International Perspectives in Geography
AJG Library 2

Keisuke Matsui

Geography of Religion in Japan

Religious Space, Landscape, and Behavior

Springer

International Perspectives in Geography
AJG Library 2

For further volumes:
http://www.springer.com/series/10223

Aims and Scope:

The AJG Library is published by Springer under the auspices of the Association of Japanese Geographers. This is a scholarly series of international standing. Given the multidisciplinary nature of geography, the objective of the series is to provide an invaluable source of information not only for geographers, but also for students, researchers, teachers, administrators, and professionals outside the discipline. Strong emphasis is placed on the theoretical and empirical understanding of the changing relationships between nature and human activities. The overall aim of the series is to provide readers throughout the world with stimulating and up-to-date scientific outcomes mainly by Japanese and other Asian geographers. Thus, an "Asian" flavor different from the Western way of thinking may be reflected in this series. The AJG Library will be available both in print and online via SpringerLink.

About the AJG

The Association of Japanese Geographers (AJG), founded in 1925, is one of the largest and leading organizations on geographical research in Asia and the Pacific Rim today, with around 3000 members. AJG is devoted to promoting research on various aspects of human and physical geography and contributing to academic development through exchanges of information and knowledge with relevant internal and external academic communities. Members are tackling contemporary issues such as global warming, air/water pollution, natural disasters, rapid urbanization, irregular land-use changes, and regional disparities through comprehensive investigation into the earth and its people. In addition, to make the next generation aware of these academic achievements, the members are engaged in teaching and outreach activities of spreading geographical awareness. With the recent developments and much improved international linkages, AJG launches the publication of the AJG Library series in 2012.

Keisuke Matsui

Geography of Religion in Japan

Religious Space, Landscape, and Behavior

Springer

Keisuke Matsui
Laboratory of Advanced Research A307
University of Tsukuba
Tsukuba, Japan

ISSN 2197-7798 ISSN 2197-7801 (electronic)
ISBN 978-4-431-54549-1 ISBN 978-4-431-54550-7 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-4-431-54550-7
Springer Tokyo Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013955007

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Preface

This book discusses modern aspects of Japanese religion in terms of cultural geography. To understand the function of religion, it is essential to examine it in the context of local societies. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Japanese religion is its diversity; indeed, it is often remarked that "Japan is a museum of religions." I have tried to clarify some geographical aspects of the complex situation of Japanese religion.

Let me provide an outline to the book. Chapter 1 discusses the trend of geographical studies of religion in Japan. We can identify four types of these studies. The first examines relationships between the natural environment and religion. The second approach studies how religion influences social structures, organizations, and landscapes in local areas. The third major area of research in the geography of religion concerns pilgrimage. In the fourth type of study, geographers of religion try to clarify the structure of the spaces created by the sacred by examining the distribution and propagation of religion. Since the 1990s, geographers of religion in Japan have mainly focused on the distribution or diffusion of religious phenomena, including religious experience or practice, the spatial structure of religion, and the religious landscape.

Chapter 2 focuses on certain characteristics of Japanese religious traditions by discussing tree worship. The Onbashira festival of the Suwa Taisha (or Suwa Grand Shrine), which consists of four shrines, is a significant example. The landscape of sacred places is closely related to the *fudo*, cultural climate of Japan, that nurtures it. Landscape can therefore be used to identify the religious sensibility of the Japanese people. *Torii* represent the "gates" to the sacred area of a shrine. The approaches to shrines will usually have one or more *Torii*, as well as rivers with arched bridges over them bordering the sacred areas; this represents separating and bridging the sacred and the profane.

Chapter 3 clarifies regional divisions in the catchment areas of Japanese Shintoism by analyzing the distribution of certain types of believers. I discuss two

case studies: the Kasama Inari Shrine (Sect. 3.1) and the Kanamura Shrine (Sect. 3.2). I show that the catchment area of the Kasama Shrine consists of three zonal areas. Moreover, I try to clarify the regional differences in people's modes of belief in the Kanamura Shrine between the outer and inner zones of its catchment area.

Chapter 4 discusses some modern aspects of sacred places and tourism through two case studies. Section 4.1 focuses on changes in the types of businesses at the *Omotesando* of the Naritasan Shinshoji-Monzenmachi. The discussion covers the transformation of the commercial space at Shinshoji-Monzenmachi that resulted from a landscape improvement project currently being promoted at *Omotesando*.

Sections 4.2 and 4.3 examine the revitalization of the local community through the promotion of religious tourism. Today, the politics surrounding World Heritage designations have created the important challenge of conserving and using cultural landscapes, such as rural spaces. The concept of the World Heritage Site designation may reflect human wisdom, but the more strongly heritage is connected to a region, the broader will be the influences exerted on the region once it is registered as a World Heritage Site.

I would like to thank Prof. Akira Tabayashi, Prof. Hiroshi Yamanaka, and other members of the study group on the geography of religion in Japan for their useful comments. I appreciate Assistant Prof. Tomoko Kubo, Mr. Michiriro Mashita, and Ms. Yasuko Masuyama for making a manuscript.This book is a reedited collection of various academic papers on the geography of religion in Japan. All of the individual papers contained herein have been amended and/or revised. Keisuke Matsui (1993) Development of geography of religion in Japan. *The Human Geography* **45**:515–533 (in Japanese with English abstract, Chapter 1.1). Keisuke Matsui (2008) Recent trends in the geography of religion in Japan. *Geographical Review of Japan* 81:311–322 (Chapter 1.2). Keisuke Matsui (2005) Japanese *Fudo* and forest culture. *Journal of Mountain Culture Research* **2:**37–45 (in Japanese, Chapter 2). Keisuke Matsui (1995) The sphere of religion of Kasama Inari Shrine classified by distribution of believers *Geographical Review of Japan* 68:345–366 (in Japanese with English abstract, Chapter 3.1). Keisuke Matsui (1999a) Regional characteristics of the belief in the Kanamura Betsurai Shrine between inner and outer areas. *Geographical Review of Japan* **72B**:1–22 (Chapter 3.2). Keisuke Matsui (1999b) A study on the religious sphere of the Kanamura Betsurai Shrine. *Annual Report of the Institute of Geoscience, the University of Tsukuba* **25**:5–11 (Chapter 3.2). Akiko Hashimoto, Joji Saito, Seiji Kamekawa, Ayumi, Kengo Tsuda, Azusa Iguchi and Keisuke Matsui (2010) A study on the transformation of the landscape and commercial space in Naritasan Shinsyo-ji Temple Street. *Annals of Human and Regional Geography* **32:**1–41 (in Japanese, Chapter 4.1). Keisuke Matsui (2011) Commodification of a rural space in a World Heritage registration movement—case study of Nagasaki Church Group. *Geographical Review of Japan Ser B* **82**:149–166 (Chapter 4.2). Keisuke Matsui (2009) Christian tourism in Goto Islands. In: Hiraoka A (ed) *The Wind of Change in the Remote Islands in Japan*. Kaiseido, Shiga, pp 23–40 (in Japanese, Chapter 4.3).

This study was financially supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research by JSPS (A) 19202027 (representative: Akira Tabayashi), (A) 22242027 (representative: Yuji Murayama), (B) 23401037 (representative: Keisuke Matsui), (C) 20520677 (representative: Keisuke Matsui), (C) 23501249 (representative: Satoshi Suyama), (C) 23520962 (representative: Akitoshi Hiraoka), and (C) 21520065 (representative: Hiroshi Yamanaka)

Tsukuba, Japan Keisuke Matsui

Contents

Chapter 1
Recent Trends in the Geography of Religion in Japan

Abstract Geography of religion aims to clarify the relationships between the environment and religious phenomena. I discuss some characteristics of four major fields of this research which are (1) the relationships between the natural environment and religion, (2) how religion influences social structures, organizations, and landscapes in local areas, (3) pilgrimage forms another major field of research in the geography of religion, and (4) the structure of space which is created by the sacred, through examining the distribution and propagation of religion. Since the 1990s, the geographers of religion in Japan mainly analyze and interpret the distribution or diffusion of religious phenomena including religious experience or practice, spatial structure of religion, and religious landscape. Lastly, three directions of future studies are suggested. First, the geography of religion should contribute more to the elucidation of the religion. Second, achievements of this study field are requested to correspond to the religious situations of contemporary Japan. Third, studies taking the religious characteristics of Japan into consideration are needed.

Keywords Geography of religion • Pilgrimage • Religious ecology • Religious landscape • Spatial structure

1.1 Current Topics of the Geography of Religion in Japan

1.1.1 General Trends

We can define the geography of religion as the study of the spatial characteristics of religion. Religious phenomena are part of human culture, and so the geography of religion can also be viewed as a branch of cultural geography. However, since religious phenomena also have political, economic, social, and psychological aspects, we cannot limit our study to the framework of cultural geography.

K. Matsui, *Geography of Religion in Japan: Religious Space, Landscape, and Behavior*, International Perspectives in Geography 2, DOI 10.1007/978-4-431-54550-7_1,

The geography of religion also exists as a subfield of religious studies. Inoue (2002) put religious studies into two classes: the first class includes arguments about the religious essence, the philosophy, and phenomenology of religion. The second class describes the history, psychology, and sociology of religion. Although the geography of religion fits with the second class, students of religion have given little attention to geography. Inoue (2002) comments ironically, "There is a field called the geography of religion, which has few researchers in Japan." Ishida (1989) writes "… the geography of religion is a subfield of religious studies that aims to clarify the correlation of religion and the natural environment." Ishida (1989) continued that the geography of religion complements other aspects of religious studies and wrote "An understanding of religion will turn more positive by clarifying the relation between natural conditions and religion." Researchers do not seem to consider that geography is an essential element of religious phenomenon, and the geography of religion has been regarded as an auxiliary aim of religious studies.

In recent years, Japanese geographers have published many papers on the geography of religion. In my previous studies (Matsui 1993, 2003), I classified the geography of religion into four areas. (1) *Fudo* and the natural environment, (2) the cultural landscape and religion, (3) pilgrimage, and (4) the distribution, diffusion, and spatial structure of religion. Although I think this framework is fundamentally effective, Oda (2002) considers a new framework would be useful. This chapter will describe the themes in the study of religion by Japanese geographers since 1990 and comment on the future directions for the field over the next 10 years. To begin, let me draw attention to four studies: Iwahana (2003) studied the Zonal Structure of Dewa Mountain faith; Matsui (2003) wrote about the religious space in Japanese places of public worship, and Tanaka (2004) and Mori (2005a) examined modern pilgrimage routes.

Iwahana (2003) showed that the catchment area of the Dewa Mountain faith is structured into three concentric circles. The innermost sacred area surrounds the top of the mountain. This first sacred area is surrounded by a semi-sacred area, and believers live in the third, outer-residential zone. Iwahana demonstrated that the characteristics of each area were based on folklore tradition.

Religious belief associated with mountains has been thoroughly studied. Matsui (2003) tried to clarify regional differences in the mode of popular religious beliefs. Whereas mountain religions have a distinct spatial structure, popular religions, such as the *Inari* and the thunder faiths, have no clear boundary or clear adherents. Thus, it is difficult to define the characteristics of the worship catchment area for these religions.

Tanaka (2004) used travelers' journals to identify the decisions that created pilgrimage routes and provided detailed descriptions of the mode of pilgrimage, including the important *Saikoku* pilgrimage in western Japan. Whereas Tanaka's study was conducted using historical geography methods, Mori (2005a) approached the Shikoku pilgrimage (around the island of Shikoku) from a cultural geography viewpoint. Mori takes a social constructionist position, and he argues that the Shikoku pilgrimage was reconstructed one hundred years after the Meiji Restoration and is thus a cultural phenomenon.

In 2003 and 2004, the Annual Conference of the Association of Historical Geographers in Japan discussed the "Historical Geography of Religious Culture." The results of these discussions were published in the journal "The Historical Geography," which contains five articles on pilgrimage associations (*Ise-ko*[1]) in the community, worship catchment areas of religions, pictorial maps, *feng shui*, and cemeteries.

These topics are typical of the work of contemporary Japanese geographers, and demonstrate an increase in the geographical study of religion, especially in historical geography. The growth of literature includes an increase in review papers. Although reviews written by Taima (1961) and Matsui (1993) appeared before 1995, several authors have published excellent recent reviews, for example Oda (1999a, 2002).

Oda (2002) used data from the "Bibliography in Geography" (Human Geographical Society of Japan) and found research since the end of the Second World War fell into seven topic areas: (1) religious cities/settlements, (2) pilgrimages, (3) grave systems, (4) the distribution and catchment areas of religions, (5) organization of religion in urban and rural areas, (6) pictorial maps depicting sacred phenomena, and (7) mountain sanctuaries. Oda showed that research into these topics has increased. Hisatake (2000) also listed research into cosmology, ethnicity, and the representation of culture as new trends of cultural geography in Japan.

Several authors have published papers about Oda's themes. Iwahana (2000) described the history of research on pre-modern pilgrimages, and discussed pilgrimage to sacred places from the viewpoint of the exchange between the sacred and the profane. Kaneko (1995) reviewed research into mountain religions from the viewpoint of the catchment areas. Matsui (1998) examined the catchment area of several beliefs. Iwahana (1997) examined maps depicting sacred phenomena and reviewed the studies of mandala pictures of Mt. Tateyama (a sacred mountain in Chubu).

These publications fall into four themes: (1) distribution and diffusion of religion and its spatial structure, (2) cultural landscape and social groups, (3) religion and *fudo*/natural environment, and (4) pilgrimage, tourism, and sacred places. In the following sections, I will examine research trends using these thematic headings.

[1] A *ko* is a type of social group found all over Japan, derived from an opportunity for faith. The *ko* provides a basic organization at a prayer-type shrine (*Sukei kigan sha*), and to diffuse the faith. Sakurai (1962) compiled a list of about 400 kinds of *ko*; these form the core of history, classification, and function of the Japanese style of religious associations. Each *ko* has religious, social, and economic functions. Mutual financing may be provided by *Tanomoshi* and *mujin*; social family functions may be provided by *kodomo-gumi* (association of children) and *wakamono-gumi* (association of youth). *Ko* providing faith functions are broadly divided into two categories: those based on folk religion, and *ko* pilgrim associations that visit famous shrines and temples. The folk religion *ko* are archetypes of Japanese *Ko* and include paddy field *kami* (*tanokami-ko*), mountain kami (*yamanokami-ko*), the Sun festival (*himachi-ko*), and the moon festival (*tsukimachi-ko*). These *ko* pray to kami for the health and longevity of the family, good fortune, or a good harvest. Pilgrimage *ko* organized vicarious visits to shrines (*daisan-ko*). *Ko* are organized within a region, and the associations have a strong influence on the community. *Daisan-ko* members visit famous shrines and temples outside their community to gain divine favor.

1.1.2 Studies on the Distribution and Diffusion of Religion and Its Spatial Structure

In Europe and the United States, geographers have classified the spatial pattern of religious belief. For example, Zelinsky (1961) used the distribution of Christian sects to classify the United States into seven religious areas. Shortridge (1976) added to this classification by using the distribution of the predominant sects as an index, dividing each sect into five categories, and analyzing the distribution pattern of the categories.

Meinig (1965) analyzed distribution patterns within a sect. He found Mormon areas can be divided into the core, domain, and catchment area areas based on: (1) the distribution density of believers, (2) enthusiasm, and (3) religious nodosity. The core can be regarded as the geographical center of belief, or where the density of believers is highest. The domain believer density is lower, but the area is under the predominant influence of the faith. The catchment area comprises an outer edge where belief is least observed. Meinig found these three areas formed concentric circles around the center Mormon belief in Salt Lake City, Utah.

The United States is a mixed society formed from various ethnicities, and other areas are dominated by other faiths. Parts of Texas are dominated by Germanic culture (Zelinsky 1973; Jordan 1976, 1980), Michigan by the Dutch (Bjorklund 1964), Louisiana by Roman Catholicism (Clarke 1985; Trepanier 1986), and parts of Great Plains by the Amish and Mennonite communities (Hostetler 1980).

Unlike the United States, competition between religions is rare in Japan and religions tend to syncretically overlap. Most people accept different religions, and it can be difficult to delimit an area of belief from criteria such as church attendance or believer density. Therefore, regional classifications in Japan have used economic divisions, for example, mountain sanctuary areas, based on the content of the belief. Few monographs exist on belief areas of each religion and individual religions should be compared.

The identification of a regional areas of belief is also hindered by other difficulties: (1) the selection of indices to indicate belief distribution within a region may be arbitrary, (2) multiple regional patterns may exist within each area, (3) the difference in pattern between regions may be large even for the same belief, and (4) the boundary of the belief areas may be poorly defined.

For example, the mountain in mountain-religions is the object of the belief and functions as a sanctuary. The monks of *Shugendo* needed believers in their religion to provide economic support. Missionaries who traveled through the region transformed the entire geographical area into the *Shugendo* area of belief. Other mountain religions (such as the *Inari* faith) have a more definite regional relationship between the sacred place and the area of belief than *Shugendo*, and *Shugendo* missionaries often labored in vain to change the beliefs of local people. Oda (2005) indicated that the distribution and diffusion of religion is a frequent theme for study. Distribution and diffusion of religion are so closely related that we should be able to understand where and how some religions are distributed by analyzing the process of diffusion.

Historical geographers have published several research papers in this field. Miki (1996, 1998, 2001, 2005) examined the development and regional acceptance of the religious associations (*ko*) of Mt. Mitsumine in the latter half of the Edo era in Edo (Tokyo) and Chichibu. The Mt. Mitsumine religion, which connotes faith in several gods, could be characterized as a branch of similar local religions. Miki (1996) argued that specific religious practices penetrated the Chichibu Area in the latter half of the seventeenth century because of the socioeconomic condition of the area and communication among different neighborhoods.

In the seventeenth century, Otaki Village produced lumber for Edo, and Mt. Mitsumine functioned as a tutelary mountain (*Chinju*) for the region. Miki (1998) assumed that the association of economic activity (forestry, sawmilling, and lumber) with *chinju* could explain development and acceptance of the Association of Mt. Mitsumine. Miki considered the connections of religious practice by local people to Mt. Mitsumine.

The acceptance of faith in a neighborhood area is also described in a series of papers by Funasugi (1994, 1997). Funasugi explained that the regional penetration of the *ise* faith in Echigo and through Japan during the sixteenth century depended on the relationship between the distribution of amulets (*onshi*) and guide priests (*douja*). Funasugi (1994) explored the penetration of the *ise* faith to new frontier villages in the Chichibu Area, and emphasized the importance of the relationship between community and faith.

Fujimura (2001) described the relationship between the foreign and existing religions in the Okukumano Area. Takemura (2000) argued that as the Mormonism was disseminated and became accepted, the faith formed a relationship with existing religions such as the *Jodoshinshu* sect of Buddhism. Both Fujimura and Takemura focused on the coexistence and competition between multiple religions in a given area, and described the necessary conditions needed for certain foreign religions to take root.

Sakano (2003) described the distribution and diffusion of the mountainous faith of Mt. Hakkaisan in Niigata. Two factors have influenced the diffusion of this faith: the influence of the Mt. Kiso-Ontake faith and the road traffic system. We should evaluate his concept of a hierarchy among the sacred mountains of Japan. Hiromoto (2004) showed the distribution of the belief in two mountains, Hakuyu and Takayu, in Tochigi, and the historical changes in the distribution of belief. Tsutsui (2004) investigated several religious groups of Mt. Chokai (Chokai-ko) in Yamagata to discover how and why Shinto priests created new groups for certain shrines. Her study found the main reason to begin a new group was to gain financial support to reconstruct and repair the shrine.

Matsui (1995a, 1999) examined the regional characteristics of the catchment areas of religious faith through case studies of the Kanamura Betsurai and the Kasama Inari shrines. Some evidence suggests this faith has a concentric-circle structure, but the spatial difference between neighborhood areas (the first area) and outer areas (the second area) explained how beliefs are accepted in the different areas and the relationship with other religions (Matsui 1999). Other case studies consider specific mountain religions, including those at Mt. Iwaki (Kaneko 1998),

Mt. Taihei (Tsutsui 1999), and Mt. Chokai (Tsutsui 2001). These studies focused on the distribution of *ko,* customary visits to sacred places, and described the reasons for spatial differences among the catchment areas of the religious beliefs.

Although many researchers have studied religious distribution and diffusion, geographers have paid little attention to the distribution of religions across Japan. Oda (1999b) described the distribution of Christians, the spatial patterns, and the difference in the distribution of Catholics and Protestants by counting believers. The population density of Catholics was highest in Nagasaki, followed by Tokyo, and many Protestants inhabited Tokyo. Oda (2003, 2006) produced maps showing the distribution of seven Buddhist denominations in Japan. Oda derived these maps from several kinds of historical statistics from temples, not by the distribution of believers. He also produced a regional classification for the years of 1888, 1922, 1937, and 1959 to show changes in predominant denomination. Tagami (2002) used cluster analysis to classify thirty-two kinds of shrines into six groups and areas: all of Japan, central Japan, inland Japan, Kanto, Chugoku, and Kyushu. The maps show the distribution of the shrines by type and illustrate the distribution of religions in Japan on a macro scale.

1.1.3 Studies of Cultural Landscapes and Social Groups

Religious social groups form important components of communities and create the cultural landscape of religion. Many researchers have described religious social groups, such as *ko*-, *danto*-, and *ujiko*-groups (Fujimura 2001). Imamoto (2000) described the functions of the *ko*-groups in rural communities. Yagi (1998) examined research from the 1980s, and described the symbolism of the village borders, the meaning of a village as a place, and the importance of village cemeteries. Otsuka (1997) described the hierarchy of the belief of the people living in communities around Lake Suwa. Imazato (1995) described the social functions of religious landscapes by observing the relationship between religious facilities and the social groups that manage these facilities. Decoding religious landscapes is an important theme of study, but articles on this topic are limited to the decoding of religious paintings.

Social change also affects the geography of religion (Sakano 2006; Fujimura 2004). Sakano considered the acceptance of a religion by analyzing the conversion of a local community to Catholicism in postwar Japan. The conversion pattern differed regionally and was influenced by blood relationships. Shinto and Buddhist cultural traditions, such as harvest festivals and ancestor rites, are closely connected and might have strengthened group ties. Sakano's study confirmed that religion in this tradition had two social functions, and could strengthen and weaken social networks in a local community.

Fujimura (2004) comments that Anglophone human geographers have paid more attention than Japanese geographers to the production and reproduction of religious places. Fujimura's analysis examined how rural Buddhist buildings, especially New Buddhism's "*Dojo*" (unofficial temples), changed their form and relation with different social groups.

For example, shrines were erected in militia settlements in the exploitation colonies from the late nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century (Meiji Era) (Endo 2006). Endo examined the reciprocal relationship between shrine construction, the political requirements of the Meiji Government, and the regional background of Hokkaido. In this scenario, the Meiji Government wished to organize the nation by centralizing power in the Emperor, and the shrines symbolized places of national ritual. The militia settlement played an important role in promoting the idea that people were members of the Meiji Nation.

This form of community identification is similar to community development elsewhere. Taniguchi (2004) described the relationship between town planning and Christianity in Guelph, Southern Ontario. He concluded that the church buildings provided closeness and consolation irrespective of denomination (Catholic or Protestant). We can conclude the establishment of religious groups is important to people and their communities whether at the frontier or in a developed urban center.

Different religious and social groups also produce different religious landscapes. Nakagawa (1997) explored the landscapes of cemeteries, and found differences according to religions, race, and regions, that express the identity of the group. We can recognize the perceptions of the group that constructed the cemeteries from these cultural landscapes.

Yamaguchi (1997) and Kawai (2001) applied human geography methods to the analysis of sacred places. Yamaguchi described the structure of attractive landscapes of sacred places. Kawai (2004) found that the Fujitsuka was regarded as a copy of Mt. Fuji, and tried to restore the landscapes of Mt. Fuji that the members of the *Fuji-ko* would have originally viewed. In a subsequent paper, Kawai (2004) described reconstructing the sacred landscape from the point of view of social constructionism. Moreover, Kawai (2006) explained the symbolism of *Shun'nichi-ko* from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Kawai analyzed a sacred map (Mandala) and a ritual conducted by *Shun'nichi-ko*. Mikasa Mountain is a holy place for the members of this *ko.* Leaves of trees on the mountain were drawn on the map in bright green because the gods were believed to be present. She concluded that the religious adherents considered the sacred Mikasa Mountain always to have been covered with bright green trees, which symbolize the landscape of spring, full of the energy of plants.

Funasugi (1998) studied the restoration of religious landscapes during the formation of the Monzenmachi (shrine town) in the Ise area during the Sengoku Era. Kaneko (1998) also discussed religious landscapes, examining the historical transition of mountain climbing routes on Mt. Iwaki. Tsugawa (1998) concluded a forward-looking research, which deals with the establishment process of the Kannon statue. Japanese religious landscapes are poorly understood and geographers could further explore this theme.

1.1.4 Studies on Fudo *and the Natural Environment*

The relationship between religion and the natural environment, such as that between topography and *fudo*, is a further area of research. Matsui (1995b) investigated

thunder faiths and found that the details of each faith differ and are affected by the topographical conditions. The distribution of the *Hikawa* shrines in the Edo Era is related to topography of rivers, lakes, and marshes (Unagami 1996). The wind festival in Toyama Prefecture is connected with the natural environment (Tagami 2000, 2001).

Nagano (1995) described mountain faiths as the traditional spiritual culture in Japan and showed how this faith conserves nature. Kanasaka (2001) found landscapes of the tutelary forest (Chinju) were drawn in some paintings and maps. The tutelary forest was thought to be an important landscape of archetype religion. However, there are fewer geographical contributions than ethnological and historical studies. On a macro scale, Kayane (2002) tried to demonstrate religious characteristics of Hinduism in the light of *fudo*. He thought the Asian *fudo* had a deep relation to sacred waters. As a natural scientist, he used rich fieldwork data to shed light on the interrelation between natural environment and religious acculturation.

Taira (2002), who is a historian of religion, interpreted Okinawan religious tradition, and described the landscape and natural environment of sacred places in Okinawa. The *ojima,* which is one of the sacred landforms in Okinawa, is located in the center of a pole, which connects heaven, Earth, and the underworld. Research into different interpretations of religious worlds will add to our consideration of environmental problems.

1.1.5 Studies on Pilgrimage, Tourism, and Sacred Places

Although pilgrimage and tourism are not necessarily in the same category, the two activities are closely related. Pilgrimage can be defined as a departure to a different/meaningful place with an important motive, and Oda and Tanaka have published many pieces of research since 1980. Although Oda (1995) reported his experience of a Catholic pilgrimage in southern Germany, and Yokota (2007) described a contemporary pilgrimage in Santiago de Compostela, Japanese geographers tend to overlook overseas pilgrimages.

Oda (2007) described the modern pilgrimage routes in the Omine Mountains (*Omine nyubu shugyo*), which are parts of Kumano-Kodo pilgrimage route, with special reference to the prewar pilgrimage organized by Shogoin Temple. In a subsequent paper, he described how modern transportation facilities affected mountaineering pilgrimage routes. Tanaka (2004) outlined the foundation of the Saikoku pilgrimage route in the pre-modern era, and he has also developed a precious research resource, a pilgrimage-related database.

Many religious mountain villages have been changed by tourism (Iwahana 1999). The numbers of restaurants and souvenir shops have increased and transformed communities such as the Chusha settlement in Mt. Togakushi. Matsui (1996) examined the functional change of a religious mountain following tourism development. The cultural landscape of Shinobu Mountain became a tourist attraction, and was affected by more tourists. The religious behavior of shrines/temple visiting has been greatly affected by mass tourism. I expect the analysis of religious phenomenon from the viewpoint of tourism to become more important.

Matsui (2005, 2006, 2007) explored and discussed the interrelation between the reconstruction of a sacred place and tourism. Referring to Shackley (2001), Matsui (2005) argued that sacred sites are visitor attractions created in the modern world. Site creation and present management critically affect the significance of sacred spaces. Shimazaki and Wagner (2005) also described some elements of managing pilgrimages elsewhere in the world. Religious historic cultures have become tourism resources of modern tourism, and sacred spaces are treated as tourist areas (Matsui 2006). This type of local religious culture may also become part of the World Cultural Heritage movement (Matsui 2007). Entities, such as local government, the tourism industry, tourists, and hosts may all support this movement in hope of social economic effects. Geographers of religion should observe the politics of these entities.

Mori has tried to produce a new framework based on the "new cultural geography" to clarify the relationship between religious phenomena and politics in Japan (Mori 2001a, b, 2002a, b). This framework is illustrated by a discussion of the Buddhist pilgrimage route around Shikoku island identified by signs "Henro-michi." The religious landscape and meanings have been built and obtained through various conflicts. In the 1960s and 1970s, the pilgrimage route was recognized by local government as a valuable cultural heritage and tourism resource. Later, the route was rebuilt as a hiking course, emphasizing the cultural value and excluding the religious meaning of the pilgrimage route. Mori (2002b) discussed the changing spatiality and movement modes of the "*Henro*" pilgrimage in the Shikoku Island from 1920 to 1930. He indicated that various agents, including tourism, the association with pilgrimages, and most of all, the Japanese government, had reconstituted the network in the space of the "*Henro*" pilgrimage. Mori (2001b) also considered how, since the 1960s, a sacred space had been created by Muroto City and the Buzan sect of *Shingon* Buddhism. It is very important for geographers of religion to distinguish the meaning of the sacred place and the connection of the place with tourism, local government, and religion. In other work, Mori (2005b) examined how Kobo-Daishi, who was the founder of the *Shingon-shu* sect, is represented in Japanese culture through exhibitions, reported by the mass media, and represented as a national hero.

Hara (2005) presented an interesting study of the relationship between pilgrimage and historical consciousness. He attempted to assess people's consciousness of Kamakura and the reality of pilgrimages by examining pilgrimage history from the viewpoint of intellectual satisfaction. Moreover, he analyzed the relationship between various forms of Kamakura pilgrimage and the development of historical consciousness, the structural history of culture and intelligence. Hara distinguished two types of visitors: "urban intellectuals" and "upper class villagers." The former, having a high educational background, had developed a greater interest in a retrospective trend. In contrast, the latter took a "simple trip," to "visit major temples and shrines in Kamakura."

Studying the characteristics of sacred places, Onizuka (1995, 1996) sought the religious meaning of boundaries that have symbolic meaning in human life to elucidate the cosmology of living space in ancient Japan. She considered that the home was a place with religious meaning, despite not being a religious institution, and that there existed various views of boundary. Noticing the topographical meaning of junction (*tsuji*), Matsumoto (2004) argued for specific spatial functions and religious meanings of *tsuji*.

1.2 Recent Trends of the Geography of Religion in Japan

1.2.1 Recent Trends

Any consideration of the geography of religion in Japan must analyze and interpret the distribution/diffusion of religious phenomenon, including religious experience and practice, the spatial structure of religion, and the religious landscape. Recent research trends fall into four fields.

The first includes studies that focus on how particular religions are practiced by people in urban or rural areas. We have two analytical views. The first view focuses on propagandists and believers to understand the mechanism of distribution/diffusion of religions. The researcher may examine coexistence with and competition among several religions in one community. Other studies seek to discover how religious diffusion is affected by external factors such as socioeconomic constraints and regional networks. Both views try to elucidate the relation between religion and region. In recent decades, many authors have studied worship catchment areas (Matsui 1998; Kaneko 1995; Oda 2004) and the spatial structure created by religion. Although such studies also demonstrated diffusion of beliefs, Kaneko (1995) indicated that many authors were more concerned with elaborate regional division than with analysis of the dynamism in the worship catchment area.

The second field examines how religion has influenced communities and how religion has changed the cultural landscape in urban/rural areas. Using rural, urban-social, and historical geography methods, researchers have analyzed religious events and organizations to elucidate the geographical characteristics of rural areas. Studies of religious cities and mountain settlements have decreased, and there is less analysis of the relationship between religion and rural areas (Oda 2002). In contrast, many recent studies have examined the effect of religion on the landscape (Matsui 1993). I consider it desirable that studies of religion and landscape should also focus on the believer's individuality, and the meaning of the faith for themself. Kawai (2004) and others interpret sacred landscape and symbolism (Kawai 2004).

The third field includes achievements of religious ecology. One important purpose of the geography of religion is to clarify the relationship between the environment and religious phenomena (Kong 1990). Since religious phenomena inevitably appear as historical phenomena, geographers of religion must understand the natural environment surrounding the religion. Religion is closely related to but also affects nature, but few studies describe the influence of religion on the natural environment. Nagano's (1995) valuable contribution identified the role of religion in the conservation of nature and the preservation of the environment.

Finally, historical geography studies of pilgrimage can reveal the socioeconomic network produced by religion. Such pilgrimage studies have increased since the 1980s (Oda 2002), and are linked to tourism studies, especially from a political and social background view. Studies of present day pilgrimage routes and the creation of religious landscapes have been influenced by the new cultural geography. We need to use different geographical disciplines to find how sacred places are produced.

1.2.2 Towards a New Geography of Religion

Park (1994) divided the geography of religion after the 1960s into: (1) spatial pattern of religion, (2) diffusion of religion, (3) dynamics of religion, (4) religion and demography, (5) religion and landscape, and (6) sacred sites and pilgrimage. Japanese geographers of religion have not discussed some of these themes.

Western geographers focus on "ethnicity and religion" and "religion and politics," and Park categorized these into "religion and demography." Japanese sociologists of religion are still interested in these areas. Manifestations of religious phenomena are so various that study fields relevant to religion are also diversified. Oda (2005) proposed three main issues as prospective fields for study. First, Japanese geographers should cooperate with religious historians to ask how and why religions were distributed. Second, geographers should seek to understand how Japanese religions control environmental modification. Third, geographers need to set religious phenomena against the background of social, economic, and political situations in each region. Now that many of the boundaries between human and social sciences are blurring, it will be more difficult to find a positive way of differentiating geographical study from other disciplines. It seems right that geographers should seek to bridge the disciplines.

I conclude the important topics are as follows: first, the geography of religion should elucidate religion. Park (1994) distinguished two approaches: a "religious geography that focuses on the role of religion in the formation of worldview or place recognition of human beings" and a "geography of religion, that is concerned with the relationship of religion with society, culture, and the environment." Park noted that many scholars were more concerned with the geography of religion than religious geography, depending on whether he/she recognized the geography of religion as a part of geography or a part of religious studies. I think that studies that are avowedly religious would benefit from taking into consideration a geographical perspective in the same way that cultural geography strengthens the character of cultural studies. I also expect some religious studies to be developed from geographical characteristics. Nakagawa (2005) has stated that modern geography has discarded teleology and regional substantialism, and he argues that religious values based on teleological cosmology have actually created regional communities through their behavior. In the near future, more researchers will examine how religious thought and sacredness directly influence individuals, societies, and spaces (Fujimura 2006, p. 74).

Second, although the contribution of historical geography in the last decade has been remarkable, the focus should switch to modern Japan. Modern geographers should pursue themes that elucidate and explore the social problems of new religions, symbolism of religious buildings, and relationships between tourism and religion.

Third, Japan can be seen as a religious laboratory (Kishimoto 1961) and is a particularly good study field for the geography of religion. Syncretism is an important Japanese religious feature (Shimazono 1987), and several religions (including Shinto, Buddhism, and folk religions) coexist without inconsistency in the community.

Oda (2004) indicates three areas for future historical geography studies of religion: (1) how and why religions have been distributed, in cooperation with the historians of religion; (2) clarify how Japanese religions interpret environmental modification; and (3) grasp religious phenomena in the light of social, economic, and political situations of the religion. Suzuki (2004) considers we need various key notions of cultural studies when we consider the concept of space (such as function and structure, surface and depth, significance and signification, representation and discourse, and text and performance) and insists these concepts should be applied to studies of the geography of religion. Empirical studies on religion and geography accumulated over the twentieth century. We should now use these empirical studies to construct systematics and theories that explain geographical phenomena. In the twenty-first century, I expect the geography of religion will develop a more important role in Japanese geographical study.

References

Bjorklund EM (1964) Ideology and culture exemplified in south-western Michigan. Ann Assoc Am Geogr 54:227–241

Clarke CJ (1985) Religion and regional culture: the changing pattern of religious affiliation in the Cajun region of southwest Louisiana. J Sci Study Relig 24:384–395

Endo Y (2006) A study of establishing shrines and the patterns in the militia settlement—focusing on the middle and upper area at the Ishikari River, Hokkaido, Japan. Hist Geogr 48(5):1–18 (JE)

Fujimura K (2001) Religious diversity and its factor in a village of Oku-kumano. Hist Geogr 43(5):21–37 (J)

Fujimura K (2004) The transition of relations between Shin Buddhism's 'Dojos' and villagesocieties: case studies of two villages in Echizen Province. Hist Geogr 46(1):1–14 (JE)

Fujimura K (2006) Problems with essentialism and constructionism in contemporary geographical studies of religion. Geogr Rev Jpn 79:251–263 (JE)

Funasugi R (1994) Kinseiki chichibu ni okeru ise shinko no tenkai (Characteristics of Ise shrine worship around Chichibu in the Edo Era). Area Res Rep Hist Geogr 6:57–65 (J)

Funasugi R (1997) Infiltration of Ise shrine worship in the Sengoku Period and its background: the case of Izumoda-no-sho in Kambara district, Echigo Province. Geogr Rev Jpn 70A:491–511 (JE)

Funasugi R (1998) Formation process of a religious town, Yamada, around Geku of Ise shrine in the Sengoku Period: the case of Kami-no-go area. Hist Geogr 40(3):1–22 (JE)

Hara J (2005) Pilgrimage and historical consciousness in the early modern age: rediscovery of Kamakura and a retrospectivism. Hist Geogr 47(3):1–23 (JE)

Hiromoto S (2004) Distribution of the belief of Hakuyu-san/Takayu-san in the Nasu Mountains. Hist Geogr 46(1):15–31 (JE)

Hisatake T (2000) Bunka-chirigaku no keifu (Genealogy of cultural geography). Chijin-shobo, Kyoto (J)

Hostetler JA (1980) The Old Order Amish on the Great Plains: a study in cultural vulnerability. In: Luebke FC (ed) Ethnicity on the great plains. University of Nebraska Press, Nebraska, pp 92–108

Imamoto A (2000) The formation of small social groups in a village and social unity of the smallest unit-area: a case study of Kawanami, Shiga Prefecture. Hum Geogr 52:173–189 (JE)

Imazato S (1995) Rural religious landscape constituents and social structure: a case study of a mountain village, Shiga Prefecture. Hum Geogr 47:458–480 (JE)

Inoue N (2002) Shukyo-shakaigaku no susume (Introduction to the sociology of religion). Maruzen, Tokyo (J)

Ishida Y (1989) Shukyogaku no tenbou (Prospect for the study of religion). In: Ishida Y, Sonoda T (eds) Shukyougaku o manabu hito no tameni (Introduction to students of religious studies). Sekai Shisosha, Kyoto, pp 206–222 (J)
Iwahana M (1997) Results and themes of the Tateyama mandala research. Jpn Mt Relig 20:15–20 (J)
Iwahana M (1999) Recent changes of the recreational activities in a mountain religious village of Togakushi, Third report. Quart J Geogr 51:19–27 (JE)
Iwahana M (2000) Tabi no ikuukan- Chirigaku to minzokugaku no aida (Review of religious tourism in terms of geography and folklore). Yamagata Folklore 14:114–128 (J)
Iwahana M (2003) Dewasanzan shinko no kenkouzou (Zonal structure of Dewa Mountains). Iwata-shoin, Tokyo (J)
Jordan TG (1976) Forest folk, prairie folk; rural religious cultures in North Texas. Southwest Hist Q 80:135–162
Jordan TG (1980) A religious geography of the hill country Germans of Texas. In: Luebke FC (ed) Ethnicity on the great plains. University of Nebraska Press, Nebraska, pp 109–128
Kanasaka K (2001) Ezu, chizu ni arawareta chinju no mori (Landscape of tutelary forest depicted in pictorial maps). In: Ueda M, Ueda A (eds) Chinju no mori ha yomigaeru (Revival of tutelary forest). Shibunkaku shuppan, Kyoto, pp 107–132 (J)
Kaneko N (1995) A review of studies on the spatial structure of mountain religion in Japan. Humanit Rev 45(3):104–117 (J)
Kaneko N (1998) Historical change of pilgrimage routes climbing up to Mt. Iwaki. Hist Geogr 40(5):22–42 (JE)
Kawai Y (2001) Mt. Fuji as a sacred site: on historical change in Fuji-ko and *Fuji-zuka* in the 23 wards of Tokyo. Geogr Rev Jpn 74A:349–366 (JE)
Kawai Y (2004) The method to reconstruct "the sacred landscape" constructed by the social community. Hist Geogr 46(1):50–64 (JE)
Kawai Y (2006) The sacred landscape of *Shun'nichi-ko* in *Machi* of Nara in the Edo Period: analysis of a sacred map, *Mandala* of *Shun'nichi*, and its ritual. Jpn J Hum Geogr 58:181–196 (JE)
Kayane I (2002) Mizu to megami no huudo (Climate and goddess). Kokon-shoin, Tokyo (J)
Kishimoto H (1961) Shukyogaku (Science of religion). Taimeido, Tokyo (J)
Kong L (1990) Geography and religion: trends and prospects. Prog Hum Geogr 14:355–371
Matsui K (1993) Development of geography of religion in Japan. Hum Geogr 45:515–533 (JE)
Matsui K (1995a) The sphere of religion of Kasama Inari shrine classified by distributions of believers. Geogr Rev Jpn 68A:345–366 (JE)
Matsui K (1995b) A regional study of the sphere of religion of Kanamura betsurai shrine. J Relig Stud 69:177–209 (JE)
Matsui K (1996) A study of tourism resources and utilization in Shinobu mountains. J Tourism Res 29:91–101 (JE)
Matsui K (1998) Reexamination of recent studies on the geography of religion in Japan. Ann Rep Inst Geosci Univ Tsukuba 24:7–13
Matsui K (1999) Regional characteristics of the belief in the Kanamura Betsurai shrine between the inner and outer areas. Geogr Rev Jpn 72B:1–22
Matsui K (2003) Nihon no shukyo kukan (Religious spaces in Japan). Kokon-shoin, Tokyo (J)
Matsui K (2005) Problems of managing sacred sites in terms of tourism: a conflict between religion and tourism. Tsukuba Stud Hum Geogr 29:147–179 (JE)
Matsui K (2006) "Christian" as a tourism strategy. Tsukuba Stud Hum Geogr 30:177–209 (JE)
Matsui K (2007) The gaze for local-religious culture in a World Heritage movement. Tsukuba Stud Hum Geogr 31:133–158 (JE)
Matsumoto T (2004) On the spatial function and the religious meaning of the places on the junction of the three planned roads in pre-modern upper Sagami. Hist Geogr 46(1):65–78 (JE)
Meinig DW (1965) The Mormon Culture Region: strategies and patterns in the geography of the American West, 1847–1964. Ann Assoc Am Geogr 55:191–220
Miki K (1996) Development of the cult of Mitsumine in the Chichibu region, particularly in relation to forest felling. Geogr Rev Jpn 69A:921–941 (JE)

Miki K (1998) Religious groups and their regional background in a mountain village: a case of Ohno Village, Chichibu district, in the Edo Era. Hist Geogr 40(2):2–21 (JE)
Miki K (2001) The cult of Mitsumine in Edo: its development and social background. Hum Geogr 53:1–17 (JE)
Miki K (2005) The development of the cult of Mitsumine in the Kanto Plains, with the particular focus on the east Musashi Province. Ann Rep Fac Educ Bunkyo Univ 39:63–77 (J)
Mori M (2001a) Contemporary religious meaning of the pilgrimage route. Hum Geogr 53: 173–189 (JE)
Mori M (2001b) Authenticity and sacredness of place. Geogr Sci 53:252–271 (JE)
Mori M (2002a) Representing and consuming Henro pilgrimage on Shikoku Island. Humanit Rev 51(4):160–173 (J)
Mori M (2002b) Spatial formation and change in the Henro pilgrimage in modern Japan. Hum Geogr 54:535–556 (JE)
Mori M (2005a) Shikoku henro no kingendai (Modern times of the Shikoku pilgrimage). Sogensha, Osaka (J)
Mori M (2005b) Reviving nationalism by articulation of the priest Kobo-Daishi and Japanese culture in 1934 exhibitions. Geogr Rev Jpn 78:1–27 (JE)
Nagano T (1995) The mountain belief of Japanese people and its nature conservation. J Geogr Soc Hosei Univ 23:3–18 (J)
Nakagawa T (1997) Louisiana no bochi: Shi no keikan chirigaku (Louisiana cemeteries). Kokon-shoin, Tokyo (J)
Nakagawa T (2005) Spiritual mapping no rironka ni kansuru shukyo tirigakuteki kenkyu (Geographical study of religion about theorization on spiritual mapping). Tsu, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Mie University (J)
Oda M (1995) Catholic pilgrimage in the southern part of Germany: some cases in the thousandth anniversary of the death of Saint Wolfgang. Komazawa Geogr 31:39–68 (JE)
Oda M (1999a) Geography of religion in Japan since 1977. Reg Views 12:27–32
Oda M (1999b) Distribution of Christianity in Japan. Pennsylvania Geogr 37(1):17–32
Oda M (2002) Geography of religion in postwar Japan: an analysis of the bibliography. Komazawa J Geogr 38:21–51 (JE)
Oda M (2003) Distribution of Buddhism in Japan: an attempt to draw a map of the Buddhist-denominational regions. Komazawa J Geogr 39:37–58 (JE)
Oda M (2004) Geographical themes in the study of worship catchment area—a review of religious space of Japan by Keisuke Matsui. Komazawa J Geogr 40:105–120 (JE)
Oda M (2005) Conclusion: future issues in historical geography of religion culture. Hist Geogr 47(1):107–110 (JE)
Oda M (2006) Distribution of Buddhist denomination in Japan. Reg Views 19:31–36
Oda M (2007) Travel routes before and after the mountaineering in prewar pilgrimage in the Omine mountains. Komazawa J Geogr 43:19–38 (JE)
Onizuka K (1995) Relationship between religious places and boundaries in ancient palace cities and provincial capitals. Hum Geogr 47:1–20 (JE)
Onizuka K (1996) A study of ancient religious places and Jinmen-bokusho ware. Hist Geogr 38(5):19–37 (JE)
Otsuka M (1997) Syncretism of Onbashira festival in the Suwa area. Ann Bull Inst Human Sci Rissho Univ Spec Publ 11:30–48 (J)
Park C (1994) Sacred worlds. Routledge, New York
Sakano Y (2003) The distribution and development of the religious worship of Mt. Hakkaisan. Hist Geogr 45(5):1–18 (JE)
Sakano Y (2006) Conversion to the Catholic religion of rural society in postwar Japan: a case of group conversion in Saga village, Kyoto. Jpn J Hum Geogr 58:357–376 (JE)
Sakurai T (1962) Sakurai Tokutaro tyosaku shu dai ikkann Ko shudan no kenkyu. Yoshikawa-Kobundo, Tokyo (J)
Shackley M (2001) Managing sacred sites: service provision and visitor experience. Continuum, London

Shimazaki H, Wagner PL (2005) Managing pilgrimage. Jpn J Hum Geogr 57:195–205
Shimazono S (1987) Shugo-shukyo (Syncretism). In: Tamamuro F, Hirano E, Miyake H, Miyata N (eds) Minkanshinko chosa seiri handobukku (Handbook of the survey method folk religion). Yuzankaku Shuppan, Tokyo, pp 169–181 (J)
Shortridge JR (1976) Patterns of religion in the United States. Geogr Rev 66:420–434
Suzuki M (2004) Comments on the whole symposiumII. Hist Geogr 47(1):102–106 (J)
Tagami Y (2000) "Kazamatsuri" and "Kazakama" around Toyama Prefecture. Bull Fac Edu Toyama Univ 3:69–82 (JE)
Tagami Y (2001) Distribution of "Kazenomiya" around Toyama plain and its related factors. Bull Fac Edu Toyama Univ 4:13–28 (JE)
Tagami Y (2002) Some characteristics of shrine distribution in central Japan. Geogr Rep Tokyo Metrop Univ 37:51–60
Taima S (1961) Nihon shukyo-chirigaku no teisho (Advocacy on the religious geography of Japan). Hum Geogr 13:347–360 (J)
Taira S (2002) The "Landscape" and the *Imago Mundi*: reinterpretation of the sacred landscape of "*Ou*" in Okinawa Island. Stud Philos 27:131–151 (JE)
Takemura K (2000) A geographical study on the acceptance of the mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the provincial cities of Japan. Geogr Rev Jpn 73A:182–198 (JE)
Tanaka T (2004) Seichi o meguru hito to michi. (Pilgrims and routes around sacred places). Iwata-shoin, Tokyo (J)
Taniguchi M (2004) Town planning and Christianity during the nineteenth century in Guelph, Southern Ontario. Historical Geogr 46(5):1–14 (JE)
Trepanier C (1986) The Catholic Church in French Louisiana: an ethnic institution? J Cult Geogr 7(1):59–75
Tsugawa Y (1998) A study of religious landmark. J Ritsumeikan Geogr Soc 10:49–58 (J)
Tsutsui Y (1999) The spatial structure of religious zone by the distribution of regional groups (*Kochu*) registered to Taiheizan-Miyoshi-Shrine in Akita Prefecture. Geogr Rev Akita Univ 46:27–32 (J)
Tsutsui Y (2001) A geographical study on religious areas: the case of Chokaisan-Omonoimi-Shrine. Geogr Rev Akita Univ 48:1–8 (J)
Tsutsui Y (2004) The formation of believers' group "Chokai-ko' in the religious area of Ohmonoimi-Shrine. Hist Geogr 46(1):32–49 (JE)
Unagami N (1996) An analysis on the Hikawa jinja on the basis of a geographical method: around underlying belief. J Grad School Humanit 4:43–94 (J)
Yagi Y (1998) Minzoku sonraku no kukan kouzou (Spatial structure of folk village). Iwata-shoin, Tokyo (J)
Yamaguchi Y (1997) Landscape structure of a sacred basin village, Muro: paying attention to a landscape attracting human beings. Hum Geogr 49:159–174 (JE)
Yokota N (2007) Contemporary Pilgrimades in Santiago de Compostela. Humanit Rev 57(2): 53–72 (J)
Zelinsky W (1961) An approach to the religions geography of the United States: patterns of Church Membership in 1952. Ann Assoc Am Geogr 51(2):139–193
Zelinsky W (1973) The cultural geography of the United States. Prentice-Hall, New York

Chapter 2
Religious Tradition in Japan

Abstract Chapter 2 focussed on the some characteristics of religious tradition in Japan. One of the famous Japanese philosophers, Tetsuro Watsuiji, discusses natural environment and religious thought. His ideas were criticized for being too ideological and involving environmental determinism; however, the idea of *fudo* being closely related to the spiritual foundation of people's lives, culture, and history deserves approbation. As for the tree worship in Japan, the Onbashira festival of the Suwa Taisha is a significant example. It evokes the image of *Ujiko* (shrine parishioners) sitting astride *onbashira* (wooden pillars), accompanied by bravely marching trumpeters. As for the landscape of sacred places, it is closely related to the *fudo* that nurtured them; landscape can therefore be used to identify the religious sensibility of the Japanese people.

Keywords Forest culture • Natural environment • Religious sense • Sacred place • Sacred tree

2.1 Japanese *Fudo*, Forest Culture and Tree Worship in Japan

2.1.1 Japanese Fudo *and Forest Culture*

Mountains cover approximately two-thirds of Japan's landscape. Most are verdant places—appealing, beautiful scenery that conveys the notion of an ideal landscape. In summer one can see rice crops in the rural areas waving in fields and groves of thick, broad-leaved trees around village shrines. All this may convey the notion of an idyllic landscape of peace and harmony to many Westerners visiting Japan. Japan's lush greenery can be attributed to *fudo*—the high summer temperatures and humidity in Japan enable diverse plants to flourish and the Japanese to enjoy tangible and intangible benefits.

K. Matsui, *Geography of Religion in Japan: Religious Space, Landscape, and Behavior*, International Perspectives in Geography 2, DOI 10.1007/978-4-431-54550-7_2,

The philosopher Tetsuro Watsuji referred to "*fudo* (climate)" as a collective term that encompasses the weather, meteorological phenomena, geology, landforms, and the landscape of a region (Watsuji 1935). Although the word refers to these elements generally, Watsuji posits that the *fudo* of a region is closely related to the spiritual foundation and history of the region's people. On the basis of his experience of ocean travel to Europe (where he studied), Watsuji classified the relationship between *fudo* and people in three categories.

The monsoon zone (Asia) is characterized by heat and humidity. Although wind and flood occasionally plague the region, food is plentiful and other natural benefits are abundant. Watsuji concluded that, in this first region, people tolerate and were passive to nature, and nature nurtured them in return.

The desert zone (Arabia, Africa, and Mongolia) is a large, dry and barren area that appears rather drab and desolate. The people in this second zone were united under the absolute authority of tribal chiefs and constantly struggled against both nature and other tribes. These conditions engendered the development of the notion of an absolute personal God who transcended human strength. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are part of monotheistic, desert-created religions that share a belief in one God who is linked to humans through testaments.

The weather in the pasture zone of Europe is mild throughout the year, but dry and rainy in summer and winter. The mild *fudo* in this third area compels from its residents neither tolerance (as in the monsoon zone) nor awe (as in the desert zone). The tractability of nature in this zone created an environment in which ideas of freedom, European rationalism, and academic disciplines such as philosophy and other sciences developed.

Watsuji's ideas were criticized for being too ideological and involving environmental determinism. However, the idea that the spiritual foundation of people's lives, culture, and history is closely related to *fudo* deserves approbation. Following the earlier classification, Japan falls in the monsoon zone. Many areas in the far south of the main island belong to the temperate humid *fudo*, and although summer typhoons occasionally cause great damage, the abundant rainfall ensures a good harvest.

Forests have been important to the Japanese since ancient times. The forests supply animals and plants as food, and goods useful for people's daily lives. Additionally, they are important to land conservation and provide recreation for urbanites. Recent activities such as forest bathing have promoted the perception of forests as healing spots.

Suzuki (1978) contrasts the beliefs of desert and forest people when considering the relationship between *fudo* and people's notions of the manifestation of Gods (Suzuki 1978). Desert people believe in a transcendental personal God and possess a linear, creation-based worldview, whereas forest people possess a cyclical worldview. Christianity is an example of the manifestation of desert people's belief—it comprises the notion that God created everything during the process of Creation.

A significant notion in the desert peoples' religions is that Creation has an end point. However, forest people, such as those of ancient India, developed the idea of *samsara* (cycle of rebirth). According to Suzuki, the desert people had to determine whether a path led to water. The decision was important as a wrong choice could lead to death from thirst. This engendered the notion that the paths to life and death

were clearly separate. In contrast, the life in the forest is cyclical, and forest people were aware of the life cycle of plants—growth, decay, return to earth, the emergence of sprouts, and new growth. The cyclical notion of *samsara* originated in forests where high temperatures and humidity helped the rapid growth of vegetation.

The concept of "deserts" and "forests" used here is rather ideological. However, the Japanese were originally forest people and understand and sympathize with Kenko-Hoshi's idea that the Buddha exists in every living thing. In contrast, the polytheistic notion of several Gods who must all be appeased probably developed as an expression of gratitude to nature, which sustains forests and provides rich harvests and other benefits.

2.1.2 Shrines and Village Shrine Groves

The deep bond between forests and the Japanese appears in various ways. Recall the birth scenes of Kaguyahime and Momotaro in folklore and old fables. The former lived in a bamboo forest. The latter was born inside a peach. The tales show the Japanese believed that thick bamboo forests and upstream forests were sacred places where the Gods dwelled or to where they descended (Yabe 2002). In Japan, Gods are represented as one or two pillars, showing that the Japanese attribute tree-like qualities to them. The Japanese consider that forests are sacred, their Gods once dwelled in large trees, and that forests were home to divinity and goodness.

The origin of shrines shows that while forests were originally considered sacred, the concept of shrine building did not exist. While Japanese Gods were believed to dwell in *himorogi* (sacred trees), *iwakur*a (sacred rocks), and *kamunabi* (sacred mountains), permanent shrines for these Gods were built later (Ueda 2004). Figure 2.1 shows *goshimboku* (God tree), three Cedars, in the grounds of Futarasan Shrine (Nikko City, Tochigi), in a position from where the sacred mountain (Nyohousan) behind the shrine's hall can be worshipped. A *Shimenawa*, (braided rope) is wrapped around the massive trees (which are more than 300 years old), and *heisoku* (wooden wands) reveal the *yorishiro* (the God's dwelling place, an object that attract spirits). Figure 2.2 shows an enormous rock, enshrined as sacred and used to train *shugen-do* monks, on the Furumine Shrine (Kanuma City, Tochigi). Evergreen trees such as *sakaki* and *shikimi* are often used as *himorogi*; the religious belief that evergreen trees are the *yorishiro* of Gods was later extended to sacred trees such as the *kambashira* and *mihashira*.

Chinju-no-mori (village shrine groves) highlight the relationship between the Gods and forests more clearly. It is apparent from everyday life in Japan that *yashiro* (shrines) and *shaso* (forests) are inseparably linked (Fig. 2.3). Figure 2.4 shows a model of the spatial composition of a *shaso*. At the entrance to the sanctuary from the public road stands a *Torii*, a symbol that separates the sacred from the profane. Upon entering the grounds by walking under the *Torii*, one observes a path that leads to a shrine hall. The hall comprises a *shinden* (the place to where the Gods descend) and a *haiden* (worship hall). At the back of the shrine hall is a *yama*, where the Gods reside. The ordinary forests that surround the shrine are often on sacred land that

Fig. 2.1 Example of sacred trees (Futara-san shrine)

Fig. 2.2 Example of belief in the megalithic

Fig. 2.3 Torii and forest of Chinju (Ibaraki, Hitachinaka)

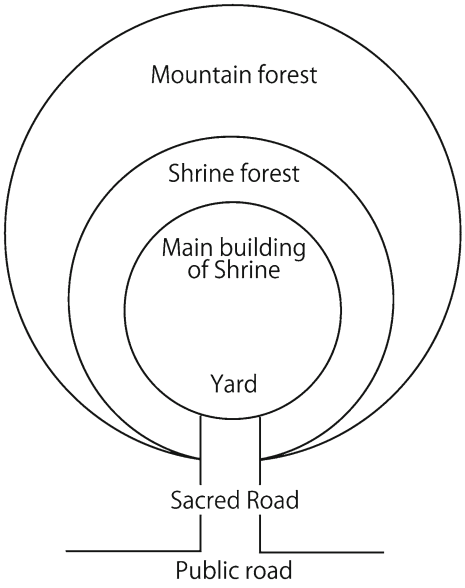

Fig. 2.4 Religious structure of Shrine Forest

people are forbidden to enter. These forests are primitive or climax ones. Further back stands the *okuyama*, which constitutes the entire sanctuary.

2.1.3 Symbolism of Sacred Trees

The belief that trees are sacred is a worldwide religious phenomenon. Examples of this belief occur in China and ancient Mesopotamia, the cosmos trees of Nordic mythology, the tree-dwelling Gods of ancient Babylonia, and the worship of sacred trees by Native Americans and Australian Aborigines. Religious scholar M. Eliade, who summarized the history of world religions, classified tree symbolism into seven categories (Eliade 1964): (1) Stone, tree, altar shape, (2) trees as a representation of the cosmos, (3) trees as an incarnation of the Gods in the cosmos, (4) trees as a symbol of life, limitless harvests, and absolute existence and trees as being related to Goddesses and water symbolism, (5) trees supporting the cosmos at the center of the world, (6) the mysterious bonds between trees and people (for example, trees have symbolic meaning as the mother of human beings, giving birth to human beings, and carrying the spirits of one's ancestors, so trees are used in initiation ceremonies), and (7) trees as symbols of spring, new year, and the life cycle of plants.

