

Excavating Edo's Cemeteries: Graves as Indicators of Status and Class

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What Can We Learn from Edo's Graves?

A large quantity of human bones were discovered on a construction site in Yokodera-chō, Shinjuku-ku about seven years ago. In the course of the ensuing excavation, in which I was a participant, it was discovered that during the Edo period this site was the location of a temple called Hōsen-ji 宝泉寺, and the bones unearthed were those that had been buried in the temple graveyard.

As we dug further, a large ceramic jar burial (*kamekan*) containing human bones was discovered at a depth of about 1–2 meters below the surface. Similar jars containing human bones were concentrated in a relatively small area, and in a period of nine days we uncovered a total of fifty-two such jars. I was deeply impressed by the rich variety of burial facilities in this graveyard. Some graves consisted of stone chambers, while others were jar burials covered with charcoal, jar burials with stone lids, cinerary urns, and so forth. At the time I had no idea what this variety of burial customs could mean. Further analysis has convinced me that the differences in burial customs and graves indicate a major turning point in the eighteenth century in the development of modern Japanese society, with the *ie* becoming the central structuring principle.

There is very little data available from the archaeological study of Edo burial customs and graves, perhaps because the field of Edo archaeology itself is so young. The oldest is an eleven-year study, started in 1954, by KAWAGOE Toshiyuki (1965) on the materials discovered in this period during new construction work. There is also the work of SUZUKI Hisashi, YAJIMA Kyōsuke, and YAMANOE Tomoyuki (1967) surveying the graves of the Tokugawa shoguns at Zōjō-ji in Minato-ku, Tokyo. That, however,

* This article is a translation from the Japanese of TANIGAWA 1991.

is about the extent of past studies in this area. It was only in the 1970s that graveyards in Edo began to be excavated and studied. With so little data available, it is difficult to reach any systematic conclusions concerning Edo burial customs and graves. There are still too many problems that remain unresolved.

However, one point that we can focus on is the one I have already mentioned, that is, the rich variety of burial types in the Edo period. This variety suggests a very complex and multifaceted background to Edo-period burial customs. Another important topic is how burial customs changed in the 280-year history of the city of Edo, i.e., from the time Tokugawa Ieyasu arrived in 1590 until the end of the Edo period in 1868.

The purpose of this article is to examine the burial customs of Edo from an archaeological perspective, focussing specifically on these topics.¹ Given the paucity of data, I can only offer tentative hypotheses, but I hope to clarify the significance of the study of burial customs.

The Excavation of the Jishō-in Site in Shinjuku

A preliminary excavation of a site on the campus of Tomihisa Elementary School in Shinjuku was conducted in September 1984 prior to the commencement of some reconstruction work. The excavation was carried out because Edo-period maps of this area showed that it was formerly part of the grounds of a temple called Jishō-in 自證院. A two-meter-wide trench was dug on the school grounds to form a rectangle that ran 22.5 m north/south and 41.5 m east/west. Eleven graves were uncovered at a layer 70–80 cm below the current ground level, proving that this area was the graveyard of Jishō-in. An excavation was carried out over a period of six months, until March 1985. The excavation turned out to be very productive, yielding eighty-seven graves and fifty human skeletons (see TAKIGUCHI et al. 1987). The survey of the Jishō-in site was significant in that it allowed archaeologists for the first time to formulate a hypothesis concerning the variety of burial customs, i.e., that they reflected social status and class. It also provided material enabling me to reach some conclusions concerning the excavation at Yokodera-chō in Shinjuku.

Jishō-in was originally at Ushigome Enoki-chō and was called Hōjō-ji 法常寺. It was moved to this site and given the name Jishō-in in 1640 by order of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu. Later, in 1665, the temple was transferred by interdict from its affiliation with the Fujufuse branch of the Nichiren school to the Tendai school, and became a branch

¹ Previous publications on this topic include TANIGAWA 1988a and 1990.

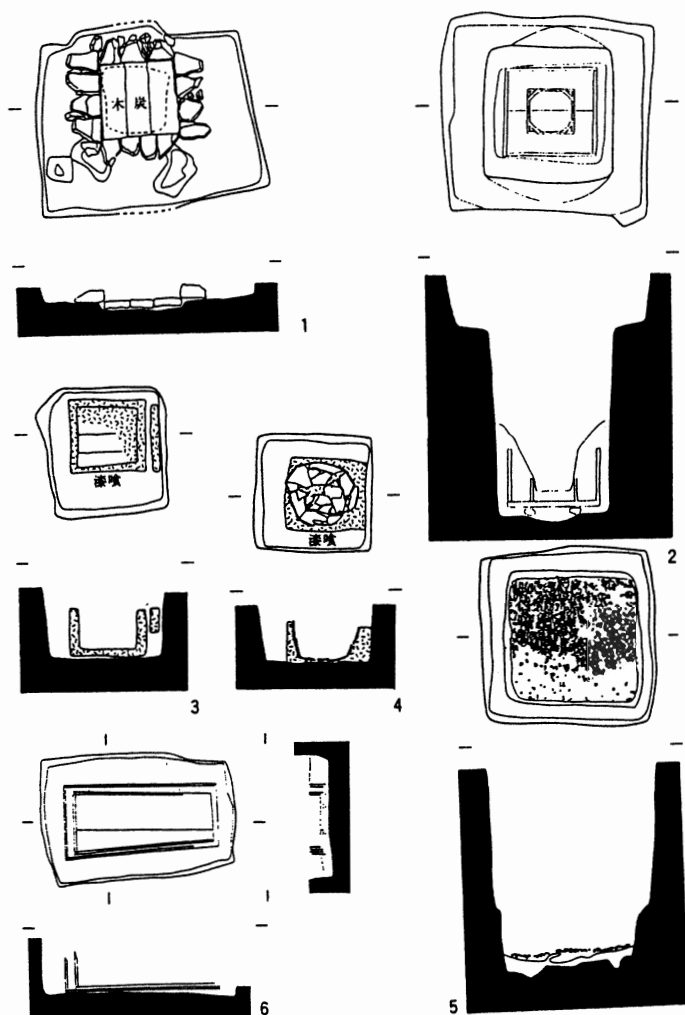


Fig. 1. Classification of Graves at the Jishō-in Site (1).

temple of Kan'ei-ji. It was a relatively large temple, covering an area of over 10,600 *tsubo* [35,000 sq m], with 300 *tsubo* of housing at the temple gates and a tax-deductible income of 200 *koku*. It had strong connections with the Tokugawa family.

