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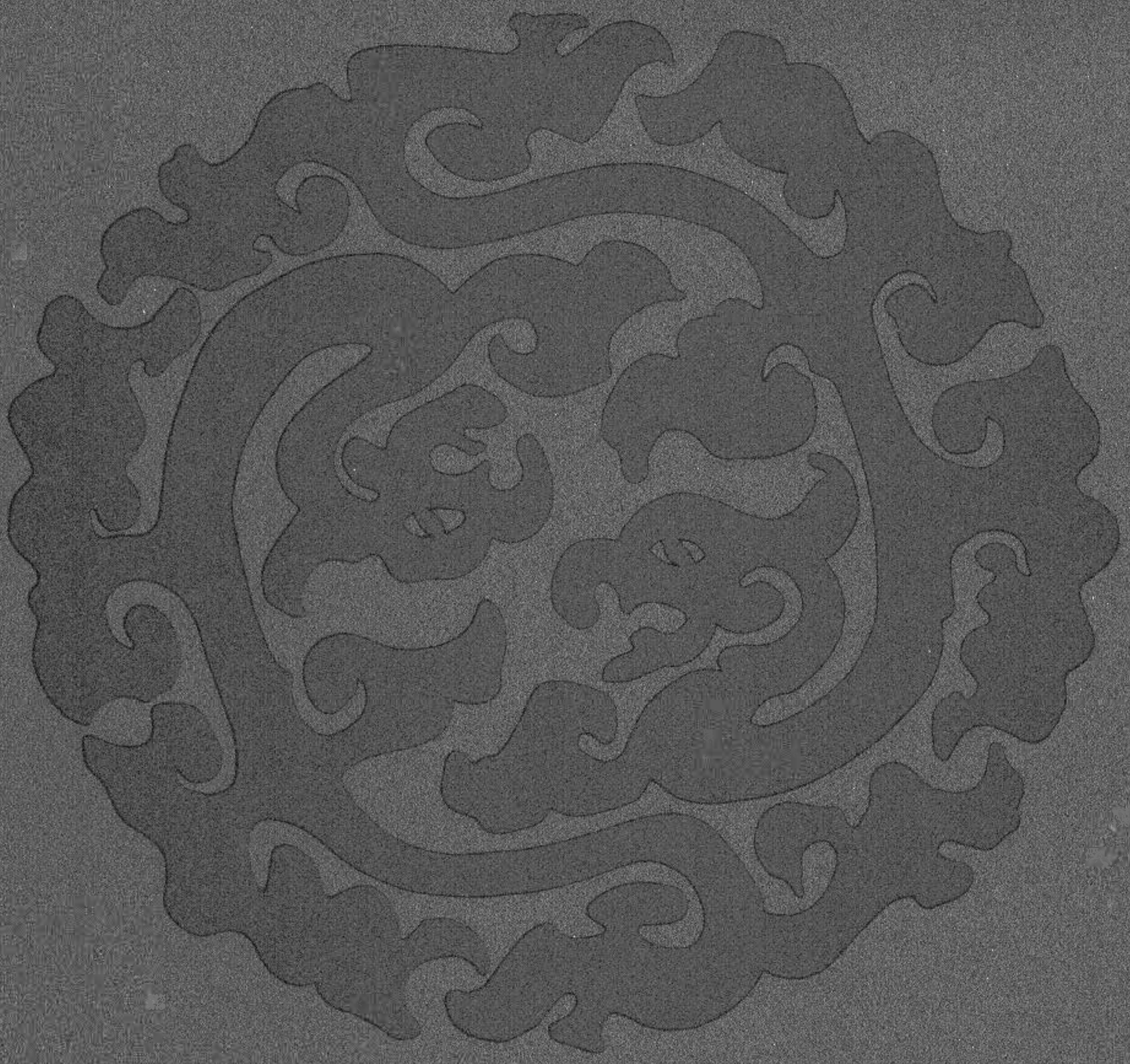

*Breaking the Cosmic Circle:*
*Religion in a Japanese Village*
*by Bernard Bernier*

# BREAKING THE COSMIC CIRCLE:

## Religion in a Japanese Village

by

Bernard Bernier

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This monograph is based on my doctoral dissertation in anthropology, which was submitted to Cornell University in January 1970. Three important changes have been made: (1) Two chapters of the thesis do not appear in this book: Chapter 1: Theoretical background, and Chapter 5: Dialectic study of change. However, many elements of the latter have been included here in Chapters 1 and 7. (2) The original Chapter 3: Religion has been divided into four chapters: Chapter 2: Institutional aspects of religion; Chapter 3: The annual cycle of rituals; Chapter 5: Pollution; Ancestor worship; and Chapter 6: The New Religions. (3) One chapter (Chapter 5) on the rituals of the life-cycle has been added.

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# INTRODUCTION

The post-World War II era has been one of considerable change in Japan, and the rural areas have not been spared. The Land Reform of 1947 was strongly "suggested" to the Japanese government by the U.S. Occupation administration as a necessary step in breaking feudalism and its influence on rural society.[1] Subsequent to this many other steps were taken to democratize the villages. The consequences of these changes and many further innovations have irreversibly altered the quality of life in Japanese villages.[2]

Religion was not untouched by this sweeping process. It is remarkable, therefore, that many of the rituals and beliefs of folk religion at the local level still continue to function more or less as before. There is no doubt that with respect to the structure and meaning of these rituals, and to their relations to the rest of culture and society, many modifications have been introduced, but the fact that the rituals still remain requires explanation.

The village of Sone, Owase City, Mie Prefecture, in South-western Japan, is a good case in point. Life in this coastal village is still interspersed with cyclical rituals, and ritual prohibitions are still largely respected. Sone is by no means a backward village, since every household has television--five or six even have color television; many have cars, more own a motor-cycle, and all fishermen have motorboats. But despite the fact that modern technology has come to the village, rituals are still performed, albeit sometimes in a simplified way, and many people participate in them.

This study is an attempt to describe, analyze and explain

the religion of Sone. "Religion" is defined here only in operational terms, as all the rituals, and the beliefs which pertain to them, which could be observed during the periods of fieldwork.[2] These include the traditional rituals of the annual and the life cycles, and also the practices and doctrines of two so-called "new religions": Tenrikyō and Sōka Gakkai.[3]

The analysis and explanation of the religion of Sone centers on the elements of the rituals and on their meanings. Social, political and economic aspects of life in Sone are included where they are necessary to shed light on some religious aspects.

The method of analysis of ritual elements employed in this study is based largely on V.W. Turner's work.[4] However, some adjustments were necessary to suit the present material, the major one being that my analysis emphasizes the changes which have occurred in the symbolse (The mode of application of the method to the Sone material is stated briefly in Chapter 3.) In order to do this type of analysis of Sone religion, it is necessary in Chapter 1 to present a general picture of the village. The analysis of religion itself is in two parts: Chapters 2 through 6 present and analyze the elements of the religion in a piecemeal fashion which centers on the elements and symbols of the traditional religion: Chapter 2 sets forth the institutional aspects of folk religion; Chapters 3 and 4 are presentations of the rituals of, respectively, the yearly cycle and the life cycle; Chapter 5 deals with pollution and ancestor-worship. Chapter 6 describes the two new religions which made converts in South Wauchi. The second part, Chapter 7, of the analysis attempts to synthesize the conclusions reached in previous chapters and to interpret the relationship of religion to other aspects of life in Sone.

# CHAPTER 1

## Ethnographic Background

### 1. Geography

Sone is located in Owase City, Mie Prefecture, on the southeast coast of Kii Peninsula in one of the least populated regions of Japan. Kii Peninsula is mountainous, with a "depressed" type of coast line, i.e. with many bays and inlets.[1] The village of Sone is located in Kata Bay in the southernmost part of Owase City. There are five other villages in the bay (Kata, Kajika, Furue in the southern part and Mikisato and Mikiura in the northern part). Arable land around the bay is small, except in a river valley in Kata and a bigger area of flat land between the mountains and the sea in Mikisato. The surrounding mountains are not high (4-5,000 feet), but the slopes are steep and soil can be found only in the lower part of the slopes. There are some terraces on the flank of the mountains closest tothe villages, but by no means all suitable places are used for agriculture. Several reasons account for the failure to utilize all arable land. First, the natural soil is acid, sub-tropical red soil and it is very shallow.[2] It would require a considerable amount of work and time to produce the rich organic soil necessary for intensive agriculture. Second, and more important, the timber in the mountains is in great demand because it is for construction use. The forest was originally a combination of cool, temperate evergreen and sub-tropical broad-leaf evergreen forest,[3] but logging and reforestation have eliminated many species. Three species in particular have been kept because of their commercial value:

cedar, pine and Japanese cypress.

The sea around Sone, both in the bay and outside, is remarkable for the amount and variety of its marine products. Its depth varies from a few feet near the villages down to about 160 feet in the bay itself, and over 230 feet just outside the bay. The most common fish are: yellowtail, sardine, mackerel, horse-mackerel, saury and pike. Octopus, squid and a wide variety of shellfish are also abundant. However, both the amount of fish and the number of species are said to be on the decline because of excessive fishing.

Sone's climate is humid and sub-tropical[4] due to the warm Black Current (Kuroshio) coming from the South Pacific, which passes near the east coast of the peninsula. Owase City is located in one of the year around warmest regions of Japan.[5] It is also one of four regions where rainfall exceeds 120 inches a year, the highest in Japan.[6]

The southern part of the Kii Peninsula is, however, very vulnerable to typhoons and tidal waves, and the heavy rains cause many landslides. Thus natural disasters are fairly common, and when they come, there is little men can do to protect lives and property. The region's beautiful scenery, mild and agreeable climate nonetheless compensate, in part, for its vulnerability to natural disasters.

2. Population

As of December 1967, the population of Owase City as a whole was 33,062 divided into 9,303 households. The corresponding figures for Sone were 522 and 169; Kata, 1,707 and 505; Furue 1,511 and 352; and Kajika, 562 and 147[7] (Table 1), Sone having the smallest population of the four South Wauchi villages.

Moreover, Sone is the only one of the four villages where population has decreased in the last five years (Table 2), 7.7% lower than in 1962. Sone is also the village with the lowest average household size: 3.1 members per household, compared to 3.3 for Kata, 3.8 for Kajika and 4.3 for Furue. The low average for Sone is explained mainly by the fact that young people move to the cities for employment, whereas the comparatively high average for Furue and Kajika can be related to the availablility of traditional jobs in these villages. In Furue, most young people can work as crewmen on large fishing boats which are used for deep sea fishing in the Indian Ocean. In Kajika, which is a more traditional village with a lower level of education, more young people stay on to work as fishermen. Fishing is still the main occupation in both villages (see section 4 of this chapter).

Table 1

Population, number of households and household size, of Owase City, Sone, Kata, Furue and Kajika, December 1967.

| Administrative unit | Number of persons | Number of households | Average size of household |
|---|---|---|---|
| Owase City | 33,062 | 9,303 | 3.3 |
| Sone | 522 | 169 | 3.1 |
| Kata | 1,707 | 505 | 3.3 |
| Furue | 1,511 | 352 | 4.3 |
| Kajika | 562 | 147 | 3.8 |

Source: Computed from Owase Shiyakusho, Owase 1968, p. 2-3.

Table 2

Population of Sone, 1962-67

| Year | Population |
|---|---|
| 1962 | 601 |
| 1963 | 590 |
| 1965 | 563 |
| 1967 | 522 |

Source: Computed from statistics of the City Office, Owase City, 1962. 1963. 1965. 1967. Not published.

Table 3 shows Sone's population in 1963.[8] One of its major peculiarities is the presence of a very strong 10-14 and a weak 15-29 age group contingent. The first characteristic is related to the conditions of the post-war period. This group was born between 1948 and 1952, at a time when Japan was beginning to recover from the war damage. It is likely that in such conditions the birth-rate would rise. The second characteristic, apparent in an even clearer way in Table 4, is related to the availability of jobs for young people in cities, mainly Osaka, Nagoya and Tokyo, but also Kobe, Yokkaichi, Tsu and Natsusaka. Between 1962 and 1967, almost half of the population born between 1947 and 1951 left the village, a few through death, more to go to school, but the great majority to take jobs in the cities.

Table 3

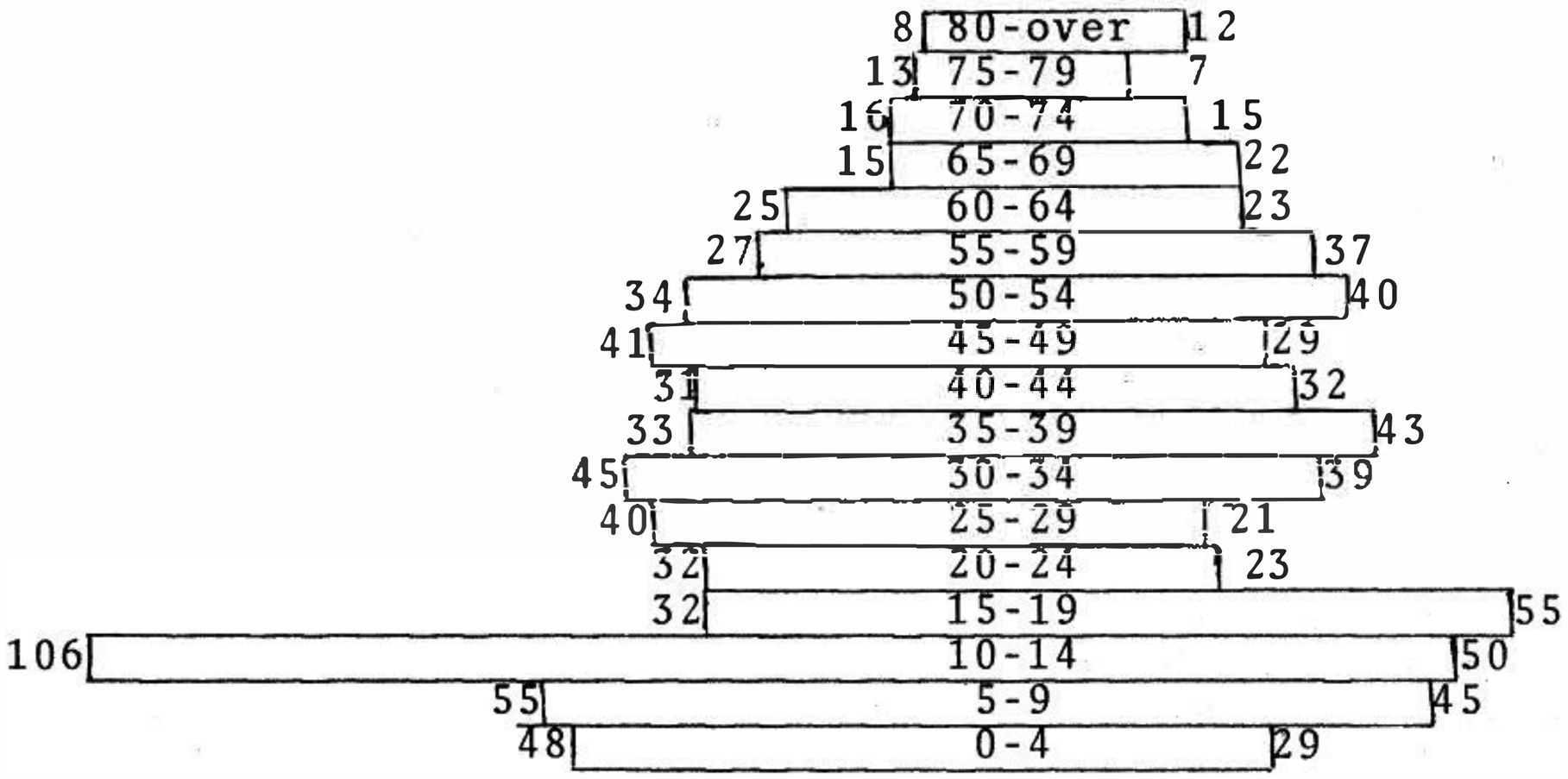
Population of Sone, by age group and by sex, 1963.

| Age | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 21 | 25 | 46 |
| 5-9 | 35 | 20 | 55 |
| 10-14 | 42 | 51 | 93 |
| 15-19 | 19 | 26 | 45 |
| 20-24 | 14 | 15 | 29 |
| 25-29 | 16 | 20 | 36 |
| 30-34 | 24 | 19 | 43 |
| 35-39 | 19 | 19 | 38 |
| 40-44 | 8 | 15 | 23 |
| 45-49 | 14 | 24 | 38 |
| 50-54 | 22 | 19 | 41 |
| 55-59 | 12 | 15 | 27 |
| 60-64 | 11 | 13 | 24 |
| 65-69 | 8 | 10 | 18 |
| 70-74 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| 75-79 | 6 | 9 | 15 |
| 80-overe | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| Total | 279 | 311 | 590 |

Source: Statistics of the City Office, Owase City, 1963. Not published.

Table 4

Population of Sone, by age group, 1962 and 1967.




Source: Computed from statistics of the City Office, Owase City, 1962 and 1967. Not published.

3. Social Organization

Nakane has pointed out that the two universal constituent units of Japanese rural society are the ie (household) and the buraku (hamlet),[9] observations which also apply to the South Wauchi region.

Since the ie system has been described and analyzed at length elsewhere,[10] only an examination of the aspects relevant for Sone is necessary here. Ie refers to:

> ...the continuing entity, perpetuated, in principle by patrilineal descent, from ancestors to descendants, an entity of which the family group at any one time is only the current concrete manifestation.[11]

It is on this basis that the ie refers to the physical house, to the present residents and to the line of descending occupants of the household. All the individuals living in the house at a given time are counted as members. In Sone, these usually

include only a nuclear family, but there are cases where it includes the househead's parents and unmarried siblings, and/or the househead's successor's wife and children, and very seldom relatives of the wife or a maid. Thus the composition of the household at any moment in time is unimportant, as long as there is a successor to take over the headship. Ideally, the household is perpetuated through patrilineal descent, but the important fact is succession, not descent. Thus if the house-head has no son, he can adopt for one of his daughters a husband who will succeed him upon his retirement; or if he has no children, he can adopt either a son or a daughter, whereupon the adopted husband becomes the successor.

The essential aspect of the household is its continuity through time, which includes not only the living members but also its dead and future members. The actual members form only the living manifestation of the household. Their death does not mean the disappearance of the household, unless there is no successor to take over the headship. The head of the house inherits the house, the property, including land, and the ancestral tablets. He has full control over the property and very strong influence over its members, although at present, in Sone as elsewhere in Japan, members have much more freedom to choose occupation and how to spend their time than in the past. In practice his control is limited by a number of considerations, among them changes in the post-war civil code. The househead has become the only legal owner of the house and the property, but householders also consider themselves to be trustees of the household's property. Accordingly, they are required to husband what their predecessors have handed down and to try to

increase it, before passing it on to their descendants. In this way the household system is strongly related to ancestor worship, a topic to be examined in more detail in Chapter 7.

Traditionally, there was difficulty in naming a successor only if the househead neither had nor could adopt children. But recently, some householdheads in Sone have found it increasingly difficult to persuade one of their sons to come back from the city in order to take over the headship. This does not necessarily imply that the continuity of the household is broken, for the young people concerned might, though living in the city, still keep the family register and the ancestral tablets. But it does mean their leaving house and property, and chiefly it means leaving the parents alone in the countryside with nobody to care for them in their old age.

In the family, the high position of the head of the household is marked in many ways. He decides what kind of work shall be done on the household property and who shall do it; he is served first at meals; and he can ask the other members to fetch things for him. However, the wife's position is not one of complete subordination. Most of the important decisions concerning the household are taken after discussions between the husband and the wife, and sometimes the other adult members of the household join in. The wife manages the daily routineo of the house, and in most Sone households she does most of the agricultural work. The only exceptions are households whose heads are not fishermen and/or those which own a larger than average amount of land.

Although children usually follow their parents' wishes and

orders respectfully, this does not preclude critical remarks, made in a joking way, concerning parents' behavior when it is thought to be improper. Also the language children use with their parents is very informal. Children have a fair amount of autonomy. Because of the recent prosperity of the village (see next section), the amount of leisure time for everyone has increased, and children too, generally speaking, can spend their free time as they wish. Furthermore, household members who earn money through jobs in the cities or towns are expected to keep most of it for their own use. Their contributions to household needs are voluntary, except in times of exceptional hardships. Children are ranked in terms of age, but this is apparent only in language. Older siblings are not necessarily served first at meals and they usually do not give orders to their younger brothers or sisters. It seems that most marriages, until recently, were with people from South Wauchi,[12] presumably because of the relative isolation of the village.

There is no dōzoku, or what Nakane calls "local corporate groups,"[13] in Sone. A dōzoku is a group of households, whether or not related through kinship ties, linked together in a hierarchical fashion. At the center or top is the main family. All the others are considered branch families. The latter families are ranked according to the time of the branching off and to their distance from the main family. Branch families owe respect to the main family, mainly through the practice of worshipping the latter's ancestors.

In Sone, the relations between main and branch families are informal. In many instances, people are not sure which is the

main and which are the branch families, the ancestral tablets often having been lost in recurrent tidal waves. It is easy enough to determine relationships for families branching off in this or the preceding generation, but not for earlier ones. However, little importance is attached to the relation between main and branch families. What is important is the continuity of all households after they have been created.

Patrilineal descent is only one principle of organization in Sone, and it is not very important in interfamily relations. Collateral and affinal relations are even less important. The strongest principles of interfamily relations are residence and age. People living close to each other, or people of the same age group, i.e., who went to school together, have closer relations, even if they are not kin.

The village is a residence unit, but a distinction between villagers is made on the basis of the length of their residence in Sone. A thirty-year residence requirement is usually necessary before a household is considered a full member, although exceptions are sometimes made for people whom the villagers like.

The Japanese village is a unit with strong solidarity, but no one factor or combination of factors fully explains this solidarity. As T.C. Smith has pointed out,[14] some factors can partly account for ite-isolation, kinship or the local god--but do not explain the extraordinary bond among all members. The necessity for cooperation, another factor making for solidarity, is not as essential in Sone as in agricultural villages, where irrigation systems require communal control. In Sone the economic basis of cooperation perhaps arises from the character of the wood and the fishing industry, although

both types of enterprise probably could be run on a private basis.

Solidarity ties have been maintained in the last 300 years through the existence of a dispute with the neighboring village of Kata over rights to forest land. Forest land is precious because of the timber, which can be sold at a good price, so the bitter dispute continues, though in a milder form.

Village solidarity is somewhat weakened, however, by internal divisions, of which two are based on residence. The first is based on the traditional division of Sone into two parts: Tanji and Mukaji. Each has a graveyard bearing its name. It is possible that, at one time, the residents of each part were buried in the graveyard bearing the same name as their place of residence, but this is not now the case. This division might be an indication that two hamlets formerly existed, which finally joined at some time in the past. However, historical accounts as far back to as the early 17th century always refer to Sone as one village. Furthermore, the existence of only one shrine and one temple tends to contradict the possibility of two hamlets. The division of Sone might also be one of those amorphous dualities which Kitahara calls "dual systems" (sobunsei).[15]

This type of division in Sone has been, however, overshadowed by the spatial division. During World War II, an administrative division of the village into three parts was imposed by the national government, partly as a way of controlling people. Each part was considered a unit, and the units were responsible for the actions of their members. This division is still used today but only for minor administrative purposes such as spreading news, spraying insecticide, and so on.

Another set of divisions, which still has influence, is that based on age. There used to be a system of age-groups: children, young people, adults and old people. The second and the third were the only formal categories, the two others being residual. Down to 1945, the young people's associations were very strong and they were used both for indoctrination and control. This association, which now has only limited functions, is in charge of the elaborate dance for the festival of the souls in August (see Chapter 3). Finally, it publishes a mimeographed paper four times a year. Even these functions have been somewhat curtailed due to the lack of young people in the village. Age is still important in defining friendship groups, however.

The passage to the status of adult is formally noted for men only, but the ceremony is very simple. A young man who feels he has become an adult invites his friends and relatives to make mochi, a cake made of glutinous rice. This is done on the first "horse" day after setsubun (see Chapter 3). For women, as well as men, marriage and the birth of a child are signs of adulthood. There is also the national holiday of Jan. 15, "the day people become adult," (seijin no hi) celebrated by everybody who becomes 20 during that year. Formerly, adult status was marked through participation in village affairs. All young men and retired old people were excluded. Nowadays participation is open to anyone over 20.

Adult women have their own association, though since 1945 it is no longer related to national women organizations which were used during the war as propaganda channels and were abolished by the Occupation government. The activities

of the present women's organization in Sone are limited to such things as meetings with experts in child-rearing and basket-weaving sessions.

There are two major divisions which have a religious, political and social aspect. One of these is based on traditional lines, the other on fairly recent ones. The first division pertains to descent. The village is divided in two groups: ichizoku (first families) and nizoku (second families). The first group has a corporate structure and is well organized, while the second was given a name only to distinguish it from the first because it is simply a residual category including all other residents of the village. All male descendents of an ichizoku man are ichizoku members. This group was endogamous until about 70 years ago. It is still ritually dominant (see Chapters 2 and 3), and held political control of the village until recently (see section 5 of this chapter). Some nizoku now openly resent the ichizoku's superior ritual status and have suggested opening participation in shrine rituals to all villagers. While this feeling is somewhat disruptive of village solidarity, it is not strong enough actually to break the village apart.

The second division in Sone is the existence of two "New Religions." One is Tenrikyō, a very tolerant religion, whose members associate more with one another than with other people in the village. Their acceptance of all village rituals makes them non-disruptive of village life. The second is Sōka Gakkai, the quite fanatic religion cum political party, whose members dissociate themselves from both Shinto and Buddhist local rituals, except for the festival of souls.

Its members are expected always to follow the association's line in politics, thus creating resentment among non-members. Both religious groups are examined in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

One aspect of these potentially divisive groups is that their membership is not coterminous. Generally speaking, membership in a group defined according to one principle does not limit membership in groups defined according to another principle.[16] The only division which does tend to produce a major break in the village is the one basedoon membership in Sōka Gakkai. The reasons for this will be examined in Chapters 6 and 7.

Social relations very often cut across these divisions. Despite the hierarchical aspect of some divisions, actual relations between people in the village are very informal. Children and younger people usually treat older people with a certain respect, but even in these circumstances very informal language is used. Men and women interact freely, sometimes making jokes with sexual overtones to one another, and in daily life there is no sign of male dominance.

It is mainly with the older people that the traditional obligations attached to social relations are still taken into account. These are the unrepayable and repayable debts that people incur from the mere fact of being born and continually add throughout life. Unrepayable debts are to parents, teachers and the emperor. Repayable debts have the appearance of a contract: one man does a favor for another man one day, and the latter is expected to return an equal favor later.[17] In Sone, these obligations show signs of weakening, as evidenced

by some people who complain about younger people not respecting these obligations.

Thus, the social organization of Sone is still partly based on traditional patterns and principles. Modification of this tradition, brought about by the integration of Sone into national life, can be more clearly examined in economic termse

4. Economy

Before World War II, the people of Sone were engaged mainly in primary occupations. Although many of them still are, the majority of households obtain the major part of their income from other types of work. The single major source of income remains timber. The village executive body (the ku) organizes logging and reforestation on the mountains belonging to the village. Three species are planted: Japanese cypress (hinoki), cedar (sugi) and pine (matsu). The logs are sold to merchants in Nagoya and are used for construction. The total area of forest land in Sone is about 1,500 acres.[18] Most of it belongs to the village as a unit, but one household, the one which still carries the hereditary title of village headman (see next section), privately owns part of it. Although it was impossible to assess exactly how much belongs to this household, apparently the amount does not exceed ¼ of the total area. In Sone the quality of timber is good and most of it is cut at about 35 to 40 years of age. From the evidence gathered, each of the 116 households which has a share in the common forest land receive an average income of at least $500 a year from wood.[19]

The timber industry requires a minimum amount of work.

Planting is done in two operations. First, the trees are bought when they are two years old and planted in fields near the village for two years. Then they are retransplanted on the mountain until felled. The second operation takes about 20 man hours per acre. Logging takes more time, but no estimate can be given. Two elected officials are in charge of the administration of forest land, their duty being to implement policy, not to make it. They make sure that the little trees are planted in the right fields, and keep a list of whose turn it is to log. They are also in charge of keeping the forest clean and of preventing or fighting forest fires.

Pearl and fish culture are two enterprises that have had mixed success in Sone. The pearl industry, which was started in 1919, was then owned by the fishing cooperative and since 1922 has been concentrating solely on the culture of mother-of-pearl. The only private entrepreneur in Sone started his business after World War II, produces the pearls as well as the mother-of-pearl, and owns a shop in Nagoya selling pearl jewelry. This way he manages the whole process, from catching the oysters to the sale of pearl jewelry, thus eliminating the cost and control of middlemen. The pearl industry flourished in the mid-fifties, and it initiated a period of real prosperity in the village.

Since 1960, the pearl industry in Sone had been a losing cause due to a combination of factors. After the boom years many coastal villages which previously had no pearl culture decided to try to tap this new source of wealth. However,

the total production of pearls and mother-of-pearl outstripped (see Table 5) the rise in demand for pearls. People in Sone think that the sale of pearls has fallen to the point where almost no-one buys pearls any longer. This view does not seem to be entirely true. While the overall demand for pearls may have gone down since 1960, in part it has also gone up. For example, exports have increased (see Table 6), though not in proportion to demand. With overproduction, the price paid by the middlemen to the producers of pearls decreased, creating a decline in price that was even more pronounced in the case of mother-of-pearl. Since the retailers need only an amount of pearl below that which is actually produced, they can offer less and buy more of them, thereby increasing their margin of profit on each item, and keep the surplus in storage until demand goes up again. On the other hand, the producers cannot wait. They usually need the money, so they have to sell at a reduced price.

The reduced income from pearls has led some producers in Sone to take less care of the oysters, thus lowering their competitive value. This had a further downward spiralling effect, i.e. still less care and thus still lower prices. Another factor which finally brought the pearl industry to a standstill was the beginning of fish-culture. Mother-of-pearl needs clear water, but because fish in culture ponds make water dirty the oysters are of a much lower quality. In 1968, as a result of dirty water and poor care, many of the shells became infested with a worm thus rendering the industry inactive. In 1967, Sone cooperative sold only 1/20 of the amount of oysters it had sold in 1958, and at a price

1/30 of the 1958 price. The pearl slump was so severe in 1968 that by September only one bid had been received, and it was withdrawn when the worm disease was discovered.

