

# The Bunkyū Restoration: The Restoration of Imperial Tombs and Re-Design of Imperial Ancestor Worship

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## Abstract

*This paper aims to analyse a possible connection between the renovation of imperial tombs in the Bunkyū era (1861–1864) and the restoration of imperial power in 1868. While there is no direct continuity between these two events, a connection certainly exists. In a time when Japan faced foreign threats and domestic turmoil, certain groups and persons felt it was time to elevate the institution of the emperor to the—supposed—former glory. One way of doing this was the restoration of the imperial tombs that had fallen into disrepair and the renewal of imperial ancestor worship. The Bunkyū Restoration can be seen as one of the many puzzle pieces that together formed the process that led to the Meiji Restoration.*

**Keywords:** Japan, Bunkyū, *bakumatsu*, imperial tombs, Emperor Jinmu



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## Introduction

The mid-nineteenth century was a turning point for Japanese foreign as well as domestic politics. After 250 years of self-imposed isolation, Japan was faced with a crisis of unprecedented magnitude and without any easy solution. American commodore Matthew Perry (1794–1858) forced the Tokugawa shōgunate to open Japan's ports for trade with the United States. What followed a few years later was a series of unequal treaties with the US, Russia, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom: they included some unfavourable conditions for Japan, such as extraterritoriality, the right for foreigners to engage in trade without Japanese interference, low tariffs for import and export, as well as most-favoured nation clauses.

Within Japan, it had become more and more clear that the old social order of *shinōkōshō* 士農工商 (hierarchy of samurai at the top, followed by farmers and artisans, with merchants being at the bottom) no longer reflected reality. The samurai, while theoretically at the top of social order, had fallen into economic hardship and were often forced to either get loans from rich merchants or marry merchants' daughters, thus weakening the hierarchy within the societal order and endangering the samurai's position in Edo 江戸 society (Burns 2003: 16). Economic and societal change could be felt throughout the country and affected not only the general public but also the relation between *bakufu* 幕府 (shōgunal government) and *han* 藩 (feudal domain). Natural disasters resulting in famines, followed in turn by social unrest, and together with emerging mass media became a breeding ground for critical tendencies that started with scholars of *kokugaku* 国学 (study of the country) like Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) who criticised the influence of non-Japanese beliefs and social norms such as Buddhism and Confucianism.<sup>1</sup> Norinaga<sup>2</sup> felt that the harmony inherent to the original Japanese society had been disturbed by Buddhism and Confucianism and propagated returning to this original form of society. Arguments like Norinaga's were well received in Mito 水戸, where Aizawa Seishisai 会沢正志斎 (1781–1863) made the term *kokutai* 国体 (national polity, state body) popular. He was convinced that it was necessary to revere the *tennō* 天皇 (emperor) and to eliminate disruptive foreign influence. He focused his criticism on Buddhism, which, with its orientation towards the afterlife, harmed the relation between the *tennō* and his subjects (Aizawa 2000: 14). Ideas like Norinaga's and

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<sup>1</sup> *Kokugaku* is often translated as “national learning”. However, at the time of early *kokugaku*, Japan cannot be considered as a nation in the sense of a nation state. *Kokugakusha* 国学者 (*kokugaku* scholars) studied old texts like the *Kojiki* 古事記 (712; Records of Ancient Matters), the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720; Chronicles of Japan), or the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (an anthology of poems from the eighth century) in order to reconstruct what *kokugaku* scholars considered to be the real values of Japanese society.

<sup>2</sup> Following the academic convention, persons that lived in pre-modern Japan are referred to by their given name after the first mention.

Seishisai's were consequently formed into the *sonnō jōi* 尊皇攘夷 movement ("Revere the emperor, expel the barbarians!")—the 'barbarians' being the Western powers) and contributed to the weakening of Tokugawa-reign.

The emperor was to be the symbol of a new era for Japan that was supposed to reflect the country's alleged former glory. In order to achieve this goal, the protagonists behind the Meiji Restoration in 1868 aimed at creating a strong and positive image of the emperor among the Japanese populace. This image did not only refer to the emperor's elevated position in this world but also to his divine status as a descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu 天照—and thus his authority in the hereafter. Their aim was to establish a nation under "one ruler, one legitimating sacred order, and one dominant memory" (Fujitani 1996: 11). Up to this point, the Japanese public had no understanding of a national identity or of the *tennō* as a symbol of national unity. The social organisation into the horizontal *shinōkōshō*-system, as well as the vertical regional and cultural units, were not conducive to the formation of a modern nation based on the ideal of a single overriding cultural identity (Gellner 1986: 8-13; Fujitani 1996: 5).

The Meiji-proponents took the opportunity to reinvent and redefine the emperor's image as the head of the *kokutai* and to form an inseparable connection between state and *tennō*. This process included a redesign of imperial ancestor worship that had in fact already started during the last years of the Tokugawa reign. Being central to this development, the restoration of the imperial tombs can be seen as a milestone on the way to the Meiji Restoration. It was not only a symbol of the *bakufu*'s reawakened respect for the imperial court; it also represented intersecting political systems, agendas, and ideas: *kōbu gattai* 公武合体 (unity of *bakufu* and court), *sonnō jōi*, and the *bakufu*'s effort to secure its own position.

At the core of this restoration stood a system of ancestral worship befitting the imperial family. While such a system had existed between the seventh and ninth century, it was all but forgotten during the Edo period. The renewal of this systematic ancestral worship during the Bunkiyū era (1861–1864), which included the restoration of the decayed imperial tombs, is what I call the Bunkiyū Restoration. It did not merely imply the physical renovation of old graves but also the "reconstruction of [the imperial family's] materialised genealogy" (Mizoguchi 2006: 103). Hence, it was proof for the unbroken divine line of the imperial family which in turn legitimised the emperor's claim to rule. However, the Bunkiyū Restoration did not only affect domestic politics; it also had an impact on Japan's relations with Western powers. Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909), who would later become Japan's first prime minister, perceived the uncertainty concerning the occupants of the imperial tombs as detrimental to Japan's position in the eyes of the great Western powers (Gunji 2011: 80). He was referring to the mausoleum of Emperor Antoku 安德 (1178–1185; r. 1180–1185), which was turned from a Buddhist temple into a Shintō-

shrine in 1870. This shows that the project had domestic as well as international importance for Japan.

## An Imperial Come-Back

During the long reign of the Tokugawa, the emperor was demoted to a symbolic position. While the *shōgun*'s 将軍 position was legitimised through the emperor's consent, political power lay with the *bakufu*. This was about to change around the mid-nineteenth century. As mentioned above, the *bakufu* found itself in a tight spot when foreign powers forced Japan to open its ports and to sign trade treaties. The *bakufu* had petitioned the emperor to give his consent to the signing of those treaties. Emperor Kōmei 孝明 (1831–1867, r. 1846–1867),<sup>3</sup> however, denied. The *bakufu* in turn chose to ignore Kōmei's wish and went ahead with the signing nonetheless. This was interpreted as a lack of respect towards the *tennō* by the *sonnō jōi*-faction. As a reaction, they strived to overthrow the *bakufu* and reinstate the imperial institution to former power and glory. However, their efforts were unsuccessful and the movement was crashed in 1862.

The *bakufu* could no longer ignore the growing discontent that endangered its position and sought to rectify its relation with the imperial court. In 1863, the *shōgun* Tokugawa Iemochi 家茂 (1846–1866) travelled to Kyōto 京都 to pay the court a visit. To show unity between court and *bakufu* and to strengthen his position, he intended to wed princess Kazu no miya 和宮 (1846–1877). The wedding was forced against the emperor's wishes and was seen as further disrespect towards the court.

During his stay in Kyōto, the young Iemochi's treatment left no room for doubt that the emperor saw his status to be above the *shōgun*'s. Iemochi's visit can be perceived as symbolic, indicating a shift of the political centre from Edo to Kyōto. After Iemochi's untimely death in 1866, his successor Yoshinobu 慶喜 (1837–1913) spent his whole reign in Kyōto.

The *tennō*'s decision to refuse the *bakufu*'s request brought the imperial institution back into political focus, a position that was denied to the emperor during the long reign of the Tokugawa. It must have been clear to most, even the *shōgun* himself, that the *bakufu*'s decline was inevitable. While a number of *daimyō* 大名 (feudal lord)—among them those of Satsuma 薩摩, Chōshū 長州, and Tosa 土佐

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<sup>3</sup> For all historical figures, dates of birth and death are included, whereas for Japanese emperors this information is followed by their dates of reign. For emperors whose existence or biographical data is not proven, only the official dates of reign are given.

who belonged to the group of *tozama han* 外様藩<sup>4</sup>—took an opposing or at least critical position towards the *bakufu*, the group of *fudai han* 譜代藩 found itself in a more complicated position. They, too, saw the signs of political change, but were not yet ready to openly criticise and potentially antagonise the *bakufu*.

