The Religion of the Home.
Three stages of ancestor worship are to be distinguished in the general course of religious and social evolution; and each of these finds illustration in the history of Japanese society.

The first stage is that which exists before the establishment of a settled civilization, when there is yet no national ruler, and when the unit of society is the great patriarchal family, with its elders or waro chiefs for lords. Under these condi-
-tions, the spirits of the family ancestors only are worshipped;
Each family propitiating its own dead, and recognizing in other forms of worship. To the particular families, later on, become grouped in the tribal clans, there grows up the custom of tribal sacrifice to the spirits of the clan-rulers;—this cult, being superadded to the family cult, and marking the second stage of ancestor worship. Finally, with the union of all the clans or tribes under one supreme head, there is developed the custom of propitiating the spirits of national rulers. This third form of the cult becomes the obligatory religion of the country; but it does not...
replace either of the preceding calls:
The three continue to exist together.

Though, in the present
state of our knowledge, the
evidence in Japan of these
different stages of ancestor worship
is but faintly traceable, we
can divine tolerably well, from
various records, how the per-
mance forms of the cult
were first developed out of
the earlier funeral rites.
Between the ancient Japanese
funeral customs and those
of antique Europe, there was
a vast difference,—a difference indi-
cated, as regards Japan, a far
more primitive social condition.
In Greece and in Italy, it was
a very custom to bury the
family dead within the limits
of the family estate; and
the Greeks and Roman laws
of property grew out of this
practice. Sometimes the dead
were buried close to the house.
The author of *La Cité Antique*
cities, among other ancient
texts bearing upon the subject,
an interesting invocation from
the tragedy of *Helen* by
Europides:—"All hail! my
father's tomb! I buried thee, Proteus, at the place where men pass out, that I might often greet thee; and so, even as I go out and in, I say, son Theoclymenus, call upon thee, father!... But in ancient Japan, men fled from the neighborhood of death. In some long the custom was abandoned, either temporarily or permanently, the house in which a death occurred; and we can scarcely suppose that, at any time, it became customary to bury the dead in proximity to the habitation of the surviving members of the household. Some Japanese authorities declare that in the very earliest times there was no
burial, and that corpses were merely conveyed to desolate places, and were abandoned to wild creatures. By this or it may, we have documentary evidence, of an unmistakable sort, concerning the early funereal rites as they existed when the custom of burying had become established, — rites which are strange, and having nothing in common with the practices of settled civilization. There is reason to believe that the family dwelling was at first permanently, not temporarily, abandoned to the dead; or in view of the fact that
The dwelling was a wooden hut of very simple structure, there is nothing improbable in the supposition. At all events, the corpse was left for a certain period, called the period of mourning, either in the abandoned house where the accident occurred, or in a shelter specially built for the purpose; and during the mourning period, offerings of food and drink were set before the dead, and ceremonies performed without the house. One of these ceremonies consisted in the recital of poems in praise of the dead, which poems were called shi no biyō. There was music also of flutes and drums, and dancing; and
at night a fire was kept burning before the house. After all this had been done for the fixed period of mourning — 700 days, according to some authorities, four years according to others — the corpse was interred. It is probable that the deceased house may therefore have become an ancestral temple, or ghost-house, — possibly of the clan to miga.

At an early time — though when we do not know, it certainly became the custom to erect a moya, or "mourning-house," in the rear of a death; and the rites were performed at the mourning-house prior to the interment. The manner of burial was
very simple: there were yet no
woods in the literal meaning of
the term, and no tombs or mounds.
Only a mound was thrown up
over the grave; and the size
of the mound varied according
to the rank of the dead.