Despite the poor record of the pearl industry surprisingly little money is lost since it employs few people. Two elected officials charged with overseeing the enterprise receive a salary but it is paid out of total cooperative returns which include the returns from pearls. In 1968, one employee was working full-time, but had to be fired in July because of lack of work, while six women were hired for only two weeks to clean the shells. By comparison, in 1958, at the peak of the industry's prosperity, 15 men were working full-time and 50 to 70 women had part-time jobs at one time or another. Depite the decline of the industry, no-one wants to take the reponsibility to discontinue it, partly in case demand should rise again.

Fish culture was started in 1966 with considerable help from the national, prefectural and city governments. The total initial cost was approximately ¥62,000,000 ($173,000), including refrigerator cost ¥14,000,000 ($39,000), nets ¥25,000,000 ($70,000), and pond ¥23,000,000 ($64,000). The cost was borne in the following proportions: 50% national government subsidies, 20% prefectural government subsidies, 10% city government subsidies, and 20% national, prefectural and city government loans. In this way Sone was able to start a new industry without the village putting up any capital of its own. In 1958, Sone harbor was built in a similar manner with outside financial aid amounting to 80% of the total investment, and in essentially the same proportions as the 1966 loanso

Table 5

Number of units and production of pearls, Japan, 1955-1966

| Year | Units | Production (kg.) |
|---|---|---|
| 1955 | 1,643 | 24,533 |
| 1960 | 3,484 | 60,408 |
| 1961 | 3,637 | 72,976 |
| 1962 | 3,817 | 79,051 |
| 1963 | 4,079 | 88,379 |
| 1964 | 4,302 | 88,587 |
| 1965 | 4,620 | 114,062 |
| 1966 | 4,710 | 130,296 |

Source: Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1967, p. 157.

Table 6

Exports of pearls, Japan, 1958-1966

| Year | Quantity (kg.) | Value (million of yen) |
|---|---|---|
| 1958 | 34,885 | 6,458 |
| 1959 | 43,400 | 8,719 |
| 1960 | 54,222 | 10,973 |
| 1961 | 60,580 | 12,884 |
| 1962 | 76,222 | 15,063 |
| 1963 | 98,296 | 17,024 |
| 1964 | 88,709 | 19,828 |
| 1965 | 93,951 | 23,118 |
| 1966 | 104,459 | 23,291 |

Source: Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1967, p. 307. The exchange rate in this period was Y360=US $1.

As of 1970 the fish culture was still operating at a slight loss for the co-operative, although five private entrepreneurs, who pay some fees to the cooperative for use of the bay and facilities, are said to make a profit. The industry's main annual cost is food for the fish, i.e., frozen horse-mackerel bought from Nagoya. Other costs include nets and amortizing of the loan. Two cooperative officials are paid to oversee the fish culture, as are three to six men hired

full-time, and three hired part-time. A crew of six is hired every year in April to get small yellowtail which the cooperative will raisee Each of the private entrepreneurs hire four or five men full-time.

Although working at a loss for the cooperative, the fish culture is not stagnant. Indeed, returnsederived from the sale of the fish are substantial. In Sone, they raise only yellow-tail (hamachi)e It seems only a matter of time and perhaps better management before a profit is made.

Fishing is not a major source of income in Sone. Only three househeads are engaged in full-time fishing, but even for these men, fishing is not the major source of income. One of the full-time fishermen is the owner of a circling net used to take sardines which are sold to professional fishermen as bait.e He hires six men who work for him every morning from 4 A.M. to 8 A.M. when the weather is fine. This man sells the other fish he catches to the local fish markets. He has to pay a fee to fish in the bay and to use the harbor. The cooperative, which operates such a net for the same purpose, hires seven people to do the job.

All fishermen, whether full or part-time, can use the harbor without having to pay a fee, provided they are members of the cooperative. They can also use the refrigerator to store their catch for a few days. Although most fishermen sell their fish in the local fish markets, one full-time fisherman went to Nagoya once a week for two months to sell fish to the city markets, where the price of fish is as much as three times the price in South Wauchi. Despite its small economic significance, fishing is an important activity. It

was the most important occupation in the village until well into the Edo period (1600-1868)e It is still practised by all families in the village, some as a part-time occupation, by others purely for pleasure.

Agriculture is a secondary activity. Most households own a small plot of land and cultivate it for their own use. The total amount of dry field (hatake) and paddy is only slightly over 50 acres, [20] that is an average of about 1/3 of an acre per household. Many households produce a good part of their own consumption. Only one household has paddy, about 2/3 acre, where enough rice is harvested for this household for one year. The only products which are sold outside are oranges. Most of them are summer oranges but there are also some mandarin oranges. The total sale for 1968 was estimated at about $200, so the returns are minimal.

There are several specialists in the village: 6 carpenters, 5 teachers, 4 clerks, 2 welders, a car mechanic (he has his garage in Kata)e, a metal worker, a plumber (who also is a welder), a sliding-door (fusuma) maker, a barber (whose shop is in Sone), a doctor, and a priest at the Buddhist temple in Sone. Many of these are part-time specialists. For example, A who is a plumber and a welder, is also the agricultural expert in the village, as well as the village councilor in charge of the forest. Moreover, he spends much of his time working on his larger than average piece of land.

There are 14 stores in the village of the following kinds: 7 general stores (that sell mainly food, cloth, soap and small items used in fishing and agriculture), 2 fish markets, a

drugstore, a stationery shop, a sake shop, a chicken market, a candy store, and a cigarette shop (in the local inn). There are also one barbershop, one inn, and the agricultural cooperative which sells rationed rice under terms of the government control programs. Finally, one woman sells fish from a small cart. (See Map 3.)

Kata is the commercial center of the whole Wauchi region, with more than 50 small shops and a supermarket. What cannot be found in Kata shops can be bought in Owase. The shops in Sone are usually run by the wives, the husbands having their own occupationso A small but increasing number living inothe village have an occupation in neighboring towns (Owase and Kumano). These are usually clerks in shops or offices or waitresses in restaurants or tea-houses.

One fairly new pattern of occupation that has already been mentioned for its demographic aspect is the fact that young men and women from Sone take jobs outside the village. Most of them live in big cities and work in factories and shops or as taxi drivers. Their income is modest but they sometimes contribute to the income of their parents' house-holds. These young people come back to Sone for festivals and funerals.

This pattern of occupation has complex economic, political and social effects in the village. Because of the better incomes city jobs provide, and also because of the advantages of urban life and economic independence, most young people prefer to work in cities, thus depleting the village of the people who would otherwise take over traditional occupations. Moreover, as some people pointed out, it is really the most

enterprising young people, those who could perhaps make traditional occupations more lucrative, who leave the village. However, this is less true for Kajika and Furue, whose young people tend to stay in the villages and become fishermen. Furue is a good example of a village which has modernized a traditional primary occupation in order to increase returnse The purchase of deep-sea fishing boats by the cooperative as well as private entrepreneurs has allowed most Furue young people to find very lucrative employment in the village, while offering the opportunity to travel abroad (as far as the Indian Ocean). This modernization of fishing has made Furue the most prosperous village in South Wauchi.

Politically, Sone young people who work in cities question their elderes power as well as the ichizokues ritual dominance. The disruption of the January 4 shooting ritual two years in a row (1955 and 1956 or 1956 and 1957) is a good example of the dissatisfaction of the young people over the traditional political hierarchy in the villageee[21] Most young people move to cities permanently, thus endangering the continuity of their natal households. Despite the disruptive effect of the new city jobs on the traditional way of life, they are welcomed by the villagers because they provide their children with a decent incomee

The pattern of occupations in the village is thus a complex one. Most households have at least one member engaged for most of his time in primary occupations: and most households receive the major part of their income from woode Virtually all households have one registered member engaged in secondary or tertiary occupations, either in the village or in cities. But

the pattern of work is not typical of an industrial society where everybody specializes in one occupation. Except for the young people working in the cities, and a minority of others living in the village, most men, including specialists, have up to three or four occupations which they practice on different days or at different times during the day. For example, some men go fishing in the morning, come back to work in the field, do some kind of repairs around the house, and so on. This pattern of work, no longer requiring a twelve-hour day, allows for long hours of leisure. Afternoons and evenings are often spent watching television or gossiping over tea.

Most primary occupations are organized on a cooperative basis, by the fishing cooperative, the ku, and the agricultural cooperative. Membership in the fishing cooperative, which deals with most matters related to the sea in Sone, is not granted to all residents. Full membership is given to any family that has lived in the village for more than 30 years. Whether a man in the family is engaged in fishing or not is not important if the family is already a member. However, newly accepted full members must be engaged in fishing for more than 90 days a year. A household whose head has resided in the village for less than 30 years, but is engaged in fishing for more than 90 days a year, can join as an associate member. This allows them to use the facilities of the co-operative without payment of a fee, but they receive no share of the cooperative's profit. In 1968 there were 136 full members of the cooperative and no associate members. Member-ship is by household. All sons of a member get a share when they reach 20 years of age, except the successor who inherits

his father's share upon the latter's retirement or death as part of the household's property. The profits of the co-operative are shared equally by all members. However, in 1967 and 1968, there were no profits, but rather a deficit.

Rights over the waters of Kata bay present a very complex picture (see map 4). Five types of rights of usage can be distinguished. (1) Fishing rights: These are rights to catch fish commercially in areas of the bay. According to these rights, the bay is divided in three major areas. The northern part of the bay belongs to the North Wauchi village of Mikiura. The southern part is used by Sone and Furue fishermen. Finally, the area near Kajika inlet and outside of the bay along the south coast is reserved for Kajika. Despite these clear divisions, villagers can fish anywhere in and outside the bay for pleasure. People from Sone argue that formerly the southern part of the bay belonged exclusively to them. The information on this question is limited. However, there is report of a quarrel over fishing rights between Sone and Furue in 1806.[22] Although the context of the quarrel is not completely clear, it appears that in the 17th century, Sone had rights of use (iriai) of the southern part of Kata bay, and that it could tolerate other villagers using it. However, by the 19th century, Furue people felt strong enough to arrogate rights of use to themselves. This is easily understandable when it is realized that from 1601 to 1793, the number of households in Furue had increased from 21 to 71, whereas in Sone, the increase had been almost nil, from 57 to 60. Thus, by the beginning of the 19th century, Furue was strong enough to question Sone's claims about fishing rights. (2) Harbor areas. Each of the

six villages in Wauchi have clearly delimited areas on which they have exclusive rights as harbor areas. (3) Rights for pearl culture. Villages which have applied to the government for them can have areas for the culture of pearl or mother-of-pearl delimited within their harbor area or outside. In 1970, only Sone and Kata had such areas. (4) Rights for fish raising. The same procedure as for pearl culture is applied to rights for fish raising. In 1970, Sone, Furue, and Kajika had delimited areas for fish raising. (5) Areas for sardine nets. Two areas are delimited for nets used to catch sardines. One is allocated to the Furue cooperative, the second alternatively for three years each to the Sone and Furue cooperatives. These various rights, which are partly based on the traditional rights of usage (iriai) are now allocated and recognized by the Fisheries Department of the Japanese government. Only when the various rights are approved by the government can they be recognized as valid.

Sone fishing cooperative has seven officials elected by the members in May of every second year from among the full members who care to run for office. The seven men who receive the largest number of votes take office. The director of the cooperative is elected from among the seven by all the members. Usually the elections give rise to much campaigning and politicking, but this was not the case in 1968, when all co-operative affairs were at a low ebb. The present director has been in office for more than ten years. Three of the officials, including the director, are ichizoku. Among the officials, besides the director, two are in charge of pearls and two are in charge of the fish culture. The two others

manage the other activities of the cooperative. They receive a salary which is paid by the cooperative as a whole. The cooperative office employs six full-time clerks or secretaries.

The fishing cooperative has two sections: one for pearls and one for fish culture. These have a certain amount of independence. Not all cooperative members are members of either the pearl or the fish sections. Only people who have paid an initial fee of Y5,000 are members and only they can share the profits, and even people who are not full members of the cooperative can join. However, each section must give 15% of its profits to the cooperative, and these amounts are divided equally between all coop members including members of sections who are full coop members, after the cost of operation of the cooperative has been paide

The cooperative can also rent parts of the bay to private entrepreneurs. This is done for five fish raising entrepreneurs, all members of the cooperative, and one pearl cultivator who is not a membere For fish culture, the fees are Y15,000 (about $42) a year per pond. The entrepreneurs also have to provide capital for the equipment needed but the profit is theirs. The pearl cultivator has to pay what is apparently a much higher fee but the amount is unknowne

The ku is at the same time the village executive body, in which every family having resided in Sone for more than 30 years can participate, and the body dealing with the forest industry. The political aspect of the ku will be examined in the next section of this chapter. Economically the ku is an organization based on the principle of iriai. Iriai refers to rights in the ownership and utilization of land which is

not used for paddy or dry field.[23] In Sone, it applies to forest land only. The agricultural cooperative has open membership for every household in the village, provided it pays a small fee. Before May, 1968, the Sone Cooperative was independent; but in May, 1968, it was amalgamated with the Kata, Furue and Kajika cooperatives to form the South Wauchi branch of the Owase City Agricultural Cooperative. The branch office is in Kata, but there is a small office for the sale of rice in Sone. Except for this sale of rice, the agricultural cooperative has little significance in people's lives.

Thus there is very much important cooperation on a village basis. But membership in cooperative organizations is restricted and the principles of restriction are not primarily economic. Some political aspects are involved, as will be clear in the next section.

5. Politics

Politics may be divided into four distinct sectors: national, prefectural, city and local, in the order of their importance as far as their influence on people's lives is concerned. But the excitement they produce in the village increases as we proceed from the national to the local levelo

National politics is less remote than it was until 1945, mainly because of universal suffrage and better means of communication. Its influence on people's lives is pervasive. All laws passed in the national Diet are implemented throughout Japan. But national politics is not yet an important part of the people's political and social life. Candidates seldom come to the South Wauchi region, but some people from the region go to the neighboring towns to hear them speak

and 66% of the voters of Owase City as a whole voted in the national election of 1965.e[24] In Sone, most people voted for the Liberal-Democratic party candidates. Sōka Gakkai members usually vote for Kōmeitō, the political party which was founded by Sōka Gakkai in the late fifties. A handful of people vote for the Socialist and Communist parties. Votes are often decided on the basis of personal relations to a villager who has direct or indirect relations to one or another of the candidates.

Sone people vote in the election of the prefectural governor of Mie Prefecture and also in the election of the prefectural assembly.e The participation in both elections in 1967 for Owase City was quite high: 77% of the voters voted in both elections.[25] Again in Sone, the Liberal-Democratic Party received the bulk of the votes.

Administratively Sone has been a part of Owase City since 1954, as are Kata, Furue and Kajika.[26] Together they form the region of South Wauchi, a carry-over from the preceding administrative arrangements. Before 1954, South Wauchi was a region of the rural district of Minami Muro Gun, in Mie Prefecture. Owase City has an elected mayor and an assembly of 29 members, 4 of whom are elected by South Wauchi people. The Liberal party controls much of Owase politics: the mayor and 14 assemblymen are from this party. Because of a coalition with the Democratic party, which controls 6 assembly seats, the Liberal party has a majority in the assembly.e[27] The 9 other members are distributed in the following waye Socialist party, 2; Communist party,2; Komeito,2; and independents, 3.[28] The two

communist members, as well as one socialist, one Komeito and one independent come from Owase proper. This means that most of the rural regions vote overwhelmingly for the parties of the ruling coalition. In South Wauchi, three assemblymen are from the Liberal Party and the other from the Democratic party. Among these, two are from Sone, one from Kata and one from Furue. One of the Sone members is vice-president of the assembly. It might seem strange that the smallest of the four villages has two members, including the vice-president of the assembly, while Kata and Furue, with a population about three times as big, have only one member each; and Kajika has none. The explanation is twofold. First, the election of the assemblymen is based almost completely on immediate relations and obligations. Thus three of the four SouthoWauchi members are shopkeepers or former shopkeepers who are among the main money-lenders in the region. People to whom they have lent money are bound to vote for their benefactor. Secondly, Sone was formerly the dominant village in the region, especially vis a vis Furue and Kajika, whose residents are said to be descendants of Sone people who emigrated there. Although this dominance has decreased markedly, many people in both villages have obligations to some people of Sone, and they are expected to vote for the Sone candidates. This dominance will be examined further in Chapter 3.

The participation in city elections is very high: 88% of the voters voted in the election of the mayor in 1965, and 91% in the assembly election of 1966.[29] The slightly higher participation in the latter than in the former can be explained

by the personal character of the links between candidates and voters. Candidates for the post of mayor are usually from Owase City proper and few Wauchi people know them personally. However, some political strong men in the villages are related to one or another of the candidates and they try to influence their followers to vote for their candidate. At this level the vote is based on personal relations and obligations, but twice removed. The election of the assemblymen is based on immediate relations and obligations. Thus more people feel they must vote than in the mayoral election. The lower participation in prefectural and national elections is explained by their greater distance from personal relations and obligations.

Village politics overshadows city politics. Formally, the village as a body is called the ku. It is the most important political body in the village. The other avenue of power is the fishing cooperative. In Sone, once every second year in January, the villagers elect 9 councilors and 3 officers to take care of the ku affairs. Every man and woman over 18 living in the village is expected to vote. Most menevote but few women do. Among the nine councilors, one, usually an old man, is elected by popular vote to the post of village mayor (kuchō). Among the three officials, two are concerned with the wood industry and the other one is the treasurer. Finally, two old men from the village are appointed by the elected councilors to act as elders (genrō). These fourteen people form the council of the ku.

The council is the executive body of the village. The mayor is only the chairman of the council and he has no

independent powerso Annually, on the 14th of January, the council meets before an assembly of all villagers. Among the councilors, one is in charge of the overall management of the wood industry, with approval of the council. He is the man in charge of keeping the ku money and the recordso The two officers in charge of wood are not concerned with policy either, except as members of the council. They are the care-takers of the forest. They are also in charge of implementation of policies determined by the council.

The ku makes decisions concerning village affairs. Its main concern is the timber industry. But it is also concerned with road-building, the maintenance of public grounds and buildings, water supply, and the Buddhist temple. As concerns the temple, its maintenance is financed by the ku and the salary of the priest is paid by the ku. All councilors receive a small salary and the ku also covers the cost of some festivals. The costs of operation of the ku and of the projects it undertakes are not financed through taxation, but through a sum of money taken from the returns of the wood industryo The rest is divided among the members. The yearly budget of the ku is said to be around Y4,000,000 (about $11,000). This amounts to an average of about $21 per person or $68 per household.

The members of the village council are all men. No woman has yet run for office. The age of elected members ranges from 37 to 73, but only three are under 50. Their average age in 1968 was 53.7. If we include the two elders, respectively 71 and 67, the average goes up to 55.8. This points out an

important social and political fact in Sone: the domination of older people. Even though many young people, perhaps the most gifted ones, are working in cities and do not live in the village, there is no lack of enterprising men in their thirties and forties who could become able councilors. Among the councilors and officers, six of the twelve are ichizoku. One of the elders is also ichizoku. Since only 32 out of 169 families are ichizoku in Sone, this proportion is larger than might be expected. It must be pointed out however, that none of these members were elected simply because they were ichizoku. Election is based rather on the personal qualities of the candidates as well as their personal relations. In the council, ichizoku members have no more privilege or power than nizoku, but there is strong evidence that before 1945, ichizoku had a dominant position in the villagee This does not mean that no nizoku could be powerful, as the case of one of the South Wauchi member to the Owase City assembly shows. This man is a nizoku who exercised some political influence before World War II, but the most important positions were in the hands of the ichizoku. For example, the hereditary title of village headman (shoya) was always held by an ichizoku family. This is the family which owns part of the forest land in the village. The title still belongs to this family, but power is no longer attached to it. The number of ichizoku councilors and officers is not necessarily a sign of present ichizoku dominance, for in the council, these members do not act as ichizoku. However, it may well be a consequence of the former dominance of this group, for the ichizoku have greater familiarity with power and public affairs because of their privileged

position in the village before 1945.

The only other major locus of power in Sone is the fishing cooperativeo now weakened because of economic difficulties. The age average of the cooperative officials, about 48, is lower than the one for the ku.

The decision-making process in both the ku and the cooperative is fairly simple. Usually the councilors or the officials arrive at a decision after a more or less lengthy discussion, and they try to have it approved in the annual assemblies of the ku or the cooperative. These assemblies are attended mainly by men. Men are said to be good in discussions because of their long experience in the cooperativeo and since all of them were born in Sone and know each other very well, they are not afraid to give their opinions. Discussion ideally brings consensus, but it is sometimes hard to obtaino Discussions are often based on the merit of the case and personal grievances intrude very little into discussion of public issues. Everybody who has the right to vote is allowed to speak if he wishes to, since the assemblies are democratic. However, the excesses of democracy, i.e. discussions that are too violent and where respect for older people is not maintained, are greatly deplored. It is also the case that officials and older people have the best share of the talk.

In summary, village politics has precedence over nationalo prefectural and city politics. In the village, men, specifically old men, have a certain dominance. Finally there are remnants of the former dominance of ichizoku. This completes this short description of the geographic, demographic, social, economic and political background in Sone. In Chapter 7, many interrelations which can be perceived between various factors

presented in this chapter are examined in their relation to the folk and new religions of Sone.

# CHAPTER 2

## The Institutional Aspect of Religion

### 1. The shrine and the temple.

a) The shrine

The shrine in Sone is called Asuka shrine, located in a small wooded peninsula next to Sone harbor. It consists of: a concrete gate, the traditional torii; the outer grounds, where the old trees are, which also contains a passageway, a space for ceremonial meals, a service building and a fountain for purification; a stone wall to separate the outer and the main grounds; a staircase through the wall which leads to the main grounds and its prayer gate; finally the inner grounds, protected by a wooden fence, where the main building (hokora) is located. The main building contains the shintai, i.e. the symbol or the sign of the god (kami) and the offerings made to the god. This building is of shinmei style, similar to that of the Ise grand shrine[1].

The shrine is very old. It is rebuilt every 40 years and reroofed every 20 years. At each reroofing, a wooden sheet (munahuda) is put on the main beam of the shrine and inscribed with the date. People say there are 30 such wooden sheets, which would make the shrine 600 years old. On the oldest sheet, it is said to be written: "This small shrine was built 800 years ago." However, the antiquity of the shrine maybe somewhat exaggerated. In a chronicle of the region,[2] it is written that the first sheet dates from 1675, and on this sheet it is written that the shrine is 700 years old. This

puts the beginnings of the shrine before 1000 A.D. Whatever the exact date, it seems certain that the shrine was built well before the Edo period (1600-1868).

The gods enshrined in Asuka shrine are called Hayatama-o-no-mikoto and Kotosaka-oeno-mikoto[3] but there is only one symbol for the two gods. Although both gods have a male name,[4] people say that they are a couple, one male and the other female. The same two gods are also enshrined in two of the Kumano shrines (Shingu and Nachi).[5] This led a local folklorist to write that Asuka shrine was a branch of the Kumano shrines.[6] Although there is no conclusive evidence on this point, it is certain that the rituals of Asuka shrine are closer to those of Kumano than to those of Ise.

In 1908, as part of a government program to incorporate all Shinto shrines into the state Shinto cult, Asuka shrine had to accept three new gods. They are Susa-no-o-no-mikoto, Hondawake -no-mikoto, and Kotohanasakuya-hime-no-mikoto.[7] However, these were put to the side of the shrine and have always been considered secondary.

The two main gods of the shrine are the ujigami (usually translated "clan-god") of the four South Wauchi villages. All the villagers are their ujiko ("clan-children"). However, these gods actually have little to do with clans or descent groups. A better translation would be "tutelary deity" or "protective deity" of the villages. Although each of the other three villages has its own shrine too, their residents are also ujiko of Asuka shrine. This implies a superiority of Sone over the other three villages, a characteristic which will be discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 3.

The shrine is the center of many rituals usually referred to as folk Shinto rituals which are analyzed in Chapter 3. There is no resident priest. Villagers, following an established procedure (see section 2), become caretaker of the shrine in turn.

b) The Temple

The Buddhist temple in Sone is called Anjoji. It is a big wooden building on the side of a hill called shiroyama (castle mountain). It is a temple of the Sodo sect of Zen Buddhism, and has one resident priest. It was built in its present location in 1661,[8] rebuilt in 1729 and again in 1828. It is said to be the temple of the Sasaki family. The first member of this family, dealt with in more detail in the next section, came to Sone in 1555. He was a warrior who controlled the region and his grave is on the temple grounds. On the basis of circumstantial evidence, a local folklorist asserts that the temple was first built in a different location, probably around 1450, and in 1661 rebuilt in its present location.[9] Whatever its exact age, the temple is old, though more recent than the shrine.

The temple is the place where old ancestral tablets are kept and where all public rituals related to death and the souls of the dead are performed. It is not a place concerned with ideas of pollution and purity.

Anjoji is the honke (main temple) of two other temples of the same sect located in the neighboring villages of Furue and Kajika. The temple in Kata is also of the same sect, but is no longer a branch of Anjoji. Built in 1570, this temple was

formerly related to Anjoji but a split occurred over a quarrel about forest land between the two villages. Since then, Kata's temple has had no relations to that of Sone. The temple in Kata is considered inferior; when the Kata priest visits the priest in Sone, he must enter from the back door, whereas the priests from Furue and Kajika come in from the front door.

2. Ichizoku, Kannushi and Oji

The ichizoku (first families) group controls all the ceremonies connected with the shrine. Only members of these families can participate in Shinto rituals. The nizoku (second families) are spectators. Furthermore, only ichizoku people can become caretaker of the shrine (kannushi). The caretaker of the shrine has the office for three years and must fulfill the following conditions: he must be ichizoku; he must be the oldest man who has not yet held the post; he must be married and his wife must be living; there must not have been any death in his family for one year; and he must have been tō in the Jan. 5 ceremony. (See Chapter 3, on the annual cycle). To be caretaker of the shrine is a sign and a guarantee of luck for the family. The caretaker has a branch shrine of Asuka shrine in his house.

The justifications given by Sone people for ichizoku's superior position are diverse, but most of them have to do with a mythical person called Oji, supposedly a samurai (warrior). The most complete version of the beginnings of ichizoku, given by an ichizoku member, is as follows:

During the Sengoku period, a lower class warrior called Oji, trying to escape from other warriors who wanted to kill

him, came to Sone. Some Sone people wanted to protect him, but others were afraid to do so. The former had a meeting where they had to sign a blood oath to protect Oji. These people helped Oji to escape, and with his help they were able to control the village. These persons, as well as their descendants, became ichizokuo Others and later newcomers became nizokuo When he died, Oji was buried in a place called kakure Oji, "Ojiòs hiding place". (Kakure also means 'to die"oin classical Japanese.) It is not in any of the two graveyards of the village, nor does it have a gravestone. Moreover, it is located in a bushy area and it is felt that it should not be cleaned, as ordinary graves should be. People who clean Oji's grave are said to become mentally ill or die.

A variant of this story, given by a nizoku man, emphasized the fact that Oji came with a gang of armed lower class samurai who terrorized the region. The ichizoku are the descendants of these warriors, while the nizoku are the descendants of the originaì inhabòtants of the village.

Another version of the story also centers on lower ranking warriors. A gang of samurai led by Oji were involved in fights with similar groups. They came to Sone and built a stone fort on the top of Shiroyama from where they fought rival groups which had built similar forts atop other mountains. Oji defeated these groups and, with his companions and the people from Sone who had subsequently joined him, succeeded in controlling the region. The descendants of Oji's retainers are the ancestors of the ichizoku.

There are two other versions: one old ichizoku man stated that the founder of the ichizoku was a kami; a nizoku man

argued that Oji was a member of the Taira family, defeated by the Minamoto in thee12th century, who came to Sone to escape the victors. His followers and their descendants are the ichizoku.

Although the exact historical events are unknown, certain common elements help to make a general sense of these stories. The major element in all the stories is Oji who is usually thought of as a warrior. However, Oji is also a phenomenon in the Kumano region which is located on the West coast of Kii peninsula, from Kushimoto to South of Owase city. This is the region of the so-called "99 Oji", or "children-gods," i.e., gods who are the children of theemythical ancestress of the Japanese imperial line, Amaterasu-o-mikami, the Sun-Goddess, and her brother Susa-no-o-no-mikoto.[10] Thus Oji is a god. How did he come to be considered a warrior? This question cannot be answered completely, but there are some clues.

In 1555, Sasaki Uzaemon, a warrior from Omi, in what is now Shiga prefecture, came to South Wauchi. One source says that he was invited by some people of the region to help them fight bandits.[11] Whether this report is true or not, it is certain that some people of the region chose to cooperate with Sasaki. This warrior established his headquarters on the top of a hill in Sone, and he and his retainers controlled the region making it Sasaki's private domain. His band of warriors fought with similar groups established nearby in places such as Kuki.[12] This was a common phenomenon in the Sengoku period (1470-1600), a time of constant fighting between bands of warriors.[13] Not long after Sasaki came, in 1575 his domain

came under the control of the Horiuchi family of Shingu.[14] The Sasaki family was maintained as head of the small South Wauchi domain, but it became the vassal of Horiuchi. The latter sided with the losing side (Mōri) in the battle of Sekigahara in 1600 when Tokugawa Ieyasu finally established himself as the ruler of the whole country. As a consequence, the Horiuchi family and its vassals, including the Sasaki, lost their domain, which was incorporated into Kishu fief in 1601.[15] The last mention of Sasaki was in 1615 when a member of the family moved to Nigishima and became a masterless warrior (rōnin).[16] Thereafter, no Sasaki was left in South Wauchio

During its stay in South Wauchi, the Sasaki family and its retainers controlled the shrine and the temple. Whether under the influence of this family, or under previous arrangements, by the early 17th century the residents of the four villages of South Wauchi were ujiko of Asuka shrine, which was controlled by the ichizoku of Sone.