The examples above show that while tree symbolism is diverse, the notion that trees are constantly reborn (that is, renewed) and symbolize "immortal life" is common. In ancient societies, immortality was an absolute but existential idea, and trees representing the center of the world came to symbolize existence. According to Eliade, trees are worshipped not for their own sake, but for what they reveal, imply, and signify. In other words, people worship the sacred that manifests itself through trees (hierophany). Trees are an integral part of religion because of their power and symbolism—leaves fall in autumn, are reborn the next spring, and rise toward the skies. The creamy white sap that flows from trees symbolizes an existence that transcends human life.

Let us briefly examine the trees of the cosmos and of life, two important elements in tree symbolism. Trees were a symbol of the cosmos in ancient China and Mesopotamia because of their shape as well as their power of cyclical regeneration. Similarly, the Upanishads of ancient India represent the cosmos as an enormous tree. Gods are believed to dwell in trees so the trees symbolize the entire cosmos.

As mentioned earlier, trees are believed to symbolize life as well. The belief that Gods were incarnated in plant life, including trees, was prevalent in the lands surrounding the Aegean Sea and in ancient India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Trees produce creamy white sap, which became the symbol of motherhood and bountiful harvests. Thus, trees became trees of life and, along with water, came to symbolize the source of all creation.

This notion engendered the belief that certain plants had mysterious powers, such as the ability to resurrect the dead or cure diseases and facilitate rejuvenation. Trees of life symbolize not only a mysterious power that transcends human life but also the world axis at the center of the cosmos; thus, they link heaven, earth, and the underground. Sacred trees (pillars) support the cosmos and are at the center of the

Fig. 2.5 Onbashira of ubusunasha in the Suwa region

world axis, which penetrates all three worlds. Shamans can traverse through these worlds using the pillars. The sacred trees represent the cyclical regeneration of life, thus symbolizing its very existence.

2.1.4 Tree Worship in Japan and the Onbashira *Festival*

The *Onbashira* festival of the Suwa Taisha, which consists of four shrines, is a significant example of tree worship in Japan. It evokes the image of *Ujiko* (shrine parishioners) sitting astride *onbashira* (wooden pillars), accompanied by bravely marching trumpeters. Held every seven years in the year of the tiger and monkey (in accordance with the Chinese zodiac), the *Onbashira* festival is famous as one of the three most unconventional Japanese festivals. The festival, celebrated in diverse ways, is held at both large and small shrines in the Suwa District (Fig. 2.5). The official name of the festival is the *Onbashira*; it is one of the most divine events held at the Suwa Taisha and has been celebrated since ancient times. It is a sacramental event in which the shrine hall is rebuilt (nowadays, partially rebuilt) by vertically positioning large momi fir trees at the four corners. Previously, Japanese hemlock, sawara cypress, pine trees, and larch were used. The Suwa Taisha, one of Japan's most prestigious ancient shrines, was described in Engishiki-Jinmyocho (927) and

Fig. 2.6 Sacred Tree Festival 2 (Onbashirasai)

includes four shrines: the Kamisha-Honmiya (Main Shrine), Kamisha-Maemiya (Old Shrine), Shimosha-Harumiya (Spring Shrine), and Shimosha-Akimiya (Autumn Shrine). The Kojiki illustrates the process by which Takeminakatano-mikoto, the main God, was enshrined in Suwa. He was the offspring of the God Okuninushino-mikoto and was said to have opposed the transfer of the God's kingdom. Because of this, he was incarcerated at Suwa in Shinano.

The Suwa Taisha was regarded as the greatest shrine in east Japan. Since the Kamakura Era (1192–1333), the shrine has inspired devotion from not only the locals, who prayed to the Gods of hunting and agriculture, but also the *bushi* (warriors) who prayed to military Gods. The Kamakura *bakufu*, the Japan's feudal government in the Kamakura Era, donated land for the shrine, and Takeda Shingen built the shrine hall and revived ancient religious ceremonies to be performed at the shrine.

The selection of *mitate* (momi fir trees) for the *Onbashira* starts three years before the festival. Shrine parishioners tow the trees about 25 km from Yatsugatake to Kamisha and about 10 km from Yashimakogen to Shimosha. The largest tree, which serves as the primary pillar, is typically 16 m long and weighs three tons. TV broadcasts have familiarized people to the image of about 2,000–3,000 people dragging the trees to the accompaniment of a unique log-carrier's song (the process, illustrated in Figs. 2.6 and 2.7, is called *yamadashi*). Two specific crowd-favorite events are the *kawakoshi* (crossing the river) of the Kamisha Onbashira and *kiotoshi* (moving downhill) of the Shimosha Onbashira. A particularly awe-inspiring sight is of the parishioners sitting astride the massive tree trunk as it slides down the *kiotoshizaka*

Fig. 2.7 Sacred Tree Festival 3 (Onbashirasai)

Fig. 2.8 Sacred Tree Festival 4 (Onbashirasai)

slope (Fig. 2.8). People believe that the inherent dangers of participating in the event (several fatalities have been recorded) give the event a divine significance. When the *yamadashi* is complete, the *onbashira* are dragged to each shrine (a process called

Fig. 2.9 Sacred Tree Festival 5 (Onbashirasai)

the *satobikisai*); the tops are carved into *kanmuriotoshi* (a triangular pyramidal shape), and the trees erected at the four corners of the shrine hall (Figs. 2.9 and 2.10). Subsequently, after the Shikinen Sengu festival is conducted, the series of religious events is completed (Suwa Bunkasha 1997)

The Onbashira religious ceremony dates back to the Jomon period more than 4,000 years ago. In eastern Japan, the remains of enormous trees have been recovered from excavated ruins dating back to the middle and late Jomon period. These ruins include relics such as the large pillar-supported building of Sannai-Maruyama Iseki (in Aomori City), and the wood circles of Chikamori Iseki (in Kanazawa City) and Sakuramachi Iseki (in Oyabe City). These relics were found in non-residential areas; the finds suggest that trees symbolized divinity and were sanctuaries for worship (Ueda 2004). One can witness the legacy of the tree-worship practices in the Jomon period in the Onbashira festival of the Suwa Taisha.

The *shinbashira* symbolizes the center of the world and of existence. An example is the *Shin-no-Mihashira*. The *Shin-no-Mihashira* at Ise Shrine is placed at the center under the floor of the *shogu*, and the *Shin-no-Mihashira* in the ruins of the Izumo Taisha is placed at the center of nine pillars. These pillars were believed to support the earth (to which the Gods descended) and heaven, and the pillars became sacred objects that signified the sanctity of the area. The Suwa Taisha has no main hall, and the *shintai* (sacred object) of the Kamisha Main Shrine is Mt. Moriya, while the *shaso* is a forbidden area. At the top of Mt. Moriya is a group of

Fig. 2.10 Sacred Tree Festival 6 (Onbashirasai)

iwakura—presumably, people worshiped the *iwakura* and *shintai* from the worship hall (now a *kaguraden,* a sacred dance hall).

Omiwa Shrine (Sakurai City) is famous for lacking a main hall and is used specifically to worship Mt. Kamunabi. The notion that Gods reside in the mountains and trees are *yorishiro* (objects that attract spirits) and therefore symbolize the center of the world has been ingrained in Japanese religious tradition over eons.

2.2 Sacred Landscapes in Japanese Popular Religion

2.2.1 What Is a Sacred Place?

The term "sacred place" evokes a variety of images. Some people imagine specific sanctuaries such as the Ise Shrine or Koyasan, while others may regard a sacred place as being a site where a particular holy statue or icon such as the Daibutsu (Great Statue of Buddha) at Todaiji. Other examples are statues of Christ, the Holy Mother, or the apostles. Other people feel a sense of holiness in the deep mountains or isolated valleys where no one else is around, while others presumably find the sacred in the mass of tens of thousands of pilgrims who gather at the Sacred Mosque of the Kaaba in Mecca.

How, then, do we define a sacred place? The "Grand Dictionary of World Religions" defines a sacred place as having two specific characteristics (Yamaori 1991).

The first is that "the place itself is particularly powerful"; such places include mountains, forests, trees, rocks, fountains, or caves that contain shapes or special characteristics that make them extraordinary. The second is that "the place is related to a particularly important person (or God)." This characteristic usually refers to spiritual places, principal temples, and cemeteries related to saints, sages, disciples, and heroes. In most cases, a sacred place exhibits a mix of these characteristics. Defining a sacred place absolutely is therefore basically impossible. The above characteristics depict only one aspect of what really constitutes a sacred place; this generally involves complicated religious phenomena.

For example, a miraculous healing story is an integral part of Lourdes, a sacred Catholic site in the south of France. In this story, the Holy Mother led people to water from a spring that was then incorporated into the unique natural landscape. Gradually, people began to consider it a miraculous place. Symbols such as holy statues and crosses were erected, along with religious buildings such as a church and annexes. All these factors contribute to the identification of Lourdes as a sacred place.

All sacred places are related to the holy in some way, and therefore have religious value. While their origins may vary, they are typically very important to those who recognize them. In a similar fashion, sacred places generally provide a variety of functions to the public. Sites with religious value simultaneously incorporate cultural and historical heritage, and many also have high economic value as prominent tourist resources for the region. Examples of sacred places that play an important role as a tourist resource can be found in nearly every city (for example, Kyoto and Nara). Let us then hypothetically define a sacred place as being "somewhere with mysterious appeal that is significant to individuals," and examine the landscape of popular sacred places in Japan.

We will now turn to the landscape of *Seifa-utaki*, the supreme sacred site of the Kingdom of Ryukyu, to examine its original style. The word *Utaki* refers to sacred places spread throughout the Nansei Islands, from the Amani Islands through to Miyako and Yaeyama. Exactly when the *Seifa-utaki* became regarded as the sacred place of the Kingdom of Ryukyu is unknown, but according to the *Chuzan Seikan*, the official history of the Kingdom of Ryukyu, it was one of the *Utaki* created by Amamikyo, or the Creator. In the middle of the fifteenth century, it was designated as the ritual place to pray for the safety of the state, and was a very important sanctuary for the Kingdom of Ryukyu.

The word *Seifa* denotes a sacred place with a high degree of spiritual power. The place of worship reveals the relationship between the Ryukyu Dynasty and *Seifa-utaki*, in a space surrounded by huge rocks and sacred trees bearing the same name as a room at Shuri Castle. The *Uarauri*[1] was the ritual that bestowed the name when

[1] *Uarauri* originally denoted a *jito* (lord of the region) visiting the territory for the first time, while *Kikoe-no-Okimi* refers to a naming ritual wherein she would travel to *Chinen-Magiri*, her territory, and receive the God's name by being confined at *Seifa-utaki* for one night (see Kadokawa Japan Place-name Grand Dictionary Editorial Committee 1986; Kokugakuin University, Japanese Culture Research Institute 1999).

Fig. 2.11 Sacred road (Ujoguchi)

the post of Kikoe-no-Okimi, the supreme Goddess of Ryukyu, was assumed. The site still attracts visitors who wish to worship there as a sacred site of Agai-umaai.[2] The *Seifa-utaki* was listed as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in December 2000 as the "Gusuku (Castle) and related Relics of the Kingdom of Ryukyu."

The *seifa-utaki* on the Chinen Peninsula in the southeast of Okinawa Main Island consists of approximately four hectares of tableland above the Pacific Ocean. The *Seifa-utaki* is surrounded by a subtropical forest that includes *deigo* (*Erythrina variegate*) and *akagi* (Japanese bishopwood), as well as enormous, oddly shaped rocks. Six places of worship are connected by paved stone approaches over 450 m.

Figure 2.11 shows the *Ujoguchi*, the entrance to *Seifa-utaki*. During the era of the Kingdom of Ryukyu, only qualified females were allowed to go beyond that entrance. A walk up a gradual incline on the stone mat approach from *Ujoguchi* leads to a place of worship at the bottom of a rock in the west named *Ufugui* (Fig. 2.12). This is the sacred place where the accession ceremony of Kikoe-no-Okimi was held, with an altar whose front is surrounded by stones and named *Una*. The hollow rock cave on the opposite side is also considered sacred, and is named *Yuinchi* (Fig. 2.13). The place of worship known as Ufugui is located behind, and visitors worship while facing a hallowed rock at the front that serves as an altar.

[2] At Agai-umai, paternal relatives from every part of Okinawa gather to worship from August through to September of the old calendar. In addition to Seifa-utaki, Tomuinutaki at Chinen Castle and Okawa are central places of worship.

Fig. 2.12 Sacred road (Ufugui)

Fig. 2.13 Sacred place (Yuinchi)

Fig. 2.14 Sacred place (Sangui)

Sangui is the most important place of worship at *Seifa-utaki*. Here, large, sheer triangular shaped rocks lean over each other and resemble the mouth of a cave (Fig. 2.14). When sunshine enters the small mouth of the dark cave, the landscape provides a mysterious and fantastic atmosphere, and one can instinctively feel that it must have been a sacred place even before the Kingdom of Ryukyu. A completely different world appears after passing through the cave mouth. Kudakajima Island can be seen in the sea to the east between the break in the trees (Fig. 2.15). The creators of the Ryukyu Archipelago, a brother and sister named Amamikyo and Shinerikyo, respectively, were said to have descended to Kudakajima Island from Niraikani[3] beyond the sea, and to have traveled from there to the main island of Okinawa. That place is *Seifa-utaki*. A myth describing the creation of the world tells us that the pair then commenced building the Ryukyu Dynasty at Shuri.

Seifa-utaki has no shrines (buildings), *Torii* (shrine archways), *shimenawa* (sacred straw ropes), or holy statues. This sacred place's landmarks can be understood as nature itself, consisting of huge and oddly shaped rocks, stalactite cave mouths, and dense forests. These elements, such as trees, may authoritatively oppose people on one occasion but also care kindly for them on another; the sacredness evoked by them is the subject of the worshipers' beliefs.

[3] Niraikanai denotes a sacred place that is said to be in the sea to the east where the sun rises. There is a tradition there that the Gods visit to bless people every year. Niraikanai is also said to be the origin of seeds for crops (Otsuka Minzokugaku-kai 1994).

Fig. 2.15 Sacred Island (Kudakajima) from Sangui

2.2.2 Religious Sense of the Japanese People

The landscape of sacred places is closely related to the *fudo* that nurtured them; landscape can therefore be used to identify the religious sensibility of the Japanese people. The entrances to the divine areas incorporate symbols that indicate the border between the sacred and secular worlds. Figure 2.16 depicts the *Otorii* (large gate) of the Naiku (Inner Sacred place) of the Ise Shrine, which was built at Ujibashi over the Isuzu River. *Torii* represent "gates" to the sacred area of a shrine, and typically, the approaches to shrines will have one or more *Torii*, as well as rivers crossed by arched bridges that border the sacred area, separating and bridging the sacred and the profane.

The front of a sacred space has a supply of water for use in purification rites. Its purpose is to remove and purify any sins and uncleanliness from the body. It is actually quite difficult to follow an authentic purification ceremony, but it is common for many to purify their hands and mouths at a *temizuya* (small roofed building for washing your hands) before worshiping at the shrine. Purifying the body via symbolic acts such as rituals, chants, and a *heihaku* (offering of cloth) ceremony is also necessary before approaching a sacred area.

The ideas of purity and impurity are particularly important in the religious sensibility of the Japanese people. Purity is understood to relate not only to the divine but also to that which is valuable and desirable in worldly life. Desirability denotes an abundance of vitality. Conversely, the notion of impurity corresponds to curses, sickness, disasters, and uncleanliness, or a decline in spiritual vitality. The religious sensibility of respecting "purity" while avoiding "impurity" is therefore reflected in the landscape of sacred places where Gods are considered to be present.

Fig. 2.16 Sacred Gate of Ise Shrine (Otorii)

Motoori Norinaga (a Japanese scholar of the Edo period) in "*Kojikiden*" defined a God as a being that which bestows a sense of awe by virtue of having supernatural or superhuman powers, regardless of whether the God is human, animal, plant, or a manifestation of other natural phenomena. The entrances to divine areas incorporate symbols that signify the separation between (and the combination of) the sacred and profane, and places where a God is present within natural phenomena. These can include large trees and *iwakura* (rocks subject to a belief system), or manmade objects like mirrors and *gohei* (a sacred staff) that are distinguished from the surrounding space by *shimenawa* and *himorogi* (trees subject to a belief system).

Let us recall the landscapes of nearby shrines. These typically include thick forests and pure flowing water. They also include symbols such as *Torii*, *komainu* (stone guardian dogs), and *yashiro*, and have beautiful, clean purified, grounds where the refreshing feeling of stepping on *tamajari* (pebbles) may be enjoyed. The landscape of sacred places can thus be said to represent the ancient religious sensibility of the Japanese people.

2.2.3 Sacred and Profane in Communities

Figure 2.17 shows a spatial model of rural communities developed by Jun Miyake. It represents the relationship of the position and distribution of facilities, and the inherent nature of the space and residents (animals and other life forms) of *Sato*, *Ta*, *No*, and *Satoyama*, the residential space, and *Okuyama, Dake,* and *Hara*, a different kind of world.

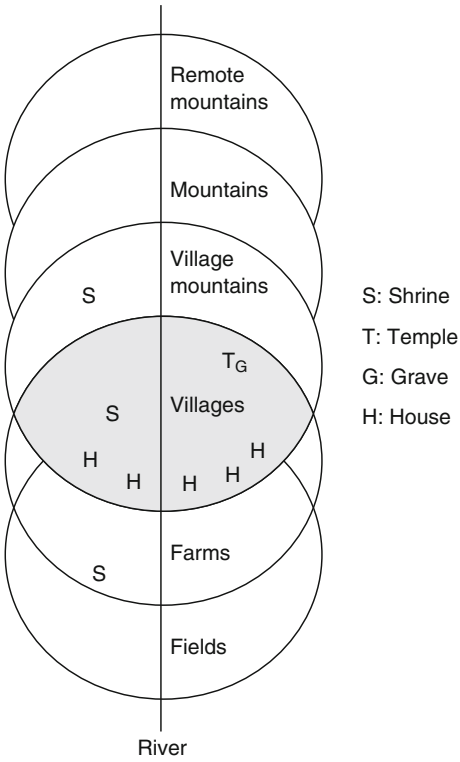

Fig. 2.17 Spatial model of Ancient Japanese Community

A *Sato* is a residential space comprising housing, an *ujigami* (guardian God), temples, tombs, and various small shrines. It plays a part not only in the everyday lives of people but also in festivals and religious ceremonies. The village border includes stone monuments and a stone Buddha, which is used for disaster prevention ceremonies. A *Ta* is space used for farming where rice and other fields are located. Common places for the villagers to obtain building materials, fuel, and fertilizer include a *No* and a *Satoyama*. Those residing in a *Sato* work at a *Ta* and obtain living necessities at the *No* and *Satoyama*. These three spaces form the living space of the people who reside in the community.

The spaces in which those people who are not related to the community may gather include a *Hara*, *Okuyama*, and *Dake*. According to Miyake, a *Hara* is an uncultivated, primitive field in front of a *Ta* that can spread beyond the gathering space to form a city. An *Okuyama* is situated behind the *No* and *Satoyama*, where descendants of mountain people ousted by those growing rice were once residents. A *Dake*, placed even further back, is a steep mountainous area and the source of rivers. It was regarded as a sacred place that led to heaven and a place to train monks of Mountain Shugen-do. A *Dake* was understood to incorporate the nature of another world.

Fig. 2.18 Ksitigarbha (Jizo) at Kawakura Temple

Naturally, differences arise in the actual landscape of villages, depending on their location. Village landscapes such as the *zofutokusui* (block the wind and obtain water) type[4] present original imagery of homes of those engaged in agriculture, which is rather nostalgic. The sacred and profane are separate but closely related. A world was developed there where humans, animals, nature, demons, and Gods can communicate and live alongside each other.

2.2.4 Landscape Dedicated to the Dead

Figures 2.18 and 2.19 depict the Main Hall of Kawakura *Jizo-do*, located in Kanagimachi in Aomori Prefecture. *Jizo-do* in Kawakura is the center of belief for *Jizo* in the Tsugaru Region.[5] Families who have lost infants may dedicate large and

[4] Tadahiko Higuchi (1981) refers to the Zofutokusui type landscape as having mountains to the back of the community, and being surrounded by hills to the left and right that only open at the front between the mountains.

[5] Villages in Tsugaru in Aomori enshrine them as '*migawari Jizo*' who guard against disease and disasters. "Child rearing *Jizo*" are used to pray for the healthy growth of children. It is customary for a small *Jizo* to be built when an infant dies (Sakurai 1987).

Fig. 2.19 Japanese Sandal dedicated to dead people

small *Jizo* (the guardian God of children) to benefit their infants' souls. *Jizo* are typically dressed in children's clothes, wear caps like real children, and carry amulets. In addition, traditional footwear and caps, toys such as pinwheels, and sweets are offered. People believed that prayer and these offerings would help an infant who died young to travel safely to the netherworld.

On June 23 and June 24 of the old calendar, which fall under the days of a temple festival, *itako* (mediums between the living and the dead)[6] gather from the Shimokita Region, including Tsugaru, and conduct *kuchiyose* (ceremonies summoning dead spirits and delivering messages) at people's request.[7] On the day of the temple festival, the *itako* use special methods to connect the living with the dead, and the other world with this one. Sacred times and spaces are essential to human life; in the landscape of *Jizo-do*, the emotions of bereaved mothers may be deeply felt in our hearts, and can be deeply moving.

One of the most important functions of religion is to provide values that people may incorporate in their lives. People encounter various difficulties in life that can cause unbelievable unhappiness and intolerable pain, and it is religion's mission to provide an ultimate explanation for their suffering, however unreasonable, and

[6] Refers to popular female oracles in the Tsugaru and Nambu districts, most of whom are blind.

[7] Refers to popular female oracles, including *itako*, who are can be possessed by supernatural beings and communicate with departed souls.

provide meaning in life. The sociology of religion defines religion as a tool that enables people to live in the semantic world while maintaining social order (or corrupting it, as the case may be).

If we regard religion as a type of cultural apparatus created for human beings, then sacred places can also be regarded as sites that incorporate wisdom for use in daily life. Examining sacred landscapes reveals the cultures of those who live there, and simultaneously provides an insight into the local *fudo*.

References

Bunkasha S (ed) (1997) Suwa taisha no Onbashira-sai (The Onbashira Festival of Suwa Taisha). Suwa Bunkasha, Okaya (J)

Eliade M (1964) Traite d'histoire des religions, Payot, Paris

Higuchi T (1981) Nihon no keikan—Furusato no genkei (Landscape of Japan—Origin of Home). Shunjusha Publishing, Tokyo (J)

Kadokawa Japan Place-name Grand Dictionary Editorial Committee (ed) (1986) Kadokawa nihon chimei dai-jiten 47 Okinawa-ken (Kadokawa Japan Place-name Grand Dictionary, 47 Okinawa Prefecture). Kadokawa Group Publishing , Tokyo (J)

Kokugakuin University, Japanese Culture Research institute (ed) (1999) Encyclopedia of Shintoism, Kobundo. Kobundo, Tokyo (J)

Minzokugaku-kai O (ed) (1994) Nihon minzoku jiten (Japan Folklore Dictionary Abridged Edition). Kobundo Publishers, Tokyo (J)

Sakurai T (1987) Matsuri to shinko (Festivals and belief). Kodansha Gakujutsu Bunko, Tokyo (J)

Suzuki H (1978) Shinrin no shiko, sabaku no shiko (Forest considerations, desert considerations). NHK Publishing, Tokyo (J)

Ueda M (ed) (2004) Tankyu 'chinshu no mori' shasou-gaku heno shotai (Exploration: 'Village Shrine Groves'-An Invitation to Shrine Forest Study). Heibonsha, Tokyo (J)

Watsuji T (1935) Fudo (Climate). Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo (J)

Yabe M (2002) Mori no chikara (Power of forests). Kodansha, Tokyo (J)

Yamaori T (ed) (1991) Sekai shukyo dai-jiten (Grand Dictionary of World Religions). Heibonsha, Tokyo (J)

Chapter 3
Spatial Structure of Japanese Religion

Abstract The purpose of this chapter is to clarify regional divisions in the catchment area of religion of Japanese Shintoism through analyzing distributions of some kinds of believers. I discuss two case studies; Kasama inari Shirne and Kanamura Shrine.

As for the catchment area of Kasama Shrine, it consists of three zonal areas. The first area (0–50 km zone) is the distribution of donoers of agricultural products. The second area (50–150 km zone) has denser distribution of all the indexwa than the other two areas. There are few worshippers and no donors in the third area (150–800 km zone). As for the Kanamura Shrine, religious associations (ko) do not function as autonomous religious groups and are dependent upon other religious or administrative organizations in the inner area. However, there are few individual believers in the outer area, it has their own managers and members, and function independently of the ujiko, or other, religious organizations. It is cleared that people in this area worshipped the Kanamura Shrine not as the tutelary deity but as a removed efficacious deity.

Keywords Believers • Catchment area • Religious association • Zonal structure

3.1 Characteristics of the Kasama Inari Belief Area

3.1.1 Introduction

I selected the Kasama Inari Shrine (referred to as *Kasama Inari* below) (Fig. 3.1) in Ibaraki to classify belief types using the geographical distribution of the believers. These data help identify the regional differences of attributes in the status and density of believers, worshipers, dedicators, and the disseminators of branch shrines (Fig. 3.2). In Chap. 1, I explained how the geography of religion shows how beliefs can be distributed around a center point. This study should provide interesting regional information, yet the field has not accumulated valuable results.

K. Matsui, *Geography of Religion in Japan: Religious Space, Landscape, and Behavior*, International Perspectives in Geography 2, DOI 10.1007/978-4-431-54550-7_3,

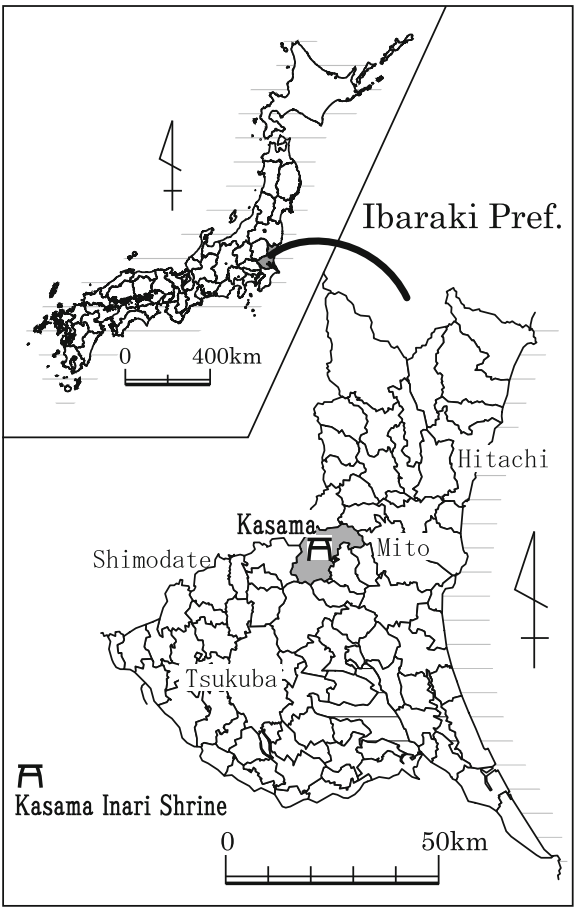

Fig. 3.1 Location of Kasama Inari Shrine

Previous research relied on the Japan Folklore Map and historical research into the folklore of particular municipalities to identify the distribution of *ko* and branch shrines (*massha*). These data allow us to define the area of belief. However, we need to obtain the information directly from the relevant religious groups to identify the distribution status of the believers.

In this chapter, I apply the concentric circle model of the area of belief *mutatis mutandis*, and consider if regional classifications of belief are possible for religions other than mountain religions. This will show similarities and differences of regional beliefs compared with mountain religions.

3.1.2 Festive Events of Kasama Inari and Kasama Inari Belief

The Inari belief is estimated to have about 30,000 shrines and eight million believers in Japan. Although there are many believers and varieties, individual beliefs have

Fig. 3.2 Kasama Inari Shrine

not been systematically classified. Besides functioning as an agricultural God in rural areas, the Inari belief has also become a God of commercial prosperity and a cure for diseases in urban areas (followers believe in a fox God who can possess believers). These varied views indicate the complexity of the Inari belief system (Miyata 1983). The area of the belief ranges from the Fushimi Inari in Kyoto on a national scale, to Kasama Inari (Ibaraki), Takekoma Inari (Miyagi), Toyokawa Inari (Aichi), and Yutoku Inari (Saga) on a regional (or prefectural) scale (Higo 1983).[1]

According to the shrine history, Kasama Inari was founded around 650–654, but the exact date is unclear. From the seventeenth to nineteenth century, the faith was called *Monzaburo Inari* and *Kurumi ga shita Inari*, and included followers from neighboring areas. In 1743, the land and the shrine building were expanded by Masakata Inoue, the Feudal Lord of Kasama. In 1747, when Michisada Makino became the local lord, he worshiped at Kasama Inari, reserved the Kasama Domain as a place of prayer, and dedicated land and festive events. After this date, *Kasama Inari* was worshiped by successive lords of the Kasama Domain, and believers of *Kasama Inari* increased. The enshrined deity at Kasama Inari is known as *Ukanomitama no kami*, who is believed to be the God of agriculture (i.e., five types of grain, cattle breeding, fishing, sericulture, commerce, and industry), transportation, and fire prevention.

[1]Inari shrines, which originated as branches of Fushimi Inari, are widely distributed throughout Japan. Umeda (1983) writes that the *Kasama Inari* is merely one branch of Fushimi Inari, which the *Kasama Inari* denies.

The major annual festive events and ceremonies are as follows. The New Year's Festival (*Gantan-sai*) is a renewal ceremony held at midnight on New Year's Day. People pray before the God for the prosperity of the Imperial Family, world peace, disaster prevention, and the prosperity and happiness of *Kasama Inari* followers. The *Hatsuuma Matsuri* is held in February of the old calendar, and involves praying for a good grain harvest during the year. This festival is related to the agricultural work that has started around the *hatsuuma* day since ancient times. On the festival day, recommended rice seed brands of Ibaraki are distributed free of charge in front of the shrine. This ceremony involves a belief in agriculture. The *Tsuina* ceremony to cleanse devils started during the Nara Period when epidemics raged through several provinces, killing many people. The *Tsuina* ceremony happens at *Kasama Inari*. In this festival, a peach bow and reed arrows are used in the ancient style, twice a day and at night, during a bean scattering event led by a master dressed in a *kamishimo* (formal dress of a samurai). The *Kinensai* (Pray for the Year Festival) involves praying for a good grain harvest and national security. The *Hatsuhoko* Festival is a grand festival held with *Kinensai* in spring, where representatives of the religious group, caretakers, and members of *Hatsuhoko* pray for a good harvest during the year. The *Niinamesai* (Harvest Festival) happens in the autumn.

The *Reitaisai* (Annual Grand Festival) is one of the most important festivals at the shrine, and has taken place on April 9 since ancient times. This festival dedicates incense from a master incense burner, tea from a master of the tea ceremony, flowers from each local school, and sake from brewers in Ibaraki. In the *Otauesai*, the Rice Planting Festival, rice is planted into a rice field selected by the rice seed God for the benefit of believers. The rice is planted by the person in charge of the field; a *saotome* (rice-planting girl) is used. Traditional prayers are recited for a good grain harvest during the year and *kagura* (sacred dance and music) and *bugaku* (court dance music) are performed.

The *Kikumatsuri*, the Chrysanthemum Festival, is unique to the *Kasama Inari* (Fig. 3.3). This festival was first celebrated in 1908 to soothe people's minds and nurture their beliefs. The Farm Land Department of the shrine grows chrysanthemum flowers that are exhibited on the grounds of the shrine. The *Motomiyasai* invites people to a branch of *Kasama Inari*. The *Kosha Taisai* used to thank the representatives of religious groups for their activities by inviting group representatives to the *Kasama Inari*. These festivals are held every 2 years. The *Niinamesai*, consisting of *Kenkoku* and *Kenkensai*, started in 1908 and is dedicated to the first harvest of rice. *Kenkoku* and *Kenkensai* involve dedications in thanks for the distribution of rice seeds from the rice field selected by the God, and prayers for the development of sericulture using dedicated cocoons. A grain and cocoon fair is also held on the grounds of the shrine. Monthly festivals are held on the first and fifteenth of every month when many believers worship. The day of the horse (*uma no hi*) festival is held every month.

While the style of the belief in the religion varies, the *Inari kami* (God) is found everywhere in Japan in a variety of expressions encompassing the Gods of agriculture, commerce, housing, modes, possessions, and others (Naoe 1983). Although beliefs in *Kasama Inari* vary, believers of *Kasama Inari* can be generally classified into three groups.

Fig. 3.3 Kiku Festival of Kasama Inari Shrine

1. Worshipers at *Kasama Inari* who take part in religious activities for the benefit of the shrine. *Kasama Inari* worshipers who pray in the sanctum,[2] including *ko* members, and general worshippers who do not step into the sanctum, but pray for traffic safety.
   Most worshippers worship privately at the shrine. According to the local government, about two million people pray at *Kasama Inari* every year, mainly at New Year and the *Kikumatsuri*. However, if direct worship is impossible, perhaps because of remoteness or physical conditions, many believers have amulets mailed to them describing the content of prayers. The traffic safety prayer usually involves a ritual with a car. After a Shinto priest has prayed for no accidents and safety, the worshippers receive amulets.
2. The second group involves Inari dedications that are usually made by believers to express their appreciation to the God. At *Kasama Inari*, dedications are usually of money or agricultural produce, including brown rice and white rice, vegetables, sake, new tea leaves, or flowers.

[2] Worshipers entering the sanctum receive a prayer from a Shinto priest by stepping into the worship hall. *Kasama Inari* organizes *ko* prayers for 12 persons or more (group worship), and ordinary prayers for individuals (individual worship). There are several different types of prayers. With group worship, they can be classified into the *tsuru* (crane) style and *kame* (turtle) style. Besides prayers, *kagura* (Shinto dance and music) is used as the dedication, and a grand prayer ceremony usually involves a music dedication.

The dedication of agricultural products is particularly important because of the religious orientation of *Kasama Inari*, the God of agriculture. In addition to rice and cocoon dedications for the *Kenkoku* and *Kenkensai*, farmers may offer other goods such as rice and vegetables throughout the year.

3. The third group receives an invitation to create a branch shrine of *Kasama Inari*. A believer is invited to the house or office of another believer, and then creates a branch shrine of the divine spirit of *Kasama Inari* there. Creating a branch shrine has the religious meaning of sharing the sacred spirit involved. The form of the branch shrines varies; most shrines are created in houses (*kamidana* are miniature shrines that are worshiped everyday) as a household God, but sometimes, a branch shrine is created at the office or shrine of a village.

In this chapter, I identify the area of belief of *Kasama Inari* by following the distribution of *Kasama Inari* believers: (1) worshipers who pray by entering the sanctum, (2) the distribution of persons who dedicate produce, and (3) the distribution of persons invited to create a branch shrine. These criteria have two assumptions: the believers involved can be used to create an index that reveals continued belief in *Kasama Inari*, and those believers are the most important people among the believers of *Kasama Inari*.

The *Ujiko* areas associated with the Kasama Inari shrine parishioners include five neighborhoods in Kasama (Takahashimachi, Aramachi, Omachi, Shinmachi and Atagomachi) (Figs. 3.4 and 3.5). These five former towns included the Sansho and Yasaka shrines that were enshrined in addition to Kasama Inari. Thus, the towns in this area include parishioners of two shrines. At the famous Summer Festival of the Sansho Shrine, *mikoshi* (sacred palanquins) are carried around thirteen towns in Kasama. In contrast, festivals conducted by parishioner-believers of *Kasama Inari* are rare. However, each town's neighborhood association shares the expenses of the parishioners by spreading religion among all the households. A representative of the shrine parishioners is elected who then contributes to the maintenance and operation of the *Kasama Inari*. This chapter, therefore, treats the areas of the shrine parishioners in a similar fashion to the quasi-sacred area of mountain religions, and thus excludes them from the belief area analysis.

The distribution of other *Kasama Inari* believers can be identified from materials from the *Kasama Inari* Shrine and research via hearings with people and worshipers (believers) related to the shrine. The period of research was from January 1993 to November 1993.

3.1.3 Distribution and Regional Characteristics of Worshipers Entering the Sanctum

3.1.3.1 Distribution of Individual Worshipers

Many enthusiastic believers, including the members of the Kasama Inari Pious Association (called pious worshipers) visit the Kasama Inari every month. In 1993,

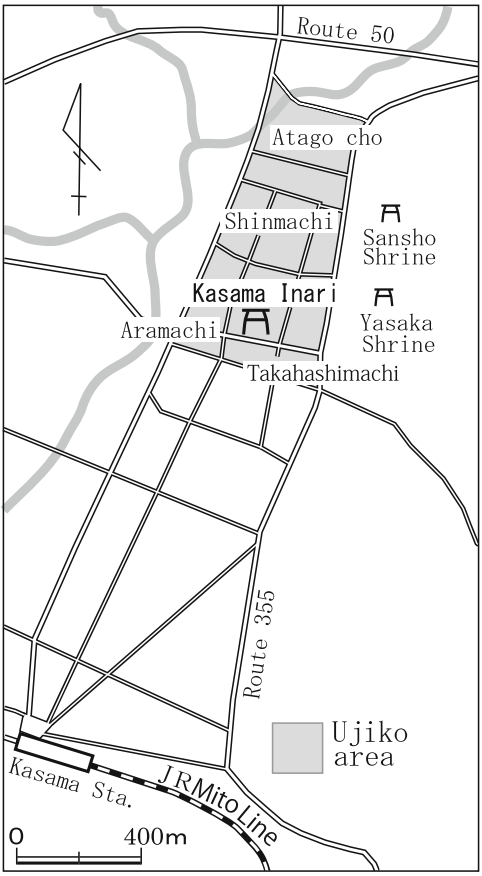

Fig. 3.4 Ujiko area of Kasama Inari

Fig. 3.5 Landscape of Shrine town of Kasama

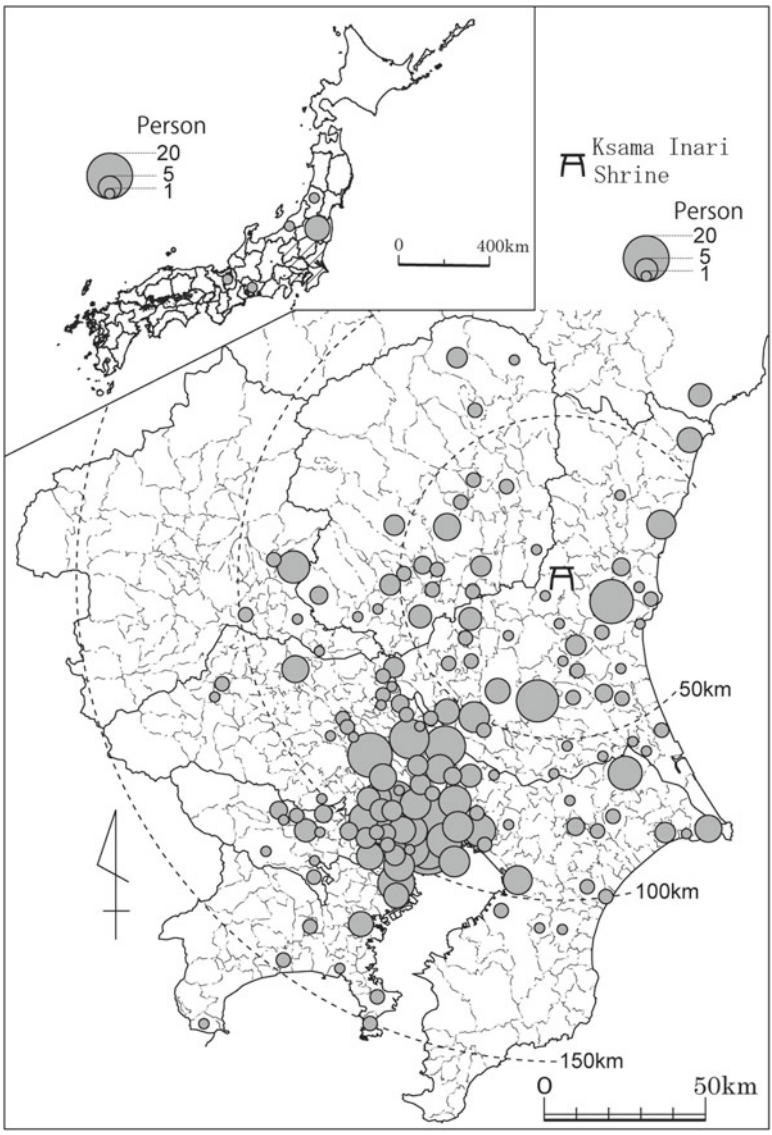

Fig. 3.6 Distribution of pious worshipers by municipality

450 pious worshipers were known: 159 persons from Tokyo, 82 in Chiba, 81 in Ibaraki, 77 in Saitama, and 33 in Tochigi (Fig. 3.6).

About 40 % of the pious worshipers lived in the 23 wards of Tokyo, many in downtown Tokyo; 25 lived in Sumida City, 11 in Chou City, Koto City, East Katsushika, and North Katsushika areas at the border of Chiba and Saitama, 13

Fig. 3.7 Monument of Kasama Inari religious association

lived in Noda City, and 10 in Kasukabe City. In Ibaraki Prefecture urban areas, 12 believers lived in Mito, and 11 in Tsuchiura City.

The content of the pious worshiper's prayers varied. Of 57 persons who worshiped at 6:00 a.m. on the first day of every month, most (47, 82%) prayed for safety in their homes and 42 for commercial prosperity. The next most frequent prayers were for safety in construction and in factories.

Most pious worshipers were owners of commercial or industrial enterprises, and their families. Most worked in machinery and metal manufacturing common in the Keihin area and the east and south of Tokyo, where most members came from. In addition, people involved in construction, civil engineering, finance, and real estate, trading, transportation and textile businesses were common.

3.1.3.2 Distribution of *Kasama Inari-ko*

Kasama Inari-ko are groups consisting of 12 or more people that worship *Kasama Inari*. *Ko* can be classified into general worship *ko* and substitute worship *ko*. In 1993, most *Kasama Inari-ko* were general worship *ko,* whose members visited and worshiped at *Kasama Inari* once a year, and prayed on entering the sanctum.

The origin of the first *Kasama Inari-ko* is unclear, but existing dedication frames and religious association monuments suggest that these *ko* prospered in the first half of the nineteenth century (Fig. 3.7). Total worshipers significantly increased from the late nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, when the National

Railroad service, especially the Mito Line (1889), came into service.[3] According to the bylaws for one *Kasama Inari-ko* established in 1904, 50 persons were members with five assigned caretakers. Ten sen were saved per person per month, accumulating to 60 yen a year that was spent on a dedication of five yen, a music dedication, an altar fee of three yen, an offering of two yen, and travel expenses of 50 yen for ten persons worshiping on behalf of the 50 association members. Ten persons were selected by lot to worship on behalf of the group, and to offer prayers for safe homes, commercial prosperity, and a good harvest of grain in the spring of every year.

Each *ko* established a constitution that determined member contributions, the representative worshiper, and the relevant prayers and dedications. Most of the associations were formed in the same region or by the same occupation, and usually had terms of 2–5 years. Following the leads of the representative of the *ko* and the manager (who takes care of general affairs and accounting), the worshipers worshiped at Kasama Inari and prayed while staying one night at a regular inn. Some *ko* would dedicate a frame or monument when the *ko* matured or a prayer was fulfilled (Kasama City History Editorial Committee 1988: pp. 162–166).

In 1904, there were about 330 *Kasama Inari-ko*. Most (148), about 45 % of all *ko* associations, were in Chiba Prefecture. Eighty-six associations were in Ibaraki (about 26 %), followed by 29 in Fukushima (about 9 %), 21 in Tochigi, and 19 in Saitama. The distribution by region reveals 80 associations in Katori-gun; 27 in Sosa-gun; 15 in Kaijo-gun, Chiba; 17 in Kashima-gun; and 14 in Taga-gun, Ibaraki. These data reveal that from the late nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, *ko* existed downstream of the Tone River to the coast of the Pacific Ocean at Ibaraki. This supports the hypothesis that *Kasama Inari* was followed by people in rural areas who prayed for a good harvest, and by those engaged in transportation by water, who prayed for safety at sea and on ships.

The distribution of the *Kasama Inari*-ko in 1993 is shown in Fig. 3.8. This figure includes 512 *ko* that worshiped in groups at *Kasama Inari* at least once between January 1988 and May 1993, and 75.6 % *ko* that worshiped regularly once a year. Twenty-two *ko* were located in Noda City, thirteen in Mito, twelve in Koto; Chuo, Sumida, Kasama, and Kawaguchi cities each had eleven *ko*; Katsushika, Arakawa, Koshigaya cities, and Iwai-shi all had ten *ko*.

The basic organization of each *Kasama Inari-ko* was as follows. A representative of the *ko* is called a *komoto* or *sendatsu* who is generally responsible for the *ko's* operations. Each *komoto* was assigned several assistants called caretakers who communicated with members, arranged buses, and managed the accounting when worshiping at the Kasama Inari. The membership of a *Kasama Inari-ko* was not fixed and might change every year; worshipers were significantly affected by the capabilities of the caretakers.

[3] In 1913, Kasama Jinsha Kido (later changed to Kasama Inari Kido), abolished in 1930, was laid down from Kasama Station to *Kasama Inari* Gate for the purpose of transporting worshipers to *Kasama Inari*. According to the history of Kasama, many worshipers used the train on the 1st and 15th of every month, on event days, and in the flower-watching season.

Fig. 3.8 Distribution of Kasama Inari religious associations

Few *Kasama Inari-ko* were religiously active at their place of organization, so most *Kasama Inari-ko* can be regarded as worship groups organized around *Kasama Inari* services. The *Kasama Inari-ko* can be classified into the two categories by the founding constitution: the *dogyo nakama* (accompanying peer type) and the *doshoku nakama* (same occupation peer type).

1. The *dogyo nakama* was based on a group organized to worship at *Kasama Inari-ko* and typically had a different foundation from that of existing social groups. Each member was qualified to join by worshiping at *Kasama Inari*. About 65 % of *Kasama Inari-ko* can be classified into this category. This leads

to the understanding that *Kasama Inari-ko* have the strong characteristic of being a collective worship organization of believers, rather than a social function used for bonding in cities and rural areas. The *dogyo nakama ko* were widely distributed throughout Kanto over 50 km from *Kasama Inari*.

2. The *doshoku nakama ko* were formed in workplaces or by professional associations, meaning the *ko* were based on organizations that were originally created for a purpose other than that of worshiping at *Kasama Inari*. This category includes *ko* organized at workplaces to pray for commercial prosperity, factory safety, and *ko* organized by professional organizations, such as wholesale, production, or fishing associations. These *ko* were usually distributed near Kasama Inari, mainly in Ibaraki, Mito, Ishioka, Tomobe, Dejima, Tsuchiura, and Shimodate. These *ko* were easy to form because the members shared the same workplace and association, but the functionality of the *ko* was rather low and the continuity of belief weak. About 30 % of *Kasama Inari-ko* belonged to this category.

Municipalities can be classified by the category of *Kasama Inari-ko* (Fig. 3.9). In about half the municipalities within 50 km of *Kasama Inari,* 60 % of *ko* were *doshoku nakama ko* (same occupational peer type) instead of *dogyo nakama ko*, which had a lower connection with worship. Within 50 km, few municipalities contained organized *ko,* and this characteristic is particularly significant in the northern sector of *Kasama Inari*.

Most of the municipalities where *dogyo nakama ko* account for more than 60 % are distributed within an area of 50–150 km in the western and southern sectors of the *Kasama Inari* area. Most of these *ko* were organized by believers in *Kasama Inari*. Village volunteers formed a *dogyo nakama ko* in agricultural and fishery rural areas, mainly in Chiba, Saitama, and Ibaraki. In urban areas such as Tokyo, most *ko* were formed by commercial and industrial groups, with their peers from street merchant associations and business partners. Some of those *ko* delegated the arrangement of buses and accommodation for those worshiping at Kasama Inari to tourist agencies.

These data reveal first that the worship style of groups concurrently incorporating functions of both belief and recreation can be observed in areas over 50 km from Kasama Inari; and second that few municipalities close to Kasama Inari had *Kasama Inari-ko,* and most of those *ko* consisted of peers from the same occupation.

Figure 3.10 shows the ratio of members of *Kasama Inari-ko* to the population by municipality. This figure reveals Kasama town had the highest ratio of *ko* members per population of 10,000 with 219 members. More than half (58 %) of municipalities within 50 km of the shrine did not have any *ko,* showing these areas had a low density of religious association members. About 55 % of the municipalities within 50–100 km had *ko*, which were organized downstream of the Tone River (Kawachimachi with 201, Asahi City with 128, Takomachi with 123, Iiokamachi with 106, Kurimotomachi with 105, Kaijomachi with 103, and Sakuragawamura with 101), in areas from the southwest of Tochigi Prefecture to North Katsusika and Higashi Katsushika, and the northern areas of Tochigi (Yuzukamimura with 199 and Kurobanemachi with 116) at a high ratio to their population. The areas with a high

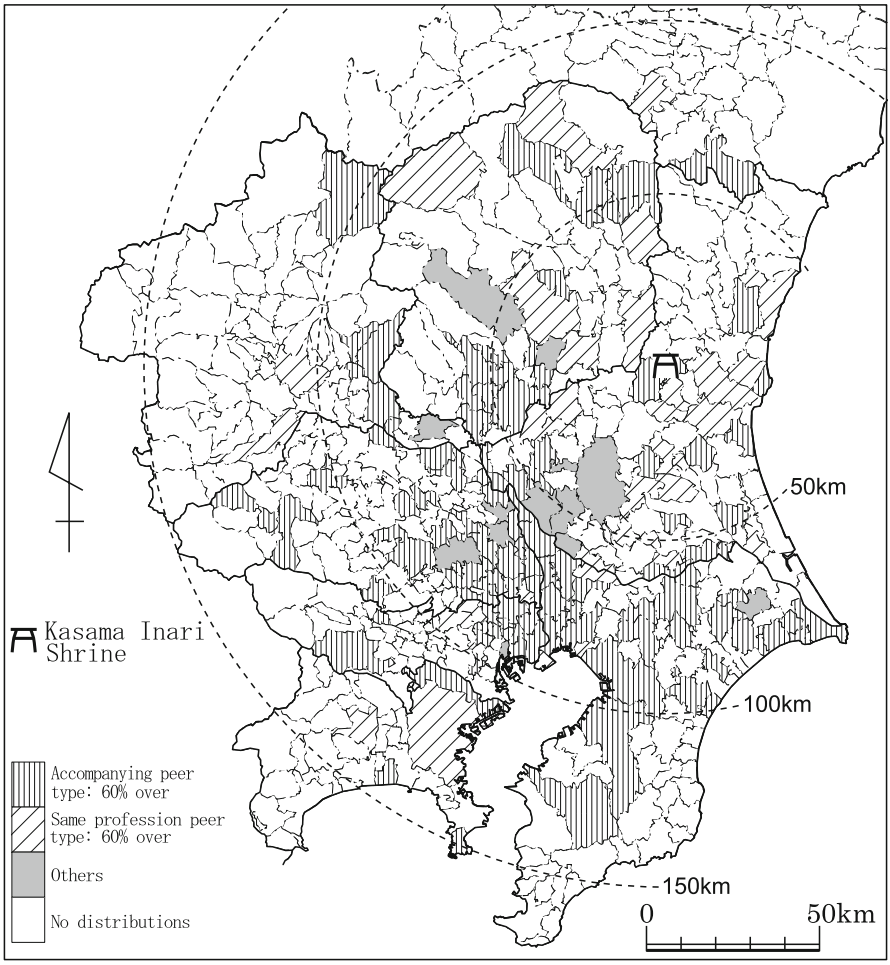

Fig. 3.9 Classifications of municipalities based on Kasama Inari religious associations

density of association members in an area within 50–100 km were downstream of the Tone River, Saitama, Katsushika, and the southwestern and northern parts of Tochigi, which usually corresponded to areas with a mix of *dogyo nakama* and *doshoku nakama* associations.

Further away (i.e., 100–150 km away), the number of municipalities with *ko* decreased, mainly in the northern sector. *ko* were distributed in 29 % of all municipalities with the ratio of *Ko* to population lower than in an area within 50–100 km. There were, however, some areas somewhat like enclaves, where a higher ratio of *ko* members was recorded. Downtown Tokyo, mainly in Chuo, Katashinamura, and Kuriyamamura at the border of Gunma and Tochigi, and the Chichibu area of Saitama (in particular in Oganomachi with 216) had higher density distributions.

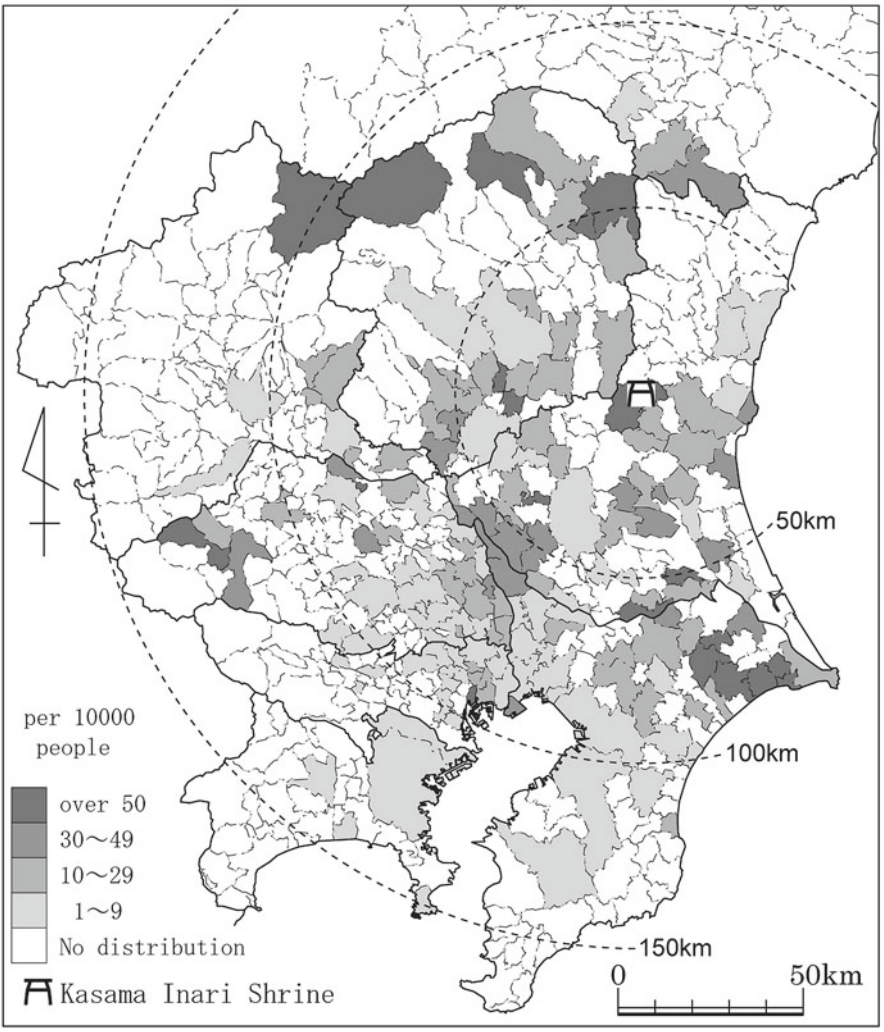

Fig. 3.10 Ratio of members of the Kasama Inari religious association to the municipality population by municipality

3.1.4 Distribution of Product Dedicators and Regional Characteristics

It is a common religious phenomenon to dedicate a token of thanks, including agricultural products such as rice, vegetables, and sake, or money, to a God. The *Inari no Kami* (God) was originally a God of agriculture, and was worshiped by farmers praying for a good harvest. Several festivals at the *Kasama Inari* shrine show are

closely related to agriculture, including the Grand Festival *Hatsuuma*. In this festival, dedicated agricultural products are consumed by people at the shrine after they have been offered to the God.

Other important festivals related to agriculture include the *Hatsuhoko* (First fruits) Festival in February, *Otauesai* (Rice Transplanting Festival) in May, and *Kenkoku-Kenkensai* (Harvest Festival) in November. During the *Hatsuhoko* Festival, worshipers pray for a good harvest, and believers who dedicate a new harvest in autumn pray to *Inari no Kami* for a good, rich harvest during the year. The *Otauesai* festival celebrates rice seedlings transplanted into a field selected by the God, and prayers are offered for a good harvest in order for rice selected by the God to be grown. The rich harvest is then offered to *Inari no Kami*, and the seeds are distributed to the believers.

The *Kenkoku-Kenkensai* started in 1908 as a rice, barley, wheat, soy bean, azuki bean, and cocoon fair. The festive event was intended to increase farm production (Kasama City History Editorial Committee 1988: p. 166). The *Kenkoku-Kenkensai* was organized and operated under the National Shinto system, but today the color of the fair has faded. The meaning of the dedications to *Kasama Inari* made by farmers, however, has strengthened. Believers who received seeds from the field selected by the God still dedicate thanks.

Here, I consider the distribution and regional characteristics of farm households who dedicated agricultural products at *Kenkoku-Kenkensai*. In 1992, 1,230 households dedicated grain and 183 households dedicated cocoons at *Kenkoku-Kenkensai* (Fig. 3.11). The dedicating farm households were spread across 70 municipalities in Tokyo, and five other prefectures, including Ibaraki, Tochigi, and Chiba. Most of the municipalities (49 or 70 %) were located in Ibaraki, representing 56 % of all Ibaraki municipalities. By municipality, most (168) households were in Shimodate followed by 103 households in Sakaimachi, 83 in Kasama, 59 in Iwamamachi, 56 in Sekijomachi, 50 in Yachiyomachi, and 52 in Ishigemachi within the area of Kasama through to the western part of Ibaraki, and 116 in Kitauramura, 112 in Azumamura, and 70 in Sakuragawamura in the southern part of Ibaraki. Cocoons accounted for less than 13 % of all the farm households that made dedications, but more farm households dedicated cocoons than grain in the center to the north of Ibaraki, including Omiyamachi, Ibarakimachi, and Minorimachi.

Most farm households that made dedications were located within 70–80 km of the shrine. Farm households making dedications to *Kasama Inari* were rare more than 100 km from the shrine. This evidence indicates the area where believers who engage in agriculture and maintain a belief in the God of harvest was narrow compared with the distribution of other believers and *Ko*.

For both grain and cocoon dedications, farm households that wish to make dedications to *Kasama Inari* placed their produce in a bag and sent it to *Kasama Inari*. There were two ways to send and receive these bags of grain or cocoons.

First, bags could be sent directly to and from the farm households and the shrine. In the southeastern part of Ibaraki, including Kitauramura, Azumamura, and Sakuragawamura, many farm households may dedicate goods to *Kasama Inari* via caretakers. For example, in Kamisuda Village of Azumamura in Ibaraki, 32 of 62 farm households dedicated two *sho* (about 3.6 L) of rice per person via two caretakers.

