appear to have been used both for *himorogi* and decoration at rituals for the kami. These trees were also sometimes called *sakaki*.<sup>20</sup> The *Kojiki* relates that the kami used *sakaki* from Ameno Kaguyama (mountain of celestial fragrance) for rites at Amano-Iwato, a celestial cave. Later

only eurya orchanacea was called sakaki and it is this which is generally used today in Shinto rituals. In the Kokin-waka $sh\bar{u}^{21}$  a poet sings:

Sakaki, sacred tree of the kami ever will grow Gloriously, never withering in the heaviest snow.

The Shin-kokin-waka-sh $\bar{u}^{24}$  contains a poem:

In the wake of the fragrant sakaki I tread To a place where the clansmen in ritual are met.<sup>23</sup>

Thus the sakaki, which is in general used as haraigushi, tamagushi and himorogi, (see VI), was commonly used as a symbol in Shinto rituals in the Heian Period.<sup>24</sup> Today branches of sakaki are set up to purify a ritual site. When the Hodaka Shrine (Nagano) constructs a new building it conducts a ritual of sakaidate (to draw boundary lines), setting up sakaki branches around the shrine compound.<sup>25</sup> The Usa Hachiman Shrine in Kyūshū performs the ritual of shibasashi-no-shinji, in which seven days prior to the spring festival forty-five branches of sakaki are set up in the shrine precincts. These branches are called imishiba (purifi-

cation branches). The ritual signifies the beginning of purification.<sup>26</sup> Thus, the primitive belief in the virtues of the sakaki has continued through the centuries.

Individual trees of great age and size are everywhere worshipped in Japan. At present sacred trees are often to be seen girt with shimenawa (consecrated rope of rice-



Sacred tree

straw) and with tiny shrines close by. The novelist, Bakin (early 19th century), tells of a fir tree near Uraga which was believed to possess the power of healing all diseases<sup>27</sup> and of bringing luck to fishermen. Two *sakaki* trees in the compound of the Kamo Shrine (Kyoto) are joined together by a branch which has grown from one trunk into that of the other. They are considered to possess the intrinsic virtue of unity. A small *torii* stands in front and women visit the tree to pray for a harmonious married life.<sup>25</sup>

Shrine precincts with deep forests and tall trees are not mere accessories of a shrine. They have an inherent significance. The forests and trees are tokens of the kami's presence and symbolize the kami themselves.

#### STONES

The worship of stones is also prominent in Shinto. There is a story in the *Kojiki* of Izanagi-no-Mikoto blocking the road with a huge stone when he was being chased by a host of kami from the underworld, Yomi-no-kuni. In the *Kojiki* this stone is called Sayari-masu-yomido-no-Ōkami (the kami-who-closed-up-the-road-to-yomi-no-kuni.)<sup>29</sup>

The Hizen Fudoki (The Topography of the Hizen Province) compiled in the Heian Period (794–1191) records that in the reign of the Emperor Keikō (71–130) there was a stone which, at the time of a long draught, granted rain whenever men prayed for it.<sup>30</sup> Stones were personified in ancient Shinto and the primitive Japanese even believed that stones gave birth to stones. The Izumo Fudoki (The Topography of the Izumo province), compiled about 733, contains a story of ishigami

(stone kami) which had over 200 koishgami (child-stone-kami) around it.<sup>31</sup> The Nippon Ryo-Iki (Annals of Strange Tales), compiled in the Heian period, contains the story of a virgin who gave birth to two stones. The stones were honored as the children of the kami and were enshrined in a himorogi at her house.<sup>32</sup> The Engi Shiki lists several stone kami. They are Sukuna-hikona-no-kami-no-kataishi-kami-no-yashiro (Ishi-kawa pref.), Onamuchi-no-kataishi-kami-no-yashiro (Ishikawa pref.), 33 and Ishigaki-no-yashiro in Ise province (Mie pref.).

Belief in *ishigami* (stone-kami) and worship of the virtues of personified stones was quite prevalent in the Nara and Heian periods, and stones served as sanctuaries or symbols of the kami.