There is no mention of ichizoku in relation to Sasaki. However, it is clear that the mythical ancestoro of the ichizoku, Oji, took many of the attributes of Sasaki, while retaining some characteristics of the deity. Thus Oji became an ambiguous character, at one and the same time a deity (his grave is not a standard grave and it is not polluting, although it is dangerous) and an ancestor (the soul of a warrior)o

Some characteristics of the ichizoku help to clarify the origins of this group. Sone's ichizoku is one example of groups called miyaza (shrine groups) which are in charge of shrine

festivals in villages. Their structure differs: some include all households in the village; others include only a limited number of families.[17] In Sone, the ichizoku group is clearly of the second type. According to Hagiwara,[18] these groups were established in the Sengoku period, or in the early Edo period, to take care of the shrine, which until then had been taken care of or monopolized by the leaders of small domains, such as Sasaki. When these domains were eliminated, a shrine group made of villagers took over the shrine. In Sone, this could have happened around 1600. Hagiwara is correct, the miyaza of Sone was not founded by Sasaki, but rather made possible by the departure of his descendants and retainers.

Further clarification on the question of shrine groups can be found in the writings of T.C. Smith.[19] According to him, the miyaza of the second type, i.e. those with a limited membership, were formed in the late Sengoku and the early Edo periods, because of the immigration of strangers into the region. Probably in order to protect the solidarity of the traditional community and their economic, political and social dominance, the oldest families in the villages would decide to limit access to the shrine festivals to themselves, excluding newcomers. Smith asserts that these groups were formed mainly in places where there was no irrigation, i.e. less of an economic base for inequality. The old families, feeling that their position was somewhat threatened by the newcomers, decided to maintain the privileges they had by setting up a monopoly on the shrine. Thus ritual replaced economics as a

means of maintaining inequality.

This interpretation fits well with some of the data on Sone. In the first place, there is evidence of migrations toward South Wauchi at the beginning of the Edo period.[20] Secondly, it is possible, on the basis of present information, that the ichizoku families are the oldest descendants of the village. The village families are now classified in 26 surnames, only 6 of which are represented within the ichizoku. R.J. Smith's data on the ancestral tablets of Sone[21] show that families of people with these six surnames have tablets going back to 1800, and even as early as 1714.e Among the nizoku, only three familiies have tablets going back to 1800 and one of them to 1720. It is thus possible that the ichizoku are descendants of the oldest families in Sone. However, it must be emphasized that this information is not really conclusive, many tablets having been destroyed in tidal waves. Thirdly, the ichizoku have manuscripts related to their activities, the oldest dating from 1683. This means that by that date, the shrine group of Sone was already set up. Fourthly, Sone, Furue and Kajika were villages of the type described by Smith as the most likely to have a shrine group:ethey had less of an economic base for inequality. Kata was the only village with some irrigation. However, Kata people had less relations with the other villages from 1650 on because of the dispute over forest land. Thus, with less of an economic base for differentiation, South Wauchi people resorted to rituals to separate privileged families from the others.

However, there is one factor which makes it less likely that the ichizoku of Sone had all the characteristics given by T.C. Smithe This is the fact that the shrine group in South Wauchi includes only Sone families, despite the undeniable fact that thereewere already many people living in the three other villages by the end of the 16th century. Thus, if the shrine group was a means to separate the old families from the new-comers, it should have included families from at least the three villages which still participated in the rituals of the shrine. Furthermore, the data gathered from the ancestral tablets do not entirely confirm Smith's interpretatione[22], for three nizoku families have tablets going back in time as far as the ones of the ichizoku. It is thus probable that there are other factors besides the early date of settlement which separated the ichizoku from the rest of the people. One, which is mentioned in the stories used by Sone people to justify the superior position of the ichizoku, is the fact that it is those villagers who helped Oji who became ichizoku. From the historical data, it appears that some residents of Sone helped Sasaki to extend his control over the region.e Since Sasaki had control over the shrine and the temple, as well as the economy and politics of South Wauchi, it is probable that his retainers, including villagers who had been living in Sone previously and who joined the troops of Sasaki after he came to the region, had economic, political and ritual privileges. With the departure of Sasaki in 1615, the families of his retainers were in danger of losing their priveleges. It would thus have been logical for these families to try to

save some of their privileges by arrogating to themselves the hereditary monopoly of Asuka shrine. If this interpretation is correct, the ichizoku would not necessarily be the families whose ancestors were the earliest settlers of the region, but rather, the descnedants of Sasaki's retainers, both the original ones who came with Uzaemon and the Sone villagers who helped him establish his fief in South Wauchi. The myths about the origins of the group were probably devised later in order to justify its dominance. Oji was an ideal mythical founder, since he was originally a god and subsequently took on the characteristics of a warrioro

This interpretation is not completely substantiated, but it has the advantage of taking all the data into account. More research is needed to clarify certain points, especially about the families of Sone who joined Sasaki. However, it is the most plausible interpretation, one which takes into account both Smith's and Hagiwara's interpretations as well as the fact that only Sone people are ichizoku.

3. The god-shelf and the Buddhist altar

The god-shelf (kamidana) is a small shelf located in the main room of every house. Carpenters must be careful not to put the god-shelf in the wrong place; that is, it must not be on an imaginary line which goes from the Buddhist altar (butsudan) of the house to the toilet. Both of these places are considered polluting which must be kept away from the godso On the shelf there is a small reproduction of a shrine containing a paper representing the gods of Asuka shrine. In this way the god-shelf in every home is a small branch of the

village shrine. Some shelves also include papers from Ise shrine or other famous shrines. Besides the small shrine, there are other objects. These include two carp-shaped flower vases, containing twigs of sakaki (cleyera japonica). Carps are a symbol of strength, since they are believed to leap up waterfalls. They are also a symbol of long life. Sakaki is a sacred evergreen tree associated with Shintoe It is a symbol of good luck and prosperity. There are also two little vases containing leaves of the plant called nanten. This plant is usually put near the toilet, supposedly to counteract the bad smell associated with Japanese outhouses. It is a symbol of purity, since it eliminates one of the bad characteristics of a polluting elemente There are also offerings, usually of fruits or flowers; only villagers who grow rice offer bundles of rice ears. People also glue to the shelf two woodblock prints representing Ebisu and Daikoku, two of the seven gods of fortunee These gods are associated with wealth and prosperity, Ebisu being closely related to both merchants and fishermen. Finally, ther is a sacred straw rope called shimenawa, associated with the New Year's festival. (It will be examined in detail in Chapter 3.) Thus the god-shelf is related to the gods, and the objects which are put on it symbolize long life, good luck, wealth, prosperity, strength and purity.

The Buddhist altar is usually located in the most commonly used room of the house. Its doors are usually kept closed, except in special circumstances. It contains the tablets of the ancestors who are given offerings of food, mainly rice,

and burning incense. A piece or part of any special food brought to the house is also usually offered to the ancestors, as are diplomas or certificates earned by any member of the household. In fact, ancestors are treated as members of the household. In everyday life, the altar is often used as a storing place for important documents or special papers. (More will be said about the ancestors in Chapter 5.)

# CHAPTER 3

## The Annual Cycle of Rituals

The annual cycle of ceremonies is the core of Sone religion. Although there are indications that the importance of some rituals have decreased, many of the rituals of the annual cycle are still among the most crucial events in Sone. In this chapter, each ritual is examined in terms of how people interpret it. Then the symbols are examined in the order of their appearance, giving the exegetical meaning where obtainable, then operational and positional meanings, i.e., the meanings which can be inferred by the researcher from the contextual data. Finally, for all the most important rituals, a general overview is given. Three of these, clearly the most important, are treated in much greater detail. These are: the New Year's festival, obon (festival of the souls) in August, and the shrine festival in November.

a) New Year's Festival (Shōgatsu no matsuri)

The New Year's festival proper starts on January 3 and lasts until January 5, but the general period of festivities starts in the last days of December with the preparations and continues until January 15, with secondary rituals on January 7, 12 and 15. These festivals used to be celebrated according to the lunar calendar, i.e., in February of the solar calendar, but because vacations for students and people working in cities fall in January, the change to the solar calendar was made around 1960.

Preparations for the festival start around December 28, and

in these few days preceding New Year's day all households must be cleaned, symbolizing the eradication of all past evil, unhappiness and a new beginning. It is then that the two men who will officiate at the January 4 ritual are chosen. Finally, on December 31, branches of sakaki and the sacred ropes are put at several places in the houseo Two ropes are kept at the same place for the whole year: these are put on the god-shelf and on the top of the entrance door. A few smaller ones, which are put in the kitchen, on the back door, or on the kitchen door, are thrown into the sea on January 15. The two main ropes are also thrown into the sea, but on December 31. These ropes were formerly made by the head of each household for use in his own house, but now most people buy them from a few people of the village who make and sell a great number of them. Bigger ropes, which are put at the gate and on the entrance of the main building of the shrine, are also thrown into the sea on December 31.

The shimenawa is a rope made of rice straw in the following way. It starts on the right side with two intertwining strands joined together. After a few twists, a branch of sakaki is inserted, and then white paper (hanshi) cut in a special way. Then seven threads of straw from one of the strands of the rope (part A) are left hanging down. Added next are a branch of pine, another piece of white paper and a twig of fern (urajiro). Then, in the middle of the rope is placed a small bitter orange called daidai. On the left half, following the orange, are: another twig of fern; five threads of straw hanging down from part B; paper; three threads of straw hanging down from part B; a twig of a tree called yuzuriha. Finally the rope ends with the last

threads of straw braided together. People formerly used two branches of pine, one on each side of the orange. The one on the right was called omatsu (male pine) and on the left mematsu (female pine)e This is not done any longer. The ropes which are put at the shrine, and the ones of one family of the village (Nakano), do not have any pieces of white paper in them.

The sacred rope is said to be a barrier against dirt, pollution and evil and delimits a sacred place. It prevents impurity from entering the space protected by it. Each element has a special meaning, which is often based on "folk etymologizing".[1] "The meaning of a given symbol is often, though by no means invariably derived... from the name assigned to it, the sense of which is traced from some primary word."[2] Daidai, the bitter orange which is at the center of the rope, is related to another word pronounced the same way but written differently, which means "from generation to generation". Thus the orange conveys the meaning of continuity within the family and of transmission of wealth from generation to generation. The plant called yuzuriha has a name which is related to the word yuzuri, "inherited from one's father"; so this plant also has a connection to the inheritance of wealth and the continuity of the family. Finally the other plant, sakaki, is related to sakaeru; "to prosper".

These are the only exegetical meanings related to the components of the sacred rope. However, much more can be said about them. Pine is one of the three sacred trees associated with Shinto, the two others being bamboo and plum. It is a strong tree which has a long life and thus is a symbol of strength and long life. Formerly, a male and a female twig of pine were

put in the rope. This is probably a symbol of the necessary relation of the two sexes in order to achieve continuity of household which is symbolized by the orange. According to a text by an early European observer[3], yuzuri is a plant which keeps its old leaves while new leaves are coming. It is a symbol of the wish that parents live until their children and grandchildren are born. Sakaki is related to the shrine and is a symbol of prosperity and luck. Moreover it has a direct relation to purity. In gosengu, which is the ritual transportation of the symbol of the deity of the shrine to a temporary keeping place, when the shrine or the roof of the shrine are rebuilt every 20 years, the young men who carry the portable altar in which the symbol has been placed put sakaki in their mouths to prevent their breath from touching the symbol of the gods.

The white paper called hanshi is another symbol of purity used to purify the impure.o In daily life, it is used to wrap money when a payment in cash is made.o Giving bare cash is offensive, crude and impoliteo It can be done in shops, but not for other payments. Hanshi cleans the money. During the Edo period, warriors used this paper to wipe the blood off their sword or dagger after killing or injuring somebody. It was regarded as purifing the sword by eradicating the pollution caused by blood. It was also used for the same reasons, to wrap the dagger used by the warriors in ceremonial suicide (seppuku).

Why no paper is used in the ropes of the shrine, or of the Nakano family, could not be ascertained.o Perhaps the reason can be inferred: since paper purifies the impure, the shrine which is always pure, does not need it. But what about the Nakano

family? This family, whose members do not live in Sone any longer, is a member of the ichizoku, and its representative sit in the seat of honor in all shrine ceremonies. (A representative still comes to Sone to participate in the New Year's festival.) For ritual purposes, it is considered the first among the "first familees". It is probable that the absence of white paper in the sacred rope of this family is a symbol of its superior status, impling that this family is already pure, whereas the others are not.

The rope itself is made of rice straw. Rice is very important in the Japanese diet. It is the staple food, and as such, it is the essence of food. It is also widely used in rituals (see below). Straw has some of the connotations of ricee It is also very useful in daily life in the making of ropes and sandals.

The sacred rope, which is made of rice straw, is a complex and important symbol. It is related to the shrine only, and it has nothing to do with the Buddhist temple and rituals. Its purpose is to delimit a pure space. It is kept for one year, in order to extend the effects of the New Year's festival all through the year. Its component elements, which ofter have overlapping meaning, refer to purity, the acquisition and transmission of wealth, a long life, strength, and the continuation of the family.

On the night of December 31, the last preparations are made. Rice cakes (mochi), which have been made in the last days of December, are put in the tokonoma i.e., the alcove of the main room of the house where flowers are put for decoration. They are also offered to the ancestors in the Buddhist altar. These cakes are a symbol of good luck and are a necessary ingredient of all joyful events in the village. Offerings to the

ancestors are made at most festivalso Although connected with death, ancestors are regarded as continuing members of the household, and as such participate in its joyful events.

January 1: This is a day of exchange of greetings, first among members of the same household, then between householdso People visit their relatives and friendsó houses for New Yearós greetings, an event which involves considerable drinking.

January 2: This day is called yumi hajime: "beginning of shooting". (Since it is directly related to the shooting ritual of January 4, it will be treated in the later section on ritual.)

January 3: This day marks the beginning of the New Yearós festival proper which lasts three days. The festival held on January 3 is called miya no to: "the prayeroof the shrine", and is only the first half of a two-day childrenós festival which has its climax in the shooting festival of the following day. The two-day festival is held for two reasons: to insure strength, wealth and a long life to all children: and to insure a good year for all residents of the village. As such, the festival is also related more directly to fishing.

The central characters of these two days are six children, represented by their fathers (tō), for whom the festival is expecially carried out although it is also in a broader sense for all childreno Before 1955, the neighboring villages of Furue and Kajika had the "privilege" of choosing one child from their village to participate in either of the two rituals. Nowadays, all six children are from Sone. Previously all the children in the festival had to be boys, but in 1967, for the first time in memory, a girl was chosen. The children for whom

the festivals are held are chosen on January 4 of the year preceding the festival. The distinction between ichizoku and nizoku is irrelevant here, although old people said that "in the old days", only ichizoku children could be represented. The cost of the festivals is covered by the fathers of these children.

Two of the six children are represented on January 3 and the other four on January 4. The ceremony on January 3 is a ritual meal held on the shrine outer grounds in the afternoon. Besides the fathers whose children have been chosen and who can be nizoku, only ichizoku men can participate in the meal. All women, children and nizoku men can attend only as spectators. The two men who will shoot arrows on the following day, although ichizoku, also cannot attend. Thus, this ceremony marks the ritual dominance of ichizoku over nizoku, and of men over women. Members of families where a death occured in the previous year cannot attend the New Year's festival. This prohibition holds for all festivals connected to the shrine. Death is regarded as polluting and should thus never come in contact with the shrine.

Before the ceremony starts, the target which will be used in the shooting ritual of January 4 must be completed. At the meal, it is put in the seat of honor, on the north side, to underscore its importance. A representative of the Nakano family sits near the target in the other seat of honor. On the west side sit the representatives of the ichizoku families, one per household, in the following order: the village head,[4] the caretaker of the shrine, then the representatives ranked according to age, thus establishing the primacy of old over young. On the east side are the seats of the two fathers whose children were chosen

for that day (tō). In front of each of them are placed the following items: a wooden container (uogochi) with dried and salted saury (sanma) in it; on the top of the container is a woodene chopping board and on top of this a big salted or fresh yellowtail (buri or hamachi), depending on the time when it was caught. The wooden container and the chopping board are two utensils very often used for cooking, and they probably refer to the wish that there will be enough food throughout the year. Saury is a fish which can be dried and salted and is eaten all through the winter. Although not a major food item at any time it is very useful since it can be kept and eaten whenever people have nothing else to eat. It is of limited importance nowadays, but it must have been essential in the days when people were almost completely dependent on local products for survival. Yellowtail has a double exegetical meaning: it is a strong fish, which fights when it is caught, and it is long-lived. Thus it refers to the wish for strength and a long life for children. Secondly yellowtails come in groups; so if you catch one, you probably will catch many. This means an abundance of food and products to sell, thus refering to wealth and prosperity.

The yellowtails are central elements of the ritual. The two tō must bring their fish to the shrine ground themselves. The one with the biggest fish sits near the seat of honor. What counts most is not the thickness or the weight of the fish but its length. As the privilege of having the biggest fish is sought after, people try to catch a long one well before the ceremony and then hang it attached to a big stone from the roof so as to make the fish longer.

The meal starts with the cutting of the biggest fish into two halves, one of which is offered to the gods of the shrine. The second half and the other fish are cut in pieces and given to the participants in the meal. Formerly the heads and the entrails were given to nizoku children who were attending as spectators and who fought for them, but this custom stopped before 1960 because children would no longer fight for the heads and entrails. The disappearance of this especially strong symbol of ichizoku dominance is an indication of their weakening status. The child whose half of the fish is given to the gods is seen as especially lucky and should receive added strength and happiness from the ritual. However, all the participants, and even all the members of the village, but especially children, receive the benefit of this communal meal. The sharing of the fish has the aspect of a communion with the gods. Men and gods partake of the same meal. This mystical union has the effect of insuring what the ritual is for: long life and health for children; happiness, wealth and health for all villagers; and good fishing.

At the shrine, the participants drink sake and eat rice, the two most important festive food items, but they do not eat the fish. Each receives two pieces of fish, one from each fish, and brings both home skewered on a chopstick. The food is presented to the guests by the two tō. Since the ichizoku shooters are not present, the tō bring the pieces of fish to their homes. The end of the meal marks the end of the ritual of January 3.

January 4: The shooting ritual of January 4 is the center of the New Year's festival and is called hama no tō: "the prayer of the harbor". Four tō participate in this ritual. The prepar-

ations start in the last days of December. The four tō go to the house of two ichizoku men to ask them to perform the shooting rite of January 4. If one or both refuse, they ask somebody else. The two shooters must be chosen by December 31 and one of them must be at least 40 years old, married and must have participated in the ritual as a shooter before. The second shooter can be married and experienced, but neither qualification is necessary. Both shooter's family must not have sustained a death during the previous year. When the two archers have accepted, the four tō bring them the costume to be worn until January 4. This is a white robe (shōzoku or kamishimo) which is used only in relation to the shrine and is a symbol of purity.

From the time they agree to perform until January 4, the archers, when they are in their homes, must stay under the god-shelf, sitting and sleeping on a rough straw mat. They must avoid sexual relations, and women, except prepubertal girls, must not walk in front them. Indeed, the archers must avoid talking with other people in the village as much as possible. However, they can visit each other and are expected to drink sake since it is an auspicious drink. There is no taboo on food. In olden days, menstruating women were supposed to sleep outside of the house. These taboos are to protect the archers' purity for the ritual. The main possible sources of pollution are sexual relations and menstrual blood, and by implication women. Finally all the people in the village can be a source of pollution, so the archers must avoid them as much as possible.

Early in the morning of January 1, and again in the late afternoon, the four tō go toothe archersó housesǫ thank them for

having agreed to perform and drink sake. This is done for three days in a row, and on the morning of January 4. Each time the visit is followed by purification (kori) which used to involve the archers bathing in the sea but is now limited to putting sea water on their foreheads, washing the hands and rinsing the mouth.

January 2 is the day when the shooting begins. Twice a day, after purification, the archers practice shooting at a small target made for this purpose. Two young men (yumimochi: "bow carrier") and two elementary schoolboys (yatori: "arrow-picker") carry the bow and arrows to the practice ground. The same four perform identical functions in the actual ritual of January 4. Before using the arrows, the archers must purify them with white paper (hanshi).

On January 3, the same ceremonies of thanks, purification and trial-shooting are held. In the morning, the four tō go to the mountain and cut one cedar tree. They bring it down to the village and have it cut in thin slices at the sawmill in kata. Previously, the tō cut the tree themselves in the following way: first they cut it into 8 pieces; second, they make thin strips of wood by taking each year ring apart; finally they break these into pieces of about three feet in length and weave them together to make the target. Nowadays, the tō perform only the last operation. On top of the wood they put white paper, while the markings are made with charcoal. All measurements of the target are worked out in detail and the target must be completed before the start of the ritual meal of miya no to. The archers cannot attend this meal.

On the night of January 3, around 11 P.M. , the two archers go to the house of one of the tō calledetōban, chosen because his child is the oldest among the four represented at the ceremony. There they put on the special blue costume (shitatare) and the hat (eboshi) which they will wear for the shooting ritual of the following day. At midnight, while theefour tō bring the target to the decided place and put a sacred rope on it, the archers go to pray and make offerings of sake at the grave of Oji. This visit marks the climax of the preparations and underlines the special relation of the ichizoku archers to Oji and Oji's special powers even in the shrine rituals. Moreover, the visit also emphasizes the ritual importance of the archers and gives them the strength to perform the ritual in the right way. After the visit to Oji, they put on the white robe again.

On January 4, around 11 A.M., after the morning thanks, purification and trialeshooting, the archers go to the shrine and put on the official costume. They give their white robe to the bow carriers, who will wear them in the ceremony. The arrow-pickers also wear white costumes. Around noon, the six officiants, accompanied by an ichizoku official, go to the chosen place in the following order: the official, the elder archer, the younger archer, the bow carriers (carrying the bows and arrows) and the arrow-pickers. The procession walks from the shrine to the entrance of the shooting ground where the participants are seated. On the east side are seated the four tō and the male representatives of the ichizoku families. At the north end, in the seat of honor, is the representative of

the Nakano family. Just in front of him, about 150 feet away, is the target. On his right, the representatives of the ichizoku families, ranked according to age, are seated. Outside this assembly are the spectators. When they arrive at the shooting ground, the archers and the five persons accompanying them remove their sandals and the bow-carriers give the bows and arrows to the arrow-pickers. The group then enters the ground from the north side, passing behind the four tō. As they enter the ground, the archers raise their arms, bending them at the elbow, so that hands are up and forearms are parallel to the body. The path they follow has been spread with sand taken from the bay near the harbor, sand which is said to be for the purification of the ground where the shooting will be performed. What makes the sand pure is its relation to the sea, the main source of purity. It is in order to protect the purity of the ground that the performers remove their shoese Since the only other place where people must take their shoes off is in the house, also to keep it clean, the shooting grounds is likewise conceived as a pure and clean place.

After entering the shooting ground, the seven officiants walk on the east side of the ground, behind the four tō, moving past them to the southeast corners where they turn right and go toward the southwest corner. There, the bow-carriers and the ichizoku official quit the procession. The latter has completed his role, and joins the rank of the ichizoku representativese, whereas the bow-carriers will re-enter the ceremony later. The arrow-pickers stay at the southwest corner, carrying the bows and arrows. Then the senior archer goes toward the southeast

corner; but midway he turns left and goes toward the seat of honor. He stops and bows, then turns left and bows again in front of the ichizoku representatives, after which he returns to the southwest corner. The junior archer does the same, but comes back to the southeast corner. Subsequently the archers change place twice, and on the third time they meet midway, which is in front of the target, walk a few feet toward the target and stop. This is the spot from which they will shoot. No explanation is given for this procedure but the fact that the archers bow in front of the ichizoku representative, though not the tō, underscores the ritual superiority of the ichizoku. It is as if the power of the archers were delegated to them by these representatives.

Before shooting, the two archers arrange their robes so as to expose the right arm and shoulder. Then the arrow-pickers bring them the bows and arrows. The arrows are purified with white paper, which the archers have carried in front of their robe all through the ceremony. Each archer has two arrows, those of the senior archer with white feathers and those of the junior with black feathers. Concerning the meaning of the colors the explanation given was that the experienced archer is less likely to miss the target and thus dirty the arrows. Each archer shoots twelve times, two shots at a time, hence six phases of four arrows each. The senior archer always shoots first. After each series of four arrows have been shot children from the audience run to the target to take out the arrows and give them to the arrow-pickers. The act of touching these arrows is supposed to insure good luck and health in the coming year. The pickers then

bring the arrows to the archers who purify them with white paper, thus underlining the necessity of preventing the archers from coming in contact with pollution.

After each archer has shot six arrows, he kneels facing the target. The tōban brings small bamboo sticks, two wrapped together in white paper and each archer plants three sets of sticks in a little mound of sand from the sea which has been prepared beforehand. Each time they are planted in the following way: the archers hold one arrow on the ground with the left hand, and plant the sticks over the arrow with the right hand, with the thumb and index finger toward the ground. Eachtime they say "tototo", which supposedly means that the ceremony the tō had been requesting for their children is being performed. Afterwards, the archers again shoot four arrows each in the same manner, and again plant three sets of bamboo sticks, this time in front of the tō. Then they shoot the last arrows. When the shooting is completed, the six officiants, including the arrow-pickers and the bow carriers, sit on the south side facing the seat of honor. At the same time, children from all households (except some Sōka Gakkai households) rush to the target and tear a piece of it to bring it back home. This piece will be put near the entrance door at the setsubun festival in February. Although this particular ritual will be discussed in more detail later, it can be pointed out here that the piece of target is put near the door to keep evil out of the house, thus to insure health, good luck and prosperity in the coming year.

Before proceeding to the last part of the January 4 ceremony, it is necessary to examine the meaning of the planting of the

bamboo sticks. The exegetical meaning is that this part of the ceremony is an indication that the ritual for the children has been performed as the tō had requested. But there is more to it. First, the number of bamboo sticks is the same as the number of arrows, and like the shooting, the planting is done in pairs. Second, the sticks are planted over the arrows, which probably represents the transfer of the power of the arrows to the sticks. Through the sticks the power of the arrows, and thus of the shooting ceremony, is transferred to the fathers of the four children for whom the ceremony is performed. This transfer occurs in two stages: first, in front of the target, to insure that the power passes from the arrows to the sticks; second, in front of the tō, finally to transfer the power to the four children. Ideal conditions attend the planting: 1) the sticks are made of bamboo which is one of the three sacred and lucky plants associated with Shinto. It is also used in many everyday activities and is the main raw material for many tools, including kitchen utensils, baskets, carpentry work. Bamboo is also used extensively in pearl culture, having the connotation of reliability and strength, but a strength which can bend under pressure without breaking. 2) The sand from the sea is a symbol of purity, as was mentioned previously. 3) The white paper in which the sticks are wrapped is also a potent source of purity. Thus the transfer of power is done under the most propitious conditions possible, and becomes, as will be described later, an essential element in understanding what the January 4 ritual means as a whole.

After the shooting is done, all the participants in the ceremony - the archers, bow-carriers and arrow-pickers, the four

tō, the ichizoku representatives and the representative of the Nakano family, all go the shrine's outer grounds where, at the same place as on January 3, they will share in a ritual meal. The procedure and the seating order are the same as on the previous day. However, accomodations must be made for a few changes in the attending personnel. First, the four tō, instead of two, sit on the east side, as a consequence of which there are four fish. The man with the biggest fish again sits closest to the seat of honor. Half of his fish is given to the gods and the remaining half plus the three other fish are cut, a piece of each being given to each participant, in the same way as on January 3. Second, the target is not present in one of the seats of honor. Third, the six officiants sit on the south side, facing the seat of honor. Looked at from this they are sitting in order of age from left to right. After the meal all the participants go home carrying four pieces of fish skewered on a chopstick, and the ceremony is over.

It is now time to reconsider the meaning of the whole ceremony. The transfer of power in connection with the planting of bamboo sticks gives a clue as to the meaning of the entire ritual procedure from preparations to execution. The series of taboos which the archers must observe in the few days before the ceremony are necessary to keep purity and enhance their power. This power is further increased through purification in the sea, and also through sitting under the god-shelf all day and all night long. The white robe they wear is at the same time a symbol and an agent of purity. Sake is one more element which increases their power. Furthermore, the archers must work themselves into

their powerful status by practising shooting for three dayse before the ritual. This puts them in the physical and mental state to perform the ceremony correctly. The visit at Oji's grave almost completes this preparation. For Oji's grave, as we saw previously, is a non-classifiable piece of land, and as such, it is both dangerous and powerful, as is Oji himself who is an ambiguous figure. But Oji is a source of power for the ichizoku only, because of their special relation to him. Thus the two ichizoku archers, by their visit to Oji's grave, increase their power as officiants of the shooting ritual, while emphasizing the ichizoku's monopoly of Oji's powere

The final touch is given at the shrine in the hour preceding the ceremony. The changing of costume symbolizes the special status and power of the archers,[5] while the contact with the shrine legitimates this power and insures its use for good. This actually points out that power is kami. The shooting is done to transfer all the accumulated power of the archers primarily to the children, for whom the ritual is performed, but also to the whole community. The shooting is an especially good symbol of power. The physical effort needed, the speed of the arrow and its impact on the target, are all appropriately linked to power. The power can be transmitted through the arrows to children, through the bamboo sticks to the tō, and through a piece of target to all households. Finally, the shooting in itself has some pervasive effect on the whole village. Another possible meaning of the shooting ritual is the "shooting of evil."

Thus the archers are the main intermediaries through which power and luck are transmitted to the community. They insure

the growth of children, the health and wealth to the whole community, and good fishing. The fact that only ichizoku can perform this ritual emphasizes their special spiritual and, one might suspect, cosmic position. (This aspect as well as its social significance will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 7.)

No one in Sone knows exactly what would happen if, in terms of the rituals meaning, the archers were impure. Some thought that no power would accrue to the community, but also that no harm would come either. Others thought that bad effects would be felt by the archers alonee However, so many precautions are taken to insure purity that the possibility of an impure archer is very slight.