Based on the eighty-seven graves excavated at the site, the structure of the burial customs can be classified as follows:

1. Coffins buried in stone chambers.

The stone chambers are of two types: those constructed with square hewn stones (*kiri-ishizumi* 切石積み) and those with tapered

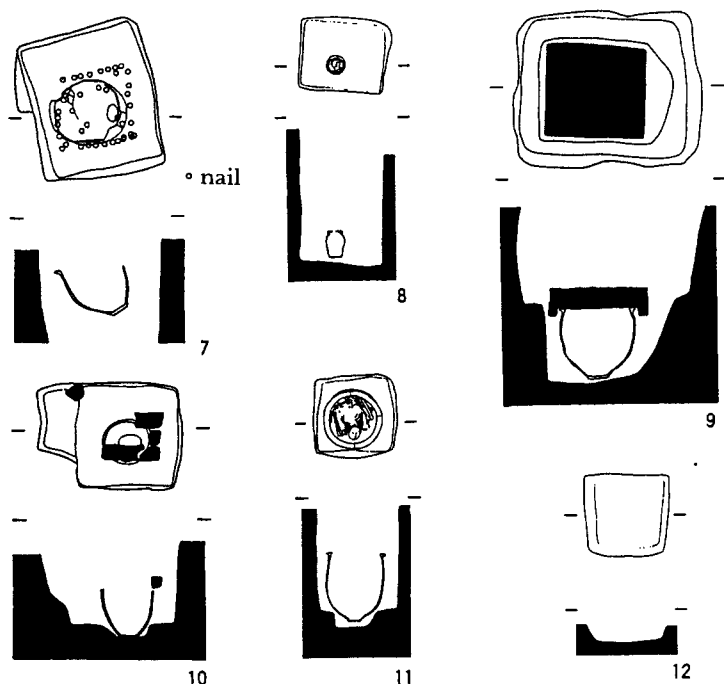


Fig. 2. Classification of Graves at the Jishō-in Site (2).

hewn stones (*kenchi ishizumi* 間知石積み). The coffins were probably made of wood, although it is possible that a jar burial was placed in a wooden burial chamber (*mokkaku* 木槨). Some of the stone chambers had a layer of charcoal on the floor (fig. 1, no. 1).

2. Graves in which charcoal or lime plaster had been applied to the floor, or in which the coffin was protected with a layer of charcoal or lime plaster.

The remains are placed either in wooden coffins or in ceramic jars inside wooden burial chambers. Graves with a floor made of clay or a layer of small stones, or with double wooden coffins, are included in this classification (fig. 1, nos. 2-6).

3. Ceramic jar burials placed in wooden burial chambers.
This category includes graves with vessels containing cremated bones (fig. 2, nos. 7-8).
4. Graves with only ceramic jar burials or wooden coffins.
Some ceramic jars had stone coverings, and it is thought that wooden lids also existed (fig. 2, nos. 9-12).

Let us now examine the relationship between the structure of the burial

facilities and the size of the actual pits. The stone chambers of category 1 are rather large, with a major axis of 1.7–2.4 m. The wooden coffin graves of category 2, with floors of charcoal or lime plaster and wooden burial chambers, and the wooden burial chambers protecting ceramic jar burials, are of large or medium size, with a major axis of 1–2.4 m. The jar burials in wooden burial chambers of category 3 are of medium size, with a major axis of 85 cm–1.4 m. The jar burials and wooden coffins of category 4 are uneven, with a major axis between 65 cm and 2.3 m; however, the majority are of a medium or small size, i.e., under 1.4 m. In short, the larger the scale of the grave, the more complex its structure is likely to be.

The number of graves according to their structure is as follows:

1. Stone chambers—6.
2. Wooden burial chambers with charcoal or lime plaster floors, containing wooden coffins—9; and ceramic jars—8.
3. Ceramic jars in wooden burial chambers—14; cinerary urns in wooden burial chambers—1.
4. Ceramic jar burials—16; wooden coffins—18.

This indicates clearly that the more complex the burial structure, the fewer the examples.

If we look at the distribution of the graves, it is clear that they form certain groups (see fig. 3). The characteristics of these groups, with regard to the structure of burial facilities, are as follows:

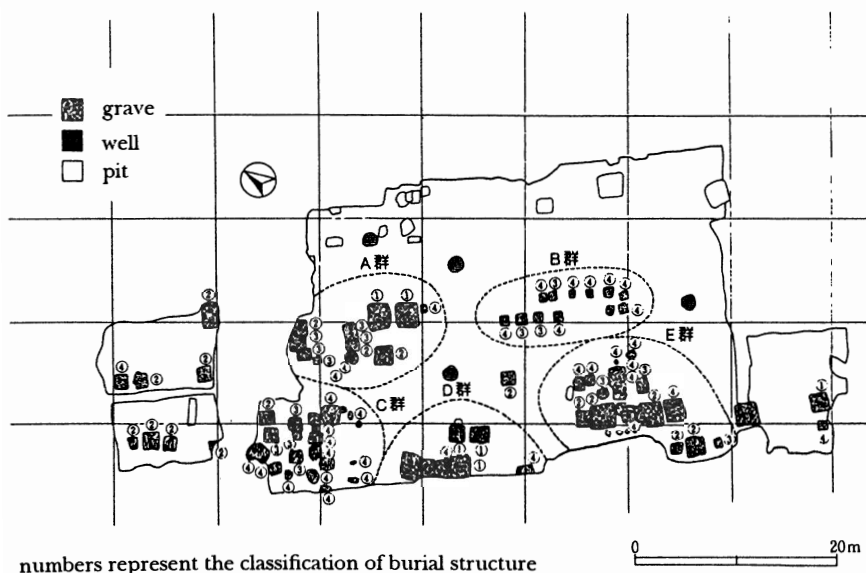


Fig. 3. The Distribution of Graves at the Jishō-in Site.

Group A:

Two stone chambers (1) are surrounded by wooden coffins or ceramic jars in wooden burial chambers with charcoal or lime plaster floors (2), as well as jars in wooden burial chambers (3), but very few simple jar burials or wooden coffins (4).

Group B:

Three ceramic jars in wooden chambers (3), with the rest all simple jar burials or wooden coffins (4). All the graves are small, and are aligned NW–SE in two rows.

Group C:

One ceramic jar in a wooden chamber, with a charcoal or lime plaster floor (2), surrounded by jars in wooden chambers (3), surrounded further by simple jar burials; there is only one grave with a wooden coffin (4).

Group D:

One stone chamber (1) with a relatively large grave containing a wooden coffin (4).

Group E:

A row of wooden coffins or ceramic jars in wooden chambers, with a floor of charcoal or lime plaster (2), surrounded by jar burials in wooden chambers (3) and simple graves with wooden coffins (4). Only one simple jar burial (4).

These five groups of burial facilities can be divided into three types: Group D, consisting of relatively large graves; Group B, consisting of rows of many small and simple graves; and Groups A, C, and E, consisting of a complex structure of a few large graves surrounded by smaller ones.

As I have pointed out above, the burial facilities of the Jishō-in site reveal a continuum, from those of small to large size. The larger the grave, the more complex the structure and the fewer the examples. Also, it is possible to speculate, from the continuity and variety of burial facilities, that the graves show the multileveled nature of the social status and class of those that were buried there (see TANIGAWA 1987). In short, as I will discuss in more detail below, the stone chambers (1) are similar to the graves of the daimyo, and the contrasting wooden coffin graves (4) are the same as the graves of farmers found in villages.