The custom of deserting
the house in which a death took
place would accord with the
theory of a nomadic ancestry,
for the Japanese people: it
was a practice totally incom-
patible with a settled civiliz-
ation like that of the early
Greeks and Romans, whose
customs in regard to burial
presuppose small landholdings
in permanent occupation.
there may have been, even in early times, some exceptions to general custom, at least among certain classes of the Japanese population. It is a curious fact that in some parts of Izumo, the district supposed to have been first occupied by the Japanese, and the most Buddhist province in the Empire, it is an old custom for farmers to bury their dead upon their own farms.

\[\text{H}i\text{H}i\]

At regular intervals after burial, ceremonies were performed at the graves; a feast and drink were then
served to the spirits. When the spirits, which had been introduced from China, as a blue domestic cult estab-
lished, the practice of making offerings at the place of burial was not discontinued. To sur-

divines at the present time, both in the Chinese and the Bud-

hist rites, and every spring an Imperial messenger presents offerings at the tomb of the Emperor.

These same offerings of birds, fish, and seaweed, rice and rice-wine, which were made to the spirit of

the founder of the Empire twenty-five hundred years ago.
But before the period of Chinese influence the family would seem to have worshipped its dead only before the mortuary house, or at the grave; and the spirits were yet supposed to dwell especially in their tombs, with access to some mysterious subterranean world. They were supposed to need other things besides nourishment; and it was cus-
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domary to place in the grave various articles for their use, — a sword, for example, in the case of a warrior; a mirror in the case of a woman; — together with certain objects especially prized during life, such as objects of precious metal, and polished stones.
or gems. At this stage of ancestor worship, when the spirits are supposed to require
shadows, service of a sort corresponding to that exacted during their lifetime in the
body, we should expect a heart of human sacrifices as well as of animal sacrifices.

At the funerals of great persons such sacrifices were common. Ours is a belief of
which all knowledge has been lost; these sacrifices assumed a character much more cruel
than that of the immolations of the Greek Homeric epoch.
The human victims were buried up to the neck in a circle about the grave, and then led to perish under the beaks of birds and the teeth of wild beasts. The term applied to this form of immolation, hitogaki, or "human hedge," implied a considerable number of victims in each case. This custom was abolished by the Emperor Injin, about nine hundred and eighty years ago, as an ancient custom being grievous to the cryings of the victims in tears at the funeral mound erected over...
He grave of his brother, Yamato-

hiko-no-mikoto, the Emperor is recorded I have said:—"It is a very painful thing I fear those whom one has loved in life & follow one in death.

Though it be an ancient cus-
tom, why follow it, if it is
bad? From this time for-
ward, take counsel & put
a stop to the following of the
dead." Nomi-no-Sukuné,
a court-noble—now apothe-
sized as the patron of women—
then suggested the substitution
of earthen vessels of clay and
horses for the living victims;
and his suggestion was approved.
The hitogaki was then abolished; but compulsory as well as voluntary following of the dead continued for many hundreds of years after, since we find the Emperor Kōtoku issuing an edict on the subject in the year 646 A.D.:—

"When a man dies, there have been cases of people sacrificing themselves by strangulation, or of strangling others by way of sacrifice, or of compelling the dead man's honor to be sacrificed, or of burying valuable in the grave in honor of the dead, or of cutting off the hair and stabbing the height and [in that condition] pronouncing a eulogy on the dead. Let all such old customs be entirely discontinued."

[Signature] Dohō
As regards compulsory sacrifice and popular custom, this order may have had the immediate effect desired; but voluntary human sacrifices were not definitively suppressed. With the rise of the military power there gradually came into existence another custom of junshi, or following one's lord in death, — suicide by the sword. It is said to have begun about 1333, when the lord of the Hōjō regents, Takaizumi, performed suicide, and a number of his retainers took their own lives by hara-kiri, in order to follow their master.
It may be doubted whether this incident really established the practice. But by the sixteenth century, *jūshi* had certainly become an honoured custom among the samurais. Loyal retainers would see it as their duty to kill themselves after the death of their lords, in order to attend upon them during their funeral ceremonies.