January 5: The ceremony of January 5 is calèed Oji no to, "the prayer of Oji,é' and is in honor of Oji. It is the last day of the New Yearés festival proper, but is unrelated to the children'es festival of the two previous days. It is exclusively an ichizoku ritual. Only representatives of the ichizoku households can attend, and no spectators are allowed. The ritual is a meal at the house of one of the membersę who for this occasion is called tō. Although the name is the same as for the six fathers of the rituals of the two previous days, the meaning is different. Being tō on January 5 is the first step by which every ichizoku member becomes a candidate for the position of caretaker of the shrine. Every caretaker must previously have been tō. The choice of the tō is based on age and every ichizoku man is supposed to become tō according to his age ranking; that isę when all older men have previously performed the duty. One can refuse, but it means forfeiting one's right as an ichizoku member,

and as a candidate for the post of caretaker. The ceremonial meal is largely paid for by the tō, although every ichizoku family must also contribute Y200 (60¢).

The purpose of the January 5 festival is said to be to discuss ichizoku affairs. Since these affairs are primarily ritual, and since everybody else is excluded, it is clear that Oji no tō is the main ceremony whereby the ritual dominance of ichizoku is affirmed.

The meal starts around 3 P.M. Beforehand, the wives of the participants, as well as younger men and women, help prepare the meal. But when it begins they must leave, the only people present being ichizoku men, one per household. At first, the tō does not participate; instead he must sit outside of the room, while one of his friends plays host in his stead. The seating arrangement is the following: nearest the alcove i.e., in the seat of honor, is the village head; then the caretaker, the archers who performed in the festival of January 4 (their seat of honor points up the benefits the ichizoku receive from the shooting ritual); finally the ichizoku representatives, following age rank. The participants are served sake five times in a prescribed manner. The first serving is from the most honorable to the most humble seat, i.e., from the village head to the youngest man present. After this serving, a hanging scroll is displayed in the alcove. The absence of all but ichizoku men is explained through the avoidance of the scroll. If anybody who is not an ichizoku man were to see it, he or she is thought to become blind.

Many people in Sone said they did not believe this story,

but they are also unwilling to chance looking at the scroll. The explanation of this avoidance is given in a story concerning Oji. When Oji came Sone the people who wanted to protect him had a meeting at which they signed a blood oath. A man from the village who was not a participant in the ceremony attempted to look in, it is said, and an ichizoku man inside threw a knife at him, striking him in the eyee Thus, in a general way, it can be said that the scroll that represents Oji is an emblem of the ichizoku as a group.

The second serving of sake is in the same manner as the first, but the third is different. On this occasion the village head and the caretaker are served first, then the order is reversed with the least honorable seat being served first up to the senior archer. The fourth serving takes place in two parts. First the village head and the carataker are served. Then the meal, consisting of salted bonito, rice, a small bitter orange (daidai) and sake is brought on trays. All these are propitious foods. While people are eating, the tō, with two ichizoku helpers, goes to Oji's grave to pray and to make offerings of wet rice (shitogi), fermented sweet rice (amazake) and the two biggest salted bonito which were prepared for the meal. After the visit to Oji's grave, they come back to the house. Meanwhile, when people have eaten their fill, the oldest man asks for the to, who by then has come back to the house and joins the ceremony for the first time. The old man thanks him in the customary Japanese way ("gochisōsama"), and the trays are taken away. Then the second part of the fourth serving of sake is performed in the same reverse order as the third time. After the fourth serving, the

tō joins the ichizoku group, according to his age ranke Then the fifth serving of sake is made, in the same order as the first servinge

Before proceeding to the second part of this ceremony, it is necessary to analyze what the first part meanse Its major aspect is the reintegration of the tō into the ichizoku ranks. After being excluded for most of the ceremony, the tō finally joins in and this means not only joining the group according to his age rank, but also being a candidate for the post of caretaker. The complete exclusion from the group of any member whoe refuses to perform his function of tō when his turn comes points out that, in fact, one becomes a full member only after having been tō. Thus the performance of this function is a prerequisite for full membership.

The reintegration of the tō in the ichizokuegroup, or rather his integration as a full member of the group, is marked by a certain liminality,[6] evidenced by the servings of sakee The first two are done down the age scale, as it were, but the two following ones are done from the bottom up. The meaning of his reversal is the eradication of agee For a moment, all the ichizoki representatives, except for the village head and the caretaker who have important functions independent of the group and are thus set apart, are equal regardless of age. It is a state of liminality during which the visit to Oji's grave takes placee This visit has a double meaning: first it establishes the tō's relation to Oji and thus he becomes a full ichizoku member: second, it renews the relation of the ichizoku as a group to Oji and thus legitimates their ritual dominance. This second aspect is mani-

fest in the offering of bonito to Oji. Since this is the same food people are eating at the house, the ritual meal is a communion with Oji, analogous to those of the two previous days at the shrine. But whereas the communion of January 3 and 4 was with the gods of the shrine and for the whole community, although only the ichizoku could participate, the one of January 5 is with the very ambiguous character Oji, who is the mythical founder of the ichizoku, and for the latter only. After the meal and the visit to the grave, the tō is reintegrated in the ichizoku group through the fifth serving of sake which is done according to age ranking.

The second part of the ceremony starts immediately after the fifth serving. It is concerned with the transfer of the scroll to the tō of the following year and is called tō mawari no sake: "the sake of the transfer of the tō." First the host goes to the alcove and rolls up the scroll. Then two wooden trays, on each of which there is a bottle of sake and a cup, are brought in and placed in front of the alcove. The two tō, i.e., the one for the present year and the one for the next, sit facing the trays and the alcove. At their back is a singer. In front of the two tō, facing them, are two young men who will serve them sake. On the left of the trays is a big wooden container full of sake. While the two men are drinking, the host brings the scroll to the future tō. At the same time, the singer sings a song called Takasagoya, which is customarily sung at weddings. The scroll is handed down to the tō, together with the wooden sake container. This marks the end of the ceremony. The scroll is carried home by the tō himself, who keeps it for one year, while

the sake container is carried to his home by two helpers.

The purpose of this part of the ritual is obvious: to transfer the scroll to the new tō and to put him formally in officee But one aspect of the ceremony is peculiar. The wedding song, which has interesting connotations, means in effect that the new tō is "married" to the scroll for one year. Since the scroll is the emblem of the ichizoku group, it means that the man is married to the group. This is congruent with the fact that the performance of the function of to is a requirement for permanent membership and thus the wedding song is a symbol of permanent membership. But if the scroll is also a symbol of Oji, it means that the new full member is thus "married" to Oji, in other words, that he is linked permanently to the source of ichizoku power and to their principle of legitimacy. The ceremony of January 5 therefore has the double meaning of reaffirming ichizoku's special ritual dominance and of integrating one more person as a permanent member.

Oji no tō completes the New Year's festival proper. Although the two rituals of the children's festival differ from the ichizoku festival, even nizoku people see the three rituals as a sort of unit. The first two are admittedly rituals for children and happiness, though the last one is not. But taken together they are seen as related rituals, as their common name (all are called tō: prayer) indicates. This points up again the special relation the ichizoku have built between their link to Oji and their dominant status in shrine rituals.

January 7: Yama no kami: "the god of the mountain." The ritual of January 7 is dedicated to "the god of the mountain."

who regulates the growth of trees and the life of wild animals.[7] "The god of the mountain" dwells not in the local shrine but in a grove of old trees on the flank of a mountain near the fields. His name is on yama no kami, and he is represented by a very inconspicuous stone statue, in front of which there is a stone cup used for sake offerings. The ceremony in honor of this god used to be important, but it is no longer so. The decrease in importance of this ceremony is usually attributed to the existence of the ku assembly, where matters concerning the forest and the mountain can be discussed, since the main purpose of the ceremony was also to discuss these matters.

The ritual is organized through seven groups (kumi)e in which 89 households participate. Formerly, all households had to join. The membership of these groups ranges from 8 to 40 households. It is now based on descent, but people say that the initial membership was based on residence. Each group is in charge of the ceremony every seventh year. The members of the acting group are in charge of collecting rice from all households who want to participate in the ceremony and of preparing the meal. This meal is eaten near the dwelling place of the god. Although of decreasing importance, this ceremony still has meaning for many people, mainly the elderly. It is thought to insure the growth of trees, which are very important in Sonee It has no relation to the ichizoku, although the latter can participate on an equal basis with everyone else.

January 12: Gokitōe "Prayer for good luck." This ceremony is very peculiar, principally because it is the only ritual

which combines Buddhism and Shinto. The ceremony is again organized through groups, but only five of them, which are similar to the ones for yama no kami. It starts at the Buddhist temple in Sonee where the Buddhist priests of the three neighboring villages of Kata, Furue and Kajika join the Sone priest for a prayer. Attendance is open to everyone except families where a death has occured in the previous year. At least one ku official must be present, but the caretaker is forbidden to attend. The priest from Sone recites a prayer in the temple while skimming fast through all the 600 folding prayer books (hannyakyō) of the temple. When this prayer is over, the priest wraps the books in two pieces of cloth (furoshiki), and with the help of one person he carries them to the shrine. There he enterse and stands in front of the praying gate where he will repeat the same prayer. The three other priests cannot enter the shrine grounds. When the prayer is over, everybody goes back to the temple for a meal. This ceremony is to insure good luck to the whole village.

Gokitō is the only occasion when the Buddhist priest can enter the shrine, for under usual circumstances even short visits are forbidden. This is because of the priest's contact with death. Buddhism deals mainly with funerals and ancestor worship, thus death, and consequently is impure. Accordingly the priest and the caretaker must avoid each other as much as possible. They must not visit each other's house even for tea.e Also, as we will see below (see section on obon), the priest does not stop at the caretaker's house during the annual visit to all households which have ancestral tablets.

Although there is usually a very clear division between Buddhism and Shinto, gokitō makes a link between the two in the form of a ritual of mediation. (The meaning of this mediation will be analyzed more fully in Chapter 7 where the implications of Shinto and Buddhist rituals will be brought out.) The mediation, however, is not complete, for the caretaker homself cannot attend the ritual, even though it is held at the shrine. At least one person, the one closest to the shrine and the only one who can enter the inner ground of the shrine, must avoid contact with the priest. It is probably because of his more intimate contact with the shrine that the caretaker must avoid the pollution of death, symbolized by the priest. Thus the mediation between Buddhism and Shinto is ritually enacted, but as in all mediation, it does not equate the two terms. Not only that, the mediation implies inequality between the two elements: the priest must go to the shrine, but the caretaker does not have to go to the temple; indeed he does not have to attend gōkito. Thus it is implied that Shinto and shrine are superioreto Buddhism and to the temple. This is congruent with the fact that the shrine was built in Sone before the temple. One final aspect is the presence of the three other priests, who cannot even enter the shrine grounds. This is an indication of the dominance of Sone among the four villages.

January 15: Koshōgatsu: "small New Year." This day marks the end of the festive period of New Year. Three events are held: throwing all the secondary sacred rope in the sea (see above, December 31), making of glutinous rice cakes (mochi), with the same meaning as on January 1; and a whaling festival, called

haraso, performed by people from Kajika. This festival is very colorful, but it has little meaning for the people. It was not performed at all in the '50's and early 60's, but was revived in 1968. Men from Kajika, wearing women's kimono underwear, come to Sone in a traditional whaling boat, and make the motion of throwing spears in the direction of the shrine, the temple and some houses. This said to bring luck and wealth. Whaling is no longer practiced in Kajika, but its importance in former days explains its connection to good luck and wealth.

b) February Setsubun: "the parting of seasons."

This ceremony, which is quite simple and is observed on a household basis, is performed on the eve of the first day of spring according to the lunar calendar. As for most festive occasions, rice cakes are offered to the ancestors at the Buddhist altar. In the afternoon, people put the piece of target which they tore off at the end of the shooting ceremony of January 4, together with pieces of holyoake and a fish-head (either sardine or saury), near the entrance of the house. This is done in order to keep out evil. The target, as was seen above, is a potent source of luck. Holyoake is also good against evil because of its thorny leaves whichewill hurt "evil," if he tries to come in. The fish-head has a bad smell which also keeps out evil.

At night, a ceremony which happens all over Japan takes place. In Sone, people put round shellfish, little stones, uncooked rice and dried beans in a wooden measuring container. They throw the shellfish and stones outside of the house three times, saying: oni wa soto, "evil out." Then they close the doors and windows and throw the beans and the rice in every room

and closet of the house, saying fuku wa uchi, "happiness in."

In order to understand the full meaning of this ritual, it is necessary to refer back to the lunar calendar. When the New Year's festival was still performed according to the lunar calendar, setsubun fell on the few days following Oji no to, in the period of New Year's festivities. It thus had the meaning of eliminating the evil of the old year and auspiciously starting the new year. When the change to the solar calendar was made, the ritual could not be transferred because of its connection with the beginning of spring and its main meaning as a spring ritual.[9] It celebrates the end of winter and the start of spring with a new cycle of agricultural products. Since Sone is not an agricultural village, and is located in a subtropical region where vegetables grow year-round, this ritual has less significance than in northern regions or in agricultural villages where spring marks the end of the cold and unproductive winter months.

c) Sekku: the festival of the dolls (March) and the boy's festival (May).

March 3: The festival of the dolls. This is purely a household festival, and it is only for girls. On the previous day, people make green rice cakes which are placed in the Buddhist altar. A display of dolls representing court ladies and princes of the Heian period (790-1150), is made. The evening meal is a happy occasion. During the day, every household where the festival is held sends lozenge-shaped three-colored rice cakes to the temple. The purpose of this festival is to insure luck, health and happiness for the girls for one year as well

as throughout their lives. As in all festivals, ancestors must participate. Since this festival is a household festival, not only ancestors whose tablets are in the altar, but all previous ones whose tablets have been transferred to the temple, are offered rice-cakes. There is no special symbolism attached to the dolls and the three colors (white, green and red) of the rice-cakese

May 5: Boys' day. This festival is more important than the previous one. It is a household ritual, for boys only, and its purpose is to insure their health, happiness, luck and strengthe From the middle of April until about May 15, a pole with banner-like decorations, usually three big carp, each of decreasing size, repreesenting respectively the father,e the mother and the son (or sons), but sometimes only one, representing the child, is set up near every household with sons. The carp is a symbol of strength and fortitude.e

The main day of the festival is May 5. On the previous day, people make cakes called chimaki, which are made of brown azuki bean paste covered with rice-cake. As in the girls' festival, these cakes are offered to the ancestors and some are sent to the temple. Some households display dolls representing warriors of the feudal era, connoting strength, which is an ideal quality for a man. At night, people put iris on the top of the house and also in the bath, and everybody takes an "iris bath", which is believed to make people healthy.

d) Abudōdo no matsuri. (Junee5)

This festival has lost much of its importancee Its original purpose was to "open the sea", that is to make the sea pro-

ductive for people, but it has become a festival for childrene Mothers of young children go to the shrine to pray and to make an offering to an earthgod (jizō) of the shrine. The main purpose is to insure protection for the children from the sea.

e) Higan: equinox (May and September)

Higan is celebrated twice a year, at the spring and autumn equinoxe In the spring it starts on March 18, and in the fall on September 20, each time lasting for about a week. The two rituals are similar and are connected to the templee Their purpose is to honor the dead, either particular ones or all the ancestors of one household. Members of all households with ancestors go to clean the family grave and to pray. Special offerings are made in the Buddhist altar and some are sent to the temple. Some households, by paying a certain fee, have special prayers said by the priest for one or many ancestors of the household. First there is a prayer at the house of people who have asked, in the presence of relatives. Then all these people go to the temple for a similar prayer. Higan is thus exclusively conceerned with the dead. (Since the festival of the souls (obon), in August, is the main ritual for the dead, and has all the symbols associated with higan, these symbols will be analysed in the next section concerned with the festival of the souls.)

f) Obon: the festival of the souls, August 13-20. (7th month of the lunar calendar)

Obon is a festival for the dead, and is related to the temple. Its purpose is to invite the souls to come back to this world, to entertain them and then to send them back happy to the world of the souls. This in turn insures that the living will not be

harmed by the dead, who will be satisfied for one year.

The preparations for the festival start on the week preceding August 13, when people collect two types of plant, one bush and one wild flower,[10] which will be used in the festival. It also involves cleaning the graves and asking the dead to visit the living. Finally the Buddhist altar in all households is cleaned. On August 12, households where a death occured in the previous year (hatsubon) make a complex altar in the main room of the house in honor of the person who died. All households put offerings in the altar, although the ones for the dead of the previous year are more elaborate. These offerings include flowers, seasonal fruits and vegetables such as watermelon, peaches, pears, apples, sweet potatoes, corn, eggplant, carrots and so on. The more elaborate preparations made by the hatsubon households are an indication that even though all ancestors are honored at the festival of the souls, the new dead must be treated in a special way.

August 13: This is the day of arrival of the souls. In the morning the priest begins his visit to all households in the village, except the households of the caretaker and Sōka Gakkai members, as well as the ones where no death has occured. The visit lasts two days, from morning till night. Each visit includes only a short prayer in front of the Buddhist altar in the presence of the residents of the house. The absence of visit to the caretaker is a sign of the separation between Buddhism, which is related to death, and Shinto. The non-inclusion of Sōka Gakkai members is a sign of a major break in village solidarity

(which will be analysed more systematically in Chapters 6 and 7). In the afternoon, members of households where a death occured in the previous year bring offerings of flowers, vegetables, fruits and rice to the temple. Moreover all households make a special offering to the dead. It is called dango and is made of four balls of cooked rice flour on a skewer.[11] Finally a meal of rice, soup, cooked vegetables, pickles and tea is offered just before the souls arrive, thus showing that the dead have needs which are similar to those of the living, and is eaten by the living afterward.

People also prepare mukaebi, i.e. a welcome fire for the souls. It invites the souls and at the same time is a symbol of their arrival. The fire is made of two stones from the sea put over two mounds of pine sticks, which are generally used to light fires. These sticks are burnt on the night of August 13. At the back of the pine sticks, there is one piece (some houses have two) of bamboo cut as a flower vase in which are placed the plants that were collected on the previous days. On the right there is a bucket of water with a bamboo dipper.

People have no explanation for the component parts of the welcome fire. The ceremony itself is to welcome the souls, but the same procedure will be used on August 15, when it is called okuribi, "fire to send away." Thus the same procedure is used for two opposite ends: to make the dead come, then to send them away. It seems strange that pine and bamboo, two trees associated with Shinto, are used in a Buddhist ritual. One possible answer is that, as Herbert has pointed out,[12] mukaebi and okuribi were

originally Shinto rituals that later became associated with the festival of the souls.

After the welcome fire, the traditional dance in honor of the souls (bon odori) is performed. Its exegetical meaningerefers to the necessity for the living to entertain the dead during their visit. The dance is organized by the young people's association who build a ten-foot high scaffold where they put a drum borrowed from the temple. Around the scaffold they hang green Chinese-style lanterns (tōrō) which represent the souls of the dead of the previous year, one lantern for each of the deceased. These lanterns are the center of a ritual held on August 19 (see below)e

The dance starts around 8 P.M. and is led by a drummer, usually a young man, and a singer, usually an old man, who stand on the scaffold. The dance steps and the music of the dance in Sone are different from those of neighboring villages, indicating the strong distinction made between all villages. In Sone, the dance is slow, following a 30-second motif repeated over and over again. The dance in 1968 was not a success. Few people participated, never more than 20 at a time, and it ended around midnight, contrary to claims that it usually lasts through the night. Everybody, men, women and children, except the caretaker of the shrine, can participate. There is no distinction of rank, sexeand age. All through the night there is much drinking and visiting, and candles are lit in the Buddhist alter in honor of the dead.

August 14: Offerings are made to the souls in the altar which include three meals and the serving of a special dish, a sort of pickles with a plant called hyōna (hyōna no aemono).

In the afternoon, a tea-time snack of sushi (pickled rice balls with raw mackerel or horsemackerel on the top, or inside a bean curd bag) and tea is given. At night, another type of sushi (pickled rice mixed with vegetables cooked in soy sauce) is served with tea.

That evening the pine-stick fire and the dance are held again, and from 8 P.M. on one representative, either man or woman, from every household in the village, except for the caretaker and Soka Gakkai members, gather to pray in turn at each of the houses where a death has occured in the previous year. The priest is not present. This ceremony is at the same time a mark of village solidarity with the afflicted households, and another sign of a weakening solidarity visa vis Soka Gakkai members who are not present. Bearing in mind these exceptions, this ceremony also underscores the basic equality of every household and of men and women within households.

August 15: This is the day of departure of the dead, except for the ones of the previous year. Around noon people put a special kind of rice cake, botamochi (glutinous rice cake coated with bean paste) in the altar and bring some to the temple. At night, around 7 P.M., another pine-stick fire is lit, but it is called okuribi: "fire to send away," meaning to send the souls away. It does not, however, apply to the souls of people who died in the previous year, which are taken care of on August 16 and 19.

The fire itself is not seen as making the soul depart, but rather it is a ceremony performed around midnight, after the

dance, which finally sends them away. People bring offerings of flowers, fruits and vegetables, but not of cooked food, to the beach where they are thrown into the sea. While this is being done sticks of incense are burnt. On their way to the beach, people of Sone carry an ancient-style lamp with the family crest or mark on it. People in Kata use flashlights and ring a bell as they walk toward or away from the shore. This is the end of obon for the non-hatsubon souls. The final ceremony marks their departure and the entertainment of the previous days insures their satisfaction. If they were not satisfied, they might stay and injure the living, though only those of their respective households. In this ceremony the sea becomes a symbol of the other world, a meaning which becomes clearer in the ritual of the following day.

August 16: The ceremony of August 16, called shōrō okuri, "to send away the dead souls," is the first step in the departure of the souls of the dead of the previous year. (The second and final step is on August 19) and it starts with a prayer by the priest at the harbor, in the presence of all the villagers. Then a small boat about two meters long, called shōrōbune "the boat of the dead souls," and made by a boatwright of the village, is filled with the offerings of flowers, fruits, and vegetables which had been given to the souls of people who died in the previous year, together with money wrapped in white paper. This small craft is put on an ordinary fishing boat together with relatives of the deceased and the owner aboard, and it is carried to the Black Current, at a place where the current goes away from the

shore. There the boat is put in the sea so as to be sure that it will not come back to Kata bay. Were it to return, people say it would cause bad luck or even death to the villagers.

Thus the souls of the newly dead are more dangerous than the other ones. As on August 15, the sea represents the other-world. But a distinction is made between the sea, where no one goes, where the Black Current goes, the other side of the sea,[13] and the bay, which is the domain of the living. It seems as if extra measures must be taken with the souls of the newly dead because they will effectively leave the world of the living for the first time, though they want to stay in it. On the other hand, the souls of people who died more than a year before leave more easily, so it is not necessary to bring their offerings out of the bay. These souls will leave by themselves.

On the 16th, Sone people do not like visiting relatives to leave the village because this is the day the dead depart. Leaving might bring bad luck, even death to the ones who do. In 1968, to the dismay of their parents a few young people did leave Sone to go back to their jobs in the cities, but nothing special happened to them.

August 19: This day marks the end of the festival of the souls and is the second step in sending the souls of the newly dead away. Around 11 P.M. at night there is a dance, after which all the villagers gather at the harbor. There the lanterns dedicated to the souls are hung up on a support made before the ceremony. On one side of the lanterns there is a fire of pine-sticks, reminding one of the "send-away fire" of August 15. After the priest says a prayer the lanterns are set on fire by a relative

of one of the dead. The lanterns are allowed to burn until the fire is over, whereupon the ashes are thrown into the sea.

The lanterns are said to represent the deade If the fire is used not as fire, but as a means of destruction, as the fact of throwing the remnants in the sea would support, the symbolism in this ceremony is death itself. The August 16 ceremony for the other souls: the act of sending the offerings into or on the sea. The purpose of these two ceremonies can therefore be considered as equivalent,e although more precautions are taken with the new souls. But the August 19 ritual is performed especially for the souls of the newly deade What is peculiar about these souls is that they have not yet left the living. In fact between biological death and the festival of the souls they are in a special position, no longer a living being but not yet an ancestor.[14] What the ceremony of August 19 does is to terminate the special position of the new souls, to cut their link with life, though not with the living. They thus become ancestors. The elaborate altar outside the Buddhist altar which is made for these souls at the festival of the souls is a sign of the peculiar status of "not-yet-ancestor" attached toethe souls of the newly dead. This can be linked to the prohibition attached to death in the first year after it occurse And this prohibition can be explained by the fact that these recent souls are simply dead people and not ancestors.

In 1968, the "not-yet-ancestors" ceremony was performed on August 20, because August 19 was considered to be a "bad day.e" The determination of good days and bad days, which is still important in most parts of Japanein the scheduling of weddings,

funerals, festivals and so on, is based on a combination of two cycles which include bad days. A combination of bad days from both cycles is regarded as especially ominous. It is not necese sary to explain these cycles in detail here, only that time is regulated. This arrangement of time originally came from China, where it was associated with Chinese conceptions of natural philosophy,[15] and has been superimposed on both Buddhist and Shinto belief systems. August 19, 1968 was a tomobiki day: "to pull a friend," and it is clear why people would avoide sending away the dead on such a day: the souls might "pull a friend" with them. However, there was much confusion as to what should be done. Some people said the ceremony should be performed after midnight on August 20. How the decision was made to hold the ceremony around 9 P.M. on August 20 is not clear.

In sum, the festival of the souls is performed in order to pay respect to the dead. Each household honors its own dead, thus making this festival a ritual of "ancestor-worship." (See Chapter 4 for a discussion of this aspect of Sone religion.) However, it is also a communal festival in that all households participate in the dance and in the prayer of August 14. The festival is also performed in order to protect the living from the dead, for it believed the dead can harm the living. Harm can be done voluntarily, as in the case of a soul who feels that he or she is not properly treated. In this case the souls hurt only people from their own households. Harm can also come about involuntarily, and may apply to any member of the village, whether related to the soul or not, as on August 19 when the dead leave and may pull someone along with them. This negative element of

the festival of the souls, i.e., to protect the living from the dead, is however secondary, the main purpose being to honor and to pay respect to the dead.

The place where the souls are going, the other-world, is not clearly conceived. It is directly related, however, to the unknown part of the sea, where the Black Current goes. People worry not about the nature of the other-world but mainly whether or not the dead are happy there. Moreover this concern is first for the dead themselves, and second for the living. The absence of a clear conception of the other-world can be related toethe general this-worldly orientation of the villagers for what is regarded as important, above all, is a happy life in this world. In fact, even the dead are attached to life since the high point of the year for the souls is the festival, when they visit the living. Thus even the souls are oriented toward the world of the living. The implications of these beliefs will be analysed in Chapter 7.

g) The shrine festival. November 12 and following days.

This festival is related to the shrine. The ritual itself is held on the nights of November 14 to 15 and the following day involves the four South Wauchi villages.

For three nights running beginning on November 12, the care-taker, a ritual expert called nenji[16] and an ichizoku man (called chiritori for the occasion), who will prepare the food on the following day, sleep in the service building of the shrine. Their vigil is called morieo-suru, "taking care", and is the same expression used for baby-sitting. Thus, on these three days, the

shrine must be as closely taken care of as a child.

November 13: Parents of babies born in the previous year, whether they live in Sone or not, as long as they are recognized as Sone people, bring one sho or rice (1.92 quarts), azuki beans, and Y50 to the shrine and give these items to the chosen ichizoku man. He in turn uses the rice and beans to make cakes called inochi magamochi. The meaning of the name of these cakes is based on a pun. The whole expression itself can mean either "to keep life long" or "long cakes of life." When put together it means "rice cake to keep life long." The cakes are made with a cylinder of cooked rice, about ten inches long, with red beans around it. If there is some left over, the ichizoku man keeps it, together with the money offerings. The meaning of these rice cakes, obvious from their name, is to insure a long life for babies. But the ceremony has another meaning: on this day, babies becomes ujiko of the shrine. The fact that the ceremony is for Sone babies only, and not for those of the three villages, points up to the special relation of Sone people to the shrine.

In the afternoon of the same day the caretaker goes to the main building of the shrine to change the white curtain inside. This curtain (otokyōkake) is made of white cotton bought from a store in Owase, and is prepared in the morning of November 13 by ichizoku men. The caretaker also changes the bamboo curtain which is placed between the door of the shrine and the white curtain. The old ones are thrown in the sea. Since these events clearly mark a period of transition, it is probably for this

reason that the shrine needs special care.

The preparation of the gohei is done at the same time as the curtain. A gohei is "a wand with strips of paper folded in a zigzag fashion hanging on either side and stands in a central position before the doors of the inner chamber of the shrine.[17] In Sone, the gohei are made of white and red silk, rather than paper. They are, at the same time, symbolic offerings to the gods and symbols of their presence. The use of silk instead of paper has no special meaning, except that the offerings are more luxurious. Exegetically, the colors red and white are related to the fact that the gods of the shrine are a couple, i. e. a male and a female deity. The red one is associated with the female deity and the white one with the male deity. Although no explanation for these associations were given, it is likely that the link between red and the female deity is related to life.[18]

November 14: This day is the equivalent of Christmas Eve, being the day of preparation for the main ceremonies of the night and the following day. On the 14th, the ichizoku man brings the cylindrical rice cake to the households whose members had asked for it. This ends the part of the shrine festival related to children.

All through the day preparations are made at the caretaker's house, with all ichizoku members and the ritual expert participating. The fact that nizoku and people from the three other villages are excluded marks ichizoku's ritual dominance. A large amount of rice mixed with red beans, similar to the

one used for the rice cakes for babies, but not of cylindrical shape, are madee The red rice mix is used only on festive occasions - New Year, birth, weddings, graduation, etc. and its color is regarded as definitely auspicious. Aston attributes this to the fact that red "suggests the ruddy complexion of health caused by an abundance of life-giving blood in the lips and the cheeks." [19] Thus it has the same meaning as the red color of gohei.

The large amount of rice is placed in a portable altar (mikoshi) which will be carried to the shrine on the night of the 14th. Other objects will be brought also, including gohei (silk offerings), 12 wooden trays, 12 wooden containers (magemono) in which the rice will be put for offering, 24 mandarin oranges, 12 pairs of chopsticks, a big wooden rice container, a wooden spatula (shamoji) 2 smaller wooden rice containers, 2 cutting boards, 2 bamboo water-dippers, a lid for the rice container, firewood, oily pine to start the fire, 12 pairs of straw sandals (zōri), and 2 small pairs of straw sandals, one with red band, and the other with white band.