Also, the structure of the distribution of the graves is very complex: there is a group with large graves, a group with a simple structure and small graves, and three groups with a mixture of these structures. Even if these groups do not correspond exactly to the graves of a certain family, if we keep in mind the idea that there may be a relationship between the structure of the burial facility and the social status and class of the

buried person, we can surmise that this structure was carried on within the tradition of family graves.

Graves as Signs of Social Status and Class

The most effective way to examine the relationship between Edo graves and social status is to first investigate the graves of known individuals. I will thus take a look at other excavations to test this hypothesis.

THE TOMBS OF TOKUGAWA SHOGUNS AT ZŌJŌ-JI IN MINATO-KU

The tombs of the Tokugawa Shogun families are located at Zōjō-ji 増上寺 and Kan'ei-ji 寛永寺. The 1958–1960 excavation of the Tokugawa shogun tombs at Zōjō-ji has been of critical importance in clarifying the structure of the burial facilities of the shogunal tombs, which in turn served as models for the graves of *bushi* in the Edo period (see SUZUKI et al. 1967; SUZUKI 1985).

The tombs that were examined included those of Hidetada, the second shogun; Tsunashige, the son of the third shogun, Iemitsu; Ienobu, the sixth shogun; Ietsugu, the seventh shogun; Ieshige, the ninth shogun; Ieyoshi, the twelfth shogun; Iemochi, the fourteenth shogun; as well as those of their wives, concubines, and children.

According to Yajima Kyōsuke (SUZUKI et al. 1967, pp. 85–88), there was no set form for tombs of the Tokugawa family in the early Edo period. They followed general patterns and traditions, just like those of other families, and did not yet reflect the existence of any distinct burial customs. A distinct break was made, however, for the tomb of the fourth shogun, Ietsuna, who died in 1680. For the first time special gates and fences were constructed, along with a secure stone chamber on a raised platform, topped off with a copper Tahō-tō (多宝塔 *Prabhūta-ratna stūpa*). This henceforth became the established form, until the death of Ietsugu, the seventh shogun, in 1716, from which time a stone rather than bronze stūpa adorned the top of the tomb. From 1713 these mausoleums were called *otama-ya* 御霊屋, and after the building of the Ietsugu's tomb, such new mausoleums were no longer built for individual shoguns.

It can therefore be seen that turning points in the history of shogunal graves occurred in the last part of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth century.

Among the shogunal graves that have been excavated, it appears that the structure of the burial facilities had already taken on a fixed form by the time of the tomb of Ienobu, the sixth shogun, who was buried in 1712. Basically, the burial facility was made of a stone chamber with an inside measure of about 3 m. Inside was a stone sarcophagus, into which

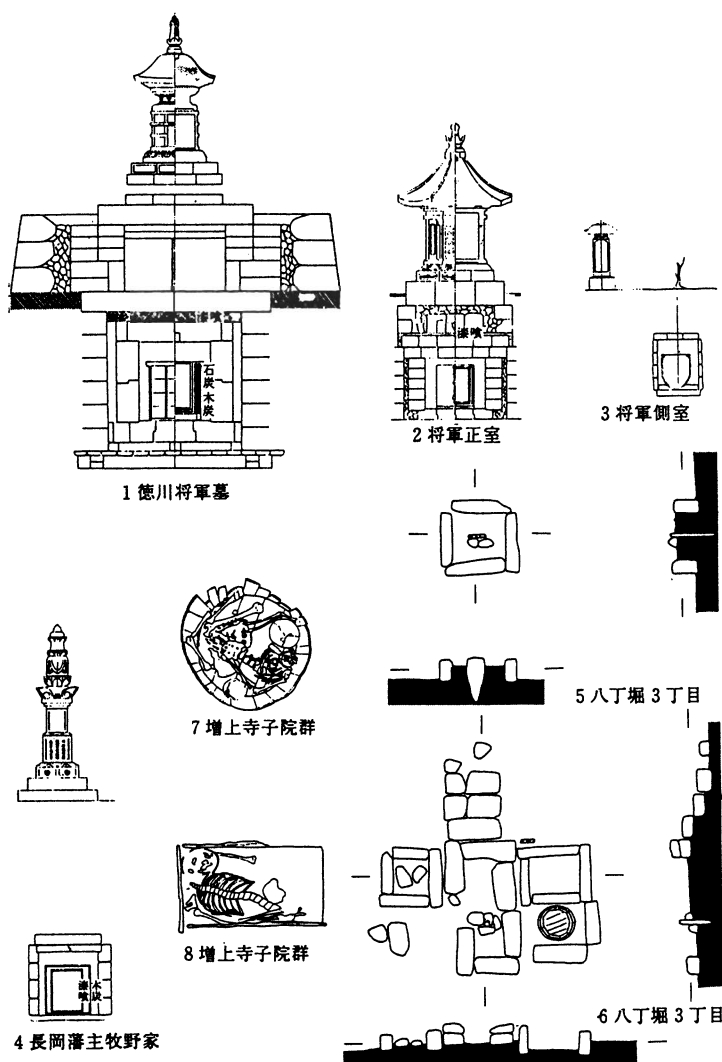


Fig. 4. Burial Facilities for Edo Graves.
(Scale: 1-4, 1/160; 5-6, 1/80; 7-8, 1/40)

was placed a wooden coffin containing a copper coffin. Charcoal, plaster, lime, and so forth were placed between each of these layers to plug up the spaces. A stone platform was built on the ground level to sustain the stūpa (see fig. 4, no. 1).

The tomb of the shogun's wife was similar to that of the shogun himself, but on a smaller scale and without the copper coffin. The stūpa was erected directly on an earthen platform above the tomb (see fig. 4, no.

2). The tomb of Sūgen-in (d. 1626), the wife of Hidetada (the second shogun), is very unusual in that, after her cremation, her bones were buried in a cypress (*hinoki*) wood coffin filled with charcoal, in a chest within the body of a *hōkyō'in* 宝篋印 (*dhātu-karaṇḍa*) stūpa.

MATSUMOTO Ken (1990, pp. 156–58) points out a number of differences between the graves of the wives and those of the concubines of the shoguns. One difference is that the graves of the wives have epitaphs on the back of the stone chamber of the tomb just like that of the shogun, while those of the concubines do not. The wives have their own chamber where their memorial tablet was kept, while concubines shared a common chamber for their memorial tablets. The tomb floors of the wives were covered with stone, but there were no stones for those of the concubines.

The burial facilities for the shoguns' children were the same as those for the wives, except that they were covered by a cone-topped square pillar instead of a stūpa/tower.

Also, the tombs of the shoguns' concubines who died young are relatively simple. Kenkō-in (d. 1843) and Shumyō-in (d. 1844), concubines of the twelfth shogun, Ieyoshi, died at the ages of 25 and 30, respectively. Their remains were placed in a jar and buried in a stone chamber made of hewn stones, and topped with a square pillar like that on the tombs of the shoguns' children (see fig. 4, no. 3).