The domain of Utsunomiya 宇都宮, a *fudai han* north of Edo, saw a solution to their predicament in a project that would potentially reconcile Edo and Kyōto while at the same time strengthen their own position without endangering their standing with the *bakufu*. This project was the restoration of the *tennōryō* 天皇陵, the imperial tombs, which was officially started in 1862.

## Definition and Forms of *tennōryō*

Originally, the terms *tennōryō* 天皇陵, *misasagi* 陵 (also read as *ryō*), and *sanryō* 山陵 were used exclusively for the tombs of *tennō*.<sup>5</sup> Today they also include the tombs of *kōgō* 皇后 (a *tennō*'s wife), *kōtaigō* 皇太后 (empress mother or empress dowager), and *taikōtaigō* 太皇太后 (grand empress dowager). The common term for grave, *haka* 墓, is used for the tombs of other members of the imperial family. *Tennōryō* and *haka* together are called *ryōbo* 陵墓 (Ueda 2012: 131; Toike 2005b: 1).

From their shapes *ryōbo* can be divided into the following categories:<sup>6</sup>

<i>sankei</i>	山形	hill
<i>enkei</i>	円形	round form or <i>enpun</i> 円墳 round tumulus
<i>hōkei</i>	方形	square form or <i>hōfun</i> 方墳 square tumulus
<i>hakkakufun</i>	八角墳	octagonal tumulus
<i>zenpōkōen</i>	前方後円	keyhole shaped tumulus
<i>jōenkahō</i>	上円下方	tumulus with square base and round top
<i>hokke-dō</i>	法華堂	Buddhist temple
<i>tō</i>	塔	stupa or pagoda

<sup>4</sup> During the Edo period, Japan's feudal domains were roughly divided into three groups: *shinpan* 親藩—belonging to the Tokugawa family or its branches; *fudai* 譜代—domains that had sworn their allegiance to Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542–1616) before the Battle of Sekigahara (*Sekigahara no tatakai* 関ヶ原の戦い) in 1600, where Ieyasu could unite the whole of Japan under his reign; and *tozama* 外様—domains that would only submit to Tokugawa-rule after being defeated in Sekigahara.

<sup>5</sup> The term *tennō* includes emperors as well as reigning empresses.

<sup>6</sup> This list is based on Ponsonby-Fane (1959: 370) and has been updated with information from Yamada 2010b (14–25).

The majority of tombs are located in the Kansai region, with a high concentration in Kyōto. The following image shows the tombs' locations:

Figure 1 Sites of Imperial Tombs in Japan



Source: Yamada 2010a: 50

## The Restoration Project

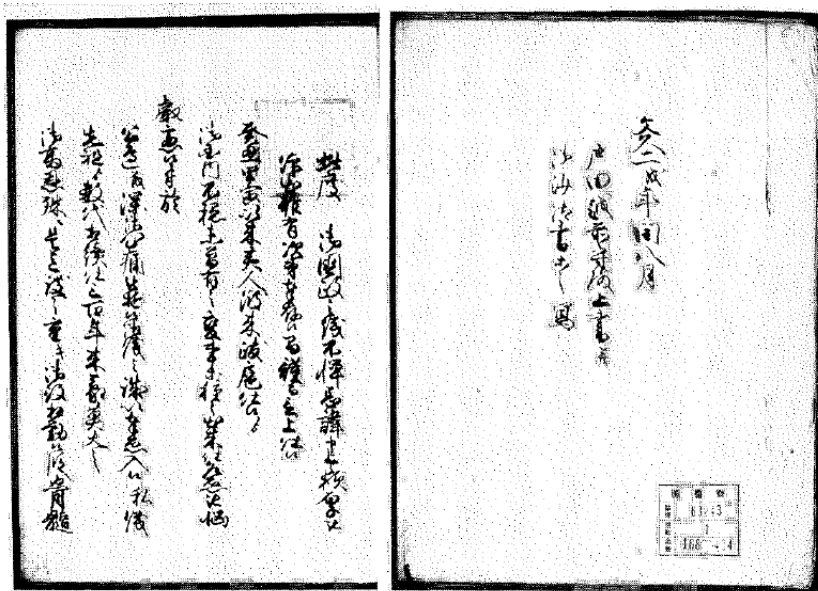
The first to attach political meaning to the *tennōryō* was Tokugawa Nariaki 徳川斉昭 (1800–1860) (Ueda 2010: 138). He initially attempted to have the tombs restored in 1834. During times of political unrest in the first half of the nineteenth century, he saw a potentially unifying effect in the restoration and reverence of the *tennōryō*. However, his request was denied by the *bakufu*. Nariaki died in 1860, two years before the restoration project under the patronage of Utsunomiya began. For Utsunomiya, the restoration seemed to be a safe bet as it was supported—or at least regarded with favour—by all political parties. It was also a way to dispel the suspicion of consorting with the *sonnō jōi*-faction and thus endangering its existence. The main protagonist behind the Bunkyū Restoration was Toda Tadayuki 戸田忠至 (1809–1883) from Utsunomiya. For him, the restoration project represented not only

a means to secure the position of his *han* but also to improve his own personal standing.

### Utsunomiya's Petition to the *bakufu*

On 1 October 1862, Utsunomiya presented a petition for the restoration of the imperial tombs (*Shūryō no kenpaku* 修陵の建白) to the *bakufu* and the imperial court. Officially, the petition was submitted by Utsunomiya's *hanshu* 藩主 (head of a *han*), but it is very likely that its author was Tadayuki.

Figure 2 Pages of Utsunomiya's Petition *Shūryō no kenpaku*



Source: Toike 2000: 15

This petition is remarkable in several ways. First, it unmistakably refers to Japan's political situation. The following quote clearly shows that Utsunomiya was concerned about the implications of the Americans' arrival:

Since the year of the water ox [i.e. 1853, the year of Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan] and the year of the wood tiger [i.e. 1854, the year of Perry's return to Japan], the barbarians are here and behave inconsiderately. There is unrest in our country and there were numerous unprecedented changes (Toike 2000: 17).

The petition also mentions the difficult situation between court and *bakufu*. In Utsunomiya's opinion, debasement of the imperial court would have negative consequences for the whole country.

The burden on the Emperor's thoughts leads to deep sorrow for the public (ibid.: 17).

However, the petition offers a possible way to avoid the impending crisis:

To boost morale, we have to choose the way of loyalty and piety out of gratitude for the ancestors. We believe that this is the foundation of a strong country. [...] With men that truly are filled with loyalty and piety, we show courage and morale [...] (ibid.: 17).

For the *hanshu* of Utsunomiya, "loyalty and piety" meant the worship of imperial tombs befitting the emperor's ancestors. He expressed his deep concern about the tombs' condition:

The tombs of generations of Emperors are partly decayed. [...] It is not my place [to say this] but to let the site where the illustrious body of an Emperor rests fall into decay, is truly without piety (ibid.: 18).

The petition continues to list the benefits of restoring the tombs. Apart from the *bakufu* showing proof of its dedication towards the emperor and its intention to stand united with the court—and thus being able to exert "moral influence on the whole world"—the renovation would mean great joy for the emperor, and that in turn would bring great merit to Japan (ibid.: 18).

The second noteworthy point is that the petition already mentions possible ways to fund the project. Utsunomiya agrees to carry part of the costs and also to provide workers (ibid.: 20):

We will use all possible means, we will sip rice gruel [...] and thus should be able to succeed with the restoration.

In truth, neither Utsunomiya nor the *bakufu* had sufficient financial means at the time, and the petition's authors were well aware of this. Toda Tadayuki and Agata Nobutsugu 縣信緝 (1824–1881), a former vassal of Utsunomiya, had discussed this point before presenting the petition. Workers should be recruited from the ranks of common soldiers and were supposed to provide for themselves. Additionally, Toda planned to request the exemption of Utsunomiya's soldiers from guard duty at the Edo-castle. That way, they expected to save two thousand *ryō* 兩 that could be put to use for the restoration project. Moreover, they hoped for donations by influential and wealthy families (Toike 2002: 59-60).