These objects have different connotations. Some are useful in the ceremony, i.e. the three rice containers, the straw sandals and the firewood. Others are offerings to the gods, i.e. gohei, the wooden trays, the twelve rice containers and the oranges. The chopsticks are necessary accessories for these offerings. The reason given for the fact that most objects come in even numbers is that the gods are a couple, the clearest example being the small straw sandals: white ones for the male god and red

ones for the female.

Around 11e30 P.M., the portable altar and the objects are ceremoniously carried to the shrine. In front of the procession, the caretaker and his wife, wearing special costumes, carry the keys to the shrine. The presence of the caretaker's wife is related to the fact that the gods are a couple. Following them are the ritual expert and the ichizoku man, wearing white costumes. Then four young men around 20 years old, chosen by the young's people association, wearing a special white costume (shōzoku) and straw sandals, carry the portable altar.e The white robe connotes purity. Three prepuberal girls, i.e., girls who have not been polluted by menstrual blood yet, walk under the altar. They are called okurago or omushimochi.[20] Following the altar come the ichizoku representatives, one man per household, also wearing white robes. When they arrive at the praying gate of the shrine, the caretaker's wife and the three girls stay outside while the men go inside. Under no circumstances are women allowed in the inner grounds of the shrine, another example of women's ritual inferiority. In the shrine, the caretaker takes the old gohei and other offerings outside and brings the new ones in. Besides the gohei, the new offerings include the twelve trays with red rice, the oranges and the chopsticks and the two pairs of small straw sandals. The left-over rice is kept for the following day.

Around midnight of the 14th, a large crowd consisting mainly of young fishermen from Sone, Furue, Kajaika and sometimes Kata, most of them intoxicated with sake, gather in the outer grounds

of the shrine. These people wear only a loin cloth. This crowd has become smaller in the last few years because of the fact that many young people work in cities and often cannot take vacations to come back to South Wauchi. The caretaker purifies the group by throwing sea water at them. Then he throws the gohei of the previous year to the crowd, and a vicious battle for possession of the symbolic offering follows. Each village competes against the other three, and each young man against the others from his village. The struggle, which takes place on the ground and in the water, sometimes lasts until the morning, and many people receive minor injuries. The victor carries the gohei to his boat, where it insures good fishing for the coming year. Thus while the main purposes of the shrine festival is to insure good fishing, the fact that the fight is often along village lines is a sign of intervillage competitione

November 15: This is the last and most important day of the festivale All through the day people from the four villages come and pray at the shrine. Until about 1960, there used to be amateur ( sumo wrestling ) contests between the young people in the morning, but this is not done any longer, partly due to a lack of young men in the villages. These wrestling matches are often associated with Shinto shrines, and although their meaning is not very clear, it is probable that they were related to power and strength, desirable male qualities.

Around 11 A.M., the caretaker takes the leftover rice and puts it in the big wooden container. Then the ichizoku members

divide the rice among the four villages in the following way. 4/10 of the initial amount are taken out as Kata's portion; 4/10 of the remaining rice goes to Furue; the rest, a 6/4 proportion is divided between Sone and Kajika. In all, the portions are: Kata, 40%; Furue, 24%; Sone, 21.6%; and Kajika, 14.4%, corresponding, it is said, to the populations of the four villages when the ceremony was formalized. The portions for Kajika, Kata and Furue are brought by the ritual expert and the ichizoku man to the head of these villages. The village head is considered here as the representatives of the ujiko (clan-children) of his village. He organizes the distribution of the rice to all households in the village. In Sone, the distribution to every household is made by the three young girls. This distribution of the rice has interesting implications. It emphasizes the equality of all households as ujiko of the gods of Asuka shrine, through equal shares of all households, but at the same time it shows the dominance of the ichizoku, since the latter carry out the distribution. It is also interesting to note that most Sōka Gakkai members accept the rice during the shrine festival, thus showing that the division caused by the introduction of this new religion is not absolute.

The shrine festival combines several important aspects: 1) a children's festival, for Sone only; 2)a festival for good fishing; 3) the quality of all South Wauchi people as ujiko; and 4) the dominance of Sone and the ichizoku. The last two seem contradictory, but an explanation is presented in Chapter 7.

The shrine festival marks the end of the yearly cycle.

Many of the rituals analyzed in this section have much in common. The interesting parallels that can be drawn between them will be described in Chapter 7 where a more systematic analysis of religion based on the data contained in this chapter can be presented.

# CHAPTER 4

## The Rituals of the Life-Cycle

The rituals analyzed in this chapter are related to the three most important events of the life-cycle: birth, marriage and funerals. The most complex of these, funerals, is presented in greater detail than the others while the general analysis follows the pattern of the previous chapter on the rituals of the annual cycleo

### 1-Birth

The day of birth itself is not marked by special celebrations. In the past, the reason for this was the polluting character of birth; for birth, especially the after-birth, is considered dirty. Traditionally, women had to give birth in a special hut outside the house. However, a weakening of the traditional prohibitions in the 20's and 30's allowed women to give birth in the house, but not near the god-shelf. Nowadays, women give birth at the hospital in Owase, thus eliminating its polluting aspects. Mothers come back to their homes four or five days after delivery. For a few days, however, they must avoid contact with the god-shelf.

The first festival associated with the new born baby is held twelve days or two weeks after birth. On this day the baby is given a name, and the parents and some close relatives make red and white cakes,[1] with azuki bean paste inside (manju), which they bring to relatives, friends and neighbors. In former years, this festival was held one week after birth, and a special kind of rice (mazegohan) was prepared and sent to relatives and

neighbors. No special reason was given for the change of procedure.

The second important ritual associated with birth is called miya mairi ("the shrine outing") or hyaku nichi mairi ("the 100th day outing"). As the names suggest, this ritual is held on or around the 100th day after birth; and it is the baby's first time out of the house after his release from the hospitale Before this day, it is considered dangerous for the baby to be out of the house, possibly because he or she would not be protected by the gods of the shrinee Another reason is that during these hundred days the baby and its mother are still considered polluting. That the mother also cannot go to the shrine before the ritual of the hundredth day is another sign of the pollution associated with childbirth. On this day, the parents bring the baby, as well as some sake and rice cakes to the shrine. The ceremony is one of presentation of the baby to the gods of the shrine.

The hundredth day ritual is not sufficient to make babies ujiko of Asuka shrine. In order for babies to become ujiko, their parents must participate in the November shrine festival when "cakes of long life" are made on behalf of the babies born during the previous year. Only then can they benefit from the full protection of the gods.

One other minor ritual associated with babies is held on their first trip on a boat. During the trip, and while the baby's face is turned in the other direction the father drops a stone in the sea. The exact meaning of both gestures is not known, but the ceremony's purpose is to protect the baby from any harm that could come from the sea.

The rituals associated with birth are not complicated and they are concerned chiefly with the protection of the newborne

## 2-Marriage

Marriage in Sone is more a social event than a ritual. Moreover, recent procedure for marriage has been copied from what happens in cities. It now consists of two different events: the ceremony of "setting the marriage" (yuino[2]) and the wedding itself (tariire), which is presently held at a reception hall, usually in Owase. The first event has characteristics special to Sone, but the second, at least the wedding ceremony itself, is the standardized Japanese style which can be seen in any reception hall in Japan. It includes the Shinto priest, the drinking of sake by the bride and the groom and so on. Moreover, the bride now wears the formalokimono with red lining. Since this ceremony is not peculiar to Sone, indeed has been borrowed, and since consequently it has little relation to the folk religion of the village, its overall symbolism is not significant enough to warrant detailed comments. Rather, analysis is concerned with those elements peculiar to Sone which are present in the wedding celebrations outside of the ceremony itself.

The ceremony of "setting the marriage" is only a formality, for a date has usually been agreed upon by the young people themselves. This ceremony involves the traditional go-between (nakōdo) who, upon the request of the boy's parents, goes to the girl's parents' place in order to decide on a date and to make the arrangements for the wedding. The go-between brings with him a container of sake (taru) and he is accompanied by a young girl (age 12 to 14) who for this occasion is called tarumochi ("taru carrier"). The go-between and the girl's parents drink the sake while making the arrangements.

The wedding itself is divided into two parts: the standard Japanese-style wedding ceremony, which is attended only by close relatives; and a meal to which many relatives and friends are invited. This meal, as people noted, is in the tradition of the ones which used to be given when weddings were held in the village: it is copious, two trays being presented to each guest[3], and involves considerable drinking.

The cost of the wedding is born by the groom's parents[4], and usually, it is said, amounts to at least Y100,000 ($270). In the case of an eldest son, the cost might be more than twice this figure because his marriage is a most special occasion, virtually guaranteeing the continuity of the household.

In former years, the wedding ceremony was held at the groom's parents' house at night. Although all the peculiarities of the ceremony could not be ascertained, one was always reported. On the evening of the wedding, all the sliding doors were left open so the people of the village could see the bride.

Another event, which is now less common than it used to be, was the visit by the bride's parents to the groom's parents on the day following the wedding. This visit was in order to celebrate their new status as relatives.

Finally, the bride and the groom go to the shrine. This used to be done on the day following the ceremony, but now most couples wait until after their honeymoon.

## 3-Funerals

Funerals in Sone consist of a series of rituals which take place in the day or days following the death. Immediately after

a death occurs, the wife of the househead places a bucket of water near the body. This action is called mizu o motsu ("to bring water"), and its meaning is clear: the person who brings the water is the one who takes care of the tablet (ihai) made in honor of the dead. Since women usually take care of the tablets, it is a woman who brings the water, which is then used to bathe the dead. Thereafter, the close realtives clothe the dead in garments that have been turned inside out. This is a sign of the special character attached to the newly dead. Until the festival of the souls, they are not yet ancestors but rather in a liminal state (see Chapter 3, section on the festival of the souls).

Relatives make a small bag (zudabukuro) which they hang around the dead person's neck. In it they put: money (12 yen), for the dead to travel to the other-world; a number of washed soy beans equal to the dead person's age at death, prepared so they cannot germinate; and a Buddhist rosary. If the person who died liked sake, this is also added. The symbolism of these objects is quite clear and literal. Money is needed because death is considered a journey to the next world. As for the beans, they represent the dead person's age; since this person is no longer growing, the beans must not grow either. Sake is added to please the dead. While these preparations are going on the Buddhist priest has arrived and begins to recite prayers.

When the preparation of the dead is finished, two courses are possible. In winter, people put the corpse on a bed for a few hours before putting it in a coffin. In summer, because of rapid decomposition, the corpse is put in the coffin immediately

after its preparation for burial.[5] In Wauchi, corpses are buried in a sitting position. Just before closing the coffin, close relatives give water to the dead; this is said to help the dead make his journey to the next world. Then a piece of white cloth is put on top of the corpse and the coffin is closed.

After these preparations are completed a hole is dug in one of the two graveyards, under the guidance of an old man, called haka annai ("guide of the grave"), who knows where to dig. Four or five men, who bring sake and pickles with them, dig the hole and leave the tools near the grave. After finishing their job, they drink the sake and eat the pickles near the grave in order to purify themselves. Later purification is completed at home by taking a bath and eating a meal of raw fish (sashimi) and sake. The need for this purification clearly underlines the polluting character of death. Raw fish is an interesting item in this context; for Buddhism considers any raw meat or fish as impure. The act of eating a food considered impure by Buddhism brings back purity in relation to the shrine. Thus the opposition between Shinto and Buddhism appears clearly once more.

On funeral day, which is the day death occurred or the following day depending on seasons and the time of death, the coffin is brought from the house to the grave. The ceremony of transporting the coffin is elaborate. One member from each household attends, and each of them carries an object. The order in which people walk is clearly established: in front comes the Buddhist priest and oldest son, followed by two persons carrying bamboo poles. The poles are made specially for the occasion, each being made of a bamboo tree whose branches, except for the

bottom ones, have been cut off. Wrapped around the branch is ao long piece of cloth representing a snake, with a snake head-shaped figure made of cloth at the end. The exegetical meaning of the poles is interesting. Bamboo is a sacred tree usually associated with the shrine, yet it is used also in funerals which are supposed to be polluting.o According to villagers, however, there is a difference between bamboo used in shrine rituals and that used in funerals which arises from the fact that the former has all its branches while those of the latter have been mostly cut off. Because of the cut, the bamboo cannot grow anymore; it is stopped at a certain pointo in the same way that the life of the dead person was cut off. Thus the bamboo poles represent the dead person, the life which has ended. As for the snakeo its meaning comes from a Buddhist saying: "even the snakes go to heaven".

Following the pole-bearers come four men carrying paper lanterns (chōchin) hooked on a pole. Although no exegetical meaning was given for the lanterns, it is clear they are an element associated with Buddhism and death, as their use in the festival of the souls shows (see Chapter 3).

The pole-and lantern-bearers are not relatives of the dead. However, the persons who follow them in the procession are ranked according to their blood relation to the dead. First comes the coffin carried by the two closest of kin -- the oldest son, if any, being excluded. Of these two persons, the closest of kin takes the back of the coffin. This is done because the dead person is facing backward. A few relatives, whose choice is not necessarily based on kinship, help to carry the coffin. After

the coffin come two relatives carrying a canopy, which is held over the coffin, followed by one relative carrying a flower basket. Next comes a man carrying a torch (tai) of the kind which is commonly used for cremation in areas where that practice has been adopted. This torch is a symbol of cremation, but the people of Sone bury their dead. Two other relatives follow carrying flowers. Finally, the rest of the people, in order of relation to the deceased, carry food items, water, parasols, umbrellas, incense, and at the very end, one person with three straw sandals attached to a pole.

Although the meaning of these items is not always clear, some information was obtained. The flower basket, flowers, sandals, parasol, umbrellas, food items and water are usually left at the grave, and are supposed to help the dead make his journey to the other world. However, sometimes, people bring back the parasols and umbrellas. This is done especially when the person who died was old, in order to guarantee a long life to the mourner who takes the object back to his home. In the latter case and for the same purpose, relatives make rice balls skewered on a stick (dango) and give it away to villagers.

Included in the food offered to the dead is rice served in the bowl the dead person formerly used together with two chop-sticks stuck upside down. Again the special character of the newly dead is underlined by doing things opposite from the usual way.

After the coffin and the offerings have been put into the grave, the priest recites some prayers. Then the coffin is buried by the same men who dug the hole. On top of the grave they leave a sickle, the sharpness of which is said to frighten

the evil which could come. Before bringing the burial tools back home, they must be purified in the sea, while the men themselves must bathe and eat raw fish again in order to eliminate the pollution of death.

After the burial, the attendants go to the temple where the priest recites prayer for the dead. This short ceremony completes the funeral.

This ceremony enabling the deceased to travel safely to the next world is only the first step taken to insure that the dead will go happily into the world of the souls. Because in both rituals the final goal is the same, the symbols, as well as their meanings, are similar. Insuring that the dead person is happy is designed not only to please the dead, but also to protect the living. For if the dead felt his or her funeral had been improperly treated, the deceased might hurt close relatives. An example of this concern occurred in 1968 when a man spent a large sum on his father's funeral to avoid the dead man's anger. Such fears are played upon by the Buddhist priest who materially benefits from more elaborate funerals.

The three sets of rituals dealing with the important events of the life-cycle are concerned with the same problems as those of the yearly cycle; on one hand, life, prosperity and happiness, on the other, death.

Before proceeding to an analysis of these redundant aspects of folk religion, and their meaning (Chapter 7), it is necessary first to clarify some of the religious elements which have been mentioned in the foregoing chapters. The traditional elements of pollution and ancestor-worship are treated in Chapter 5, and a presentation is made of the two new religions, Tenrikyō and Sōka Gakkai, present in South Wauchi, in Chapter 6.

# CHAPTER 5

## Pollution, Ancestor-Worship

### 1. Pollution

The various sources of purity and impurity touched upon in the previous chapters have not been examined systematically. In this chapter an attempt is made to discern the underlying principles of classification of the sources of pollution and the means employed to restore purity.

The polluting agents already mentioned include the following: death, wounds and blood from injuries; breath; menstrual blood, women and sexual intercourse; the Buddhist priest, the temple and the Buddhist altar; the toilet, feces and urine; finally, birth and the after-birth. One more source of pollution often mentioned by people is the killing of domesticated animals, but since this activity is no longer considered polluting, it will not be dealt with here.

An examination of the terms used in regard to pollution and purification will be helpful in our search for the underlying principles. The word that means impure is kitanai: "dirty, unclean," and the verb kegareru sometimes is used as well. It means "to get dirty, to be defiled, to be polluted." The former word is used in daily life to refer to physical dirt, but it is clear that pollution does not refer to physical dirt. It refers rather to a non-physical state, a "spiritual" quality which is analogous to dirt in the physical world and is produced by physical causes. Contrary to Aston,[1] pollution in Sone is not related to tsumi: "crime, sin." A crime,

except if it result in death or injury to other people or to oneself, is not polluting. The word for purification is harai, "washing," thus strengthening the analogy with physical dirt. Finally, some forms of pollution are described as engi ga warui, "unlucky, ominous." Thus pollution has some connection with luck.

Examination of the terms at this level clearly does not lead very far. The problem must be attacked from another direction. First, some seemingly "sacred" objects and people are polluting: the Buddhist altar, the temple and the priest. According the people of Sone, the pollution of all these objects and people is caused by death. Buddhism deals with death and funerals, and all that is connected to this religion is polluting. Second, women and sexual intercourse are impure, but their impurity is due to menstrual blood, which is considered the "dirtiest" source of pollution after death. Menstrual blood is unlike ordinary blood; it is thought to be dark and dirty. It is comparable to the after-birth, which is also polluting. The fact that sexual intercourse is polluting does not prevent people from indulging in it freely. They abstain from it only when it is necessary for ritual purposes. There is some indication that this prohibition was observed more often (and perhaps more carefully) in the past; now it is thought necessary only for the caretaker who is an old man anyway, and for the archers of the January 4 festival. Third, wounds and blood from wounds are polluting. These, as well as the other sources of pollution, are related to bodily products which are cut off from the body or to the action which leads to this result.

What all the sources of pollution have in common is their relation in one way or another to the living organism, but note that they refer to an incomplete organism, either a body with some aspects or parts missing; a dead or an injured person, or a part of the body which has been cut off. All these have in common that they are going to decay or return to the physical environment (except the injured person, of course, but the blood he has lost is going back to the soil)e Thus all forms of pollution are deviations from the ideal of a complete and healthy body, and death is the epitome of pollution. All actions leading to deviations from the ideal, as well as the results of these actions are polluting. A correlate of this conclusion is that the human organism is always imperfect, since it is conceived in impurity to which it returns in death. Thus if purity is seen as an ideal, it can therefore be said that the ideal is an organism without birth or death, an immortal and forever complete organism. Consequently, all human beings are in an ambiguous positione They can be purified, at least enough to be presentable to the gods, but this state is temporarye The greatest source of ambiguity for the living is death, which is obviously the major flaw in the ideal scheme. This ambiguity of death will be apparent again in the next section of this chapter dealing with ancestor-worship and will be taken up again in Chapter 7.

Pollution is not an absolute condition, for it is limited by the necessities of life; the example of sexual intercourse was mentioned previouslye Moreover, although urine and feces are polluting, night-soil is still used in the fieldse This

is probably because night-soil in the field is precisely what the English euphemism would have it: soil. There is a point at which it is no longer regarded as a product of the body but part of the soil. There is no way of knowing exactly when the change from one state to the other happens, but is is still thought to be defiling when it is put in the fields. Still people use it because it is necessary for good crops; they are not prevented from using a useful thing just because it is impure. Context is what makes the difference: a field is not a shrine.

Furthermore, impurity can be washed away, as long as the organism is still alive. A dead person cannot be purified through any means available to the living. These means include primarily bathing in the sea or ablutions with sea water. Sea water is an obvious purification device. In the same way that pollution is analogous to dirt and that menstrual blood is especially impure because it is dirty blood, sea water, which is doubly potent in that it also includes salt, can wash away impurity. Salt is another potent agent of purification, because of its power to prevent food from decaying. Gohei and sakaki, two other factors of purification, owe their power to their close association with the shrine. Finally white cloth can wash away and prevent pollution because white has the connotation of "without stain;" it is the color of purity.

Impurity is often linked to bad luck. For example, fishermen do not like women to go on their boat, some only when they are actually fishing, others at any time, because of the pollution and the bad luck believed to be caused by

menstruation. Some fishermen think that if a menstruating woman goes on the boat, they would catch no fish for a long time. It would be even more ominous if a menstruating woman stepped over a fishing rod. One alternative reason given for the prohibition of women on the boats is that the god of the boat is female, and she would be jealous if a woman were to come aboard, but this was a minority opinion. Most fishermen associated the prohibition with pollution.

The necessity of purity is associated with the shrine and the shrine festivals. The implications of this association are analyzed in Chapter 7e

2. Ancestor-worship

The term "ancestor-worship" is not strictly correct, for the dead are not worshipped, but rather ritually honored and respected, and the dead people honored include descendants of the presently living members and some non-lineally related members.[2] The phrase "respect for the dead" would be more appropriate, but since the phrase has long been and is used for this type of activity in Japan, the term ancestor-worship will be retained, bearing in mind its limitations.

Ancestor-worhip is closely related to the household system. It also has some communal aspects, as at obon, but they are secondary. Each household has the tablets of its dead,[3] not all of whom are members of one descent line. R.J. Smith's finding concerning tablets in Sone are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

When the unknown tablets are omitted (unknown tablets accounted for 26.5% of all the tablets examined), ascendants

Table 7

Tablets in Sone and their category of relationship to the household.

| Category of relationship to household | Number | Percent | Percent excluding unknown tablets |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ascendants | 411 | 42.9 | 58.3 |
| Spouses | 31 | 3.2 | 4.4 |
| Descendants | 92 | 9.6 | 13.2 |
| Siblings | 103 | 10.8 | 14.6 |
| Others | 48 | 5.0 | 6.8 |
| Affinals | 19 | 2.0 | 2.7 |
| Unknown | 254 | 26.5 | xxx |
| TOTAL | 958 | 100.0 | 100.0 (704) |

Table 8

List of "others"

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Younger brother's child | 7 | Sister's son | 1 |
| Father's wife (not mother) | 6 | Father's younger brother's daughter | 1 |
| Elder brother's son | 6 | Ego | 1 |
| Husband's first wife | 4 | Father's elder brother's son | 1 |
| Father's father's wife | 4 | Father's father's brother's son | 1 |
| Elder sister's children | 3 | Father's father's father's younger sister's child | 1 |
| Wife's first husband | 2 | Father's mistress | |
| Mother's husband (not father) | 2 | Father's younger sister's husband | 1 |
| Father's younger brother's wife | 2 | Elder brother's wife | 1 |
| Father's younger sister's son | 1 | Younger sister's husband | 1 |
| Elder sister's husband | 1 | | |

account for 58.5% of the cases. If all the usual members of the households are included, that is ascendants, spouses, unmarried siblings, children and grandchildren, they account for 90.5% of all the cases. Thus, the tablets are in great majority for persons who were members of the household. But the system is flexible, and this flexibility explains the other cases. Most of the aberrant cases are explained by the principle that no souls should be left uncared for. Thus the tablets of affines and more distant relatives are put in the altar of the house to avoid leaving their souls untended. This is done less for fear that the souls would hurt the living if they are neglected, but for positive reasons---pity and love for the souls. Their presence in the altar is not explainable by any structural principle, but through "human feelings" (ninjō) for the deceased. These aberrant cases help us to obtain a more complete picture of ancestor-worship in Sone than would the usual cases alone. They point up the fact that this custom is based primarily on a feeling of love and gratitude on the part of the living for the dead who have made the family, the house and the property all that it is. Fear, although surely operative in some cases, as in the instance of the man who gave a big funeral for his father in order to avoid being harmed by his spirit, is only a secondary factor.[4]

Respect is felt mainly for those who have died recently, usually parents, spouses or children, but other souls whose tablets are in the altar are included in the paying of respect. Tablets can go back for many generations, as is shown in Table 9. But most households (70%) have tablets going back three

generations or less. This can be explained mainly through recent branching of households from the main family, but also through transmission of older tablets to the temple. Moreover, tidal waves take their share of tablets every time they hit the region. The transmission of older tablets to the temple is perhaps a less important factor in Sone than in other parts of Japan, for people prefer to keep the tablets at home. This is mainly because of the pride in having a family line going back many generationso The ancestors of a few generations are rarely known individually and they are merged into a general concept of the souls of the dead members of the household. When old tablets are transferred to the temple, the souls they represent are thought to merge with those of other households in a general category of souls from the village.

Table 9

Ascending generations represented by tablets in Sone, per household

| Ascending generations | No. of households | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| 0 | 15 | 13.6 |
| 1 | 18 | 16.4 |
| 2 | 20 | 18.2 |
| 3 | 24 | 21.8 |
| (Total 0-3) | (77) | (70.0) |
| 4 | 14 | 12.7 |
| 5 | 8 | 7.3 |
| 6 | 2 | 1.8 |
| 7 | 7 | 6.4 |
| 8 | - | --- |
| 9 | - | --- |
| 10 | 2 | 1.8 |
| Total | 110 | 100 |

There is no agreement among scholars as to the status of the ancestors after a few generations. Some assert that they finally merge with the deity, others think they do not. The difference of opinion may actually be related to the place where these scholars conducted their studies. There are some indications that in some villages, after 33 years, a soul officially becomes a deitye[6] This is not the case in Sone. There is no doubt that this question is related to the pollution attached to death. In Sone, for example, members of a household where a death has occurred in the previous year cannot participate in shrine festivals. Also, the god-shelf cannot be located on an imaginary line going from the Buddhist altar of the house to the toilet, both being polluting. Thus not only death, but the tablets of the ancestors are polluting for the gods.

Thus it seems that the ancestors remain polluting for a long time. However, when the tablets are transferred to the temple and the individual is forgotten, the polluting character of the ancestor fades. Actually there are villages where the ancestors become non-polluting when the corpse is finally decayed.[7] The solution taken in Sone is time, and the one just mentioned (to let the corpse rot), can be seen as two ways of dealing with the ambiguous character of the ancestors. The ambiguity of the souls derives from the fact that they deserve honor and respect as the former members of the household, buteat the same time they are polluting, a condition to be avoided. A third solution is the two-grave system. In this system, there are two graves for each dead person; one for the

internment of the corpse, and an identical one in a different graveyard for the worship of the soul. The first oneeis polluting and people avoid it as much as possible, but the second is pure and it is there that the rituals for the dead are performed. Thus, the living can respect the dead while remaining pure. These are three solutions to the problems of the ambiguous character of the souls. It would be interesting to know the characteristics of the villages where these different solutions occur, for it might then be possible to link these solutions to other aspects of village life and culture. In the present analysis only the case of Sone will be considered.

When the souls are finally transfered to the temple, they become non-polluting. After a few generations, they merge in a category with the gods who do not have any special relation to the villagers. This category thus excludes the gods of the shrine and the yama no kami. It is a general category of amorphous spirits who seem to have little to do with the living. What is important for the living is not the identity of old ancestors and gods who have an amorphous character, but the immediate distinction between the spirits who have a direct relation to the living, that is the recent ancestors and the gods of the shrine, and the ones who have not. This distinction is basic and it is taken up again as one of the major elements of the analysis of Chapter 7.

# CHAPTER 6

## The New Religions

The two New Religions represented in Sone are essential parts of the religious picture of the village and therefore must be examined. The examination focuses on the development of the religions, their organization and their doctrine.

### 1. Tenrikyō[1]

Tenrikyō, the "religion of divine wisdom", was founded in 1838 by a peasant woman called Nakayama Miki, living in the region of Nara. The foundress, who had been very religious from her youth, was first possessed by God on October 26, 1838. God commanded her and her family "to dedicate everything to this cause for the sake of mankind."[2] She started giving all her possessions to the poor, but her husband's family thought she was mad and objected. It was only after her husband's death that she could finally dedicate herself fully to her mission. She effected many cures and started her teaching. The religion grew slowly at first and suffered from constant persecution. Nevertheless, at the time of the foundress's death in 1887, the religion was already firmly established. In the early Meiji period, Tenrikyō was classified under the general denomination "Shinto", although permission to propagate the religion was not officially granted until 1888, even though Tenrikyō was still listed as a sect related to the Shindo sect of Shinto. It is said that by 1900, there were already 2 million members.[3] The religion was finally granted independent status by the Meiji government in 1908, and a

new wave of propagation began. This wave finally reached Owase region in the early 20's and the first church was established in Owase city in 1923.[4] By that time the first conversions had already occurred in the South Wauchi region. The membership of the church grew rapidly in the first three decades of this century, but its growth seems to have slowed since then. Its membership was listed as 2 million members in 1963.[5]

The impressive compound of the church in Tenri city, Nara prefecture, contains many buildings, including one which houses the "birth-place of the world" (see below). There is also a whole school system from kindergarden to university. The development of the library of Tenrikyō, one of the largest in Japan, is part of a program designed to attract intellectuals to the church.

The organization of the church is rather simple, centering on the Tenri city complex, but for everyday ritual and worship, each local church has considerable autonomy. One limitation of Tenrikyō in the post-war period, when mobility has increased markedly, is the requirement that a convert retain permanent membership in the first group he joins. This means that members cannot switch to another group when they change residence.

The doctrine of the church is based on the writings and teachings of the foundress. These teachings are attributed to "God-the-parent" who was speaking through her. God-the-parent is the same God that revealed himself first as God the creator, then as the moon-sun pair, the source of light and of all living

things. Tenrikyō combines these three conceptions of God as the religion of "divine wisdom." Its goal is the salvation of mankind through teachings revealed by God himself. It attempts to lead men to a life which follows "divine wisdom," i.e., a life in tune with God's "all-pervading grace and all-unifying virtue."[6] This life, it is believed, can be lived mainly through Tenrikyō, whose teachings are the most complete revelation of "divine wisdom." Tenrikyō is the ultimate doctrine.

Man was created by God to live a joyful life, but most men are unhappy, sick and poor. The way to attain a joyful life is through a change in the working of the mind: the mind must be attuned to "divine wisdom." The reason why this is necessary is because bodies are borrowed. Men are "born and bred by God,"[7] and can do nothing by themselves. What belongs to them is only the spiritual self, which has its origins in the Divine Spirit.[8] The human mind appears when the spiritual self is allowed to make use of a body, which has been temporarily borrowed. The mind, as a part of the Divine Spirit, is meant to be clear and serene, i.e., always to follow the Divine Teachings. However, most men do not follow these teachings and, forgetting that their body is borrowed, they become envious, greedy and evil. In this way they accumulate "dust." Dust is produced by distorted workings of the mind; and dust in the mind produces dust in conduct. Men can sweep away dust by going back to a life attuned to the Divine Teachings, an aim best achieved through Tenrikyō. According to this doctrine, sickness is a friendly warning sent by God to sweep away the dust, and not a punishment for sin. It makes man reconsider

his life and attain salvation.