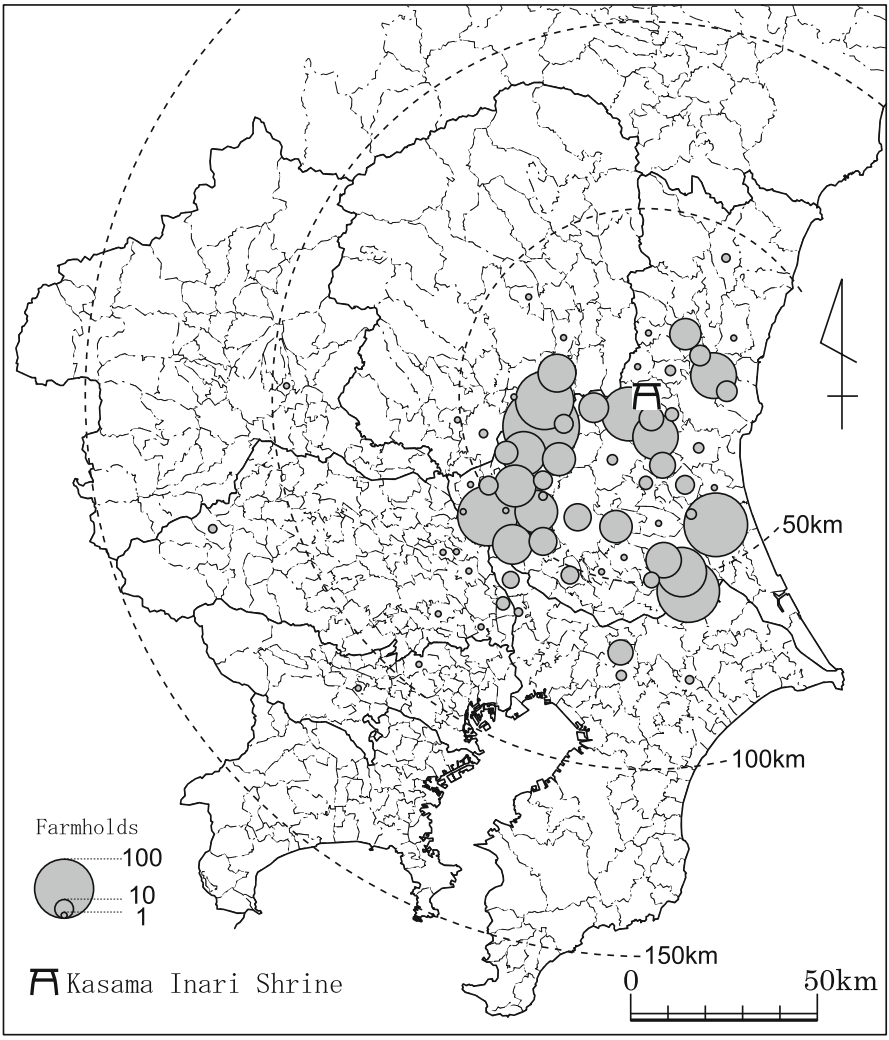

Fig. 3.11 Distribution of all the farmhold-made dedications

Second, dedication bags could be exchanged between farm households via agricultural cooperatives or sericulture instruction centers. With grain dedications, agricultural cooperatives (JA) can act as the intermediary and deliver bags to caretakers, called *Hatsuhoko*. Farm households who wished could dedicate grain through individual branches of JA, who distributed bags to each household via the relevant caretaker. This method of distributing bags was offered by 15 JAs, mainly in west Ibaraki near *Kasama Inari*. The Shimodate JA distributed grain dedication bags sent from *Kasama Inari* to eight branches, which were passed on to about 20 caretakers. The caretakers were responsible for distributing the bags to the individual farm households wishing to make dedications.

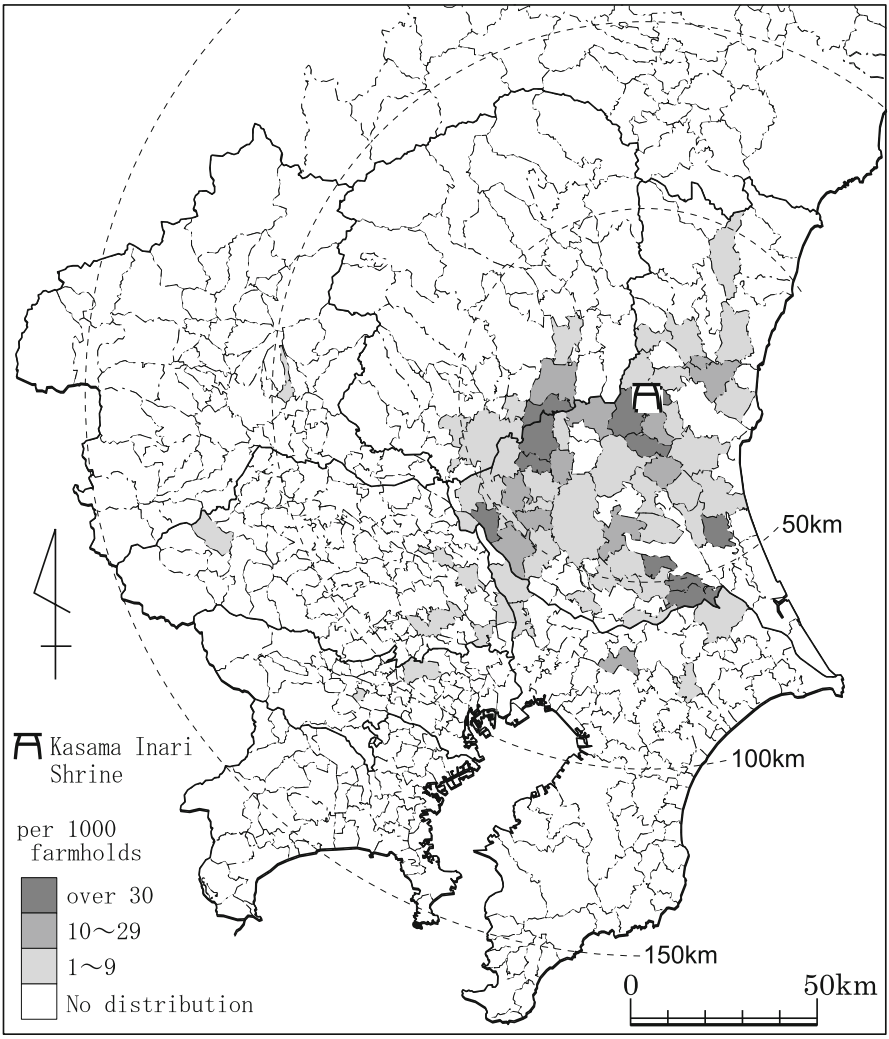

Fig. 3.12 Distribution of farmholds making dedications to Kasama Inari by municipality

Azumamura and Shimodate City include *ko*, and some of the dedicators were also members of a *ko*. In many other areas, *ko* were rare and no particular relationship existed between the formation of a *ko* and farm households wishing to make dedications.

The distribution of farm households making dedications to *Kasama Inari* as the ratio of 1,000 farm households per municipality is shown in Fig. 3.12. Municipalities with a higher ratio of dedicators to farm households occurred along the coast of Kasumiagura (Sakuragawamura: 86, Kitauramura: 75, Azumamura: 75, and Mihomura: 43), and from the west of Ibaraki to the east of Tochigi (Sakaimachi: 59, Shimodate: 49, and Ninomiyamachi: 49).

3.1.5 Distribution and Regional Characteristics of Invitational Branch Shrines

Invitational branch shrines involve the divine spirit of *Kasama Inari* being invited to a place selected by the person concerned, and *Kasama Inari* then being enshrined there. The branch invitation ceremony is carried out by a Shinto ritualist at the *Kasama Inari* hall of worship. After the prescribed ceremony, a division of the divine spirit of *Kasama Inari* is housed in an amulet that is then delivered to the invitational branch. The division of the divine spirit is sometimes enshrined in an office as a commercial prosperity or factory safety God, depending on the belief of the invitational branch person. Sometimes the division of the divine spirit is enshrined in the house of an individual as a house God. It can also be enshrined in the joint prayer place of shrines, or a town's *Ko*. In 1993, 3,296 invitational branch shrines were spread across 23 prefectures in Japan, the largest distribution of *Kasama Inari* believers in the indexes used in this article.

Figure 3.13 shows the distribution of invitational branch shrines by municipality. By municipality, most (92 persons) were in Utsunomiya City followed by 76 in Kawaguchi and Adachi City, 68 in Noda, 63 in Katsushika, 59 in Oyama City, 58 in Edogawa City, 55 in Sumida, 54 in Hanyu, and 53 in Mito. This figure shows the invitational branch shrines were concentrated in of downtown Tokyo, Hanyu in Saitama, Utsunomiya in Tochigi, and Kiryu in Gunma.

Figure 3.14 shows the distribution of invitational branches of *Kasama Inari* shrines by region, and details 146 persons who received new invitations to be a branch of *Kasama Inari* over the period of 20 months from April 1992 through to October 1993. Thirty-persons (21.2 %) enshrined *Kasama Inari* in offices, 103 (70.5 %) in private houses, and 12 (8.2 %) in towns and shrines (including other and unknown). By prefecture, Tokyo had 41.7 % and Ibaraki had 37.5 % of shrines in offices, but the proportion of shrines in individual houses was highest in Tochigi (94.5 %) followed by Chiba (79.3 %), and Saitama (77.8 %). Few towns and shrines in all the prefectures enshrined *Kasama Inari*, although Ibaraki did have a relatively high ratio of 12.5 %. Within 50 km of the shrine, several divisions of the divine spirit of *Kasama Inari* were enshrined as a tutelary deity of the village. A branch of *Kasama Inari* was invited to be the Inari Shrine of a village in Mito, Ishioka, and Sanwamachi.

In rural areas further than 50 km from the shrine, and particularly in the Kitakanto and Boso areas at the outer edge of the *Kasama Inari* belief area, most of the invitations were made as the house God of an individual house. Sometimes, the division of the divine spirit functioned as a branch shrine.

For example, in Nagano City, a division of the divine spirit was enshrined as a branch shrine on the housing land of an individual. This branch shrine incorporated the stronger function of being a local place of prayer for the *Kasama Inari ko* than the house God of an individual house. For example, *ko* ceremonies, including *Hatsuuma*, happened at this branch. Branch shrines remote from Kasama Inari probably functioned as branches for prayer.

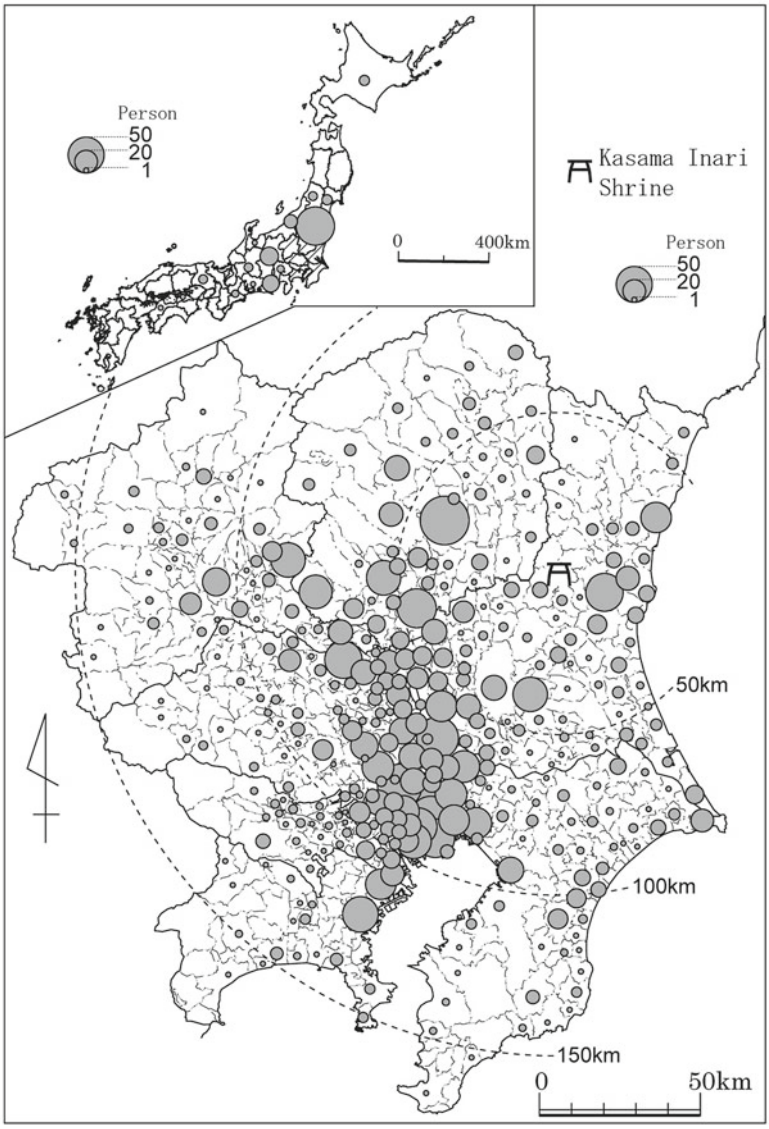

Fig. 3.13 Distribution of invitational branches of Kasama Inari shrines

The ratio of invitational branch shrines to households by municipality between 1992 and 1993 is shown in Fig. 3.15. This shows the distribution density of invitational branch shrines was lowest within 50 km of Kasama Inari shrine, and was similar to the distribution density of *ko* members (see Fig. 3.10). In many

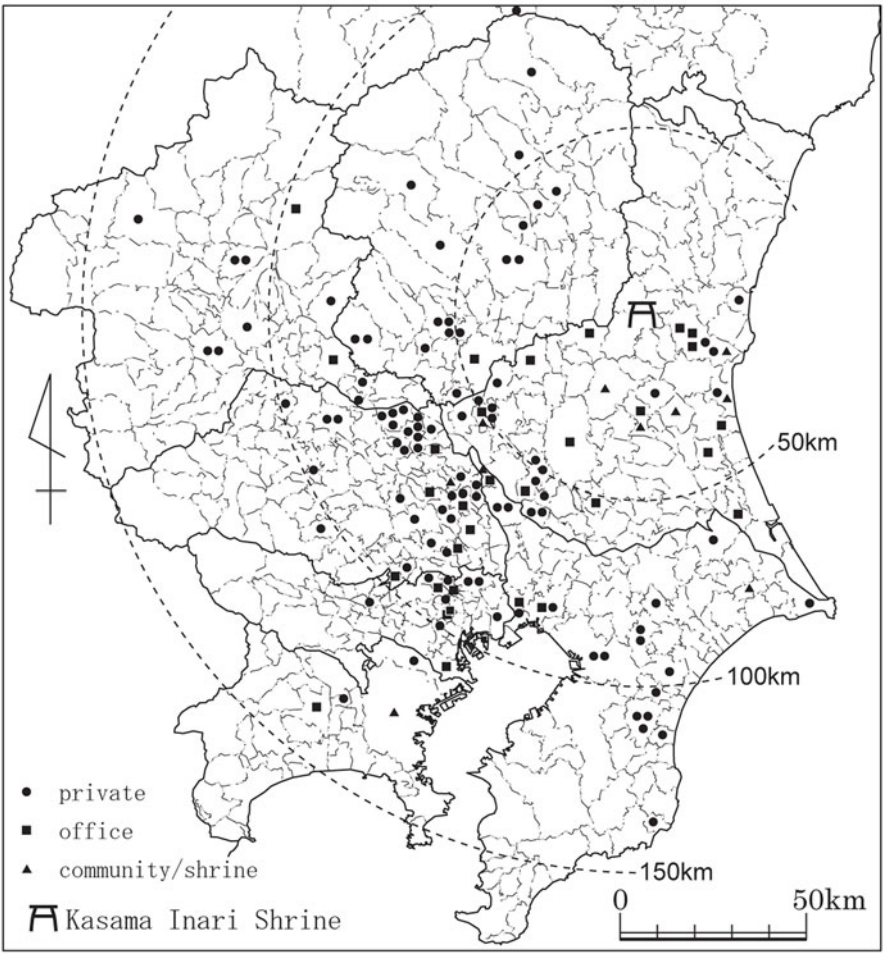

Fig. 3.14 Distribution of invitational branches of Kasama Inari shrines by regions

municipalities, the distribution density was highest within 50–100 km of the shrine. Unlike *ko,* in this area, the distribution density was higher in northwest Chiba to Tochigi and Gunma than in the south.

The densest distribution was from the east of Gunma to the north of Chiba. Sixty-two households per 10,000 wished to form invitational branch shrines in Kurohonemura, 37 in Azumamura (Seta-gun), 26 in Ashiomachi, 21 in Omamamachi, 31 in Hanyu City, 28 in Tsugamachi, 41 in Sarushimamachi, 33 in Iwai City, and 33 in Gokamura.

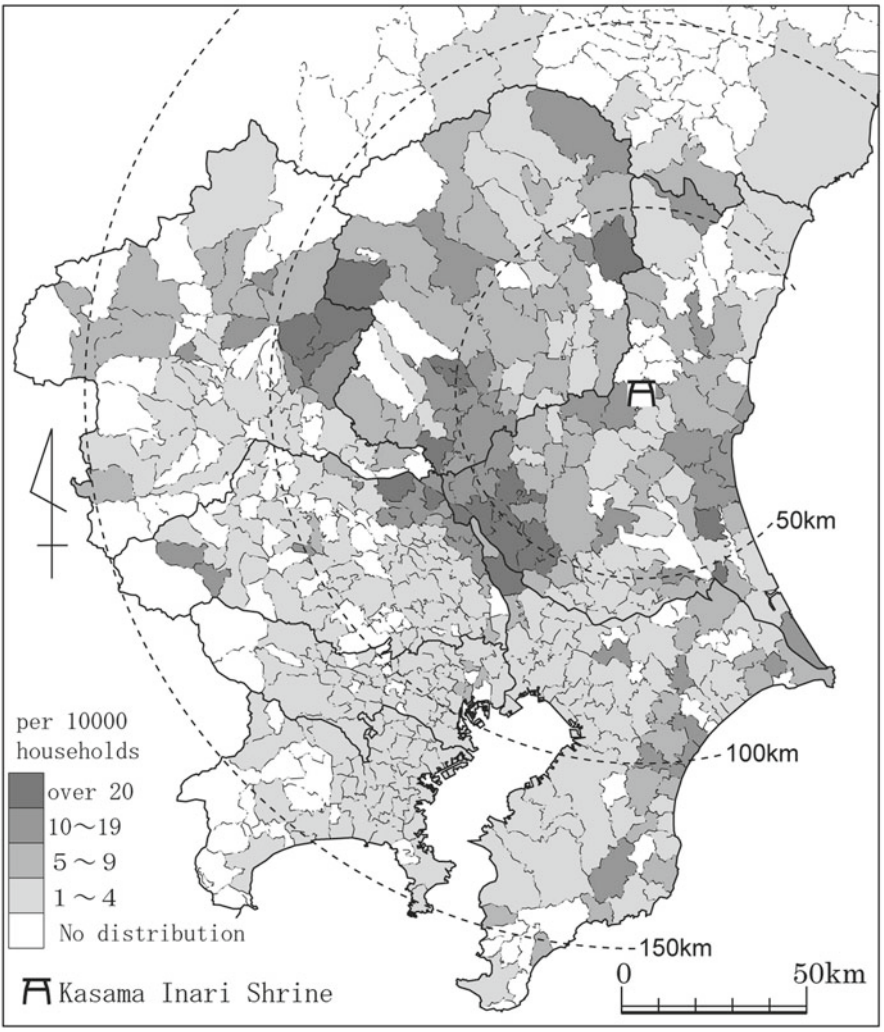

Fig. 3.15 Ratio of invitational branch shrines to households by municipality

3.1.6 Regional Classification of Kasama Inari *Belief Area*

(1) Primary Belief Area (Within 50 km of the Shrine)
This core area contained believers, mostly engaged in agriculture, who dedicated produce. The core areas contained few *Ko,* pious believers, and invitational branch shrines. One important characteristic is that the "same professional peer type" *ko* was the most prevalent. The primary belief area is therefore the area where *Kasama Inari* is believed to be an agricultural God. One indication

is that the area within 50 km of the shrine is where people believe in a God of production who endows agriculture, which is comparable to the primary belief area in Mt. Iwaki (Miyata 1970) and Mt. Togakushi (Iwahana 1992). However, in this area there is no communal connection for setting a belief in *Kasama Inari* as a bond.

In one cycle, rice selected by God was sown in the *Otauesai* ceremony, and was distributed to believers, and then dedicated as *Hatsuhomai* as a token of thanks by believers at the *Kenkoku-Kenken* festival held in the autumn. This can then be used, at least in the primary belief area, to note the relationship between *Kasama Inari* and the traditional deity of farmers (rice field God) and identify the area directly endowed by the shrine.

(2) Secondary Belief Area (Within 50–150 km of the Shrine)
Every index indicates this is the highest density distribution area. The distribution of *ko* reveals the *dogyo nakama* (Accomanying type) were conspicuous west of *Kasama Inari* through to the southern sector. The case studies indicated the *ko* functions as a belief and a recreation organization, leading to the presumption that Kasama shrine, where people can only worship on a day trip, forms part of a leisure day trip for the region. Fewer product dedicators were found west and southeast of Ibaraki within 50 km of the shrine. The distribution of invitational branch shrines is densest in this area. With each index, the distribution was highest closest to the shrine, but lower further than 100 km from the shrine. This area can be categorized as a secondary belief area and is similar to substitute worship associations of mountain religions. The *Kasama Inari* and mountain religions have common features such as active formation of worship associations and invitational branch shrines.

The secondary belief area of *Kasama Inari* contained a core of believers that show characteristics of density distribution. In this area, believers had a strong God mode element and dissemination of the belief leads to the expectation of propagation of worshipers and the intermediation of religious persons.

(3) Tertiary Belief Area (Within 150–800 km of the Shrine)
No product dedicators were found in this area, and the believer distribution was limited to worshipers entering the sanctum and invitational branch shrines. The distribution density of worshipers and invitational branch shrines was lower than the area of the secondary belief area within 50–150 km. Beyond 150 km, the distribution of *ko* decreased significantly and the distribution comprised only invitational branch shrines. Beyond 200 km, the distribution can be described as enclave-like, and believers were rare. Some believers in *Kasama Inari* were found in Hokkaido and Ehime, but no believers were found more than 800 km from the shrine. The distribution of believers was sparsest in the tertiary belief area furthest from *Kasama Inari*. For example, four active *Kasama Inari Ko* that existed in Nagano had active representatives and caretakers.

Scarcity and dispersal are significant in the tertiary belief area, but where enthusiastic believers exist and branch shrines play the role of a branch in a remote area, a belief in *Kasama Inari* has developed.

3.1.7 Characteristics of Kasama Inari *Belief Area*

The concentric circle model of the belief area was used *mutatis mutandis* to classify regions in the *Kasama Inari* belief area (Table 3.1). This classification reveals several characteristics.

It is possible to distinguish multiple regions within the belief area of mountain and other religions with a strong element of a God-mode, like the *Kasama Inari* faith. In an area further than 50 km from the belief base, *ko* organizations are quite active, and invitational branch shrines exist in the secondary to tertiary belief areas. These elements of belief expression within the belief area are also common to mountain religions. Unlike the mountain religions, the elements of *Kasama Inari* do not function as a social bond for local communities, and the primary belief area of *Kasama Inari* within 50 km of the mountain religions was small. The belief area of *Kasama Inari* does not have an area structure equivalent to the core-domain-sphere described by Meinig (1965), but forms a doughnut in which the core of the distribution of believers falls within an area of 50–150 km of the shrine.

The belief area of *Kasama Inari* spreads west from the shrine to the southeast sector, but the prevalence of the belief in the north sector is low. This is not a simple concentric circle and has a sectoral characteristic. Factors supporting this include the local geography, such as the difference in population size between the south and north areas of *Kasama Inari*, and historic factors when *Kasama Inari* developed into a God mode, along with the religious characteristics of *Kasama Inari* itself.

Although the sectoral nature is significant, another factor that enables a regional classification of the belief area by distance from *Kasama Inari* is the characteristic of *ko* distribution. Many *ko* exist within 50–150 km, which is close enough for a one-day recreational trip. Few *ko* were found in an area within 50 km, where worship activities play an important function, because other recreation is difficult. The belief area was probably formed in conjunction with a leisure function, and in relation to religious mindsets. I expect the belief area would differ depending on the characteristics of the religion. As with new religious groups and religions that pursue relief from the serious hardship of life, I expect distance would be less significant.

This section is an attempt to define regional classifications for the belief area using the distribution patterns of the believers, but I think it is also necessary to analyze the content of the belief in each area, and consider the historical factors behind the belief area formation.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of religions area of Kasama Inari Shrine faith

		Prayers									
		Group			Individual		Farmholds		Invitational branch		
Area	Distance from Shrine	Distribution	Attribute	Density	Distribution	Density	Distribution	Density	Distribution	Attribute	Density
First	~50 km	A few	Same profession	Sparse	A few	Sparse	Many	Dense	A few	Office Community Shrine	Sparse
Second	~150 km	Many	Accompanying	Dense	Many	Dense	A few	Sparse	Many	Private	Dense
Third	~800 km	A few	Accompanying	Sparse	A few	Sparse	No distribution	No distribution	A few	Private	Sparse

3.2 Characteristics of the Kanamura Shrine Belief Area

3.2.1 Introduction

3.2.1.1 Purpose and Methodology of This Chapter

This section clarifies the spatial structure of the religious catchment area with *ko* and believers by outlining the differences in acceptance of some faiths, including tutelary deities. We can illustrate these differences by analyzing the *Kanamura Wakeikazuchi* Shrine (*Kanamura* for short) in Tsukuba City, Ibaraki. The *Kanamura* faith has been accepted mainly in the rural areas of southwestern Ibaraki, southeastern Saitama, and northeastern Chiba.

First, I present an overview of Thunder Worship based on the *Kanamura* faith, and then I describe the location and history of *Kanamura*. In the second part, I describe the community and private prayers as the religious form of the *Kanamura* faith, introduce distribution of *ko* and believers, and illustrate the catchment area of *Kanamura*. I will compare the spatial characteristics of each catchment area, review, and conclude the study.

3.2.1.2 Thunder Worship and *Kanamura*

Thunder worship has been diffused through rural communities in Japan. Thunder is adored, not only in awe of a dreadful being that brings disaster, but with reverence to a *kami* of water or a child of *kami* carried by lightning originating from a heavenly God (Tamura 1972). It is faith not only in the mysterious power of thunder that damages crops and houses, but also in the Lord of rainfall. Several authors identify the thunder belief as a revengeful faith, and the original image of *Kitano Tenjin* had the traits of a rainfall God (Tamura 1972; Ueda 1988). Yanagita (1969) quoted stories like: When a bolt of lightning strikes anywhere in Kanto region, people stick a bamboo pole into the spot that has been hit and hang a sacred straw festoon from it to enable the thunder spirit to go up to the heavens. When the thunder God visited the ground as a child, a respectable farmer brought her up kindly. Since then, the farmer's paddy field has had as much rain as he desired. Yanagita interpreted the figure of thunder written in these stories as a primordial form of the Thunder God.

I have identified numerous shrines devoted to thunder worship, called thunder shrines (Kaminari, Raiden, Kagutsuchi, and Wakeikazuchi Jinja), in the northern part of Kanto and Ibaraki (Fig. 3.16 and Table 3.2). These areas receive much rainfall from thunderstorms (Kurabayashi et al. 1971). Twenty-six thunder shrines are registered as religious corporations, and believers think *Kanamura* has a higher status. Most thunder shrines offer only *Wakeikazuchi-shin*. A few shrines have

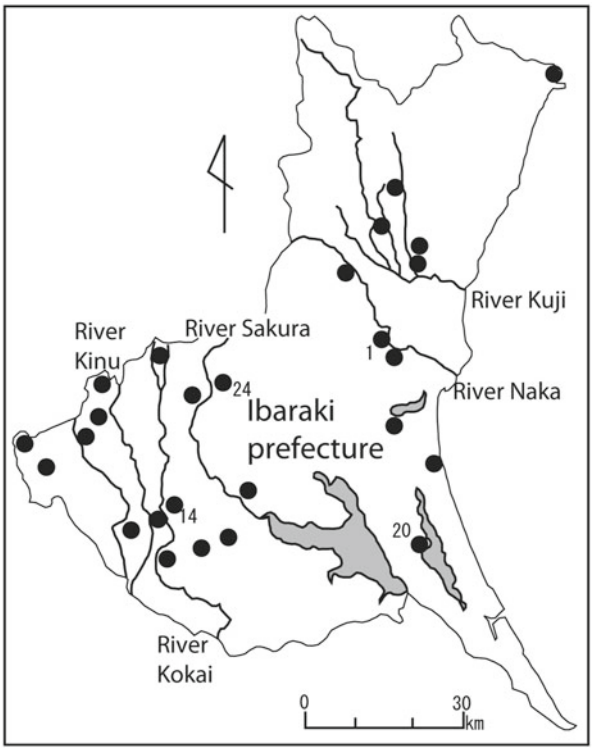

Fig. 3.16 Distribution of thunder shrines in Ibaraki Prefecture, 1989. (The list of religious corporations in Ibaraki Prefecture.) Number: See Table 3.1

handed down their history, with the exception of *Kanamura* (No. 14), Mito Betsurai-Kotaijin (No. 1), Kaminari Jinja (No. 24).[4]

One thunder shrine was built after a thunderbolt had struck. Tsukuba County observed the following rites. When a cultivated field was hit by lightning, people thrust four bamboo poles into the ground around the point of contact and hung a sacred straw festoon on them. Believers offered prayers imploring lightning not to strike any more, as it is said that no crops can grow where it hits. This folkway is called *atomatsuri* or "after festival" (Inokuchi 1985). An opposite belief occurred in the same county, in that people believed cultivated fields become sacred when struck by lightning, and the strike promised a rich harvest. In both cases, the expression of adoration in Tsukuba was the same; sacred straw festoons were hung from bamboo poles.

A plot of the locations of thunder shrines (Fig. 3.16) shows several thunder shrines in the basin of the Kinu, Kokai, and Sakura rivers in southwest Ibaraki and in the basin of the Naka and Kuji rivers in central and northern Ibaraki. Yoshino

[4] *Kanamura* and Betsurai-kotaijin are branches of the Kamigamo Shrine in Kyoto. The Kaminari Jinja, located in Yamato village, is a branch of the Kashima Shrine.

Table 3.2 Thunder shrines in Ibaraki prefecture, 1989

No.	Place	Name of shrine	Kami	Status
1	Mito	Betsurai-kotai	2	V
2	Mito	Suirai-inari	3	N
3	Koga	Raiden	1	N
4	Shimodate	Kaminari	1	V
5	Yuki	Raiden	1	V
6	Yuki	Kaminari	1	N
7	Mitsukaido	Kaminari	1	V
8	Hitachi-ota	Kaminari	1	V
9	Hitachi-ota	Kaminari	1	N
10	Kita-ibaraki	Kaminari	1	N
11	Iwai	Raisui	1	N
12	Tsukuba	Raisui	1	N
13	Tsukuba	Kaminari	1	V
14	Tsukuba	Kanamura-betsurai	1	C
15	Ibaraki	Shinmei-kaminari	3	V
16	Katsura	Kaminari	1	N
17	Kanasago	Betsurai-kotai	3	N
18	Suifu	Kaminari	1	N
19	Hokota	Kaminari	1	N
20	Aso	Kaminari	1	V
21	Niihari	Betsurai	1	N
22	Yawahara	Kaminari	1	V
23	Makabe	Raiden	1	V
24	Yamato	Kaminari	1	V
25	Sowa	Raiden	2	N
26	Sanwa	Kaminari	1	V

1. Betsurai; C: country shrine
2. Other thunder god; V: village shrine
3. Others; N: no status shrine

Data source: The list of religious corporation in Ibaraki prefecture

et al. (1987) showed that the main river basins are often damaged by lightning, which explains the accumulation of thunder shrines in this area. Second, many thunder shrines are located on the natural levees or floodplains of these rivers. This means that an aspect of the thunder religion was a belief in the ruler of water, including rainfall. Thunder seemed to symbolize the God of disaster avoidance, the dragon, and a prayer for rainfall.

Kanamura (Fig. 3.16, No. 14) was built in the year 931 by Masamoto Toyoda, the first lord of the Toyoda family, when he transferred the sacredness of the Kamo Shrine in Kyoto to Kanamura. Kanamura is located on the floodplain formed by Kokai River, 14 m above sea level. This river has no fixed course and floods in heavy rained caused huge damage. A crescent marsh has survived along the river and created an interesting topography. Yet, believers claimed that Kanamura has never been damaged by floods (Kushida 1978).

Local people have worshipped at the shine since its foundation. Kanamura, called *Kanamura-sama* or *rai-sama*, is a famous thunder shrine in the Kanto region,[5] and the catchment area of Kanamura extends across Kanto over the *Ujiko* region. The *Kanamura* faith has several dimensions; for example, prayers for the family's safety, health, and longevity, protection against hailstorms and lightning, and bumper crops (Toyosato Town History Compilation Committee 1985). I think *Kanamura* is a good case study because of its long history and worship by people living in rural areas of Kanto.

3.2.2 Regional Division in the Catchment Area of Kanamura

3.2.2.1 Religious Form of *Kanamura*

(1) The Form of Community Prayer

Prayer is a means to accomplish a purpose, by the grace of a God or some other transcendental being (Miyamoto 1994). There are two categories: community prayer and private prayer. In the *Kanamura* faith, most prayer is offered by visiting or dedicating something at a shrine.

Community prayer is a magical behavior aimed at preventing disaster. All members of the community pray together to *kami* (Miyata 1994). Typical rituals include prayers for rain and wind, other prayers may be offered to prevent disaster, epidemics, or crop damage due to insect pests. All members participate when a certain subject requires community prayer. Thus, the contents of the prayer depend on the common interests of the community. The *ko,* called *kanamura-ko,* is a common form of community prayer.

Though the origin of the *Kanamura* association is not clear, it is supposed to have been organized between 1800 and 1910. There are four types of *Kanamura* associations in a rural community:

1. The *daidai-ko* was an association that offers sacred dances at the spring and autumn festivals.[6] Originally, the association needed to visit *Kanamura* twice a year (spring and autumun), but recently, the visits have become less frequent, and now only a few associations visit once a year. Members took turns to visit *Kanamura*. Delegate visitors were given a large wooden amulet, a medium-sized amulet, and one amulet for each member to protect against insects or disaster. This is the oldest type of *Kanamura* association, and several were organized between 1800 and 1910.

[5] *Kanamura*, Itakura Raiden Shrine, and Betsurai-kotaijin are the three major thunder shrines in the Kanto region.

[6] The spring festival is called 'Okaminari-machi' (waiting for thunder). Believers make cakes of red rice or mugwort rice and visit *Kanamura* in the summer to pray for good rainfall. The old calendar was followed until 1992. The autumn festival of November 23 is thanksgiving for the harvest.

2. The *kinen-ko* prayed for the New Year. This type of association did not visit *Kanamura*, but each member received amulets by mail. Some members of *daidai-ko* switched to *kinen-ko* because the population of farmers has shrunk. In some communities, *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* were organized together, and members committed to visiting or mailing *Kanamura* thrice a year.
3. A *nichigetsunenzan-ko* was an association that visited *Kanamura* daily, monthly, or yearly, although none of today's associations make daily visits. An association called *tsukimairi-ko* visited Kanamura once a month between March and September for seven months. Today, however, some *tsukimairi-ko* only visit *Kanamura* in April and September. Delegate visitors received an amulet that prayed for the community; 95 % of them called at *Kanamura* once a year. Although individual visitation dates varied, visits usually occurred in spring or autumun, particularly in March, April, September, and October. The content of the prayers differed for each association. Delegate visitors were given a box-type amulet or a large amulet made of wood or paper to pray for the community and an amulet to protect against insects or disasters for each member.
4. Three kinds of *haruaki dantai-ko* visited *Kanamura* once a year, mostly in April or November. One shrine group association (*Jinja dantai-ko*), visited *Kanamura* with all members (*somairi-ko*). Some of these organizations were established before 1860 and have a long history. Two other kinds of *haruaki dantai-ko* were founded after the Second World War and were classified by the time of visit: the spring association (*haru-ko*) and the autumn association (*aki-ko*). These *ko* have a system of delegated visits. Several kinds of prayers are made in the *Kanamura* faith, of which the prayer for rain is the most important. An example of prayer for rain was made in the Ozaki district, Yachiyo town, Ibaraki.

   Ozaki district is on diluvial upland, about 25 m above sea level, of lingulate shape running north to south. Iinuma River runs through from east to west, dissecting some branch valleys. In this area, most of the inhabitants were farmers. The basis of faith in *Kanamura* is to pray for rain. *Ko* managers went to *Kanamura* with a bottle made of bamboo, were purified by a Shinto priest, received holy water and an amulet, and returned to the village. While they waited, the village people prepared a ritual meal. As the delegation neared the village, a drum was beat to let the residents know the delegation was arriving. All the villagers assembled at a sacred place, and sprinkled the holy water on cultivated fields and street corners while villagers chanted spells. Once the sprinkling was finished, the men jumped into a local stream and splashed water on each other, praying for rain. This was the climax of the ritual. After that, all the members ate the ritual food before the end of the ritual.

   People believed this ritual affected rainfall. If it rained after the prayer, people said a prayer of thanks to *Kanamura* called *rei-shinjin*. It was a rule to bring some rainwater to *Kanamura* (Yachiyo Town History Compilation Committee 1987). This is a typical example of the *Kanamura* faith. *Kanamura* was diffused and worshipped as a lord of rainfall, although the prayers for rain are no longer offered.

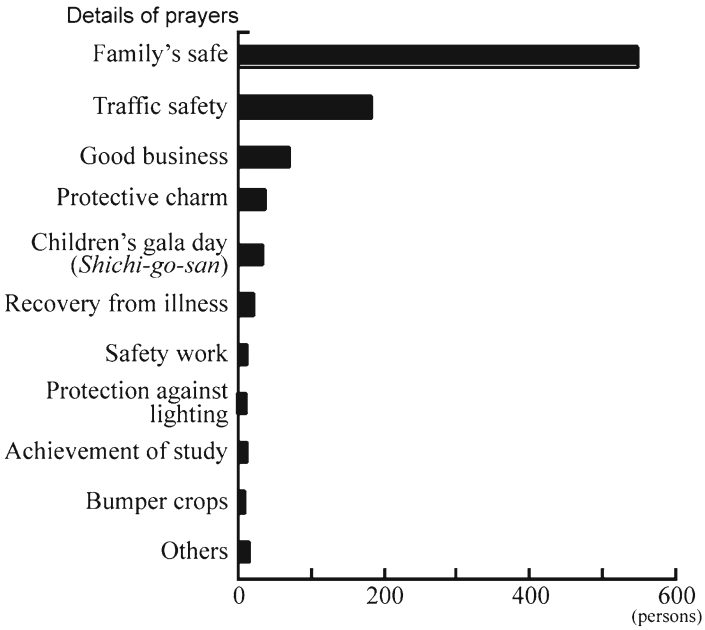

Fig. 3.17 Content of prayers in believers of Kanamura, 1995 (Kanamura office)

I found three other kinds of prayer in the *Kanamura* faith. A prayer for protection against hailstorms and lightning during summer and autumn, which is the harvesting season. Second, a prayer to prevent damage from insects was common to farmers. In the spring festival, farmers bought an amulet and put it at the entrance of the cultivated fields. The amulet was supposed to protect against insect damage during the planting and harvesting seasons. Third, as a prayer to prevent epidemics and protect against disaster, large paper amulets of *Kanamura* are placed at crossings.

(2) The Form of Private Prayer

While communities pray to solve local problems, private prayers may be made for an individual's fortune or healing (Miyata 1994). Private prayers are more varied than community prayers, and include prayers for good business, smooth delivery, and protection against fire or burglars (Miyamoto 1994).

In 1995, I recorded the content of the prayers of 945 *Kanamura* believers (Fig. 3.17).[7] Most (57.9 %) prayers were offered for family safety, followed by traffic safety (19.3 %), good business (7.4 %), and protection against lightning. This last prayer is derived from the origin of the *Kanamura* faith.

[7] A believer is a person for whom a Shinto priest offers a prayer in a hall of worship.

(3) Ujiko Region of *Kanamura*
The *Ujiko* region of *Kanamura* consists of four former villages: Kamigo, Tegomaru, Konomata, and Nobata, divided into 29 districts. One to three persons were chosen as managers in each district. Delegate visitors were selected to dedicate new rice or offer a prayer of gratitude in the autumn festival. Two shrine maidens danced in three festivals, called *chigomai*. Both shrine maidens were picked from Raijin, the main district of the *Ujiko*. Raijin was a former shrine town (before the 1960s) situated on the bank of Kokai River. However, when Raijin was relocated because of a river improvement project, the economic connection between its residents and *Kanamura* disappeared.

3.2.2.2 Regional Division in the Catchment Area of *Kanamura*

(1) The Distribution of *Kanamura* Associations
I plotted the distribution of *kinen-ko* in 1949 (Fig. 3.18) to indicate the catchment area of *Kanamura*. *Kinen-ko* was found in six prefectures, including central Tokyo, and was organized in 218 communities. Around 96 % of all the associations in the catchment area were found in three prefectures: 81 in Chiba, 73 in Ibaraki, and 56 in Saitama. The core area of *kinen-ko* was the northwest of Chiba and the southeast of Saitama. In contrast, there were few associations in north *Kanamura*. The farthest association was in Koriyama City in Fukushima Prefecture. Thus, the catchment area of *Kanamura* stretched to 150 km from the shrine.

The major concentrations of associations in cities, towns, and villages were Miwanoe village (now in Yoshikawa City), Saitama, 11; Tomisato village, Chiba, 9; Nanafuku village (now in Noda), Chiba, 8; and Osagami village (now in Koshigaya), Saitama, 8; Towa village (now in Misato), Saitama 7; Kamagaya village (now in Kamagaya City) Chiba 7 (Fig. 3.18). Most *kinen- ko* were in the villages on northeast Shimousa upland or the Nakagawa lowland, about 20–40 km from *Kanamura*.

Many pioneer villages were developed in northeast Shimousa upland after 1910. Some of these have *Kanamura* associations. For example, Hatsutomi district in Kamagaya village was reclaimed from Koganenakano field in 1869, and an Inari shrine was founded to pray for bumper crops in 1873. There were some reports about poor crops because of a failure in cultivation or unseasonable weather. In Hatsutomi district, many *ko* were organized to visit famous shrines and temples, such as a Fuji association for the Fujisengen Shrine; Furumine, for the Furumine Shrine; Mitsumine, for the Mitsumine Shrine; Narita, for the Shinshoji Temple; and Onabake, for the Onabake Shrine. Moreover, various annual events were held (Kamagaya Local History Center 1993). Other *ko* were founded in the villages of Toyoshiki and Toyofuta (now in Kashiwa City), located on land reclaimed from Kogane-field. Harvests were poor because of crop failure or bad land conditions, and farmers in these pioneer villages formed *ko* to pray for bumper crops; *Kanamura* was worshipped as the lord of rainfall.

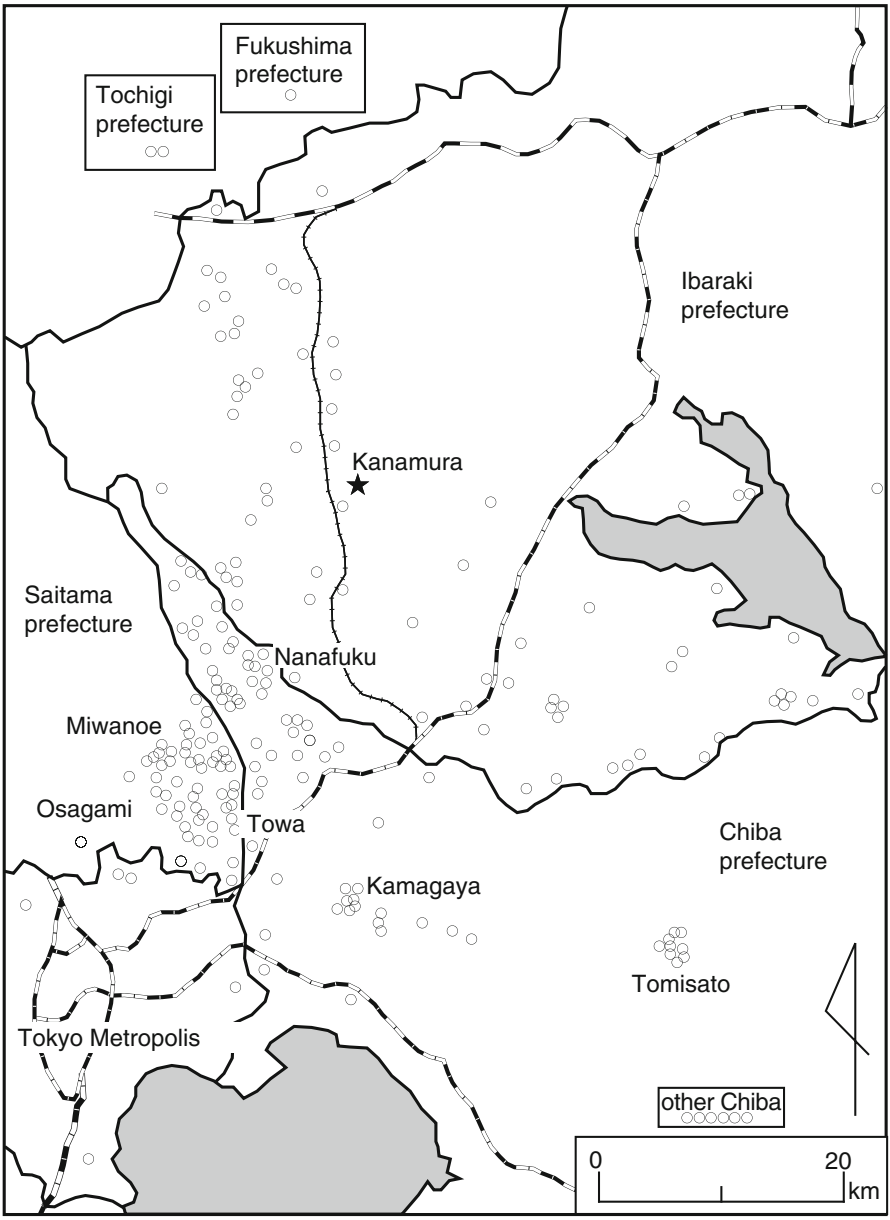

Fig. 3.18 Distribution of Kinen-Ko, 1949 (The list of dedication for repairing the shrine roof)

I found 320 *Kanamura* associations distributed across four prefectures (Ibaraki, Chiba, Saitama, and Tokyo) in 1985 (Fig. 3.19). Ibaraki had 221 (69 %); Chiba, 58 (18 %); and Saitama, 38 (11.9 %). Numerous associations

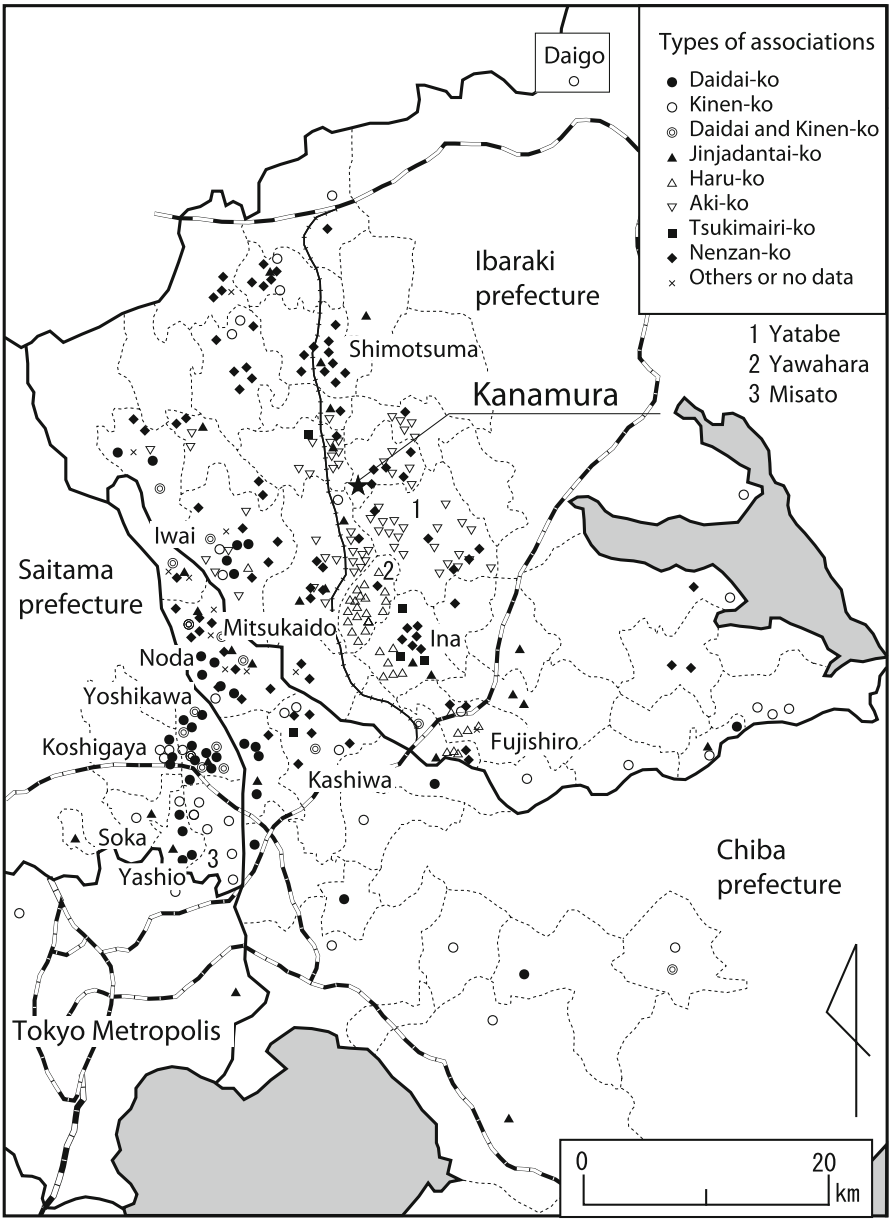

Fig. 3.19 Distribution of Kanamura associations, 1985 (Kanamura office)

were clustered in cities, towns, and villages such as Noda in Chiba and Yatabe town (now Tsukuba) in Ibaraki (26 each); Mitsukaido in Ibaraki, 24; and Yawahara village in Ibaraki, 20.

Most *Kanamura* association were 124 *dantai-ko* (35.8 %) type; 104 *nichigetsunenzan-ko* (30 %), 63 *kinen- ko* (18.2 %), and 54 *daidai-ko* (15.6 %). More than 90 % percent of *dantai-ko,* all *haru-ko* and all *aki-ko* were in Ibaraki, near *Kanamura*.[8] Yawahara village, and Ina and Fujishiro towns, located on the lower reaches of Kokai River, were the core area of *haru-ko*. Yatabe town and Mitsukaido, located near *Kanamura*, were the core area of *aki-ko*. The core areas of *daidai- ko* and *kinen- ko* extend southeast of Saitama to north of Chiba. More than 90 % of the associations in Saitama were either *daidai-ko* or *kinen-ko*. In particular, Yoshikawa town (now Yoshikawa), Koshigaya, Yashio City, and Misato, located in the lower Naka River, comprised the core area of the two associations. In areas more than 30 km from *Kanamura*, *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* were concentrated in Chiba and Ibaraki. The core area of *nichigetsunenzan-ko* was within 20 km of *Kanamura*; none were in Saitama. Many associations were in Shimotsuma, Mitsukaido, Iwai cities, Toyosato (now in Tsukuba), Yatabe in Ibaraki, and Noda and Kashiwa in Chiba.

The distribution of *nichigetsunenzan-ko* is related to the origin of the *ko,* which was to pray for rain. Before the Second World War, when irrigation was undeveloped, the villages on diluvial upland did not have enough water for cultivation. *Nichigetsunenzan-ko* were organized to pray for rainfall. The prayer ritual was completed by village managers who went to *Kanamura* and had a Shinto priest pray for rain. The managers returned to their village bringing holy water, and all villagers prayed for rain together. Since most people traveled on foot or by bicycle, *nichigetsunenzan-ko* were no more than half a day from *Kanamura* on foot, had the smallest distribution of *ko,* and were located in the northern part of *Kanamura*.

Ten years later, in 1995, I plotted *Kanamura* associations in four prefectures: Ibaraki, Chiba, Saitama, and Tokyo (Fig. 3.20). Ibaraki had 175 (68.9 %); Chiba, 50 (19.7 %); and Saitama, 28 (11.0 %). The number of *Kanamura* associations had decreased each year, and the greatest decrease was in the urbanized regions in Chiba and Saitama. The 254 *Kanamura* associations in 1995 are the subject of the next section.

It appears that the distribution of *Kanamura* associations was dense in the south and west, 10–30 km from *Kanamura* (Fig. 3.20). No association existed more than 50 km from the shrine, the outermost region of the distribution.[9] For three reasons, few associations existed in the north part of *Kanamura*. First, the Yamizo-Agakuni mountain range hinders north–south travel.[10] Second, there is competition between the Itakura Thunder Shrine and *Wakeikazuchi kotaijin,*

[8]The timing of the visits to *Kanamura* by the *Haru-ko* and *Aki-ko,* was determined by *Kanamura*.

[9]In 1995, the association furthest from *Kanamura* was in Daigo town in Ibaraki. This was a *Kinen-ko,* but only one person now receives an amulet from a *Kanamura* priest.

[10]The prayer for rain requires managers to bring holy water to their village, which is why transportation is so important in the *Kanamura* faith.

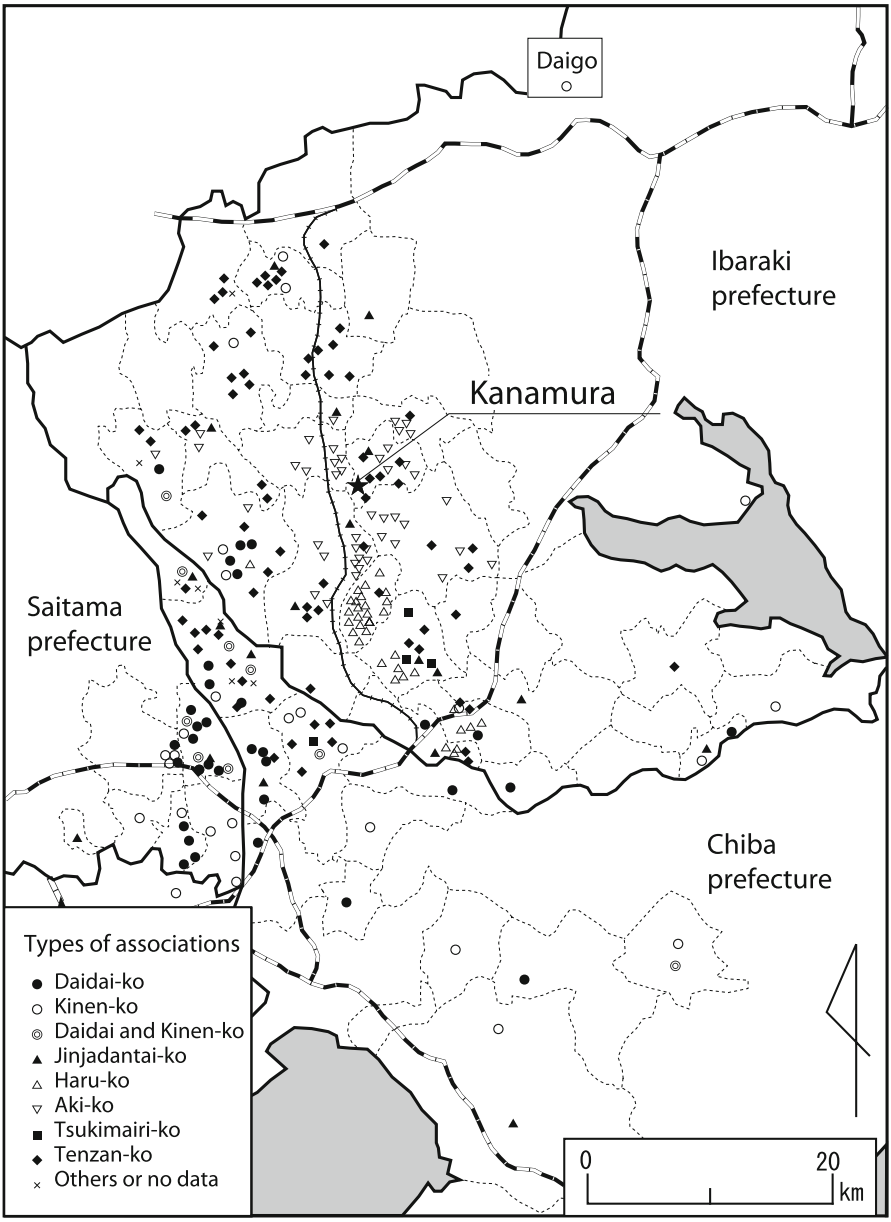

Fig. 3.20 Distribution of Kanamura associations, 1995 (Kanamura office)

which have similar divine favor. Third, many Itakura associations and fewer *Kanamura* associations existed from Koga City in western Ibaraki to Kasukage in eastern Saitama.

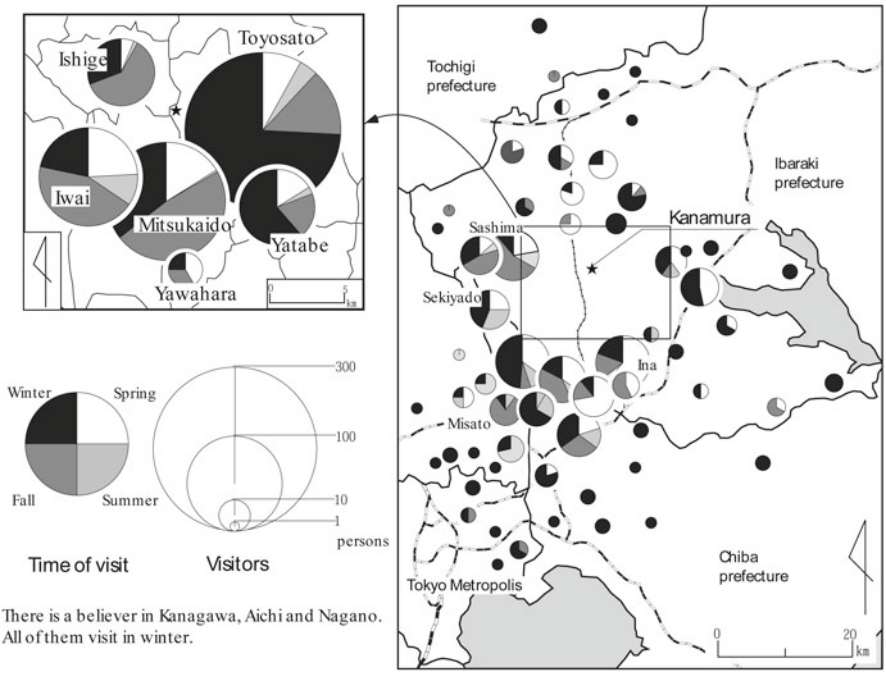

Fig. 3.21 Distribution of prayers to Kanamura, 1995 (Kanamura office)

(2) The Distribution of Believers

Kanamura worshipers, (including those from corporations) are shown in Fig. 3.21.[11] In 1995, there were 1,031 believers in seven prefectures (Ibaraki, Chiba, Saitama, Tokyo, Tochigi, Kanagawa, Aichi, and Nagano); 878 or 85.2 % lived in Ibaraki. Most lived in the Toyosato district in Tsukuba (273) of whom more than two-thirds (182 persons) lived in the *Ujiko* region, followed by Mitsukaido (155), Iwai (107) and Yatabe district in Tsukuba (62). The number of believers decreased further from the shrine and the distribution was wider than that of *ko*. The core distribution area of the *Kanamura-ko* was 10–30 km from *Kanamura*. However, most believers lived in neighboring areas where the core was in *Ujiko*, so the distribution of believers differed from that of the associations. For example, only a few believers lived in the *Kanamura-ko* core areas, 20 in Noda in Chiba and 21 in Yawahara village in Ibaraki.