TOMBS OF THE MAKINO FAMILY, LORDS OF THE NAGAOKA FIEF, AT SAIKAI-JI IN MINATO-KU

The Makino family, lords of the Echigo Nagaoka fief (the present Niigata Prefecture), was a hereditary Tokugawa daimyo family with an annual stipend of 74,000 *koku*. The Makino family tomb at Saikai-ji was excavated in 1982 prior to a planned reburial (SUZUKI et al. 1986). A total of seventeen graves, including that of lords (*hanshu*), wives, a lord's mother, and children by either a lord's wife or his concubines, were examined. This is a very rare example of an excavation in which the structure of daimyo graves within Edo has been accurately studied.

As far as could be determined through this excavation, the tombs of the lords took on a standard form from the time of the death of the fourth lord in 1735. The burial facilities became stone chambers made of hewn stone, within which was placed a double-layered wooden coffin with plaster poured between the layers of wood, and charcoal to fill the space between the wooden coffin and stone chamber. A *hōkyō'in* stūpa was built on a raised platform (fig. 4, no 4).

The structure of the tombs of the lords' wives and their children was the same as those of the lords. According to MATSUMOTO (1990, pp. 160–63), however, there are some points that differ, e.g., the stone chambers

of the wives' tombs were on a smaller scale than those of the lords, they did not have a "middle door" (*naka-tobira*), and they were placed at the edges of the tomb precincts. Another unusual practice was that the coffins of the children had a copper box between the two layers of their double-walled wooden coffins.

Among the graves, one of a lord's wife was a cinerary urn in a small stone chamber inside the lord's tomb, and one of a lord's mother had a grave with a rough stone chamber in which a cinerary urn was placed in a wooden coffin. Both of these appear to have been reburied. Other examples of reburial include collective burials of the lord with his wife, or his children.

There has been, practically speaking, no investigation of daimyo graves within the city limits of Edo other than this excavation of the Makino family graves. However, Matsumoto Ken points out that the burial facilities of Tokugawa branch families, such as the Matsudaira family (lords of the Musashi-Kawagoe fief) and the Makino family (a hereditary Tokugawa daimyo family), as well as those of the Aoyama family (lords of the Mino [Gujō] fief), contain double-layered wooden coffins in stone chambers. This is in contrast to the graves of non-Tokugawa daimyo, such as the Tozawa family (lords of the Dewa [Shinjō] fief), whose graves consist of stone chambers with jar burials (see KAWAGOE 1965, pp. 113-29). This distinction between wooden and ceramic burial containers is worth noting (see MATSUMOTO 1990, p. 164).

THE GRAVES OF THE KŌKE, HATAMOTO, AND HANSHI

Excavations of graves belonging to those of the *bushi* class other than the daimyo themselves are very limited. I will list some examples from the work of MATSUMOTO Ken (1990, pp. 164-66):

Kōke 高家 (noble families)

- Tomb of the Hatayama family (4,000 *koku*) at Kōgaku-in, Minato-ku (MINATO SHIRYŌKAN 1987)
 - twenty-second, Kunitomo; wooden burial chamber with jar burial; square pillar-type gravestone
 - twenty-fifth, Motonori; ceramic jar burial in double-layered wooden chamber; (epitaph on stone cover)
 - square pillar-type gravestone with conical top

Hatamoto 旗本 (bannermen)

- Tomb of the Kondō family (more than 8,490 *koku*) at Shōgyō-in, Bunkyo-ku (KAWAGOE 1965, pp. 41-60); jar burial in wooden chamber

- Tomb of the Mitsui family (1,200 *koku*) at Anren-sha of Zōjō-ji,
Minato-ku (MINATO SHIRYŌKAN 1989);
jar burial in wooden chamber with stone cover
square pillar with conical top as gravestone
- Tomb of the Inukai family (70 *hyō*, stipend of 3 x 27 liters of rice)
at Hōshō-in, Minato-ku (MINATO SHIRYŌKAN 1989);
jar burial
square pillar gravestone

Hanshi 藩士 (retainers)

- Tomb of Shimano Shōkaku Norizane, retainer of the Musashi
Kawagoe fief (200 *koku*; MINATO SHIRYŌKAN 1987);
jar burial (epitaph on stone cover)
- Tomb of Kondō Hosen, retainer of the Harima Tatsuno fief (50 *hyō*,
stipend of 2 x 27 liters of rice; MINATO SHIRYŌKAN 1989);
jar burial with stone cover
square pillar gravestone

BURIAL FACILITIES AND SOCIAL STATUS AND CLASS

Let us now compare these examples of graves whose owner is known, with the burial facilities found at the Jishō-in site in Shinjuku, keeping in mind the distinctions made by Matsumoto.

Shogun:

wooden coffin + bronze coffin + stone structure protecting the
coffin (*sekikaku*) + stone chamber

Shogun's wives, concubines, & children:

wooden coffin + stone structure + stone chamber

Hereditary Tokugawa daimyo, wives, & children:

wooden coffin + stone chamber (Jishō-in site type 1)

Shogun's concubines & non-Tokugawa daimyo:

ceramic burial jar + stone chamber (Jishō-in site type 1)

Kōke & *hatamoto*:

ceramic jar burial + wooden burial chamber (Jishō-in site types
2 & 3)

Hatamoto & *hanshi*:

ceramic jar burial (Jishō-in site type 4)

The classification of the burial facilities at the Jishō-in site is based on a survey of reburials that have been moved and interfered with, and thus must be interpreted carefully. However, I believe it is possible to conclude that the above relationships are valid. Therefore my hypothesis that the continuity and variety of burial facilities of Edo graves reflect the levels of social status and class of those buried therein, is for the most part accurate, though further data is necessary to fill in the details. The

variety of burial customs found in the city of Edo during the Tokugawa period clearly reveals a cross section of the people who lived there, and shows that a variety of social statuses and classes were recognized, from the shogun to the lowest.

Changes and Turning Points in Edo Burial Customs

An important topic for our consideration is where, in the 280-year history of the city of Edo from its beginnings in 1590, to place the turning points in the history of burial customs. In order to clarify this matter, let us first take a look at excavations of graves in the seventeenth century, the early part of the Edo period.

THE HATCHŌBORI SANCHŌME SITE

The Hatchōbori Sanchōme site in Chūō-ku, Tokyo, is thought to have at one time been a part of the graveyard of Rōsei-ji 朗惺寺, a Nichiren temple (see NOZAWA et al. 1988). The establishment of Rōsei-ji can be placed in the late sixteenth century by the fact that Nissei, a monk involved in building the original temple, died in 1598; surviving documents tell us that Rōsei-ji was transferred to a different site after the great fire of 1657. The Hatchōbori Sanchōme site is thus of great importance for understanding burial customs in the early Edo period. The site was excavated in 1986.