> Salvation has come to be a universal and true salvation. It is neither a mere salvation of soul or flesh, but is is a salvation of man himself combining soul and flesh, which in its turn has come to be not only a salvation of an individual but a salvation of society at large. Of course the salvation desires that the state of supreme bliss be realized on earth, but also it desires the blissful state not to be temporal but to be eternal.[9]

Salvation is thus eternal salvation on earth, which will be achieved when all men live a life according to the Divine Teachings. At that time, the heavenly dew will come down from the sky and everybody will be happy and will live the length of the natural life, 115 years. How then can the happiness be eternal? This is explained through the doctrine of denaoshi (re-starting a new life). According to this doctrine, death is not the end, but neither is there life after death in the Christian sense. There is rather a permanent transmigration of souls. The soul goes into the body of a child born at the exact time of the death of the previous body. In this way, men can live in eternal happiness, "between the embrace of heaven and earth, in the bosom of God-the-parent."[10]

Tenri City is important in two ways. First, according to Tenrikyō's teachings on the origins of the human race, which are closely related to the myths of origins presented in the Kojiki, the chronicles dating from the 8th century, Tenri is the place where Izanami, the mythical mother of mankind, gave birth to the first men. Second, it is the place where God-the-parent revealed himself to the foundress and where the heavenly dew will come at the time of eternal happiness. Thus Tenri

City is regarded as the center of the world. Thus Tenrikyō is a religion based on revelation. Its goal is the happiness of all mankind living attuned to the Divine Teaching. It is a monotheistic religion that teaches that God manifests himself in many ways, each giving rise to the different names He is given here on earth.

In Sone, there are about 10 families who are members of Tenrikyō. Most of them are nizoku and joined the Church in the 1920's.[11] Whether or not these conversions were linked to the economic depression of the late 20ès cannot now be ascertained. However, since the 30's, no conversions have been recorded. At the time of its introduction, Tenrikyō seemed a dangerous and alien element, but it rapidly lost its momentum both in the region and nationally. Moreover, its converts soon started to attend all traditional shrine festivals and to hold funerals for their dead at the local templee Thus, they participated in all the traditional ceremonies of the village on the grounds that salvation can be attained by people in all religions. Tenrikyō thus became a non-threatening element in South Wauchi, and it has remained so ever since.

2. Sōka Gakkai

Sōka Gakkai, "value-creation society", is officially a lay organization related to the Shō sect of Nichiren Buddhism, which is exceptional in Japanese religious history because of its total rejection of all other religions. Nichiren, a twelfth-century prophet, considered his religion the only true one; the intolerance he preached has been increased by the Shō sect and Sōka Gakkai. Sōka Gakkai was founded in 1937 by a

school principal named Makiguchi Tsunesaburō. In 1928, he had joined the Sho sect of Nichiren Buddhism and in 1930, he had started publishing books on his theory of value (see below). The association he founded, which at that time was called Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai (society for the creation of value and education) was based on both Nichiren Buddhism and the theory of value. The society grew very slowly before the war, reaching a low ebb during the war because of the imprisonment of the leaders for refusing to accept Shinto as the state cult. Makiguchi died in prison. After the war, his lieutenant Toda Jōsei reorganized the association and initiated a campaign of conversion. The technique used was shakubuku (to break down and convert), whereby Sōka Gakkai members break down the defenses of a prospective convert by constant argument, warning, harassment and even threats, in order to make him join the movement. The campaign was so successful that the membership jumped from 5,000 households in 1951 to 750,000 in 1958, representing almost 2 million members. So many of these converts were young people that a militant youth movement was formed. In 1955, Soka Gakkai decided to enter politics and it put up "independent candidates" for local races. All of its 91 candidates in city and ward assemblies were elected. In the following year, its six candidates were elected to the House of Councilors of the national Diet. In the national elections of 1962, it increased its number of Councilors to 15. In November, 1964, a political party, the Kōmeitō (clean government party) was founded. This party, although closely related to Sōka Gakkai by its doctrine, has independent

membership and financing. Since the party was formed, it entered the 1967 national elections for the House of Representatives, where 25 party members were elected (the House has 458 members), and the 1968 national elections for the House of Councilors, where it increased its representation to 24 members ( out of a total of 250 members)e Kōmeitō has thus become the third strongest party in Japan and usually receives more than 10% of the votes in any election. However, in the upper House elections of 1971, Kōmeitō suffered a slight setback, losing one seat.[13]

During this time, Sōka Gakkaies membership has continued to increase. According to the movement's own statistics of July, 1968, it has a membership of 6½ million households, or well over 10 million members.[14] It is in this last surge of conversion that Wauchi people joined the movement. By 1972, the movement had plans to complete an educational complex from elementary school through college[15] and was giving consideration to the formation of a labor union.

Although Sōka Gakkai's organization has changed with the expansion of the movement, three characteristics have been present since its major development in the 1950's. They are: 1) a vertical, heirarchical and centralized organization which is patterned after a military system with appropriate ranks; 2) a horizontal set of egalitarian discussion groups at the local level; and 3) interest or peer groups, divided by age, sex or interest. The vertical organization goes step by step from the household to the general headquarters, with appropriately ranked leaders on each step. Promotion is

based on seniority in the movement, and on success in bringing new converts to the organization. These leaders give advice to new members and initiate them into the doctrine and discipline of the movement. Paralleling this "military" organization, there is an "academic" one, based on a series of examinations on Sōka Gakkai doctrine and organization. People who pass these examinations can ascend the "academic" hierarchy step by step, moving from ordinary membership to the position of "professor." Professors do not have power, but as the official teachers their influence is considerable.

Group discussion at the local level under a "military" or an "academic" leader is a medium for the expression of personal problems. The groups (zadankai) gradually become tight-knit communities which offer their members emotional and moral support together with a channel for self-expression. By providing constant face-to-face contact they eliminate some of the alienating effects of modern society. These groups are usually based on personal relations between the members: the convert joins the group of the person who is responsible for his joining the movement. However, if they live far from the place where their group meets, the members can join other local groups based on residence. Finally, the "diagonal structure"[16] of peer groups and interest groups fixes the individual even more firmly in the organization. These range from the youth group to the Kōmeitō, and includes men's and women's divisions, dance clubs, and so forth.

These three organizational aspects of the movement give the members a valuable frame of reference: they participate in a strong, poweful and highly hierarchical national organi-

zation where everybody has a definite place, and where there is the possibility of upward movement; in groups where they can share interests with others; and in tightly-knit local groups with a strong sense of community, where the individual can feel at home.

Sōka Gakkaiōs doctrīne is usually described as simple,o but there are some complexities. Some doctrinal points come from the doctrines of the Sho sect of Nichiren Buddhism as reworked by Nichiren's spiritual followers, Nikko (13th century) and Nikkan (1665-1726). According to both Nichiren Buddhism and Sōka Gakkai, the history of Buddhism is divided into three ages. The first, which lasted for a thousand years after the death of the historical Buddha, was the age of Hinayana, the Lesser Vehicle, or simple teachings. The second, which again lasted a millenium, was the age of provisional Mahayana, the Great Vehicle, or the more complicated teachings, where only the Lotus Sutra was available for salvation. This is a period when Buddhism gradually declined intoomere formalism. Finallyothere is the third age, Mappō, an era of war, turmoil, and inequity, when the teachings of the historical Buddha lost their power, when a more complete manifestation of the eternal Buddha, a prophet whose teachings were applicable to new times and problems, appeared. This eternal Buddha is none other than Nichiren himself, who made Buddhism accessible to all by discarding complicated teachings and accepting only the second half of the Lotus Sutra as embodying the true doctrine. The only requirement for salvation became the practice of True Buddhism, involving mainly the constant repetition of the

daimoku a formula which means "adoration of the eternal Lotus of the Good Law." This is the only True Buddhism and the only real religion; all other religions are false and can only lead to unhappiness and disaster. The focus of worhip is the gohonzon, a mandala supposedly written by Nichiren himself. It is through this object that the believer worships Nichirin as the true Buddha, and the place where the mandala is kept is considered the center of the world. Every household receives a copy of the gohonzon to put in their altar where it is the center of daily worship.

Sōka Gakkai has added one important element to this doctrine: the theory of value devised by the founder Makiguchi. It starts by drawing a distinction between values and truth. A neo-Kantian formulation, which Makiguchi knew, accepted as the cardinal values Good, Truth and Beauty. For Makiguchi, there was a contradiction in this formulation, since truth is based on cognition and is a statement concerning reality, thus dealing with objectivity, while values are determined by man's relationship to something, thus dealing with subjectivity. Values, which are related to what concerns man, are statements of how a person reacts to what is related to him or her. Truth and falsehood have no connection with the relativity of human existence and therefore are not values. Values are related to happiness, which is seen as the goal of life. A happy life is one in which whatever is regarded as having value is realized. According to this definition, profit must be included among the basic values, for profit is what most men try to achieve in real life. Thus, of the three cardinal values,

which are Beauty, Gain and Goodness, the most important is Gain, because Beauty does not prolong the life of an individual, and Goodness is defined differently by different groups. Gain, however, allows a classification which is applicable to all situations and it prolongs the life of individualse It is therefore the central value.

Since happiness is the goal of every man, the only good religion is one which helps people attain the three cardinal qualities. For Sōka Gakkai it is clear that the Nichiren Shō sect is the only religion which produces happiness. In fact all other religions are sources of sickness and unhappiness, because they center on false objects of worship. In order to make unhappiness disappear, men must eliminate all false rituals and beliefs and accept the docetrine of the Shō sect as the only true one. The exact performance of the rituals of this sect releases spiritual power and thus helps the believer to achieve his goal. Sōka Gakkai admits that this cannot be readily explained, buteclaims that it is experienced intuitively by the members every day.

Happiness will be complete only when nations base their law on True Buddhism. Politics must be based on the true religion if there is to be complete happiness in the world, and it is for this reason that Sōka Gakkai entered politics and formed a party based on the principle that politics should satisfy men'es material and spiritual needs. Only Sōka Gakkai has the doctrinal base to satisfy men in this way. As such, it is a third alternative in the world, between Western democracy based mainly on spirituality, and communism

which is based only on materialism. Onothat basiso it is currently embarked on a national and international campaign to convert all men to the only true religion. The parts of the doctrine are not all logically interrelated, nor is it felt that such unification is necessary. The doctrine has a strong nationalist bias, identifying Japan as the center of the world and only source of the true religion. The movement's strength derives not only from its doctrine but also from its organization.

Nine Sone households joined the movement. There is also another man from Sone, who now lives in Kata but still receives benefit from the forest industry of Sone, who joined. The percentage of households who joined in Sone (6%) is significantly lower than in Kajika (around 10%) and Kata (15%), but slightly higher than in Furue.o[17] Sōka Gakkai members usually do not participate in local festivals, whicho are considered false rituals that can only lead to unhappiness. They have also severed their ties to the local temples, all rituals concerning death being performed by a Sōka Gakkai official coming from Matsusaka. Thus the members are ritually cut off from the rest of the population of the villages, although some members join in local rituals, considering them more like recreation than religious ceremonies. Sōka Gakkai is a very unpopular religion among non-members, who resent the fact that the movement tries to control local politics. It has not been successful yet, even in Kata, and its efforts have only aroused hostility against its members.

Sōka Gakkai is very different from Tenrikyō. Both its

exclusion of all other religions and its political aspect give it a special character. The significance of Sōka Gakkai in the context of the Post-war era in South Wauchi is examined in Chapter 7, in conjunction with the discussion of the significance of the two aspects of folk religion, i.e. Shinto and Buddhism.

# CHAPTER 7

## The Religion of Sonee an Interpretation

The starting point for our analysis is the distinction between festivals connected with the shrine, which will be called Shinto festivals for convenience, and the Buddhist rituals. As has been said already, death is the key to the distinction. It must also be remembered that death is the epitome of pollution since all the other sources can ultimately be related to it. In order to understand why death is such an important element, it is necessary to examine the Shinto rituals and the conception of the universe which they imply.

The major Shinto rituals are the New Year's festival, yama no kami, abudōdo no matsuri, and the shrine festival. The spring-ritual (setsubun) is also related to Shinto although it has no direct connection to the shrine. Birth and marriage ceremonies can also be considered Shinto rituals. All are concerned directly with purity, luck, wealth, health, productivity and a long life for children. The central concern is life itself. In order to understand the connection between all these elements, it is necessary to examine the conception people have of the kami and the universe, a conception which is implied in rituals, exegesis, and everyday life. This conception is never intellectualized, for philosophical or theological specualtions are of little interest to the people.[1] What matters to them is the intimate and intuitive daily experience of the deity in various locations and activities.[2] They are concerned with the day-to-day phenomenological

interpretation of events rather than a theological explanation of the forces behind these events.[3] One example of this attitude was mentioned aboveo the vague conceptualiøation of the world of the souls. It is possible, nevertheless, by putting together the different characteristics of the kami and the events in which they are involved, to present an intellectual interpretation of the kami and the universe that does not violate peopleös beliefs.

The word kami[4] sometimes refers to a quality of a person or an object, rather than to an entity. Kami means superior, powerful, awe-inspiring, and in this sense it is closely related to the concept of mana:o[5] it is an undefined supra-human power which is possessed by many kinds of people ando objects. It is in this sense that the archers of the January 4 festival have power. Kami also refers to a vaguely conceived unique deity, a central being from whom everything proceeds.[6] More specifically it refers to the various deities or personified gods who are enshrined in various shrines, for example Amaterasu-ōo-mdikami in Ise. These gods have feelings, wishes, even personalities. For the people of Sone, the most important such deities are the two gods enshrined in the Asuka shrine, the ujigami. The villagers do not know the names or the personalities of these two deities very well, but they are nonetheless personified. The word kami is also used to refer to some living persons with special powers, for example the emperors and certain heroes. It also applies to dead people, either immediately after their death, in the special case of the war dead, or for every deceased human'œs spirit a long time after his death.[7] Kami also refers

to the symbols of the deity, to the objects representing or embodying the god in the shrine, and to natural objects such as stone, waterfalls, trees and animals. These natural objects are considered to be not so much the kami themselves but the places where the kami manifest themselves. Finally kami applies to the forces behind natural processes of growth.

These conceptions make a full circle from undefined supra-human power to natural power, a circle which includes a unique deity, personified deities, human beings both living and dead, and natural objects and processes. This continuity between the deity, natural processes, men, either living or dead, and natural objects[8] leads to a peculiar conception of the relation of man to nature. In order for men to live, they need natural products. The growth of these products is dependent on natural powers, which are often identified as specific deities. Because men are part of the universe, they have power to manipulate these forces in order to insure the growth of natural products. Thus, by maintaining proper relations with the other constituent parts of the universe, men can help maintain the order and functioning of this universe. In fact, they periodically re-create the universe which was threatened by negative forces, namely pollution and evil. The condition for man's effectiveness is not moral uprightness, but ritual purity. However, the question of purity raises a problem, for objects and people can be distinguished according to their purity or impurity. Moreover, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, corpses and the spirits of the recent dead are regarded as polluting. Thus impurity introduces discontinuity in a supposedly continuous universe,

a problem that will be taken up again later. In the continuous universe, which will subsequently be called the "cosmic circle", there is no creation of one part by the other, except through generation, and thus no creation of man by God. There is little concern for the origins of the universe. Life is a property of the whole and the parts spring from the whole.[9]

The rituals then are successful attempts to keep the world going round but because the mere fact of existence does not insure happiness, the rituals also try to produce happiness for the living. Through rituals, happiness becomes part of the natural way of the world, as natural as the growth of trees or fish. Departure from the usual order of nature is accidental and due to improper relations among its elements. In this scheme there is difficulty explaining unhappy but inevitable events, especially death. One of the solutions is to personalize unhappiness in oni, the special spirit of evil, but it is difficult to explain the existence of oni himself. This problem of the explanation of unhappiness will also be taken up again below.

Shinto rituals have a close relationship to the growth of natural products. Folk Shinto in Sone is definitely a religion of people in close contact with nature, of prople who depend heavily on natural products for survival. In factę people now depend less on these products for their living than they did in the past, and this might explain why the aim of so many rituals has shifted toward the well-being of children. In the Edo period and even before, at the time when this religion was elaborated, people depended completely on natural products for

survival. In this sense, Shinto was one way to insure the continuity of the group by encouraging natural products to grow. Although the importance of locally-grown products has decreased with the availability of jobs outside the village, the rituals have maintained characteristics which are explainable only if we take into account their past significance.

The weak link in the cosmic circle is man, either alive or dead. The examples of men who are or become kami are exceptional: the emperors, some special persons such as heroes, and the war dead. As for ordinary living people, the only solution is an incomplete one: to purify oneself before every ritual, knowing that it is impossible to maintain purity for very long in everyday life. The purity achieved in rituals makes men full of power, of kami, as in the archery ritual of January 4, but this attribute is lost after the ritual. There is thus a distinction between the status of men during rituals and in ordinary life, but it is not absolute, for even in ordinary life, men participate in a universe which is in essence the cosmic circle. The difference is in degree of formality. In rituals the conception of the universe is crystallized,[10] and the universe itself recreated. The same conception permeates everyday life, but it is more diffuse and men can perform useful or pleasurable actions even though they are impure. The participation in the cosmic circle is not cut off, but is held in abeyance, allowing certain forms of discontinuity to be present in daily life. For example, purity is necessary primarily when men are engaged in re-creating their universe, not when they are simply living in

it. For the dead, the solution is time. When the ancestors have been forgotten as individuals, they eventually merge with the kami.

It thus appears that the cosmic circle is at the same time or at different times, depending on the context, a universe which is: 1) diffuse, in the world where men live their ordinary life in conjunction with the kami and nature; 2) ideal and formalized, as in rituals; and 3) long-term, where the passage from men to kami is made only through a long period of time.[11] The basic element of the cosmic circle is a feeling of participation with nature and kami, but this feeling has three complementary aspects. In fact, as will be clear below, one of these aspects is more fundamental, the two others being parts of it.

We can now locate the two basic forms of discontinuity which appear in everyday life and which have a certain relation to the formalized world of Shinto rituals: the first one is death, which divides Shinto and Buddhism; the second one is between ichizoku and nizoku. Since the latter is within the context of Shinto and everyday life, it will be treated first.

The superiority of ichizoku is today mainly a ritual one, most apparent in their exclusive privilege to officiate in Shinto ritualse Although in fact all the villagers are ujiko of the shrine, and theoretically all men ultimately become kami, only the ichizoku can approach the shrine and the ujigami. In this privilege is implied the fact that the ichizoku are cosmologically more important, for they are the only living beings who can be part of the cosmic circle in

Sone and thus the only ones who can insure the growth of natural products. Their participation in the circle makes them essential parts of the universe. It is also implied that the others who are not essential, depend on mediation by the ichizoku in order to obtain the necessary products for subsistence.[12] The basis of the ichizoku status is Oji. Oji is in fact an intermediary between the continuous universe and the discontinuous one: for Oji is a god but also the soul of a dead warrior. As a god, his status is quite high, since he is the son of Amaterasu-ō-mikami, the ancestress of the Japanese imperial line. The implication is that the ichizoku have a special relationship to the imperial family, although it is not based on genealogical descent, as Oji is not their ancestor. This special relationship is thus different from (and might be added to) the usual one of all the Japanese to the throne, a relation which some ethics texts of the pre-1945 period suggest to be based on descent. This special relationship of the ichizoku to the imperial family might explain why it is their association to Oji and not their relation to the kami of the shrine which legitimates ichizokuos superior position. However, this claim to a special relation to the Sun Goddess should not be overemphasized, since it was not mentioned by any ichizoku member. The significance of the fact that Oji was not only a man but a warrior must not be overlooked, for warriors were the highest rank of the population in Tokugawa Japan. Thus the founder of the ichizoku was from the highest rank of the discontinuous universe and his status was transmitted to the Sone ichizoku.

The legitimacy of ichizoku's superior status derives from some event in the past that precipitated a division between people already in the village and all newcomers, who joined the unprivileged class. It is worth noting that in one of the versions of the origins of the first families given by a nizoku man, the nizoku are said to be the first inhabitants of the region. Although no definite conclusion can be reached as to whether the ichizoku or the nizoku were the first inhabitants, it is interesting to note that the dominance of ichizoku is questioned on grounds similar to those by which it is legitimized: history.[13] The division between ichizoku and nizoku has no current basis or parallel in economic conditions, and only slightly in political conditions. However the relation between ritual dominance on the one hand, and political and economic conditions on the other was much more pronounced in earlier times, as was mentioned earlier.

It is important to note that the ichizoku live only in Sone, implying that Sone occupies a more essential place in the universe than do the other villages. Furthermore, the fact that only men can participate in rituals, marks the ritual inferiority of women. Finally, the dominance of old people is partly related to Shinto. The caretaker of the shrine must be an old man and age usually is accorded social and ritual precedence. Shinto emphasizes the superior status of age and thus provides a basis for the political dominance of old people.

Thus, the division between ichizoku and nizoku is within the context of Shinto rituals (i.e. the formalized circle)

and it justifies the privileges the ichizoku enjoy (or rather used to enjoy) in economic, political and social life.o This implies that the continuity between all men and the universe which is recreated by the rituals contains a basic inequality, an inequality justified by the rituals themselves. It further implies that continuity in the context of Shinto rituals and in daily life is spurious, for a basic form of inequality is always there to break it. It might seem that, before the creation of the ichizoku, continuity was easier to achieve since there was no distinction between families. However, even then, the exclusion of women and of young men from the rituals made the continuity equally spurious. Thus, if there is continuity, it is not in daily life nor in Shinto rituals, but can only be found in the long-term cosmic circle.

The second form of discontinuity is created by death. Death marks a definite break in the circle of daily life. For the dead person itself, it is a definite change of state. For kinsmen and villagers, it marks a social and an economic loss. It is thus an important event which momentarily alters the configuration of the family and the community. Death does not create the same rupture in the formalized universe of Shinto rituals. However, this absence of discontinuity caused by death is preserved only if the rituals of death are carefully segregated from rituals of life. Thus the already spurious continuity within the formalized circle is maintained only if one important aspect of man is negated. The question arises as to why must death be negated in Shinto rituals. The apparent reason, which requires further explanation is that death is polluting, a condition that is

related to the lack of completeness of the human organism, as we have seen. Now, the reason why an incomplete human body is polluting can be explained. The complete human organism is part of life, and thus a part of the diffuse cosmic circle. Death cuts this circle. It marks a break in the circle of life and in the happiness which goes with it. It is the negation of the life circle which Shinto rituals try to insure and thus it is polluting. There is therefore a recognition of the discontinuity in daily life caused by death but it is a discontinuity which must be eliminatede Shinto rituals are attempts to accomplish the impossible, to ignore death. As a consequence, rituals center on material things necessary for survival and on long life.

Despite their impurity, the dead must be cared for.e The rituals attached to this care must be kept apart from the ones to insure life and happiness, and thus a separate set of rituals is used. These rituals are associated with Buddhisme It is important to note that, prior to the introduction of Buddhism in Japan, the two aspects of the religion of Sone were dealt with by Shinto rituals. This original fusion of rituals of life and death suggests that they were once part of one single conceptual system.

Buddhist rituals are related to death and ancestor worship. Ancestor worship was analyzed in itself in Chapter 5, but the question of its relation to other aspects of religion and culture has yet to be examined. How can ancestor worship be interpreted? There are many answers to this

question, none of them completely satisfactory.

In the long-run, because the series of ancestors ultimately link the living to kami, even perhaps the ujigami, their worship is one way of participating in the cosmic circle. However, this is an insignificant aspect of ancestor worship, since the ancestors who are ritually respected are the more recently deceased and little thought is given to their final connection to the kami. Another secondary aspect mentioned in Chapter 5 is the use of ancestors as pedigree. Ancestral tablets prove the antiquity of one's family, thus justifying its position in the village. This is part of the justification of the dominance of the ichizoku. However, this justification is related to the ancestors and therefore to death, which may explain why the ichizoku use this argument only secondarily. What is to be justified is their dominance of the shrine festivals their exclusive participation in the formalized cosmic circle. It would seem strange to justify this dominance on the basis of ancestors who are pollutinge Another more appropriate basis has to be found, and it centers on Oji.

(a) Ancestor worship is a way to deal with life after death and thus to resolve the doctrinal problem of deathe It can come from a concern with one's own death: by taking care of the predecessors, the living hope to insure that their descendants will take care of them, or with the death of close relatives to whom the living were attached, mainly parents. In this second case, the living want to preserve their memory of the dead. However, this does not provide much of an explanation. Many authors give functional explanations. Hozumi,[14] Yanagida,[15]

and Nakane[16] associate ancestore worshipe with the necessity for cooperating with relatives: "The ancestor is the justifying authority for the cooperation of the living members."e[17] However, there is no strong necessity for cooperation in Sone, and what cooperation there is is based on the village and not on households with the same ancestors, and therefore this functional analysis has little to do with Sonee Plath[18] emphasizes the character of ancestors as both conscience and comfort. The ancestors are conscience in that they are used to justify moral judgments on the conduct of members of the family,e[19] they are comfort in that they give emotional security by tying the living into a definite group extending back into the past and possibly into the future. Ancestor worship is the religious expression of dependence on a "limited human nexus".[20]

Wimberley,[21] on the basis of De Vos's article on guilt,[22] has offered a psychological explanation for this dependence on a limited group. According to Wimberley, the strong emphasis on selflessness and group goals in Japanese society is rooted in child-rearing practices. These practices create a strong dependency of individuals on the group and the consequent feeling of guilt when they try to achieve individual goals rather than group goals.[23] This creates conflict, for the individuals have the problem of maintaining "self-identity while precluding individuation."e[24] Ancestor worship is one of the traditional pattern which serve "as a kind of defense against painful tendencies toward individuation and also as a means of achievement needed to assuage guilt feelings which arise from domestic situations involving stress and conflict.e"[25]

Rituals of ancestor worship symbolize the acceptance of the social relations of the family system.[26]

Another possible explanation takes history into account. Although it cannot explain all the elements of ancestor-worship, it permits to relate it to other aspects of social life. As in the case of the relation between Shinto and the growth of natural products, however, it is necessary to link present religious practices to past economic and social institutions. In other words, it is necessary to place religion in the social and material context in which it flourished. In this interpretation, ancestor-worship is related to the physical continuity of the household. In Japan, as early as the 7th and as late as the 19th century, descent was the guarantee of a special status for ruling people, be they the nobility, the feudal lords or the warriors. The family line insured these people their special privileges, especially the monopoly on agricultural surpluses. As for the peasants, who, for most of these twelve centuries, accounted for the great majority of the total population, the continuity of the household meant the control of a piece of arable land and the right to use some forest land that belonged either to a lord or to the community. In fishing villages, the household was the owner of fishing rights which were absolutely necessary for survival. In this system, the continuity of the household, which was symbolized by ancestor-worship, was a guarantee to preserve rights or privileges which had been created earlier. It was the ancestors who had secured these rights and privileges and transmitted them to the living, thus

legitimizing the economic and political situation. This significance of ancestor-worship has decreased in Japan since 1868, although the practice itself has been retained. However, it is interesting to note that the rituals associated with it are much less stringently observed than they were in the past. This might be a sign of the weakening of this religious practice, following a decrease in the importance of the economic and political aspects associated to it. Of course, I do not mean to imply that economics and politics explain all the aspects of ancestor-worship, but I argue that they should be taken into account if one is to understand past and present practices.

Shinto and Buddhism are separated by death. One deals with life, the other with death, in separate sets of rituals. One ritual, gokitō, provides a mediation between the two. At gokitō, the Buddhist priest goes to the shrine to pray. This mediation is not an equation of the two terms, as we saw in Chapter 3, but it points out that they are aspects of the same human reality. Indeed, the mediation implies an inequality of the two aspects. The Buddhist priest must go to the shrine, but the caretaker does not have to go to the temple. Indeed he does not even have to attend the mediation ritual at the shrine. This implies a superiority of life over death and of Shinto over Buddhism. The inferiority of death, as was mentioned earlier, is caused by the exclusion from the diffuse cosmic circle which it produces, which is one of the reasons why the dead souls are believed to be oriented toward the world of the living. It can also be

related to the vague conception people have of the other world: since the world of the souls is not a superior place, people have little interest in it. Gokitō is an admission that, although death is incongruent with the continuous conception of the universe, it is nonetheless part of the universe and it should somehow be related, though not equated, to it.

Some festivals are not directly related to either of the two sets of rituals associated with Shinto and Buddhism respectively. These are the two sekku, the girls' and the boys' festival. These household festivals can actually be seen as a mediation outside of the ritual context between the two aspects of human reality. On these days, offerings are made to the ancestors in the butsudan, and mochi is brought to the temple to be offered to the more remote ancestors. The offerings are not the center of the festivals but they are an important part of them. They are performed to thank the ancestors for having given life to their descendants down to the children who are honored at sekkuo This recognition of descent is important, but the main concern is with the life of the children for whom the rituals are performed, thus linking aspects of both Shinto and Buddhismo In this convergence we can apprehend the importance of children in the religion of Sone. First they are alive, and provided there is good luck, they will live longer than the adults. As such, they are the embodimentoof the Shinto aspect. Second, they are the yougest living members of the household, and one of them will take on the headship of the household after the present generation of adults dies, and insure the continuity

of the household line. The child, an essential link in the line of members of the ie, is related very closely to the line of descente itself closely linked to the ancestors. Thus children provide a mediation between festivals of life and ancestor worship. Their participation in both aspects is a posssible explanation for the special care the children receive.