A thousand years of Buddhist teaching had not, therefore, sufficed to eradicate the primitive notion of the ancestral cult. The practice continued into the time of the Tokugawa shōguns, when Septagau made laws to check it. These laws were rigidly applied, the suicide
being held responsible for a case of
junshi; yet the custom cannot
be said to have become obsolete
until considerably after the
beginning of the era of Meiji.
Even during my own time there
have been survivals, — some of
a very touching kind: suicides
performed in hope of being
able to serve or aid the
spirit of mother, husband
or parent in the invisible
world. Perhaps the strangest
case was that of a boy
fourteen years old, who
killed himself in order to
wait upon the spirit of
child, his master’s little
son.
The peculiar character of the early human sacrifices at graves, the character of the funeral rites, the abandonment of the house in which death had occurred, all prove that the early ancestor-worship was of a decided primitive kind. This is suggested also by the peculiar Chin To horror of death as pollution: even at this day, if a funeral be conducted after the Chin To ride, religious defilement. The ancient legend
of Izanagi's descent to the mother world, in search of his lost spouse, illustrates the terrible beliefs that once existed as so-called powers presiding over decay. Between the horror of death and completion, and the apotheosis of the ghost, there is nothing incongruous: we must understand the apotheosis itself as a propitiation. This earliest Way of the Gods was a religion of perpetual fear. Not ordinary homes only were described after a death: even the Emperor, during many centuries, were
...and to change their capital after the death of a predecessor. But, gradually, out of the primal funeral rites, a higher cult was evolved. The morning shrine, or moya, became transformed into the Chin Lo Temple, which still retains the shape of the primitive hut. Then under Chinese influence the ancestor cult became established in the home; and Buddhism at a later day maintained this domestic cult. By degrees the household religion became a religion of tenderness.
as well as of duty, and changed
and softened the thought of
men about their dead. As
ear as the eighth century,
ancestor-worship appears to
have developed the three
principal forms under which
it still exists; and there-
after the family-cult began
to assume a character which
offers many resemblances to
the domestic religion of the
old European civilisations.
Let us now glance at the existing forms of this domestic cult, — the universal religion of Japan. In every home there is a shrine devoted to it. If the family professes the Shinto beliefs, this shrine, or mitamaya* (“august-spirit’s dwelling”), — any model of a Shinto temple, — is placed upon a shelf fixed against the wall of some inner chamber, at a height of about six feet from the floor. Such a shelf is called mitama-san-tana, or “Shelf of the

* It is more popularly termed miya, “aunt’s house,” a name given also to ordinary Shinto Temple.
August Spiritos." In the shrine are placed plain tablets of white wood, inscribed with the names of the household dead. Such tablets are called by a name signifying "Spirit-substitutes" (mitama-shiro), or by a probably older name signifying "Spirit-sticks". If the family worship is ancestral according to the Buddhist ritual, the ordinary tablets are placed in the Buddhist household-shrine, or Butsudan, which usually occupies the upper shelves of an alcove in one of the inner apartments.
Buddhist mortuary tablets (with some exceptions) are called ihai, — a term signifying "soul: commemoration". They are lacquered and gilded, usually having a carved lotus-flower as pedestal; and they do not, as a rule, bear the real, but only the religious and posthumous, name of the dead.

Now it is important to observe that, in either case, the mortuary tablet actually represents a miniature tombstone — which is a fact of some evolutionary interest, though the evolution itself should be Chinese rather than Japanese. The plain
grave-stones at Chinese cemeteries resemble in form the simple wooden ghost-sticks, or spirit-sticks; while the Buddhist monument, in the old-fashioned Buddhist graveyards are shaped like the idol, of which the form is slightly varied to indicate sex and age, which is also the case with the tomb-stone.

The number of mortuary tablets in a household shrine does not generally exceed five or six, one grandparent and parents and the recently dead being thus represented; but the names of remoter ancestors are inscribed upon...
scrolls, which are kept in the
Bukōden or the mitamaya.