With the introduction of Buddhism and Onyōdō, worship of stones developed into the popular belief in Dōso-shin, Saino-kami, or Jizō, — all kami of the roadside —, guardian kami of children, kami of birth and marriage, and phallic kami. The original significance of the worship of stones was forgotten after their association with Chinese beliefs and today these kami are simply stones set up at road-sides in villages and in the country-side and are worshipped as the kami of popular belief. They may or may not have a name engraved on them.<sup>34</sup>

Another phase of the ancient belief in stones was the primitive Japanese belief that stones grew larger with age. The Japanese national anthem which was originally written by a poet in the  $Kokinsh\bar{u}$  (a collection of poems compiled in 905) reveals this belief.

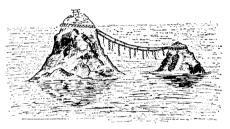
Thousands of years of happy reign be thine; Rule on, my lord, till what are pebbles now,

By age united to mighty rocks shall grow Whose venerable sides the moss doth line.<sup>35</sup>

There are many other examples in which stones were thought of as vehicles or vessels for the kami. In certain cases stones have not remained motionless but have come from other places. Belief that spirits (tama) enter into stones may perhaps be divided into two types: spirits coming from other places to enter into stones, and stones already containing spirits coming from other places. The latter are often found near seashores. The ancient faith in kataishi is famous. It is believed to be a kami which suddenly emerged from the sea in one night. 36

The most famous sacred rocks in the country are probably the two off the shore near Ise known as the Wedded Rocks

(Meoto-iwa) at Futamiura, Mie prefecture. These are unquestionably symbols of Sun worship, and to the common people worship of Amaterasu also, but



Wedded Rocks

worship at these rocks is a rather late development. It is believed that they were not symbolic until sometime in the middle ages when the populer worship of Ise was developing.<sup>38</sup>

Thus it appears that in ancient Shinto, stones were originally regarded as tokens of the kami or as kami themselves and were worshipped for their supposed values. In some cases, stones were regarded as sharing divinity by virtue of mystic associations with the kami which they represented. These stone kami have largely been forgotten today except for those which

are considered helpers of humanity in the form of popular belief, such as Jizō, Dōsoshin or Sai-no-kami.

#### THE SUN AND MOON AS SYMBOLS OF KAMI

Sun worship comes naturally to the Japanese. Almost all the activities of the peasants depend on, or are regulated by, the sun. Without question the ancient Japanese believed that the divinity of the universe was expressed in the sun. The mystical narratives of the Kojiki and the Nihongi give the following names to the sun: Niwatakatsu-no-Kami, Takahino-Kami, Natsutakatsu-no-Kami and Shitateru-hime-no-Kami as well as Amaterasu Ōmikami.38 In the mythology the actual sun is referred to in accounts of the radiance of Amaerasu Ōmikami illuminating the world and of the world being left to darkness when she entered the rock cave. 41 Again in another place, the author of the narrative on the "Eastern Expedition" of Emperor Jimmu interprets<sup>40</sup> the loss of his battle in Yamato as follows: "He lost his battle because he fought facing the sun." Such references to the sun would appear to indicate that primitive sun worship existed long before the sun was personified as Amaterasu Ōmikami.43

The later stories of the *Nihongi* made Amaterasu Ōmikami the ancestress of the emperors and the source of their authority. As Amaterasu Ōmikami became more closely identified with the origin of the Imperial Family, she was worshipped as its central kami but retained the attributes of the sun, i. e. the noble existence of sustaining all living beings and illuminating the whole world. As prominance was given to the anthropomorphic side her solar characteristics were less emphasized.<sup>42</sup>

Thus the solar character of Amaterasu Ōmikami has been obscured in Shrine Shinto; but in populer belief the people personified the sun afresh under the names of Otento-sama (August-heaven-path-person) and Ohisama (August-sun-person). To the common people of Japan at present, Otento-sama is the sun, "sexless, mythless, and unencumbered by any formal cult, but believed to be a moral being who rewards the good, punishes the evil and sometimes enforces oaths made in his name. There has been a recrudescense of Sun worship in Japan since the end of the war. A number of the newer sects give it prominence. Among the older Sectarian Shinto sects, Kurozumi-kyō is the only one that definitely identifies Amaterasu Ōmikami with the sun and honors the sun as the symbol of the kami and as an object of worship.