Most believers visited *Kanamura* in winter (December to February 495 persons (48 %) in 1995) because the Japanese custom *Hatsumode* means a person's first visit to shrines should be made during the New Year. Thus, 348 persons visited *Kanamura* to pray on New Year's Day, a day that contributes to prosperity in January. Most of the believers from the Toyosato and Yatabe

[11]The definition of prayer is to request a *Kanamura* priest to pray. The *Kanamura* priest prayed for something for worshipers.

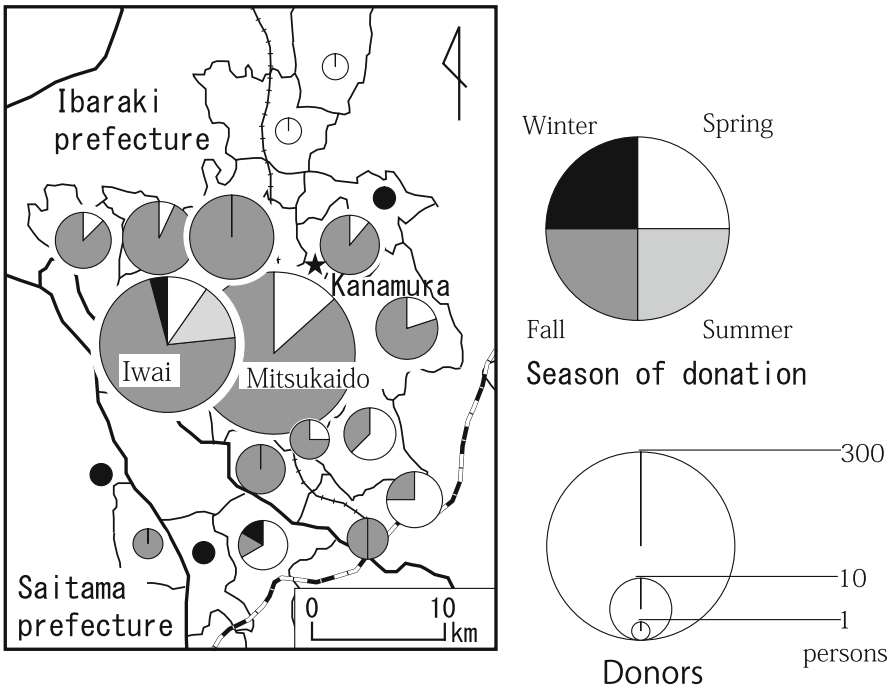

Fig. 3.22 Distribution of donors of crops, 1995 (Kanamura office)

districts in Tsukuba, including the *Ujiko* region, Kanagawa Prefecture, Central Tokyo, and Tochigi (located in the nearest or outer zone of the *Kanamura* catchment area) visited in winter.

The next most popular visiting period was autumn (September to November; 279 visitors, 27 %) followed by spring (March to May; 196, 19 %), and summer (June to August; 61 5.8 %). Many believers who visited *Kanamura* in the autumn lived in the vicinity. For example, 74 came from Mitsukaido; 47, from Iwai; 38, from Toyosato district in Tsukuba, and 38, from Ishige town. The largest number of believers who visited in spring (26) came from Iwai, followed by 25 from Mitsukaido, 22 from Toyosato district in Tsukuba, and 19 from Ina town. Believers who went to *Kanamura* in spring or autumn usually timed their visit for the festival. Some believers went to *Kanamura* as delegated visitors of *daidai-ko* or *dantai-ko*. Judging by the content of the prayers, summer believers sought protection from lightning, although fewer people visited in this season. Believers were distributed on the fringe of the catchment area, such as in Misato, Sekiyado town, and Sashima town.

Figure 3.22 shows the distribution of crop donors.[12] Crop donations express prayer for bumper crops or for gratitude. Most donations were polished rice; other gifts included turnips, bamboo shoots, or eggs, because people believe the *kami* of *Kanamura* favors bamboo shoots and eggs. There were 232 persons

[12]The definition of donors refers to people who donate crops, excluding those who give sake.

who donated crops to *Kanamura*, and about three-fourths of them (173) visited the shrine in autumn to donate. More than 95 % of the donors were from Ibaraki, particularly Mitsukaido and Iwai cities, where about 43.5 % lived. However, only nine donors lived in Toyosato district in Tsukuba, although many believers lived there; people in the *Ujiko* region were already obliged to pay a membership fee or donate polished rice in the autumn festival, so that they no longer needed to donate crops to pray for gratitude.

(3) The Regional Division of the Catchment Area of *Kanamura*
I divided the catchment area of *Kanamura* into two regions, based on the distribution of associations and believers (Fig. 3.23). The first area is in Ibaraki, an oval with a major axis 50 km long and a minor axis 20 km extending from west to south and including Yuki, Yachiyo town, Chiyokawa village, Ishige town, Mitsukaido, Toyosato and Yatabe districts in Tsukuba, Ina town, Yawahara town, Fujishiro town, and Toride City. The area had two spatial characteristics: the presence of many *dantai-ko,* especially *haru-ko, aki-ko,* and *nichigetsunenzan-ko,* and included more than 80 % of believers. Previous studies have commented on the rise of the young generation and its combination with the communities on Mt. Dewa-sanzan, the characteristic of the water God in Mt. Togakushi, and the characteristic of the harvest God in *Kasama Inari*.

The second area, outside the first, extended mostly south, and included southwest Iwai and Sakai towns, (in western Ibaraki), Kawauchi, Azuma, and Edosaki (in southeastern Ibaraki), southeastern Saitama, and northwestern Chiba. Two spatial characteristics were observed: most of the *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* were in this area although few believers lived here. Incidentally, although many delegated visitors prayed for private wishes, and they were counted as believers. The second area can be considered the principal concentration of *daisan-ko,* which previous studies have regarded as an important spatial characteristic (Iwahana 1983a; Matsui 1995). Although this does not contradict the *Kanamura* faith, I cannot define a third area that had *somairi-ko,* established branch shrines, and low *Ko* density (Iwahana 1983a; Matsui 1995). *Kanamura* does not have a branch shrine system, so *somairi-ko* was located in the second area and I cannot define a third *Kanamura* area.

In the following sections, I will discuss two representative districts: Toyosato district in Tsukuba from the first area and Yoshikawa from the second area. Many *Kanamura* believers lived in the Toyosato district, and belonged to *nichigetsunenzan-ko* and *dantai-ko*. In contrast, *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* have been organized in Yoshikawa district since the latter part of the nineteenth century.

3.2.3 Spatial Characteristics of the First Area: Case Study of the Toyosato District in Tsukuba City

Toyosato district lies in the western part of Tsukuba (Fig. 3.24) on a flat plateau about 25–30 m above sea level. The Higashiyata and Nishiyata rivers flow north to

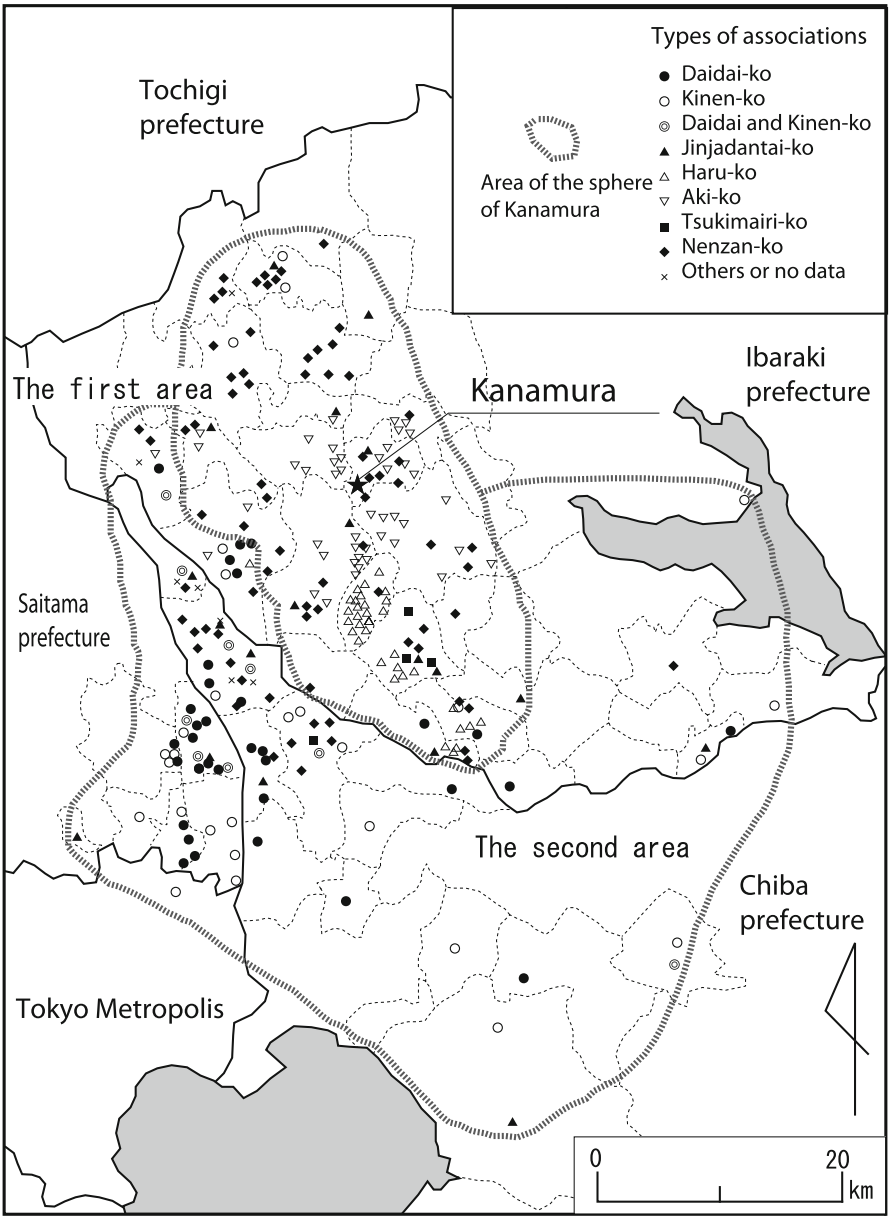

Fig. 3.23 Regional division of the catchment area of Kanamura, 1995

south though the district, and paddy fields are cultivated in the basins of both rivers. The Kokai River runs north to south along the edge of the district. Volcanic ashes cover the plateau, which is dominated by forests and fields. The main district in Kanamura, Kamigo, had 339 homes and 1,662 residents in 1724 (Takeuchi 1991).

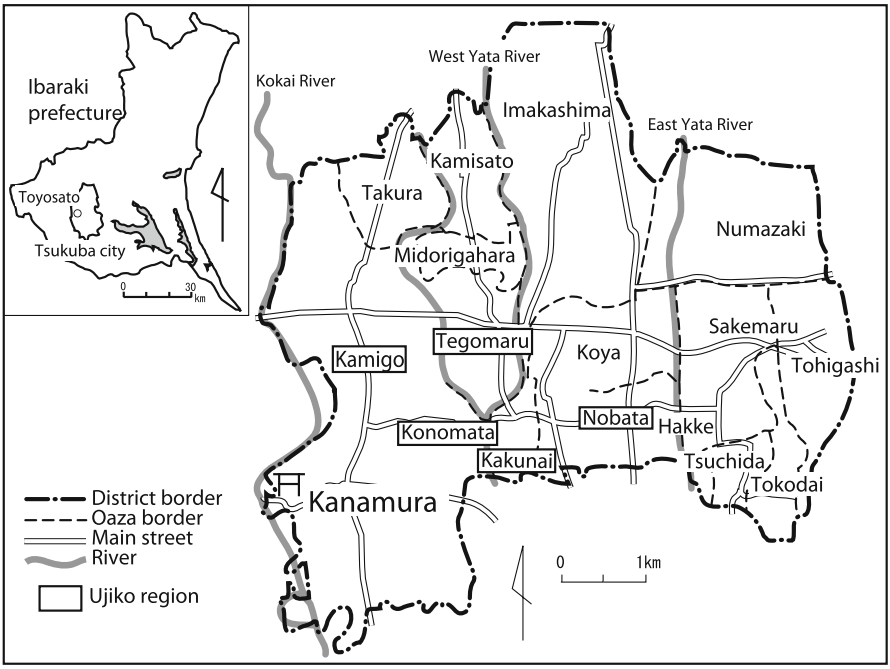

Fig. 3.24 General view of the Toyosato district, Tsukuba City, 1995

3.2.3.1 Spatial Characteristics of the *Kanamura* Faith in the Toyosato District

(1) The Spatial Characteristics of the *Kanamura* Faith, 1930–1940
Table 3.3 shows a record of prayers for rain in 1931 and 1932 in Toyosato district. In those days, the village and district heads prayed to *Kanamura* for rain if there was little rainfall in July and August. The data on the records include the name of the village, its head, and the district; cultivated fields damaged by dry weather; total homes; and the distance and direction from Kanamura. Delegate visitors brought prayers to Kanamura with their stamps and asked a *Kanamura* priest to pray for rain. The priest then gave them holy water drawn from a well at Kanamura and in a bamboo bottle. The visitors took the holy water back to their village as soon as possible, and the villagers put the holy water in a sacred space, such as a tutelary shrine, chanted Shinto prayers, and offered sacred sake and food. Some holy water mixed with normal water was handed to each villager and sprinkled on the cultivated fields. Custom dictated that the bottle for holy water was returned to *Kanamura* within a week. There were taboos regarding the prayer for rain. For example, women were not allowed to get close to the sacred space, and people were not allowed to talk, or eat eggs or bamboo shoots. Judging by the existence of these taboos, it is clear that the prayer for rain was common.

Table 3.3 Record of prayer for rain in Toyosato district, 1931–1932

Year	Day of visit	Region	Name of community	Money	Visitors	Day of returning
Unit: Yen, Persons						
1931	August 7	Kamigo	Kamishuku	100	–	August 13
	August 9	Tohigashi	Tohigashi	150	5	August 9
	August 9	Tegomaru	Tegomaru	150	2	August 17
	August 10	Kamigo	Kanamura	50	4	August 11
	August 11	Koya	Koya	150	2	August 12
	August 11	Sakemaru	Sakemaru	150	1	September 18
	August 11	Kamigo	Oshuku	100	–	August 17
	August 11	Kamigo	Kakunai	100	2	August 12
1932	July 16	Kamigo	Osyuku, Kamisyuku, Yoko-machi	500	2	July 22
	July 21	Kamigo	Hon-kanamura	150	6	July 27
	July 23	Kamigo	Kakunai	150	3	July 28
	July 23	Imakashima	Gotomaki	150	8	July 28
	July 24	Koya	Koya	150	–	July 28
	July 24	Kamigo	Oyama	100	–	July 24
	July 24	Imakashima	Imakashima	150	2	July 26
	July 25	Kamigo	Kamiyamori	150	3	July 27
	July 25	Hakke	Hakke	150	2	July 29
	July 26	Imakashima	Ikehata	150	5	July 27
	July 26	Imakashima	Kaihata	150	1	July 27
	July 26	Imakashima	Inarimae	150	2	July 28
	July 26	Kamigo	Gonjo, Gonge, Nishihara, Daishuku	900	1	July 27

–: No data or not clear
Data source: Kanamura office

People living in Imakashima district were said to have suffered greatly from the heavy damage wrought by drought. The following ritual for rain was done to counteract the drought. A washtub full of holy water was put in front of an open space in the community center. All young men wore loincloths, gathered around the washtub, and danced while chanting. They beat drums loudly and prayed for rain while splashing water on each other. In the northern Imakashima district, all young men, wearing loincloths, assembled in an open space in front of a temple dedicated to Kannon. A washtub full of holy water was put there. The young went to Mt. Tsukuba Shrine, adults went to Kanamura, and the old went to a tutelary shrine to receive holy water. They poured the water into a washtub and chanted Shinto prayers, accompanied by a musical band. All the men splashed water on each other, and the ritual was repeated until it rained. I conclude that before the Second World War, people living in Toyosato district prayed to *Kanamura* for rain in times of drought. All village residents were asked to take part in the ritual, implying *Kanamura* was worshipped as the subject of common prayer.

In 1931, 287 believers lived in Toyosato district, and the core area was in Kamigo district (Fig. 3.25). Around 76 % of the prayers (from 218 persons) were for the safety of soldiers and 20 % (58 persons) for family safety.

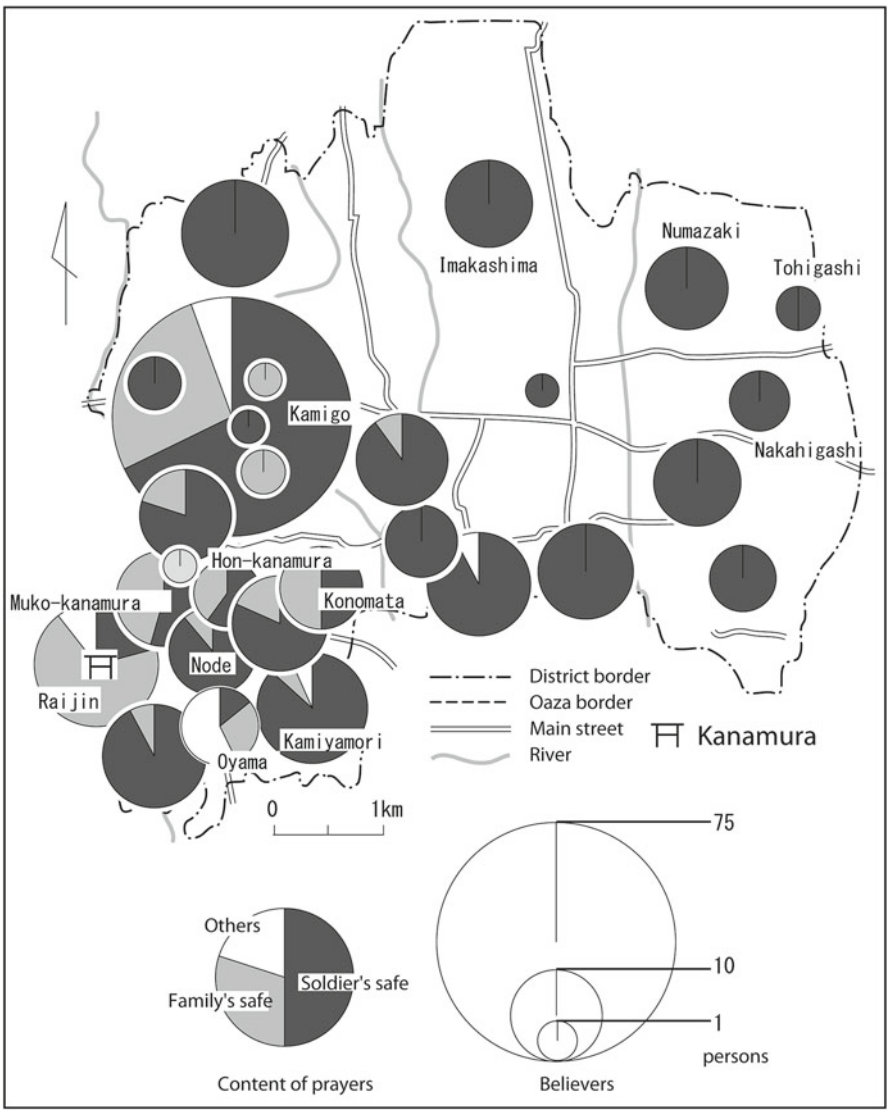

Fig. 3.25 Distribution of believers in the Toyosato district, 1931 (Kanamura office)

There were a few other types of prayers. The Manchurian Incident occurred in 1931, and many prayers for soldiers' safety or victory were offered at Japanese shrines, presumably at local or tutelary shrines. I suggest that *Kanamura* was worshipped as a local shrine in the Toyosato district.

Community prayers for rain were offered by the entire village, while prayers for a soldier's safety or a victory were offered in private. This shows that *Kanamura* was worshipped as a branch shrine that ruled rainfall and as a local shrine in Toyosato district.

(2) The Spatial Characteristics of the *Kanamura* Faith in 1995
In 1995, half of the *Kanamura* associations in Toyosato district were *dantai-ko* and half were *nichigetsunenzan-ko* (Table 3.4). Of the *Kanamura* associations in Toyosato district, most were territorial relation groups in principle. In this section, I consider three points: period of organization, managers, and religious forms.

Many associations of *daidai-ko* were organized after 1940, except in Kamisato district, which was organized in 1991. The founding period for *nichigetsunenzan-ko* in most of the districts is unclear, but I assume many associations were organized before 1940 because two, the Kamigo central youth club and Oyama district, were established in 1931. Organizations were founded after 1940 for three reasons. First, the organization of *ko* was encouraged by persons who were connected with *Kanamura*. *Dantai-ko* were encouraged by the people who lived in Raijin district, which was a shrine town. Business people wished to boost commerce by attracting more visitors, so invitations to visit the shrine were mailed. Although *Kanamura* priests were not directly connected with the associations, they were given 30 % of the income as a reward. In the 1930s, this type of association was called *kangiku dantai-ko*. One reason to visit Kanamura was to admire the chrysanthemums as a form of recreation. The name of this type of association was changed during wartime. Although most of the records of *dantai-ko* were scattered and lost, an association of the Imakashima-Kaihata and Koya districts was organized by the people living in Raijin district.

In contrast, Kamisato district differed. A Shinto priest of a tutelary shrine in the district died in 1990, and the chief priest of Kanamura held a festival at the shrine afterwards. The managers of *ko* in Kamisato district organized a *dantai-ko* to visit Kanamura in 1991 to thank the chief priest. There was a *ko* with a delegate system to Osugi Shrine in Sakuragawa village in Ibaraki before the Second World War. In those days, the five districts in northern Imakashima were united under one *ko*. Delegate visits to the Osugi Shrine were stopped during the war, and after the war, people wanted to revive the *ko*. Accordingly, people living in Kamishuku district began to visit Kanamura instead of Osugi Shrine. The cases of Oyama and Kakunai districts are similar in that prayers for rain were offered in Kanamura before the war.

The *ko* managers could be appointed by different systems of election. The hereditary system of managers of *Kanamura* associations in Toyosato district was not followed. Although many fixed-term members may be in charge for a long time, the managers in Kanamura associations in nine of eleven groups in Toyosato were changed annually or biennially. One attribute of managers was that a representative of the *Ujiko* organization of the tutelary shrine or the head of the district was in overall charge. This means that a *Kanamura* association can unite with other religious or neighborhood associations managed by other persons. Since the *Kanamura* association was not an independent organization, it was natural that the managers changed every year or so because their term depended on other organizations.

Next, I describe the timing of shrine visits, delegate visitors, and rites. Delegate visits of *dantai-ko* were made in autumn, and those of *nichigetsunenzan-ko,* in January. The timing of *dantai-ko* visits was determined by Kanamura, so the

Table 3.4 Religious forms of Kanamura association in Toyosato district, Tsukuba City, 1995

Categories	No.	Name of district	Year of foundation	Range	Number of households	Number of managers	Attribute	Term	Way of visit	Number of visitors	Decision of visitors	Rite	Amulets
	1	Koya	1940s	District	62	3	–	1 year	FD	3	Fixed to manager	No	M
	2	Tohigashi	1940s	District	50	1 inherited	–	No term	FD	1	Fixed to manager	No	M
Dantai-ko	3	Nakahigashi	–	District	43	3	RU	1 year	FD	3	Fixed to manager	No	M
	4	Kamisato	1991	District	106	6	RU	6 years	FD	6	Fixed to manager	No	M
	5	Imakashima-kaihata	1940s	Community	85	1	RU	2 years	FD	1	Fixed to manager	No	M
	6	Imakashima-tsubakimoto	1940s	Community	39	1	HD	2 years	FD	1	Fixed to manager	No	M
	7	Imakashima-Kamisyuku	1940s	Community	48	2	RU	1 year	ND	2	Fixed to manager	No	L
Nenzan-ko	8	Kakunai	–	Community	39	1	RU	1 year	ND	1	Fixed to manager	No	L
	9	Konomata	–	District	38	3 inherited	–	No term	ND&FD	1 or 2	Fixed to manager	No	M&L
	10	Yoko-machi	–	Community	46	1	HD	2 years	ND	1	Fixed to manager	No	L
	11	Oyama	–	Community	40	7	HD	1 or 2 years	ND	7	Fixed to manager	No	M

RU: representative of ujiko organization, FD: delegate visit in fall, M: amulets of middle sized for dedicating to a household altar, HD: head of district, ND: delegate visit in January, L: amulets of large sized for *tsujifuda*

–: No data or not clear

There is another association in Toyosato

Data source: The author's field survey

frequency of delegate visits to Kanamura was less than that of Yoshikawa district. Managers went to Kanamura as delegate visitors once a year, a clear indication that delegate visitors were not determined in rotation but were fixed by managers. It is remarkable that a rotation system of delegate visitors was not adopted by the *Kanamura* association in Toyosato district, which thus differs from other *ko*. The association has no religious rites, such as drawing lots or a meal with *kami*, and this means that the association does not function as an independent *ko*.

Of the two types of *Kanamura* associations organized in Toyosato district, *nichigetsunenzan-ko* originated from the prayer for rain, and *dantai-ko* were founded after 1940 by people living in a shrine town to encourage visits. The organization of the *ko* was united with other religious or neighborhood associations, and the *ko* was headed by the manager of another organization. Accordingly, the *ko* were not independent because no religious events were performed and the frequency of visits to the shrine was low.

In fiscal year 1995, 261 believers lived in Toyosato district (Fig. 3.26). Only persons whose addresses were verified at the time of the visit were included. Most (183, 70.1 %) lived in Kamigo district, a part of *Ujiko* region. Believers were clustered in Raijin, Hon-Kanamura, and Muko-Kanamura, close to Kanamura; and Oshuku and Kamishuku in central Kamigo district. In 1995, over three-fourths (75.6 %) of believers visited Kanamura in January, whereas in 1931, visits were spread over the entire year. In 1931, more than 75 % of the prayers were for soldiers' safety, but in 1995, most prayers were for family safety, and most were offered in January (see Fig. 3.17).

In 1996, 227 out of 3,135 households (7.2 %) in Toyosato district had members who were believers. We can see the large difference between *Ujiko* region and the other regions. In *Ujiko*, 166 out of 1,229 households (13.5 %) had members who were believers; other regions only had 61 out of 1,906 (3.2 %). However, the proportion of believers varied within the *Ujiko* region. In Kamigo district, where Kanamura was founded, 16.1 % of households had believers. In contrast, there were only two believers in Konomata, four in Tegomaru, and none in Nobata. The combined total of these three districts was a mere 2.5 % of the regional total. Even if these districts were parts of *Ujiko* region, they were other villages before 1889, so their religious consciousness of *Kanamura* was different from that of Kamigo. At district level, Raijin, which was once a shrine town, had a huge 67.7 %, followed by Node, Muko-Kanamura, and Hon-Kanamura in the second group (Table 3.5).

3.2.3.2 An Aspect of the *Kanamura* Faith in the Konomata District

Konomata district in the southwest of Toyosato district (see Fig. 3.24) is on flat ground about 20 m above sea level. The Nishiyata River flows in a north-south direction to the east, and paddy fields are cultivated in the river basin. The Konomata district was the fief of the Toyota family from the twelfth century to 1603, when the land became the fief of the Sugaya family. When the Sugaya family moved in 1698, the land was a shogunal demesne (Toyosato Town History Compilation Committee 1985).

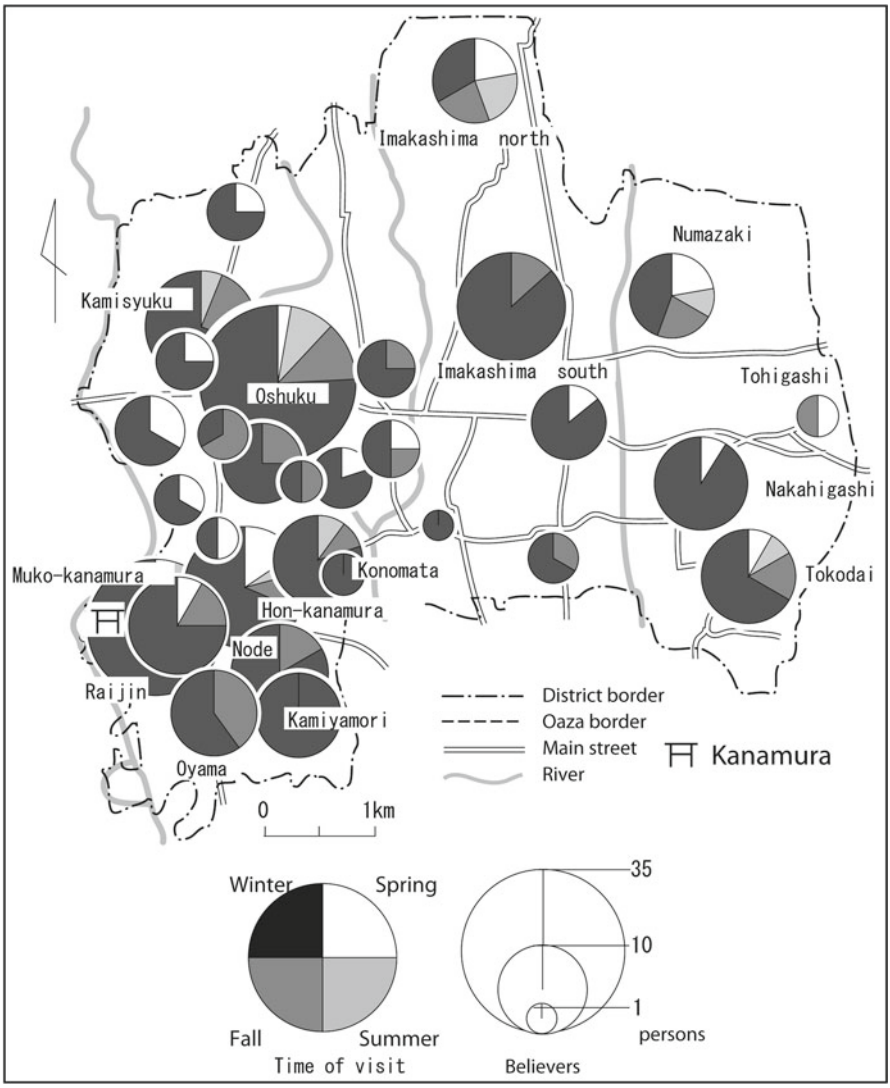

Fig. 3.26 Distribution of believers in the Toyosato district, 1995 (Kanamura office) Sakemaru and Numazaki are summed up by oaza, because of limited data. Imakashika south: Kamishuku, Gotomaki, Shimosyuku, Ikehata and Teramachi. Imakashika north: Imashinden, Kaihata, Tsubakimoto, Inarimae

Toyosato has two main streets, one running north-south and the other east-west. Konomata district adjoins Kamigo district in the west. Houses line the two main streets from the center to the south as a street village. There are still flatland forests to the north, but these are being felled and new houses are being built. Vegetables, turf, and peanuts are cultivated in dry fields. The Konomata population was 166 (38 households) in 1995.

Table 3.5 Proportion of believers per all households by districts in Toyosato, Tsukuba City, 1995

Name of district	Name of community	Number of all	Number of believers	Ratio (%)
Unit: household				
Kamigo	Raijin	31	21	68
Kamigo	Node	23	12	52
Kamigo	Muko-kanamura	33	12	36
Kamigo	Kamisyuku	48	13	27
Kamigo	Hon-kanamura	73	18	25
Kamigo	Oyama	41	9	22
Kamigo	Shinsyuku	19	4	21
Kamigo	Gonge	40	8	20
Kamigo	Dokaku	73	10	14
Kamigo	Osyuku	213	29	14
Kamigo	Yoko-machi	46	5	11
Kamigo	Kamigo	43	4	9.3
Kamigo	Gonjo	38	3	7.9
Kamigo	Nishihara	31	2	6.5
Sakemaru	Sakemaru	141	9	6.4
Kamigo	Kamiyamori	86	5	5.8
Kamigo	Asahi-machi	35	2	5.7
Konomata	Konomata	38	2	5.3
Koya	Koya	117	5	4.3
Imakashima	Imakashima-S	321	13	4
Numazaki	Numazaki	209	8	3.8
Yoshinuma	Takura	108	4	3.7
Tokodai	Tokodai	277	10	3.6
Hakke	Hakke	89	3	3.4
Kamigo	Daisyuku	60	2	3.3
Tohigashi	Tohigashi	71	2	2.8
Imakashima	Imakashima-N	263	7	2.7
Tegomaru	Tegomaru	158	4	2.5
Kamigo	Kakunai	40	1	2.5
Nobata	Nobata	40	0	0
Kamigo	Shide	20	0	0

Imakashika-S: Kamishuku, Gotomaki, Shimosyuku, Ikehata and Teramachi
Imakashika-N: Imashinden, Kaihata, Tsubakimoto and Inarimae
Data source: Kanamura office

(1) Religious Landscape

Here, I analyze the religious landscapes of the *Kanamura* faith in Konomata district (Fig. 3.27). The tutelary Akagi Shrine was worshipped in the flatland forests along the south side of the east-west main street. The Akagi Shrine was founded in about 1780. There are seven small shrines made of stone in the precincts of Akagi Shrine, worshipped inside a Torii that was a Shinto shrine archway. A stone monument of the *Batokannon* and stone statues of *Yakushi nyorai* and *Jizo-son,* which are worshipped by the community, stand along the north-south main street. A stone statue of *Yakushi nyorai*, who is believed to cure

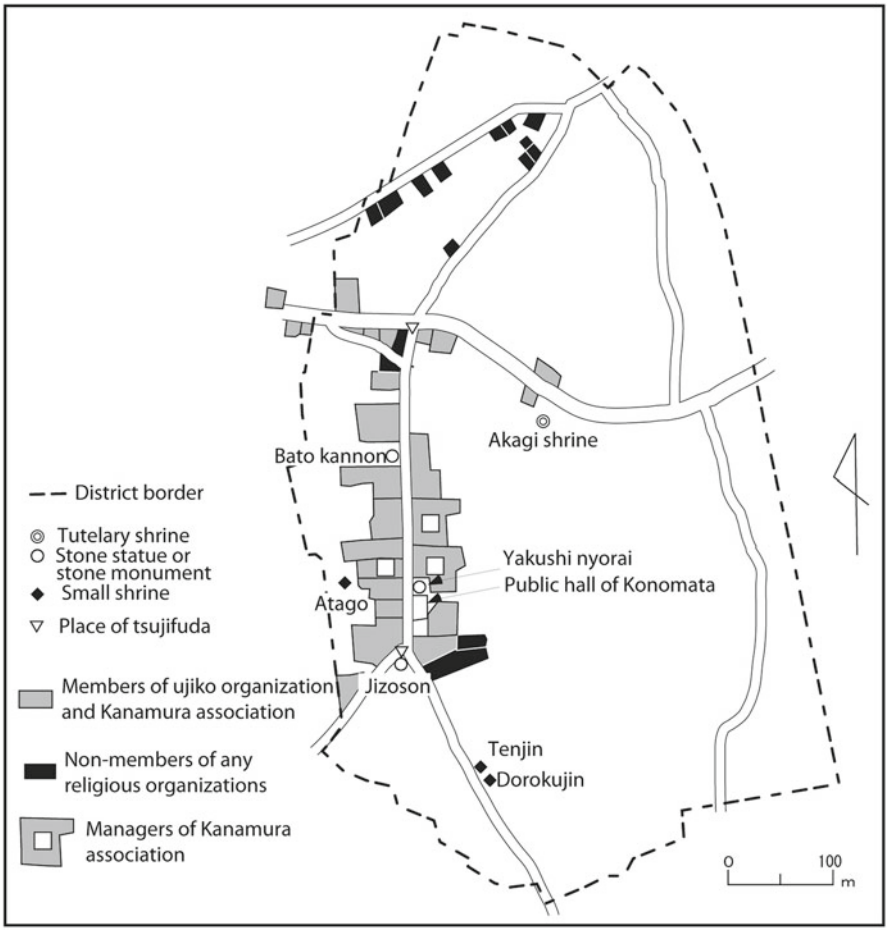

Fig. 3.27 Religious landscapes in the Konomata district, Tsukuba City, 1995 (The author's field survey in September, 1995)

disease, is called *Yakushi-sama*. Similarly, a stone statue of *Jizo-son*, who is believed to help ensure a smooth delivery during birth, was called *Jizo-sama*. Pregnant women visited the statue daily. The place where *Yakushi nyorai* was worshipped is now used as a community center. The site was a temple until 1868, when the anti-Buddhist movement in Japan destroyed many Buddhist temples.

In January, a large amulet called *tsujifuda* was positioned at both crossroads, in a religious rite called *Michikiri*. People set up the amulet to pray to prevent outside disasters. There are other small shrines in the south called Tenjin, Atago, and Dorokujin that are the *kami* of some pioneer families in Konomata district.

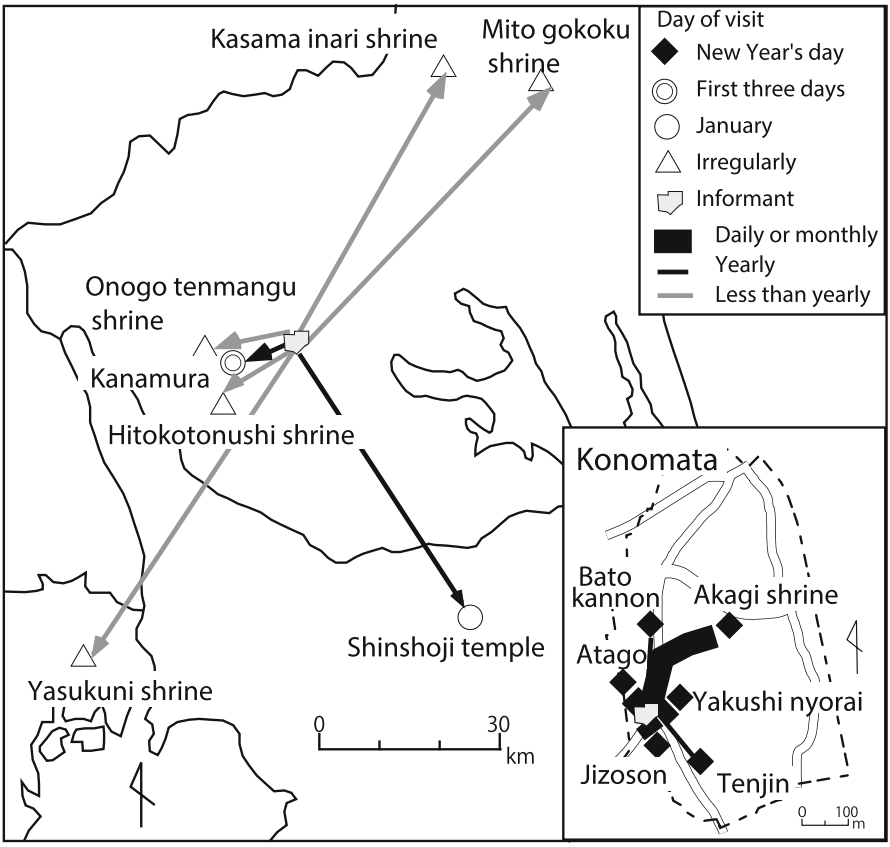

Fig. 3.28 Religious behavior of Mr. and Mrs. T in the Konomata district, Tsukuba City, 1996 (The author's field survey in September, 1996)

(2) *Ko* Religious Association

In 1995, there were two *ko* in Konomata district: one was organized for the Akagi Shrine and the other for Kanamura (Fig. 3.28). The managers of the *Kanamura* association lived near the community center. Their family name was T, and they are descended from a pioneer family of the district. Nineteen other households shared the family name T and most claim they originated from the three pioneer families.

The district had 41 households, and 26 belonged to the *ko* of Akagi Shrine; three of them lived in Dokaku district to the east. All were branches of a family in Konomata district. Twenty of the households carry the family name of T. Since Akagi shrine was originally the T family shrine, all members in Konomata district could join the Akagi *ko*. Fifteen of the 41 households were not part of the organization; 11 were newcomers living in the northern part where flatland

Table 3.6 Roles of Toke in the Konomata district, Tsukuba City, 1995

Term	1 year	
In charge	2 households (*uwado, shitado*)	*Shitado* is an assistant
Content of work	Dedication of *Kamisama*	Daily: Offerring a cup of water and rice
		Monthly: Offerring a cup of red rice and Japanese sake on 15th
	Dedication of tutelary shrine	Monthly: Cleaning the precincts of shrine on 14th
		Monthly: Offering a cup of red rice on 15th
		A Shinto priest
		Syuku at meal with kami
	Delegate visit to Kanamura	Ritual for preventing disaster
		Pray for bumper crops of *matsurida*
	Mourning	
Taboo	Meat-eating	
	Peeping *Kamisama*	

Data source: The author's field survey in September, 1995

forests were cut down. Since the newcomers were not engaged in agriculture, they did not want to join any *ko* in the community.

The 26 members of the Akagi *ko* were also part of the *Kanamura* association. Three pioneer families were in charge of the managers of the latter, rotating every five or 10 years. No other family took charge. Two *ko* in Konomata district organized the tutelary shrine named Akagi and the *Kanamura* association. Both *ko* have shared same members since about 1980.

The family in charge of the manager of religious events in Konomata was called the *toke* and had several roles in the district (Table 3.6). The *toke* managed all religious occasions for the year, beginning with the main festival called *Hon-matsuri* in December. The *toke* consisted of two households, one called *Uwado* and the other *Shitado*. The households under the *ko* of the tutelary shrine were divided into 12 groups, who each took turns in charge. The *Uwado* was in charge of a Shinto priest and the *Shitado* assisted him/her. The *toke* had three main kinds of work: the religious service of *Kamisama*, the religious service of the tutelary shrine, and a delegate visit to Kanamura. *Kamisama* was worshipped by the people belonging to the *ko* in Konomata district. It was dedicated in the *Uwado's* house called *Shuku*. People call it the spirit of the tutelary shrine. It was enshrined in a blackened wooden box about 25 cm square, 1 m high, surrounded by a sacred straw festoon. The box is stored in an alcove, and the *Uwado* offered a cup of rice and a cup of water to the shrine every morning. A cup of red rice and a glass of sake was offered on the 15th of every month. It was also her duty to offer a cup of red rice to Akagi Shrine and the seven small shrines in the shrine precinct on the 15th of every month. The *Uwado* had to visit Kanamura twice a year in January and March. People had a meal with *kami*

in her house after each festival, and the *Uwado* must keep three taboos for 1 year as a Shinto priest. First, in case of a death in her family, the *Kamisama* had to be moved into the *Shitado's* house the same day. The *Uwado* went into mourning for 49 days, and during the mourning period, the *Shitado* performed all her duties. Second, taboos restricted the *Uwado* from eating the meat of four-footed animals, such as cows, pigs, or sheep, although this taboo was not strictly observed, and the *uwado* can eat such meats when out of the alcove. Third, it was firmly believed that a terrible misfortune would befall a person who opened the door of the box, and no one has ever seen the inside. Worshipers were still keeping these taboos in 1995, but the conscientiousness has gradually weakened. This evidence shows the *ko* in Konomata district do not exist merely in name; they have a substantial meaning in people's lives.

(3) Religious Events

A record of religious events listing the schedule, name, person-in-charge, place, and contents for Konomata district in 1995 is shown in Table 3.7. A disaster prevention ritual was performed on January 10 and the first musical band performed on the following day. The *Uwado* visited Kanamura to buy two large amulets in the morning of January 10, and she stood each one at two crossroads north and south of the community (see Fig. 3.27). The amulets, called *tsujifuda,* were placed inside a bamboo trunk 1–2 m tall. Although no special rites attended the standing of the amulet, the ritual should be joined by all members of the community. However, in those days only the *uwado* completed the ritual. Once the ritual was finished, a musical band played. While the *Uwado* was drumming, all members visited the Akagi Shrine to celebrate the New Year in the evening of that day. A watch fire was lit and the old amulets were burnt. After that, the *Uwado* served a simple meal at her house around 8 o'clock. The next day, all the *Ujiko* members of the Akagi Shrine gathered there to pray for the health and longevity of their families with boiled rice mixed with fish and vegetables and a cup of negi (Welsh onion family) soup. Before 1970, worshipers used to pay three *go* (one *go* is about 0.33 m^3) of polished rice and soy sauce, but today, the *Uwado* collects 300 yen per household helped by the *Shitado* and six group leaders of the neighborhood association.

On March 17, (by both the old and new calendars), the daily visit called *nissan-hajime* began and a groundbreaking ceremony was performed at Matsurida, a former paddy field of Akagi Shrine. It used to happen in the morning and after lunch, and until the 1940s, people would come and eat together in the community center. In those days, people took turns to visit Kanamura every day from March 17 to May 6, of the old calendar. After a rotation was established, the names of all visitors were written on a pentagonal wooden board. A new rotation would be established the following year; the old list would be scraped off with a plane, and new names written. Today, the *Uwado* visits Kanamura on March 17 of the new calendar, and no other member goes there after that day. When the *Uwado* visited Kanamura on March 17, she did not step onto the holy stage, nor did she receive any amulets. Furthermore, there were no religious events, including a meal with *kami*, when she came back to the community.

Table 3.7 Annual religious events done in Konomata district, Tsukuba City, 1995

Time	Name of event	In charge	Place	Content
January 10th	Ritual for preventing disaster	*Toke*	Kanamura	Standing *tsujifuda*
January 10th to 11th	Musical band	*Toke*	Akagi shrine	New Year's visit
		Shuku		Meal with kami
March 17th	Beginning of daily visit	*Toke*	Kanamura	Visit
			Public hall	Meal with kami
March 17th to May 6th	Daily visit	Each household	Kanamura	Visit
July 15th	Wheat festival	*Toke*	Akagi shrine	Dedication of sacred straw festoons
		Shuku		Meal with kami
Middle of October	Fall festival of Kanamura	Manager of Kanamura	Manager's house	Information from Kanamura
November 5th to 10th			Each household	Confirming members and collecting membership fee
November 12th			Kanamura	Dedicating membership fee
November 25th			Kanamura	Prayer
November 26th to 27th			Each household	Distributing middle sized amulets
Sunday just before December 15th	Main festival	*Toke*	Akagi shrine	Gratitude for tutelary shrine
		Shuku		Rite of changing *toke*, meal with kami
		Shuku(New)		Meal with kami
Late in December		Manager of Kanamura	Each household	Distributing amulets of Ise Jingu
				Distributing twisted paper strings

Data source: The author's field survey in September, 1995

In summer, the wheat festival used to be held on June 15 of the old calendar, but is now held on July 15. The *Ujiko* men made a sacred straw festoon in the morning, and women made an ornament of two rice cakes shaped like a stick. The sacred straw festoon and offerings were dedicated to the Akagi Shrine. Afterwards, the rice cakes were shared by the members at the *Uwado's* house, because members believed that eating the cakes would protect them from disease.

Konomata, being one of the *Ujiko* communities of Kanamura, sends a manager, not a *toke*, to visit *Kanamura* on November 25. The manager is informed about the autumn festival by mail around the middle of October. Three managers call on each member to prepare a contribution early in November. The offering used to be a *sho* (about 1.8 L) of polished rice, but is now 1,000 yen from each house. The designated manager records membership fees and lists the members until November 12. On the festival day, he receives amulets to distribute each household. There are no religious events after he returns.

The main festival is celebrated on November 15 (in old calendar). The old calendar was used before 1955; from 1956 to 1994, the festival was celebrated on December 15; and since then, the festival has been held on the Sunday before December 15. Before the Second World War, the event was so lively that all people went to the Shuku to eat their fill of the rice harvested at the paddy field of Akagi Shrine. They looked forward to that day because they had few chances to eat rice without wheat. Though the festival is not as lively anymore, *Ujiko* members still gather at Shuku to cook three *shos* of red rice and dedicate it to Akagi Shrine. They eat it with their fingers within the precincts of Akagi Shrine. The red rice, sake, and rice cake offerings are the same as those of the wheat festival.

When the main festival was over, the annual rite to change the Shinto priest, called *to-watashi,* was performed, and the next ceremonial year starts. The manager of Kanamura had one more task. Amulets from the Ise Jingu, called *jingu-taima*, which are dedicated to a household altar, were mailed to him from Kanamura and he distributed the amulets to *Ujiko* members.

There were many annual religious events Konomata district every season, and all members belonging to a *ko* took part out of principle. A traditional meal with members and *kami* was always held after festivals related to the tutelary shrine at Shuku. In contrast, except for the *nissan-hajime,* no other events accompanied religious events related to Kanamura.

(4) Religious Behavior of Inhabitants

In this section, I will consider aspects of the *Kanamura* faith by analyzing the religious behavior of the visitors to shrines and temples. The head of T family (Mr T for short), who took charge of the *Uwado* in 1996, is a good example of religious behavior because he visited several shrines and temples every year (see Fig. 3.28). Mr T was an *Ujiko* member of the Akagi Shrine and *Kanamura*, the shrines that Mr T visited and the frequency illustrates some of this couple's characteristics. Mr T visited the Akagi Shrine and several small shrines, such as Atago, Yakushi-nyorai, and Jizo-son daily or monthly. Although the frequency appears high, all of the shrines were less than a ten minute walk from his house, and the visits can be made at the same time as recreation, shopping, or strolling.

Once a year in January, Mr T cycled to *Kanamura* and visited the Shinshoji Temple in Narita by car, accompanied by his son's family. Mr T visited five other shrines irregularly: Yasukuni Shrine in Central Tokyo, Gokoku Shrine in Mito, Kasama Inari Shrine in Kasama, Onogo Tenmangu Shrine, and Hitoko tonushi Shrine in Mitsukaido.

He visited some shrines and temples more than once a year at *hatsumode*, first visit to a Shinto Shrine or a Buddhist temple in January. Mr T's religious behavior in January illustrates the differences in each faith. Mr T went directly to the Akagi Shrine first thing in the morning of New Year's Day, ignoring some small shrines along the way. His family custom was to visit the four small shrines in the neighborhood on the way home from the Akagi shrine. He visited *Kanamura* during the first 3 days of a new year. He visited the Shinshoji Temple in Narita during the holidays in January. He always visited the shrines in the same order, beginning with his tutelary shrine; second, small shrines in the neighborhood; third, *Kanamura*; and last, Shinshoji Temple.

3.2.3.3 Aspects of the *Kanamura* Faith in the Nakahigashi District

Nakahigashi district is located in the northeast of Toyosato district (see Fig. 3.24), upland on the left bank of Higashiyata River. The community lives north of the Tsuchiura-Sakai Road, which runs east-west across the center of Nakahigashi district. The district is about 25 m above sea level, and the most conspicuous form of land use is dry field cultivation of cabbages or negi. This region had 176 residents and 43 households in 1995, but was rapidly urbanizing, prompted by the readjustment of town lots. Many housing projects for employees and research institutions were constructed to the southeast of Nakahigashi district since 1981, and housing and institutions related to Tsukuba Science City were developed to the east. An outdoor recreation facility called Yukari no mori was constructed to the northeast.

(1) Religious Landscape

The distribution of religious facilities, household membership of *Ko,* and households whose family names are N in Nakahigashi district are shown in Fig. 3.29. A tutelary shrine, Shinmei-Sha, is dedicated to the north of the community. A front shrine and an entrance gate lie to the south, and the shrine is backed by forests; this is the typical landscape of a tutelary shrine. However, the approach is paved, and there are few visitors except during festivals.

The Nakahigashi rural community center, which is also used for religious events, was a Shingon Buddhism *Toko* Temple, but the anti-Buddhist movement in the late nineteenth century destroyed it, along with many other Buddhist temples. Some religious monuments—remnants of the temple—can still be found on the site. A deserted Inari shrine lay east of the rural community. The Shinto priest who lived there was presumably ascetic, because the shrine was not dedicated by a territorial relation group. The priest died sometime in the 1980s, and the shrine has been deserted since then. It is now dilapidated and no one visits. A ritual for preventing disaster was also performed in Nakahigashi district. Two kinds of *tsujifuda,* from Osugi and Atago shrines were placed at

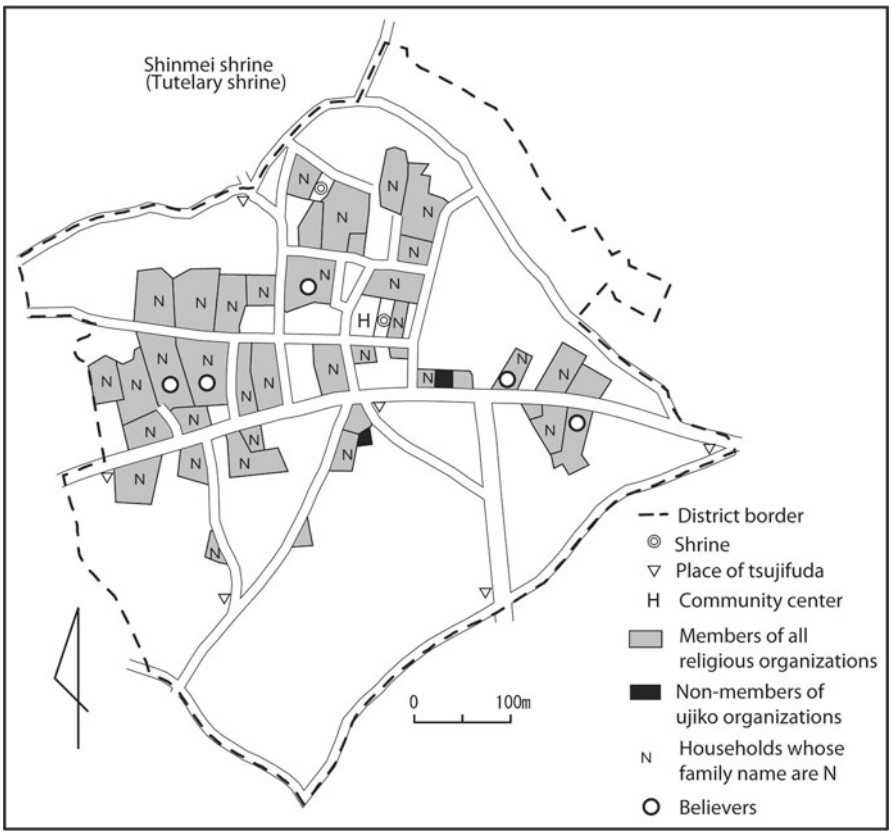

Fig. 3.29 Religious landscapes in the Nakahigashi district, Tsukuba City, 1995 (The author's field survey in September, 1995)

the entrance of the community. The *tsujifuda* are similar to the *Konomata tsujifuda*; each was inserted in a bamboo trunk about 1.5 m tall.

(2) *Ko* Religious Association

Four *ko* were confirmed in Nakahigashi district in 1995 (see Fig. 3.29): the *ujiko* organization of Shinmei-Sha, and the *ko* of *Kanamura*, Osugi Shrine, and Atago Shrine (Osugi association and Atago association for short). Forty-one out of 43 households joined the *ujiko* organization of Shinmei-Sha. Two of them, which were female households, were excluded because it was taboo for women to take part in the festival of Shinmei-Sha. Thirty-two households had the family name of N, and since these households have organized the *ujiko* since before 1991, Shinmei-Sha was a *kami* of the N families. There was no relation to the family name since 1992.

The manager of religious events was called the *Toban*, and the assignment was rotated yearly. A representative of Shinmei-Sha's *ujiko* took charge of the *Tobans*. The manager had two assistants: a *shimoko* and an *uwako*. The *shimoko*

was the previous *Toban* and the *uwako* was the next *Toban*. If the occasion required, the person who would be in charge the following year, and the person who was in charge the previous year, helped the manager and his assistants. The staff of the *ujiko* organization effectively took charge of the managers over five years. The organization differed from that of Konomata district because there were no customs such as a dedicated Kamisama and no taboos. The principal work of the *Toban* was to dedicate Shinmei-Sha in December and visit *Kanamura* in November.

All 42 households belonged to the *Kanamura*, Osugi, and Atago associations and there were no taboos. The manager of the tutelary shrine also took in charge of the *Kanamura* association. The representative of Shinmei-Sha's *ujiko* rotated each year, and the Osugi and Atago associations had a delegate system to visit both shrines. Two delegate visitors on a rotation system went to each shrine once a year in January. The associations ensured that no one visited both shrines the same year. Although the members of both *ko* also belonged to *Kanamura* association, they had different managers.

These four *Ko,* including *Ujiko,* had different members. The Osugi and Atago associations had their own managers, while *Kanamura* and Shinmei shared the same one.

(3) Religious Events

Table 3.8 shows the religious events in Nakahigashi region, including details such as the name of the event, the person in charge, place, and content. Representatives from each household visited *Kanamura* on January 3 every year, at 9 a.m. The group leaders of the neighborhood association used their cars to take representatives to *Kanamura*. In 1996, the leader of the district offered the prayer for the community, and 20,000 yen was donated to *Kanamura*. Some of the visitors said private prayers. Five believers living in Nakahigashi district visited *Kanamura* the same day (see Fig. 3.29). Upon their return, the community held a New Year party called the *hatsu-jokai* at the community center. One person of each household took part, and the delegate visitors of the Osugi and Atago associations were confirmed at the party. They were selected by lot at the party until around 1980; now, they take turns. In this way, *hatsu-jokai* has three meanings to people: first, the meeting of a neighborhood association; second, the New Year party, which has friendship and social functions; and last, the *musubi-ko* of both associations.

The Osugi association prayed to prevent epidemics, and the Atago association prayed to prevent fires. It cost 500 yen to join each association. There were two delegated visitors in each association, and they determined the day of visit. The delegates went to each shrine to pray and get small amulets for each household and large amulets for the *tsujifuda*. When the delegates returned to the community, they distributed the small amulets to the members and stood the six large amulets at each street corner. The *tsujifuda* is a prayer to prevent disaster, including epidemics and fires. People usually offered an amulet from the Osugi Shrine on a household altar and an amulet from the Atago Shrine in the kitchen, as a *kami* of the kitchen range. Two persons took care of both associations.

Table 3.8 Annual religious events done in the Nakahigashi district, Tsukuba City, 1995

Time	Name of event	In charge	Place	Content
January 3rd	New Year's visit to *Kanamura*		*Kanamura*	Prayer for community
Early in January	Ritual for preventing disaster (Osugi)	Delegate visitors of Osugi	Osugi shrine	Standing *tsujifuda*
	Ritual for preventing disaster (Atago)	Delegate visitors of Atago	Atago shrine	Standing *tsujifuda*
August 17th	Summer festival		*Kannon-do*	
Middle of October	Fall festival of *Kanamura*	*Toban*	*Toban*	Information from *Kanamura*
November 5th to 10th		*Toban*	Each household	Confirming members and collecting membership fee
About November 15th		*Toban*	*Kanamura*	Dedicating membership fee
November 23rd		*Toban, shimoko*	*Kanamura*	Prayer
November 24th to 25th		*Toban*	Each household	Distributing middle sized amulets
Second Sunday of December	Main festival	*Toban,* Kanamura priest	Shinmei shrine	Gratitude for tutelary shrine
			Public hall	Meal with kami
Late in December		*Toban*	Each household	Distributing amulets of Ise Jingu
				Distributing twisted paper strings
				Distributing amulets of tutelary shrine

Data source: The author's field survey in September, 1995

A summer festival called the *manto* of *Kannon* was held every August 17th of the new calendar. It was also called *jushichi-ya*. This celebration was a *Bon* Festival (a festival honoring the spirits of one's ancestors) and all households took part. Men stood a banner of *join-sama* in the yard of the community center, and people enjoyed the *Bon* dance there in the evening. The preparation and management of the summer festival were carried out by groups of neighborhood associations. Two groups took turns to take charge of it, and the leaders of both groups became managers.