Rituals of the life-cycle give us an even clearer picture of the relations between Shinto and Buddhism, life and death. If we take into account the various stages of the life-cycle, we have a sequence which includes aspects of both life and death, but which starts with life and ends with it. The sequence is as follows: birth (Shinto), marriage (Shinto), death (Buddhism), ancestor (Buddhism), kami (Shinto). Birth can be seen as an occasion on which life is snatched from impurity, and marriage as an event guaranteeing the springing of life from impurity. Death is impurity, but this impurity is slowly transcended through lessening degree of impurity to a state by definition free from impurity. Thus the two opposite aspects of human reality are closely connected in the life-cycle, but not equated.[27] The sequence of stages in the life-cycle gives us a clue as to the importance of the long-term cosmic circle for the religion in Sone. In fact the long-term circle is the basic element of the religion; it is the underlying system without which the diffuse and the formalized circles seem incomplete. Only in the long-term circle can all discontinuity be abolished, life and death be complementary, and the living and the dead participate with the kami and nature in a unified worlde

However, the underlying unity cannot provide an equation

in daily life between life and death, since death, as we have seen, is a definite break for the person as well as the community. In order to keep life and death apart, two sets of rituals have been devised. This double view of religion in Sone, i.e. ritual division within a fundamental unity, is congruent with the history of religion in Japan. Prior to the introduction of Buddhism, rituals of life and death were handled by Shinto. But with the availability of Buddhism, it became possible to separate out two sets of rituals: one for life, the other for death. I do not mean to say that this congruence is an explanation of the historical problem of the introduction of Buddhism in Japan; only that the explanation of the folk religion of Sone given here does not contradict basic historical facts.

The division between ichizoku and nizoku provides for a different kind of discontinuity. Social inequality had to be reckoned with and justified, so discontinuity was admitted in daily life and in rituals, again without eliminating the underlying fundamental long-term cosmic circle. In fact, the inequality between households implied in the division between ichizoku and nizoku was analogous to the one which previously existed between men and women and between the old and the young. One new important form of inequality was thus introduced in the 16th century and the rituals were used to justify it. Because of its importance in economic, political and social matters, this form of inequality became the focus of Shinto rituals, leaving in the background the fundamental cosmic unity.

In summary, there is a continuous long range universe, where all people are potentially equal participants in the cosmic circle. In the short run, however, discontinuity threatens this continuity. One factor is the limited participation of the living in the circle: only one group of people, the ichizoku men, can in reality be included in shrine rituals, which are the only means for the living to participate in the ideal universeo There is thus a distinction between ichizoku and nizoku, between men and women, to a lesser extent between the old and the young, and between Sone and the other villages, and these distinctions bring discontinuity, since there is no way of passing from one status to the other (except those based on age).[28] The second factor is death, which creates a separation in the short-run universe between pollution and purity, and therefore Buddhism and Shinto. Death is a sad event in a supposedly happy universe. Moreover it is polluting and thus is anathema to the kami and the shrineo However, it is mainly through death that in the long run men become kami. Thus, in the longeterm circle, life and death are united and transcended.

The organization of time and space can not be explained more satisfactorily. This organization is not based on cosmological coordinates of the long-run, but of the short-run universe. All the events or objœcts they refer to are related to the organization of daily life. In this universe, things are discontinuous, and this is why there is a distinction between good and bad days and directions. Since bad days and

directions are related to bad luck, there is the problem of explaining luck and bad luck. Bad luck, as well as oni, is the name for the quality of events which bring unhappiness or even death, to the people. In a way, it can be seen as the reification of the inconsistencies of the diffuse circle of daily life. What does not fit in the universe is subsumed under one cause: bad luck.

It is necessary to mention that the conception of the universe which is embodied in the Shinto and Buddhist rituals analysed previously is centered on the village and the limited region. Although it can theoretically include the whole universe, it is in fact limited to Sone and the rest of South Wauchi. Consequently, the aspects involved, and among them the inequality between ichizoku and nizoku are clearly formulated only for this limited region. The conception of the universe I have described, with its social, political and economic aspects, is a total ideology. By that, I mean that it is ideally an attempt to explain the whole universe and all events, physical as well as spiritual, within a generalized framework. The final legitimacy of the conception is based in the non-human world, in the kami, rather than in the physical world. Taken into account in the framework, although they are not necessarily explained, are unknown forces that are seen as lying outside of men rather than in man's mind or in society.

However, there are alternatives to this conception, which will be called henceforth the "traditional conception". These

alternatives do not necessarily stand in opposition to the assumptions of the traditional conception, but they provide a basis for questioning it in part or in its entirety. Two of these alternatives are not primarily ideological at all, but are rather economic and political. The first one is the possibility of leaving the village to work in cities, a move which does not necessarily imply a rejection of the system, but which does provide a practical way to side-step it. However, there is no doubt that many young people leave because of the "feudal system" of the village, i.e., the political dominance of old men. It is not my present purpose to analyze what happens to these young people in the cities, but it must be noted that this is an important alternative and one which already had many disruptive consequences (see Chapter 1). It would be interesting to analyze the effects of city life on the acceptance of the traditional conception, but data on this question are lacking. One important aspect of this problem ise its relation to another alternative analyzed below, for it is said that Sōka Gakkai is very popular among laborers who have left rural areas for urban employment.[29] However, from the limited data available, very few if any young people from Sone working in cities have joined the movement. The second alternative is similar to the first one, but less drastic and much less popular. Some Sone people move to Kata where there is more freedom and where the traditional conception is not as pervasive as in Sone.

The two remaining alternatives are the two New Religions which have been introduced in Sone and they will be analyzed in

more detail. In order to understand what kind of alternative they afford, it is necessary to examine their purpose, their orientation, i.e., to whom the movement addresses itself, their organization and their conception of the universe. The purpose of Tenrikyō is to bring happiness to all men by the elimination of "dust". A change in social condition is not this sect's main concern, since these conditions can be changed only if all men clear their mind. In Aberle's terms, the movement is redemptive.[30] Consequently it does not challenge the social conditions prevailing in Sone, including the inequality of ichizoku and nizoku. In fact, Tenrikyō's concern with happiness is congruent with the traditional conception, and it has the advantage that happiness seems easier to achieve in Tenrikyō than in the traditional conception. The movement's orientation is potentially toward the whole of humanity, but in practice, the church in Sone is oriented toward the village only. In everyday life the orientation is overwhelmingly toward the limited region. Moreover, Tenrikyō members no longer proselytize. Thus it can be said that their orientation is in essence similar to that of the traditional conception.

The organization of the movement in Sone is twofold. The first and most important aspect is the prayer group, the group of Sone members which meets to pray together. It has become a tight-knit community where personal problems can be discussed, although this is not its main purpose. Second, the link to the national center, although weak, provides the group with a wider sense of purpose and meaning. These two aspects are elements which are not available in the traditional setting of the village.

The question of the conception of the universe is much more complex. In Tenrikyō, man through his spiritual self is part of the divine universe; in fact, the spiritual self is thought to have issued from the deity originally. Man cuts himself off from the divine universe when he forgets that his spiritual self is part of the deity and when he struggles for personal gain. This results in "dust", which is the cause of sickness. The main reason why man forgets his origins is the body, but he can eliminate dust by going back to his destiny, which is to live in tune with divine teachings. This doctrine has much in common with the cosmic circle of the traditional conception, for in both men participate in a continuous universe with the deity. However, there are important differences. Whereas in the traditional conception, living men can participate in the cosmic circle only in special circumstances, in Tenrikyō all men, provided they put themselves in tune with divine teachings, can participate in the divinity. This equal participation implies a basic equality of all men in relation to the divinity. Tenrikyō does not make the same distinction as the traditional conception between long-term and short-term universe. In the traditional conception, there is no complete passage from one universe to the other except through a lengthy change of substance: from living to dead, then to ancestor, and finally to kami. Thus the long-term universe is in the future, but a future for each man and not for humanity as a whole. It already exists for the dead and the kami and all will eventually join it. It is thus a parallel universe. For the living it is an ideal universe because people can effectively join it only

through rituals. Tenrikyōés conception is different. It postulates a complete passage not through a change of substance, but, first, for each man through going back to a life in tune with divine teachings, and second, for humanity when all men live such a life. The cosmic circle is not a parallel universe, but a potential one which will be reached by humanity in the future. It is the future state of thee present universe. When a conversion of the minds of all men individually is effected, the universe will be changed and everybody will be happy. But before humanity reaches this state, the world will be imperfect and nothing can be done to change the conditions themselves.

This difference between the two conceptions of the long-term universe is related to the conception of death. In the traditional conception, death is polluting and marks a definite break in the diffuse circle, a definite change of status. In Tenrikyō, death is only a change from one body to another and is thus not polluting. Death is not an end, but a new beginning. It loses its ambiguous character and is in fact explained away completely. Another less important difference is the more specific conceptualization of the deity in Tenrikyō than in the traditional conception. However, the former's doctrine can be seen as an extension of the latter, for whereas the traditional conception postulates, although vaguely, one fundamental kami and many personified ones, Tenrikyō clearly distinguishes between one deity and its various manifestations.

What do these differences and similarities mean for the people? What are the implications of the presence of Tenrikyō in the village in relation to the traditional conception? It

is important to note, first, that Tenrikyō, like the traditional conception, is a total system, that is, it attempts to explain all events and the whole universe within its framework. However, it is more specific than the traditional conception. Second, the differences in the conception of the universe are not as important as a formal examination of the two systems would lead us to believe. As was pointed out above, the traditional conception is only my systematization of vague feelings and interpretations of the people confronted with objects and events. Although Tenrikyō's doctrine is more systematized, there is no doubt that the Sone members, and probably most ordinary members,[31] have only a vague idea of the precise details of this doctrine. The points which are of importance to the people are those related to daily life, mainly the explanation of death and happiness. Tenrikyō's promise of happiness and the elimination of diseases to its members is certainly part of the movement's appeal. As far as the more complicated aspects of the doctrine are concerned, people see Tenrikyō as only an extension of their own beliefs.

Nor does practice of Tenrikyo provide a radical alternative. It is oriented toward the limited region as are the social, political, and economic aspects related to the traditional conception. The organization of Tenrikyō is somewaht different. The small local community group is a feature which did not exist in the village before, except in the family. But the group is not used primarily for discussions of personal problems, but for worshipping. Although it can provide bonds for people who feel lonely or dissatisfied, it does not provide a channel for self-expression.

The question of membership in terms of age, sex, etc. is an important one in dealing with the significance of Tenrikyō as an alternative. Most of the members are over 40 years of age and none of them is ichizoku. One explanation for the absence of young converts might be the very traditional character of the movement's doctrine. The absence of ichizoku members is harder to explain, if we take the movement as it is now. However, when the movement was introduced in the 1920's and 1930's, it was the first available alternative to the traditional setting, characterized by the dominance of the ichizoku. Since the ichizoku already had fairly secure dominance and privileges, it is likely that they would not join a movement which, while it did not necessarily question their dominance, did provide a means of escaping from the traditional conception in which their dominance was grounded. Tenrikyō thus is not a radical alternative to the traditional conception and its related political, economic and social aspects. Both in theory and in practice, it provides no serious grounds for challenging the traditional system. The fact that people consider Tenrikyō's doctrine as only an extension of their own beliefs underlines the fact that the movement does not radically alter the correlates of the traditional system.

Sōka Gakkai is a very different kind of movement, providing a different alternative. It is also a total ideology in the sense described above, finding its ultimate legitimacy in forces outside of men themselves. Its doctrines are more systematic and better known by the members. Contrary to

Tenrikyō which accepts the already existing religions, Sōka Gakkai rejects Shinto and Tenrikyō as superstition and the Buddhism of the Sōtō sect along with all the others as false Buddhism. Therefore, their members do not participate in local rituals as a rule. Although the movement's doctrine is grounded in Japanese tradition through its affiliation to the Shō sect of Nichiren Buddhism, many new aspects have been added.

The purpose of Sōka Gakkai is to bring happiness, including profit, to all men. One major way to achieve this goal is good government, i.e., government based on the will of the people, which can be provided only by Kōmeitō, the political party associated with Sōka Gakkai.[32] Good government will bring a change in existing conditions. The other way is to join the movement and become a good member. All other governments and all other religions can only lead to people's unhappiness. Thus Sōka Gakkai opposes the traditional system of Sone at the most fundamental level by questioning its truth.

The purpose of the movement influences its orientation. Sōka Gakkai is interested in all men. As for government, the main point of attack is at the national level in Japan, where Sōka Gakkai defines the major problem as the split between "corrupt politicians" who rule the country in collusion with big business, and the will of the people.[33] The will of the people, as was mentioned before, is clearly understood and represented only by Sōka Gakkai and Kōmeitō. Thus Sōka Gakkai sees itself as embodying one side, the only democratic side of the division. Their analysis is then extended outward to all

nations, mainly through propagation in other countries (and this is the new Japanese mission in the world), and inward to prefectural, regional and local politics. In Sone, it questions the inequality between ichizoku and nizoku not primarily because ichizoku are "corrupt politicians," but because all the villagers except the local bosses are equal and equally victims of the corrupt politicians. Thus Sōka Gakkai questions the main division of the village by labeling it irrelevant.

The differences in organization are important also. Sōka Gakkai provides a strong national organization with enough power to become the third political party in Japan. Thus it makes the individual feel he has some influence in national politics and can participate in the implementation of true democracy. At the same time, it provides interest groups and strong communitye-like local discussion groups where the individual can feel at home. It is not my purpose here to analyze in detail their psychological functions, but a short examination will be helpful. These groups are no doubt a good way to eliminate the alienation created by poverty, illness, or the impersonal organizations of a modern industrial society. Lonely and alienated people can find in them a sense of group identity, supposedly a strong need for the Japanese,[34] and of personal satisfaction. Furthermore, discussions of personal matters help the member to deal with psychological problems. There is no doubt that these groups are one major reason for the movements's success in cities. However, this cannot be the case in Sone, which has been spared the alienation of modern industrial society. The discussion of personal problems is certainly an important aspect of these groups and is one of the

reasons why some people join, but conversations with members suggest that it does not seem to be the major reason. It is still an important element of the alternative that Sōka Gakkai presents to the people, for there is no other channel for the discussion of personal problems in the village. The major aspect of the alternative is the national organization. The reason why this organization has a military character can be understood only in historical perspectiveq which is examined below.

The doctrine has very few points in common with the traditional conception. Whereaso the latter is diffuse and concerned with both this world and the kami, the doctrine of Sōka Gakkai is clearly defined, specific and this-worldly. There is no sign of a division between a continuous and a discontinuous universe, for such matters are of no concern for Sōka Gakkaio Because the movement is interested in tangible results in this life, it provides no solution to the problem of death. In its doctrine, death is also an unhappy event which has nothing to do with pollution. The problem of death is pushed away by the exclusive expression of concern with this life. It is interesting to note in this regard that Sōka Gakkai has reintroduced ancestor-worship only recently after having eliminated it initially as a superstition. The movement simply could not repress the minimal concern of its members for the dead. As for the relation of the present to the future, the issue is simple. Joining Sōka Gakkai produces an immediate change for the better, although conversion will not solve all problems since the society in which the member lives is still controlled by false religions and corrupt

politicians. It follows that complete happiness will come only when all men become Sōka Gakkai members and corrupt politicians and false religions are eliminated.

The question of membership is an important clue for understanding the importance of the movement as an alternative in Sone. In Sone, as was mentioned in Chapter 6, members of only 10 families joined, and the one ichizoku member is a woman.[35] Furthermore, as far as could be ascertained, none of the members had ever held an important position in the village, either in the ku or in the fishing cooperative. Thus it seems that the people who joined are, in general, people who received little benefit from the traditional system. It is necessary to put the question of membership in a wider context and examine the characteristics of people who join the movement in the whole of Japan. According to Dator; "Sōka Gakkai members appear to be found in the lower classes more frequently than in the total population."[36] Moreover none of the top leaders of the government, the bureaucracy, big companies or trade unions has joined. It is the rank-and-file in each of these, including trade unions,[37] which provide most of the membership. Sōka Gakkai is said to have special appeal among rural workers who move to the cities for employment and to a lesser degree, among the small shopowners, an indication that Sōka Gakkai capitalizes on change among a traditional people.

In Japan, the years following the Second World War were marked by an amazing growth of large-scale industries and business and thus by a decrease in the relative importance of

small industries, small shops and agriculture. The very existence of the first two categories has been threatened by the growth of large concerns. Competition for capital, labor and markets has forced many small entrepreneurs out of business and into the wage-labor market. Those who survived were often on the verge of bankruptcy or became increasingly tied to large concerns.[38] In agriculture, the small-size holdings created by the Land Reform of 1946-47 encountered increasing difficulty as foreign competition and family needs grew. Most farmers could survive only with the help of the government's program to fix the price of rice, but even so, some farmers had to abandon their farm.[39] Moreover, since the land is still by custom transmitted to only one successor, all other members of rural families had to move out of agriculture. It appears then that the people to whom Sōka Gakkai appeals are small owners whose property is threatened by the post-war development of large-scale industries and Japan's integration into the world's market.

The changes in the last two decades and a half in South Wauchi have been described in Chapter 1. The main modification has been the increasing dependence on national market for the sale of local products as well as the purchase of means of production and consumption goods. This economic aspect of the region's integration into the national scene was accompanied by an increase in participation in prefectural and national politics and a longer period of compulsory education. A consequence of the increased dependence on the national market has been the increased efficiency of labor. On one hand, the

labor force has to be taken care of at increasing cost because of the development of consumption needs, on the other, the income which is needed to satisfy these needs comes from the sale of local products inca competitive national market. In order to maximize gains, it is necessary to use in local production only the labor force which is really needed. This more efficient use of labor has had two important aspects in South Wauchie-the reorganization of some traditional occupations and the emigration of young people to cities. The latter has already been examined in Chapter 1; the former needs more elaborationo

The traditional sectors of the economy have been reorganized in South Wauchi: fishing and timber. In Furue, Kajdika and Soneo the fishing cooperatives have been reorganized in order to maximize profits. In Sone, this reorganization was less important, mainly since the decline of the culture of mother-of-pearl, because timber was the dominantoeconomic sectoro In Furue, there was a shift toward deep-sea fishing in large boats owned either by the cooperative or by individualso This shift has permitted Furue people to take advantage of the rising prices of fish and to become relatively wealthy. Kajika people, more isolated from national trends, have kept on fishing near the coast. As for timber, the Sone ku and the Kata timber cooperative have devised means to use labor only when needed and to raise incomes considerably. Thus incomes from fishing in Furue and from timber in Sone and Kata have increased markedly. As for farming and shopkeeping, enterprises which account for more than half of Kata households, they have the same difficulty as in other parts of Japan. Shop-keeping has

been hit the hardest.

The two villages which could reorganize traditional ventures so as to insure satisfactory income for most of their members (fishing in Furue and timber in Sone) were the ones with the smallest proportion of Sōka Gakkai converts. Members of about 5% of the households in each village joinede In the case of these two villages, there was no important shift in occupation, nor any decline in income. Thus people could increase their gains without resorting to occupations other than their traditional ones. In Kajika, the traditional occupation was retained, but with less success than in Furue and Sone. Characteristically, the percentage of households (10%) with at least one member who joined Sōka Gakkai is higher than in Furue and Sone, but lower than in Kata. As for Kata, it is the small shopkeepers and the farmers who account for the 15% of households with members in Sōka Gakkai.[40]

Thus South Wauchi follows closely the national pattern, that is, people in traditional occupations, but who cannot prosper in them, join Sōka Gakkai. This characteristic of the movement's membership is certainly part of the explanation for the double character of its doctrine: the emphasis on profit and the maintenance of traditional valuese This mixture of old and new makes Sōka Gakkai very similar to so-called "populist" movements.[41] These movements, according to Touraine, are found at the time of entry in a new society. "(They embody), in the name of certain shared values, the will to insure progress without break."[42] They appeal either to an old middle-class of shopkeepers or craftsmen whosee position is threatened by industrialization, or to rural

people who move to the cities to work in factories or offices. The first case applies chiefly to Seichō-no-Ie in Japan,[43] as well as the Poujade movement in France in the 1950's[44] and the Social Credit Party in Alberta in the 1930's.[45] The second case applies to the Creditiste movement in Quebec in the 1960's. Sōka Gakkai shares the characteristics of both cases. In each case, although the change is different, the movement appeals to people who have spent most of their lives in a traditional situation and must adapt to new conditions created by the development of large industries. It appears in times of "widespread disturbance of cultural norms and frames of reference."[46] The people who live under these conditions must change because of a widespread change in the society they live in, over which they have no real control. The populist movements, which provide them with a real or illusory power to control these conditions, usually attack the established political parties on the grounds that they are corrupt and do not listen to the people. They are anti-elitist, except for the elite in their own movement, and often anti-intellectual.

I do not pretend that this interpretation of Sōka Gakkai and other populist movements explainsall their aspects, but one must take into account economic changes if one is to understand their popularity. In general, these changes can be summarized as a transformation of traditional economic patterns with consequent difficulties for some groups in the population, whose members generally join the movements.

This perspective on Sōka Gakkai is necessary if one is to understand the kind of alternative it provides to the

traditional conception. As an ideology, Sōka Gakkai rejects both Shinto and the Buddhism as practiced in Sone. It thus considers the "cosmic circle" as superstition and the social inequality between ichozoku and nizoku as irrelevant. In place of this conception Sōka Gakkai offers a more concrete goal--profit. To achieve this end, the relevant context is national politics, not local divisions. At the national level, Sōka Gakkai opposes the very people who are the cause of difficulties among small entrepreneurs, big business and their ally, the government. Since South Wauchi people know very well that many decisions taken by the national government and large concerns in Tokyo have a bearing on the village, it is difficult for them to question Sōka Gakkai's definition of the situation. Moreover, the traditionalism of the movement, although different from the one implied in folk religion, has much in common with the militaristic ideology of the pre-war period: an important place for Japan in the world, anti-capitalism and military hierarchy. Consequently, it has some appeal among people who were most influenced by that ideology. For example, in Sone, members of 8 among the 10 households who had converts had attended school during the period (1931-1945) when primary education was centered on imperial ideology. In this instance, Sōka Gakkai provided people who had already been cut off ideologically from the traditional system with a means to politically reject it. It thus capitalized on the fact that militaristic education and the war had, by undermining the traditional conception centered on the immediate region, broken the ideological self-containment of South Wauchi. Another important factor of Sōka Gakkai's appeal

is its claim of being a voice of the people at the national level. Interestingly enough, the movement has some appeal among categories of people who were out of local power, i.e. some nizoku of Sone who had never filled official positions and Kajoka people. In this instance, Sōka Gakkai has permitted some underdogs to circumvent the traditional system which kept them out of power.

Finally Sōka Gakkai attempts to destroy the strong particularistic community ties of the traditional society that are related in so many ways to Shinto and Buddhist rituals. It places the individual in a new context, with the help of an even more particularistic group than the traditional society could provide: the local discussion group. It thus causes a break in village solidarity which cannot be handled in the usual terms by the people. The usual forms of control--threat of ostracism, gossip and ridicule may prevent people from joining but once they do, the presence of a very supportive community helps reduce the effectiveness of these forms of control.

To sum up: the traditional conception implied in Shinto and Buddhist rituals is rather vague, intuitive, and unsystematic. But by systematizing the clues given by the people themselves, we obtain a triple view of the universe: 1- A long-term and continuous cosmic circle in which the deity, man and nature participate; 2- the universe of daily life in which men live in conjunction with the deity and nature, but which is broken by death and social inequality; and 3- the formalized circle of Shinto rituals in which a spurious continuity is recreated and social inequality justified. Asofar as can be gathered from

the present situation, this conception of the universe is related to traditional economic, political and social conditions of the region only and the social division it defines is practically limited to this area. This division is the inequality between the first and the second families, a division which is no longer reflected in political, economic and social conditions. The traditional conception is a total system in that theoretically it can explain all events and actions in its terms. But there are some alternatives. Two of them are not ideological, but they allow people to step out ofethe system. These two alternatives are jobs in cities and moving to Kata. The other two are total systems, just as the traditional system is. These are the new religions, Tenrikyō and Sōka Gakkai. Tenrikyō is not a radical alternative since it can be seen as an extension of the traditional conception. It eliminates the problem of death, but does not question the social inequality. Sōka Gakkai questions this inequality by making it irrelevant. Although Sōka Gakkai finds its ultimate legitimacy in the religious tradition, it redefines the situation primarily in political terms at the national level. The main problem then becomes the conflict between corrupt politicians and the will of the people. This redefinition is the cause of a major break in the village solidarity.

# CONCLUSION

The problem for investigation posed in the introduction was that of the persistence of the traditional religion and its changing meaning in the context of changing conditions. The traditional folk religion can be divided into two main parts, i.e.g Shinto and Buddhism. The two have not followed the same course of change because they are linked to different aspects of life in Sone. Shinto is related to nature, life and the ichizoku; Buddhism is related to the household and death. The meaning of Buddhism is fairly clear and has remained fairly constant all through the recent history of Sone primarily because of its intimate relation to the household. But the context is changing, and it is entirely possible that a decrease in the number of rural households will have far-reaching effectso on the household, ancestor worship, and by implication on Buddhism itself.

Shinto has had a more complicated history. It was the original religion of Sone and until the 16th century it was primarily a way for the villagers to participate in the universe. It was a means to relate to the kami and to nature, and its goal was to insure the growth of the natural products that are necessary for survival. It was the religion of a people living in close contact with nature. It was similar to the traditional conception described in Chapter 7, except that it lacked the social inequality between ichizoku and nizoku, a feature added in the 16th century. There was no necessary connection between

this religion and inequality; but they became fused because of their historical relation. Thus after the 16th century, Shinto became a means for some people to appropriate more of the natural products whose growth the shrine rituals insured. The connection between ritual dominance and exonomic and political privileges lasted until after the Meiji Restoration. The economic priviliges of the ichizoku were dissolved in the early Meiji period but political privileges were not eliminated until after World War II. Thus the separation of ritual dominance and political and economic primacy was effected quite recently. In the 20th century, the increase in secondary and tertiary occupations had the effect of decreasing people's close contact with nature, thus weakening the significance of Shinto and the shrine rituals. The goals of these rituals shifted increasingly to the well-being of children. But the decrease of primary occupation was not the reason for questioning the rituals themselves. Another factor which played against them was the post-war spread of the ideology of democracy, leading more people to question the inequality implied in the rituals. However, since few were ready to advocate the complete disappearance of the rituals, one obvious solution would have been to open up the rituals to everybody, since this was how the rituals used to be before the creation o the ichizoku. But this step has been rejected by the ichizoku on the grounds that people know that rituals are good as they are, while nobody can be sure of what will happen if they were changed.

This was the situation in 1968. The question remains as to why the rituals are kept even in this situation. One impor-

tant reason, surely, is the feeling of communal identity they offer the people of Sone. The rituals of Asuka shrine are still considered by people to be their own, and their feeling of being different from people in neighboring villages is still strong. One reason to keep them as they are is the fact that they are the only remnants of ichizoku privileges, and these families would like to keep at least the image of their former powero Another reason to preserve the religion is the strong feeling people still have of living in close contact with nature, even if they have secondary or tertiary occupations. Nature still plays a strong role in peopleds lives, less now for subsistence than for emotional reasons. The rituals are still the major way to relate to and participate in nature. Moreover, the rituals have been handed down by the ancestors, and like everything which is inherited they must be preserved as they have been received and passed on to the successorso Finally, rituals still provide the most valued form of recreation and social life, in the same way that Christmas does in the West even for people who do not consider themselves Christians.

Thus the rituals still provide for community feeling as well as for participation in the universe, although both have been weakened by a decrease in local autonomy and in primary occupations. Furthermore, the festivals are still the chief form of recreation and social life. As long as these three aspects persist, the rituals will probably be maintained. However, if the ichizoku maintain their monopoly on shrine rituals, it is possible that people will feel that it is not

worthwhile keeping these rituals; for obon is a ritual which is for the community only and it includes everybody. However, obon is a Buddhist ritual and does not refer to peoplees participation in nature. Thus, as long as people feel that they have a close relation to nature, it is likely that the Shinto rituals will be kept, even though the ichizoku maintain their monopoly, especially since these rituals have become ways to insure the well-being of children and are still considered by many people as essential to a happy life. For these people, it is inconceivable that the rituals should disappear.e What will happen when the present generation of old people dies out and is replaced by young people who are now working in cities? These young people seem to have much less regard for the rituals, as the disruptive actions of the January 4 ritual by some of them in the 1950's witness. It is possible that the rituals will be dropped altogether. However, if we remember that the purpose of these actions was not to destroy the rituals but to open them to everybody, it seems that the festivals still mean something even to these people.

What is certain is that, with the increasing participatione of Sone people in the national political and economic arenas, and the pervasive effect of the media, the rituals have ceased to be the major center of life they used to be. In former times, rituals were the means by which life held together, and they gave meaning to economic and political affairs. There were even instances where "secular" matters were discussed in a ritual context, as with the discussion of the management of forest land as part of yama no kami on January 7 (See Chapter 3). In the

20th century, secular business has been separated from the rituals and is discussed outside of ritual contexts. The rituals have become less pervasive as important aspects of life have been divorced from them, with the consequence that life has lost its holistic character. Symbols are less vivid. The very few people who still know what the symbols mean are all over 50. As a consequence, the traditional conception which is implied in the rituals is shared only by older people and is thus disappearing.

Sōka Gakkai appears to be a movement which attempts to revive the total aspect of traditional village life, but in fact it is not interested in retaining or restoring the autonomy of local communities. However, the total character of Soka Gakkai is very different from that of the traditional systemo for it has very little concern for people's relation to nature.

Thus, Sone appears to be in the middle of a process. Rituals still mean something to some people, but they mean less to fewer people. It is possible that the present trend will be reversed and that the old symbols will come to mean something again. This meaning will have to be a new one, for the old meanings do not seem to fit the present situation. New symbols could be devised to give shape to a new life and new activities, but because of the increasing separation between rituals, economy, politics and social life, it is unlikely that any new symbol will have the vivid character and the emotional significance the old ones formerly possessed.

## FOOTNOTES; INTRODUCTION

1. For more information on the background and implementation of the land reform, see Dore, Ronald P. LandeReform in Japan.

2. The period of field-work was from January to October 1968 and from June to August 1970.

3. In order to avoid repetition in the text, a glossary of Japanese words has been included. See pages 180-182.

4. See especially The Forest of Symbols, Chapter 7, and The Drums of Affliction; both of these are analyses of only one ritual. For Turner's method, see The Forest of Symbols, Chapters 1 and 2.