Six days after the *bakufu* had received the petition, on 7 October, it accepted Utsunomiya's proposal and even agreed to carry the costs. In order to be able to draw up a budget, the *bakufu* asked Utsunomiya for an estimate of the expected



costs. Utsunomiya's calculation included the costs for ninety tombs—excluding the tomb of the mythical founder of Japan, Jinmu 神武 (r. 660–585 BCE)—and came up to a total of 49,500 *ryō*. The budget of 550 *ryō* per tomb included bamboo fences, stone walls, a *torii* 鳥居 (gate in front of a Shintō shrine), paving, stone lanterns, and memorial stones. It should be noted that this estimation did not include the reconstruction of the burial mounds themselves or the moats around them. Another noteworthy point is that no one in Utsunomiya had ever seen any of the tombs in person.

## Inspecting the Tombs

On 17 November 1862, Toda Tadayuki left for Kyōto, where he arrived thirteen days later. A family friend, Ōgimachisanjō Sanenaru 正親町三条実愛 (1820–1909), introduced Tadayuki to members of the imperial court and he was able to gain the court's support for the project.

One month later, on 25 December, Tadayuki and a group of historians, officials, Shintō priests, and carpenters started on an expedition to inspect the tombs in Yamato 大和, Kawachi 河内, Izumi 和泉, and Settsu 摂津. Among the members of the group were the historian Tanimori Yoshiomi 谷森善臣 (1817–1911); Hikita Mune-taka 疋田棟隆 (1807–1884), another historian and vassal of Mito; Chūshō Ryōzō 中条良蔵 (1800–1868), a Nara-official; Sunagawa Kenjirō 砂川健次郎 (1816–1883), assistant to the *machibugyō* 町奉行 (town magistrate) of Kyōto; Ōsawa Sugaomi 大沢清臣 (1833–1892), a *kokugakusha* and Shintō priest; and the painter Okamoto Tōri 岡本桃里 (1806–1885). Some of the travel group members had already done some research on the imperial tombs, but others, especially those from eastern Japan, would see the *tennōryō* for the first time (Toike 2000: 32).

The whole tour of the tombs took the group about one month. The state of the majority of the tombs left many of the group speechless. Toda Tadayuki wrote about this devastating experience during the return journey in a letter to Edo and Kyōto:

On the tombs' crests wheat and fruit are being grown, excrement is being used for the cultivation. Many of the graves are damaged and the stone sarcophagi are uncovered. I have seen imperial tombs where the graves of common people have been built. Or tombs where water has penetrated the sarcophagi. I am speechless. This situation fills me with great anguish (ibid.: 33).

From this it becomes clear that many of the great *kofun* 古墳 (ancient mound tombs) were in a poor state. Often the land was used for farming, and human excrements were used as fertiliser. In some cases, the land was even used as cemetery for the common people living around the tombs. This double defilement seems to have been a hard blow for Tadayuki and the expression of his anguish was very likely genuine (Toike 2005a: 294). Also, the fact that the sarcophagi containing the remains of

emperors were damaged to such an extent that water could enter was extremely worrying, especially to the party from Kantō, who saw the tombs for the first time.

However, Tadayuki did not put the blame on the farmers alone. The land where the tombs were located had become taxed land some time ago. Tadayuki deemed it necessary to revoke the taxation and seize the land where the tombs themselves were located before the restoration project could even begin. However, he took possible reactions by the farmers into account and proposed to leave in its current state the land around those tombs that did not have fences or moats since the time of Emperor Kanmu 桓武 (737–806; r. 781–806). While the emperor was aware that seizing farmland would increase the burden on the populace and would hardly help with his popularity, he decided against Tadayuki's proposal. However, he was not completely blind to the needs of his subjects and suggested offering land in exchange (Toike 2000: 35–36).

Two things became evident from the inspection tour of the tombs: first, the budget estimation was way off the mark; and second, the tombs had to be taken back from the populace.

## Identification and Designation of the Tombs

Historians tried to identify the *tennōryō* based on ancient texts. Many of the oldest tombs, ranging (supposedly) from the age of the gods to the first half of the Heian period (794–1185), were recorded only in the *Engi shoryō ryōshiki* 延喜諸陵寮式 (Ceremonies for tombs from the Engi period). This list of tombs, which is part of the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (Ceremonies from the Engi period), did not only include the names of the *tennōryō*, but also information on who was entombed in them, on their location, and on the number of guards. However, in many cases, only the district (*gun* 郡) was given as location, which led to misinterpretations, especially when there was more than one tomb in a single *gun*. Of course, it is likely that the texts themselves already contained mistakes. The *Engi shiki* originates from the tenth century but contains information back to the Kofun-period (300–710) (Kita 2010: 60–61).

Although historians in the 1860s did not doubt the mythological chronology, they still strived for academic accuracy. Imprecise or conflicting information on the tombs' location led to heated academic disputes. In some cases those were escalated to the *tennō* who then had to make the final decision (see also the case study on Jinmu's tomb below).

Even today, the decisions on many of the tombs' locations are a matter of academic discussion. Of the *tennōryō* included in the official list by the Kunaichō 宮内庁 (Imperial Household Agency) (Kunaichō 2004), only sixteen are considered histori-

cally accurate. In the case of Antoku's grave, it is even doubtful whether the emperor's remains are entombed there (Yamada 2010b: 1-25).

## Restoration of the Tombs

The actual restoration began in late June/early July 1863. However, the works proceeded slowly at first. The budget for each and every tomb had to be applied for separately with the *bakufu*. Toda Tadayuki, looking for a way to simplify these proceedings, requested that the budget authority be put under the control of the *shugo* 守護 (military governor) of Kyōto, Matsudaira Katamori 松平容保 (1835–1893). His wish was eventually granted at the beginning of the following year (Ueda 2012: 123-124).

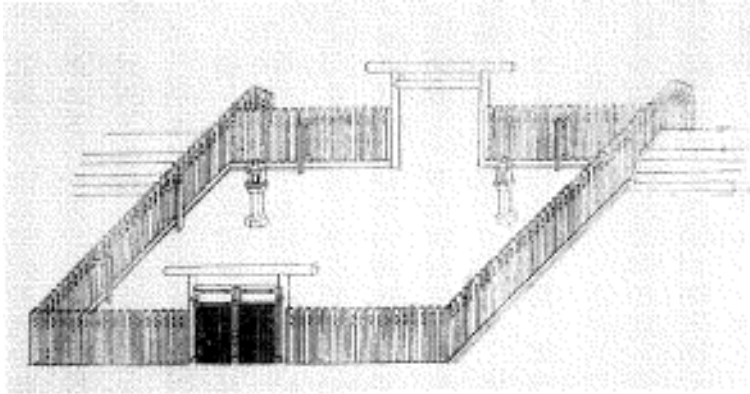
In the autumn of 1867, Tadayuki presented to the court and the *bakufu* a collection of paintings by Tsurusawa Tanshin 鶴沢探真 (1834–1893), entitled *Sanryō zu* 山陵図 (Paintings of the Imperial Tombs), together with *Sanryō kō* 山陵考 (Thoughts on the Imperial Tombs) by Tanimori Yoshiomi. *Sanryō zu* contains before/after pictures of a large number of *tennōryō*; in *Sanryō kō*, Yoshiomi recorded, among other things, his research on the location of many of the tombs.

*Sanryō zu* does not reflect the appearance of the tombs accurately, but rather shows a contrasting juxtaposition between the abhorrent prior situation and the ideal after the restoration, highlighting aspects that would emphasise one or the other. In the pre-restoration pictures, features such as forests or fields are depicted prominently, while *torii* and *ishidōrō* 石灯籠 (stone lantern) as well as moats and well-kept woods can be seen in the post-restoration pictures (Toike 2005a: 294-295).

Neither *Sanryō zu* nor *Sanryō kō* include the complete number of *tennōryō*. This becomes clear when examining a list compiled by Tadayuki's son, Toda Tadatsuna 戸田忠綱 (1840–1922), entitled *Bunkiyū no shūryō no keihi to kijitsu* 文久の修陵の経費と期日 (Cost and Dates of the Restoration of Imperial Tombs in the Bunkiyū Period), which contains information on budget and length of restoration works for each tomb until 1865.

Despite these shortcomings, *Sanryō zu* can still be seen as a form of documentation of the restoration works, as the pictures reflect the idea behind the Bunkiyū Restoration: creating a standard for the building of imperial tombs. This included a certain pattern, conceived by Toda Tadayuki, after which each tomb (with the exception of tombs in form of a Buddhist stupa) should be arranged. This pattern is depicted in Figure 3. A fence with a wooden gate at the front was built around the actual tomb. Behind the gate, *ishidōrō* were erected. These served the double function of designating the tomb as a place for ceremonies and reverence as well as name plate. To avoid future confusion on who was buried where, the name of the entombed emperor was engraved on the *ishidōrō*.