The burial facilities at the Hatchōbori Sanchōme site can be classified into the categories of stone clusters [*ishigumi*], “cheap” coffins (*hayaoke*), wooden coffins (*mokkan*), jar burials (*kamekan*), cinerary urns (*kasō zōkotsuki*), and burial pits (*dokō*) in which bones from cremations were buried. About 70% of the total consist of *hayaoke* coffins, followed by stone clusters 15%, cinerary urns 7%, and a few each of the other types. Only a few of the excavated bones were those of adults; most of the bones were those of children of 0–8 years old, with a large amount belonging to children less than 4 years old (see SAKURA 1988).

Some of the most interesting of these burial facilities are stone cluster graves made in the form of a Chinese chest (*karōto*) by arranging four rocks carved into brick-like shapes. Some of these stone graves are independent (fig. 4, no. 5), and some consist of many connected individual graves (fig. 4, no. 6). Most of them have cremated bones buried within the stone clusters, but some contain *hayaoke* (no. 6), and others held nothing at all. Some of the stone-cluster graves have stairways (no. 6), and stūpas were erected on some (no. 5).

There are no other such examples of stone-cluster graves within Edo, so it is very difficult to know how to interpret them. However, on the basis of the fact that the Hatchōbori Sanchōme site was a graveyard from

the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, it is possible that it reflects an extension of burial practices of the previous medieval period.

THE GROUP OF SUBSIDIARY TEMPLES OF ZŌJŌ-JI IN MINATO-KU

Excavations were conducted in 1984–1985 at Kōgaku-in 光学院, Teishō-in 貞松院, and Genkō-in 源興院, part of a group of subsidiary temples of Zōjō-ji in Minato-ku. Many graves were unearthed during these excavations (see SUZUKI Kimio et al., 1988). Of particular interest was the graveyard of Genkō-in, dating from the time of the establishment of this group of Zōjō-ji subtemples, that is, from the beginning of the seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century.

Burial facilities include *hayaoke*, wooden coffins, jar burials, cinerary urns, and direct burials of bodies without any coffin. *Hayaoke* account for about 80% of these graves (see fig. 4, no. 7), cinerary urns for 10%, and the other burial types for the remainder.

The excavation of the Zōjō-ji subsidiary temples indicated that the date of graves can be determined by *rokudō-sen* 六道銭, or coins buried with the body (SUZUKI Kimio 1988). However, it should be noted that, although these coins are found in wooden coffins of the first (1598–1636) and the second period (1636–1668), they then disappear from use. First, and second, period wooden coffins were rectangular in shape, with the body buried face up and in a crouched position (fig. 4, no. 8). A few such rectangular coffins unearthed at the Hatchōbori Sanchōme site were discussed above. The Hatchōbori examples are smaller than those found at the Zōjō-ji site, and the probability is high that these were coffins for children. Also, a few rectangular wooden coffins were unearthed at the Hitotsubashi High School site in Chiyoda-ku (see below). These burial facilities are all most likely from the seventeenth century, and seem to represent an extension of the graves and burial practices of the medieval period. They show little apparent connection with those of the eighteenth century, in which the corpses were seated in square coffins.

THE HITOTSUBASHI HIGH SCHOOL SITE IN CHIYODA-KU

In 1975 an excavation was conducted at the Hitotsubashi High School in Chiyoda-ku. This site is believed to have been the graveyard of Jōan-ji 常安寺 before the great fire of 1657, and of Hōzen-ji 法禅寺 and Gangyō-ji 願行寺 between 1657 and 1683 (see KATŌ 1985).

The largest proportion of graves were *hayaoke*, followed by cinerary urns, with a few wooden coffins and jar burials. These ratios are similar to those at the Zōjō-ji site, although the percentage of cinerary urns is

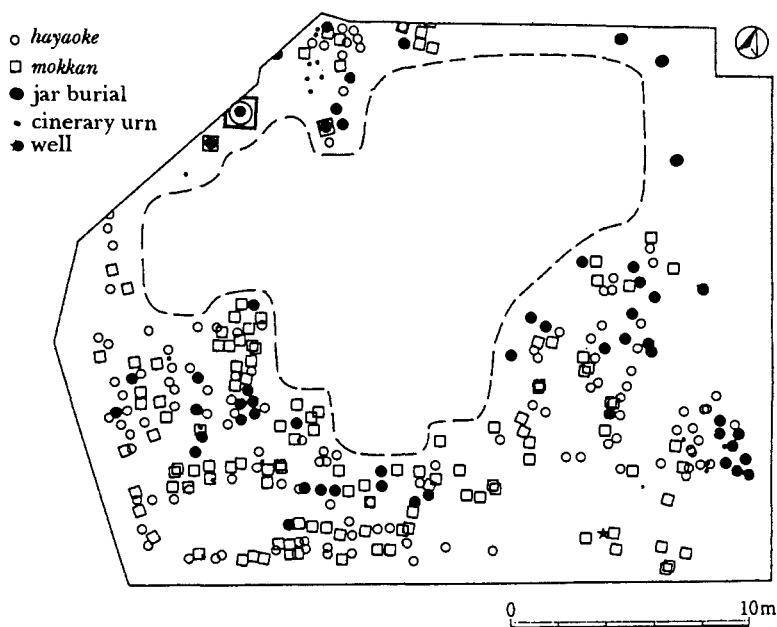


Fig. 5. Distribution of Features at the Hosshō-ji Site.

much higher at the Hitotsubashi site. The reason for this is not known, but Nozawa believes that the reason for the high percentage of cremation graves at the Hatchōbori and Hitotsubashi sites (in contrast to the single such grave at Jishō-in) is because that type of grave was an extension of medieval burial practices (NOZAWA et al. 1988, p. 116).

THE TURNING POINT IN EDO BURIAL CUSTOMS

As we have seen, the most common burial type in Edo during the seventeenth century was the *hayaoke*, with very few ceramic jar burials. During this time there was still a high percentage of cremation graves, and many graves with stone clusters or rectangular wooden coffins, a type that was most likely an extension of medieval practices.

In contrast, graves from the eighteenth century are mixed. Some sites, such as the Jishō-in site,² contain a large number of jar burials, and others such as the Hosshō-ji 発昌寺 site in Shinjuku (see fig. 5) consist mostly of *hayaoke* and rectangular wooden coffins (see TAKIGUCHI & ŌGIURA 1988). The difference between these two cases perhaps reflects the social

² Jishō-in was transferred to this site in 1640, but the ceramic jars and other content in the graves are dated to be from the eighteenth century and later.