Whatever be the family
rite, prayers are repeated and
offerings are placed before the
ancestors' tablets every day.
The nature of the offerings
and the character of the
prayers depend upon the
religion of the household;
but the essential duties
of the cult are everywhere
the same. These duties are
not to be neglected under any
circumstances: their perfor-
mance in these times is usually
entrusted to the elders, or to
the women of the household.
Not however upon any public occasion,
such as a gathering of relatives at the
home for a religious anniversary: at such
lines, the rites are performed by the head
of the household.

Opening of the ancient ancestral rites prev-
sents in every Japanese household, and other observ-
s in China's home) of making offerings to the deities
of the cooking range and of food, Dr. Ernest
Salts observes: "The rites to honor of these
gods were at first performed by the head of
the household; but in after times, the duty
same to be delegated to the women of the
family" (Ancient Japanese Rites). We may
interlude in regard to the ancestral rites
herein, the same transfer of duties occurred
at an early time, for obvious reasons of
convenience. When the duty devolves upon
the older of the family — grandfather or
grandmother — it is usually the grandmother
who attends to the offerings. In the next
and Roman households the performance of
the domestic rites appears to have been
obligatory upon the head of the household;
but we know that the women took part in
them.
There is no long ceremony, no imperatively
rule about prayers, nothing solemn: the food-offerings are selected out of the family cooking; the murmurs or whispered advocacies are short and few. But dining as the rites may seem, their performance must never be overlooked. Not to make the offerings is a possibility undreamed of; so long as the family exists they must be made.

To describe the details of the domestic rites would require much space, — not because they are complex, — not because they are enigmatic in themselves, but because they are of a sort unfamiliar to Western experience, and vary according to the sect of the family. But to consider the details, will not be necessary.
To consider the religion and its beliefs in relation to conduct and character. It should be recognized that no religion is more sincere, no faith more touching than this domestic worship, which regards the dead as continuing to form a part of the household life, and needing still the affection and the respect of their children and kindred. Originally in those dim ages when fear was stronger than love, when the wish to please the ghosts of the departed must have been chiefly inspired by dread of their anger,—the cult at last developed into a religion of affection; and into it yet
The belief that the dead need affection, that to neglect them is a cruelty, that their happiness depends upon this, is a belief that has almost cast out the primitive fear of their displeasure. They are not thought of as dead; they are believed to remain among those who loved them. Unseen they guard the home, and watch over the welfare of its inmates; they hover nightly in the glow of the shrine—tamp; or the
Stirring of its flame is the motion of them. They dwell mostly within their lettered tablets;—
sometimes they can animate a tablet,—change it into the substance of a human body,
and return in that body to active life, in order to succeed
and console. From their shrine they observe and hear;
what happens in the house; they share the family joys and
sorrows; they delight in the voices and the warmth of the life about them.
They want affection; but the morning and the evening
greetings of the family are enough to make them happy.
They require nourishment; but the vapour of food contains them. They are exacting only as regards the daily fulfillment of duty. They were the givers of life, the givers of wealth, the makers and teachers of the present; they represent the past of the race, and all its sacrifices; whatever the living possess is from them. Yet how little do they require in return! Scarce more dear to be thanked, as the founders and guardians of the home, in simple words like these:—"For aid received, by day and by night, accept, Augustus! Ones, our reverential gratitude." To forget or
neglect them, or deal with them with rude indifference, is the proof of an evil heart; — to cause them shame by ill-conduct, to disgrace their name by bad actions, is the supreme crime. They represent the moral experience of the race: whoever denies that experience, denies them also, and falls to the level of the beast, or below it. They represent the unspoken law, the traditions of the community, the duties of all to all: whoever offends against these, sins against the dead. And, finally, they represent the majesty of the invisible. I claim to believe, at least, they are gods.
It is to be remembered, of course, that the Japanese word for gods, kami, does not simply, any more
than did the old Latin term, divus, ideas like those which have become associated with the modern notion of divinity. The Japanese term uniquely be more closely rendered by some such expression as "the Superior", "the Higher Ones"; and it was formerly as abstract as living rulers, as well as deities and ghosts. But it implies considerably more than the idea of a disembodied spirit; for, according to old
Chinese teaching, the dead became world-rulers. They were the
cause of all natural events, — of winds, rains, and tides, — of heatings and coolings, — of growth and decay, — of every thing desirable or dreadful. They formed a trunk of another element, — an element that neither, — universally extending and increasing.