On November 23, *ko* delegates visited *Kanamura* to celebrate the autumn festival. In contrast to Konomata, there is no taboo in case of death, and all members could take part in the *Kanamura* association every year. The announcement of the autumn festival was mailed to a representative of *Ujiko* around the middle of October. He called on each member to ask for 1,500 yen early in November. He kept the membership fee and made a list of members until November 15. In the morning of November 23, he and the *shimoko* visited *Kanamura* and received amulets for distribution. When they returned, the Toban gave them to each household. The middle-sized amulet received by the people was the prayer for the family's safety, and was dedicated on a household altar. There were no religious events that involved meeting and having a meal with *kami*.

The main festival was held on the second Sunday in December. Women were not permitted to take part. The day before the festival, the precinct of Shinmei-Sha was cleaned by five staff of the *Ujiko* organization who decorated a gateway at the entrance to Shinmei-Sha with a sacred straw festoon. On Sunday morning, three banners kept by the *Toban* were installed in the precinct. A *Kanamura* priest dedicated Shinmei-Sha at the festival, and ate lunch at the *Toban's* house. The festival began at 1 p.m. in front of the shrine. The priest offered a Shinto prayer to *kami*. People dedicated two bottles of homemade fermented sweet sake, a *sho* of polished rice, and offered marine and land produce.

The *toban* prepared the offerings a week in advance, by putting sweet sake in two, communally owned bottles that were wrapped in *hanshi*, with a leaf of Japanese cedar and a two-tone paper cord. The marine produce included sea tangle and two dried cuttlefish, and the land produce included negi, Japanese radishes, cabbages, burdocks, and carrots (two of each). The marine and land produce was wrapped like the sweet sake. The offerings have not changed since about 1970. The ritual ends within an hour or so, and a meal with *kami* is held at the community center about 2 p.m.

Although 2,000 yen was collected for food, the *toban* paid for any excess. Recently, food was ordered to save labor. The seating arrangement was fixed: the *toban* sat at the top, the next *toban* sat at the second spot, and so on. Relatives of the *toban* prepared a meal with *kami*, during which they discussed the schedule of the next festival. Amulets of Ise Grand and Shinmei-Sha were distributed to each household. The festivities were over by half past three. Offerings to Shinmei-Sha, except sweet sake and ten *shos* of polished rice, were dedicated by a *Kanamura* priest. The day after the festival, the rite to change the *toban* was performed. He handed the two communally owned bottles and three banners to his successor.

The annual religious events of Nakahigashi district reflect the characteristics of this region. The Osugi and Atago associations have their own managers and

musubi-ko, but the *Kanamura* association does not. The Osugi and Atago associations are similar to the *Ujiko* organization, and these associations have no religious rites before and after the events. In contrast, the *Kanamura* faith differs; for example, a *Kanamura* priest dedicates the festival of a tutelary shrine, and all members visit *Kanamura* on January 3rd.

(4) Religious Behavior of Inhabitants
The religious behavior of inhabitants in visiting shrines and temples can be illustrated by the behavior of the head of an N family (Mr N for short) when he became *Toban* in 1996. Mr N was a member of all the *ko* in Nakahigashi district and visited several shrines and temples regularly every year, and is a good example of this region. Figure 3.30 shows the distribution and frequency of Mr N's visits to shrines and temples. On New Year's Day, Mr N dedicated the *kami* of his family first, then visited the Shinmei-Sha and Anrakuji Temples in the morning and the Hitokotonushi shrine in the afternoon to pray for his family's safety. He used to visit this shrine twice a year, in January and September, but now visits only once a year in January. He visits *Kanamura* on January 3 with community members, which is his only chance to visit in a normal year. Mr N visits or dedicates a *kami* of his family every day and offers a cup of water and polished rice. He visits Shinmei-Sha twice a month (on the 1st and 15th days), and three other shrines and temples once a year: Anrakuji temple, Hitoko Tonushi shrine, and *Kanamura*. He visits Gansan Saint temple once every few years.

3.2.3.4 Interaction Between a *Kanamura* Priest and the Community

Figure 3.31 shows the distribution of additional shrines and *Kanamura* associations in Toyosato district in 1977 and 1995. In 1977, a *Kanamura* priest visited fourteen additional shrines to perform festivals, excluding some communities that had a Shinto priest for a year. The *Kanamura* association was organized by districts that had additional shrines for the *Kanamura* priest, except for Tegomaru and Nobata. Although the number of associations was decreasing, a new *Kanamura* association started in the Kamisato district, which meant an additional shrine for the *Kanamura* priest.

What, then, is the meaning of an additional shrine for a *Kanamura* priest? Figure 3.32 shows the distribution of communities in which the *Kanamura* priest distributed amulets of Ise Jingu to people and the households receiving them. All communities that had an additional shrine for the *Kanamura* priest, including those in the *Ujiko* region, received amulets from him. Except Konomata and Tohigashi, the amulets were mailed to the manager of the *ko* of a tutelary shrine, and forwarded to the manager of a *Kanamura* association. The distribution system is shown in Fig. 3.33. The *Kanamura* priest mailed the amulets to the manager of each community, who sold them to those who were interested. The manager would then bring the proceeds and the remaining amulets to the *Kanamura* priest.

Figure 3.34 shows the distribution of communities in which a *Kanamura* priest distributed amulets of a tutelary shrine to people and households that received them. The *Kanamura* priest played an important role in distributing amulets to each household and dedicating the festival of a tutelary shrine, so there was a relationship between a *Kanamura* priest and the communities in Toyosato district.

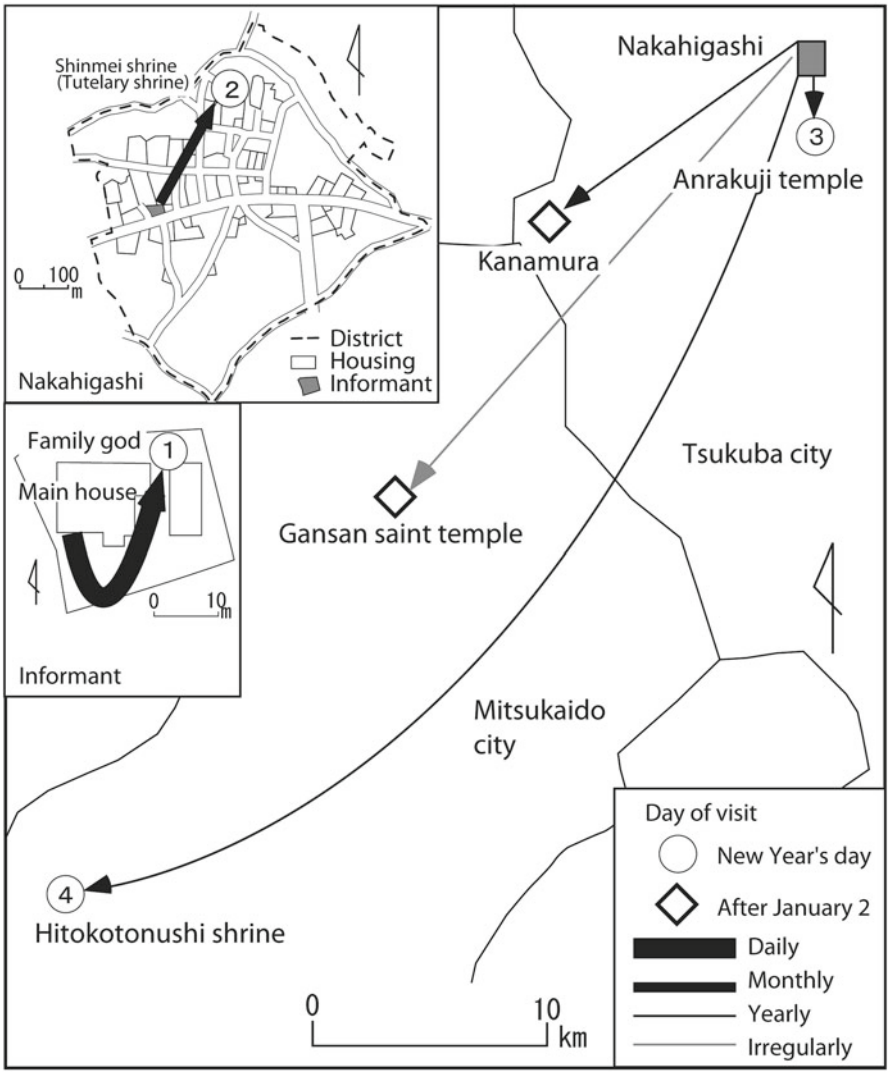

Fig. 3.30 Religious behavior of Mr. N in the Nakahigashi district, Tsukuba City, 1996. (The author's field survey in September, 1996.) Number: order of visit on New Year's day

3.2.4 Spatial Characteristics of the Second Area: Case Study of the Yoshikawa District in Saitama Prefecture

Yoshikawa is located in the southeastern part of Saitama, 20 km from central Tokyo, in the path of the rapid wave of urbanization from that direction (Fig. 3.35). Across the Edo River to the east lie Noda and Nagareyama cities in Chiba, and Matsubushi

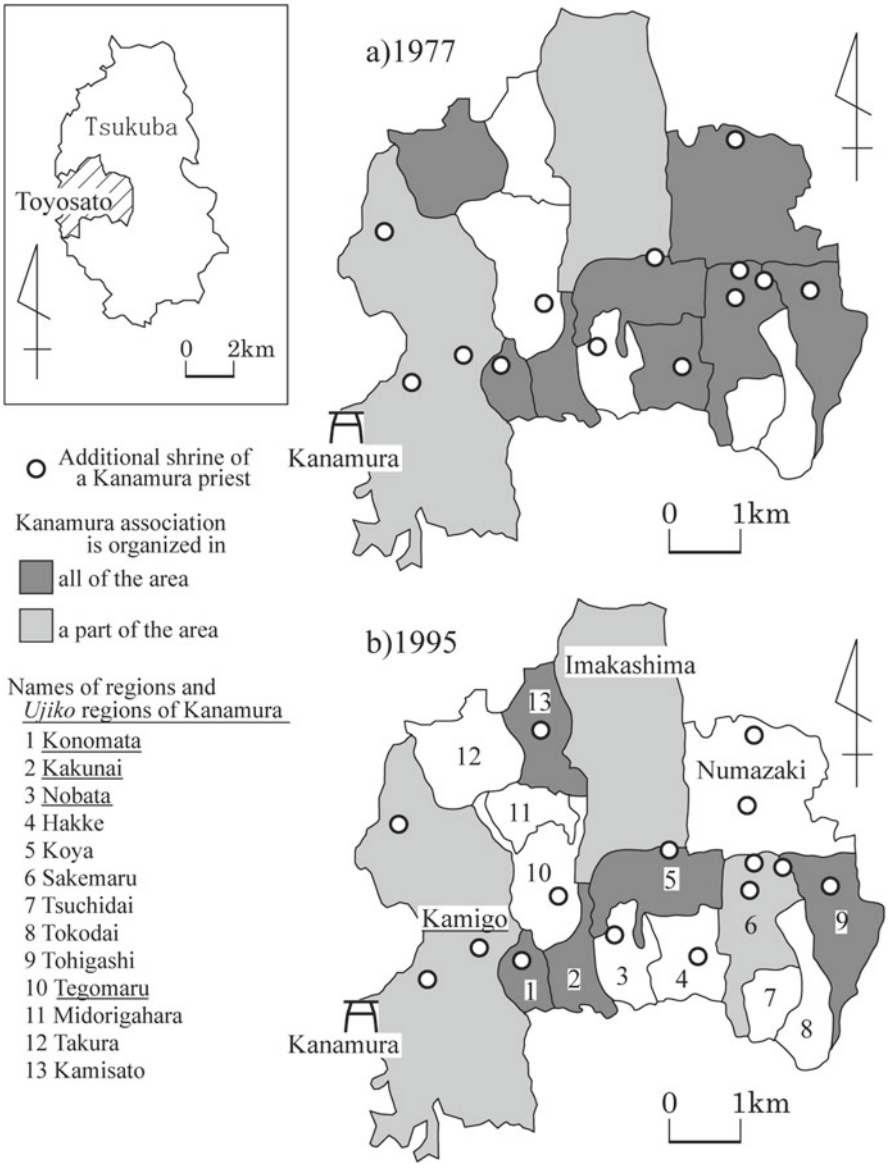

Fig. 3.31 Distribution of additional shrines and Kanamura associations in the Toyosato district, Tsukuba City, 1977, 1995 (The author's field survey in December, 1996)

town, Koshigaya, and Soka City in Saitama lie to the west, across the Naka River. Yoshikawa is 30 km southeast of *Kanamura*, which is the core area of *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko,* and represents the core of the second area, comprising Misato, Yashio, Noda, and Nagareyama cities. Yoshikawa sits on flat and marshy land 3–4 m above

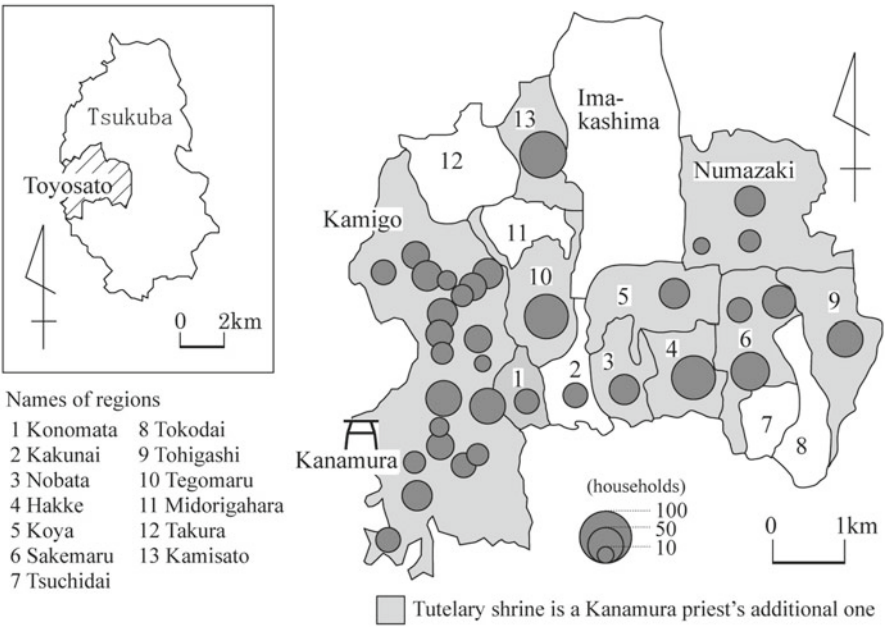

Fig. 3.32 Distribution of communities where a Kanamura priest distributes amulets of Ise Jingu to people, 1995 (The author's field survey in December, 1996)

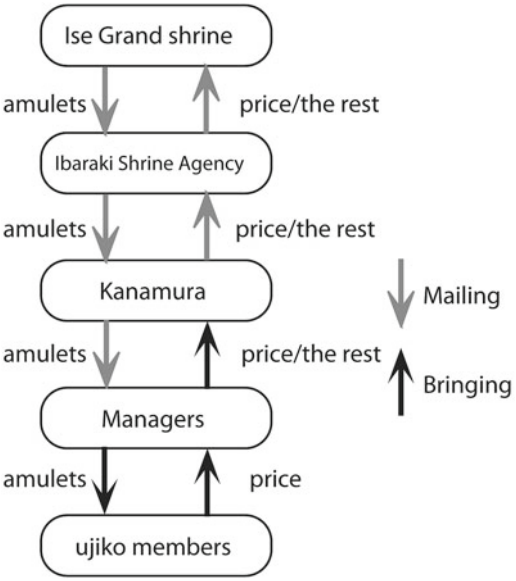

Fig. 3.33 Distribution system of amulets of Ise Jingu to people by a Kanamura priest. (The author's interview with a Kanamura priest.) Arrow indicates flow of money and goods.

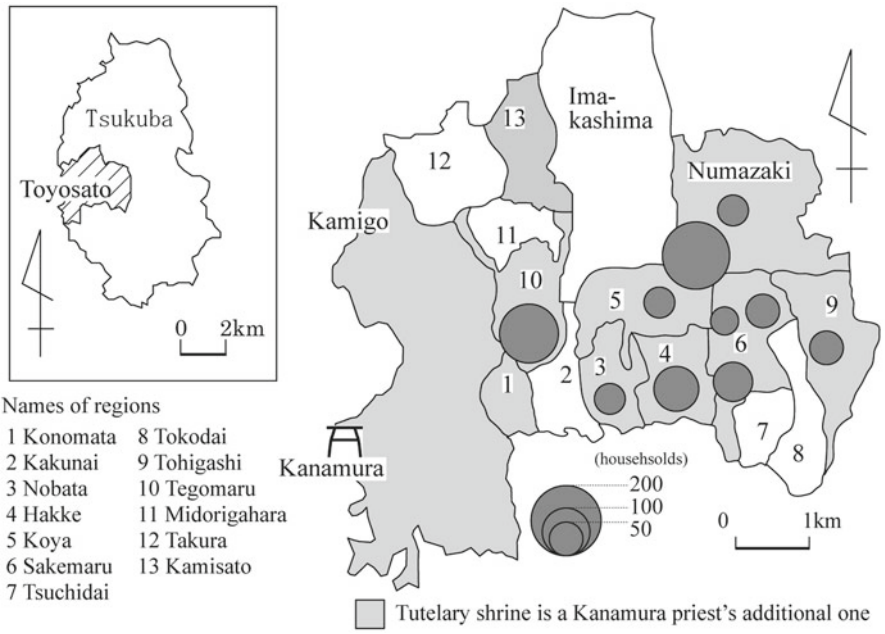

Fig. 3.34 Distribution of communities where a Kanamura priest distributes amulets of a tutelary shrine, 1995 (The author's field survey in December, 1995)

sea level. There is a long history of flooding, so most land was used for paddy agriculture. In the eighteenth to nineteenth century, this area was developed into a collection and distribution place for early rice crops using the shipping service of Furutone River (Takeuchi 1980). Some of the communities located on the natural levee of Furutone River are old, but most are new or were spun off from main villages by developing new rice fields in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. In 1830, there were 1,646 households and some 9,000 people in the area. The National Railroads Corporation established Yoshikawa station in 1973, and housing development soon accelerated. The Yoshikawa shopping center opened then and the population increased 1.83 times from 1965 to 1975, to reach 52,668 in 1995. Yoshikawa became a city in 1995.

3.2.4.1 Spatial Characteristics of the *Kanamura* Faith in the Yoshikawa Area

(1) The Spatial Characteristics of the *Kanamura* Faith Before 1950
Figure 3.36 shows the distribution of *Kanamura* associations organized in Yoshikawa area in 1899 and 1949. In 1899, 17 communities organized a *Kanamura* association in communities on a natural levee of Furutone River. In 1949, there were 19 communities, at least 25 communities had a *Kanamura* association before 1950.

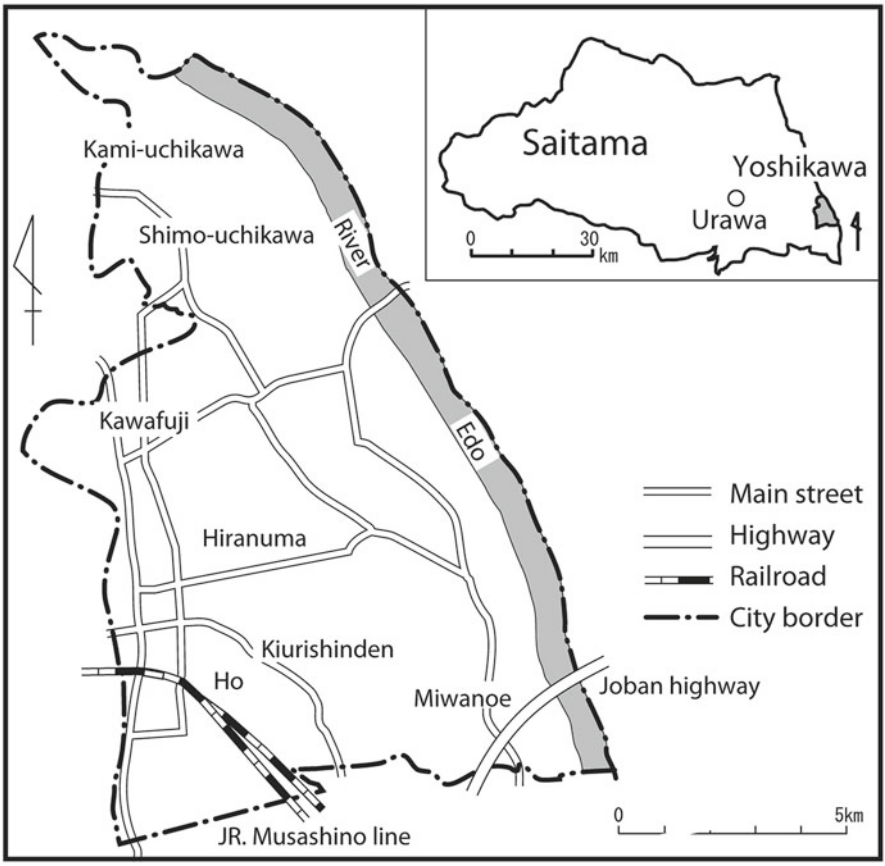

Fig. 3.35 General view of Yoshikawa City, Saitama prefecture, 1996

The Kiurishinden area is a good example of the religious forms in this region. Kiurishinden was developed at the end of the seventeenth century, and contained 21 households in the early eighteenth century and 26 by 1876. The *Kanamura* association seems to have been organized before 1860, but the reason for its founding is uncertain. *Kanamura* was worshipped as a *kami* of agriculture and four people took turns to visit the shrine for the spring and autumn festivals. Four managers inherited their positions from their fathers. Before the Second World War, each visit took a day. Delegated visitors stayed at a shrine town. After prayer, the delegates received amulets for household altars and for preventing insect damage. The amulets were placed at the entrance of rice seedling beds to pray for safety. The visitors used to receive a bottle of water in case of dry weather.

Musubi-ko was held before the visits departure and lots were drawn to pick the delegates. On return, a *kanjo-ko* was held and all the events were completed. Since 1995, the Kiurishinden visiting system has changed; for example,

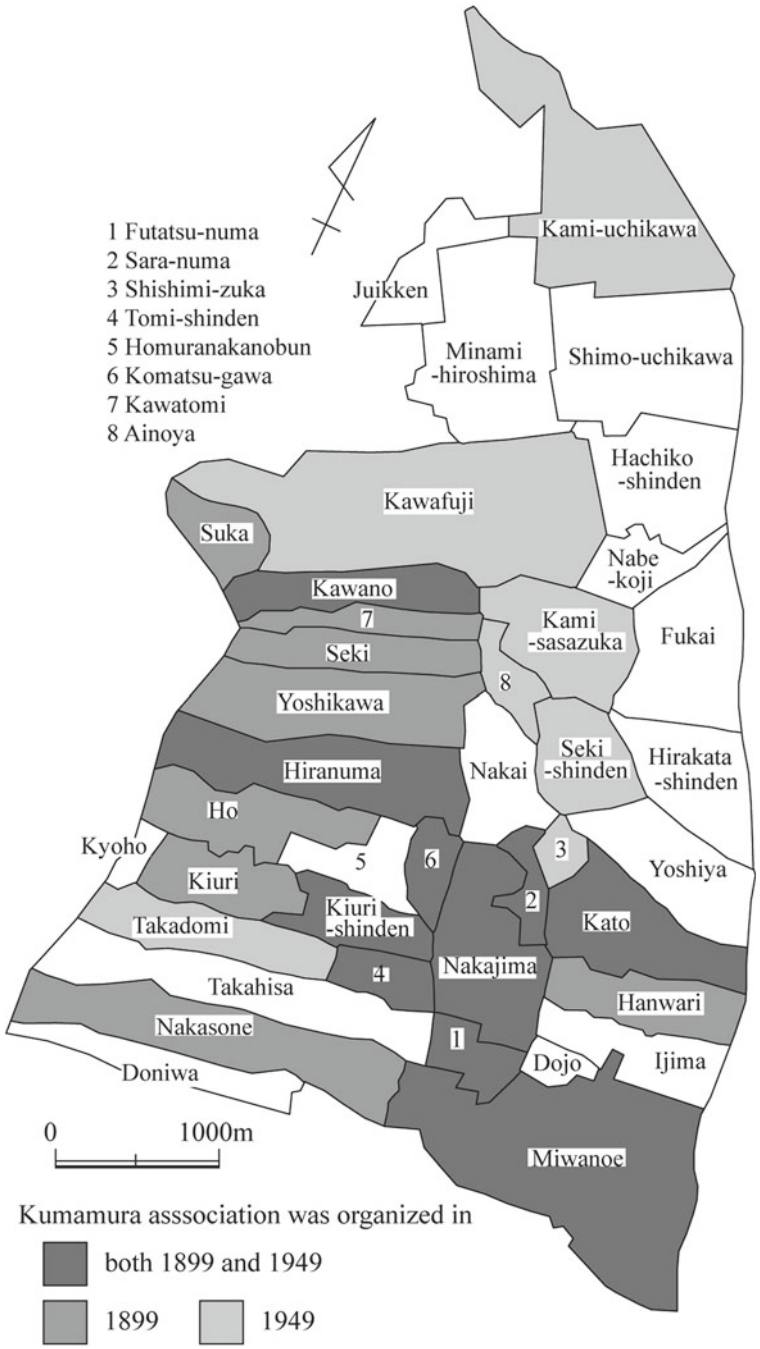

Fig. 3.36 Distribution of Kanamura associations in the Yoshikawa district, 1899, 1949 (Stone monument erected in the precincts of Kanamura, 1899 and the list of dedication for repairing the shrine roof, 1949)

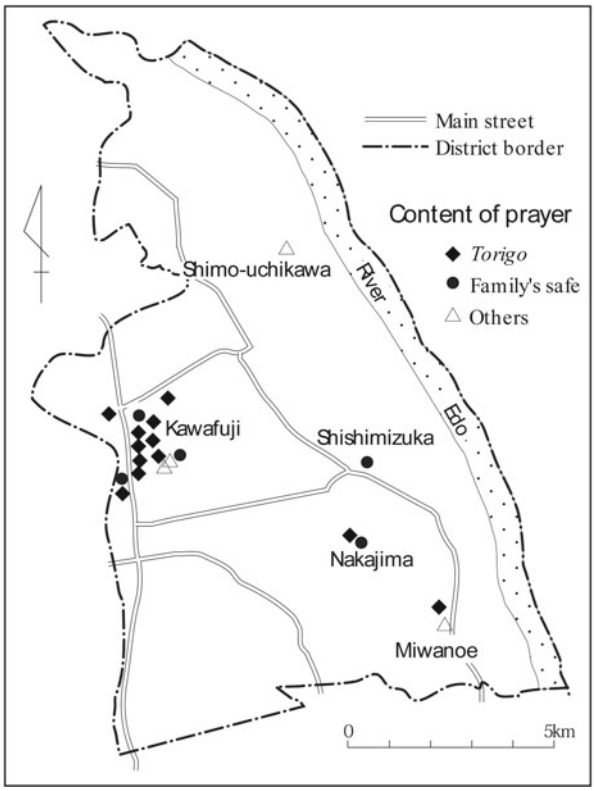

Fig. 3.37 Distribution of believers in the Yoshikawa district, 1931 (Kanamura office)

delegates travel by car and do not stay in the shrine village. However, the way of visiting *Kanamura* has continued since then. It had 18 households by 1995.

Figure 3.37 shows the distribution of believers according to the content of prayers in Yoshikawa in 1931. Of 21 believers, 12 (57.1 %) prayed *torigo*, which is a type of fictitious parent-children relationship in Japan, to use a priest's power to get rid of children's troubles (Otsuka folklore association 1994). People expected this prayer to have a magical effect, and thus prayed to a religious man who was believed to have magical powers. It seems that *Kanamura* was worshipped because the shrine had a miraculous efficacy. The core area of believers was in the Kawafuji area, where the *Kanamura* association had been in existence since the latter nineteenth century.

A record of private prayers offered to *Kanamura* from that time shows that while most delegates prayed *torigo*, no one prayed for a soldier's safety. This indicates that *Kanamura* was a favorite shrine for worship in the Yoshikawa area.

(2) The Spatial Characteristics of *Kanamura* Faith in 1995

In 1995, 12 Yoshikawa communities formed religious associations with *Kanamura* (Table 3.9). Three had *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* organized; seven organized a *daidai-ko*; one organized *kinen-ko*; and one a *dantai-ko*. These associations consisted of territorial relation groups. Here, I examine the characteristics of religious forms in Yoshikawa area and compare these with the Toyosato area.

Table 3.9 Religious forms of Kanamura association in the Yoshikawa district, 1995

No.	Name of district	Year of foundation	Range	Number of managers	Number of households	Way of visit	Number of visitors	Decision of visitors	Rite	Content of prayer
1	Kawafuji	Meiji era	District	4 inherited	73	NSFV	8	House order	Premeeting	FS
2	Kami-uchikawa	1949	Community	3 inherited	24	NSFV	4	Drawing lot	Postmeeting	AL, BC
3	Miwanoe	Meiji era	District	3	85	NSFV	8	House order	Postmeeting	FS, BC
4	Shimo-uchikawa	Meiji era	District	4 inherited	50	SFV	5	House order	Postmeeting	AL, R
5	Kawafuji-yakatamae	Meiji era	Community	1 inherited	11	SFV	4	Drawing lot	Premeeting	BC, AL
6	Kiurishinden	Meiji era	District	4	18	SFV	4	Drawing lot	Premeeting	BC
7	Nakashinden	Meiji era	District	2 inherited	20	SFV	4	House order	No	FS
8	Ho	Meiji era	District	4 inherited	53	SV	5	Drawing lot	Premeeting	AL, FS
9	Nakajima	Meiji era	District	4 inherited	25	SV	9 or10	House order	Postmeeting	FS, BC
10	Hyogo	Meiji era	Community	1	23	FV	4	House order	Postmeeting	AL, BC
11	Suka	Meiji era	District	2 inherited	32	NV	2	Fixed to manager	No	FS
12	Hiranuma	Meiji era	District	3 inherited	60	SA	No	No	Postmeeting	Not particular

SFV: vicarious visit in spring and fall, NV: vicarious visit in January, FS: prayer for family's safe, SV: vicarious visit in spring, SA: all member's visit in spring, AL: prayer for a protection against lightning, FV: vicarious visit in fall, R: prayer for rain, BC: prayer for bumper crops, NSFV: vicarious visit in January, spring and fall

Data source: The author's field survey

Ten out of the 12 communities were organized before the Meiji era. The divine favor of the Thunder God was implored to control lightning or rainfall and promote good harvests. Prayers for protection against lightning or storms and for rain were offered in *Kanamura*. In the Kami-uchikawa area, a *Kanamura* association was organized after the end of the Second World War in two communities, Nakamura and Shimo-shinhori. The residents of these communities took turns to visit Itakura Thunder Shrine, but the practice ended before the Second World War. After the war, people created a *Kanamura* association to visit and pray for rainfall or protection against insects because it was nearer than Itakura Thunder Shrine.

In Toyosato, more than half of the associations were organized after 1940, but most associations in Yoshikawa were organized before the 1860s. Many *Kanamura* associations were reported in the area since the late part of the nineteenth century (Nagareyama City Museum 1991). That means that this was already a core area a long time ago.

In contrast to those in Toyosato, the managers of nine of the 12 Yoshikawa communities were hereditary. In Nakajima, Ho, and Kawafuji-Yakatamae, the managers were the fourth generation, and in Hiranuma, Suka, and Kawafuji the third generation. The position was passed down from father to son. The manager was usually replaced on his death, although families may help if he reached an advanced age. The continuation of managers, not only in duration but also in number, is a remarkable characteristic of this area. Associations that have had only three or four managers have not changed since the first establishment. For example, in Ho, four persons who were the ancestors of current managers were named on the document of donation to *Kanamura* in 1894. In the three communities that did not have a hereditary system, the change occurred when the managers died, so these managers had in principle no limited term of office. In this manner, managers were fixed in place and the *Kanamura* association was independent of neighborhood and *Ko*.

Daidai-ko visited *Kanamura* twice a year, for the spring and autumn festivals. In Kawafuji, Kami-uchikawa, and Miwanoe, which all have *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko*, members visited three times a year in spring, autumn, and the New Year. Some of the communities with *daidai-ko* reduced the frequency of visits. In Nakajima, since 1970, people visited once a year during the spring festival. In Hyogo and Ho, people used to visit twice a year, and although the frequency of visits has changed, Yoshikawa has sustained a higher average than Toyosato.

Delegate visitors were selected by a rotation system. When all members had visited once, a new association would begin. The way of selecting visitors differed by community. In an area where they were selected by lot, people held a premeeting called *musubi-ko,* where visitors are selected just before the visit. In Kawafuji-yakatamae, *musubi-ko* was held at the community center the day before the visit. Previous visitors prepared a meal with kami, and a manager prepared eleven chopsticks, four of which were partly colored black. The four people who draw the black chopsticks visited *Kanamura* the next day. At the meeting, a picture of *Kanamura* was hung and sake was offered. In Kiurishinden, a *musubi-ko* was held two weeks before to confirm members and select visitors. Managers made nineteen numbered twisted paper strings. After each member had taken one string, a paper was left.

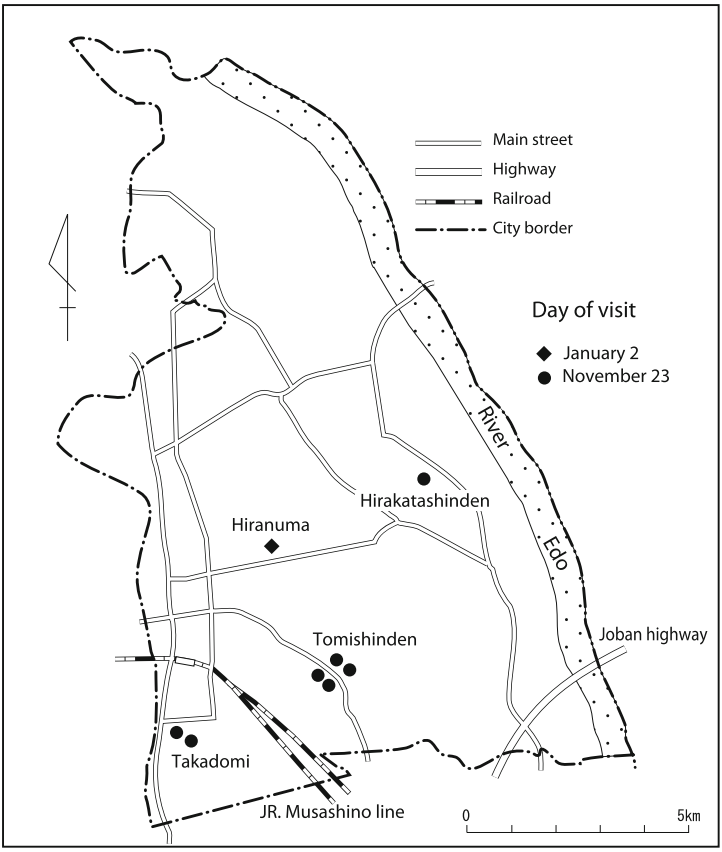

Fig. 3.38 Distribution of believers in Yoshikawa district, 1995 (Kanamura office)

Those who picked the number closest to the remaining paper were selected to visit *Kanamura*. We note this rotation system of visitors and having a premeeting is characteristic of the Yoshikawa area.

There were six communities that had a postmeeting. In the Kami-uchikawa community, they visited Kanamura in the morning, and went to a community center to have a meal with *kami* on return. This was called *Kanjo-ko* or *yamagaeshi*, where the visitors gave amulets to the members and the next visitors and were selected by lot. In Yoshikawa, eight communities (two-thirds of the total) had a pre or postmeeting when organizing something related to *Kanamura*. This implies the *Kanamura* associations have their own meetings as organizations.

Figure 3.38 shows the distribution of believers in Yoshikawa area in 1995. Eight persons visited *Kanamura* as believers, seven went in the autumn festival on

November 23; four lived in Tomishinden, and two in Takadomi. There was an association for *Kanamura* before 1985. After the association stopped, previous managers visited the shrine privately in autumn. Accordingly, I suggest the *Kanamura* was worshipped by a community, not an individual. In the following section, we will consider an aspect of *Kanamura* faith by analyzing the case of the Shimo-uchikawa area.

3.2.4.2 An Aspect of *Kanamura* Faith in the Shimo-uchikawa Area

The Shimo-uchikawa area is northeast of Yoshikawa. Houses are built on the lowland, about 3 m above the sea level, along the right bank of Edo River, across the river from Noda in Chiba. An athletic park has been developed to the east in the riverbed of Edo River, and is used by in the residents of Yoshikawa, Koshigaya, and Soka cities. Kawafuji-Noda Street runs along the bank connecting Shimo-uchikawa and central Yoshikawa.

In the early Edo period, Shimo-uchikawa was the fief of Matsubushi. In the first part of the 1800s, there were 74 households; by 1875, there were 87 households with 423 persons (Takeuchi 1980). Housing is distributed from the north to the central section of Kawafuji-Noda Street. Most land was used for paddy fields, although some land to the north was used to cultivate negi or lettuce. The size of the built up area has gradually increased. The population of Shimo-uchikawa consisted of five groups named Higashi, Okuma, Nishi, Shimo, and Oyanagi, derived from a five-family neighborhood unit in the Edo era. Various organizations, including a neighborhood or *ko* were based on these groups. In 1995, 132 households and 605 persons lived in the area.

(1) Religious Landscape

Figure 3.39 shows the distribution of religious facilities in Shimo-uchikawa area. A tutelary shrine, Oiwa shrine, was dedicated in the center of the community. The front entrance gate faced east, and pagodas of nineteen-nights, Buddhist images, and monuments to the *Jizo* and *Hakusan* avatars, all made of stone, were placed in the shrine's precincts. Four Nyotai shrines, two Tenjin shrines, and one Inari shrine were built in the Oiwa shrine in 1912. Oiwa was the only tutelary shrine worshipped in this area.

Shokakuin, east of Oiwa shrine, was opened in 1504. This shrine belonged to the Buzan party of the Shingon sect of Buddhism. The shrine contained many stone pagodas, such as *seimen-ko ngo, koshin*, and nineteen-nights. There were two former temples in this area, Saiko to the west and Kongoin to the south. Both were used as cemeteries. A *Juichimen Kannon* in Kongoin was worshipped by the people in Oyanagi and is unveiled every 12 years. An association to pray to Amitabha also met in this temple.

Two stone monuments were dedicated by a former manager in the Sengen Shrine, and by an association organized to climb Mt. Fuji before the Second World War. No one belonged to the Nyotai Shrine to the north of the Oiwa Shrine.

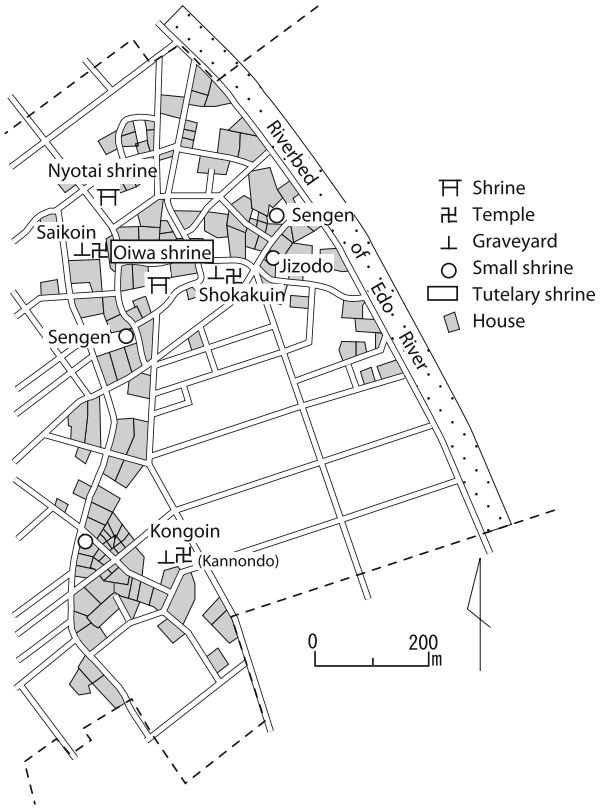

Fig. 3.39 Distribution of religious facilities in the Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

(2) *Ko* Religious Association

Two types of *ko* were found in Shimo-uchikawa: the *Ujiko* organization for the Oiwa Shrine, and an association to visit famous shrines and temples. This association had seven *ko* to visit shrines at Togakushi, Mitake, Haruna, and *Kanamura*; the Komine association visited the Furumine shrine; the Itakura association visited the Itakura Thunder Shrine; and the Narita association visited the Shinshoji Temple. Figure 3.40 shows the site of each shrine and temple, and Fig. 3.41 shows the distribution of households joining the *Ujiko* organization of the Oiwa shrine. People could freely join the *Ujiko* because the *Ujiko* required no special qualification, and 93 out of 132 households (70.5 %) joined. Most non-members were newcomers. Clearly, the inhabitants living in the new housing units built to the south and north seldom join *ko*. Mr A, who belonged to the Higashi group, was in charge of a representative of the *Ujiko* organization, and had no terms or change in Shimo-uchikawa. He and his father became heads of the area, and Mr A has been a representative since about 1960. Two households were selected from each group as managers for two years. One of the manager's tasks was to perform the rites of Oiwa shrine three times a year.

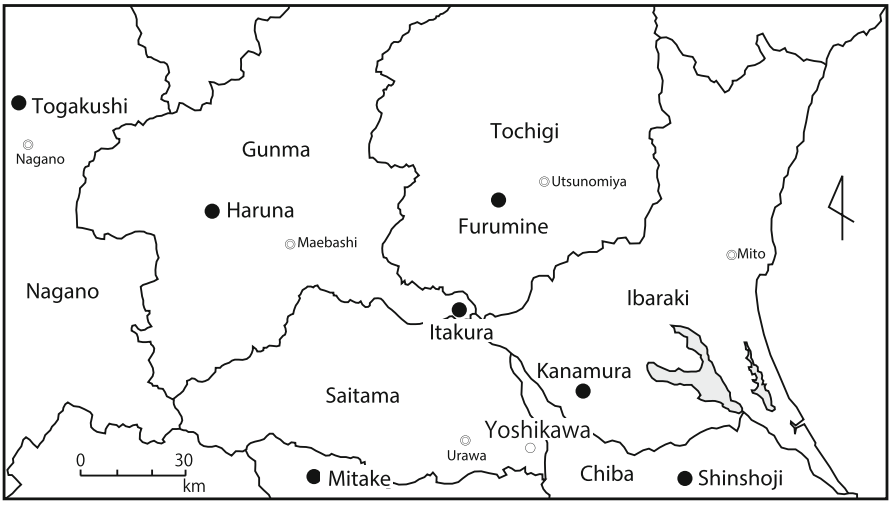

Fig. 3.40 Site of shrines and temple of religious associations organized in the Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1996 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

The distribution of *ko* members who visited selected famous shrines and temples is shown in Figs. 3.42, 3.43, 3.44, 3.45, 3.46, 3.47, and 3.48. Each association had different members. Members of the associations that visited Furumine, Togakushi, Haruna, and Mitake were found throughout the Shimo-uchikawa area. Each had a master and five managers selected by the group to collect the membership fee or distribute amulets. The *Kanamura* association consisted of four groups excluding Oyanagi. The *Kanamura* association had managers but no master. The only groups that visited Itakura and Shinshoji were based in Oyanagi, and each association representative was called a manager.

Thirty-nine households belonged to the Komine association, which visited the Furumine shrine once a year in April. The association, which lasted 5 years, delegated eight persons to visit the shrines. After 5 years, a new association was created. Forty-one households belonged to the Togakushi association, and eight persons visited the Shrine every May until 1988. In 1989, the visiting system was changed to *somairi*. Visits were completed every six years with a grand festival.

The Haruna (38 households) and Mitake (26 households) associations shared the same master and managers. In spring, eight persons visited the Haruna Shrine and five persons went to the Mitake Shrine. Though this visiting system continued until 1996, the way of both member's *somairi* started in 1997. They were not certain about how to visit the shrine.

Both the *Kanamura* and Itakura associations were derived from faith in the Thunder God. The *Kanamura* association had 50 households in the Higashi, Okuma, Nishi, and Shimo groups—more members than the other similar associations. Itakura had seven households in Oyanagi.

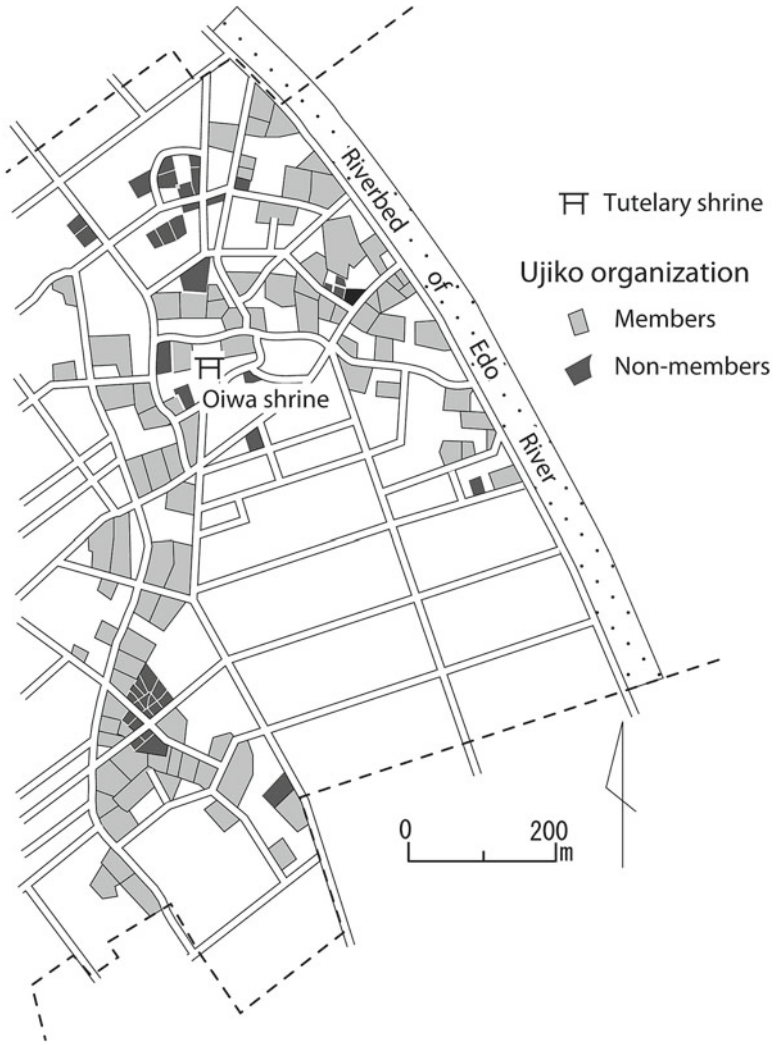

Fig. 3.41 Distribution of households joining an *ujiko* organization of Oiwa shrine in the Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

Five members of the *Kanamura* association visited *Kanamura* in spring and autumn. Over 5 years, all members visited the shrine, and after five years, a new organization was formed. Two members of the Itakura association visited the shrine every spring until 1995, but the visiting system changed, and members have received amulets by mail since 1996. There was also a Narita association in the Oyanagi group, with 22 household members, the highest number among *ko* in Oyanagi. Members went to Shinshoji Temple in March, but some members preferred to join the Narita association instead of the *Ujiko* organization of

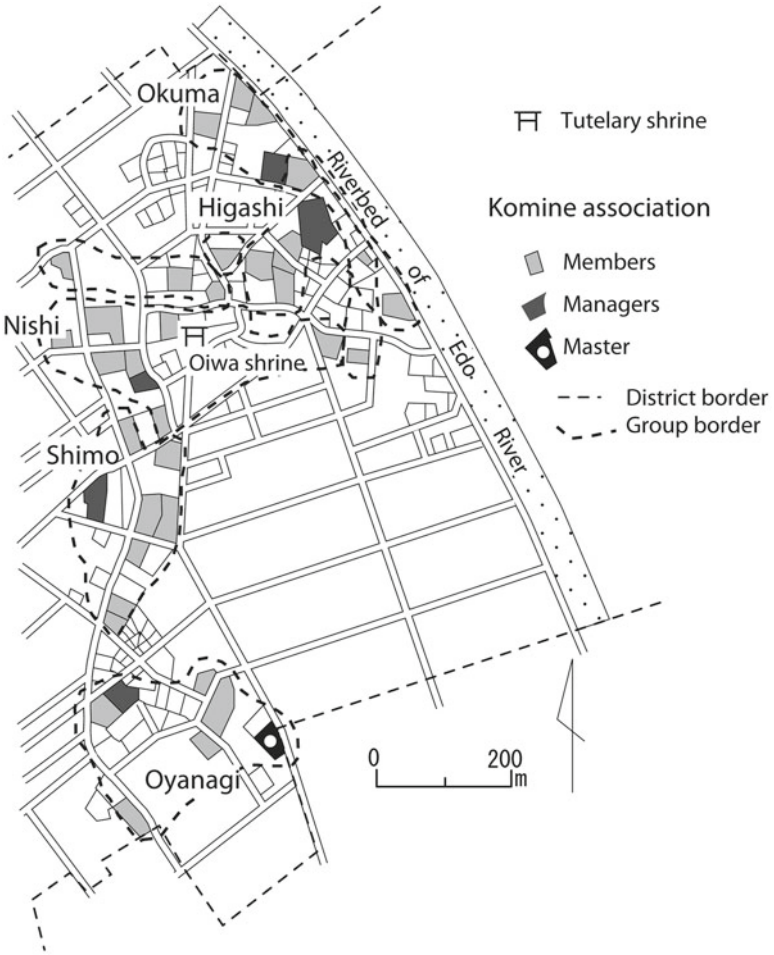

Fig. 3.42 Distribution of households joining a Komine association in the Shimo-ucchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

Oiwa shrine. New members hoped to receive a Shinshoji amulet every year. Two members visited the shrine at a time.

(3) Religious Events

The persons in charge, place, and the contents of religious event in Shimo-uchikawa community are shown in Table 3.10. A representative from each group and each manager of the *Ujiko* distributed amulets from the Oiwa shrine to those who desired them on January 2. Before 1994, members used to prepare fermented sweet sake for visitors on New Year's Day, but this practice stopped to reduce the workload.

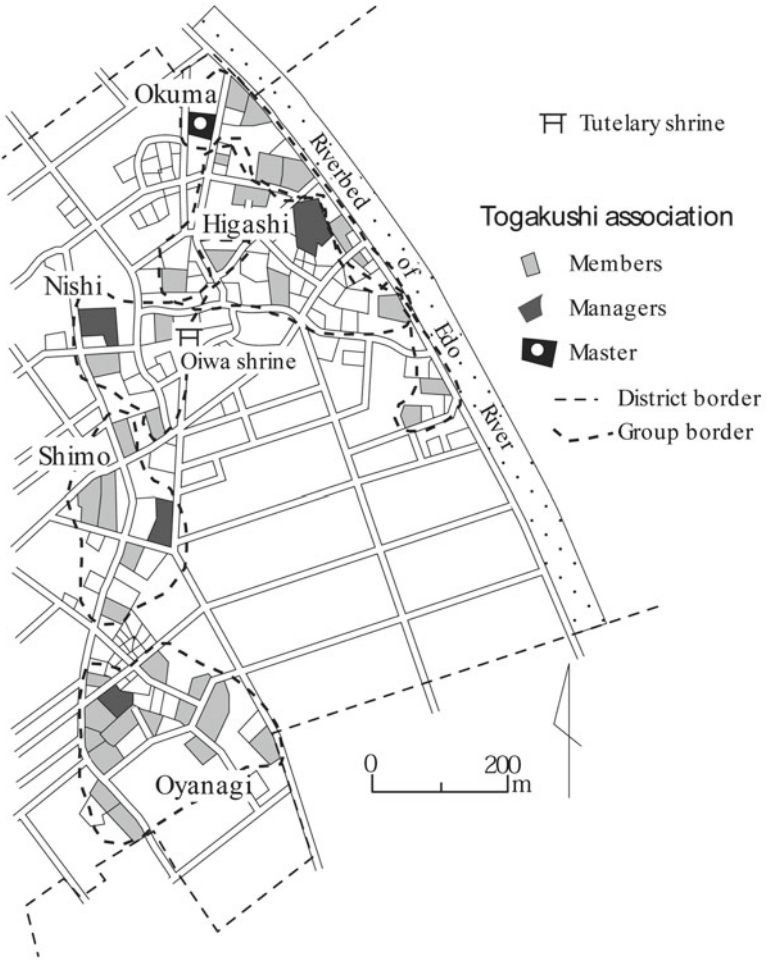

Fig. 3.43 Distribution of households joining a Togakushi association in the Shimo-ucchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

At 9 a.m. on February 11, *Ujiko* members held a divine service called *obisha* to pray for health and longevity at the house of the *toban,* who was called a *shuku*. The *shuku* made a bow and arrow or a meal with *kami* for all members. One or two households were selected as *toban* from each group on that year. People made one big and one small bow, one small and one big target, and some arrows out of bamboo and reeds gathered on the bank of Edo River. After lunch, the *ujiko* members went to the Oiwa shrine at 1 p.m. A Shinto priest dedicated a prayer, and each person shot an arrow at each target. A black circle on the targets represents disaster, and the act of shooting symbolizes people's wish to avoid disaster. After the rites ended at about 3 p.m., the group went to the *Shuku* to have a meal with *kami*.

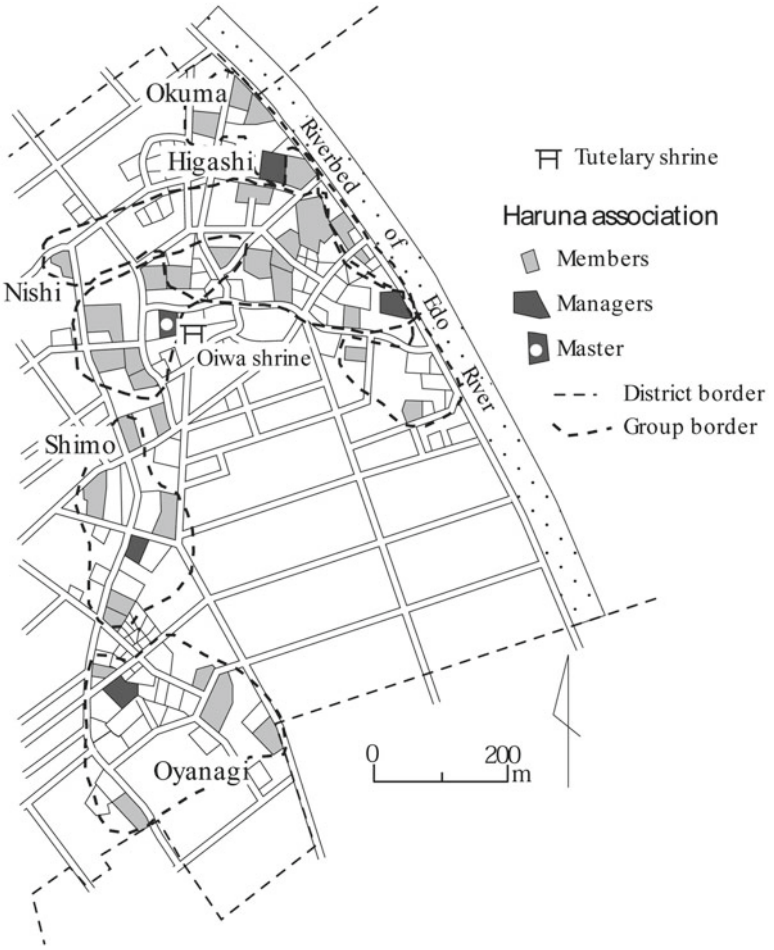

Fig. 3.44 Distribution of households joining a Haruna association in the Shimo-ucchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

In Shimo-uchikawa, people visited several shrines and temples from March to May. The Oyanagi group has *Itakura-ko* and *Narita-ko*. *Itakura-ko* has existed since the latter part of the nineteenth century but had only seven members. Two members visited Itakura Thunder Shrine every spring until 1995, but since then the amulets have been sent to the manager by mail. A meeting was held to select delegates before visiting in March, and the members took turns to visit Itakura. If no one wished to go, the delegates were chosen by lot. Members chose a convenient day in March or April to visit. After offering a prayer at the shrine, they ate a meal with *kami,* returned, and distributed amulets to each member at the regular meeting of the neighborhood association. The manager distributed the amulets mailed by Itakura Thunder Shrine. Each group of

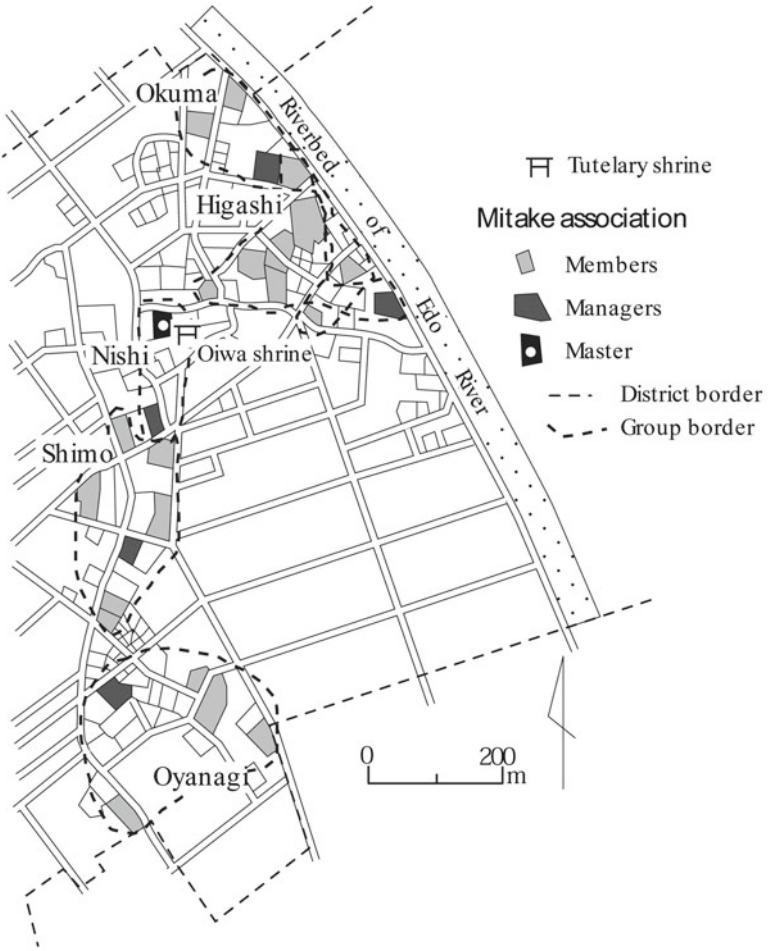

Fig. 3.45 Distribution of households joining a Mitake association in the Shimo-ucchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

Shimo-uchikawa area had a regular neighborhood association meeting once a month. They used the meeting to recruit new members or distribute amulets. Prayers for bumper crops and rain were offered at Itakura Thunder Shrine, and an amulet for protection against hailstorms was always included. The amulet used to be placed at the entrance of a rice seedling bed.

Three members of the Narita-ko visited Shinshoji temple in March or April to pray for family safety. Before 1980, two members used to visit in spring and autumn. A meeting was held at the same time as the Itakura association to confirm the delegates and collect the membership fee. The system has not been changed since 1996, when the visit to Itakura stopped. The amulets from Shinshoji temple are distributed to each member at the regular meeting of the neighborhood association.