Figure 3 Front of the Tomb of Yūryaku-tennō 雄略 (r. 456–479)  
(1864; unknown artist)



Source: Toike 2000: 38

A *torii* was erected in a line with the wooden front gate, and at the back another gate was built through which guards and maintenance workers could enter the gravesite. Entering through the front was forbidden (Toike 2000: 36-39).

According to Toda Tadatsuna's list, 58 tombs and *kasōsho* 火葬所 (place of cremation) were restored or completely recreated between 1862 and 1865. The official end of the Bunkiyū Restoration is marked by the inspection of the *tennōryō* by an imperial envoy in the spring of 1866. Around the same time, Toda Tadayuki had signs erected at 109 *tennōryō*, *kasōsho*, and *bunkotsujo* 分骨所 (place where part of a person's bodily remains are entombed) that announced the completion of the restoration works. At this point, there were 14 more gravesites whose location was still unknown or which had not yet been restored (Takeda 1996: 126).

The costs for the restoration of the tombs included in Tadatsuna's list amounted to 82,315 *ryō*. A very large proportion of those costs, 37.8 per cent, were dedicated to the tomb of Emperor Jinmu and the Sennyū-ji 泉涌寺, the family temple of the imperial family.

For Jinmu, a new gravesite was built that befitted his status as the founder of the imperial line. The better part of the budget for the Sennyū-ji was used to build a wall around the area to hide the Buddhist stupas. This reflects two pillars of the Bunkiyū Restoration: first, the importance of Jinmu, who, although a mythical figure, connects the imperial line to the sun goddess Amaterasu; and second, the separation of Buddhism and Shintō, and the shift away from Buddhism in imperial ancestor worship (Toike 2005a: 295).

## Case Study: The *tennōryō* of Emperor Jinmu

As mentioned above, imprecise and conflicting information on ancient *tennōryō* posed quite a problem for the scholars tasked with identifying the imperial tombs. This was also the case with the tomb of Jinmu. According to the *Kojiki*, his tomb is “on the Kashi-nō-wo at the northern slope of the Mount Unebi” (Antoni 2012: 111).<sup>7</sup> The *Nihon shoki* places Jinmu’s *misasagi* “in the north-east of the Unebi-mountain” (Florenz 1919: 242). During the *bakumatsu* 幕末 era, the following three locations were named as most likely candidates: Tsukayama 塚山 in Shijō-mura 四条村,<sup>8</sup> named Tsukida no oka no e no misasagi 桃花鳥田丘上陵; Maruyama 丸山 in Horamura 洞村;<sup>9</sup> and the Misanzai ミサンザイ in Yamamoto-mura 山本村,<sup>10</sup> north of the Unebi 畝傍.

All three are located very close to each other nearby the town of Kashihara 橿原 in Nara 奈良 prefecture. Eventually, the third candidate, now known as the Unebi-yama no ushitora no sumi no misasagi 畝傍山東北陵 (also: Tōhoku-ryō 東北陵), was designated officially as Jinmu’s tomb. This designation is based on Tanimori Yoshiomi’s research (Yamada 2005: 204; Toike 1999: 49). He recorded his thoughts on the identification of the *tennōryō* in the aforementioned *Sanryō kō*.

Yoshiomi’s conclusion that the Tōhoku-ryō had to be Jinmu’s tomb was based on several pieces of ‘evidence’. First, he takes into account that the place is called Jibu-den 神武田 or Misanzai by the locals. He is convinced that Jibu-den is short for Jinmutei goryō no ta 神武帝御陵の田 (Field of Emperor Jinmu’s Tomb), and that Misanzai is a corrupted version of Misazaki 御陵 which is written with the characters for ‘Illustrious Tomb’.

Next, he cites a number of passages in ancient texts that—for him—serve as “clear evidence”, like in the following from the *Nihon shoki*:

The following year in Autumn on the 12th day of the 9th month, he was buried in the *misasagi* northeast of Mount Unebi (Tanimori 2005: 236).

The *Engi shiki* gives the following information:

The *misasagi* in the north-east of the Unebi-yama, Jinmu’s palace Kashihara, is in the province Takaichi in Yamato, the tomb measures one *chō* 町 (ca. 109m) from east to west and two *chō* from south two north and is allocated five *shuko* 守戸 (tomb servant) (Tanimori 2005: 236).

<sup>7</sup> Donald Philippi translates *kashi no o* 白樺尾 as ‘oak ridge’ (Philippi 1977: 185).

<sup>8</sup> Today, officially designated as the tomb of Suizei 綏靖 (r. 632–549 BCE; second *tennō*); presently, neighbourhood of Shijō-chō 四条町.

<sup>9</sup> Today’s neighbourhood of Yamamoto-chō 山本町.

<sup>10</sup> Today’s neighbourhood of Ōkubo-chō 大久保町.

From the *Kojiki* Yoshiomi cites the aforementioned passage which places Jinmu's tomb at the northern side of the Unebi. He focusses his discussion on this part of the *Kojiki* and cites *kashi o no ue* カシヲノウエ as prevalent reading meaning "over the high ridge" for 白樟尾上. The Unebi's northern side is called Kashio since there used to be lush forests that included oak trees (*kashi* 榎). For Yoshiomi this was conclusive evidence that the other two candidates were to be eliminated since their topography did not match this description.

Yoshiomi also cites another source, the *Tōnomine ryakki* 多武峯略記 (Abridged records of Tōnomine):

At the eastern site of the Unebi-yama, there is the Kokugen-ji<sup>11</sup>

Early in the morning of the 11th day of the 3rd month<sup>12</sup> of the year Ten'en 2 (974) the *kengyō*<sup>13</sup> Taizen happened to pass by.

On the way, he met a man. This man had white hair on his head and wore a raincoat made of straw.

He promulgated the teaching of the one vehicle.<sup>14</sup>

Taizen asked, who are you and where do you live?

The answer, I am the Lord of this country, the first Emperor of men. I live here.

Because of this, Taizen came here every year on the 11th day of the 3rd month and recited the Lotus Sutra.

In the year Jōgen 2 (977) Fujiwara no Kunimitsu heard about this. He built a Buddhist hall, erected a Kannon statue and built this temple (Tanimori 2005: 236).

The white-haired man wearing a raincoat made of straw is identified as Jinmu, and Yoshiomi was convinced that the temple mentioned in the text was erected for the Tōhoku-ryō. He based his opinion on ruins of a temple hall in the south-east of the tomb, in Ōkubo, and on findings of stupas in the north.

Yoshiomi interpreted all these texts as clear proof that Jibu-den had to be Jinmu's tomb. The area he identified in this manner includes two hills, the smaller of which is designated as Jinmu's grave.

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<sup>11</sup> 国源寺 Temple of the country's foundation.

<sup>12</sup> Anniversary of the country's foundation.

<sup>13</sup> 検校 Temple administrator.

<sup>14</sup> *Ichijō* 一条; a Buddhist doctrine claiming that there are not three vehicles—one for students, one for solitary realisers, and one for bodhisattvas—but only one single teaching (Muller 1993), very likely the Lotus Sūtra.

However, Yoshiomi's opinion did not go unchallenged. While, from the aforementioned theories, the Tsukayama theory was soon abandoned, the Maruyama theory stood as a rival to Yoshiomi's view until a final decision was reached in April 1863. Early supporters of the Maruyama theory were Takeguchi Eisai 竹口栄斉, author of *Ryōboshi* 陵墓志 (Records of the Imperial Family's Tombs; 1794) and Gamō Kunpei 蒲生君平 (1768–1813), author of *Sanryōshi* 山陵志 (Records of the Emperors' Tombs; 1808). In the Bunkiyū era, the theory was adopted by two members of the *tennōryō* inspection tour: Kitamura Sadamasa 北浦定政 (1817–1871), *kokugakusha* and *ryōbo* scholar; and Hiratsuka Hyōsai 平塚耐訴, *ryōbo* scholar and assistant to Kyōto's *bugyō*. Maruyama seemed a viable candidate, mainly due to its geographical features that fitted the description of Jinmu's tomb found in the *Kojiki* (Toike 2000: 47–51).

The final decision was taken by Emperor Kōmei on 4 April 1863 and was communicated via *gosata* 御沙汰 (decree) to Toda Tadayuki and his associates: “Concerning the matter of the Jinmu-*tennōryō*, we decree to identify Jibu-den [as the correct place]” (ibid.: 52).