Worship of the moon is not prominent in Shinto. In the legends of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, the moon kami, *Tsukiyomino-Mikoto*<sup>45</sup> (literally, moon darkness) is described as the kami commanding the darkness i. e. night. Although worshipped at Ise and Kadono (Kyōto) the moon is not one of the great kami of Japan. Tsukiyomi-no-Mikoto is represented at Ise as a man riding on a horse clad in purple and girt with a golden sword. The *Kyūjiki*<sup>47</sup> mentions a moon kami among the attendants of Ninigi when he descended to Takachiho and states that he was the ancestor of the *agatanushi*, the local chief of Iki. This was probably a local moon kami. The phases of the moon are not recognized in Shinto mythology, but on the 17th or 23rd of the lunar month, the people sometimes assemble to greet the rising moon and observe a ritual of *tsukimachi* (moon waiting). "This custom illustrates the

tendency to revert to the direct worship of nature when the myths have become obscured by time and no longer fulfil the original purpose.<sup>49</sup> Belief in the moon as the symbol of the kami, or the object of worship is very rare at present in Shinto.<sup>50</sup>

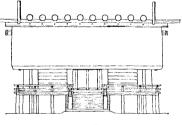
## SYMBOLS RELATED TO RITUALS AND WORSHIP

# V. SHRINE BUILDINGS, TORII, FENCES and ABLUTION BASINS

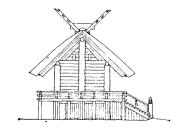
#### The Shrine Structure

The shrine structure is a development of the prinitive build-

ings of the Japanese people but when it is ornate, both in design and color, the resemblance is almost completely lost. The modifications of the primitive building were due primarily to Buddhist and continental influences. Because of this, it is impossible to set down any hard and fast statements regarding the structure of shrines as distinct from the structures of Shinto, Buddhist and Christian sects. About the



Simmei Type



only positive identification is a *torii*. If there is a *torii* it may be assumed that kami are worshipped somewhere beyond it.<sup>1</sup>

There are a number of distinct architectural types, the most common being *Shimmei*, *Taisha*, *Gongen*, *Nagare*, *Hiei*, *Kasuga*, *Hachiman*. The *Shimmei* and *Taisha* arose about the same time and are nearest to primitive Shinto. The main sanctuary at Ise, and to a less extent that of Yasukuni, represent the *Shimmei*. The Grand Shrine of Izumo is the original *Taisha*.<sup>2</sup> In the simple straight lines and unpainted timbers these styles are believed to retain the pristine charm of nature in the midst of which the worship of kami arose.<sup>3</sup>

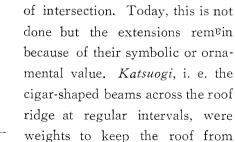
#### Chigi and Katsuogi

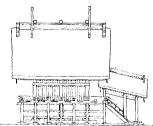
There are only two features of the shrine which are now



Taisha Type

definitely symbolic of shrines and therefore of Shinto: the *chigi* and *katsuogi* of the *Shimmei* and *Taisha* types.<sup>4</sup> Both were originally structural necessarities. *Chigi* are extensions of the beams which held up the ridgepole at both ends of the ridge of the roof. The beams and ridgepole were tied together at the point

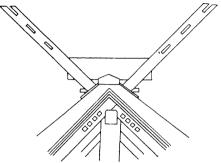




being blown away in storms.<sup>5</sup> At first they were used by nobles and people alike. Later only nobles were parmitted to have them on their homes.<sup>6</sup> Today, it is rare to find them at all except on shrines.<sup>7</sup> That they were early regarded as a significant part of the architectural pattern is indicated by the fact, that in the *Ruiji Jingi Hongen* (771) the number and length

of *chigi* in major, intermediate, and minor grade shrines was specified.<sup>8</sup>

Today, both *Katsuogi* and *chigi* are symbolic of Shinto shrines, but only the *chigi* seems to have meaning. In present day



norito, as in the norito of the Engi Shiki, the following expression is a common one: "Kami who is enshrined in a shrine whose pillars are sunk deep into the earth and whose chigi are pointing high to the heavens."