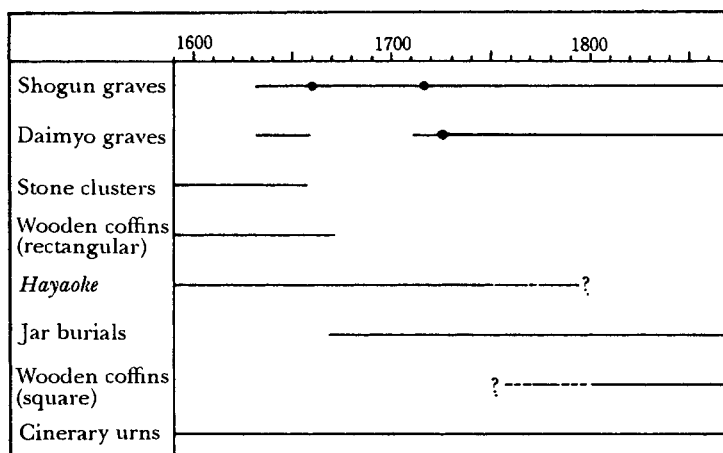


Fig. 6. Changes in Edo Burial Facilities.

status and class of those buried there, but in any case a comparison of graves from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveals a clear difference in burial facilities.

A closer look at this change in burial facilities shows that stone-cluster graves exist only at the Hatchōbori site, and do not appear after the time of the great fire of 1657. Rectangular wooden coffins appear in the Zōjō-ji site until the middle of the seventeenth century, as one can tell clearly from the collection of *rokudō-sen* coins. In addition, cinerary urns continue to be used until the end of the Edo period, but they occupied a higher proportion in the seventeenth century.

We can tell from collections of *rokudō-sen* coins that jar burials appear as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century. It is possible that square wooden "seated" coffins were used in the early eighteenth century. It is not clear how long *hayaoke* were used, but there is an example of a *hayaoke* cut in the form of a square wooden coffin at the Fugen-ji 普賢寺 site in Sumida-ku (GOTŌ 1987). Perhaps they were gradually replaced by the square wooden coffins.

Our understanding of the ebb and flow of such burial facilities may be modified by new information in the future, but fig. 6 is an attempt to chart such changes on the basis of information that is currently available. This chart clearly shows that a turning point occurred in Edo burial facilities from the end of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Let us now compare these results with the changes in the tombs of the Tokugawa shoguns discussed earlier. The oldest example of a Tokugawa shogun's tomb is that of the second shogun, Hidetada, who died in 1632. The structure of this burial facility consists of a *hayaoke* set on top of a

bier, inside a stone chamber. Later, we can identify a change at the time of the fourth shogun, Ietsuna (d. 1660), whose grave had special doors and fences, was topped off with a copper Tahō-tō, and consisted of a stone chamber inside a stone room in which was placed a wooden coffin enclosed in a protective bronze coffin. Then, at the time of Ietsugu (d. 1716), the seventh shogun, a stone rather than bronze stūpa/tower was used for the top of the tomb, and the mausoleums were called *otama-ya*. The tomb of Ietsugu was the last one built, and the practice of constructing a new tomb for each shogun was not continued after this time (see SUZUKI et al. 1967, pp. 85–88). In short, major changes in the Tokugawa shogun graves can be seen at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In the case of the graves of the daimyo, one example we have from within the precincts of Edo is the graveyard of the Makino family, lords of the Nagaoka fief, at Saikai-ji in Minato-ku. The structure of these burial facilities was fixed from the time of the fourth lord, who died in 1735. Earlier data is available from the excavation of the graves of the Date family, lords of the Mutsu Sendai fief (see ITÔ 1979 and 1985). In this excavation it was discovered that the graves of the first lord, Masamune (d. 1636), and the second lord, Tadamune (d. 1658), were stone chambers in which *hayaoke* were placed on biers. This was similar to the grave of the second shogun, Hidetada, i.e., a stone chamber within which there is a *hayaoke* set on top of a bier. It is also similar to the grave of Ikeda Tadao, the lord of the Bizen Okayama fief, who died in 1632 (see FUJII 1964).

The graves of the Date family changed from the time of the third lord, Tsunamune (d. 1711). The burial facilities in this case were a jar burial inside a protective wooden chamber, placed inside a stone chamber. Also, this was the last time an individual mausoleum was built—henceforth a stone grave marker was set up.

It may be risky to speculate on the basis of such sparse data, but it appears that shogun and daimyo graves underwent major changes at the end of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is particularly noteworthy that in the beginning of the seventeenth century both the shogun and daimyo graves consisted of stone chambers that contained coffins set on biers. SUZUKI Kimio (1987) argued that the types of gravestones of daimyo families were fixed relatively early, during the Kan'ei era (1624–1643), and MATSUMOTO (1990, p. 167) concludes that this was the period in which the burial customs of the warrior class, with the shogun at the apex, were established.

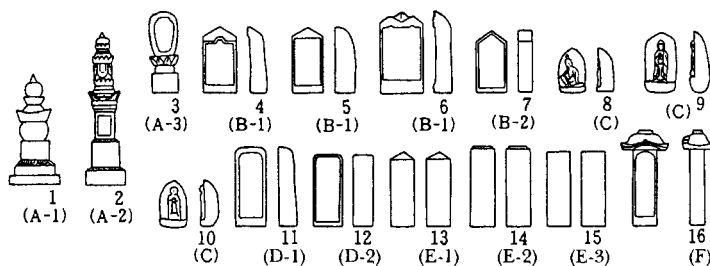
Later, toward the end of the seventeenth century, the structure of the burial facilities of the shoguns shifted to that of a copper coffin placed in a wooden coffin and buried in a stone room or chamber. Around the same time stone clusters and rectangular wooden coffins, thought to be

remnants of burial customs from the medieval period, began to disappear, and jar burials came into fashion. Finally, at the beginning of the eighteenth century the custom of building a mausoleum for each individual shogun and daimyo was discontinued, and a stone stūpa/tower or gravestone built instead. It was around this time, or perhaps as early as the end of the seventeenth century with the appearance of jar burials, that the forms of burial facilities seen at the Jishō-in site in Shinjuku – thought to reflect social class and status – were established. Thus it is possible to see reflected in these graves the contemporary social system of Edo.

Changes in Gravestones

The Edo period was the time when the use of stone grave markers or gravestones became a common practice. Figures 7 and 8 show the categories of and changes in gravestones in Edo and surrounding villages during this period. Although there is some variation, we can see a clear pattern of change (see TANIGAWA 1988b). In short, the dominant type shifts thus: category B-1 (a boat-shaped cross section with a triangular top; early 17th–early 18th c.)→category C (boat-shaped halo onto which is carved a Buddha-image; later 17th–18th c.)→category D (rounded edges; 18th–19th c.)→category E (square pillars; late 18th c.).

Although the data available to us on gravestones in Edo and the surrounding villages from this time period is sparse, comparison with data from other locales reveals similar phenomena and trends. For example, there was a general shift from single-faceted gravestones, such as those with a triangular top or boat-shaped halo, to multifaceted rectangular pillars (see fig. 9). Gravestones with rounded edges, which evolved later into square pillars, became the bearer of an increasing number of *kaimyō* 戒名 (posthumous Buddhist names), as in the examples found at Takatani and Yōrō in Ichihara-shi, Chiba (see TANIGAWA 1983). TAKEDA Chōshū (1966, 1968) interprets this as a reflection of an increasing consciousness



**Fig 7. Categories of Gravestones
in Edo and Surrounding Villages.**

among people to think primarily in terms of their own families (*ie*), while KAWANO Shinjirō (1978) sees it as indicative of the shift from memorial services for individuals to memorial services performed for the extended family as the central unit.