## FOOTNOTESe CHAPTER 1

1. Trewartha, Japan, p.37.

2. Ibid., p.23.

3. Ibid., p.68.

4. Ibid., p.46.

5. Ibid., p.47-49.

6. Ibid., p.50

7. Owase Shiyakusho, Statistics on population, 1968, unpublished. and Ibid., Owase 1968, p.2-3.

8. The year 1963 was chosen because of the availability of data by age-group and sex for that year. The statistics for 1962, 1965 and 1967 are not available by sex. Moreover the population statistics would be better if the family register (Koseki shōhon) for Sone could have been photocopied, but this was impossible.

9. Nakane, Kinship and Economic Organization in Rural Japan, p.1 and p.41. See also Ushiomi,e La Communaute Rurale au Japon, p.9.

10. For a bibliography of works on the ie, see Nakane, op.cit., pp.183-185 (Japanese language) and pp.195-197 (English language).

11. Fukutake, Japanese Rural Society, p.39.

12. Again the availability of the family register would have allowed a more detailed anaysis of the marriage patterns.

13. Nakane, op.cit., pp.82 sq.

14. Smith, T.C., The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan, p.60.

15. Kitahara, Nihon ni okeru Sobunsei.

16. This is similar to the principle of cross-cutting ties defined by Gluckman for Africa. See Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society, pp.91-97.

17. For a classic and more elaborate, although often criticized description of the system of obligation, see Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, pp.98-144.

18. Minami Murō Gun Dai Ichibu Kenkyūkai, Warera no Kyōdo, p.61.

19. The average income was calculated in the following waye If the private owner owns 300 acres, this leaves 1200 acres of common land. The trees are cut when they are 35 to 40 years old, so ther is an average of 30 acres of wood per year which is cut. Moreover 1 koku of excellent wood sells around Y10,000. 1 koku=180 liters, thus 1 cubic meter=5.5 koku. Therefore 1 cubic meter sells at Y55,555. In a publication of the Mie-Ken Norinsuisanbu Rinmuka, Owase Ringyō, p.5, it is said that 1700 or 1800 trees are equivalent to 200 cubic meters of timber. Furthermore, there are 6,000 to 10,000 trees per hectare (Ibid., p.5)e Thus there is ae minimum of 200 cubic meters per 3 hectares. 1 hectare= Ca. 2.5 acres. Thus 30 acres=12 hecatares. The total amount of money received for wood in an average year, all conditions being good, would then be:

$$12h. \times \frac{200m.3}{3h.} \times \frac{Y55,555}{m.3} = Y44,444,000$$

After the ku takes about Y4,000,000 to pay for its expenses (see the section of this chapter on politics), Y40,444,000 are left to be shared by 116 members. This amounts toe Y348,655 per share, or $968. However, allowing for: 1) pieces of land which lay fallow for a few years; 2) places where wood does not grow so well; 3) forest fires; 4) bad logs; 5) the fact that the private owner might own more than 300 acres; it seems reasonable to put the conservative estimate of the minimum average per year per share at $500.

20. Minami Murō Gun Dai Ichibu Kenkyūkai, Wareraeno kyōdo, p.61.

21. For more information on these incidents, see Bernier, The Popular Religion of a Japanese Village and its Transformation, p.206.

22. This information comes from Owase Shiyakusho, Owase Shi Shinempyō, pp.11, 43 & 47.

23. For a short account of the system and its history in Japan, see Nihon Minzokugaku Kyōkaihen, Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten, vol. 1, pp.52-53. For some historical information on the iriai in South Wauchi, see Bernier, op.cit., pp.191-192.

24. Owase, Shiyakusho, Owase 1968, p.30.

25. Ibid.

26. Owase Shiyakusho, Owase Shi Shinempyō, p.123e

27. The separation between the Liberal and Democratic parties has been maintained locally despite their fusion at the national level in 1955.

28. Owase Shiyakusho, Owase 1968, p.29.

29. Owase Shiyakusho, Owase 1968, p.30.

## FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 2

1. Ono, Shinto, pp.36-37

2. This chronicle is the Kii Zoku Fudoki, which was published in 1839. This information about the chronicle comes from Owase Shiyakusho, Owase Shi Shinempyo,e p.61, and Kuramoto, Minami Wauchi Sonshi, p.95e

3. Kuramoto, op. cit., p.95.

4. Female gods usually have the word hime in their names.

5. Kuramoto, op. cit.e, p.95.

6. Ibid.

7. Kuramoto, Asuka Jinja Shi, p.1.

8. Tahara, Minami Murō Gunshi, p.407.

9. Kuramoto, Minami Wauchi Sonshi, pp.114-115.

10. Nihon Minzokugaku Kyōkaihen, Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten, p.102.

11. Owase..., op. cit., p.8.

12. Ibid.

13. Hagiwara, The position of the Shinto priesthood, pp.224-225.

14. Owase..., op. cit., p.9 and Kuramoto, Minami Wauchi Sonshi, p.6.

15. Owase..., op. cit., pp.6 & 11.

16. Owase..., op. cit., p.12.

17. See Higo, Miyaza no Kenkyū, pp. 38-78, and Nihon Minzokugaku...., op. cit., pp.563-564. For information on ichizoku in other parts of Japan, see Higo, pp.49-55.

18. Hagiwara, op. cit., p.231.

19. Smith, T.C., The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan, pp.188-200.

20. Owase..., op. cit., p.8.

21. R.J. Smith did research on the ancestral tablets in Sone in 1963. He generously allowed me to use his data, which have since been published in Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan.

22. This does not mean that Smith's interpretation is wrong, but that it does not apply completely to the present case.

## FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 3

1. Turner, The Ritual Process, p.11.

2. Ibid.

3. Chaplin-Ayrton, Japanese New Year Celebration, p.72.

4. There is no agreement among the people interviewed as to whether the village head would attend the rituals of Jan.3, 4, & 5 (mainly the last one) if he wereoa nizoku. The problem has not yet arisen because, since the present election system was established, all the village heads have been ichizokuo

5. It can be said that the archers are almost identified with Oji.

6. For a more complete explanation of the concept of liminality, see Turner, op. cit., pp.95-96.

7. For a more detailed analysis of yama no kami in Japan, see Nihon Minzokugaku Kyōkaihen, Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten, p.1496-1499.

8. Evil is personifiedo In the expression Oni wa soto, oni refers to a demon.

9. These spring rituals are common throughout the worldo Harrison, in Ancient Art and Ritual, pp. 82-83, reports such a festival for Ancient Greece, where the symbols used are different fromothe ones used in Japan, but

where a strikingly similar formula as in Japan is used: "Out with evil, in with happiness and wealth". This is an exact translation of the formula used in Japan. In Greece, the spring ritual was performed in order to magically promote the food supply. This is very close to the goals of setusbun.

10. The names of these plants aremiiagebana (?) and hozuki (winter ground-cherry).

11. There might be a pun involved with the number four (shi) and death (shinu: to die). This possibility was pointed out to me by R.J. Smith.

12. Herbert, Shinto, p.94.

13. This is in agreement with Ogura, Drifted Deities in the Noto Peninsula, p.138.

14. This is in agreement with Matsudaira, The Concept of Tamashii in Japan, pp.190-191.

15. Reischauer and Fairbank, East Asia: The GreateTradition, pp.76-77.

16. This is an old man from Kajika.

17. Ono, Shinto, p.24.

18. The association of red with life occurs in other contexts: the red lining of the bride's kimono used in weddings; the red skirt (akama) of the ritual girls (miko) at Shinto shrines; and the red garment old people used to wear on the day of their official retirement.

19. Aston, Shinto: The Way of Japan, p.194.

20. Omushimochi literally means "rice-carrier".

## FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 4

1. The meaning of these two colors could not be ascertained.

2. Yuino refers usually to a bridal gift made by the parents of the groom to the parents of the bride. This is not so in Sone, where yuino is the name of the ceremony of setting the marriage.

3. A meal ordinarily includes only one tray.

4. This procedure is different from Niiike's where the bride's parents pay for the ceremony after receiving the bridal gift. In Sone, there is no bridal gift. For Niiikeę see Beardsley, Hall, & Ward, Village Japan, pp.324-325.

5. In Sone there is neither cremation nor embalming.

## FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 5

1. Astono Shinto: The Way of Japan, p.194.

2. This was emphasized by R.J. Smith, Ihai: Mortuary tablets, the household and kin in Japanese ancestor worship, p.83.

3. Some households do not have any tablets. These are newly created branch households where no death has occurred yet. Also, some households have tablets from other families, probably households which died out because of the absence of a successor.

4. This is one of the main points of Hozumi's book Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law. See pp.17-19.

5. Among scholars who assert that the ancestors finally merge with the kami, there are Matsudaira (The concept of tamashii in Japan), and Mogami (The double-grave system, p.177).

6. Matsudaira, op. cit., p.190.

7. Mogami, op. cit., pp.171 and 175.

8. Mogami, op. cit.

## FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 6

1. The sources used in the description of Tenrikyō are primarily the following: Tenrikyō, Tenrikyō; Ibid., A Short History of Tenrikyō; Nakayama, Onothe Idea of God in the Tenrikyō Doctrine; Moroi, Tenrikyō: Some misconceptions corrected; Thomsen, The New Religions of Japan, pp.53-60; and Offner and Van Straelen, Modern Japanese Religions, pp.41-60.

2. Tenrikyō, Tenrikyō, p.15.

3. Ibid., p.17. There is no doubt that the number is greatly exaggerated. For the estimate of the number of members in 1963 comes to the same amount (see footnote (5)). This is a problem with all statistics given by the churches themselves. It is probable that most of the other statistics given in this section are exagerated.

4. Owase Shiyakushohen, Owase Shi Shinempyō, p.108.

5. Thomsen, op. cit., p.33.

6. Tenrikyō, op. cit., p.4.

7. Tenrikyō, op. cit., p.7.

8. Ibid.

9. Nakayama, op. cit., p.8.

10. Nakayama, op. cit., p.9.

11. Owase Shiyakushohen, op. cit., pp.104-109.

12. The section on Sōka Gakkai is based primarily on the following sources: Sōka Gakkai, The Sōkagakkai; Dator, Sōkagakkai: Builders of the Third Civilization; Dator, The Sōka Gakkai in Japanese Politics; International Institute for the Study of Religion, Sōka Gakkai and the Nichiren Sho sect; Brannen, The Teachings of Sōka Gakkai; Thomsen, op. cit., p.81-108; McFarland, op.cit., p.194-220 and Offner and Van Straelen, op. cit., p.98-109.

13. Farnsworth, Japan the Year of the Shock, p.54.

14. Dator, Sōka Gakkai: Builders...,p.5.

15. Dator, op. cit., p.8.

16. Dator, op. cit., p.7.

17. For an examination of the reasons why different proportions of people in each village join Sōka Gakkai, see Bernier, The Growth of Sōka Gakkai in a Japanese Rural Region. The percentages given here are significantly lower than the ones given in Bernier, The Popular Religion of a Japanese Village and its Transformation, p. 136. The reason for this difference is that, during my field-work of 1970, I realized that the figures given by Sōka Gakkai members in 1968 were much exaggerated.

## FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 7

1. "The Japanese mind in all ages has been quite content without definite conceptions of kami". Harada, Tasaku, The Faith of Japan, p. 46. See also, Herbert, Shinto, p.23; Ross, Shinto..., p.47.

2. See Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion, p.22; and Ministry of Education, Religions in Japan, pp.4-5.

3. This is similar to Dinka religion as described by Lienhardt, Dinka Religion. See p.32, especially.

4. For an examination of the concept of kami for Japan as a whole, see Holtom, The meaning of kami; and Herbert, op.cit.,

p.23 sq.

5. See Holtom, op.cit., Chapter 3; Sansom, A History of Japan to 1334, p.25.

6. See Herbert, op. cit., p.23.

7. See Earhart, Japanese Religion, p.6.

8. See Herbert, op. cit., pp.21-23; Mason, The Meaning of Shinto, p.89.

9. This is similar to the concept of tamashii described by Matsudaira, The concept of tamashii in Japan.

10. The idea of crystallization of otherwise diffuse elements is most clearly brought out by Turner in Mukanda: The Politics of a non-political ritual.

11. See Matsudaira, op. cit., pp.184 and 190-191.

12. Sansom points out that this dominance was exercised by the leaders of the clans in Japan in the 7th and 8th century. See Sanson, op.cit., p.35.

13. T.C. Smith has pointed out the same use of history by people excluded from miyaza in other areas. See The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan, p.197.

14. Hozumi, Ancestor Worship and Japanese Law, pp.20-25.

15. Yanagida, Japanese Customs and Manners in the Meiji Era, pp.104-108.

16. Nakane, Kinship and Economic Organization in Rural Japan, pp.105-107.

17. Ibid.

18. Plath, Where the Family of God is the Family....

19. This function of the ancestors can be related to one of Geertz's major functions of religion: the explanation of evil. The two other functions are taken care of by Shinto: analytic explanations and the problem of suffering. See Geertz, Religion as a cultural system, pp.14-24.

20. The expression was coined by Nakamura, The Ways of Thinking of Asian People, pp.311-315.

21. Wimberley, Seichō-no-Ie: A Study...

22. DeVos, The Relation of Guilt toward Parents to Achievement and Arranged marriage among Japanese.

23. Wimberley, op. cit., pp.55-56.

24. Wimberley, op. cit., p.196.

25. Wimberley, op. cit., p.199

26. Wimberley, op. cit., p.61

27. This interpretation of the life-cycle was suggested to me by Robert J. Smith. Of course, any mistake included in its formulation is mine.

28. The only other way to change status if for ichizoku to stop being a member of the group and thus to become nizoku. In this case, it is possible to step down but not to climb up.

29. Ikado, Shinkō Shūkyō no Dōkō to Kadai, pp.130-132.

30. Aberle, Peyote Cult, pp.320-321.

31. In Seichō-no-Ie, for example, members do not know the explanations of illnesses given by the movement. See Wimberley, op.cit., p.37.

32. Dator, Sōka Gakkai...,pp.11-12.

33. Ibid.

34. See Wimberley, op. cit., p.56.

35. There was one ichizoku family whose members joined but it seems that both the husband and the wife in this family have since died.

36. Dator, op. cit., p.70.

37. One of the most famous victories of Sōka Gakkai was against the big coal miners' union, Tanro.

38. For a more detailed examination of the consequence of the development of large concerns on small industries, see Bernier, L'Economie et la société Japonaise face à la crise monétaire mondiale de 1971.

39. See Fukutake, Fall in the family population; R.J.Smith, Beyond Peasantry.

40. For a more detailed examination of the historical context of the introduction of Sōka Gakkai in South Wauchi, see Bernier, The Introduction of Sōka Gakkai in a Japanese Rural region.

41. The term is used here in a different way than for the Amercian populist movements in the 19th century.

42. Touraine, Le Mouvement de Mai ou le Communism Utopique, p.31.

43. See Wimberley, op.cit.

44. See Hoffman, Le Mouvement Poujade, especially the preface by Meynaud; and Bridier, Le Poujadisme Demasque.

45. See Irving, The Social Credit Movement in Alberta; MacPherson, Democracy in Alberta; and Mann, Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta.

46. Irving, op.cit., p.338.

# GLOSSARY

Azuki: a red bean

Botamochi: glutinous rice cake coated with bean paste

Bunke: branch temple or household

Buraku: hamlet

Butsudan: Buddhist altar

Chimaki: Cakes made on the boys' festival (May 5)

Chiritori: man who prepares cylindrical rice cakes during the November shrine festival

Daidai: small bitter orange

Edo: old name for Tokyo

Edo period: 1600-1868 A.D.

Genrō: elders

Gohei: symbolic paper offering placed in the shrine

Gohonzon: Mandala of the Sho sect of Nichiren Buddhism, supposedly written by Nichiren

Gokitō: festival of January 12 to ask for good luck

Gosengu: festival of reconstruction or reroofing of the shrine held every 20 years

Hamachi: yellowtail (fish)

Hanshi: white paper

Hatsubon: first obon for a soul of a dead person

Heian period: 780-1160 A.D.

Higan: spring and autumn equinox

Honke: main temple or household

Ichizoku: "first families;" the miyaza of Sone

Ie: household

Iriai: rights of usage or of ownership of forest land or of fishing rights

Ise and Kumano: two traditions of Shinto dating from very early times

Kamakura period: 1180-1330 A.De

Kakure Oji: Oji's burial ground

Kami: deity, god

Kamidana: "god-shelf," a small altar to the god which is in every household

Kannushi: caretaker of the shrine

Koku: measure of quantity, 1 koku = 180 liters

Kōmeitō: "Clean Politics Party," the political party associated with Sōka Gakkai

Ku: village executive bodye village as a corporate entity

Kuchō: village headman (modern)

Matsuri: festivals

Miyaza: shrine group responsible for organizing the shrine festivals

Mochi: glutinous rice cakes

Mukaebi: fire to welcome the souls of the dead on August 13, the first day of obon

Munahuda: wooden sheet put on the main beam of homes every time they are rebuilt

Muromachi period: 1350-1580 A.D.

Nanten: a plant

Nizoku: second families

Obon: festival of the souls (August 13-19)

Oji: a god, child of Amaterasu-ō-mikami

Okuribi: fire to send away the souls of the dead on August 15, the last day of obon

Oni: personalization of evil; a demon

Sakaki: cleyera japonica (plant)

Sake: rice wine

Samurai: warrior

Sekku: girls' and boys' festivals (March 3 and May 5)

Sengoku period: 1450-1550 A.D.

Setsubun: spring festival

Shimenawa: ritual straw rope

Shintai: symbol of the god in shrines

Shōya: village headman (traditional)

Sōka Gakkai: a New Religion

Sumōe traditional Japanese wrestling

Sushi: vinegared rice

Tenrikyō: a New Religion

Tō: prayer; fathers whose children have been chosen to participate in the New Year's festival: host of the January 5 festival

Tōban: the father whose child is the oldest among the ones chosen for the January 4 festival

Tokonoma: alcove in the main room of houses, used mainly for decoration

Torii: shine gate

Ujigami: tutelary deity

Ujiko: villagers associated with a shrine; "parishoners"

Yama no kami: the god of the mountain; also the festival in honor of this god

Yuzuriha: a plant

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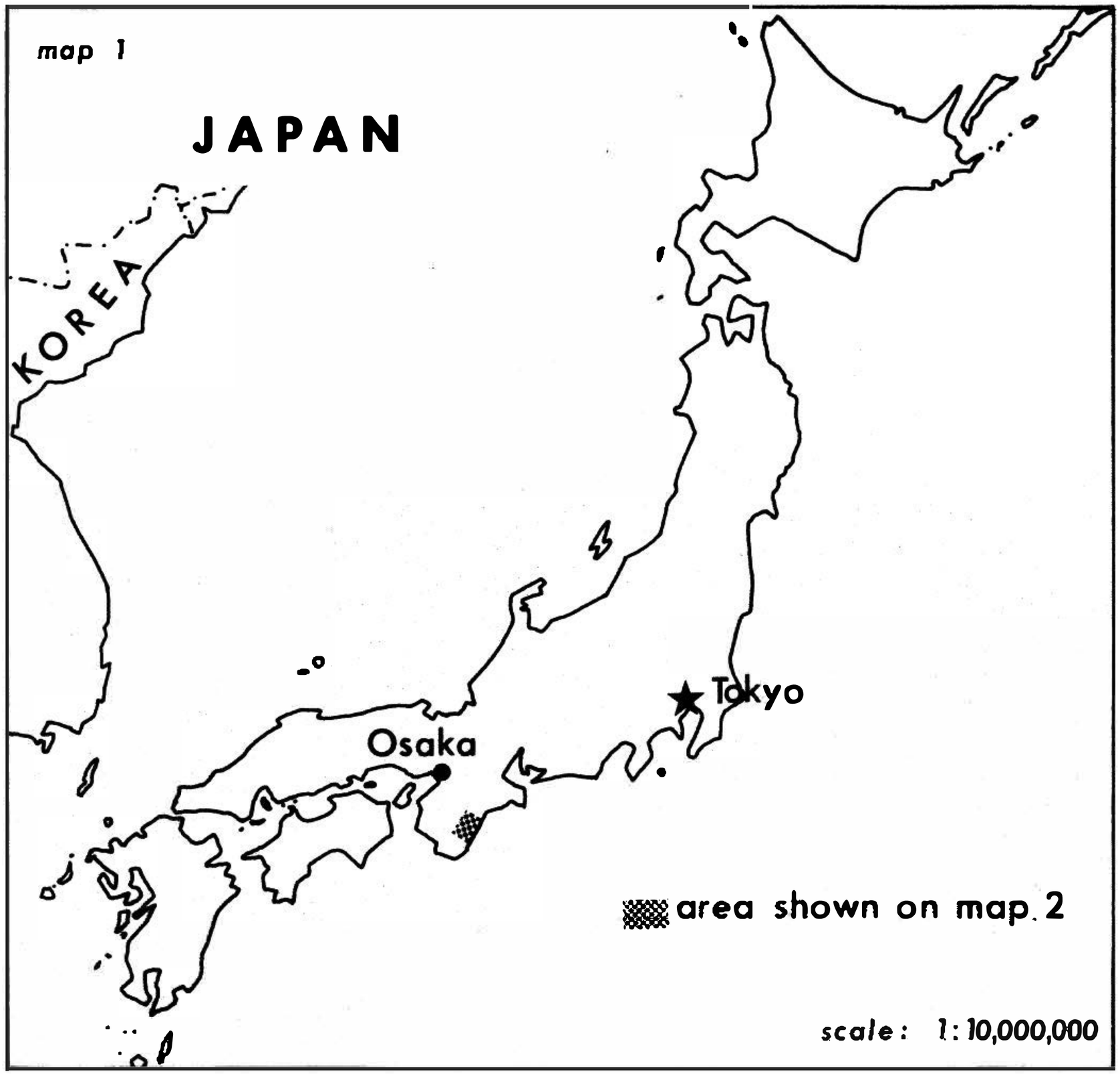
map 1

# JAPAN



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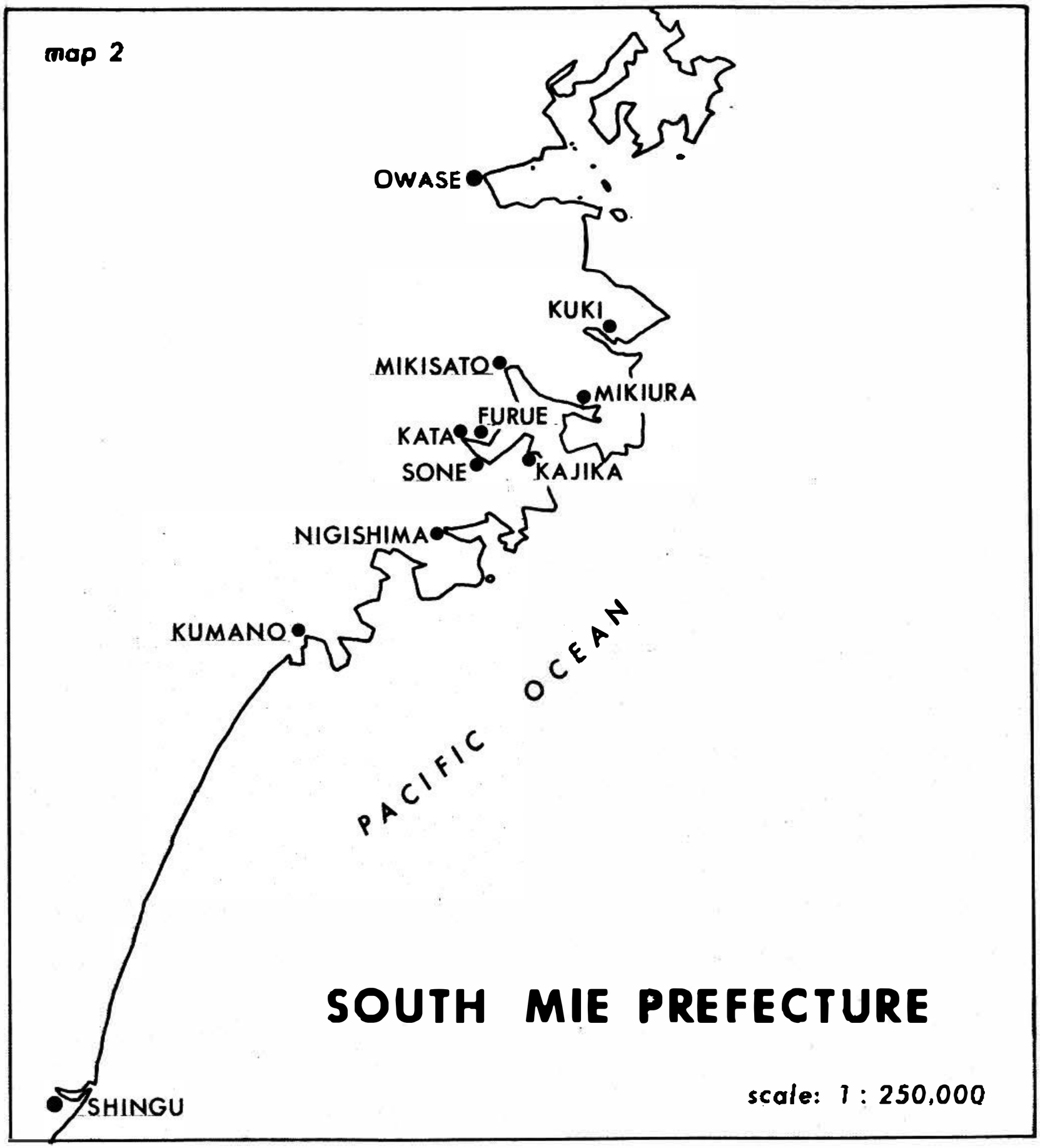
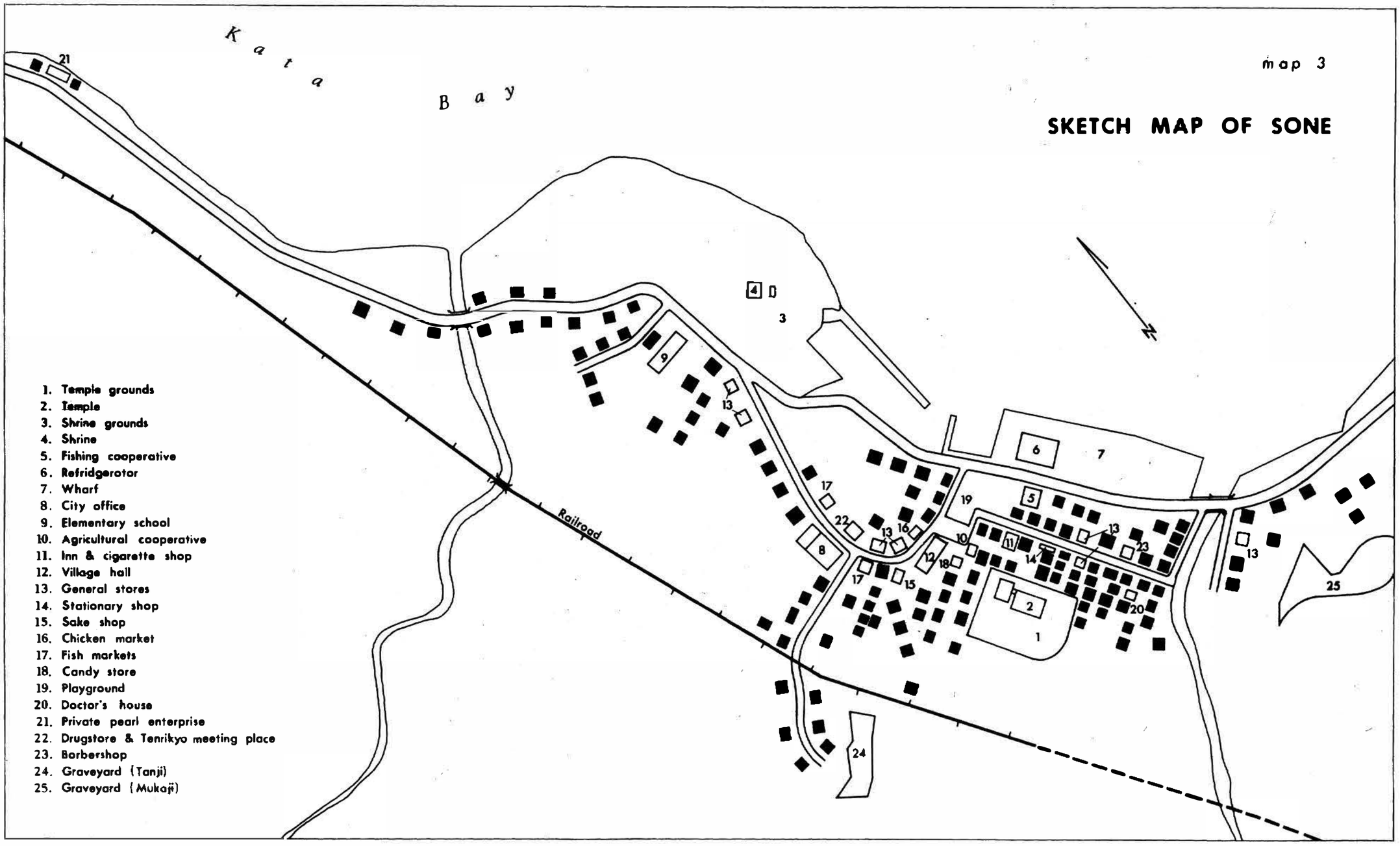



# SOUTH MIE PREFECTURE

scale: 1 : 250,000

map 3

# SKETCH MAP OF SONE



map 4

# KATA BAY

## VARIOUS RIGHTS OF USE

FISHING RIGHTS: SONE & FURUE

FISHING RIGHTS: KAJIKA

FISHING RIGHTS: MIKIURA

HARBOR AREAS

AREAS FOR CULTURE OF YELLOWTAIL

AREAS FOR CULTURE OF MOTHER OF PEARL

AREA FOR SARDINE NET: FURUE

AREA FOR SARDINE NET: FURUE & SONE

VILLAGES

Mikisato

Mikiura

Furue

Sone

Kata

Kajika

PACIFIC OCEAN

0 1 mile

m. s.