Aside from these there is apparently no generally accepted symbolic interpretation of the shrine structure.<sup>10</sup>

#### Torii

While the *torii*<sup>11</sup> is regarded as one of the most typical of Shinto structures, it is evidently not peculiar to Japan. Gates similar to *torii* are frequently seen in Manchuria. Nevertheless the *torii* is generally accepted as perhaps the clearest mark of Shinto and it is symbol of deep



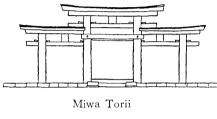
Shimmei Torii



Myojin Torii

religious significance.12

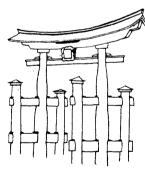
All correctly constructed shrines were surrounded by a sacred fence (kamigami). Originally, the torii was a gate set into this fence, but at present the majority of small shrines and many large ones have no fences.



There is great variety in the structure of torii. It varies all the way from the shimple Shimmei to the Myōjin, Itsukushima and Mirea.

The most ancient torii was the simple, Shimmei type with straight, unpainted timbers. Like the shrine, the color and complexity of the torii is due to Buddhist and continental influences.

The torii is a barrier, separating the sacred precincts of the kami from the outer secular world. As a general principle



Itsukushima Torii

the larger the number of fences, the greater the solemnity of the shrine. Within the gate and sacred fence, real or imaginary, lies divine ground (shin-iki) which apparently increases in sanctity until the main sanctuary is reached. In the outer secular would is pollution and distress; within where the kami dwell is purity and

brightness, symbolized by the torii. 13

The *torii* is a kind of taboo. It is improper to go under the *torii* with any impurity, spiritual or physical, and there must be no stains, sores or cuts, und no disease. When bodies are unwell they are impure. Death pollutes. Persons in mourning do not go to shrines.

The torii is also a spiritual gateway. A shrine must not be approached except through the torii which cleanses the worshipper of his pollution. Passing beneath the torii pollution is removed; the body and soul are purified. The long approach to the shrines with its rough gravel surface is not accidental or a necessity, but is intentional. The pious worshipper as he trudges along, passing through one torii after another, feels that with the crunching of the pebbles beneath his feet he is being purified and prepared to meet the kami. The less devout and outsiders in general pass beneath the torii with little or no idea of what its meaning may be.

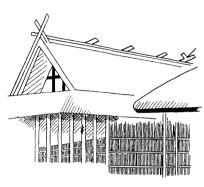
## Kamigaki<sup>15</sup>

Generally the sanctuary of a shrine is surrounded by one or more fences which are known as *kamigaki* (sacred fence). There are several well known sacred fences which identify certain shrines. These have no religious significance. In a few cases, such as the Yasukuni Shrine, for example, the outside wall is marked with the five lines used by imperial paloces, etc. This indicates a close relationship with the Imperial Family.

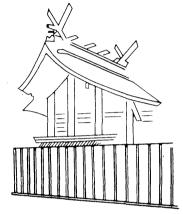
When there are several fences each has a name. The cuter one is called *tamagaki* or *aragaki*. The innermost one *mizugaki*. At the Outer Shrine of Ise there are four fences in the

following order as the shrine is approached: ita (board) gaki, soto (outer) tamagaki, uchi (inner) tamagaki, and mizu (august) gaki.

### Types of Shrine Fences



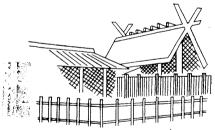
Daijō-gū of Kyoto (Straw Fence)



Kamakura Shrine (Wooden Fence)



Kasuga Shrine



Izōnomiya of Grand Shrine of Ise (Wooden Fence)





Kashii-gū

#### The Ablution Basin<sup>17</sup>

At every shrine some provision is made for the ceremonial purification of the mouth and hands. Where there is a spring

or stream, that is preferred. The best examples of these are the Isuzu-gawa of Ise and the Kamo-gawa of the Kamo Shrine. At other places there are stone or concrete basins. Some of these are very imposing. There are provisions for purifications in some Bud-



Temizuya

dhist temples, but the ablution basin, especially the type shown in the illustration, is symbolic of Shinto. However, aside from being the place for purification, these have no special significance.