Their powers, when united for any purpose, were irresistible; and in time of national peril they were invoked en masse for aid against the foe ... Thus, in the eyes of faith, behind each family shract these extended the measureless shadowy power of countless kami; and the sense of duty to the...
ancestor was reinforced by dire awe of the forces controlling the world, — the whole invisible vast. To primitive Shinto conception the universe was filled with ghosts ; — 3 later Shinto conception the ghostly condition was not limited by place or time, even in the case of inanimate spirits. "Although," wrote Hirata, "the home of the spirits is in the Spirit-house, the spirits are equally present wherever they are worshipped, — being gods, and therefore ubiquitous.

The Buddhist dead are not called gods, but deities (Hotoké), — which term, of course, expresses a piety..."
hope, rather than a faith. The beliefs
is that they are as on their way
some higher scale of existence;
and they should not be invoked
or worshipped after the manner
of the Shinto gods: prayers
should be said for them, not
as a rule, to them. But
the vast majority of Japanese
Buddhists are also followers of
Shinto; and the two faiths,
though seemingly incongruous,
have long been reconciled in
the popular mind. The Bud-
hist doctrine has therefore modi-
fied the ideas attaching to the
cult much more deeply than might
be supposed.

* Certain Buddhist ritualists prove exceptions to this
Teaching.
In all patriarchal societies with settled civilization, there is evolved, out of the worship of ancestors, a Religion of Filial Piety. Filial piety still remains the supreme virtue among civilized peoples possessing an ancestor-cult... By filial piety must not be understood, however, what is commonly signified by the English term, — the devotion of children to parents. We must understand the word "piety" rather in its classic meaning, as the pietas of the early Romans,
that is to say, as the religious sense of household duties. Reverence for the dead, as well as the sentiment of duty towards the living; the affection of children to parents, and the affection of parents to children; the mutual duties of husband and wife; the duties likewise of sons-in-law to daughters-in-law, of the family as a body; the duties of servant to master, and of master to dependent, — all these were included under the term. The family itself was a religion; the ancestral home a temple.

And so we find the family and the home to be in Japan,
Even at the present day, filial piety in Japan does not mean only the duty of children to parents and grandparents; it means still more the cult of the ancestors, reverence at service to the dead, the gratitude of the present to the past, and the conduct of the individual in relation to the entire household. Hirata

therefore declared that all virtuous derived from the worship of ancestors; and his words, as translated by Sir Ernest Cairns, deserve particular atten

-ten-ten: -
"It is the duty of a subject to be diligent in worshipping his ancestors, whose remembrance he should consider himself to be. The custom of adoption arose from the natural desire of having someone to perform sacrifices and this desire ought not to be rendered of no avail by neglect. Nor is the memory of ancestors is the manifestation of all virtues. No one who discharges his duty to them will ever be disrespectful to the gods or to his living parents. Such a man also will be faithful to his prince, loyal to his friends,
and think as gentle to his wife and children. For the essence of this devotion is indeed filial piety.

From the sociologist’s point of view, religion is rejected: it is unreason.