Kōmei's *gosata* was preceded by a dispute between Tanimori Yoshiomi and Kitaura Sadamasa. Sadamasa's claim was based on Maruyama's geographical features while Yoshiomi argued that the name ‘Misanzai’ was clearly connected to the term *misasagi*. Neither could present tangible evidence for their respective theories (ibid.: 53).

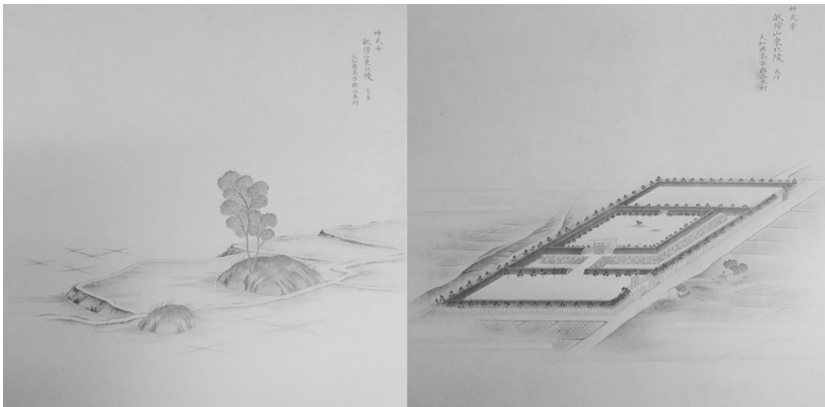
Toda Tadayuki corresponded with both of them. First, he asked Yoshiomi and then Sadamasa for their opinion. He then forwarded Sadamasa's reply to Yoshiomi who sent it back to Tadayuki together with his comments. Those three letters were forwarded to the court. Before reaching a decision, the *chūnagon* 中納言 (councillor of middle rank within the *daijōkan* 太政官—Grand Council of the State) Tokudaiji Sanenori 徳大寺実則 (1840–1919) and the *uchūben* 右中弁 (assistant director to the right) Madenokōji Hirofusa 万里小路博房 (1824–1884) visited both sites.

Considering that Yoshiomi was given the opportunity to review his rival's letter and comment on it, it becomes evident that the two theories were not assessed under the same conditions. Moreover, as early as December 1862, Kōmei examined two of Yoshiomi's works on the matter: *Shoryōsho* 諸陵徴 (Evidence of Tombs) and *Shoryōsetsu* 諸陵説 (Theories on Tombs). Concluding, it is safe to say that Yoshiomi's theory had some kind of a head start (ibid.: 54).

The official designation of Jibu-den as the Jinmu-*tennōryō* is, to this day, a matter of discussion among scholars. The archaeologists Harutari Hideji 春成秀爾 and Itō Keitarō 伊藤敬太郎 argue that the two hills identified as Jinmu's *misasagi* are the ruins of Kokugen-ji's foundation. The archaeologist and historian Yamada Kunikazu 山田邦和, however, believes they are the remains of a *kofun* named Yamamoto misanzai kofun 山本ミサンザイ古墳 (Yamada 2005: 204).

The tomb of Japan's mythical founder and first emperor was the first *tennōryō* to be restored. 17.7 per cent of the budget used for the Bunkiyū Restoration, i.e. 15,062 *ryō*, was invested to this tomb. The restoration works began in early summer of 1863 and took approximately eight months, that is, until early 1864. For Toda Tadayuki and his associates, the Jinmu-*tennōryō* was central to the project and received the most attention. Toike calls it the 'pivot' (Toike 2000: 42) of the Bunkiyū Restoration. It did not only receive the highest budget but it was also the first to be restored. However, 'restoration' might not be the fitting term in this case, since the result was a complete recreation of a place of worship.

Figure 4 Jinmu-*tennōryō* Before and After the Bunkiyū Restoration by Tsurusawa Tanshin (1867?)



Source: Tsurusawa 2005: 14-15

On the left we can see the area before the restoration. The smaller of the two hills is worshipped as Jinmu's tomb. The restoration's aim was to build a stately site. The two small hills are located in the centre of the compound illustrated on the image on the right. The site was constructed following the pattern described above. The central area is located on an elevated stone parapet surrounded by a moat. In front of and behind this central part, the restorers planned to build expansive squares to be used for state ceremonies. However, the area that still exists today only consists of the central elevated part as we can see on this satellite image:



Figure 5 Satellite Image of the Jinmu-*tennōryō*

Source: image: © DigitalGlobe, map data: © Google, ZENRIN

## After the Bunkiyū Restoration

As described in the introduction, the Bunkiyū Restoration was more than the mere reconstruction of the tombs. It included the redesign of imperial ancestor worship. One of the central changes in the wake of the Bunkiyū Restoration was the replacement of Buddhism as the religion of the imperial family by Shintō, affecting funerary rites and ancestor worship. However, during the Meiji era, these changes were limited to official proceedings. In private, the imperial family continued to be Buddhist. And even a number of tombs, in locations where Buddhist temples were central to the gravesite, were not forcibly changed into Shintō shrines. These included the tombs of Toba 鳥羽 (1103–1156; r. 1107–1123) and Konoe 近衛 (1139–1155; r. 1141–1155) located on the area of the Anrakuju-in 安楽寿院. They were restored similarly to the Sennyū-ji, by building a wall around the site; their Buddhist character was preserved but concealed. In other cases, like the tomb of Emperor Antoku, the tomb was completely rearranged into a Shintō place of worship (Gunji 2011). Other cases where the break with Buddhism in imperial ancestor worship became evident are the funerals of Emperors Kōmei and Meiji. Moreover, Meiji's funeral shows how Japan's modernisation is reflected in certain details, such as for example the clothes of the mourners.

## Emperor Kōmei's Funeral

Kōmei died on 30 January 1867 at the age of 35. The court wished for funerary rites after the 'old fashion' and consulted with Toda Tadayuki on this matter. Tadayuki referred to Emperor Go-Kōmyō's 後光明 (1633–1654; r. 1643–1654) funeral, who was not cremated but buried (Keene 2002: 97–98). Kōmei's remains were to be handled in a similar fashion. Accordingly, he was not cremated like numerous emperors before him but buried in a newly built mausoleum, the *Nochi no tsuki no wa no higashi no misasagi* 後月輪東山陵. As a fitting site, Tadayuki chose a place on the area of the Sennyū-ji. The funeral took place on 3 and 4 March 1867.<sup>15</sup> At first, Kōmei's will was read in the *shishinden* 紫宸殿 (hall for state ceremonies) in the imperial palace in Kyōto on the morning of 3 March. In the afternoon, the coffin was brought out to the courtyard and placed on an ox-drawn hearse. The procession to the Sennyū-ji left the palace at six in the evening and was led by Toda Tadayuki, Tanimori Yoshiomi, and other functionaries of the *sanryō* administration, followed by high ranking courtiers and *bakufu* officials, among them Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the last Tokugawa *shōgun*.

At the Sennyū-ji, the most striking change became evident. Until this point, the coffin used to be placed on a *hōgan* 宝龕 (imperial bier) at the Gokyōji-gate 卸凶事門. There, the Buddhist monks used to chant *sūtras* in the presence of the mourners under a temporary pavilion. All rites that followed were conducted in the exclusive presence of the monks. Now, instead of the pavilion, there was a parking area, and in front of the Gokyōji-gate a sign forbade the Buddhist monks to accompany the procession to the actual burial site, effectively excluding them from any burial ceremonies.

The procession reached the foot of the hill, where the tomb had been built, at around two in the morning of the next day. There, the body was placed onto a *gyoren* 御輦 (imperial bier)—the old name *hōgan* had been associated with Buddhism. At the tomb, Kōmei's remains were lowered into a sarcophagus. With a concluding rite called *ryōsho no gi* 陵所の儀, which was newly fashioned and roughly based on burial rites in the Yoshida-style, the official part of the funeral had ended and the congregation returned to the Gokyōji-gate.<sup>16</sup> Only then the Buddhist monks were permitted to enter the site and conduct their own rites.

<sup>15</sup> If not stated otherwise, the following description is based on Gilday 2000.

<sup>16</sup> The Yoshida 吉田 were the most important family of Shintō priests during the Edo period. The funeral of Yoshida Kanemigi 吉田兼右 (1516–1573) is the first Shintō-style funeral on which a detailed description found in the diary of Kanemigi's son Kanemi 兼見 (1535–1610) still exists. Also included in this diary is the oldest existing manual on Shintō funerals (Kenney 2000: 243).