Note: The avobe study of Shinto Symbols was prepared during the Occupation by the staff of the Religious Research Branch of Religious and Cultural Resouces Division, CIE. The compiler was Mrs. Taka Yamada.

#### FOOTNOTES

#### Chapter II

- 1. Aston, W. G., Shinto, The Way of the Gods, p. 133.
- Kiyohara, Sadao, Shinto Shi (History of Shinto), pp. 33, 34.
   Origuchi, Shinobu, Kodai Kenkyū (Research on Ancient Times), Minzoku-gakuhen (Section concerning the People), pp. 190ff.
- 3. Yanagida, Kunio, Nippon no Matsuri (Festivals of Japan), pp. 192-193.
- 4. Hi-me, literally, Sun-female, i. e. sun daughter.
- 5. Origuchi, op. cit., p. 190.
- Shinten: Kojiki (Sacred Documents: Chronicles of Ancient Events).
   Okura Seishin Bunka Kenkyū Jo (Okura Spiritual Culture Research Institute) Edition, p. 107.
- 7. Since World War II a few women have become priest.
- 8. Shinto Dai Jiten (Great Shinto Encyclopedia), vol. 2, pp. 72-75. There was a saiin of Kamo Shrine between 810 and 1212. The saishu-no-miya of the Grand Shrine of Ise was first appointed in 93 B.C. With the exception of the few years between 1933 and this spring (1947) when Princess Fusako Kitashirakawa was appinted Princess Abbess, this position has existed in unbroken tradition.
- 9. Literally, little child.
- 10. Since there has been no thorough study into the origin and development of the priesthood, either miko or kannushi, it is impossible to state definitely when or how the transition occurred and when the kannushi definitely took percedence over the miko in rituals.
- Kato, Genchi, A Study of Shinto, the Religion of the Japanese Nation, p. 183.
   Miyaji, Naokazu, Jinja Yoko (Important Elements of the Shrine), pp. 59,60.
- 12. Koji Ruien (Encyclopedia of Ancient Affairs) "Jingi-bu" (Shrine Section), p. 248.
- 13. These references presumably applied to both priests and priestesses.
- Conference: Dr. Naoichi Miyaji, former professor of Shinto, Tokyo Imperial University, 12 September 1947.
- 15. Miyaji, op. cit., pp. 59, 60.
- 16. Conference: Miyaji, op. cit., "Kannushi is often used interchangeably with miko in the records. There is a great deal of confusion in any discussion of either."
- 17. The prerogatives were jealously guarded. No outsider was allowed.

- 18. Shirakawa Shinto was a very old school of Shinto that grew out of the Haku Family of priests of the Jingi Kan in the Heian period.—Chiba, Sakae Religions Research staff. Later it came to be dominated by Yoshida Shinto (Urabe Family Shinto), a school of Pure Shinto which grew up in opposition to Ryobu Shinto and flourished in the 15th century. It was in reality a mixture of not only Buddhism and Shinto but Confucianism and Taoism.
  - Holton, D. C., The National Faith of Japan, pp. 39-41.
- 19. Sadao Sakamoto and Sakae Chiba Religions Research staff: Apart from the ideologies of these schools, their practices in connection with Shinto rites, became competitive models of form; e.g. the methods of cutting gohei according to Shirakawa school and Yoshida school were exactly opposite.
- 20. Miyaji, op. cit., pp. 59, 60.
- 21. Sakamoto, Religions Research staff (hereinafter RR).
- 22. Interview with Hideo Takeshima, Chief of Shrine Section, Jinja Honcho.
- 23. Chiba (RR).
- 24. Conference: Miyaji, op. cit., Dr. Miyaji agrees that this statement is not fair to the minority of well-educated, well-qualified priests who have the best interests of Shinto at heart. The situation is largely due to the attitude of the government in divorcing the shrines from religion as distinct from ritual, and in making political appointments irrespective of qualifications. Under such circumstances the appointees were primarily officials and secondarilly religious leaders. The break-up of the shrine system has left each shrine free to do as it pleases. The Shrine Association is attempting to establish standards for member-shrines.
- Nakayama, Taro, Nippon Minzoku Jiten, (Encyclopedia of the Japanese race), "Hitotsumono".
- 26. See Vol. VII, No. 2.
- 27. This illustration is taken from a block stamped with the name of the Utsunomiya Futara Jinja. It is not known whether the *gohei* in this case represents *hitotu mono*.