In this view, the whole system of Far Eastern ethics derives from the religion of the household. But that can only have been evolved out of ideas of duty to the living as well as to the dead — the sentiment of affection, the sentiment of loyalty, the spirit of self-sacrifice, and the spirit of patriotism. What filial piety signifies as a religion forces can best be visualized from the fact that you can buy life in the East — that it has its price in the market. This religion
is the religion of China, and of countries adjacent; one life is for sale in China. It was the filial piety of China that rendered possible the completion of the Panama railroad, where it strike the soil was a libelate death,—where the land devoured laborers by the thousands, until white and black labor could no more be procured in numbers sufficient for the work. But labor could be obtained from China—at any amount of labor—at the cost of life; and multitude of men came from the East to toil and die, in order that the price of their lives might
be sent to their families. ... I have no doubt that, were the sacrifice imperatively demanded, life could be as readily bought in Japan, though not, perhaps, so cheaply because of the difference in economic conditions. Where this religion prevails, the individual is ready to give his life, in a majority of cases, for the family, the home, the ancestors. And the political pitch impelling such sacrifice becomes, by extension, the loyalty that will sacrifice even the family itself for the sake of the lord— or, by yet further extension, the loyalty that prays, like Kusunoki Masashige, for seven successive
lives to lay down on behalf of the
sovereign. Out of flint pick
indeed has been developed the
whole moral power that protects
the state - the power also that
has seldom failed to impose
the rightful restraint upon
official despotism whenever
that despotism grew dangerous
in the common weak.

Probably the flint
pick that centred about the
domestic altar of the ancient
ancestor differed in little from
that which yet rules the
most eastern east. But we
miss in Japan the Aryan
hearth, the family altar with
its perpetual fire. To Japanese
honor, religion, represent, apparently, a
much earlier stage of the code
than that which exists within
historic time among the Greeks
and Romans. The home that
in Japan never became a stable
institution like the Greek or
the Roman home; the custom
of burying the family dead
upon the family estate never
became general; the dwelling
itself never assumed a sub-
stantial and lasting character.
It could not be literally said
of the Japanese warrior, as
of the Roman, that he fought
pro aris et foedibus. There was
neither altar nor sacred fire:
the place of these was taken by the spirit-shelf or shrine, with its long hemep, knelled a piece each evening; and in early times, there were no Japanese images of divinities. For Lares and Penates there were only the mortuary tablets of the ancestors, and certain little tablet bearing names of other gods – Tabular gods... The presence of these frail wooden objects still makes the home; and they may be, of course, transported anywhere.
To apprehend the full meaning of ancestor worship as a family religion, a living faith, is now difficult for the Western mind. We are able to imagine only in the vaguest way how our Aryan forefathers felt and thought about their dead. But this much at least we can understand,—that in the modern Japanese, just as in the ancient Greek or Roman household, each member of the family supposes himself or herself, under perpetual ghostly surveillance. Spirits' eyes are watching every act; spirits' ears are listening to every
word. Thoughts, too, not less than deeds, are visible to the gaze of the dead: the heart must be pure, the mind must be under control, within the presence of the spirits. Probably the influence of such beliefs, unintercepted, exercised upon conduct during a score of years, did much to form the charming side of Japanese character.

Yet there is nothing solemn or solemn in this home- religion today; — nothing of that rigid and unvarying discipline supposed by Fröbel. The Confucian I have chance-
It is a religion rather of gratitude and tenderness; the dead being served by the household as if they were actually present in the body... I fancy that if we were able to enter for a moment into the vanished life of some old Greek city, we should find the domestic religion there not less cheerful than the Japanese home cult remains today. I imagine that Greek children, three thousand years ago, must have watched, like the Japanese children of today, for a chance to steal some of the good things offered to the ghosts of
the ancestors; — and I fancy that Greek parents must have ridden quite as gently as Japanese parents ride in this era of Meiji, — mending reproach with instruction, and hiding of weird possibilities.*

* Food presented to the dead may afterwards be eaten by the elders of the household, or given to pilgrims; but it is said that if children eat of it they will grow up with feeble memories, and incapable of becoming scholars.