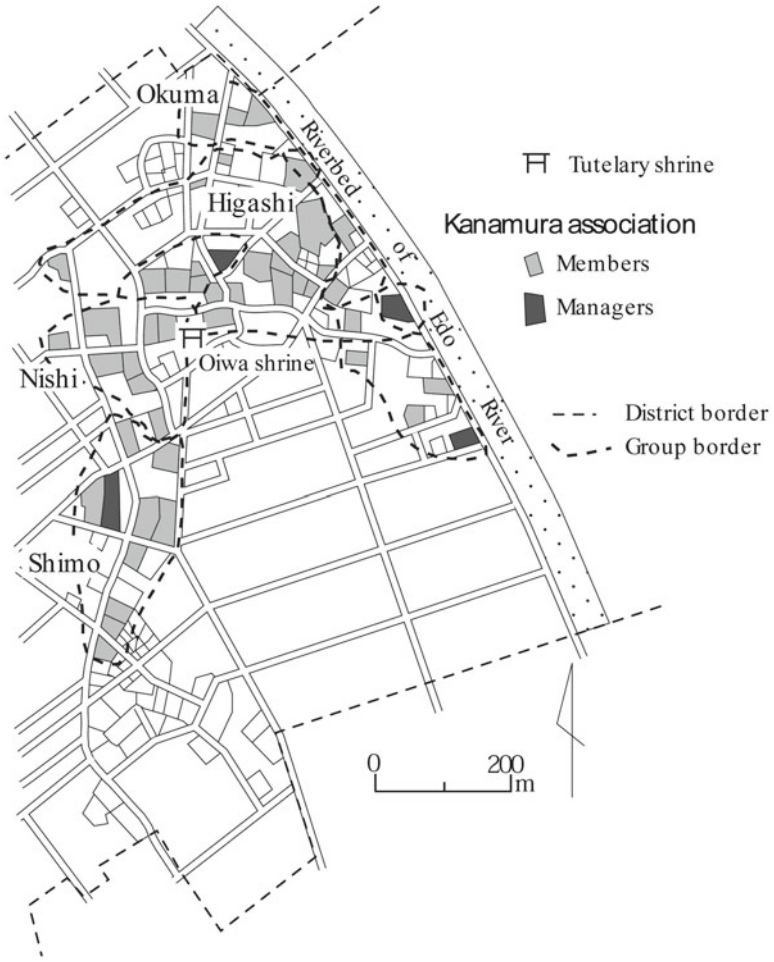

Fig. 3.46 Distribution of households joining a Kanamura association in the Shimo-ucchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

Furumine Shrine is worshipped as a *kami* to protect against fire. A fire ravaged Yoshikawa about 1845, and afterwards, an association was organized to visit Furumine to pray for fire protection. A meeting was held at the master's house in April to select delegates and pay the membership fee. Delegates used a car and took turns to visit the shrine. After a meal with *kami* at a shrine, the delegates returned to the community, and handed the amulets to the master, who distributed them to the managers to pass on to each member at the regular meeting of the neighborhood association.

The same master and managers also organized the association's visits to Haruna and Mitake shrines. These shrines have been visited since the late

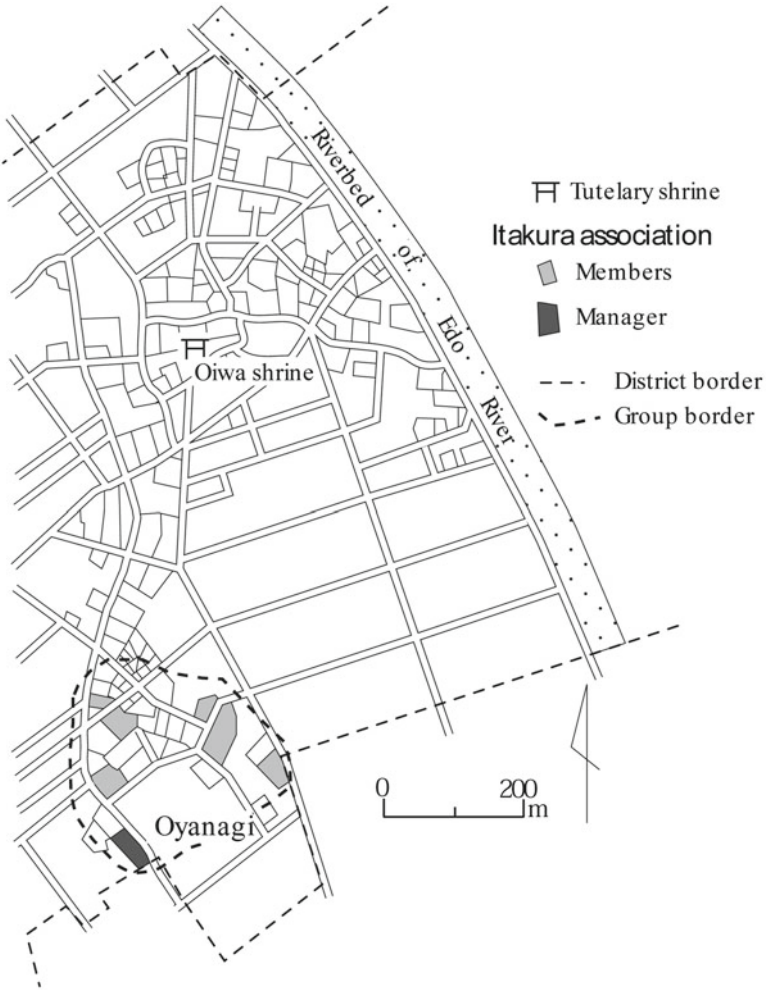

Fig. 3.47 Distribution of households joining a Itakura association in the Shimo-ucchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

nineteenth century. The master (from B's family) inherited the position, and the present master was at least the third generation. The present master's father was also in charge of an association formed to climb Mt. Kiso-ontake before 1960, when a mountain priest died. A system to choose delegates to visit both shrines was used until 1996. Members met at the master's house to select the visitors by lot and pay the membership fee. The Haruna association had eight delegates, and the Mitake association had five delegates. It was possible to change a delegate visitor if the selected person was planning to visit another shrine or temple. In April, both groups of delegates visited and prayed at both shrines to get amulets. In the 1970s, the delegates stayed two nights at Haruna Shrine and one

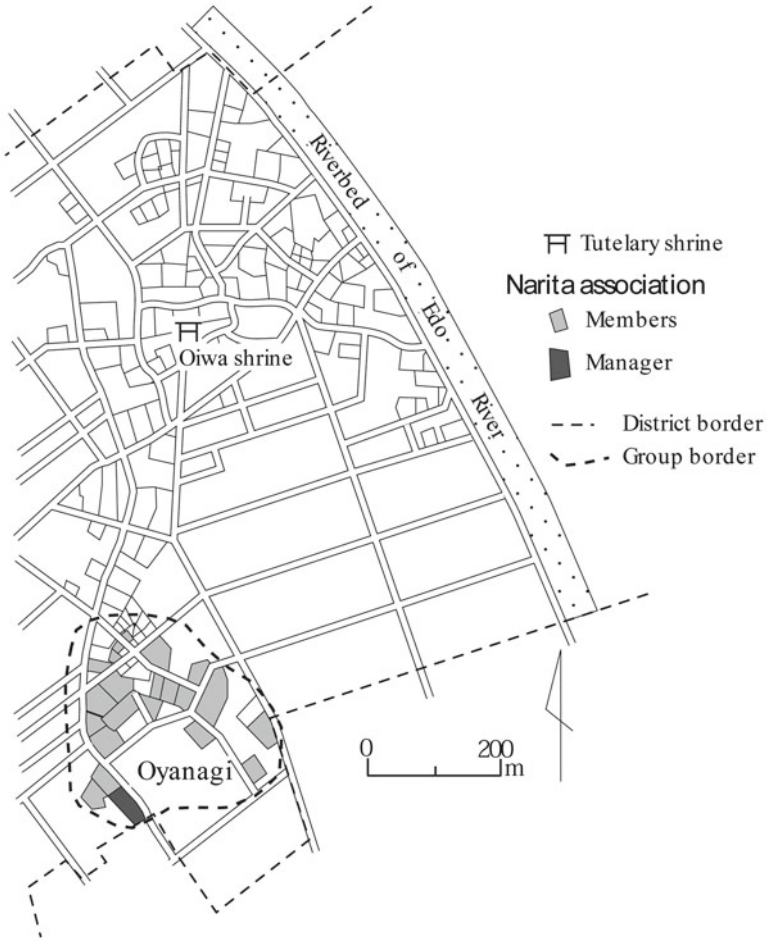

Fig. 3.48 Distribution of households joining a Narita association in the Shimo-ucchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

night at Mitake Shrine. After 1980, the delegates made a day trip to Mitake Shrine and stayed overnight at Haruna Shrine. When they returned, the delegates gave the amulets to the master to distribute to each manager, who distributed the amulets to members at a regular meeting of the neighborhood association. In September, amulets were sent to the master by mail for distribution to each member, who forwarded the amulets in the same way.

The membership of both associations has decreased, particularly in the Mitake association, because this visit offers little opportunity for sightseeing. I suggest that too many *ko* visiting shrines and temples also reduce the incentive to visit Mitake. Five *ko* in the Higashi, Okuma, Nishi, and Shimo group, and six *ko* in the Oyanagi group, and some members of several associations resigned because they could not visit a shrine every year. In 1997, members adapted the

visits to include both shrines and a pleasure trip by bus. A party left Shimo-ushikawa at 6 a.m., visited Mitake Shrine until noon, and then continued to Haruna Shrine in the afternoon. From Haruna, they went to Ikaho hot springs and stayed overnight, and returned to Shimo-uchikawa the following day. Mitake members received one amulet to protect against burglars and Haruna members receive two.

The *Kanamura* association members visit the shrine during the spring and autumn festivals. There are four managers in each group, who inherited their positions. A manager living in the Higashi group is the leader, and the family of Mr C has been in charge of the manager. He belongs to the fourth generation. Fifty households belong to the association and membership has not changed in recent years. Five delegates take turns to visit *Kanamura*, and a new association is formed after 5 years. The first visitors come from the Higashi group, followed by Nishi, Shimo, and Okuma; the managers turn is the last. Lots have never been drawn to select delegates. People who want to visit the shrine call into Mr C's house in the morning of the appointed day to pay the membership fee. After visiting *Kanamura*, the members go on a trip (for example, around Mt. Tsukuba). On the way back, they have a meal with *kami*. On their return, they give Mr C the amulets from the *Kanamura* priest, which are distributed to the members by each manager at the regular meeting of the neighborhood association. There is no pre or postmeeting.

The position of master of the *Togakushi-ko* has been retained in the same family since the late nineteenth century. A low Shinto priest (Oshi) belonging to the middle shrine of Togakushi takes charge of making reservations for the visitors' lodgings in a temple, and mailing amulets. A total of 41 households and eight persons took turns to visit until 1988. A group meeting selected delegates and chose the shrine to visit (Haruna or Mitake). All members visited the master's house for a meal and to draw lots. The shrine was visited in May, during the main festival, and amulets were collected to distribute directly to each member. The frequency of visits differed by period. In 1936, there were 64 members, and five went to visit the shrine in September. Before the Second World War, visits to Togakushi were irregular, but after 1946, visits were made every 4 or 5 years. Since 1989, visits were made every six years as *Somairi*. In 1997, members left Shimo-uchikawa at 6 a.m. and arrived at the Togakushi shrine about 10:30 a.m. After prayers, the delegates stayed at the visitors' lodge in the temple. The following day, the delegates visited the Zenkoji Temple and returned to their community in the evening. About 30 persons recruited by the managers took part in the Togakushi bus tour. An *Oshi* in charge sends certain kinds of amulets to the master for distribution to members every January.

Two festivals besides *Obisha*, spring prayer on March 15 and the donation of crops on December 15, were celebrated the same way. Ten managers from each group, a representative of *Ujiko,* an accountant, and the head of the area took part in the festivals. A Shinto priest comes to Oiwa shrine to pray at 1 p.m. After the prayer, all participants had a meal with *kami* in the community center. The activity used to be held at the Shinto priest's house until 1986, when he died. No other *Ujiko* members took part in either festival, and nothing was

Table 3.10 Annual religious events done in the Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1995

Time	Name of event	Area	Members (persons)	Place	Content
January 2nd		All	RU, Managers	Each household	Distributing amulets
Late in January		All	Master, Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
February 11th	*Obisha*	All	*Ujiko*	*Shuku*	Making bows and arrows
			SP, RU, Managers	Oiwa shrine	Dedicating a Shinto prayer
			Ujiko	Oiwa shrine	Shooting arrows
			Ujiko	*Shuku*	Meal with kami
March 15th	Spring prayer	All	SP, RU, Managers, HD	Oiwa shrine	Dedicating a Shinto prayer, meal with kami
Middle of March	NA	Oyanagi	Members	Public hall	Premeeting
	IA	Oyanagi	Members	Public hall	Premeeting
	NA	Oyanagi	DV (2)	Shinsyoji temple	Receiving amulets
Late in March	NA	Oyanagi	Members	Public hall	Distributing amulets
	IA	Oyanagi	Members	Public hall	Distributing amulets
Early in April	FA	All	Members	Master's house	Premeeting
	HA	All	Members	Master's house	Premeeting
	MA	All	Members	Master's house	Premeeting
Middle of April	FA	All	DV (8)	Furunime shrine	Prayer, Receiving amulets, meal with kami
	HA	All	DV (8)	Haruna shrine	Prayer, Receiving amulets, meal with kami
	MA	All	DV (5)	Mitake shrine	Prayer, Receiving amulets, meal with kami
	KA	4 groups	DV (5)	Kanamura	Prayer, Receiving amulets, meal with kami

Late in April	FA	All	Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
	HA	All	Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
	MA	All	Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
	KA	4 groups	Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
Early in May	TA	All	Members	Togakushi shrine	All members' visit
August 9th to 10th	*Kannnon-ko*	Oyanagi	Members	*Kannnon-do*	
Late in September	HA	All	Master, Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
	MA	All	Master, Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
November 23rd	KA	4 groups	DV (5)	Kanamura	Prayer, Receiving amulets, meal with kami
Late in November	KA	4 groups	Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
December 15th	Donation of crops	All	SP, RU, Managers, HD	Oiwa shrine	Dedicating a Shinto prayer, meal with kami
Late in December		All	RU, Managers	Each household	Distributing amulets of Ise Jingu

TA: Togakushi association, KA: Kanamura association, RU: representative of ujiko organization, FA: Komine association, IA: Itakura association, HD: head of district, HA: Haruna association, NA: Narita association, SP: Shinto priest, MA: Mitake association, DV: delegate visitors, 4 groups: Higashi, Nishi, Shimo and Okuma group

Data source: The author's field survey in August, 1997

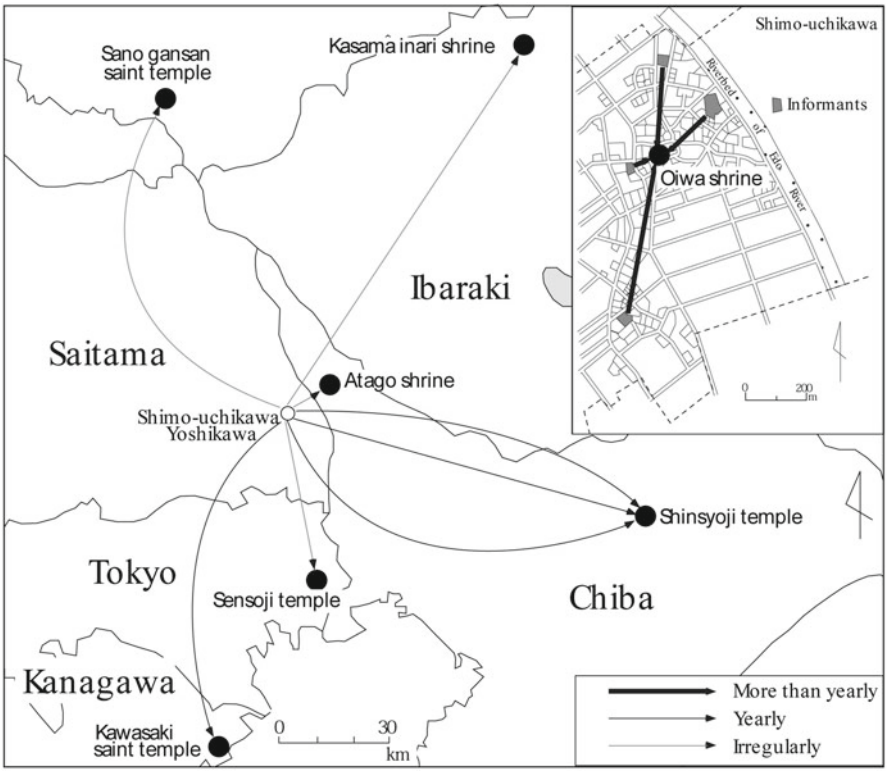

Fig. 3.49 Religious behavior of the inhabitants of the Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1997 (The author's field survey in August, 1997)

donated to the Oiwa shrine. Amulets of Ise Jingu were distributed by a Shinto priest of the Oiwa shrine through a representative of *Ujiko,* and by managers to those wanted them.

(4) Religious Behavior of Inhabitants

In this section, I analyze part of the religious behavior of the inhabitants who visited shrines and temples of the *Kanamura* faith. I selected one household from each of the Higashi, Okuma, Nishi, and Oyanagi groups as examples. All the households were members of the *Ujiko* organization of Oiwa shrine or other associations that visited famous shrines and temples. I consider the households and their masters or managers to be good examples. Three of the households were members of a *Kanamura* association. Figure 3.49 shows the annual religious behavior of sample households in Shimo-uchikawa area. All the households visited the Oiwa shrine on New Year's Day and during festivals or for rites of life (for example, *shichigosan*). Three households visited Shinshoji Temple regularly once a year in January. Although this visit was organized by the Oyanagi group, one member visited the temple privately every year. Another member regularly visited Kawasaki Daishi Temple every January to offer a prayer of gratitude for healing.

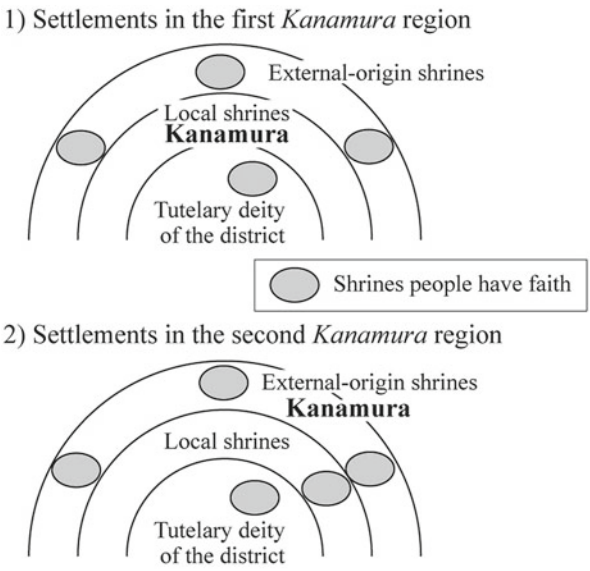

Fig. 3.50 Schematic model of an aspect of the Kanamura faith

The Sensoji Temple, Kasama Inari Shrine, Sano Gansan Saint Temple, and Atago Shrine were not visited regularly. Members prayed at Sensoji Temple and Kasama Inari Shrine for good business, and at Sano Gansan Saint Temple, for exorcism. The Atago shrine is a local shrine that can be visited as part of a shopping or commuting trip. Note that no one makes private visits to Kanamura; this shows an important aspect of the *Kanamura* faith in that the faith was worshipped by the community, not by individuals (Fig. 3.50).

The religious behavior of informants showed that faith in a tutelary shrine was supreme, followed by those of Shinshoji Temple and Kawasaki Daishi Temple. The order and frequency of visiting shows these shrines were considered superior to the others.

3.2.5 Spatial Characteristics of the Catchment Area of Kanamura

3.2.5.1 Spatial Characteristics of the First Area

(1) The Characteristics of an Aspect of *Kanamura* Faith
The evidence from the case study of the Toyosato area in Tsukuba illustrates aspects of the *Kanamura* faith. The evidence of *ko,* events, and religious behavior show the *Kanamura* faith differs from other faiths in the Konomata area in the *Ujiko* region of *Kanamura*.

The *Kanamura* association had three managers. The *Kanamura* and the *Ujiko* organization of Akagi shrine had the same members, so that they seemed to be just one group. However, the form of religious events indicates these groups differed from each other. The most important difference was the presence and way to have a meal with *kami*. In a tutelary shrine, the meal was always held at the *Shuku* after a festival, and all *Ujiko* members gather for the meal with the *kami*.

Kamisama is dedicated in the *shuku*, where people eat together after worship. The *Kanamura* association has no such meal with *kami*, except after *nissan-hajime*. I think it is one of the reasons religious events related to *Kanamura* are performed by a particular person, such as the *Uwado* or a manager, and not by all members. The ritual for preventing disasters in January and the delegate visit in November provide evidence of religious activity. For example, at *nissan-hajime* in March, a pentagonal wooden board passing was a religious activity, and that is why a meal with *kami* was held then. This differs from the celebration after the festival of the Akagi shrine in several ways. At Akagi, the celebration was held in a community center, not at the *Shuku* where the *kami* is not present. Moreover, other religious events related to *kami* of the outside occurred at the community center. It seems that *Kanamura* was also accepted as a *kami* of the outside, but that did not mean *Kanamura* was inferior to a tutelary shrine. *Kanamura* was worshipped to prevent disasters from outside and when farming began in spring. People prayed to *Kanamura* for important things related to the social life of the community. In this sense, *Kanamura* was superior to a tutelary shrine.

Analysis of religious behavior assessed the frequency of visits and the order of visit on New Year's Day. For example, Mr T regularly visited *Kanamura* once a year in January, and made monthly visits to a tutelary shrine or small shrines. These data imply *Kanamura* ranks second to the tutelary shrine and the Shinshoji Temple, although *Kanamura* was visited more often than the Kasama Inari and Hitoko tonushi shrines.

We can identify regional characteristics in the Nakahigashi area. Religious events in this area included delegate visits to Osugi and Atago shrines in January, a visit of all members to *Kanamura* in January, the summer festival in August, and the main festival in December. All these events, except the summer festival, were overseen by the *Ujiko* organization of a tutelary shrine. There were four religious organizations. Associations to visit Osugi and Atago had two managers and two of the members took turns to visit them. Visitors were confirmed at the New Year party.

The association to visit *Kanamura* differed from the other two organizations. Although the associations had the same members, the delegation and visiting systems were different. The managers and visitors were the same as those of the *Ujiko* organization, and the *Kanamura* association did not have a rotation system of visiting. It seems that the *Kanamura* association was not independent, and existed to distribute the amulets to each household. Members met before the visits to confirm the delegates and collect a membership fee. The

association had no rites before or after visiting. This suggests one aspect of *Kanamura* faith had a different dimension; this concept is supported by the combination of shrines and a region compared with Osugi or Atago faith. In Nakahigashi, more people were connected with *Kanamura*. All association members visited the shrine on January 3, a *Kanamura* priest dedicated the festival of a tutelary shrine, and the priest distributed amulets of Ise Jingu. Nakahigashi people appeared more connected to *Kanamura* than to the Osugi and Atago shrines.

I also note differences between *Kanamura* faith and a tutelary shrine faith. The festival of a tutelary shrine had taboos for women, and members were not restricted. Many offerings were donated to the tutelary shrine at the festival. In contrast, there was no rite of *Kanamura*. When visitors returned from *Kanamura*, not so much as a meal with kami was prepared. The difference can be discerned from the religious behavior of informants. A tutelary shrine was visited more often than any other shrine. *Kanamura* has the second-highest number of visits, but no one visited the Osugi and Atago shrines privately.

The characteristics of *Kanamura* faith in Toyosato can be summed up as follows. In this region, there were two types of *Kanamura* associations: the *nichigetsunenzan-ko* were derived from the prayer for rain, and the *dantai-ko* were organized after 1940. The *ko* were not independent, but were a part of other religious or neighborhood associations. It is easy to understand why the manager was also in charge of a representative of the *Ujiko* organization in Nakahigashi. *Kanamura* is regarded as different from a tutelary shrine. People in Toyosato prayed to *Kanamura* for soldiers' safety before the Second World War, so the shrine can be regarded as a local shrine.

Why is *Kanamura* believed to be a local shrine? I consider the primary factor is the close relationship between *Kanamura* priests and a community. Many tutelary shrines in Toyosato were also additional shrines of the priest, and the priest distributed amulets from Ise Jingu or a tutelary shrine. Several festivals were dedicated by the priest, and representatives of the *Ujiko* organization were often connected to the priest. This relationship between the people and a *Kanamura* priest encouraged worship of *Kanamura* as a local shrine.

(2) The Spatial Characteristics of the First Area

The first area in the neighborhood of *Kanamura* includes Tsukuba, Mitsukaido, Ishige town, Ina town, and Yawahara village. Over 80 % of the believers lived here. The ritual for rain required that a bottle of sacred water be quickly transported back to a village on foot or by bicycle; thus, the distribution of *nichigetsunenzan-ko* was restricted to the distance that can be covered by a half-day's walk. Originally, all members of *dantai-ko* were supposed to visit *Kanamura* at least once a month; however, it has changed in quality in the first area.

Many delegate visitors to the *Kanamura* shrine were selected by a manager or representative of other organizations instead of a rotation system. One characteristic of the *Kanamura* faith was that it was not an independent organization but subordinate to another. This is explained by the following three points. First, the position of manager was not inherited. Second, the representative of another

organization supervises it. Third, the faith does not have a social function that warranted a meeting or a meal with *kami* with other members. Accordingly, it was nothing but a part of another religious or neighborhood association. The purpose of the association was to get an amulet of *Kanamura*.

3.2.5.2 Spatial Characteristics of the Second Area

(1) The Characteristics of an Aspect of *Kanamura* Faith

The second area of the *Kanamura* faith can be illustrated by analysis of Shimo-uchikawa area in Yoshikawa. This analysis showed differences and similarities between the *Kanamura* faith and other faiths in *Ko* organization, events, and religious behavior. There were eight *ko* in Shimo-uchikawa, and seven visited famous shrines and temples. Each *ko* had different members. The *Ujiko* of the Oiwa shrine was organized by one representative from the *Ujiko* and ten managers from each group. There were three festivals in a year: *Obisha* on February 11, spring prayer on March 15, and the donation of crops on December 15. *Obisha* was the most important for members of the *Ujiko*. Apart from the two managers, a *Shuku* was selected from each group who organized the preparation of festival goods or meals with *kami*. Associations were founded to visit famous shrines and temples and gain divine favor. These religious forms are listed in Table 3.11. Because associations differed in the way of visiting, the number of visits, and divine favor, they normally had their own managers (or master) and members. Four of the associations (Furumine, Togakushi, Haruna, and Mitake) were organized by the village. Three of the associations (Kanamura, Itakura, and Shinshoji) were organized by the group. The Kanamura association was organized by four groups (Higashi, Nishi, Okuma, and Shimo).

The master or managers usually inherited their position, which sustained the position. Most associations held meetings to select delegates and collect membership fees. Each *ko* had its own members and rites, and although the *ko* cooperated, each was independent. For example, the associations that visited Haruna and Mitake were independent, but both had the same managers and held a common meeting to organize the visit. The Itakura and Shinshoji Temple associations were similar. Moreover, their relationships can be inferred from the fact that visitors were influenced by other associations. A person could cede his turn to visit to another person. In Shimo-uchikawa, the regular meeting of a neighborhood association doubled as a postmeeting (meal with kami). For example, in April, the managers distributed amulets of Kanamura, Furumine, Haruna, and Mitake to each member. Thus, the regular meeting of a neighborhood association also functioned as the postmeeting of associations that visited famous shrines and temples, and as a venue for recruiting new members. Furthermore, the direct distribution to each household of the amulets from Ise Jingu or a tutelary shrine distinguished the Kanamura from the *Ujiko* organization.

We can understand religious behavior underlying the time and frequency of visits to shrines in this region. People visited the tutelary shrines several times

Table 3.11 Religious forms of religious associations in the Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa City, 1995

Association	Name of shrines and temple	Place	Content of prayer	Master	Managers	Range	Number of households	Way of visit	Number of visitors	Decision of visitors	Rite
Komine	Furumine shrine	Kanuma City, Tochigi	AF	1 inherited	5 inherited	District	39	SV	8	House order	Premeeting
Togakushi	Togakushi shrine (*Tyusha*)	Togakushi village, Nagano	BC	1 inherited	4 inherited	District	41	SA, NM	All	No	Premeeting
Haruna	Haruna shrine	Haruna village, Gunma	AH	1 inherited	5 inherited	District	38	SV, FM	8	Drawing lot	Premeeting
Mitake	Mitake shrine	Ome City, Tokyo	AB	1 inherited	5 inherited	District	26	SV, FM	5	Drawing lot	Premeeting
Kanamura	Kanamura	Tsukuba City, Ibaraki	AL, R	No	4 inherited	4 groups	50	SFV	5	House order	Meal with kami
Itakura	Itakura thunder shrine	Itakura Town, Gunma	AH	No	1	Oyanagi	7	SM	No	No	Premeeting
Narita	Shinsyoji temple	Narita City, Chiba	FS	No	1	Oyanagi	22	SV	2	Free	Premeeting

FS: prayer for family's safe, AF: prayer for a protection against fire, SM: mailing in spring, BC: prayer for bumper crops, AH: prayer for a protection against hailstorm, FM: mailing in fall, R: prayer for rain, SV: vicarious visit in spring, NM: mailing in January, AB: prayer for a protection against burglars, SA: all member's visit in spring, 4 groups: Higashi, Nishi, Shimo and Okuma group, AL: prayer for a protection against lightning, SFV: vicarious visit in spring and fall

Data source: The author's field survey in August, 1997

a year, but Shinshoji and Kawasaki Daishi Temples were only visited once. The tutelary shrine, Shinhoji and Kawasaki Daishi were the only shrines visited regularly in a set order. All the informants visited a tutelary shrine on New Year's Day, and Shinshoji and Kawasaki, in January. No one visited Kanamura privately in this region. The *Kanamura* faith and those of Furumine, Togakushi, Haruna, Mitake, and Itakura Raiden-Jinja were visited to gain divine favor by community prayer; for example, to seek protection against hailstorms and lightning (Kanamura and Itakura), burglars (Mitake), and fire (Furumine). None of these sites were visited privately, implying *Kanamura* was worshipped as a favor shrine, not a local shrine. In this region, a *Kanamura* priest had nothing to do with the community tutelary shrine or distributing amulets. *Kanamura* was worshipped by the community, not by individuals.

(2) The Spatial Characteristics of the Second Area

The second area is located in the outer zone to the south of the first area. It spreads southwest to southeast Ibaraki, in southeast Saitama, and to north Chiba. Few believers live in this area. Two types of *Kanamura* associations, *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko,* were founded before 1860. Each *ko* had its own manager and members, and the associations in this area were independent, as shown by rites, such as pre or postmeetings. The *Kanamura* faith was worshipped as a favor shrine not a local shrine. Second, in this region, *Kanamura* was not worshipped privately. Even if people visited, they prayed for divine favor, *torigo,* or protection against lightning. The *Kanamura* faith accepted community prayer for divine favor, and the relationship between *Kanamura* and the people was limited to the delegated visits.

I also think that the Kanamura visits served tourism, and promoted religious activity, and recreation. The third characteristic is illustrated by the difference in *dantai-ko*. Less than 10 % of the group was distributed in the second area, and all were called *Jinja Dantai-ko,* derived from the late nineteenth century. All members of a *Jinja Dantai-ko* visited Kanamura together; that is, visiting *Kanamura* was their purpose. The master and managers always recruited members to visit the shrine. Some of the associations planned visits to famous shrines and temples.

This case is illustrated by the Hatogaya association in the second area. This group visited three shrines and temples, such as Kanamura, Shinshoji Temple, and Fuji Sengen Shrine. The master was the representative of a religious corporation founded by his grandfather in the 1930s. There used to be 70 members but the number is now down to 46. They rented a tour bus for the visit. In 1996, after visiting Kanamura, they stayed at Kusatsu hot springs. They visited Shinshoji Temple three times a year, but Kanamura only once a year in April. This shows the association in the second area also had a common recreational characteristic.

Figure 3.51 shows a schematic model of the *Kanamura* faith. Having branched from the Kamo Shrine in Kyoto in the tenth century, *Kanamura* was believed by each community in the first area to be a local shrine. Many people

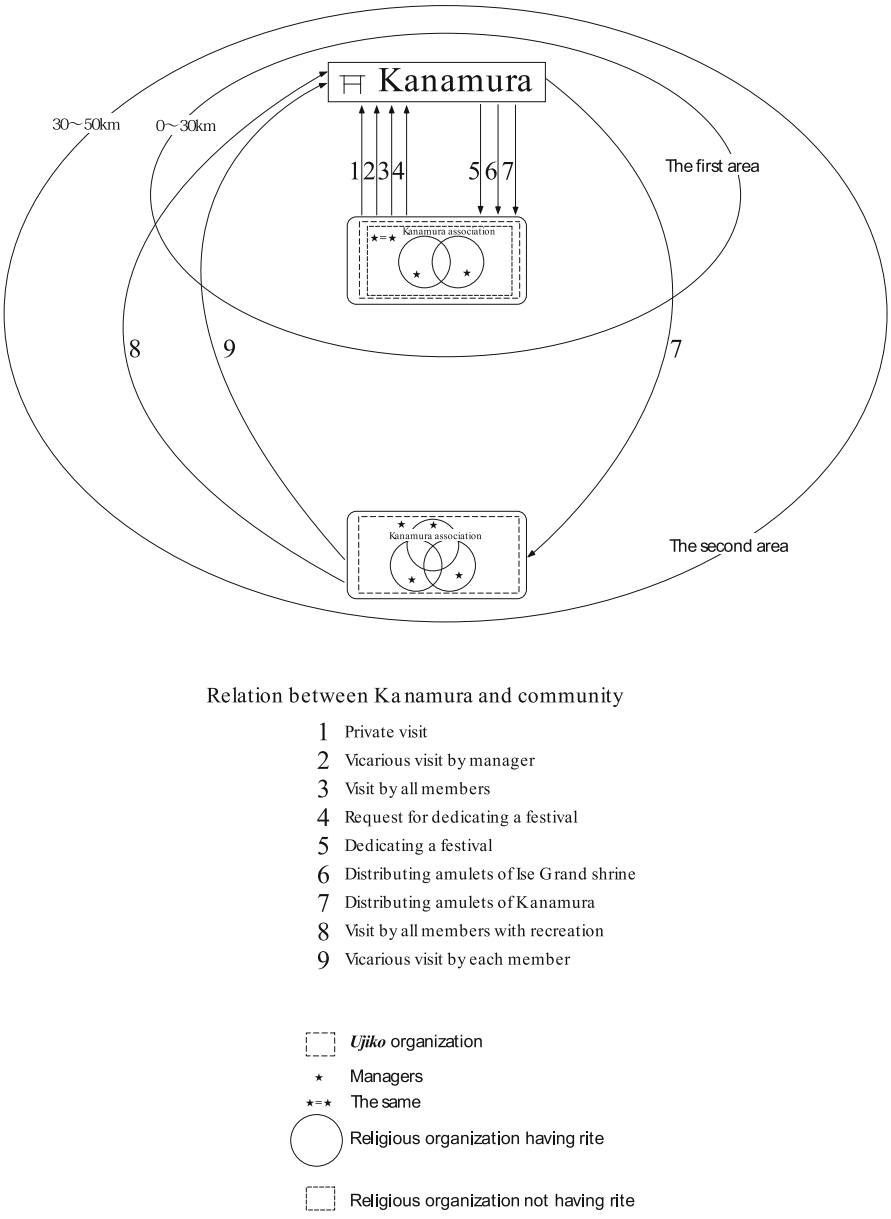

Fig. 3.51 Schematic model of the catchment area of Kanamura faith

visited the shrine privately in January to pray for family safety. In the second area, situated in the outer zone, *Kanamura* was believed by each community to be a favor shrine. It was worshipped not by individuals, but by the community. A visit to *Kanamura* also developed into a form of recreation.

3.2.6 Discussion

This study of the religious catchment area has developed from folklore and the science of religion. Miyata (1970) suggested that the catchment area of mountain religion has a zonal structure. However, subsequent studies describe a process of the formation, development and form of each religion and take little interest in the distribution of believers. Few studies have described the distribution of religion from a spatial viewpoint. Geographers have tried to define religious catchment areas since the 1980s; for example, Iwahana (1981, 1983a, b, 1992) and Nagano (1987). These authors described the spatial characteristics of the religious spheres of Mts. Dewa-sanzan, Togakushi, Iwaki, Hiko, and Tsukuba. However, it is not sufficient to reveal the spatial structure of a religious catchment area, and we should ask if the catchment area has zonal structure, and if so, and how far each zone is from the religion center.

This information is superficial, and we also need to clarify the spatial structure of the religious catchment area by analyzing an aspect of some religions at the same time. Many rural communities in Japan are home to many religions, and we need to clarify the relation between religions and regions. In this section, I have demonstrated the spatial structure of the religious catchment area by comparing the *Kanamura* faith with other faiths, and I was able to explain the area differentiation of the religious catchment area.

References

Higo K (1983) Inari-shin*ko* no hajime. In: Naoe H (ed) Minshu shukyo shi sousho 3 Inari-shinko. Yuzankaku, Tokyo, pp 3–16 (J)

Inokuchi A (1985) Tsukuba sanroku no mura (Villages around Mt. Tsukuba). Meicho Shuppan, Osaka (J)

Iwahana M (1981) Transfiguration of the mountain villages around Mt. Togakushi according to the development of tourism. Hum Geogr 33:458–472 (J)

Iwahana M (1983a) Dewa sanzan shin*ko* ken no chirigakuteki *ko* satsu (On the religious catchment area in Dewa-sanzan from the geographical point of view). J Hist 66:681–726 (J)

Iwahana M (1983b) The mountain villages founded by yamabushi around Mt. Dewa-sanzan. Geogr Rev Jpn 56:535–552 (JE)

Iwahana M (1992) Togakushi shin*ko* no chiikiteki tenkai (Regional characteristic of Mt. Togakushi faith). Mountain Shugendo 10:31–40 (J)

Kamagaya Local History Center (1993) Folklore in Kamagaya City. Kamagaya Local History Center, Kamagaya (J)

Kasama City History Editorial Committee (1988) Zusetsu Kasama shi shi (Illustration, Histrory of Kasama City). Kasama City History Editorial Committee, Kasama City (J)

Kurabayashi S, Kurokawa H, Tsuboi Y (1971) Tonegawa ryuiki ni okeru jinjashin*ko* no tokucho (Characteristic of shrine faith around the basin of the River Tone). In: Tone River Survey Committee (ed) Tonegawa; shizen, bunka, shakai (Tone River; nature, culture and society). Kobundo, Tokyo, pp 390–410 (J)

Kushida M (1978) Kamigoshi shiryoko (Consideration to the history of Kamigo). Kamigoshi Shiryo Kanko kai, Toyosato (J)

Matsui K (1995) The religious catchment area of *Kasama Inari* shrine classified by distributions of believers. Geogr Rev Jpn 68:347–366 (JE)
Meinig DW (1965) The Mormon Culture Region: strategies and patterns in the geography of the American West, 1847–1964. Ann Assoc Am Geographers 55:191–220
Miyamoto K (1994) Kigan (Prayer). In: Ono Y (ed) Nihon shukyo jiten (Encyclopedia of Japanese religion). Kobundo, Tokyo, pp 659–662 (J)
Miyata N (1970) Iwakisan shinko; sono shinko ken wo megutte (On the sphere of Mt. Iwaki). In: Wakamori T (ed) Tsugaru no minzoku (Folklore in Tsugaru, Aomori Prefecture). Yoshikawa Kobunkan, Tokyo, pp 277–295 (J)
Miyata N (1983) Inari-shin*ko* no shinto to minshu. In: Naoe H (ed) Minshu shukyo shi sousho 3 Inari-shinko. Yuzankaku, Tokyo, pp 137–150 (J)
Miyata N (1994) Kyodokigan (Community prayer). In: Otsuka folklore association (ed) Nihon minzoku jiten (Encyclopedia of folklore). Kobundo, Tokyo, pp 200–201 (J)
Nagano T (1987) Hiko-san shugendo no rekishi chirigaku teki kenkyu (A historical geography of Mt. Hiko-Shugendo). Meicho Shuppan, Tokyo (J)
Nagareyama City Museum (ed) (1991) Nagareyama shiritsu hakubutsukan chosa kenkyu hoko kusho 8 Nagareyama no ko (Religious associations in Nagareyama). Nagareyama City Museum, Nagareyama (J).
Naoe H (1983) Inari-shin*ko* jo. In: Naoe H (ed) Minshu shukyo shi sousho 3 Inari-shinko. Yuzankaku, Tokyo, pp 1–3 (J)
Otsuka folklore association (1994) Encyclopedia of Japanese Foiklore. Kobundo, Tokyo (J)
Takeuchi R (ed) (1980) Kadokawa Nihon chimei jiten 11 Saitama ken (Encyclopedia of place name in Saitama Prefecture). Kadokawa Shoten, Tokyo (J)
Takeuchi R (ed) (1991) Kadokawa Nihon chimei jiten 8 Ibaraki ken (Encyclopedia of place name in Ibaraki Prefecture). Kadokawa Shoten, Tokyo (J)
Tamura Z (1972) Kaminari (Thunder). In: Otsuka Folklore Association (ed) Nihon minzoku jiten (Encyclopedia of folklore). Kobundo, Tokyo, p 169 (J)
Toyosato Town History Compilation Committee (ed) (1985) Toyosato no rekishi (History of Toyosato). Toyosato Town History Compilation Committee, Toyosato Town (J)
Ueda M (ed) (1988) Tenman Tenjin. Chikuma Shobo, Tokyo (J)
Umeda Y (1983) Inari sha no bunshi ni tsuite. In: Naoe H (ed) Minshu shukyo shi sousho 3 Inari-shinko. Yuzankaku, Tokyo, pp 269–272 (J)
Yachiyo Town History Compilation Committee (ed) (1987) Yachiyo choshi tsushihen (History of Yachiyo town). Yachiyo Town History Compilation Committee, Yachiyo Town (J)
Yanagita K (1969) Kaminari shinko no hensen (Changes of thunder faith). In: Yanagita K (ed) Teihon Yanagita Kunio shu 9 shinsoban. Chikuma Shobo, Tokyo, pp 63–81 (J)
Yoshino M, Miyauchi S, Iwama T (1987) Hail storms and hail damages in the Kanto-Ko shin region: their distribution and vertical structure of the atmosphere during the hail storms. J Agric Meteorol 43:239–246 (JE)

Chapter 4
Sacred Places, Pilgrimage, and Tourism

Abstract This chapter discusses some modern aspects of sacred places and tourism through two case studies. Section 4.1 focused on the changes in the type of business of shops at *Omotesando* of the Naritasan Shinshoji-Monzenmachi, and discussed the transformation of the commercial space at Shinshoji-Monzenmachi that resulted from involvement in a landscape improvement project currently being promoted at *Omotesando*. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 examine the revitalization of local community through the promotion of religions tourism. Nowadays politics surrounding World Heritage designations has resulted in the important challenge of conserving and using cultural landscapes such as rural space. This chapter examines the World Heritage registration movement of the "Nagasaki Church Group and Christian Related Cultural Assets" as a case study and the meaning of and problems that local faith-related heritages in rural areas and their cultural landscapes can expect, including the attention they will be exposed to as a cultural heritage site.

Keywords Commodification • Pilgrimage • Temple town (Monzenmachi) • Tourism • World Heritage

4.1 Development of Religious Tourism and the Spatial Transformation of Sacred Places

4.1.1 Introduction

The Naritasan Shinshoji (Fig. 4.1), which most people know as "Narita Fudo" or "Naritasan," is famous throughout Japan as a place where people seek blessings for good luck, disaster prevention, and traffic safety. The temple attracts about three million people who offer New Year prayers during the first 3 days of the New Year. The Meiji Jingu (Tokyo), and Kawasaki Daishi (Kanagawa) are also popular temples for New Year prayers. Narita *Fudo-ko* were organized throughout Japan from

K. Matsui, *Geography of Religion in Japan: Religious Space, Landscape, and Behavior*, International Perspectives in Geography 2, DOI 10.1007/978-4-431-54550-7_4,

Fig. 4.1 Shinshoji Temple

the seventeenth century as "*O-Fudosama,*" to bestow blessings on people in this world. Subsequently, the Monzenmachi (temple town) developed into a crowded and busy center catering to *ko* members (Narita-mode).

In this chapter, I will discuss the transformation of the landscape of Monzenmachi of Naritasan Shinshoji and how Naritasan-related tourism changed the type of business in Omotesando (which means "frontal approach"), and more specifically, clarify the underlying causes of landscape transformation (Fig. 4.2).

4.1.2 Historical Development of Naritasan Shinshoji-Monzenmachi

4.1.2.1 Monzenmachi up to the 1950s

Shinshoji was nationally renowned before 1700. Shohan was invited to be the chief priest of the temple in 1700, commenced expositions in 1701, and converted many believers (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986a). Twenty-three expositions on Naritasan were given between 1701 and 1857 (eight home expositions, eleven extended expositions, and four traveling expositions). Fourteen expositions happened in the modern era (nine home expositions and five extended expositions).

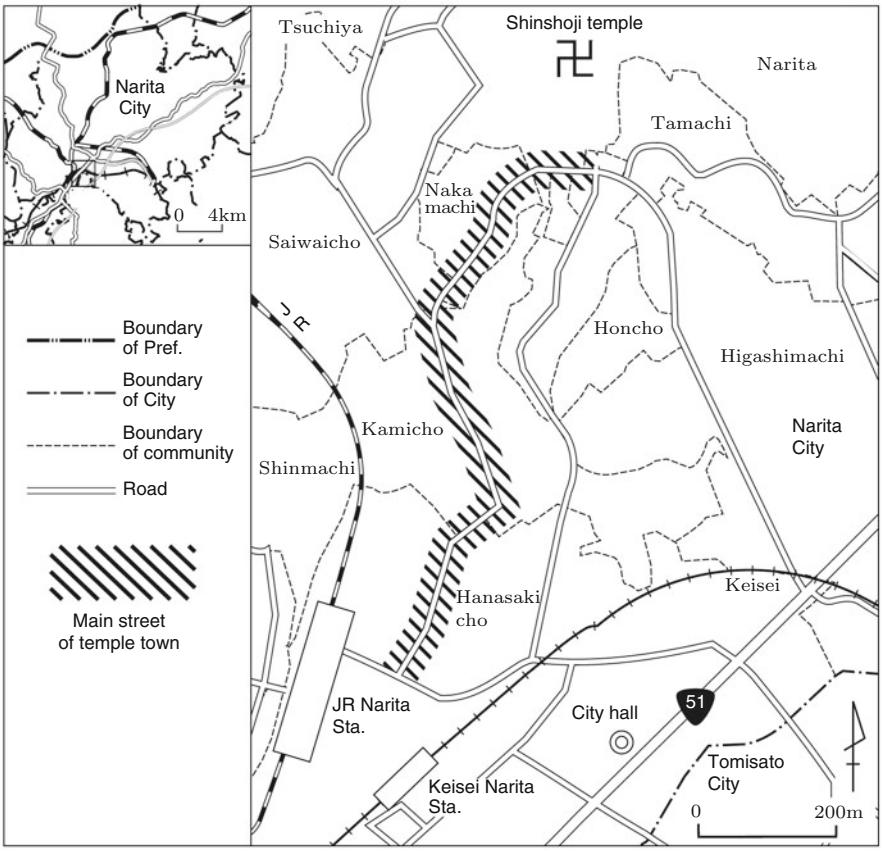

Fig. 4.2 Study area

Narita Village and Shinshoji were closely involved in those expositions. The men of Narita Village were mobilized in a parade to Edo (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1982) The expositions strengthened the bond with Narita Village, and were essential to the development of the temple; for example, by recruiting believers and raising funds to build the main hall and repair the temple (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986a). When Ichikawa Danjuro (of *kabuki* fame) played the Record of Miracles of Narita Fudo, more people converted to Naritasan belief.

As belief in Shinshoji advanced, a town developed in front of the Shrine gate. After 1710, town houses, *Kentonya* that sold *Udon* and *Sobagiri*, candy shops, and drug stores were opened (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986a). A "list of names of craftsmen" in 1831 (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1976) and a "list of the number of merchants" in 1843 (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1976) showed 27 craftsmen involved in eight different jobs, and 123 merchants in 31 different businesses in Narita. People other than merchants and craftsmen would also have lived at Monzenmachi, but these numbers indicate the prosperity enjoyed by Narita.

In the Edo period, worship took 3 days and two nights, with Sakura Road (Senju-Niijuku-Koiwa-Ichikawa-Funabashi-Sakura-Narita-Teradai) as the main venue. Teradai Village was originally a post station on the Katori-Kashima Road, but as Narita became more prosperous, the post-station function began to diminish in importance. Monzenmachi formed from the four towns of Honmachi, Nakamachi, Daimachi (presently Saiwaicho, Kamicho and Hanasakicho), and Tamachi to provide services for worshipers from Edo (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986a). Inns were opened in Tsuchiya, a neighboring village, to cater to the influx of worshipers from Ryugasaki, who used a back road via Tsuchiya (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986a). In 1858, a "Narita Worship Diary" was published to describe interesting places along the way from Edo to Narita, indicating many worshipers must have come from Edo.

In modern times, the number of worshipers decreased after the *Haibutsu Kishaku* (separation of Shintoism from Buddhism), but omnibuses (carriages) connected Tokyo and Narita in 1883. The Narita railroad between Narita and Sakura opened in 1897, between Narita and Namerikawa in 1901, and between Narita and Ajiki, and Narita and Ueno in 1902, (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986b). Day trips became possible from Tokyo, which increased the number of worshipers. By 1897, Monzenmachi was known as "7 Monzenmachi," because it incorporated Motojuku (now Motomachi), Tamachi, Nakamachi, Yokomachi (now Saiwaicho), Kamicho, Sunada (now Azumamachi), and Hanasakicho (which was separated from Kamicho) ("Kadokawa Japan Place-names Dictionary" edited by Narita City Editorial Committee 1984).

According to the "List of Town Roads from the Private Railroad Narita Station to Monzendori around 1910" (Sakaguchi 1991), inns, restaurants, and souvenir shops and shops used by local residents lined the Omotesando. Kamicho had clinics, kimono shops, meat wholesalers, watch shops, and rice shops; Hanasakicho had fuel shops, barbers, photography shops, and banks. By the 1920s, the number of worshipers had increased, and movie theaters, Geisha houses, and hotels opened in Monzenmachi (Asahi 2005). More shops opened in Hanasakicho, near the railroad station, and in Kamicho, between the railroad station and Shinshoji, to cater to day-trippers. However, the number of inns declined throughout Monzenmachi (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986b). The railroad system stimulated a change from *ko* group to individual worship (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1982).

In 1933, the Keisei Line began providing services on all railroad lines. After that date, employees and elementary school students from Tokyo began to visit Shinshoji, which then developed into a tourist destination. Monzenmachi strengthened its character as a downtown spot, but *ko* worship decreased (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1982).

The Second World War stimulated worshipers who could use the railroads to visit the temple and pray for victory (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986b). Immediately after the War, the number of worshipers drastically decreased (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986b), but numbers began to increase again after 1955 as the postwar recovery progressed. After a period of high economic growth, the number of worshipers who visited by car, instead of by railroad,

increased, and the Traffic Safety Praying Hall was established at Naritasan (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986b).

4.1.2.2 Transition in Worshipers

(1) Changes to ko

Four hundred fourteen *ko*, were recorded in "Records of *ko*" in 1805. Three hundred twenty-two *ko* were established in local towns, and the Senju Post Station had 92 *ko* (Narita City History Editorial Committee 1986a). The reason for the large number of *ko* between 1600 and 1860 was that expositions were held, and the name of Naritasan was publicized by the Ichikawa Danjuro family. The family promoted a play called "*Fudo Risho-ki*." Furthermore, in the 1600s, the distance to Shinshoji required only three nights and 4 days of travel. The number of *Narita-ko* rapidly increased in the first half of the nineteenth century, with new establishments distributed in Musashi, Kai, Awa, Kazusa, Shimousa, Hitachi, Shimotsuke, Kozuke, Izu, and Shinano from the 1840s. The distribution of *ko* was quite widespread, but *ko* with very strong ties with Shinshoji included the *Naijin Five-ko*, *Naijin Sixteen-ko*, and *Asakusa Ten-ko*. A Naritasan branch was established in Fukagawa (Tokyo) and in Kawagoe, where there were a number of such *ko*, whose representatives visited Naritasan on behalf of *ko* members.

The number of *Narita-ko* has increased in modern times, but has declined since the 1970s (Shinozaki 2003). Figure 4.3 shows *Narita-ko* by prefecture in the years 1972 and 2009 based on the "list of *Narita-ko* and temple support groups" and on material provided by Shinshoji. There were 2,935 *Narita-ko*, including substitute *ko*, in 1972. Most were in Tokyo, with 858 *ko* (16 were substitute worship associations) that accounted for 29.2 % of all *ko*. Next was Fukushima, with 487 *ko* (16.6 %, including 412 substitute worship associations); Saitama, with 367 (12.5 %, with 100 substitute worship associations); Chiba, with 317 (10.8 %, with 50 substitute worship associations); Kanagawa, with 163 (5.6 %, with 18 substitute worship associations); and Ibaraki, with 138 (4.7 %, with 18 substitute worship associations). 1972 and 2009 had similar distributions. There were 1,141 *ko*, including temple support groups. In 2009, there were 389 *ko* in Tokyo (27.0 %, with three substitute worship associations and 20 temple support groups); 195 in Saitama (13.5 %, with one temple support group); 186 in Fukushima (12.9 %, with 136 substitute worship associations and seven temple support groups); 149 in Chiba (10.3 %, with nine substitute worship associations and 22 temple support groups); and 91 in Kanagawa (6.3 %, with one substitute worship association and two temple support groups). *Ko* in Kanto and Fukushima accounted for 79.4 % of the total in 1972, and 70.1 % in 2009. This shows *Narita-ko* were concentrated in the Kanto area, including Tokyo. Some *ko* in Tokyo moved to more rural areas for safety during the Second World War, and were established in the areas where the believers fled to. This supports the conclusion that the reason for the

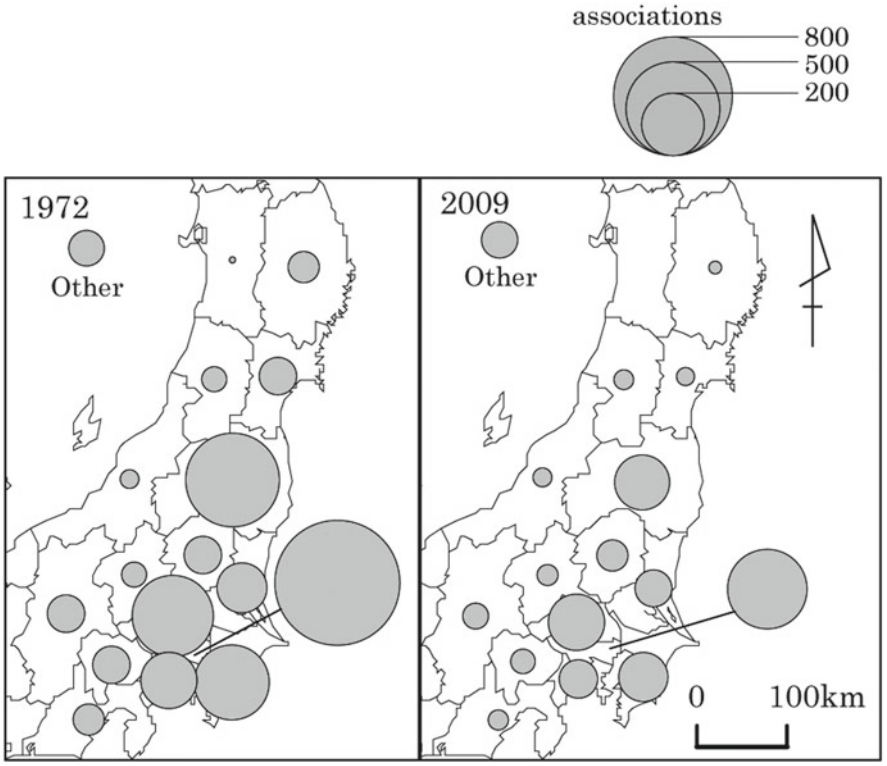

Fig. 4.3 Number of Naritasan Religious Associations by Prefecture ("List of Naritasan Religious Associations and Temple Support Groups, 1972" and "List of Naritasan Religious Associations, 2009"). Notes: (1) The number of religious associations in 1972 includes substitute worship associations. (2) The number of religious associations in 2009 includes substitute worship associations and temple support group

large number of *ko* in Fukushima was that it includes the *ko* that moved there from Tokyo.

Ko can be classified into seven categories: (1) *ko* of local residents, (2) *ko* of employees of a company, (3) *ko* of a company and its affiliated companies, (4) *ko* of companies with whom transactions take place (including affiliates), (5) *ko* of the same profession, (6) parishioners of the *sendatsu* (ancestor), and (7) election support organizations. Conditions for registration as a *Narita-ko* include having a *sendatsu* and *komoto* (representative), performance of the *ogoma* (sacred fire rite) once a year, association members visiting Naritasan, and *ko* members preparing a list of *ko* members (although some *ko* do not have a *sendatsu*). Without *sendatsu*, the *ko* can continue only when the status of the representative gets passed on.

Ko numbers halved in the 37 years from 1972 to 2009, but it is difficult to identify exactly when the numbers started decreasing. The reasons for the decrease in the number of *ko* are: (1) individual worship became easier because

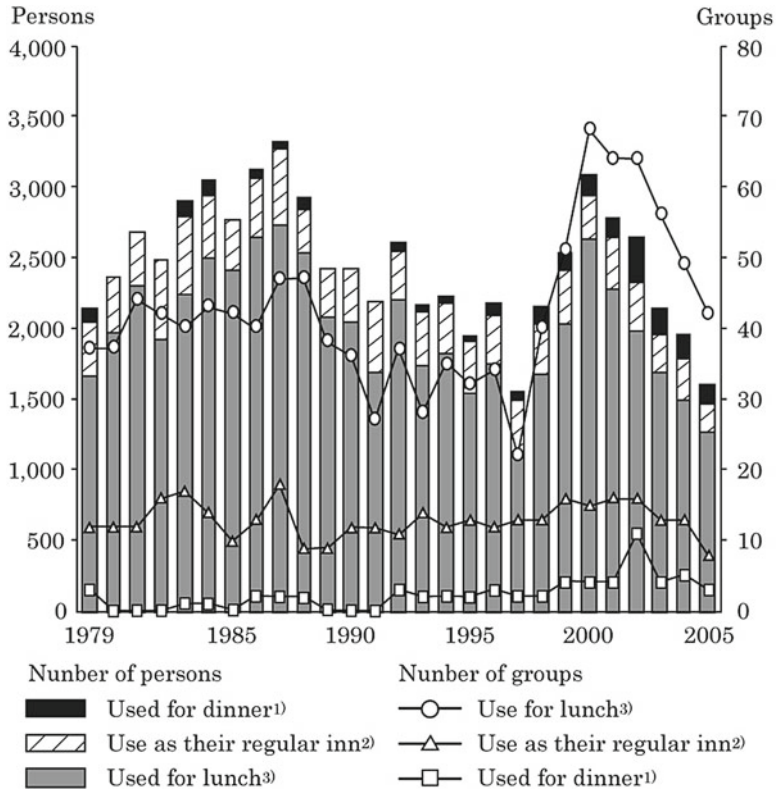

Fig. 4.4 Changes in number of religious associations that used Inn A every January, 1975–2005 (The guest book of Inn A). Notes: (1) Used only for dinner. (2) Used for accommodation, which included both dinner and breakfast. (3) Used only for lunch

transportation improved when railroads opened, (2) discontinuation of a *sendatsu*, (3) dilution of the unity within the region, (4) aging of the representative and a shortage of younger members, and (5) restricted parking space at Monzenmachi inns. Along with the decrease in the number of *ko*, a decrease in the number of *ko* members occurred, and the average number of members per association was about 50. However, some *ko* were newly organized by the leaders of a region, and their subsequent nature differed from that of older *ko*.