Kōmei's funeral was supposed to serve as an ideal for the Japanese state with the emperor's body symbolising the *kokutai*. This represented an ideology that propagated filiality based on and in service to imperial tradition (Gilday 2000: 288). Although the restoration works on the *tennōryō* were officially finished in the spring of 1866, the erection of Kōmei's tomb and his funeral with its newly created ceremonies can be seen as the magnificent conclusion to the Bunkiyū Restoration (Takeda 1996: 123). The replacement of Buddhism in imperial ancestor worship that started with the creation of Shintō-style places of worship reached a new climax with Kōmei's funeral.

Not only the funeral ceremonies themselves but also rites commemorating the anniversary of the emperors' death were from now on conducted as Shintō rites. On the third anniversary of Kōmei's death on 6 February 1869, which is considered the first anniversary falling into the Meiji era,<sup>17</sup> Kōmei was worshipped from afar (*sanryō yōhai* 山陵遥拜) at the palace, while imperial messengers were dispatched to his tomb to carry out Shintō rites at the gravesite. After the conclusion of the official ceremonies, members of the imperial family stayed for a private, Buddhist ceremony that included, among other elements, the chanting of the Lotus Sūtra.

In retrospective, Kōmei's funeral can be considered as a vital step in the process of Shintō becoming Japan's state religion. Although Buddhist monks were still permitted their own ceremonies, they were forced into a marginal role. Kōmei's was the last imperial funeral that featured any Buddhist elements.

## Emperor Meiji's Funeral

The development initiated by the Bunkiyū Restoration continued to influence imperial funerals, with new elements being added. In the case of Meiji's funeral, these elements were meant to reflect the country's modernisation under his reign.

Meiji died on 30 July 1912. The first funeral procession was held in Tōkyō, the new capital. In the evening of 13 September 1912, the mourning congregation moved from the imperial palace to Aoyama, where a hall had been erected to receive the late emperor's remains. Mourners at the front of the procession were clad in traditional garb while members of the court, high ranking officials, and nobles who followed were mainly dressed in Western-style dress uniforms. Music played on traditional Japanese instruments was complemented by military bands, among them a naval band from "our ally England" (Gluck 1985: 213). Invited guests included

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<sup>17</sup> This day is considered the first anniversary of Kōmei's death falling into the Meiji era, although it is in fact the second. However, the second anniversary was so close after the events that eventually led to the Meiji Restoration, and was still conducted in a Buddhist fashion that it is considered to still have taken place in the Edo period. Moreover, from a Western viewpoint, 6 February 1869 is the second anniversary, but the year of the emperor's death is counted as a full year when calculating the anniversary (Lokowandt 1976: 116).

foreign dignitaries as well as envoys from the Japanese colonies in Korea, Taiwan, and Sakhalin, representing the empire that had grown under Meiji's reign.

After these obsequies, the coffin was moved to Kyōto by train on the Tōkaidō line, where it was interred in the Fushimi no Momoyama no misasagi 伏見桃山陵 on 15 September (ibid.: 213-214). The ceremonies used and mixed features from rites of the Bunkyū era and Western-influenced elements.

Another distinction between Meiji and his predecessors was a demonstration of a certain closeness to the people. Meiji was the first emperor who actually showed his face in public. Not only were there paintings and photographs that had been distributed in the whole country, but Meiji showed himself on his travels through Japan. This was something that had been completely inconceivable in the past. What he had started during his lifetime was continued with his funeral. During the coffin's journey, its route—even the train tracks—was lined with mourning subjects that wished to pay their respect. On 13 September, *yōhaishiki* 遥拝式 (ceremonies from afar) were conducted in municipality offices, schools, and other public spaces. Carol Gluck describes this kind of worship as the deification of Meiji's reign rather than the emperor himself (ibid.: 214-215).

## Official Versus Private Ceremonies of the Imperial Family

The process of Buddhism's replacement with Shintō rites in imperial ancestor worship was not free of conflict. Lokowandt speaks of a shift from the private to the public sphere. This reflects how the imperial ancestors were perceived as deities of national rank (Lokowandt 1976: 128-129). Officially, all rites for funerals and ancestor worship were conducted in a Shintō fashion. However, behind the walls of the imperial palace things were somewhat different. The imperial family had been Buddhists for centuries. And even after the Meiji Restoration and the official adoption of Shintō as the religion of the emperor in 1871, ceremonies within the court were conducted after Buddhist specifications. One example is Prince Akira's 晃 (1816–1898) funeral. He was a Buddhist priest in life and wished for a Buddhist style funeral. He died on 17 February 1898. On the same day, his son petitioned the *genrōin* 元老院 (senate) that his father's request would be accommodated. The Minister of the Imperial Household Department, Tanaka Mitsuaki 田中光顯 (1843–1939), declined and gave the following explanation for his decision:

The system of imperial rituals was fixed after the Meiji Restoration, and no Buddhist ceremony has been held at court since the third anniversary of emperor Kōmei in 1868. Funeral rituals [in the court] are based on the *Jingi shiki* 神祇式 [Shintō rites]: the practice was established at the funeral of Empress Dowager Eisho. This is also in

accordance with ancient tradition (*Meiji tennō ki* 明治天皇紀, quoted in Takagi 2013: 27)

In a report to Emperor Meiji, Tanaka clarifies that imperial funerals have to be conducted following the predetermined pattern and that personal feelings had no place in this decision. However, Meiji valued Akira's wish higher than the minister's opinion and discussed this issue once more with the *genrōin*, but they were not willing to make an exception out of fear that "chaos [would] ensue for future generations" (Takagi 2013: 27).

The solution was to hold an official Shintō funeral after the *Jingi shiki* and a private Buddhist style ceremony at the actual burial location of Akira's remains (ibid.: 29). Even the funeral of Empress Dowager Eishō 英照 (1834–1897) mentioned by Tanaka was a Shintō-only affair merely on the surface. On 4 February, a few days before the official funeral on 7 and 8 February, Sennyū-ji's head priest had performed Buddhist rites over Eishō's coffin (ibid.: 29). On 24 and 25 March 1868,<sup>18</sup> on occasion of the third anniversary of Kōmei's death, Buddhist ceremonies were held in Sennyū-ji besides the official Shintō rites (ibid.: 28).

## Conclusion

The nineteenth century in Japan was characterised by social and political change. The social order of *shinōkōshō* as well as Japan's policy of isolation against foreign countries were no longer viable. One of the loudest voices within a group of influential samurai who rallied against the *bakufu*'s policies and saw a solution for the country's political problems in strengthening the emperor's position and expelling all foreigners was Tokugawa Nariaki's. However, his efforts and those of the *sonnō jōi*-faction were in vain. The *bakufu* itself tried to use the imperial court for its own goals by trying to get the emperor's consent on the signing of the treaties with the United States and the marriage between Princess Kazu no miya and Tokugawa Iemochi. In both cases the emperor refused to give his approval. Conflicts like these led to a deterioration of the relations between court and *bakufu*.

Under these circumstances, *fudai han* like Utsunomiya found themselves in an ambivalent position. On the one hand, their fate was tied to that of the *bakufu*; on the other, more and more conflicts of interest between *han* and *bakufu* emerged. Utsunomiya's way out of this dilemma was a project that would strengthen the *han*'s own position without endangering its relation to the *shōgun*. This project turned out

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<sup>18</sup> The author has found conflicting information on the third anniversary of Kōmei's death. Lokowandt specifies the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month of Meiji 1, 6 February 1869 (Lokowandt 1976: 116) (see also note 17). This date is in accordance with the author's own calculations.

to be the restoration of the imperial tombs and the resurrection of supposedly ancient rites for imperial funerals and ancestor worship.

The first attempt to restore the *tennōryō* was made by Tokugawa Nariaki in the 1840s. It is likely that he saw this restoration as a way to strengthen the emperor's authority. He was one of the first to attach political meaning to the imperial tombs. Nariaki died in 1860, before he could reach his goal. It is possible that the Bunkiyū Restoration would have taken a very different turn had he lived longer and had he been able to regain political authority. After his death, it was Utsunomiya who saw an opportunity to pick up Nariaki's suggestions for its own benefit.

The question why the *bakufu* eventually consented to this request and mandated Utsunomiya with the restoration project cannot be answered adequately without further research. It seems reasonable that the *bakufu* saw Utsunomiya as a less dangerous political force than Tokugawa Nariaki's Mito-han, which was close to the *sonnō jōi*-faction. Therefore, Utsunomiya was commissioned with the restoration of the *tennōryō*, a project that promised to elevate the *han*'s status.