#### Chapter III

- Shinten: Kojiki (Sacred Documents: Chronicles of Japan)
   Okura Seishin Bunka Kenkyū Jo (Okura Spiritual Culture Research Institute) Edition; p. 45.
   Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 250.
- 2. Shinten: Nihon Shoki, p. 247.

- 3. Ibid., p. 342.
- 4. Koji Ruien, op. cit., p. 250.
- Shinto Daijiten, vol. 2, p. 250. These animals and their behavior were considered as symbols of kami, or as good or bad omens.
- Hachiman Shinkō to Hato (Hachiman Belief and the Sacred Dove),
   Saida, Moriji, Religions Research Document No. 1280, pp. 9, 10.
- 7. Koji Ruien, op. cit., p. 1812. Ibid., p. 1813.
- 8. Descendants of the Fujiwara Family.
- 9. Religions Research Documents No. 1280, op. cit., p. 24.
- 10. Saida, Moriujl, Hachiman-Gu no Honshitsu (The substance of Hachiman Shrines).
- 11. Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 321.
- 12. Koji Ruien, op. cit., p. 1815.
- 13. Ibid., p. 1828.
- Ibid., p. 329.
   Religions Research Document No. 1280, op. cit., p. 14.
- Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 1, p. 329.
   See p. 18 for sketch.
- 16. Koji Ruien, op. cit., p. 1828.
- 17. Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 1, p. 329.
- 18. Gongen is a Japanese avatar of a Buddhist deity. Kumano Gongen is just another name for Kumano Shrine.
- Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 1, pp. 477—479.
   Kokushi Jiten (Encyclopedia of Japanese History), vol. 3, pp. 468-469.
- 20. Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 1, p. 172.
- Ibid., p. 140.
   See also Buchanan, D. C., Inari: Its Origin, Development and Nature.
   Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.
- 22. Koma Inu are importations.
- 23. See pages

#### Chapter IV

Holtom, D. C., The National Faith of Japan, pp. 180-181.
 The greatest of the kami of the Kojiki and Nihongi originated in nature worship. Among these are the general mountain god, Oyama-tsu-mi-no-kami and the goddess of Mt. Fuji, Ko-no-Hana-sakuya-Hime-no-Mikoto.

- 2. Kiyohara, Sadao, op. cit., pp. 15-16.
- 3. Annals of Three Eras, i. e. the reigns of Emperors Seiwa, Yōzei, and Koko.
- 4. Mountain god (Asama-no-Kami).
- 5. Myōjin taisha were outstanding shrines among contemporary kampei and kokuhei taisha of Imperial and provincial rank.
- Katō, Genji, A study of Shinto, the Religion of the Japanese Nation, p. 155. The source of the whole paragraph except where otherwise indicated.
- 7. Mt. Ontake is the object of worship of Mitake Kyō, Shinto sect. Mountain worship is by no means confined to Shinto. Buddhism, also, as is witnessed by Tendai Buddhism, which takes its name from a sacred mountain in China, is noted for mountain worship.
- 8. Shinten: Nihon Shoki, vol. 1, p. 182.
- Shinten: Engi Shiki (Sacred Documents: Laws of the Engi Era), Okura Seishin Bunka Kenkyū Jo (Okura Spiritual Culture Research Institute) Edition, p. 1294.
- 10. Yanagida, Kunio, Nippon no Matsuri, pp. 67-76.
- 11. Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 3, p. 204.
- 12. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 299.
- 13. During the whole of the Heian period, this family held the reins of government which was headed nominally by the Emperor.
- 14. The doctrinal assimilation of Shinto to Buddhism was well under way and the Kasuga Shrine and Kōfukuji temple associated intimately as they were both attached to the Fujiwaras.
- Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 298.
   Kokushi Jiten, vol. 2, pp. 511, 512.
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. Certain authoriries say the Kasuga Shrine in ancient days used *nagi* (an evergreen) for its *shimboku*.
- 18. At the Kompira Shrine at Toranomon, Tokyo, two sakaki are planted at each side of the shrine steps. At festivals these are decorated with the five colored streamers. Interview with Chief Priest.
- Numata, Yorisuke, Monsho no Kenkyū (Research on Crests), p. 186.
   See also Chapter VIII.
- 20. Dai Hyakka Jiten (Great Encyclopedia), Heibonsha, vol. 10, p. 392.
- 21. Collection of poems compiled at the beginning of the 10th century.
- 22. Collection of poems compiled at the 10th century.