(2) Changes in the Use of Inns by ko

The number of accommodation facilities at Monzenmachi decreased as modern transportation networks developed. This is particularly related to the decrease in the number of *ko*, and to changes in the form of *ko* worship. According to Shinozaki (2003), 61 regular inns that housed religious *ko* members existed in 1885, whereas by 2003, only 13 hotels remained. The regular inns have a placard on which the name of the *ko* and members is posted.

This section will discuss the change in the number of *ko* that used Inn A every January from 1979 to 2005 (shown in Fig. 4.4), which *ko* chose Inn A, and which

were the *ko's* regular inns. Most *ko* only used the inn for lunch every year. Between 1976 and 1986, about 40 groups used the inn each year. Between 1987 and 1998, numbers wavered between 20 and 40, and from 1998 to 2000 the number increased. In 2000, 68 groups used the inn, a record for the past 27 years, but since 2001, the number has declined. Thirteen *ko* regularly used the inn for accommodation, although the number fluctuated slightly from 1985 to 1987. The number of *Ko* using the inn only for dinner increased slightly after 1999.

The number of persons who used inns also declined until 1997; peak number of users occurred in 1987. After that, the number of inn users increased until 2000, but then declined until 2005. More persons used the inn for lunch every year, and groups accounted for about 80 % of the total number of users. Up to 100 members per group used the accommodation, and 250 visited for lunch. On average, 29.6 used the accommodation and 49.0 visited for lunch only. The average number of members per *ko* at the inns used for accommodation has decreased since 1992, and the number of lunch patrons has decreased since 1994. The size of *ko* has decreased and affected Inn A patrons.

4.1.2.3 Transformation of the Commercial Environment of Narita City After the Second World War

In 1954, one town and six villages merged to form Narita. Until about 1960, small private shops accounted for most commercial activities. After 1978, when Narita Airport opened, Narita Newtown was built and supermarkets opened, changing the commercial environment significantly. Figure 4.5 shows the number of retail shops and annual sales in Narita. The number of shops in Narita increased until the beginning of the 1980s, but then leveled off at about 1,000 shops (although small increases and decreases occurred), and increased again in 2007. Annual sales rapidly increased until the beginning of the 1990s. After 1990, sales gradually increased, despite constant small increases and decreases. Floor space per shop has consistently increased, particularly since 1990. The number of employees per shop decreased once in the 1990s, but increased overall between 1970 and 2004, then decreased in 2007. Peak employment was in 2004 at 10.35 employees per shop, more than four times the average when Narita was founded.

The increase in floor space and number of employees per shop may have been driven by shops' increased size in the 1990s when large retail shops opened (called "large shops" below). Large shops in Narita opened in the 1980s, and the 1990s witnessed many such openings (Fig. 4.5). Large shops in Narita are only located in Narita Newtown, around the Kodzu-no-mori station of the Keisei Line, and in the suburb of Sanrizuka. The large shops typically have a floor space of 2,000–5,000 m^2, and many are specialty shops with their own parking spaces, or very large shopping centers with a floor space of over 10,000 m^2. The large shops have drawn more shoppers to Narita compared with surrounding municipalities since 1990. In 2001, the increase in the number of households in Narita was the second largest out of all municipalities in Chiba (Komaki et al. 2006).

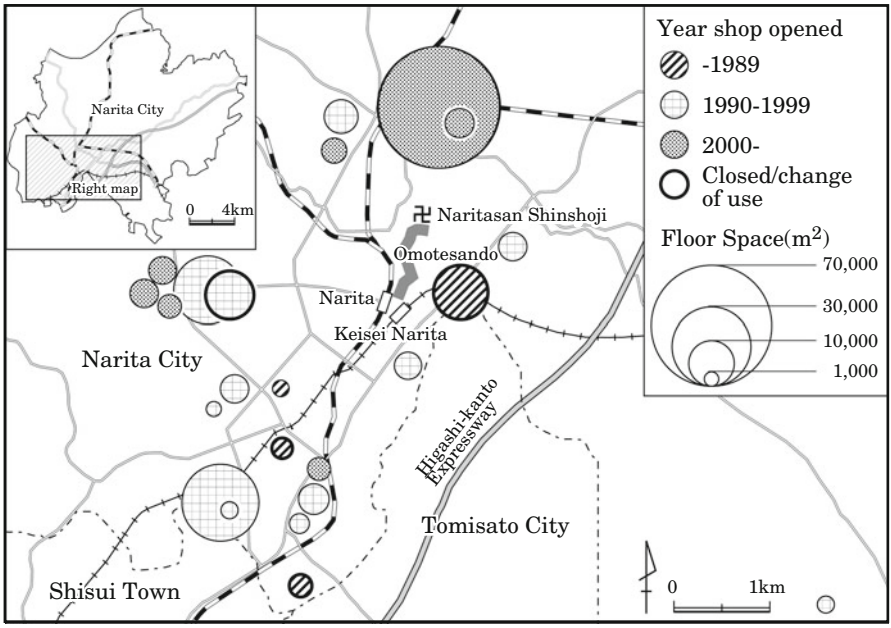

Fig. 4.5 Year large retail shops opened in Narita City, and the retail shop's floor space, 2009 (The Narita City Chamber of Commerce and Industry)

The distribution of shopping associations in Narita is shown in Fig. 4.6. Many shopping associations are concentrated along the approaches to Shinshoji-Monzenmachi, and two are on the grounds of Shinshoji. As well as Shinshoji-Monzenmachi, the shopping associations are also distributed in areas surrounding the city center, Narita Newtown, the Monzenmachi of Sogoreido, Sanrizuka, and the Toyozumi area. Shinshoji-Monzenmachi and the shopping associations in Sanrizuka have large numbers of active members, but other shopping associations did not do as well when the customers started using the large shops.

After the 1990s, Narita started to attract customers from the surrounding municipalities because large shops opened in the suburbs, while small retail shops started to become concentrated in the center (including in the Monzenmachi), and shopping associations strengthened their functions. Commercial functions in the center were different from those in the suburbs.

4.1.3 Response to Tourists by Shinshoji-Monzenmachi

4.1.3.1 Tourist Dynamics

Worshipers travel for religious and recreational reasons. Many tourists regard Shinshoji as both a tourist spot and a place of worship, and hence worshipers cannot be clearly distinguished from tourists.

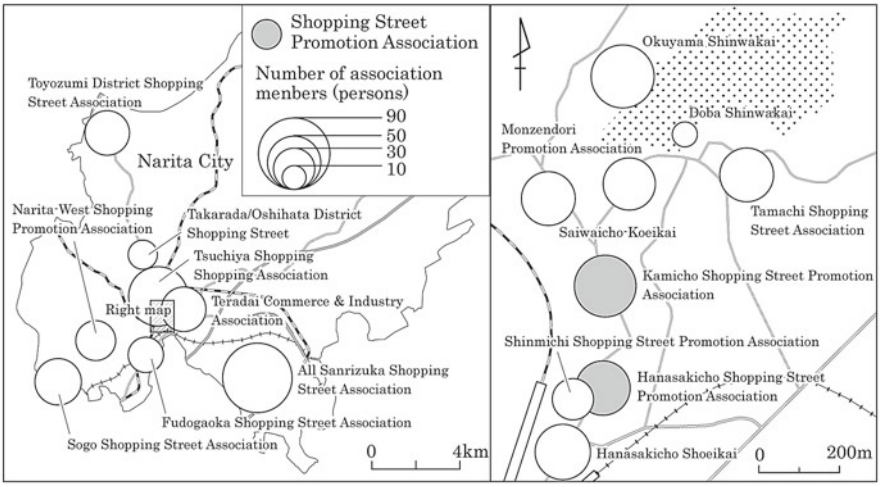

Fig. 4.6 Distribution of major shopping associations in Narita City, 2009 (The Narita City Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Basic Plan for Vitalization of the Center of Narita City, 2001)

There is no data available that focuses on tourists in Monzenmachi, so the description provided is based on tourists to Narita. Figure 4.7 shows changes in the number of visitors who traveled to Narita from 1970 to 2005. The number of visitors increased from 1980 to 1990. The number of visitors who arrived by sightseeing buses also increased during this period. The number of visitors arriving by train increased until 1985, but decreased in 1990, when the number of visitors arriving by private car rapidly increased. The number of visitors arriving by sightseeing bus has decreased since 1995, and visitor numbers in 2005 were about one-third of the peak in 1980. The number of visitors arriving by other forms of transportation has gradually decreased since a peak in 1990. The presumption is that the decrease in worshipers at Shinshoji is connected to the decrease in the number of *ko*.

Figure 4.7 shows tourist visitors by month in 2008. Most tourists visiting Narita arrive to worship at Shinshoji, and four times as many visitors arrive in January as in any other month. Over the first 3 days of the New Year, 2.9 million New Year worshipers visited Shinshoji in 2007. In April and July, many tourists visit the Taiko-matsuri and Gion-matsuri festivals, which are held at Shinshoji and at the entrance of the Monzenmachi.

Information gathered by the Narita Volunteer Guide Association and shops along Omotesando shows that most Shinshoji visitors are at least 50 years old. Groups visit Inubosaki and Katsuura as part of sightseeing tours and usually arrive in buses parked near Shinshoji. Hence, these visitors rarely visit the area to the south of Nakamachi. However, individual tourists use the JR Line and the Keisei Line and arrive via Kamicho and Hanasakicho. Most individual tourists arrive on day trips.

The opening of Narita Airport brought foreign tourists to Shinshoji. Users of Narita Airport and airline crews frequently visit Shinshoji. Asians account for about

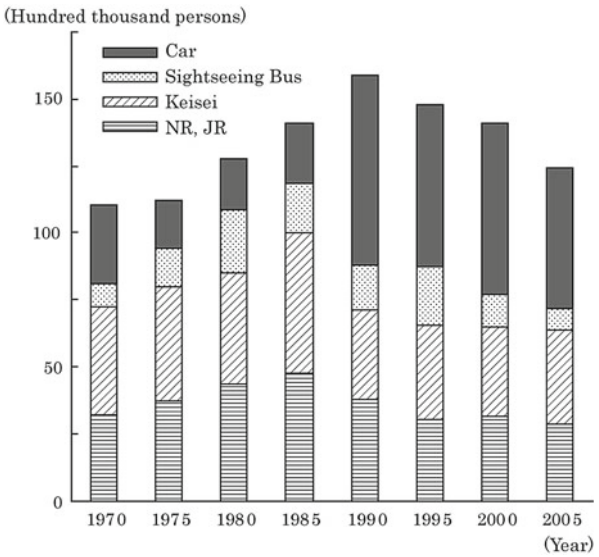

Fig. 4.7 Transition in the number of visitors to Narita City by transportation, 1970–2005 (The Promotion Section and Narita City Statistics, 2007 edition)

half of the visitors, and Europeans and Americans for the other half. Foreigners visit to eat Japanese food and see the Japanese-style landscape of Shinshoji and the Monzenmachi. The increase in the number of foreign tourists has accompanied other changes in the Monzenmachi shops. Many foreigners dine together at restaurants in the evening, especially in Hanasakicho, and some restaurants are funded by foreign capital. Existing restaurants also responded to the increase in number of foreigners by preparing English menus. Some shops, although mainly for local customers, display small Japanese items such as Daruma-dolls and Manekineko (beckoning cat figure) at the entrance.

4.1.3.2 Responses to Tourists

1) Response of the Narita Tourist Association

(1) Hosting of Events

Many of the events hosted by the tourist association and Shinshoji used the Omotesando. Most tourists visit Narita in January, May, and September, which is called *Sho-go-ku* (*Sho* refers to New Year, *go* to May and *ku* to Sept.). These are the months in which worship happens at Shinshoji. As Fig. 4.8 reveals, the annual number of tourists heavily depends on worshipers in January. However, to resolve that dependency, other events are held in other months.

A flower committee hosts the *Ume-matsuri* (Japanese apricot Festival), *Momiji-matsuri* (Japanese maple Festival), and *Ajisai-matsuri* (Hydrangea Festival). The *Ume-matsuri* is held on Sundays and on other holidays in February and March, and the *Momiji-matsuri* on Saturdays and Sundays in

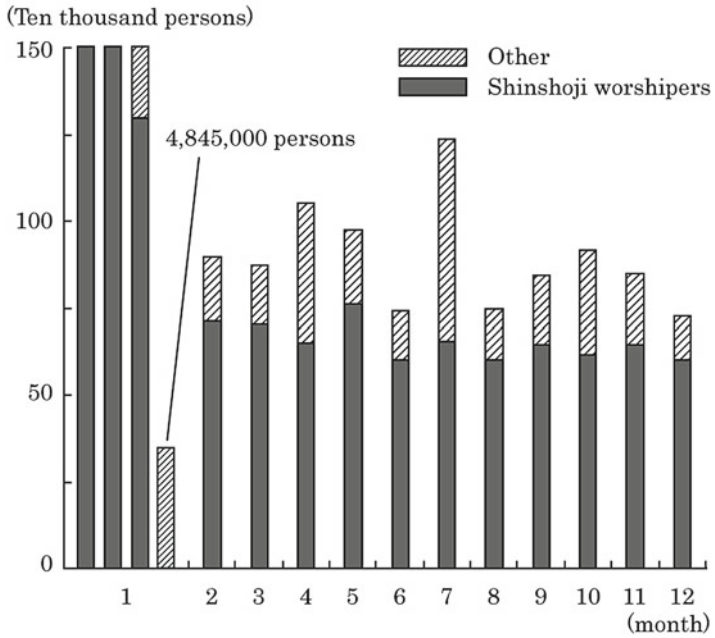

Fig. 4.8 Number of tourists to Narita City by month, 2008 (The Narita City, Tourism Promotion Section)

November at Naritasan Park. A tea ceremony happens along with *erhu* (two-string instrument), *tsugaru shamisen* (three-string instrument), and *koto* (Japanese harp) performances. The *Ajisai-matsuri* is held on the grounds of Sogoreido in June and July, along with a photo contest and tea ceremonies. Some 7,000 *ajisai* (hydrangea) were planted at the Sogoreido by the tourist association. In addition, a Peace Great Tower Festival is held by the Flower Festival Dance Committee in May, and a *Unagi-matsuri* is held in July and August by the special committee.

Though not hosted by the tourist association, the *Gion* Festival is very important to Shinshoji and to the Monzenmachi. The *Gion* Festival is officially known as *Gion-e*, and is held July 7–9 every year, and was first held in 1721 (Kyoho 6). It was hosted by the Yudonosan Gongensha, and managed by Shinshoji, and over time turned into a *Dainichi Nyorai* (principal Buddha) festival for the innermost sanctuary of Shinshoji.

The *Gion* Festival is held on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday at the beginning of July, and youths from the nine towns around Shinshoji and Naritasan (Honcho, Nakamachi, Kamicho, Hanasakicho, Saiwaicho, Tamachi, Azumacho, Tsuchiya, and Igodai) carry a portable shrine representing Shinshoji. Floats from Shinshoji, Honcho, Nakamachi, Hanasakicho, Saiwaicho, Tamachi, Tsuchiya, and Igodai, and wagons from Kamicho and Azumacho are pulled within the city. The grounds of Shinshoji and

Omotesando are the main locations for the festivities. Two major events that many visitors want to see are the *"So-odori"* (overall dance), where all the floats and wagons are gathered together in front of the large main hall of Shinshoji on the first day and the plaza in front of Narita Station on the second day; and the *"So-biki"* (overall pull), where the floats and wagons are raced up the hill of Nakamachi from the temple to Yakushido one after another. The floats are accompanied by *hayashi* (music) to cheer the performance of the floats and wagons. The *hayashi* of Shinshoji, Nakamachi, and Honcho have succeeded the *Kandabayashi* (which was the *hayashi* of Edo), the *hayashi* of other towns, and the *Saharabayashi* (a rural hayashi). Shinshoji's *hayashi* is not an original Narita *hayashi*, but it is rare for two different *hayashi* schools to coexist at the same festival. Each town proudly manages their own floats and wagons for the *Gion* Festival, and a strong rivalry has developed. The strong ties to the town resulting from the festival affect the attitudes of each town toward the Monzenmachi.

The ritual festival committee of the tourist association is involved in the *Gion* Festival. Seven towns, excluding Tsuchiya and Igodai, assume the role of being in charge of the *Gion* Festival in turn, and organize a planning committee. The festival is hosted by a planning committee organized by each town, instead of the ritual festival committee of the tourist association. The ritual festival committee supports the town in charge, and sums up and coordinates the opinions of the other towns. The tourist association assumes a background role, but it serves an important role in the *Gion* Festival and in connecting all the towns.

(2) Public Relations Activities

The tourist association promotes tourism by publicity, managing and operating the website of the tourist association, campaigning via caravan teams, and preparing guidebooks. The website of the tourist association has content available in English, Chinese, and Korean, and information on events and tourist spots within the city. The website also introduces local dishes and souvenirs that are representative of Narita. The information technology committee prepares and manages the websites for individual shops with their owners and members of the tourist association.

Campaigns by caravan teams are held through Kanto at the beginning of December every year. Exhibition places include the front of JR terminal stations such as Ueno, Omiya, and Chiba. Narita souvenirs are displayed, and there are dance performances for the Drum Festival and the Large Tower of Peace Festival.

(3) Operation of Narita Tourism Hall

The tourist association operates the Narita Tourism Hall in Nakamachi. The building disseminates tourist information, provides rest facilities, and provides space to exhibit Narita history, including the *Gion* Festival's floats and wagons. Computers connected to the internet can be used free of charge. About 80,000 people use the tourism hall every year. Foreigners also use the hall, so information is available in English. Shinshoji is introduced as a nearby

tourist spot to foreigners. Japanese tourists are introduced to Sakura-no-yama Park (which is near Narita Airport) and the Museum of Aeronautical Sciences.

A tea ceremony is held for foreigners every Thursday morning. Since it is free, the maximum number of participants is about 20 people. Three staff members provide explanations in English, and the ceremony is conducted by staff experienced in providing instructions for tea ceremonies. They are well prepared for foreign visitors.

2) Narita Volunteer Guide Association
The Narita Volunteer Guide Association was organized in 1998 at the request of Chiba and modeled after a senior club of Narita. Volunteer guides offer free guidance for one or two hours, mainly on the grounds of Shinshoji, to tourists who apply on the day or the previous day. About 45 registered guides belong to the Narita Volunteer Guide Association; two volunteers are stationed at the believers' hall, and one on the grounds. Users can apply in groups of two or more for volunteer guidance on the spot.

The numbers of guided tours and their users are increasing, and many foreigners use the tours. Most foreign users are travelers or transit passengers from Narita Airport. Most of the foreign passengers that depart from Narita Airport are from the USA, and others are from Canada, Russia, Norway, Australia, China, Korea, Taiwan, or Thailand. Some volunteers deal exclusively with foreigners and provide guidance in English. These guides are proficient English speakers and may have lived in an English-speaking country or taught English.

4.1.4 Community Planning at Shinshoji Omotesando, and the Transformation of Commercial Space

4.1.4.1 Process of Transformation of Commercial Space at Omotesando

In the previous section, I discussed changes in business categories of each of the towns that constitute Shinshoji-Omotesando and town involvement in community planning. The transformation of Omotesando can be classified into five periods:

(1) Formation of Monzenmachi
Monzenmachi formed in the eighteenth century, alongside the development of Shinshoji, mainly in Honcho and Nakamachi (which are close to Shinshoji).

(2) Functioning as Central Shopping Street
From the late nineteenth century onwards, worshipers on day trips from Tokyo arrived by rail and Monzenmachi expanded into Hanasakicho and Kamicho, which connected Narita Station to Shinshoji. Shops for use by local residents then developed in Kamicho and Hanasakicho in addition to shops for use by worshipers. Between 1860 and 1960, Shinshoji was the central shopping street.

(3) Diversification of Business
The number of inns in Monzenmachi declined as more worshipers visited on day trips, and the number of *ko* decreased as worshipers gained the ability to worship on an individual basis. In turn, this accelerated the decline in the number of inns. Since 1960, some inns have changed into restaurants, and the number of souvenir shops has increased.

(4) Declining Shopping Street
After 1980, large retail shops opened in areas close to Monzenmachi. When Narita Airport opened in 1978, shop owners along Omotesando began to be employed by companies of airport-related industries and by shops that sold general goods. In particular, the old shops in Kamicho and between Shinshoji and Narita Station steadily went out of business after Narita Airport was built.

(5) Reformation of Monzenmachi via Community Planning
Shop owners who sensed a crisis in maintaining the shopping street took action to maintain the shopping street. Kamicho restaurant owners organized a community-planning council in 1990, and asked surrounding shop owners and local administrators to participate in community planning.

The objective of the community-planning project was to improve the appearance of Omotesando streets. The project included an initiative to bury electric cables underground from 2000 to 2003. A setback project and facade improvement project in 1996 impressed worshipers and shoppers. The project expanded into Nakamachi and Hanasakicho. Traditional-style buildings were maintained at Nakamachi and the community planning at Hanasakicho promoted a traditional building repair project in 1996. Narita Station and Ichikawa Danjuro promoted interest in maintaining the traditional landscape. The setback project proved to be a turning point for retail business. New tenants moved into closed shops. Administrative support also helped community planning. Narita has improved the landscape of Monzenmachi since 1987, and the city provided subsidies to the community-planning councils of the individual towns. Narita has also funded projects to bury electric cables from 2000 to 2003, the setback project, and the facade improvement project. The project expenses initially exhausted the Narita budget, limiting what the project could accomplish. “Community planning subsidies” provided by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism helped the projects to proceed. By 2012, all the shops and land in Monzenmachi and the commercial space between Narita Station and Shinshoji was occupied.

4.1.5 Changes in Commercial Space Resulting from the Community Planning Project

Omotesando has shown changes since the Edo period in more ways than just the community-planning project that began in the 1990s. Previous changes occurred

against a background of social and economic turmoil affecting the whole of Japan. These include social change at the end of the Edo period, building the railroad since the 1860s, social upheavals during the Second World War, high economic growth in the 1950s, the motorization that started in the late 1960s, and the introduction of large retail shops after the 1980s.

However, community planning since the 1990s differed from the background changes in that the community planning was supported by the Narita administration. More specifically, the following three facts distinguish the community planning from the other transformations in Omotesando:

1. In Kamicho and Hanasakicho, the refurbishment of shops and the change in the retail business was not driven by the shop owners "wishes".
2. The landscape was simultaneously changed by the township association.
3. This change was helped by shop owners thinking about the characteristics of their town.

Many shop owners were forced to choose a different business category when their initial project failed. Some shops would not have been refurbished or changed their business model if the community-planning project had not occurred. Some tenants also moved because of the setback project. The business environment differed from one where individual owners freely selected a refurbishment or a change in business category in response to customer demand. This distinction identifies features in the transformation of commercial spaces. I emphasize that some shop owners did not agree to the setback project. Most of these owners owned shops that local residents frequented, and these owners were more conscious of their function as local shopping streets than of a desire to be a part of Shinshoji-Monzenmachi or Omotesando.

The facade improvement project produced shops with white or black walls, Japanese tiles, and Japanese-style signs, but only stipulated that the shops had to be Japanese style, not oriented to a particular age. After consultations between the administration and local residents, the facade improvement project was deemed suitable for Shinshoji-Monzenmachi. The project resulted in a line of similar-looking shops that make up most of the landscape of Omotesando (Fig. 4.9). Visitors to the town see the landscape as part of Shinshoji Omotesando and can feel part of that landscape. However, despite the will of the shop owners, the reformation into similar-looking facades was a direct result of the community-planning project.

Item 3 provided a forum for shop owners to rethink what makes their town. Rethinking the unity of the town was reinforced through organization of the community-planning council. Two demonstrations show this point. At the beginning, Mr B of Kamicho visited all the shops in the town to request their cooperation in the community-planning project, and Hanasakicho conducted a questionnaire survey on those who would be affected before adopting the policy as part of community planning. Since Nakamachi developed early and included buildings from 1920 to the late modern period, the association preserved the traditional landscape. Kamicho adopted a different position and aimed to improve space for customers, because since 1970, this shopping street experienced sluggish business. The setback project increased space for customers and improved the facade of shops so customers gained

Fig. 4.9 Landscape of Nakamachi

a better experience of Monzenmachi. Hanasakicho was mainly concerned with the relationship between Ichikawa Danjuro and Shinshoji as the performance of Monzenmachi, but followed the landscape improvements of Kamicho (Fig. 4.10).

In Nakamachi, the attitude to the town building project was less enthusiastic than the attitudes in Kamicho and Hanasakicho, because Nakamachi, being closer to Shinshoji, expected to attract large numbers of customers at the New Year Shinshoji and Narita events. This shows that the Hanasakicho community-planning had determined Shinshoji to be used as a recreation center, along with Ichikawa Danjuro, while Hanasakicho also had a specialized shopping street for local residents and foreigners. These reflect differences in the landscapes created by the three towns. The towns succeeded in placing a priority on guesthouses, from worshipers to the local residents, as indicated by Fujimoto (1970). Narita Airport also indirectly affected the changes in commercial space of Omotesando after the landscape of Omotesando had formed, and particularly influenced the development of shops aimed at foreigners.

4.1.6 Unity of Omotesando and the Uniqueness of Each Town

These considerations allow the classification of Shinshoji-Omotesando commercial space into five periods. Each town also presents unique unchanging features. The

Fig. 4.10 Landscape of Kamicho

customer base of the three towns differed according to the distance from Shinshoji and Narita Station. The shops in Nakamachi, closest to Shinshoji, catered to worshipers and tourists; the shops in Hanasakicho, near Narita Station, catered to local customers; and the shops in Kamicho, located between Nakamachi and Hanasakicho, catered to worshipers, tourists, and local customers. The changes in the surroundings of Omotesando changed the shops' business, but the clientele has not changed significantly since the towns formed.

The difference in each town's clientele arises from factors involved in the towns' formation. Nakamachi developed alongside increases in the number of worshipers and tourists, as it is close to Shinshoji. Although there were shops for worshipers and tourists in Kamicho and Hanasakicho, the shopping streets in these towns developed only after the start of the railroad service. Nakamachi already had the functions of being a Monzenmachi and a shopping street, but Kamicho and Hanasakicho developed the business categories to support a Monzenmachi and local residents. The "List of Town Streets from the Private Railroad Narita Station to Monzendori in 1907" provided by Sakaguchi (1991) reveals Kamicho had hospitals, kimono shops, meat wholesalers, watch shops, and rice shops, and Hanasakicho had carriers, fuel stores, barbers, photography shops, and banks. I note Kamicho and Hanasakicho were a single town (Daimachi) before the 1860s, and elderly residents referred to the low-lying Nakamachi, Honcho, Tamachi, and Azumacho as "downtown," and upslope Saiwaicho, Kamicho, and Hanasakicho as "*Dai*."

Residents of the downtown and *Dai* opposed each other when the railroad was laid between Shinshoji and Narita Station in the 1910s. Therefore, before the community-planning project was begun, Kamicho was already connected to Hanasakicho and separated from Nakamachi.

The strength of town unity and rivalry with other towns can be clearly seen at the *Gion* Festival. That rivalry is represented through the town pride in the floats, wagons, and town dolls, which are enshrined in the *hayashi*. Although the dolls appear similar, each is different. The *Gion* Festival is held simultaneously with the *Gion-e* of Shinshoji, but their origins are different. Since the *Gion-e* is not dedicated to Shinshoji as the *Gion* Festival is, this suggests a fierce rivalry.

Ties within each town and the relationships among the different towns already existed, but they were re-recognized through the community-planning process, which strengthened the ties within each town. This created different landscapes in the towns when the commercial space was reorganized. Along one 1 km street, differences in the position and ideas of Omotesando can be seen through the mixture of the individual shops and the town that consolidated them. Completion of the community planning, however, did not mean the landscapes reached the final form of Omotesando. Worshipers, tourists, and local customers will continue to visit Shinshoji and Narita Station, and the commercial space of Monzenmachi connecting Narita Station and Shinshoji will probably be reorganized again later. In any such reorganization, it will be important to strengthen the unity not only of the town, but also of the entire Omotesando area and the situation of the individual owners and towns.

4.1.7 Summary

This section focused on changes in shop business in Omotesando of the Naritasan Shinshoji-Monzenmachi, and discussed the transformation of the commercial space at Shinshoji-Monzenmachi resulting from involvement in the landscape improvement project promoted in Omotesando. This study found the city center of Narita originated in Monzenmachi, and was centered in Shinshoji-Omotesando. The transformation of Monzenmachi can be classified into five different periods. Along with the dissemination of belief resulting from expositions on Naritasan and Ichikawa Danjuro of Edo kabuki fame at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a belief in the *fudo* of Naritasan rapidly penetrated the lives of normal citizens of Edo. The Monzenmachi formed near Honcho and Nakamachi near Shinshoji in the eighteenth century (Monzenmachi formation period).

Since the 1860s, the number of worshipers to Shinshoji increased when railroads were laid to enable day trips from Tokyo. Omotesando expanded into Hanasakicho and Kamicho (located between Narita Station and Shinshoji), and where shops sold goods to worshipers, and flourished as the central shopping street until about 1960 (central shopping street period).

During this period, most worshipers arrived by rail and the number of tourists to Naritasan and Monzenmachi increased, so that they often occupied the entire area

up to the front of the gate of Shinshoji, around Narita Station, and along Omotesando, which connected Narita Station and Shinshoji. This led to an increase in the number of restaurants and souvenir shops for use by both tourists and worshipers. Other services such as barbers, watch shops, banks, and hospitals used by local residents developed and strengthened the function of this area as a central shopping street of Monzenmachi.

As convenient transportation made day trips for tourists and worshipers easier, the style of worship changed from group worship by *ko* to individual worship. This diversification resulted from motorization, and the inns around Shinshoji were forced to either discontinue business or to change their business category to a restaurant or souvenir shop (diversification of business period). The change in business category differed depending on physical location of the shop concerned. Nakamachi, being close to Shinshoji gate, developed more restaurants and general goods shops to cater to tourists and worshipers; Hanasakicho, being close to Narita Station, developed shops used by local residents; Kamicho, being located between these, began having vacant shops and part of the town became a shuttered street.

The changes in business type were also promoted by other external factors, including the opening of Narita Airport in 1978 and large retail shops around Narita after the 1980s. Many airport-related industries opened around Narita, which drastically increased employment opportunities. The shopping street at Omotesando allowed the succeeding generation to gain different employment to the previous generation, and many shops discontinued business. Large shops also significantly changed the purchasing behavior of local shoppers. Omotesando could not provide parking, so shops selling daily goods were forced to change their business category or even close (transformation of the shopping street period).

After the 1990s, a community-planning council was organized by the shop owners who felt a sense of crisis regarding the shopping street. Community planning was promoted by the shopkeepers and the administration (reorganization of Monzenmachi in the community-planning period).

The community-planning project aimed to improve the buildings along Omotesando through setback and facade improvement projects, which began in 1996 and were linked to a project to bury telephone lines, make repairs and create a different landscape for Omotesando. Kamicho led the part of the community-planning project that was related to improving the landscape. Kamicho had less traffic than Nakamachi and Hanasakicho. Some of the shops opposed the setback and facade improvement projects, but about 90 % of the shops had completed both projects by 2009. The result was larger pedestrian paths and an improved Omotesando landscape that was greatly appreciated by visitors. Kamicho was eventually awarded the Urban Landscape Grand Prize by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism in 2005. The community planning of Kamicho improved landscape design.

In 1998, Hanasakicho followed Kamicho and organized a community-planning council. In 2012, a setback project and facade improvement project were promoted alongside a telephone line burial project. Within Nakamachi, community planning was limited to burying the telephone lines underground, and was software-oriented

and based on the philosophy of the traditional themes and customs passed down to Monzenmachi from history. Some conscious reminders of traditional buildings (such as massive, old, three-story wooden inns) remain, and the pride of Nakamachi as a Monzenmachi remains. As well as retaining a traditional landscape, Nakamachi also retained traditional activities, which are particularly apparent at the *Gion* Festival with floats passed down from ancestors. This preserves and passes the spirit and pride of the town to the next generation.

The direction of the community planning differed in each town located in the same Omotesando site. No hollowing of Narita's city center has occurred, and the area still functions as a Monzenmachi, with fully functional commercial and service industries in the central shopping street. Although group worship by *ko* has decreased, the temple Naritasan Shinshoji still attracts large numbers of tourists and worshipers, and now the pedestrian traffic at Omotesando is large and motor vehicles are significant. The investments improved the large-scale infrastructures of Narita and the surrounding areas when the airport was built, created much employment, and bestowed favorable social and economic conditions on Narita as a local city located 50–100 km from the metropolitan area.

The type of commercial space in Shinshoji-Omotesando did not form or transform merely in response to the external environment. There was always an underlying sense of crisis about the commercial area, and the efforts in both inherent and voluntary community planning maintained the commercial space and suitable business.

Omotesando succeeded primarily because of the cooperation of Shinshoji with the administration. Shinshoji has not had any accommodation and dining facilities within the temple grounds since the Edo period. This was very important to the formation of Monzenmachi because worshipers who stayed overnight, ate, or purchased goods at Monzenmachi provided economic benefits for the towns. Shinshoji and the development of Monzenmachi resulted in other mutually beneficial relationships. Worshipers concentrate at Shinshoji around New Year, in May, and in September, and the community wanted to increase tourist and worshiper visits in other months. The Narita Tourist Association, which was mainly established by the Inns Association of Omotesando, tried to attract guests by holding events in the off-season of Shinshoji. Other tourists arrived to visit Monzenmachi, but also worshiped at Shinshoji and visited the shopping street of Omotesando, providing benefits to all parties.

The population of Narita in 2012 including the new town and old Naritamachi, with Omotesando at the center, was over 120,000. The administration supports landscape improvement projects in the area, mainly through community planning projects, and helps prevent the hollowing out of the Narita's city center. Improving the landscape also nurtures the unity and local consciousness of area residents.

I note that by responding to the change in times, each town, either independently or cooperatively, promotes community planning. The setback project that occurred at Kamicho and Hanasakicho was not promoted by individual owners, but instead by a judgment made by the township association responding to severe economic conditions. The setback project and facade improvement project forced individual owners to refurbish their shops. Owners had to make a business judgment to continue, change, or discontinue their business. While some owners opposed the projects, the

formation of the "*spirit of the place*" in Narita's city center, and the question "*what makes our town unique*?" accelerated through the landscape improvement projects. These developments were not identical in the three towns (Nakamachi, Kamicho, and Hanasakicho) but were helped by rivalry, as illustrated by the *Gion* Festival. Discussions of the community planning of Omotesando happened through the infrastructure improvement project, and gradually developed a traditional landscape of a shopping street, reinforcing the symbols of Monzenmachi and Omotesando.

4.2 Commodification of Sacred Space and World Heritage Registration Movement: Case Study of the Nagasaki Church Group

4.2.1 Sacred Places and Commodification

In recent years, what can be called a "World Heritage boom" has become a prominent phenomenon in Japan. Communities expect that a World Heritage designation will benefit local economies, and many people believe the designation will revitalize local economies by promoting tourism. A World Heritage site designation dramatically increases information available through media, such as travel magazines, guidebooks, TV, and the Internet. Tourism-related industries and organizations expect visitor numbers to increase; local governments and economic organizations expect a World Heritage site registration to trigger regional development. Thus, many organizations promote registration.

On 23 January 2007, the Agency for Cultural Affairs added four sites, the Tomioka Silk Mill, Mt. Fuji, Asuka-Fujiwara and the Nagasaki Church Group, as Japanese candidates on the tentative list for nomination as cultural heritage sites. Designation as a World Heritage site means that the value of precious Japanese cultural properties will be evaluated internationally, and also means that general efforts to conserve the cultural properties of a region will be dramatically improved by the designation process. The Agency for Cultural Affairs, therefore, promotes World Heritage site designations.

The World Heritage boom can be attributed to the needs of the region, which presumes it will stimulate tourism, and to the tourists themselves. The baby-boom generation has started to reach retirement age and demand for leisure and tourism activities has increased. The baby-boom generation is also comparatively rich, interested in history and culture, and aspires to culturally educational type tourism. World Heritage sites are very attractive to people who have the time and money to travel around their own country or abroad. Commentators and planners expect tourism to World Heritage sites to expand where supply and demand can be balanced.

However, the designation of World Heritage site may also include many negative elements. Excessive tourism may damage or contaminate cultural properties

(Shackley 2001; Matsui 2005), deteriorate residents' living environments, increase income disparities, and destroy natural environments and landscapes. Sites may even lose value after designation as a World Heritage site (Goda and Arimoto 2004; Saitsu 2006; Kuroda 2007). Some people question whether a World Heritage site designation does actually lead to lasting development of an area. World Heritage site designations can temporarily increase the number of tourists visiting an area, but the increase may not be rapid or permanent. Tanno (2008) and Fujiki (2009) note the designation occasionally produces a temporary tourism boom. The designation largely depends on the assessment of the World Heritage Committee. The global strategy adopted in 1994 requires that any imbalances in area and type designations should be taken into account and the representativeness and reliability of heritage sites secured.

Much importance has often been attached to Europe, cities, religion, and buildings, but a more recent trend emphasizes the value of culture, traditions, and ethnic landscape around the world. Until now, these sites have been regarded as too abstract for designation, but a new emphasis is now being placed on the relationship between people and land.

New World Heritage sites include landscapes such as the rice terraces in the Philippine Cordilleras or the Gassho Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama. Since 1995, a movement that values cultural landscapes and places that express the interaction between people and the environment as World Heritage sites has been active. In this way, a change in the politics surrounding World Heritage designations has resulted in the important challenge of conserving and using cultural landscapes such as rural space (Urry 1990, 1995; Endo and Horino 2004; Fujiki 2009).

Recently, rural geographers noted that one of the most significant elements of rural change in developed countries was the transition from an economy based on production to an economy based on consumption (Woods 2005). This transition is considered as the commodification of rural spaces. Cloke (1993) suggested the changing nature of rural space and highlighted the importance of understanding the social and cultural constructs of rural entities. Cloke also demonstrated new markets for countryside commodities, such as rural lifestyles, landscapes, and produce in Britain. After his paper appeared, commodification was thought to be an integral part of rural changes, and therefore underpinned the establishment of new rural geography and ensembles of rural production and consumption that may be understood as re-resourced rural areas (Perkins 2006).

The most prominent consumer of rural places is tourism (Woods 2005). In the literature of Japanese rural studies, Tachikawa (2005) focused on rural functions beyond agriculture in terms of post-productivism and discussed urban consumers' demands for rural space for uses such as tourism, scenic beauty, and healing. Takahashi (1998, 1999) analyzed how rurality has been socially constructed and how various actors and their networks linking locality and broader social spaces engaged in rural dynamics through representing their interests over the locality. Iguchi et al. (2008) and Tabayashi et al. (2008) used case studies in Japan to depict the commodification process of rural spaces and examine the developing tourist industries.

This paper examines the World Heritage registration movement of the Nagasaki Church Group and Christian-Related Cultural Assets (called Nagasaki Church

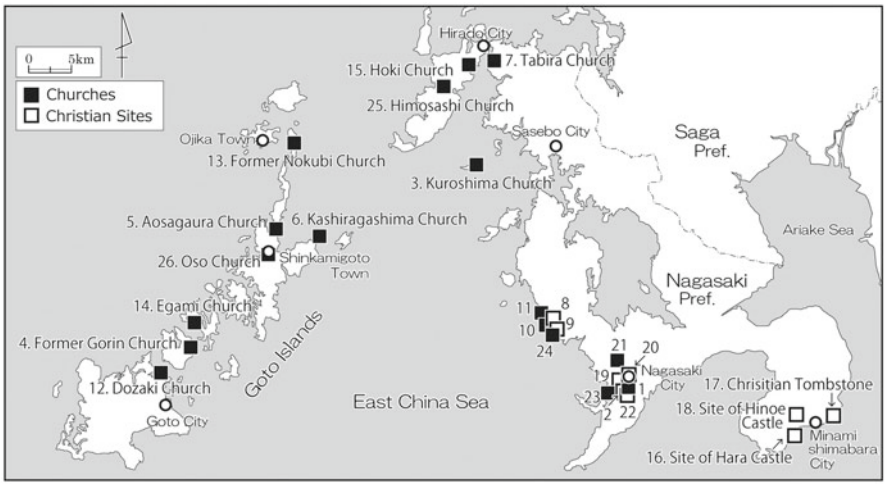

Fig. 4.11 Distribution of candidates for the World Heritage of the Nagasaki Church Group, 2009 (Nagasaki Prefectural World Heritage registration promotion division 2009). 1. Oura Cathedral 2. Former Latin Seminario 8.Site Associated with Fr.M. de Rotz 9. Former Shitsu Aid Center 10. Shitsu Church 11. Ono Church 19. Site of the Martyrdom of the 26 Saints of Japan 20. Site of St. Dominic Church 21. Urakami Cathedral 22. Former Residence of Archbishop 23. Kaminoshima Church 24. Kurosaki Church

Group below) as a case study. The tentative decision to register the churches on the World Cultural Heritage site list illustrates the problems that local faith-related heritages in rural regions and their cultural landscapes can expect, and the attention they will be exposed to as a cultural heritage site.

Nagasaki is the area where the Catholic faith permeated earliest and deepest in Japan, and is an important element in regional history (Matsui 2006). The Nagasaki Church Group includes 26 churches and Christian heritage sites (Fig. 4.11) distributed through villages where the transportation system was very poor (Sotome region, Hirado-Ikitsuki, Goto Islands and others). The churches were built by Christians in hiding who moved to these areas in the Edo era to escape persecution. The buildings include places of faith and living quarters, and are scenic (Fig. 4.12). Many of these churches and buildings were designed by Yosuke Tetsukawa, who was renowned for constructing churches in Kyushu. Some of the churches were registered as government-designated important cultural properties, for example, the Tabira (Fig. 4.13) and Kuroshima churches (Fig. 4.14).

The World Heritage registration movement evaluates buildings. The religious and cultural property values of ecclesiastical buildings are acknowledged, but most buildings, except special churches like the Oura Cathedral or Urakami Cathedral, were not tourism targets. However, more and more tourists visit churches in villages on isolated islands. Unlike pilgrims taking the Santiago route, no target church exists, but many people visit a sequence of churches in what could be called a pilgrimage to sacred places. The question is why the number of pilgrims to the Nagasaki church group has increased.

Fig. 4.12 Mass in Hirado Church

Some people visit churches as a sign of their faith. For Catholic pilgrims, the churches in Nagasaki and the Goto Islands have special meaning because they represent the history of persecution of Christianity, concealment, and revival that their ancestors experienced. When visitors to a church in the Goto Islands were asked why they came, many Catholic pilgrims answered "I wish to visit all the churches on the Goto Islands". Recently, more tourists without any particular interest in religion have visited (Matsui 2008a). Many tourists, such as high/junior high school students, have visited on school excursions, especially to Oura Cathedral (Fig. 4.15).

Here, I describe the rise of new alternative tourism, where small groups and individuals tour isolated islands such as Goto and hear the local Christian history told by a local guide (Figs. 4.16 and 4.17). Some visitors are impressed by the beauty of the buildings or the splendor of the location and enter a church by chance. However, an increasing number of tourists visit the churches in Nagasaki because of information available in brochures and travel guides, or as part of packaged tours put together by travel agencies. A new boom in pilgrimages to sacred places may be taking place. The development of pilgrimage tours to sacred places has been promoted by prefectures, municipalities, and tourist federations to areas with churches and martyrdom sites regarded as sacred places.

In this section, I analyze the modern dynamic of commercializing a rural area in Nagasaki, where the faith that is deeply connected to the area constitutes its history and culture, from the viewpoint of a World Heritage registration movement. The attempt to register the Nagasaki Church Group as a World Heritage site naturally

Fig. 4.13 National cultural property 1: Tabira Church

Fig. 4.14 National cultural property 2: Kuroshima Church

Fig. 4.15 Mass tourism toward Oura Cathedral

should not be entrusted to one special organization. There are numerous actors involved, including the people associated with the churches and Christian believers, and major external actors such as local government, Nagasaki Prefecture individual municipalities, several economic organizations, companies, the mass media, and even tourists. Figure 4.18 sets out the relationships of the main actors in the World Heritage registration movement involving the Nagasaki Church Group based on the framework made by Endo (2005). Endo provides the three actors involved; namely tourists (consumers), residents, and producers. Producers play a considerable role as a trendsetter in the registration of World Heritage sites. My previous studies discussed the actual situation of tourism in the municipalities involved and the contrivances presented by the public administrations of Nagasaki and Hirado City (Matsui 2006), Kamigoto Island (Matsui and Kojima 2007). Previous studies also examined the significance of the role of some local-religious cultures as a World Heritage movement (Matsui 2007), and analyzed representation of guests' discourse (Matsui 2008a). However, in this paper, as well as in a previous paper (Matsui 2007), I have focused on the philosophy and activities of the Association for Declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage (called the World Heritage Association below), which was the leader in the World Heritage site registration movement. This Association was a voluntary association acting as a producer (see Fig. 4.18). In December 2006, it was not a non-profit organization, but may become one in future.

Fig. 4.16 Alternative tourism toward Hisaka Island

Fig. 4.17 Guide at Former Gorin Church

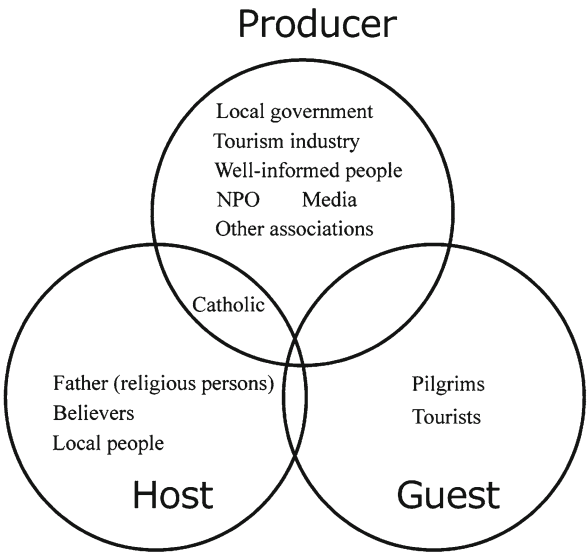

Fig. 4.18 Main actors of the World Cultural Heritage movement in the Nagasaki Church Group (Endo 2005; Matsui 2007)

4.2.2 Distribution and Characteristics of World Heritage Sites

UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage at a general meeting in 1972. By July 2009, 185 countries had ratified the convention and 890 sites were registered. Japan ratified the Convention in 1992 and was the last the major industrial countries to do so. World Heritage sites fall into three major categories: cultural heritage, natural heritage, and mixed heritage sites. Fewer than 80 % (689) of all sites were cultural heritage sites.

Cultural heritage sites may contain constructions such as monuments, buildings, ruins, or cultural landscapes that are of remarkable universal value. Any object of a certain historical, scientific, artistic or anthropological value may be nominated. Similarly, natural heritage sites may have special topographical or geological features, particular ecosystems, endangered animal and plant habitations or areas, objects of universal scientific value that need to be conserved, or have particular native beauty. A mixed heritage site is anything that meets both stipulations (Agency for Cultural Affairs 2009).

The registration procedure is as follows: A country creates a tentative list in advance, the World Heritage Committee examines and makes a judgment, and the sites are then officially registered. Japan has registered eleven cultural and three natural heritage sites. The criteria for registering a World Cultural Heritage site are given in Table 4.1. At least one of the ten conditions must be met, with an important standard being whether the committee acknowledges the object possesses remarkable universal value. The object must have been deemed to possess special value in human history, be authentic, and have particular integrity (Ueno 2007). Cultural

Table 4.1 Criteria for registration to World Heritage

No.	Selection criteria
1	To represent a masterpiece of human creative genius
2	To exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design
3	To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared
4	To be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history
5	To be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change
6	To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)
7	To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)
8	To be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features
9	To be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals
10	To contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation

Source: UNESCO

heritage sites in particular need to have a special value originating in human history that needs to be conserved. Most (53 %) World Heritage sites are in Europe (Fig. 4.19).

The purpose of The Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage was to protect cultural heritage sites (ruins) that might be destroyed by war or environmental disruption, and to promote tourism along the way. This resulted in the registration of world-famous historic buildings and artwork. After 1994, when the World Heritage Committee adopted "The Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List," the criteria for World Heritage sites became more diverse and now include industrial heritage, negative legacies, and cultural routes and landscapes. Regional balance should also be taken into consideration.

The problem of defining "remarkable universal value" still lingers. It is natural that the criteria change according to the international power balance and current thinking of society, but any area aiming for registration as a World Heritage site needs to be constantly rethinking their strategy. What does it take to be acknowledged as heritage site? How do we show that it is a heritage site? What must be sought is remarkable universal value.

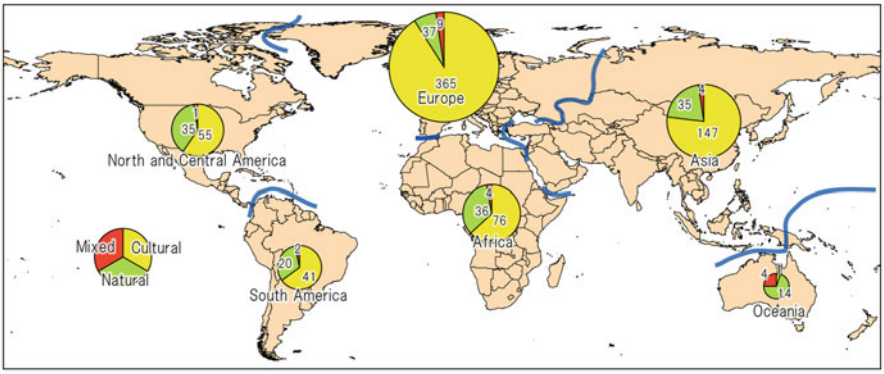

Fig. 4.19 Distribution of World Heritage sites by continents and categories, 2008 (UNESCO)

As a result, faith-related sites have important meanings as a cultural heritage site. Seven out of eleven World Cultural Heritage sites in Japan are religion-related, with most in the tentative registration list religion-related heritage sites (Fig. 4.20). For example, the site "Sacred Places and Pilgrimage Routes" in the Kii mountain Range was registered as a World Heritage site for its association with the religiously sacred places of Yoshino and Kumano and its farming and mountain village landscapes.

The Nagasaki Church Group is the first tentative candidate site related to Christianity in Japan. Although the negative side of its history has often been emphasized in the Christian faith, the move here is to evaluate its universal value and uniqueness to Japan as a cultural heritage site. This could be said to be an epoch-making event in the history of religion in Japan. Simultaneously, the rural landscapes including the church group involve the interactions between the lives of the people and the environment of the area, and hence the entire local culture, which was inherited, will be acknowledged to be a cultural heritage.

4.2.3 World Heritage Association as the Producer

4.2.3.1 Establishment of the World Heritage Association

The nomination of the Nagasaki Church Group as a candidate World Heritage site involved many people, with the campaign led by the World Heritage Association playing a particularly important role. The World Heritage Association is a voluntary organization that was established on September 15, 2001, with the aim of promoting the registration of the churches as World Heritage sites. The association included people from churches, local companies, the mass media, and local government, and had approximately 80 members. The group has steadily wrestled with academic investigations and research on the architectural value of the Nagasaki Church Group and its distinctive local historical and cultural background; for example, the hidden

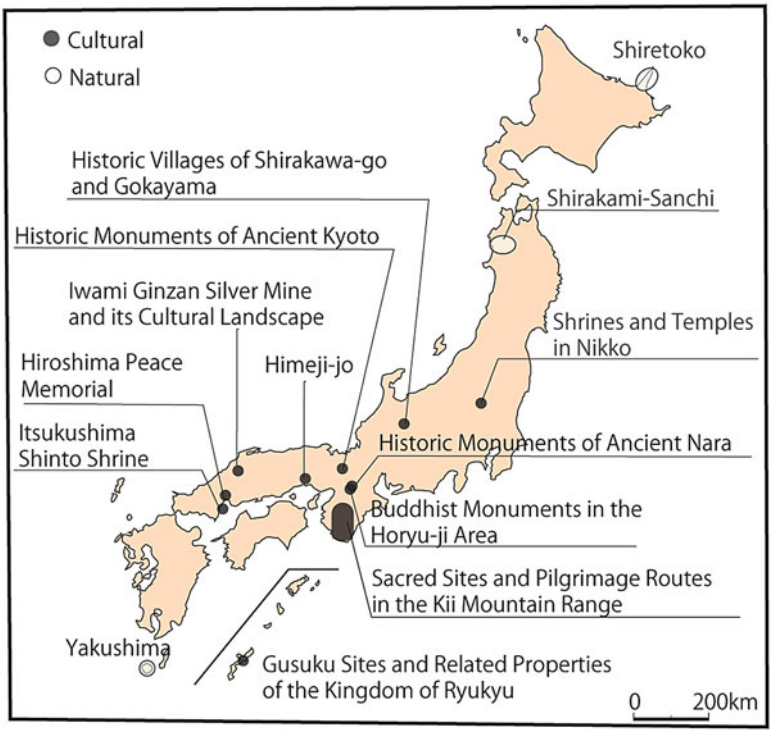

Fig. 4.20 Distribution of the World Heritage sites in Japan, 2009 (UNESCO)

Christians have held symposiums and promoted awareness to help people understand cultural heritage through the promotion of international exchanges.

According to a publication issued by the World Heritage Association, the purpose and concept of the Association are as follows (The Association for Declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage 2007):

> This Association was established by volunteers from various fields, including specialists and people associated with the churches, to complete activities to register the Nagasaki Church Group as a World Heritage site.
>
> Introducing the existence of the splendid and valuable Nagasaki Church Group, which was created by many people in the long history of the faith, to people both in Nagasaki and abroad is very important, and we aim to register the Church Group as a World Heritage site as a useful means of doing so.
>
> Some people may consider these churches neither as old or as large-scale as churches in Europe. However, these ecclesiastical buildings were created by the combined efforts of local people and reflect the culture and faith of rustic people in a beautifully natural place and a culture peculiar to Nagasaki, like nowhere else in the world; they are very suitable for designation as a World Heritage site. (Some text omitted here) We note that registration on the (World Heritage) list is not the only goal, and we should also commence full-scale conservation of buildings.

The church group is regarded as an expression of the local history, and the attempt to promote the group's registration as a World Heritage site is a means to

exhibiting and providing information on the church group. Compared with other World Heritage sites related to Christianity already registered around the world, the Nagasaki Church Group is in a situation where it is difficult to emphasize the value of its scale, history, and splendor. Thus, the historical characteristics of Nagasaki are emphasized, along with the church group as an expression of a historic landscape.

4.2.3.2 What Is the Value of the Nagasaki Church Group?

The World Heritage Association emphasizes three points of value of the Nagasaki Church Group in the light of the UNESCO criteria. (The Association for Declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage 2007). First, the association cites the historic value. Churches in Nagasaki have a 450-year history of Christianity, since St. Francis Xavier arrived at Hirado in 1550, and could even be said to represent the history of Christianity in Japan. Christianity had a checkered history and Christians were persecuted by Anti-Christian Edicts, leading to a period of concealment during the Edo era. Christianity revived after the ban was abolished in 1873, and almost half the churches built before The Second World War still exist throughout Nagasaki (Kawakami and Tsuchida 1983; Kawakami et al 1985). Many churches were designed by foreign missionaries and built by Japanese master carpenters and Christians with the advice of foreign missionaries. The churches symbolize the revival of a faith that had been handed down through generations, and represent local history. In this way, the Nagasaki Church Group is an expression of a globally rare historic landscape, symbolizing the introduction, acceptance, persecution, concealment, and revival of Christianity among Christians of Nagasaki, where the Christian faith was first established in Japan (Matsui 2006).

Nagasaki is also famous for the culture of the hidden Christians who handed down their faith from concealment (Miyazaki 1996, 2001). This now only exists in part of the Goto Islands. Furthermore, many sites of martyrdom and relevant historical sites still exist, including the Delegation of Tensho Young Envoys that shines so brilliantly in the history of Christianity in Japan, and the ruins of Hara Castle in which Christian farmers barricaded themselves during the Shimabara Rebellion. Value can be found in the characteristics of Christianity in Nagasaki that created such a unique Christian culture.

Second, the ecclesiastical buildings have considerable aesthetic and artistic value. The churches include many distinctive buildings where the architectural techniques of the West brought by foreign missionaries and the conventional techniques of Japan were mixed. (The photo collection of Misawa and Kawakami (2000) provides extensive pictures of the churches.) The redbrick and stone churches, in particular, which were built between the 1860s and 1920s, are famous for the exotic or romantic exteriors. These churches blend Eastern and Western cultures and techniques to reach fruition in distinctive ecclesiastical architecture. The master carpenter who is referred to whenever discussing ecclesiastical architecture is Yosuke Tetsukawa. Mr Tetsukawa, who was born into a family of master carpenters in Kamigoto in Nagasaki in 1889, was engaged in many ecclesiastical architectural

projects, mainly in Nagasaki, from the late 1910s to the 1930s. His work was influenced by foreign missionaries such as Father Pelu, Father de Rotz and Father Fraineau, and blended Eastern and Western architectural styles. Mr Tetsukawa helped design and build Aosagaura and Kashiragashima churches in Shinkamigoto and the Tabira church in Hirado, which are government-designated important cultural properties, and many other churches that are candidate World Heritage sites.

Third, the local *fudo* also created a valuable cultural landscape. The World Heritage Association values the environments in which the churches stand as a cultural landscape where humans were in harmony with nature. The association emphasizes that the decline in rural occupations including agriculture, and decreasing population because of the falling birthrate and aging population and rural exodus, make maintenance of the cultural landscapes extremely difficult, especially in island villages such as the Goto Islands and Hirado, and on Nishi-Sonogi Peninsula in Nagasaki. The association emphasizes the inestimable value of the landscapes, including the environment surrounding the churches and the difficulty of conserving them.

These three points show that the World Heritage Association is emphasizing that the Nagasaki Church Group is a symbol of the local history rooted in the local *fudo* and the history of Christianity, and is unique to Japan. Registration as a World Heritage site would acknowledge the aesthetic and artistic value of the church group as a historical symbol, and help conservation and exhibition efforts. Registration requires public acknowledgment that the Nagasaki Church Group is a precious cultural property, and a consensus should be gained. The World Heritage Association promotes the registration of churches and church-related facilities as cultural properties. By November 2009, one national treasure, eight government-designated important cultural properties, and seven prefecturally-designated tangible cultural properties were registered, and three government-designated and three prefecturally-designated objects were registered after 2001 when the World Heritage Association was established. The move to designate the churches of Nagasaki as cultural properties has increased rapidly.