In other words, the changes during the mid-eighteenth century, which saw the general acceptance of gravestones with rounded edges (Type D), was an important turning point in the history of gravestones during the Edo period. The changes represent the heightening of a

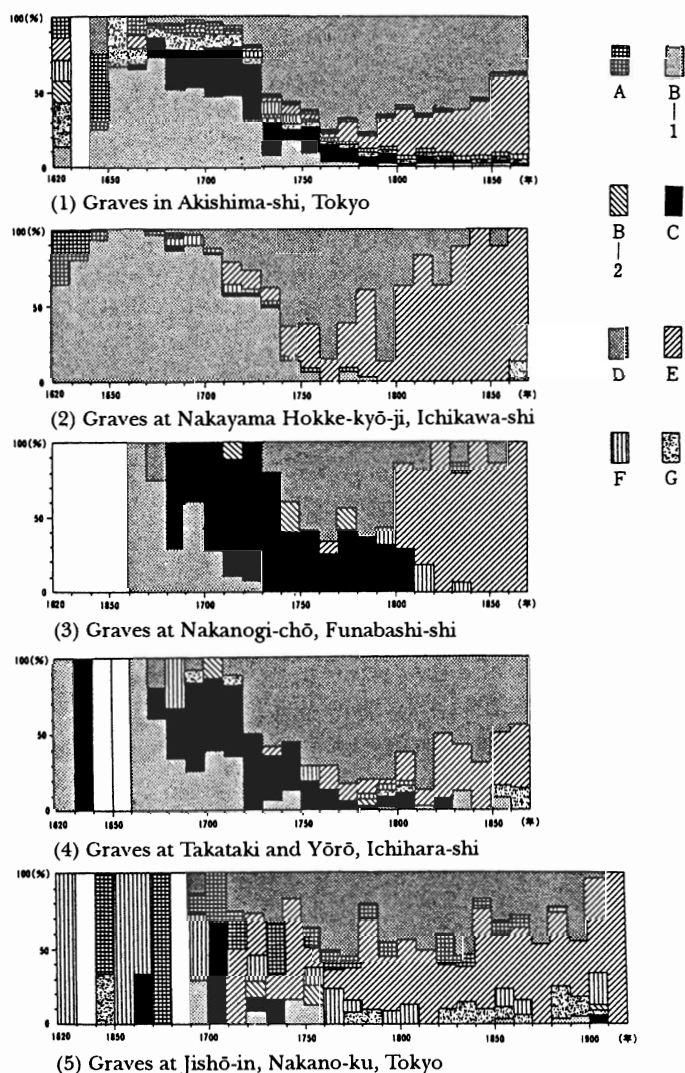


Fig. 8. Changes in Gravestones in Edo and Surrounding Villages.

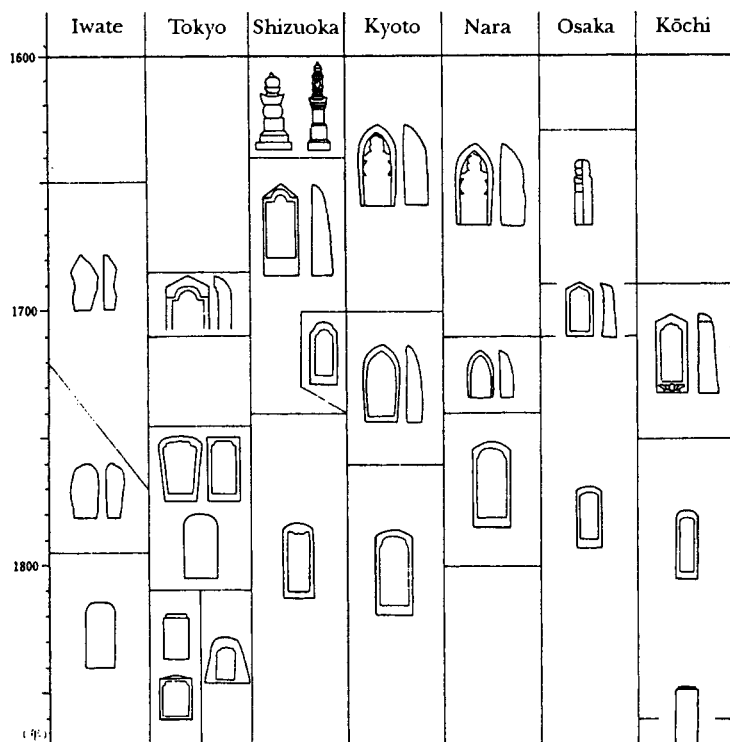


Fig. 9. Changes in Gravestones in Various Locales.

family-centered consciousness—a shift in thinking in which the modern extended family (*ie*) became the central unit in society, and for which memorial services for the dead became prevalent.

It is also possible to speculate on the person's social class or status on the basis of the gravestones. For example, if we compare the gravestones at Jishō-in with those in the villages surrounding Edo (see fig. 8), there are a larger number of five-leveled stūpas (*gorintō*; fig. 7, no. 1), *hōkyō-in* stūpas (fig. 7, no. 2), and square pillars topped with a cone (fig. 7, no. 16). This probably reflects the fact that the Jishō-in graveyard was for a warrior family (NOZAWA & OGAWA 1987).

Also indicative of social status in the Edo period were the *kaimyō*, the Buddhist death names. The names were clearly ranked, as ATOBE Naoji (1970) points out: *kaimyō* that included the terms *ingō* 院号, *koji* 居士, and *daishi* 大姉 were given to people of high status, those using *shinji* 信士 and *shinnyo* 信女 to those of more moderate rank, and *zenjō-mon* 禪定門 and *zenjō-ni* 禪定尼 to those of still lower status. These conclusions match those of KOBAYASHI Daini, which are based on results from a survey of the use of *kaimyō* in a village in Nagano (1987).