And their plan worked. Both Utsunomiya and the *bakufu* received official praise by the emperor. For a short time, the *bakufu* was even able to regain political stability by improving its relation with the imperial court. In this way, the Bunkiyū Restoration can be seen as one of the *bakufu*'s last efforts to save its existence. As it would become clear a few years later, however, their struggles were in vain, since the political power of the emperor was restored with the Meiji Restoration.

Not only the shogunate but also the imperial court was able to use the Bunkiyū Restoration to strengthen their position. The tomb of the mythical founder of Japan, Jinmu, played an essential role in this context. In autumn 1863, Emperor Kōmei travelled to the newly restored Jinmu-tennōryō to pray for the expulsion of the despised foreigners. Although his wish was not granted, the last years of the *bakufu* reign saw a dramatic change in the emperor's position, which allowed him to move closer to the centre of political affairs.

It is probably a bit bold to draw a direct line from the Bunkiyū to the Meiji Restoration as it is unlikely that the people involved in the restoration of the *tennōryō* already had a restoration of imperial power in mind. However, it is safe to assume that the leaders of the Meiji Restoration were able to profit from the efforts of the Bunkiyū era. One major point is the separation of the imperial court from Buddhism, which started with the creation of the *tennōryō* as places of Shintō worship. By rearranging the tombs as Shintō shrines and hiding Buddhist stupas behind high walls, the men behind the Bunkiyū Restoration tried to deny the Buddhist past of the imperial family—an effort that remains successful to this day. During a discussion of the focus of this paper with friends from Japan, they showed great surprise that the emperors of Japan had ever been practicing Buddhists. The prevailing opinion seems

to be that the members of the imperial family had always been adherents of Shintō—and Shintō only.

However, the most significant achievement of the Bunkiyū Restoration is the creation of a new standard for the building of imperial tombs that is still valid today. The four *tennōryō* built after the Bunkiyū Restoration—the tombs of Kōmei, Meiji, Taishō 大正 (1879–1926; r. 1912–1926), and Shōwa 昭和 (1901–1989; r. 1926–1989)—feature the same elements (fences, *torii* etc.) as the ideal types built during the Bunkiyū Restoration. Even if some of the details may have changed, the core innovations achieved during the Bunkiyū era—mainly the replacement of Buddhism with Shintō in the realm of imperial ancestor worship—remain to this day.

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## GLOSSARY

<i>Agata Nobutsugu</i>	縣信緝	1824–1881; former vassal of Utsunomiya and confidant of Toda Tadayuki
<i>Aizawa Seishisai</i>	会沢正志齋	1781–1863; scholar in Mito; made the term <i>kokutai</i> popular
<i>Akira</i>	晃	1816–1898; imperial prince, Buddhist priest
<i>Amaterasu</i>	天照	sun goddess; the imperial line is said to be descended from her
<i>Anrakujū-in</i>	安樂寿院	temple
<i>Antoku</i>	安德	1178–1185; r. 1180–1185; eighty-first <i>tennō</i>
<i>bakufu</i>	幕府	shōgunal government
<i>bakumatsu</i>	幕末	end of Tokugawa reign
<i>bunkotsujo</i>	分骨所	place where part of a person's mortal remains are entombed
<i>Bunkiyū no shūryō no keihi to kijitsu</i>	文久の修陵の 経費と期日	<i>Cost and Dates of the Restoration of Imperial Tombs in the Bunkiyū Period</i> (1865?) by Toda Tadatsuna
<i>chō</i>	町	measure of length; ca. 109m
<i>chūnagon</i>	中納言	councillor of middle rank within the <i>daijōkan</i>
<i>Chūshō Ryōzō</i>	中条良蔵	1800–1868; official from Nara
<i>daijōkan</i>	太政官	Grand Council of the State
<i>daimyō</i>	大名	feudal lord
<i>Eishō</i>	英照	1834–1897; empress consort of Kōmei
<i>Engi shiki</i>	延喜式	<i>Ceremonies from the Engi period</i> (927)
<i>Engi shoryō ryōshiki</i>	延喜諸陵寮式	<i>Ceremonies for tombs from the Engi period</i> (part of the <i>Engi shiki</i> )
<i>enkei</i>	円形	round form; form of <i>tennōryō</i>
<i>enpun</i>	円墳	round tumulus; form of <i>tennōryō</i>

<i>fudai han</i>	譜代藩	domains that swore their allegiance to Tokugawa Ieyasu before the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600
<i>Fushimi no Momoyama no misasagi</i>	伏見桃山陵	tomb of Emperor Meiji
<i>Gamō Kunpei</i>	蒲生君平	1768–1813; <i>ryōbo</i> scholar
<i>genrōin</i>	元老院	senate
<i>Go-Kōmyō</i>	後光明	1633–1654; r. 1643–1654; one-hundred-tenth <i>tennō</i>
<i>gosata</i>	御沙汰	decree issued by the emperor
<i>gun</i>	郡	district
<i>gyoren</i>	御輦	imperial bier
<i>haka</i>	墓	common term for grave
<i>hakkakufun</i>	八角墳	octagonal tumulus; form of <i>tennōryō</i>
<i>han</i>	藩	feudal domain
<i>hanshu</i>	藩主	head of a <i>han</i>
<i>Harutari Hideji</i>	春成秀爾	archaeologist
<i>Hikita Munetaka</i>	疋田棟隆	1807–1884; historian and vassal of Mito
<i>Hiratsuka Hyōsai</i>	平塚酎訴	?–?; <i>ryōbo</i> scholar and assistant to Kyōto's <i>bugyō</i>
<i>hōfun</i>	方墳	square tumulus; form of <i>tennōryō</i>
<i>hōgan</i>	宝龕	imperial bier
<i>hōkei</i>	方形	square form; form of <i>tennōryō</i>
<i>hokke-dō</i>	法華堂	Buddhist temple; form of <i>tennōryō</i>
<i>Horamura</i>	洞村	possible location for the tomb of Jinmu discussed during the identification process at the beginning of the Bunkiyū Restoration
<i>ichijō</i>	一条	doctrine of the one vehicle
<i>ishidōrō</i>	石灯籠	stone lantern
<i>Itō Hirobumi</i>	伊藤博文	1841–1909; Japan's first prime minister

<i>Itō Keitarō</i>	伊藤敬太郎	archaeologist
<i>Izumi</i>	和泉	former province
<i>Jibu-den</i>	神武田	location identified by Tanimori Yoshiomi as the site of Jinmu's tomb
<i>Jinmu</i>	神武	r. 660–585 BCE; mythical founder and first <i>tennō</i> of Japan
<i>jōenkahō</i>	上円下方	tumulus with square base and round top; form of <i>tennōryō</i>
<i>Kanmu</i>	桓武	737–806; r. 781–806; fiftieth <i>tennō</i>
<i>kashi</i>	櫟	oak tree
<i>Kashihara</i>	橿原	town in Nara prefecture
<i>kasōsho</i>	火葬所	place of cremation
<i>Kawachi</i>	河内	former province
<i>Kazu no miya</i>	和宮	princess (1846–1877)
<i>kengyō</i>	檢校	temple administrator
<i>Kita Yasuhiro</i>	北康宏	historian
<i>Kitamura Sadamasa</i>	北浦定政	1817–1871; <i>kokugakusha</i> and <i>ryōbo</i> scholar
<i>kōbu gattai</i>	公武合体	union of imperial court and <i>bakufu</i>
<i>kofun</i>	古墳	ancient mound tombs
<i>kōgō</i>	皇后	a <i>tennō</i> 's wife
<i>Kojiki</i>	古事記	712; <i>Records of Ancient Matters</i>
<i>kokugaku</i>	国学	study of the country
<i>kokugakusha</i>	国学者	<i>kokugaku</i> scholar
<i>Kokugen-ji</i>	国源寺	temple of the country's foundation
<i>kokutai</i>	国体	national polity, state body
<i>Kōmei</i>	孝明	1831–1867, r. 1846–1867; one-hundred-twenty-first <i>tennō</i>