- Kokushi Jiten, vol. 4, p. 334.
   Koji Ruien, op. cit., p. 1759.
   Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 91.
- 24. See Chapter VII.
- 25. Yanagida, Kunio, Nippon no Matsuri, d. 78.
- 26. Ibid.
- 27. Aston, op. cit., pp. 164-165.
- 28. Aston, op. ci., pp. 164, 165.
- 29. Shinten: Kojiki, p. 21.
- Kako, Genchi. Shinto no Shūkyō Gakka Teki Kenkyū, (The Study of Shinto in terms of Religious Science), p. 162.
- 31. Yanagida, Kunio: Seikishin Mondo (Dialogue with the Kami of Stones), p. 139.
- 32. Koji Ruien, op. cit., p. 194.
- 33. Shinten: Eugishiki, pp. 1354, 1418, 1419.
- 34. Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 1, p. 94 and vol. 3, p. 304.
- 35. Translated by B. H. Chamberlain, author of Things Japanese.
- 36. Yoshida, Tōgo, Dai Nippon Chimei Jisho (Geographical Dictionary of Japan), "Futami-ga-ura".
- 37. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, Nihon Shinwa no Shin Kenkyū (A New Study of Japanese Mythology), pp. 138, 139.
- 38. Shinten: Kojiki, pp. 28-30.
- Through the mouth of Itsuse-no mikoto, a brother of the Emperor Jimmu.
- 40. Shinten: Nihon Shoki, p. 258.
- 41. There are practically no shrines today which enshrine the sun only as the object of worship or as the symbol of *kami*.
- 42. Aston, op. cit., p. 127.
- Two new sects centering in sun-worship are the Hinomoto Kyōdan and Hinomoto-kyō Hombu.
- 44. *Tsukiyomi-no-Mikoto*, accorping to Dr. Miyaji was probably *kami* of the lunar calendar in primitive Japan.
- 45. Shinten: Kojiki, p. 23.
- 46. Literally, *Old Annals*, supposedly compiled in 620. The book now known by that title has been condemned as a forgery.
- 47. Aston, op. cit., pp. 141-142.
- 48. Ibid.
- 49. Higo, Kazuo, Nippon Shinwa (Japanese Myths), p. 90.

#### Chapter V

- While torii are distinctive marks of Shinto, there are some sects which
  use the torii. Hence the torii does not designate a shrine but the worship of Shinto kami. There are a few rare shrines that do not have
  torii.
- Sato, Suke, Nihon Jinja Kenchiku Shi (The History of Japanese Shrine Architecture), pp. 13-41.
- 3. Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 262.
- 4. Sakamoto, and Chiba, Religions Research staff.
- 5. Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 468 and vol. 1. 337.
- 6. Shinten Kojiki, p. 146.
- 7. There is a building next to the Fuji View Hotel which has both chigi and katsuogi. It is now occupied by the army. What it was formerly is not known, but it is much longer and narrower than a shrine and there are no indication in the vicinity that it ever was a shrine, WPW.
- 8. Koji Ruien, op., cit., p. 555.
- 9. Shinten: Engi Shiki, p. 1288.
- The chigi was also used as a family crest, either alone, or in combination with the katuogi. See p. 98.
- 11. Except where otherwise indicated the sources are Religions Research Report "From Native Worship to Ancstor Worship and the Torii", by Mr. Okada, and the Religions Research staff.
- 12. See footnote 1.
- This does not apply to the Inari with their innunerable torii lining the approaches. Sakamoto, Religions Research staff.
- 14. Religions Research staff.
- 15. Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 354.
- 16. Tama and mizu are honorifies. Ara means rough.
- 17. Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 505.
- 18. These are called *Mitarashi-gawa*, a corruption of *mi-te-arai*, august hand washing.
- 19. Called Temizu-ya (hand-water-building) or mitarashi.