<i>kaimyō</i> dates	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	total
1601-1610										
1611-1620										
1621-1630										
1631-1640										
1641-1650			2						1	3
1651-1660										
1661-1670					1					1
1671-1680										
1681-1690	1			2						3
1691-1700			1	1				1		3
1701-1710				3	1	1			2	7
1711-1720				3	3	1	1			8
1721-1730				1	1					2
1731-1740			1	2				1		4
1741-1750	1	1		10			1	1	1	15
1751-1760	1	1	2	7			2			13
1761-1770	1	3	1	6			1			12
1771-1780		3	2	8			1	1	2	17
1781-1790	1	7		10			1	1	1	21
1791-1800		3	5	8			4	1		21
1801-1810	2	7		6			3	2		20
1811-1820		3	3	17			2		2	27
1821-1830		3		6			2	1	3	15
1831-1840	1			7						8
1841-1850	1			7						8
1851-1860		2	2	1			1	1		7
1861-1870	5	1		4			1	1		12
total	14	34	19	109	6	2	20	11	12	227

Table 1. Changes in *Kaimyō* on Gravestones in Takataki, Chiba.
 legend: a=*ingō koji/daishi*, b=*ingō shinji/shinnyo*, c=*ingō*,
 d=*shinshi/shinmyo*, e=*zenjō-mon/zenjō-ni*, f=*zenmon/zenni*, g=*dōji/dōjo*,
 h=*others*, i=*no rank*

<i>kaimyō</i> dates	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	total
1601-1610												
1611-1620												
1621-1630					1							1
1631-1640						1						1
1641-1650												
1651-1660												
1661-1670				1		1	1					3
1671-1680						2	4				1	7
1681-1690				1			1			1		3
1691-1700				1		2	5				1	9
1701-1710				1		5	4		3			13
1711-1720	3	1			1	8	4		1		2	20
1721-1730	1					7			1		1	10
1731-1740	1	1		1	1	10	1		1		1	17
1741-1750		2			2	9			5			18
1751-1760	3	2	1	2	2	11		1	4			26
1761-1770	1	3			1	11	1	1				18
1771-1780	2	2		1	2	10			1			18
1781-1790	1	3			2	13	1		1	1	1	23
1791-1800	1	2				15	1		6			25
1801-1810	1	3				23			5			32
1811-1820		4			3	14	1		3	1		26
1821-1830		2				10					1	13
1831-1840	1	1				7	1		3			13
1841-1850					3	12						15
1851-1860	1				4	7	1		6			19
1861-1870	1				5	2						8
total	17	26	1	8	27	180	26	2	40	3	8	338

Table 2. Changes in *Kaimyō* on Gravestones in Yōrō, Chiba.
legend: a=*ingō koji/daishi*, b=*ingō shinshi/shinnyo*, c=*ingō dōji/dōjo*,
d=*ingō*, e=*koji/daishi*, f=*shinshi/shinnyo*, g=*zenjō-mon/zenjō-ni*,
h=*zenmon/zenni*, i=*dōji/dōjo*, j=*others*, k=*no rank*

A look at the *kaimyō* carved on the gravestones in Takataki and Yōrō (see tables 1 and 2) shows that the early eighteenth century (particularly around 1716–1735) marked the time when the *kaimyō* started to be used as an indicator of social position. It was around this time that the status or ranking of *kaimyō*, such as *ingō koji/daishi*, *ingō shinshi/shinnyo*, *ingō, koji/daishi*, *shinshi/shinnyo*, *zenjō-mon/zenjō-ni*, *zenmon* 禪門 /*zenni* 禪尼, and so forth, was established. *Kaimyō* for children, such as *dōji* 童子 and *dōjo* 童女, also began to be used at this time. The increasing use of *kaimyō* for children reflects a heightened interest in children as heirs to carry on the family name. In other words, a heightened consciousness concerning the extended family (*ie*) as the primary social unit led to the acceptance and use of the system of *kaimyō* rankings. Memorial services for the dead as part of the extended family unit also were closely connected to this family consciousness.

Moreover, the status of the *kaimyō* matches well with the status of the gravestone types from surrounding villages: almost all of the gravestones made of stone pillars with a conical top in the Takataki/Yōrō district contain high-ranking *kaimyō* such as *ingō*, *koji*, or *daishi*. Gravestones that are taller than 90 cm tend to have the highest-ranking *kaimyō* such as *ingō koji/daishi* and *ingō shinji/shinnyo* (see TANIGAWA 1989). These facts reveal that the form and scale of gravestones were signs of social class and status in the Edo period. In 1831 an injunction was proclaimed by the Tokugawa government banning farmers and townspeople from using the *kaimyō ingō* and *koji*, or building gravestones taller than 120 cm. Whether or not this prohibition was strictly enforced, it indicates that such things were taken as reflecting social class and status.

It is not coincidental that the increase in *kaimyō* corresponds to the time when rounded-edge gravestones (fig. 7, Type D) began to be used widely, and it can be presumed that the transformations in ways of thinking outlined above were behind these changes.

Conclusion: The City of Edo as Seen in Its Graves

The question of how burial customs were related to Edo society during the Tokugawa period is an important topic for research. In fact, one of the aims in researching Edo burial customs is the light they can throw on Edo society.

As mentioned above, the variety of burial facilities in Edo clearly reveals a cross section of a multilayered urban society—it reflects how various people lived together and were differentiated into a hierarchy of social status and class, from the Tokugawa shogun family on top to the “outcasts” at the bottom. And it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century, or perhaps as early as the end of the seventeenth century, that

the forms of graves were fixed into the patterns that reflect the social status and class of their occupants.

As can be seen in the changes in gravestones and use of *kaimyō*, there was at this time a heightened consciousness of the extended family as the central social unit, and it was this conception that led to the acceptance of various forms of burial customs determined by social status. The general acceptance of memorial services for the dead as part of the responsibility of the extended family is also closely related to this kind of family-oriented consciousness. The turning point in gravestones and *kaimyō* that we see at the beginning of the eighteenth century matches the shift in burial facilities among Edo graves that reflect an "ordered," vertical class society. This period was therefore not only a time of great change in Edo society, it can also be said to be the major turning point in the formation of modern Japanese society.

Further data may be necessary to adequately prove the above hypothesis, and there are still a number of problems that must be solved. For example, we can recognize a heightened consciousness of the extended family as the central social unit among the warrior and farmer classes, but it is not clear whether this could also be said of the merchant population (*chōnin*) that lived in Edo. At present we know almost nothing of the burial customs of this group.

The location of temples in Edo is another topic that cannot be avoided, because Edo graves were in temple graveyards. Originally, temples in Edo were highly valued as places of respite and amusement in the midst of urban space, and were not thought of as places for graves and the burial of the dead.

TAKEDA Chōshū (1971) has pointed out that of all the Jōdo sect temples that have existed throughout Japan in the modern period, most were founded in the 150 years between the end of the Sengoku period and the beginning of the modern period (1501–1643), with the greatest concentration founded in the latter half of this period (1573–1643). Since the beginnings of Edo as a modern city date from its expansion by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1590, there is an interesting overlap between the early growth of Edo and the origins of most modern temples, adding another dimension to the question of the relationship between graves and temples in the early Edo period.

Also, as I have pointed out above (see also SUZUKI Masao 1959 and TAMAI 1986), as the city of Edo grew and expanded, the temples were gradually pushed out to the periphery. Many excavations have shown that graves were not necessarily transferred to the new location for reburial. The temple as the site of burials meant that it was a place associated with the pollution that accompanied death—yet when the city expanded and the graveyards were rebuilt into residential areas, the contents of the graves were left behind and the existence of the grave-

yard was "papered over." A break was made with the past as the city expanded.

In order to further clarify the burial customs of the people of Edo, it will be necessary to research the objects, such as grave goods and clothing, buried in a coffin along with the body. Interpretation of the relationships between graves, temples, and the city is the most important direction to be taken in our ongoing study of Edo burials.

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