<i>Konoe</i>	近衛	1139–1155; r. 1141–1155; seventy-sixth <i>tennō</i>
<i>kōtaigō</i>	皇太后	empress mother or empress dowager
<i>Kunaichō</i>	宮内庁	Imperial Household Agency
<i>machibugyō</i>	町奉行	town magistrate
<i>Madenokōji Hirofusa</i>	万里小路博房	1824–1884; <i>uchūben</i> during the Bunkyū Restoration
<i>Maruyama</i>	丸山	candidate for the tomb of Jinmu discussed during the identification process at the beginning of the Bunkyū Restoration
<i>Man'yōshū</i>	万葉集	eighth century; anthology of poems
<i>Matsudaira Katamori</i>	松平容保	1835–1893; <i>shugo</i> of Kyōto
<i>Matthew Perry</i>		1794–1858; American commodore; forced Japan to open its ports in 1853
<i>Misanzai</i>	ミサンザイ	gravesite identified by Tanimori Yoshiomi as Jinmu's tomb
<i>misasagi</i>	陵	imperial tombs (see also <i>tennōryō</i> )
<i>Mito</i>	水戸	domain of Tokugawa Nariaki north of Edo
<i>Motoori Norinaga</i>	本居宣長	1730–1801; <i>kokugaku</i> scholar
<i>Nihon shoki</i>	日本書紀	720; <i>Chronicles of Japan</i>
<i>Nochi no tsuki no wa no higashi no misasagi</i>	後月輪東山陵	tomb of Emperor Kōmei
<i>Ōgimachisanjō Sanenaru</i>	正親町三条実愛	1820–1909; family friend of Toda Tadayuki; introduced Tadayuki to members of the imperial court
<i>Okamoto Tōri</i>	岡本桃里	1806–1885; painter
<i>Ōkubo-chō</i>	大久保町	neighbourhood in Kashiwara
<i>Ōsawa Sugaomi</i>	大沢清臣	1833–1892; <i>kokugakusha</i> and Shintō priest
<i>ryō</i>	両	unit of currency
<i>ryōbo</i>	陵墓	term used for <i>tennōryō</i> and <i>haka</i> together

<i>ryōsho no gi</i>	陵所の儀	funeral rite
<i>Ryōboshi</i>	陵墓志	<i>Records of the Imperial Family's Tombs</i> (1794) by Takeguchi Eisai
<i>sankei</i>	山形	hill; form of <i>tennōryō</i>
<i>sanryō</i>	山陵	imperial tombs (see also <i>tennōryō</i> )
<i>sanryō yōhai</i>	山陵遥拝	worship of an imperial tomb from afar
<i>Sanryōshi</i>	山陵志	<i>Records of the Emperors' Tombs</i> (1808) by Gamō Kunpei
<i>Sanryō kō</i>	山陵考	<i>Thoughts on the Imperial Tombs</i> (1867?) by Tanimori Yoshiomi
<i>Sanryō zu</i>	山陵図	<i>Paintings of the Imperial Tombs</i> (1867?) by Tsurusawa Tanshin
<i>Sekigahara no tatakai</i>	関ヶ原の戦い	1600; decisive battle that united Japan under Tokugawa rule
<i>Sennyū-ji</i>	泉涌寺	family temple of the imperial family
<i>Settsu</i>	摂津	former province
<i>Shijō-chō</i>	四条町	neighbourhood in Kashiwara
<i>Shijō-mura</i>	四条村	possible location for the tomb of Jinmu discussed during the identification process at the beginning of the Bunkiyū Restoration
<i>shinōkōshō</i>	士農工商	hierarchy of samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants
<i>shinpan</i>	親藩	domains whose <i>daimyō</i> belonged to the Tokugawa family or its branches
<i>shishinden</i>	紫宸殿	hall for state ceremonies
<i>Shoryōsetsu</i>	諸陵説	<i>Theories on Tombs</i> by Tanimori Yoshiomi
<i>Shoryōsho</i>	諸陵徴	<i>Evidence of Tombs</i> by Tanimori Yoshiomi
<i>Shōwa</i>	昭和	1901–1989, r. 1926–1989; one-hundred-twenty-fourth <i>tennō</i>
<i>shugo</i>	守護	military governor

<i>shuko</i>	守戸	tomb servant
<i>Shūryō no kenpaku</i>	修陵の建白	petition for the restoration of the imperial tombs presented by the <i>hanshu</i> of Utsunomiya
<i>sonnō jōi</i>	尊皇攘夷	slogan of a faction loyal to the tennō: “Revere the emperor, expel the barbarians!”
<i>Suizei</i>	綏靖	r. 632–549 BCE; second <i>tennō</i>
<i>Sunagawa Kenjirō</i>	砂川健次郎	1816–1883; assistant to the <i>machibugyō</i> of Kyōto
<i>taikōtaigō</i>	太皇太	grand empress dowager
<i>Taishō</i>	大正	1879–1926, r. 1912–1926; one-hundred- twenty- third <i>tennō</i>
<i>Takagi Hiroshi</i>	高木博志	historian
<i>Takeda Hideaki</i>	武田秀章	historian
<i>Takeguchi Eisai</i>	竹口栄斉	?–?; <i>ryōbo</i> scholar
<i>Tanaka Mitsuaki</i>	田中光顕	1843–1939; Minister of the Imperial Household Department 1898–1909
<i>Tanimori Yoshiomi</i>	谷森善臣	1817–1911; historian
<i>tennō</i>	天皇	emperor
<i>tennōryō</i>	天皇陵	imperial tombs
<i>tō</i>	塔	stupa or pagoda; form of <i>tennōryō</i>
<i>Toba</i>	鳥羽	1103–1156; r. 1107–1123; seventy-fourth <i>tennō</i>
<i>Toda Tadatsuna</i>	戸田忠綱	1840–1922; Toda Tadayuki’s son
<i>Toda Tadayuki</i>	戸田忠至	1809–1883; initiator and leader of the Bunkyū Restoration
<i>Tōhoku-ryō</i>	東北陵	tomb of Jinmu; see also Unebi-yama no ushitora no sumi no misasagi
<i>Toike Noboru</i>	外池昇	historian
<i>Tokudaiji Sanenori</i>	徳大寺実則	1840–1919; <i>chūnagon</i> during the Bunkyū Restoration



<i>Tokugawa Iemochi</i>	徳川家茂	1846–1866; <i>shōgun</i> during the Bunkiyū era
<i>Tokugawa Ieyasu</i>	徳川家康	1542–1616; first Tokugawa <i>shōgun</i>
<i>Tokugawa Nariaki</i>	徳川斉昭	1800–1860; <i>daimyō</i> of Mito
<i>Tokugawa Yoshinobu</i>	徳川慶喜	1837–1913; last Tokugawa <i>shōgun</i>
<i>Tōnomine ryakki</i>	多武峯略記	<i>Abridged records of Tōnomine</i>
<i>torii</i>	鳥居	gate in front of a Shintō shrine
<i>tozama han</i>	外様藩	domains that would only submit to Tokugawa-rule after being defeated in Sekigahara
<i>Tsukayama</i>	塚山	candidate for the tomb of Jinmu discussed during the identification process at the beginning of the Bunkiyū Restoration
<i>Tsukida no oka no e no misasagi</i>	桃花鳥田丘上陵	candidate for the tomb of Jinmu discussed during the identification process at the beginning of the Bunkiyū Restoration
<i>Tsurusawa Tanshin</i>	鶴沢探真	1834–1893; painter; painted the before and after pictures of the imperial tombs
<i>uchūben</i>	右中弁	assistant director to the right
<i>Ueda Hisao</i>	鶴澤探眞	historian
<i>Unebi</i>	畝傍	mount where Jinmu’s tomb is located
<i>Unebi-yama no ushitora no sumi no misasagi</i>	畝傍山東北陵	tomb of Jinmu; see also Tōhoku-ryō
<i>Utsunomiya-han</i>	宇都宮藩	domain north of Edo; responsible for the Bunkiyū Restoration
<i>Yamada Kunikazu</i>	山田邦和	archaeologist and historian
<i>Yamamoto-mura</i>	山本村	possible location for the tomb of Jinmu discussed during the identification process at the beginning of the Bunkiyū Restoration
<i>Yamamoto-chō</i>	山本町	neighbourhood in Kashiwara
<i>Yamamoto misanzai kofun</i>	山本ミサンザイ古墳	<i>kofun</i> , according to Yamada Kunikazu the two hills officially identified as Jinmus tomb

<i>Yamato</i>	大和	former province
<i>yōhaishiki</i>	遥拝式	ceremonies from afar
<i>Yoshida</i>	吉田	important family of Shintō priests during the Edo era
<i>Yoshida Kanemi</i>	吉田兼見	1535–1610; Yoshida Kanemigi's son
<i>Yoshida Kanemigi</i>	吉田兼右	1516–1573; member of the Yoshida family
<i>Yūryaku</i>	雄略	r. 456–479; twenty-first <i>tennō</i>
<i>zenpōkōen</i>	前方後円	keyhole shaped tumulus; form of <i>tennōryō</i>