However, the World Heritage Association does not regard the Nagasaki Church Group to be a cultural property that is merely a relic of the past. As Kimura (2007a) points out, the association aims to value and maintain the Nagasaki Church Group in its true condition as a living church. Some of the churches have been damaged or have deteriorated from natural disasters, such as typhoons, or because maintenance is difficult as fewer Christians are available in a declining population. Although urgent countermeasures are necessary, useful measures are currently inadequate, because the municipalities involved are in poor financial condition, and government separates religion from politics. The association states “It is necessary to position the church group as a precious cultural heritage site while maintaining its function and sacredness as a religious facility of the living church” and “the idea of positive use of cultural properties in a variety of applications in order to conserve them is important, but easy diversion and use into a form where its true function would be impaired could lead to the destruction of its cultural value and atmosphere, and therefore the utmost care should be exercised.”

The World Heritage Association has wrestled with the principle, in academic investigations and awareness movements, that the churches exist as religious living spaces. The strong critical awareness of the churches and the associated history may vanish if the present conditions continue (Kimura 2007a). The World Heritage Association is strongly aware of the problem of conserving the churches *in situ*. For example, one opportunity for the Association to begin arose through a Society for Architecture and Conservation meeting held on Naru Island, one of the Goto Islands (Goto City). This was the hometown of Mr Kakimori, the Director-General. Mr Kakimori was born into a Mizukata (one of posts) family of hidden Christians and was familiar with Oratio. The establishment of repair and conservation techniques for ecclesiastical buildings helps preserve the church as a building, conserve local history, and create a personal history.

However, the intention of registering the Nagasaki Church Group as a World Heritage site is not just about conserving some valuable and splendid churches, but also about introducing the churches to as many people as possible. This highlights the modern problem of harmony with tourism. The World Heritage Association has always taken the problem of the conservation and exhibition of the churches and harmony with tourism into consideration. Documentation from the association (The Association for Declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage 2007) states that "The churches and the environments surrounding them have particular charm and value as spaces to restore people's mental wellbeing, despite the faiths of modern society where people live such busy lives in urban areas, but also have the potential to act as a catalyst in local revitalization as a tourism resource."

The association also states clearly "Registering the ecclesiastical building group as a World Heritage site naturally opens the door to people from outside the area, making balancing the tourism a major issue." The association emphasizes "Tourism and the conservation of the church group have contradictory sides, so careful consideration to harmonizing both is required, and we need to also carefully note that improving the roads and providing parking for tourists and establishing shops may damage the landscape or lead to the destruction of culture properties and the environment."

The coexistence of conservation and tourism resources, which seems such a contradiction on the surface, is a problem about core elements of the concept of being a World Heritage site. The spirit of the World Heritage treaty concerns not only the conservation and control of heritage sites of remarkable universal value around the world, but also their conversion into economic value and the promotion of tourism where they are situated (Muneta 2006).

4.2.3.3 Achievements of the World Heritage Association

The association has been involved in many events (Table 4.2) such as sponsorship, co-sponsorship, and support since first being established. The activities include phases of academic activities and promotional activities. The academic activities include forums, symposiums, lectures held once or twice a year, awareness movements, and public relations activities (including photo exhibitions, concerts at

Table 4.2 Previous activities of the association for declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage

Year	Month/date	Activities of our association
2000	August 19th, 20th	Meeting of the Buildings Restoration Association in Naru (Goto). The proposal for a new Association emerges
2001	September	The Association for declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage is founded
2002	March 31st	Symposium "The Nagasaki Churches Group: a World Heritage" in Sotome. In: Endo's Culture Museum. Speakers: Rumiko Kataoka, Kazuma Hayashi
		First booklet about the Nagasaki Churches Group in Japanese
	October 12th	Symposium "The Nagasaki Churches Group: a World Heritage" In: Nagasaki Catholic Center. Speakers: Satoshi Miyazawa, others
	October 16th–20th	Exhibition "The Road to a World Heritage: The Nagasaki Churches Group" at Hamaya Department Store
	October 25th–November 3rd	Goto Church Week. Conferences. In: Dozaki and Tainoura Churches. Speakers: Ryogo Yuki and Kazutoshi Kakimori
	October	Pamphlet "The Association for declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage" first English edition
2003	October 29th	Conference "The Road to a World Heritage: The Nagasaki Churches Group" in Tokyo. In: St. Ignatius Church. Speakers: Junko Endo, others
	November 10th–29th	Exhibition "The Road to a World Heritage: The Nagasaki Churches Group" in Tokyo
	October–November	23 Members of our Association pay a Courtesy Visit to the Vatican Culture Ministry
2004	May 22nd–August 29th	"History of the Yokohama and Nagasaki Churches" 150th Anniversary of the Re-opening of the Country Exhibition. In: Yokohama City Development Museum
	July–August	Conferences "The Road to a World Heritage: The Nagasaki Churches Group" in Yokohama. In: Yokohama Cultural Center Hall. Speakers: Joseph Pittau, Satoshi Yamato, others
	November	Fr. De Rotz 90th years Death Anniversary Concert. In: Shitsu Church
2005	July 8th–10th	Conference "The Road to a World Heritage: The Nagasaki Churches Group" in Goto. Buildings Restoration Association joint symposium. In: Campana Hotel and Geihin Hall. Speakers: Masachika Uchida, Osamu Goto, Toshiaki Inoue, Renzo De Luca, others
2006	February	Field trip to Historical Heritages of Macau
	October 28th–29th	Conference and field trip "The Road to a World Heritage: The Nagasaki Churches Group" in Hirado. Speakers: Sinzo Kawamura, Makoto Shirahama, Hiroshi Yamanaka, Satoshi Yamato, Seiichi Mimura, others
	December	Conference "The Road to a World Heritage: The Nagasaki Churches Group" in Shin-Kamigoto Town
	December 22nd–27th	Exhibition about "The Association for declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage" activities. In: Hamaya D. Store
2007	May 27th	"Nagasaki Church Group and Christian Related Cultural Assets" addition as candidates for the World Heritage Provisional List celebration. Pentecost Concert

Source: The Association for declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage (2007)

churches, and tour programs of visiting churches) to reveal the charm and value of the Church Group to the general public. Although most events are held in Nagasaki, Goto, or Hirado where the churches are the most densely distributed, lecture meetings and photo exhibitions are also held in larger cities, such as Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka, Fukuoka. These events have started to spread a special range of activities.

Awareness events for the general public to publicize the special charm of Nagasaki Church Group are very important. Mr Hiroaki Misawa, an architectural photographer who has taken photographs of buildings, streets, ruins, and civil structures in Japan and abroad, published *Ooinaru Isan Nagasaki no Kyokai* (Important Assets: Churches in Nagasaki) in 2000. This photograph book included a thorough explanation by Mr Hideto Kawakami, a specialist in architecture and a member of the World Heritage Association, and photos of churches taken by Mr Misawa, and has been constantly reprinted. Dr Kawakami is a professor at the Kinki University Faculty of Humanity-Oriented Science and Engineering, and has studied the architecture of the Nagasaki Church Group for many years. The World Heritage Association helps protect its treasures and the Church Group's precious buildings, by the Nagasaki Church Group encouraging study by specialists.

The Association is also active in other events, such as visiting churches in Rome, Macau and other countries, requesting the cooperation of the Vatican, and promoting coalitions with other organizations including administrative bodies. The association also owes a great deal for the maintenance and operation of the association to the dedicated efforts of Mr Kakimori.

In this chapter, I examined the role of the association in promoting World Heritage registration. I emphasize that this registration movement is fundamentally supported by the authenticity of Nagasaki local history and their collective memories (Kimura 2001, 2007b; Hosoda 2004).

4.2.4 Creation of Pilgrimages to Sacred Places and the Actors Involved

4.2.4.1 Creation of Pilgrimages to Sacred Places

The World Heritage movement has increased the number of pilgrims and tourists to faith-related facilities in Nagasaki. The movement to make a pilgrimage to the sacred places has been encouraged by the design of the administrations of prefectures and municipalities and tourist federations in areas with sacred churches and martyrdom sites (Matsui 2008b, 2009).

In Nagasaki, efforts to promote tourism using the history and culture of Nagasaki are being made through the Project of Discovery and Transmission of History in Nagasaki. This project began in 2005 and aims to create stories associated with historic cultural heritage sites in the prefecture to tempt people to visit. The program is jointly promoted by the education board and tourism department of Nagasaki. A Promotion Meeting composed of business people and well-informed persons

from both in and outside Nagasaki selects historic cultural heritage stories at a Special Meeting to Create Stories (Education Board). Distinctive local resources and historic culture are used to promote tourism, for example, by creating tourist routes with special local meanings and the development of tourism products.

The board's intention is to create a historical Nagasaki brand. The first historical theme covered was Christian culture, because Christian culture is particular to Nagasaki and is a powerful theme for use abroad. The program issued six volumes "Traveling and Studying Nagasaki" (edited by Christian culture). These books are guides to the history and noted places of the Christian culture in Nagasaki and covered the arrival of Francis Xavier at Hirado, the Christian daimyo of Nagasaki, the delegation of Tensho young envoys, the martyrdom of the twenty-six saints, the Shimabara rebellion, and the hidden Christians in the Edo era.

The Nagasaki Prefectural Tourist Federation also considers Christianity important to the tourism strategy of Nagasaki. The tourism strategy of the prefecture considered theme-type tourism an important issue, and Christian culture was the most powerful theme in the industrial heritage of Gunkan-jima. One concrete product development was the "Nagasaki Kirishitan Kiko" (Nagasaki Christian Travel). The Nagasaki Prefectural Tourist Federation printed 500,000 booklets that describe the prefecture in five parts, Hirado–Ikitsuki–Tabira, Sasebo–Kamigoto, Goto, Fukue-island, Nagasaki City, Nishi-Sonogi, and Shimabara–Unzen–Amakusa, and provided model routes to tour the churches. The federation also created a booklet to explain special points of the ecclesiastical architecture with the help of the Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki, and adopted positive use of church tours to help promote tourism. The federation also took particular care to consider Christians' sensibility by explaining protocol when visiting churches and the manners expected of tourists in churches.

The concept of Christian travel is high-class-oriented and high-value-added, and targets the baby-boomer generation. Guides provide guest-oriented travel in small groups. Christian travel was created as a comfortable plan, although the costs are high. The promoters aim to satisfy customer's needs to learn about history and culture. People who wish to take advantage of this type of heritage tourism include many people who have traveled in Japan and abroad often, and are curious about unknown places such as isolated islands.

4.2.4.2 Sacred Places as Consumer Items and the Actors Involved

Church tours as a pilgrimage were also promoted by the Catholic Church. In 2005, the Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki issued the "Perfect Guide to Churches in Nagasaki and Amakusa and Pilgrimage Sites" as a guidebook to the Catholic churches in Nagasaki and Amakusa (Kumamoto Prefecture) to introduce readers to ecclesiastical architecture and history. The churches are numbered to promote pilgrimage tours, and the guidebook lists sites that commemorate martyrs, martyrdom sites, and monuments. The last half of the book describes graveyards and tombstones and the ruins of the Seminario, which are also introduced as part of a pilgrimage to sacred places. In this way, the Catholic Church has also responded to tourism

and provided a pilgrimage to the Church Group and sacred places. Sites of martyrdom appeal to non-Christians, but the religious aspects of Christian life of Mass and ceremonial occasions will not be affected.

I note the use of pilgrimage as a religious expression, but also as a means of presenting the historic cultural heritage of the area and promoting tourism. This was heightened even more in the wake of the designation of the Church Group on the tentative World Heritage list 2007. The Nagasaki Prefectural Tourist Federation immediately planned to use their tourism resources in a document called "Establishment of Nagasaki Pilgrimage, Creation of a New Cultural Entity." The objectives of this plan were to review the tangible and intangible Christianity-related assets that existed in each region of Nagasaki and to create, in consultation with the Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki, an official Nagasaki Pilgrimage Route. These aims were authorized by the Catholic Church and would help promote tourism in Nagasaki. The policy also included plans to publicize pilgrimage manners and create official guides, create a Nagasaki Pilgrim Map, and disseminate information by holding events, or through press releases. The Nagasaki Pilgrimage was modeled on the Shikoku Pilgrimage, and the goal was to attract one million tourists a year. The Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki opened and staffed the Nagasaki Pilgrimage Center in May of 2007. They divided 390 pilgrimage and pilgrimage-related sites in Nagasaki into six parts, designed a model pilgrimage course, and dispatched pilgrimage guides who specialized in the history of the Catholic Church.

Consumer needs can diversify and change the value of existing tourism resources, so the Nagasaki Prefectural Tourist Federation positioned the new Nagasaki Pilgrimage cultural entity, not merely as a tourism resource. The creation of a cultural entity provided tourists with the chance to look back on their lives while in contact with the history and culture of the area, and promoted a sense of peace and comfort. The expectation is that the spread of the Nagasaki Pilgrimage will lead to more interchanges between people, the succession and creation of the historic culture in the area, and contribute to the development of a historic culture around Nagasaki, driven by tourism.

In this way, the Nagasaki Pilgrimage has created a tour route of existing churches and sacred martyrdom sites. It involves political and economic requests of the local municipalities that expect an increase in the number of tourists, the religious philosophy and the propagation strategy of the Catholic Church, the social, religious, and spiritual interest in cultural heritage tourism of baby boomers approaching retirement, and effort to create socially sacred places.

The commodification of the Nagasaki Church Group and the surrounding rural landscape by the Nagasaki Pilgrimage was driven by the local administration and the Catholic Church. However, it is also impossible to create a new pilgrimage without the authenticity of these churches and Christianity-related sites. Both actors understand this point well, and they pay careful attention to protect the value of the churches, and make an effort to create a sustainable relationship between tourism development and preservation. The commodification of Nagasaki Church Group and its surrounding rural landscape has been gradually promoted.

4.2.5 Meaning of Registration as a World Heritage Site

Registration as a World Heritage site requires not only the judgment that an individual cultural heritage site has universal value, but also the cooperation of national and local governments to ensure that the site can be preserved. In Nagasaki, Gunkanjima is also a World Heritage site candidate, but because of the principle of the separation of religion from politics, government agencies were not always considered able to positively promote the Nagasaki Church Group as a World Heritage site candidate. However, when registration on the tentative list was agreed, government agencies became supportive. For example, in response to an official recommendation for registration on the tentative list, the Nagasaki-Prefectural Board of Education sponsored a symposium by the Nagasaki Church Group and Christian-Related Culture Assets in February of 2007. Although I expect more support for registration as a World Heritage site, other people may have a different view of religious local cultures used as cultural property or heritage.

A proposal submitted to the Agency for Cultural Affairs in November of 2006 made several points on the universal value of the church group (Nagasaki Prefecture 2006).

1. The Nagasaki Church Group and its relevant assets are symbols of sublime spirituality, freedom from persecution, and the joy of the comeback of the church. The group presents a unique history of a dramatic revival from long-term concealment never seen before in the history of the world. The churches, which are usually small, are distributed in remote areas, where Christians had to conceal themselves to avoid persecution and continue their faith. The churches reveal how people devoted property and labor to their faith despite poverty.
2. The Church Group and its relevant assets are closely related to the distinctive natural terrain of the area. This area is partly designated a national park and needs to be in harmony with the village landscape. The churches were established on land facing a cove and on upland slopes, by people who lived by farming and fishing, and the excellent cultural landscape supported the lives and spirits of local residents during long-term concealment.
3. The Nagasaki Church Group belongs to Gothic Revival Architecture. This style was a global trend when the churches were built. Building was supervised by foreign missionaries who brought the styles and techniques of the West melded with traditional techniques of Japanese master carpenters such as Yosuke Tetsukawa. The various developments can be seen where the architectural culture of the West and that of the East were superbly blended together and a high-level of molding and design achieved. The churches also display regional characteristics; for example, a camellia pattern is used in the interior ornamentation of one church. In this sense, the buildings are part of a globally rare and distinctive construction group heritage.

These three considerations reflect the local culture: (1) globally rare distinctive religious history, (2) cultural landscape that the local *fudo* created, and (3) original religious buildings completed in a blend of Eastern and Western cultures. These

items create the universal value needed to satisfy designation criteria for a World Cultural Heritage site (Table 4.1) (Nagasaki Prefecture 2006).

Criterion (ii) is satisfied because the Nagasaki Church Group and Christian-related cultural assets reveal a globally rare complicated exchange process of Eastern and Western cultures. Christianity and Western culture were introduced to Japan during the age of discovery, but Christianity was prohibited during the period of national isolation, and the new interchange began after isolation ended.

Criterion (iii) is satisfied because the Nagasaki Church Group presents unparalleled material evidence that the Christian faith continued despite martyrdom and persecution from the end of the sixteenth century.

Criterion (iv) is satisfied because the Nagasaki Church Group was built under the guidance of foreign missionaries using the traditional techniques of Japanese master carpenters. The buildings are examples of the development of ecclesiastical architecture in Japan, which blended Western and Eastern architecture and achieved high-level molding and design.

Criterion (v) is satisfied because most of the churches of the Nagasaki Church Group are located in remote areas of the prefecture where people lived in concealment. The church locations are closely related to the distinctive natural terrain of the area, and are in harmony with the village landscape established by people who lived by farming and fishing, and where a superb landscape was established to support the lives and spirits of local residents.

Criterion (vi) is satisfied because the Nagasaki Church Group and Christian-Related Cultural Assets can be directly linked to persecution and martyrdom. These events had a major impact and impression on the world, and illustrate a unique dramatic revival after 250 years of concealment. These assets were also used as themes in famous Japanese literary works. The assets play an important role in literary history. The original form of Oratio, which was sung by hidden Christians for 400 years, was a Gregorian chant. Christian ceremonial music was brought to Japan by missionaries from Spain, and reveals the form of sixteenth century music.

Although some of this reasoning is duplicated, the parts represent the remarkable and universal value of the Church Group. The source of universal value is inseparably linked to the context of local regional histories, and the heritage buildings of the Church Group and relevant ruins embody local historic endemism. This cultural landscape, including faith-related assets, was maintained by the residents' voluntary religious acts and regular vocational activities, and the World Heritage movement is exactly what is needed to give more authority to those activities.

Two final points can be given for registration of the cultural landscape and faith-related assets on the World Heritage list. Ogawa (2002) indicated that anything could be registered as being part of a cultural heritage in modern society; nothing has a cultural heritage at the beginning, and things become part of a cultural heritage when people find meaning. According to Ogawa, the most important activities that create cultural heritage are conservation and exhibition of items. Society's values are reflected in conservation activity, and conservation and exhibition separate a thing from the original local context and regroup the thing into new abstract universal context. Under Ogawa's argument, the process of registering the Church Group

as a World Heritage site shifts the context of the churches from their original religious context to a regional context of history and heritage. In the process, religion may risk being used, distributed, and treated as consumer item.

Treating local religious culture as a cultural property is a double-edged sword. While there is no doubt that this treatment ensures people realize its value and then hand it down to future generations, registration as a cultural property is exactly the same as giving new value to an individual local religious culture. The act of assigning the culture with artistic, aesthetic, economic, and historic values changes the culture's inherent religious value. For Christians, the ecclesiastical buildings were established as religious spaces for ceremonies and for social living spaces. The buildings had no original artistic or historic value. However, giving the churches a secular value will inevitably produce a secular church hierarchy. The risk is ever present that a categorization as a cultural property, such as a national treasure, national important cultural property, prefecture-designated cultural property, or non-designated cultural property, could lead to the asset being regarded as the valuation of its religious local culture or as a commodity.

However, this single negative effect of heritage designation should not be over emphasized. The global valuation standard for being registered as a World Heritage site gives a local cultural landscape universal value. Yasuhuku (2000) wrote that tourism was an important element in forming the social image of a place in the late twentieth century. Registering a cultural property as a World Heritage site emphasizes the remarkable universal value of distinctive cultures in different regions and countries.

Christians were a social minority in Nagasaki, who should also be valued as part of the religious local culture of Nagasaki. This culture includes the hidden Christians and martyrdom. Registration of the Church and historic sites as a World Heritage site could positively affect the Christian culture, by promoting the Church Group as a mainstream part of the region. The group could function as an integral symbol of traditions and history of Nagasaki and present the local religious culture as a universal value on the global stage. Christian culture would establish the pride and identity of a Christian and embody Christianity as a historic and experiential memory (Yamanaka 2007a).

Hamada's (2006) consideration of the influence of changes and reversals of traditional values with the grant of a new value on a local culture are influential. Hamada argued the Mingei Movement does not have meaning in industrial promotion but changes the value of a product. The Nagasaki Church Group and the pilgrimage network of churches were established and focused attention on the group (Kimura 2007a). During the surge in the World Heritage registration movement, the Catholic churches and other actors became more active, and have established pilgrimage routes and sites to churches and martyrdom sites (Matsui 2006). Although individual churches or martyrdom sites do not change, the meaning given to it gets radically changed, and new value may be given to sites. The attention given to the site forces a regrouping (Yamanaka 2007b).

Our own church has been registered as a World Heritage site. This is exactly discovering culture, with conversion of the value of the target then occurring. In the end, a church that has been valued as a World Heritage site receives the attention of

outsiders as a church that has universal value; at the same time, the church is re-established as a target that insiders themselves can ultimately control, as Ota (1998) revealed in Cultures Object Theory.

By a similar process, culture attracts the attention of other people and changes itself. This may create a problem of the culture being treated as a consumer item. Registration as a World Heritage site may cause serious problems of commodification of places (Smith 2003). Timothy and Boyd (2003) suggested that commodification entailed more than just the simple packaging of culture and heritage for tourist consumption. Commodification was also blamed for creating extra spectacular events, and objects, for tourists who have become dissatisfied with the ordinary world. Tanno (2008) presented several examples of the commodification of World Heritage sites in Japan. When the value of being a World Heritage site is bestowed on a cultural landscape such as the Nagasaki Church Group, ever larger waves of commodification can sweep over the landscape. Usually, an object needs to be exchangeable, after separation from the context of its production to be commercialized. A church could be separated from the context of life in which it is rooted and maintain vocational activities, *fudo*, and history. The place itself becomes a product that can be consumed as information. The concept and philosophy of being a World Heritage site may be part of human wisdom, but the more strongly heritage is connected to a region, the more broadly the region will be influenced by being registered as a World Heritage site.

4.2.6 Summary

Eighteen church-related facilities including Oura Cathedral (national treasure), Kuroshima Church (government-designated important cultural property), Aosagaura Church and eight Christianity-related heritage items such as the ruins of Hara Castle were nominated as candidates for World Heritage sites. All sites are historically and culturally important, but also involve the faith and lives of Christians. A key ingredient in their nomination is that the sites are religious living spaces as well as historic relics.

In this paper, I described the actions of the three main actors. The World Heritage Association hopes to register the Nagasaki Church Group, the administration wishes to create tourism opportunities and conserve cultural properties, and the Catholic Church wants people to understand Christianity while remaining in harmony with tourism. The Nagasaki churches, which were originally built to cater to Christian religious practice, are being redefined as a church group to develop a Nagasaki Pilgrimage. Finally, from the viewpoint of consumption of culture and commodification of rural spaces, local people, and locality were discussed. The movement to create sacred places for pilgrimages occurs in various regions and may cause hidden problems.

On the Goto Islands of Nagasaki, where the churches are located, Christians can no longer maintain the churches because the falling birthrate and aging population have depopulated the area. The church buildings, which have withstood the wind and rain for many years, have become seriously damaged, and some facilities may

collapse. Many people associated with the church encourage tourism to help seek financial support from the national and local governments and to preserve precious religious facilities (Hosoda 2008). However, some individual Christians fear their churches and sacred sites will become a mere tourism resource. Kimura (2007a) reports expressions of concern such as "Isn't our place of faith being overrun by tourists nowadays? Hasn't the faith that we inherited from our ancestors become merely a showpiece?" Similarly, we cannot deny that the religious spaces that were originally made for prayer may change if the movement to make the Church Group a tourism resource succeeds.

Three points should be considered in discussions of commodification of rural spaces in Nagasaki. First, commodification packages rural places and displays them for customers (Urry 1995). Those packaged places simplify consumption by urban customers. In this context, the rural landscape becomes the realm of sign-consumption (Baudrillard 1998). Second, Christianity as an honorable identity may be enhanced and strengthened through the reconstruction of public local memory encouraged by significant actors. Christianity in Nagasaki has not always been represented in a positive way. Although a history of Nagasaki Christianity represents a universally valuable history in the world with a rise of the World Heritage registration movement (Kimura 2007b; Yamanaka 2007a), this reconstruction of history may conceal historical discrimination against Christians and hidden Christians. Third, the production of a new locality to simplify consumption of rural places has become easier with the development of the Internet. Various localities have been produced, and disappeared after a short period, which is the danger of easy production of locality.

The phenomenon of turning sacred places into commercial tourist spots has been classically observed. Sacred places may be created and given new meaning by people with a variety of (social and economic, political, cultural, or religious) objectives, and conflicts may arise. The Catholic churches in Nagasaki are sacred spaces to a community of Christians based in villages. Villages became parishes, and each church was originally independent of the others. What will be the effect on the churches and martyrdom sites, when these become a tourism resource connected by an orderly pilgrimage tour?

When religion provided a sacred canopy and moral standard for society (Berger 1967), the sacred world had more functions than now. Waves of rationality have swept over the world in a special time and space. Modern Western thought has penetrated all aspects of life and sacred spaces have been exchanged for new useful, safe, and comfortable spaces. Some people thought that irrational places such as sacred sites would vanish, but although society has globalized, standardized, and homogenized, sacred places remain in the spotlight as unique entities. The creation of sacred places also represents the act of searching for a place (Relph 1976). Originally, many sacred places were created and became standardized and used. We need to be careful about this aspect.

The registration of a local religious culture as a heritage site adds religious value to something that has the secular values of history and tradition. A World Heritage site may be considered to have universal value for humans, but have nothing to do

with religious values. If registered and unregistered churches are treated differently, does this affect the value of the church? Being registered as a World Heritage site invokes additional problems.

4.3 Promotion of Tourism in Remote Islands Through Religious Tourism

4.3.1 Goto Islands as Future World Heritage Sites

The Goto Islands are a series of islands in the westernmost part of Kyushu, between 50 and 100 km off the western coast of the Nishisonogi Peninsula of Nagasaki (Fig. 4.21). The main islands of Fukue, Hisaka, Naru, Wakamatsu, and Nakado are called the five islands (Goto), but the chain actually comprises 18 inhabited islands and over 120 uninhabited islands. The islands can be divided into the Shimo-Goto, centered on Fukue Island in the southwest, and Kami-Goto, centered on Nakado Island in the northeast. The islands are formed from volcanic and sedimentary strata, contain many drowned valleys along the coasts, are mountainous, and the terrain is complex. The *fudo* is moderate with an annual average temperature of 16.8 °C (Fukue Island), because of the effect of the Tsushima Current running through the East China Sea. However, several typhoons hit the islands every year, and annual precipitation is 2,310 mm.

Whaling has been popular on the Goto Islands since the early modern era; fishing was the main livelihood over long periods. The surrounding seas contain good fishing grounds. Modern fishing includes the thriving cultured tuna fishing industry and coastal fishing for mackerel, Japanese horse mackerel, and squid. However, many younger members of fishing families have left the industry and the fishing economy has declined in recent years. Low fertility soil and steep terrain do not suit agriculture, and there are no other prominent industries on the islands. Many young people also move from the islands after graduating from high school, leaving the area struggling with under-population, a declining birth rate, and an aging population.

The location at the perimeter of Japan, at the westernmost edge of Kyushu, gives the Goto islands great historical significance. The islands were at the forefront of exchanges between China and Japan; embassies were sent to Tang China, including Kukai, and people travelled across the perilous seaway to the Chinese continent from Fukue Island. The Goto Islands also served as a hiding ground for Christians in the early modern era. Christianity was first introduced to the Goto islands in 1566 when two monks, Almeida and Lorenzo, were invited to treat the illness of the landlord Sumisada Uku (Kataoka 1970). By 1570, Christianity started to gain popularity and churches were established in Fukue, Okuura, Mukata (all on Fukue Island), and other towns. By 1570, 2,000 Christians were reported from the islands, but Christianity was repressed after that date. Christians were martyred from 1620 and Christianity began to decline.

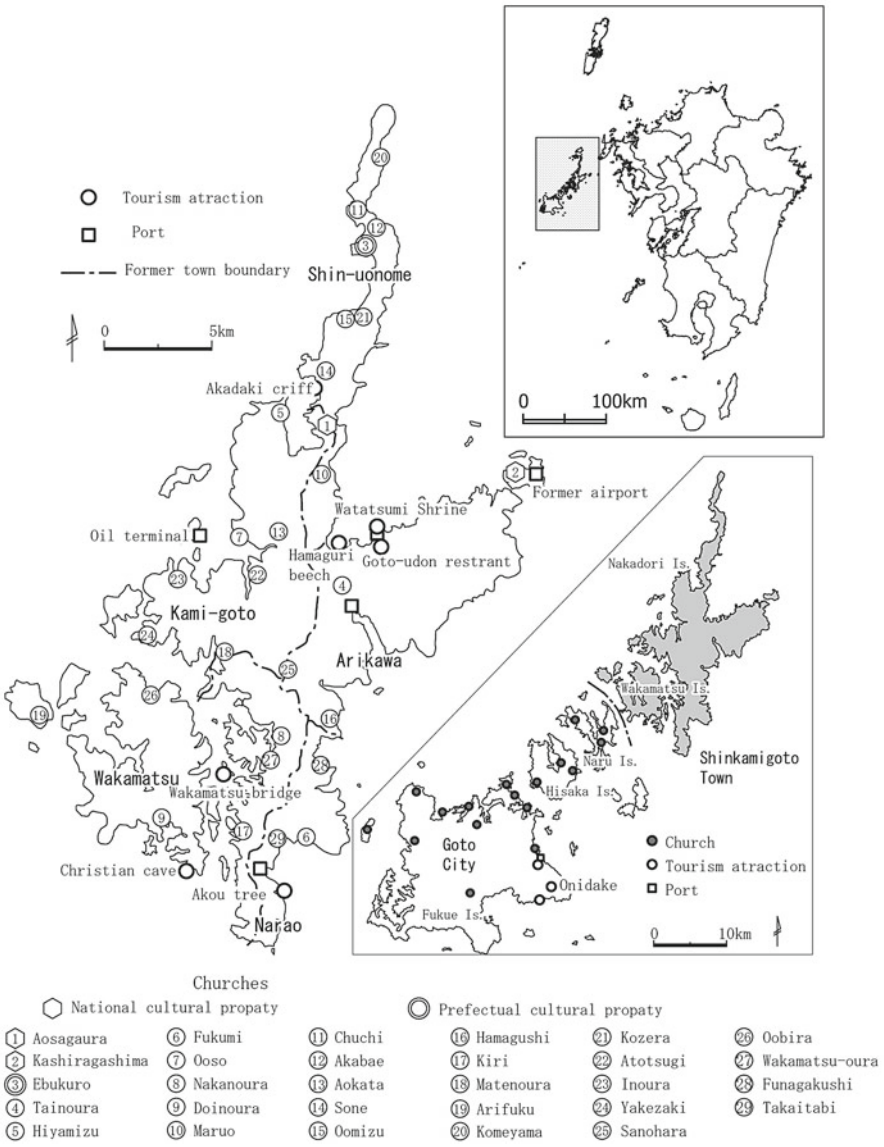

Fig. 4.21 Study area

After 1797, Christianity revived when Christians began to move to the Goto Islands from the Sotome Region. Because of the strict repression of Christianity by the Ohmura Clan and a request from the Goto Clan, which was struggling with a declining population, Christians from the Sotome Region began to compete with one another to move to the Goto islands. Up to 3,000 Christians may have emigrated to Goto, but they were forced to live in dispersed locations in the mountains without

any cultivated fields or to live in coastal places unsuitable for fishing. Christians suffered from poverty and social discrimination. A Sotome Region folksong includes the lines "To Goto, to Goto, everyone wants to go. Even the land of Goto is kind." However, Christians were closely monitored by the government of the time. Christians finally won the freedom to practice their religion between 1880 and 1920 and began to build Catholic churches on the islands. Up to 50 Catholic churches still exist on the Goto Islands,[1] and some are rated highly for their value as cultural assets. The cultural value of the churches on the Goto islands led the inclusion as church-related assets of the Nagasaki area in the tentative list of World Cultural Heritage sites by Nagasaki Church Group and Christian-Related Cultural Assets in January 2007.

Efforts to boost employment through tourism are popular in many remote islands, and the Goto Islands are no exception because public works have been downsized. Tourism promotion uses religious and cultural assets unique to the islands, such as Catholic churches and hidden Christian martyrdom sites. On Kami-Goto, which has a small population and little industry, expectations about Christianity-related tourism are particularly high because of the World Heritage Registration Campaign. About 15 % of the population of approximately 80,000 on the Goto Islands is Catholic, but about 25 % of Kami-Goto residents are Catholic, the highest percentage of all municipal bodies in Japan. People living on the islands have strong expectations regarding the Catholic Church group, and consider the cultural assets to have been nurtured by history and the *fudo* of the Goto Islands, which is their only major economic resource. This section therefore discusses how the Catholic Church group and the religious culture of hidden Christians have been turned into tourism resources, and the expectations of the tourists and pilgrims visiting the churches regarding new religious tourism.

The theme of the tourism promotion vision was developed by the town of Shinkami-Goto in February 2007,[2] around "An Island to encounter Future World Heritage sites." The theme proposed to promote tourism by using church tours as the main pillar. This promotion leverages the tentative registration of the Nagasaki Church Group on the World Cultural Heritage site list, and the Project for mysterious islands where future World Cultural Heritage sites can be encountered. The project plans to develop pilgrim and church experience programs, such as church visiting and Carol singing.

Kami-Goto has a smaller population and weaker industrial foundation and social capital than Shimo-Goto, but the higher proportion of Christians leads to a high expectation of Christianity as a tourism resource. The following chapter examines how Christianity could be used as a tourism resource, focusing on Kami-Goto, but also including other Goto Islands.

[1] Of these, Ebukuro Church burnt down on February 12, 2007. The church is currently being reconstructed.

[2] In the Kami-Goto region, five towns (Wakamatsu, Kami-Goto, Shinuonome, Arikawa, and Narao) merged on August 1, 2004 to become Shinkami-Goto town. The population in December 2008 was 24,139.

Fig. 4.22 Aosagaura Church

4.3.2 Attraction of Churches

Twenty-nine churches, approximately two-thirds of the 50 extant churches on the Goto Islands, are located on Kami-Goto. Many were established in villages on the coast or in mountainous areas that are difficult to reach. The churches were established by Christians escaping repression of the anti-Christian period. When Christianity was finally allowed, villages built the churches as a proof of their faith.

Many churches in Nagasaki have significance to the history of modern architecture of Japan. Ohuratenshudo is the oldest existing church in Japan and is a well-known national treasure. Aosagaura Church (Fig. 4.22), the Kashiragashima Church (Fig. 4.23) (both in Shinkami-Goto), former Gorin Church (Fig. 4.24), and the Egami Church (both in Goto) have all been registered as nationally important cultural properties. Few Japanese churches have been specified as nationally important cultural properties; the notable churches are Kuroshima, Tabira (both in Nagasaki), the Orthodox Church of Hakodate in Hokkaido, Tsuruoka Catholic Cathedral in Yamagata, and Nicholai-do the Holy Resurrection Cathedral in Tokyo. These data indicate the significance of the Goto churches.

Many churches in the Kyushu area and Goto islands were constructed by Yosuke Tetsukawa. Tetsukawa was born into the family of a master carpenter in Kami-Goto

Fig. 4.23 Kashiragashima Church

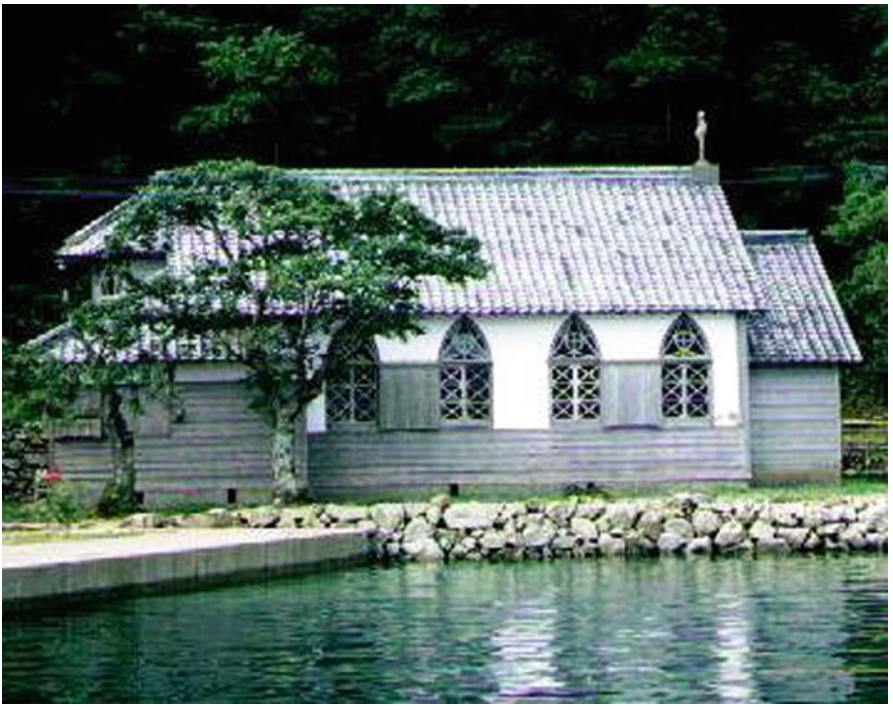

Fig. 4.24 Former Gorin Church

Fig. 4.25 Inside the Former Gorin Church

in 1879, and helped with architectural projects including churches, schools, temples and offices in various parts of Kyushu until his death in 1976 at the age of 97. The aesthetic value of the churches built by Tetsukawa arises from a solemn appearance, stained glass windows, and grave internal spaces that include a rib vault ceiling (Fig. 4.25). These ceilings are also called bat ceilings because they are shaped like a bat with spread wings. The internal spaces of the churches serve as holy places for Christians to pray; however, a number of tourists and visitors without any religious beliefs also appear to sense the reverence of the spaces when they step inside. The attraction of the churches on Goto lies not only in the beauty of the architecture as visitors are also often attracted by the history of the churches and the *fudo* of the islands.

4.3.3 Tourism Movement

Most tourists who visit Goto go to Kami-Goto. Approximately 200,000 tourists visit Kami-Goto every year and arrive by ship, which is the only mode of transport between Kami-Goto and mainland Kyushu. Regular services connect Sasebo and Arikawa Port, and Nagasaki and Tainoura Port or Narao Port, and one line from Hakata Port to Fukue Island via Aokata Port. An airline service used to connect the

islands with Fukuoka and Nagasaki Airports, but the utilization rate was low as the area was often covered in sea fog, and the aircraft were often affected by the wind during takeoff and touchdown. When high-speed ships were introduced, the time saving of air travel was reduced and the airline service between Kami-Goto and Fukuoka and between Kami-Goto and Nagasaki stopped in March 2004 and March 2006. Kami-Goto airport no longer operates.

Kami-Goto is the only island among the major remote islands in Nagasaki Prefecture (Iki, Tsushima, Kami-Goto, and Shimo-Goto) without an airline service, and tourist numbers appear to be constant in contrast to tourism growth on other islands. The problem of promoting tourism in future needs to be resolved. The Tourism Department of the Division of Regional Development in Nagasaki (2002) has indicated the small number of repeaters as being a characteristic of the tourists that visit the Goto Islands. When evaluated as a tourist site, tourists often cite inconvenient transportation compared with Tsushima and Iki, although the beauty of the natural scenery of the sea and mountains and the delicious local cuisine are considered selling points. The Goto Islands, especially Kami-Goto, struggle to attract tourists compared with other remote islands in Nagasaki, such as Tsushima and Iki, which have convenient transportation to Fukuoka.

4.3.3.1 Package Tours from Tokyo to Goto Islands

Most of the pilgrim tour packages are marketed to Catholics (Fig. 4.26a). In March 2008, the package tours cost 138,000 yen for a 3-night, 4-day trip return from Haneda Airport and 149,000 yen for a 4-night, 5-day trip. Tour parties around the island churches are accompanied by a Catholic priest who celebrates mass at the churches. Other pilgrim tours combine churches on the Goto Islands and in Nagasaki. A standard package tour for tourists costs about 60,000 to 100,000 yen for a 2-night, 3-day schedule departing return from Haneda Airport. A typical tourist visits Kami-Goto from Sasebo, tours the museum, learns about whaling at Arikawa Port (Geihinkan Museum), and visits churches and sea-salt plants on stay one night and then travels on to Fukue Island (Fig. 4.26b). Most tourists visit by bus, and stop at Kashiragashima Church on Kami-Goto Island on the first day, then visit Christianity-related sites by ship, including the Christian cave (Fig. 4.27) and former Gorin Church (Fig. 4.24)the next day, before moving on to Fukue Island.

Christianity-related facilities are an important tourism resource for package tours of Kami-Goto. One specific tour emphasizes the selling points of a tour of two churches (Kashiragashima Church and Aosagaura Church) that have been registered on the World Cultural Heritage site list, a guided Christian cruise that can only be experienced from ships, and opportunities for tourists to listen to Christians at Catholic churches. The Christianity-related resources include churches designated as nationally important cultural properties. Tourist operators now plan to include healing tourism strategies by combining local specialties, such as camellia oil and Goto *udon* noodles, with the churches, targeting groups of middle-aged to elderly women. The Shinkami-Goto Tourism Promotion Vision, promoted Shinkami-Goto

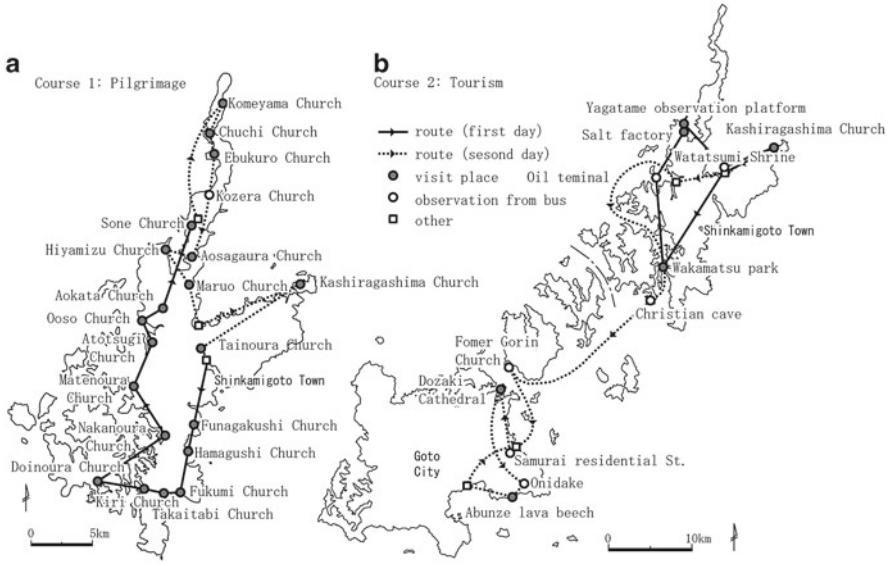

Fig. 4.26 Package tour route from Tokyo

Fig. 4.27 Christian cave

Fig. 4.28 Christmas concert in Kamigoto

town with the catchphrase "Kami-Goto, An Island to Encounter Future World Heritage sites". The 3-year plan attempted to develop tourism products and develop a pilgrim tour with an official guide who has been certified by an archbishop, development of a church cruise tour by sea, development of products for young people or couples including bridal tours, experience programs at churches and sacred places, church concerts, and Christmas illuminations.

For example, the Kami-Goto Church Concerts host invited musicians from Nagasaki and other places in several churches throughout Kami-Goto in mid-December (Fig. 4.28). The churches were illuminated with decorations, and the audience listened to string instruments and could sing Carols with church members. In 2008, six concerts were held at different churches over consecutive days between December 9 and December 14. The concerts were free and usually full to standing room only. Many tourists visited the island either on package or personal tours specifically to see the concerts.

Government and private enterprise promote tourism. One *minshuku* (Japanese inn) has developed a product called "Premium wedding in an elegant and historical church for one couple." The wedding ceremony is held at Aosagaura Church, and the reception, catering, and accommodation are provided by the inn for 500,000 yen per couple. This price includes the charge for using the church, wedding dress, decorations, photographs, accommodation and food and drink while staying at the inn, and transportation fees around the island.

4.3.4 Walk and Cruise to Discover the Attractions of Kami-Goto

Kami-Goto tourist operators have promoted soft tourism using Catholic churches and Christianity-related assets on the island. In 2006, the government organized the "Walk & Cruise the Kami-Goto Churches" (called Walk & Cruise below) event on the island, hosted by Shinkami-Goto town. The first Walk & Cruise was held on October 28 and October 29 2006, and tourists visited churches in the Narao and Wakamatsu regions in the south on foot followed by a cruise on the first day. On the second day, tourists walked around the churches in the northern part of the island and finished at the site of the Kujiradon Festival. This festival was held the same day to provide an opportunity for the sale of local Kami-Goto products.

The concept of the event was to experience and enjoy the 29 churches on the island, the Christian cave, an undersea park, and the natural scenery along the coast through a walking tour and a sea cruise. The selected route connected eight churches (Kiri, Doinoura, Oura, Nakanoura, Hiyamizu, Aosagaura, Maruo, and Tainoura); tourists walked 18.9 km on the first day and 24.5 km on the second day. The cruise on the morning of the first day visited an undersea park, the Wakamatsu Bridge, Ohira and Arifuku churches, and a Christian cave. The event enabled participants to interact with local volunteers, enjoy the natural beauty of a remote island, and experience the history of Catholic martyrs and the island's culture. The event was blessed with good weather on both days, and about 100 participants attended.

A survey of Walk & Cruise participants in cooperation with the town of Shinkami-Goto produced 53 valid responses. Twenty-three men and 30 women responded; most were late middle age (37 people aged from 50 to 64) to elderly (10 people aged from 65 years and older). More than half lived in Shinkami-Goto town and 21 were from off the island. Most (9) off-islanders were from Goto and other visitors came from Nagasaki, Sasebo, and Isahaya, Tokyo, Himeji, and Fukuoka. Fourteen of the off-island visitors were visiting the island for the first time.

Twenty participants discovered the Walk & Cruise project through a newsletter published by the municipal government. Many island resident participants referred to this as their source of information. The next largest number of people (17) heard about the project from friends, and some of the participants from outside the prefecture had found information from the Internet and magazines. Participants' reasons for joining include interest in touring the churches (34 people), walking (26 people), the sea cruise (24 people), experience nature in Kami-Goto (16 people), and to visit Kami-Goto (13 people). Most of the island residents were more interested in the sea cruise than the other tourists. Tourists were also interested in the local resources of the churches and the nature of Kami-Goto, and some were interested in visiting Kami-Goto.

The survey asked the visitors to rate impressions of the churches visited on a four-point scale. The average score for each item was calculated and converted into scores on a 100-point scale. The highest score was 94.7 for the "beautiful church interiors," followed by 93.5 for "value as a tourism resource," 92.1 for "local (church) history can be felt," and 91.0 for "the churches should be preserved as

cultural properties." Responses to questions with relatively low scores included "it would be nice to have souvenir stores" (68.4 points), "stamps, pilgrim routes, and accommodation facilities are required" (77.2), and "signs, lavatories, and so forth should be established" (76.0).

These data show the participants had a high level of interest in the aesthetic value of the architecture and history of the churches on Kami-Goto, and they appeared to value the churches as tourism resources that should be preserved as cultural properties. However, they had less interest in the establishment of accommodation facilities, souvenir stores, and tourist gimmicks, such as pilgrim stamps, indicating a rather negative stance on tourism developments.

The survey also asked for feedback on the Walk & Cruise. Participants from off the island valued the Kami-Goto environment highly. Example answers included "The blue sea, the sky, and the green land," "Everything was first class," "I was impressed by the beauty of the sea," and "It was a good opportunity to experience the beauty of nature." Another person answered "I was a little disappointed that I had to concentrate on walking and therefore could not fully enjoy the great nature of Kami-Goto".

Many participants positively evaluated the experience of touring the churches. Typical responses include "Though I am not a Christian, the churches had a calming influence and the beautiful church buildings were a feast for my eyes," or "The period we spent at each church was too short." Some people considered the tour around the churches as a pilgrimage to sacred places, although they were not Catholic. They stated, "There was a strong impression that the churches were a part of the people's lives" and "I was impressed by the Christian people who blended it in their daily lives." The focus appeared to be on the fact that the churches were a part of life on the island while also being a religious space.

Feedback from the local residents indicated the opinions of the host community. They included opinions on providing participants with the opportunity to taste the specialties of the island, such as "How about offering Udon noodles, whale meat, potatoes, and so forth for lunch," "…enabling them to learn about the history, industry, and life on the island, such as landing at the Christian cave, touring more of the churches, explaining the history of the churches and the local islands in more detail," and "including a tour of farm-raised young yellowtail while dining during the sea cruise". Some of the people touring the islands were revisiting their home and stated that they had rediscovered the attractions of the island's scenery and history. One person wrote, "I returned to the island after retiring from work and wanted to know more about the life and thinking of our ancestors. I had never visited the sites in the area." He noted that he had left the island after graduating from high school and returned after retiring, and that he now had renewed interest in the history and life of the island. After the tour, some of the locals who were not Christians and were not particularly interested in the churches stated "I saw the interior of some of the churches for the first time and it was rather interesting."

These types of events can be developed in a sustainable fashion. Attractive projects need to be planned and provided after identifying the needs of tourists from both on and off the island. The Walk & Cruise has proved successful, and a third event was held in 2008.

4.3.5 People That Tour the Churches

What exactly do the people that visit the island to tour the churches feel about the churches on Kami-Goto? I now examine the data from notebooks provided at five of the churches on Kami-Goto (Ohira, Nakanoura, Doinoura, Oso, and Ebukuro) for clues to understanding their thoughts.

I will first focus on the free description provided by Catholics or those who visited the churches on a pilgrimage. Some of the Christians actually intended to visit all the churches. Some good examples of this are provided by notes stating, "I came here to visit all the 29 churches on Kami-Goto," or "I am on a pilgrimage of all the churches on Goto Islands." Through the pilgrim experiences, many pilgrims indicate that they felt some peace of mind or a sense of tranquility. Notes such as, "I was blessed with peace of mind, it is a place that calms you but homey," and "it is a comforting place" indicate that their experiences arose through the combination of the history of the Christians, the *fudo* of Kami-Goto and the remote island location, instead of the general experience of other churches. This means that the churches on Kami-Goto may hold special significance for Christians. The note by a Korean Christian stated, "The sacred places and churches on Goto and their spirit of martyrdom are incredible" and another, "God led me to Goto (snip) like the repressed Christians" also indicate significance. Other pilgrims traveled to the islands to pray for the cure for a disease. This position of the Christians indicates that they appreciate the life and activities of the people who support the churches as well as the aesthetic and artistic value of the church buildings, as revealed by a note stating, "Thank you for showing me the beautiful decoration of the cathedral (by the church members)". These responses are evidence that the churches on Kami-Goto are special places where Catholic Christians can be spiritually healed. The source of that sacred power has been created by the fusion of Christian history, the life of the people, and *fudo* of Kami-Goto.

In comparison, other tourists and non-Catholic local residents may visit Kami-Goto churches for other reasons. Some visit the churches by chance after visiting to swim or fish. Others came to Kami-Goto on honeymoon or a retirement trip, and many people visited because it was their own home or that of relatives. Many visitors to Kami-Goto review the setting of Catholic literature (Shusaku Endo), or as the culmination of a long cherished dream. There are cases where people (they were not always Catholic Christians) who were originally from Kami-Goto and had moved away, were visiting the churches upon returning to the island, to reconfirm their Goto identity.

What do tourists sense in the churches? A prominent thread through most notes was the reference to the island's history. Some felt the weight of history, some studied the history of the island by visiting the churches, and one note stated, "I hope the description of the history of Christian repression in textbooks will be made more accurate", indicating that the writer's view of history had changed. This type of reminiscence also indicates an understanding that the history of the architecture reflects the activities of the people who built and maintained the churches. Although visiting

the churches on Kami-Goto can provide an important experience leading to a reconstruction of personal historical view, the visit may also nurture the islanders' and returnees' appreciation for their ancestors' survival and protection of faith. For many residents and persons with island relatives, these feelings reinforce the island identity. Even non-Christian tourists may experience a religious feeling when visiting the churches. For example, a sense of relaxation, peace of mind, tranquility, and healing of pain are common to non-Christian and Christian tourists. Some people who had worked in a fishery on the island prayed while thinking about the sea where they fish.

Non-Christians also value with the Christians the beauty of the church buildings and the magnificence of the location. This was revealed in their notes that mentioned "great brick architecture of the church," "simple but beautiful stained glass," and "church stands on a great location," or that they were "impressed by the beautiful sea and the church." Even non-Christians provided feedback, and many people who toured the Fukue and Nakado Islands were attracted by the beauty of the churches. The aesthetic value of the churches should be preserved forever. It is noteworthy all visitors recognized the churches as having cultural property value when the beautiful buildings, the history of the island where the churches were built, and the life of the people who protected and maintained them were viewed in entirety.

4.3.6 Summary: Expectations and Concerns About Registration as a World Heritage Site

The movements to promote tours around the churches as a pilgrimage to sacred places also occurred in the Catholic Church. In 2005, the Nagasaki/Amakusa no Kyokai to Junnreichi Kannzen Gaido (Perfect Guide to Churches in Nagasaki and Amakusa and Pilgrimage Sites) was issued under the supervision of the Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki. This is a guidebook on the Catholic churches in Nagasaki and Amakusa (Kumamoto), and introduces the ecclesiastical architecture and history of the churches, martyrdom sites, graveyards, and tombstones, and the ruins of the Seminary as a part of a sacred pilgrimage. In this way, the Catholic Church has also responded to tourism by providing a pilgrimage route that also appeals to non-Christians, but does not affect the religious aspects of Christian worship and ceremony.

The use of Christian pilgrimage to sacred places has a religious, historical, and cultural intent that also promotes tourism in Nagasaki. This was grown even more when the Nagasaki Church Group and Christian-Related Cultural Assets were in the Japanese tentative list of World Cultural Heritage sites in January 2007. The Nagasaki Prefectural Tourist Federation immediately planned to use these sites as a tourism resources in a plan titled "*Atarashii Bunka no Sozo Nagasaki Junrei no Sosetsu ni mukete"* (Establishment of a Nagasaki Pilgrimage, Creation of a New Cultural Entity). The objectives of the plan were to review tangible and intangible Christianity-related assets that exist in each region of Nagasaki and create an official "*Nagasaki Junrei no Michi*" (Pilgrimage Route in Nagasaki) after consulting the Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki. The creation of a new pilgrimage route was

approved by the Catholic Church, and the church helped promote tourism in Nagasaki. The proposed specific action policy includes the need to select pilgrimage sites in cooperation with the Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki, publicize pilgrimage rules, create official guides, create a *Nagasaki Junrei Map* (Nagasaki Pilgrim Map), and disseminate information by holding events or through the mass media. A result of this project is the pilgrimage guidebook *Zabieru* to *Aruku–Nagasaki Junrei* (Nagasaki Pilgrimage as a Walk with Xavier), which was issued as an official Nagasaki Pilgrimage guidebook in March 2008.

The Shikoku Pilgrimage is one possible model for the Nagasaki Pilgrimage. The movement hopes to attract one million tourists (pilgrims) in the future. The Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki opened the Nagasaki Pilgrimage Center and assigned some staff in May 2007. The center has taken several measures including dividing the 212 pilgrimage sites in Nagasaki into seven districts, introducing model pilgrimage courses in those districts, and dispatching pilgrimage guides who are familiar with the details of Catholic culture.

The Nagasaki Pilgrimage movement is set against political and economic demands from local municipalities who expect pilgrimage development to increase tourist visits, religious ideals and propaganda of the Catholic church, social background of the spirituality boom, and a growing interest in cultural property tourism by the baby boomer generation as they reach retirement age. Most of all, however, there can be no doubt that the inclusion of the Nagasaki Church Group in the tentative registration on the World Cultural Heritage site list is a key driver.

Francis Xavier stated the Goto churches express the history of Christian acceptance, repression (hiding), and revival over 450 years since Christianity was first propagated in Hirado. Although all the churches are important historical and cultural properties, they are simultaneously places of faith and life for Christians. The churches are living religious spaces, not just historical relics. However, the Goto Christians cannot maintain the churches, because the declining birthrate and aging population have reduced the number of parishioners. Some church structures have been damaged, and some are on the verge of collapse. Many people involved with the churches expect that the valuable religious facilities, including the churches, will be protected as cultural properties with financial support from the national and local governments if they are registered as World Cultural Heritage sites.

Other people have voiced concerns about the registration of the churches as World Cultural Heritage sites. If the examples of the Gassho Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama and Sacred Places and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii mountain Range are any indication, a registration as a World Heritage site will dramatically increase tourist visits. Tourism consumption has stagnated in Nagasaki since the collapse of the bubble economy. Local municipalities and the tourist industry may regard the Church Group as a last resort for tourism promotion. Will the places of faith be violated by tourists? Will their cherished faith inherited from their ancestors be showcased? The risk is that spiritual character of religious spaces as places to pray and the lives of the people will be changed if the movement develops the churches as tourism resources.

However, the dream of being registered as World Heritage sites has encouraged the island residents to be proud of their islands and to love them even more. I was told when interviewing Christians on Kami-Goto "It would be our greatest pleasure if the churches were to become World Heritage sites. Having our churches, which are properties inherited from our ancestors who suffered so much through the period of hiding, evaluated so highly would be a great delight to me as well".

References

Agency for Cultural Affairs (2009) Online Cultural Heritage. Accessed 5 September 2009. (J)
Asahi S (2005) Naritasan monzen no hensen (Changes of Naritasan temple street). Houdan 50:31–44 (J)
Baudrillard J (1998) The consumer society: myths and structures. Sage, London
Berger P (1967) The Sacred Canopy: elements of a sociological theory of religion. Doubleday, Garden City
Cloke P (1993) The countryside as commodity: new rural spaces for leisure. In: Glyptis S (ed) Leisure and environment: essays in honour of Professor J. A. Patmore. Belhaven, Belhaven, pp 53–67
Endo H (2005) Kanko shakaigaku no taisho to shiten (Subject and scope of the sociology of tourism). Nara Prefectural Univ Quart Rev 15(4):11–20 (J)
Endo H, Horino M (2004) Kanko no manazashi no tenkai (Turn of tourism gaze). Shunpusha, Yokohama (J)
Fujiki Y (2009) Sekaiisan toroku ga motarasu kanousei to kadai (Possibility and problems for the legislation of world heritage). In: Kanda K (ed) Spaces for tourism. Nakanishiya-shuppan, Kyoto, pp 190–200 (J)
Fujimoto T (1970) Monzenmachi. Kokon Shoin, Tokyo (J)
Goda S, Arimoto N (2004) Shirakawa Go (Shirakawa village). Nakanishiya-shuppan, Kyoto (J)
Hamada T (2006) Mingeiundo to chiikibunka (Folk craft article and local culture). Shibunkaku-Shuppan, Kyoto (J)
Hosoda A (2004) Availability and understanding of Cultural Landscapes concept in the operational guidelines to implement the World Heritage convention? Nagasaki Int Univ Rev 4:73–81 (J)
Hosoda A (2008) The effect of registration for the World Cultural Heritage tentative list and the problems in future: churches and Christian sites in Nagasaki aiming at the registration for the World Cultural Heritage. Nagasaki Int Univ Rev 8:85–100. (J)
Iguchi A, Tabayashi A, Waldichuk T (2008) Commodification of rural spaces in the stone-wall strawberry region: a case study of Zo village in Shizuoka City. New Geogr 56(2):1–20 (JE)
Kataoka Y (1970) Nagasaki no Junkyosha (Martyrs of Nagasaki). Kadokawa Sensho, Tokyo
Kawakami H, Tsuchida M (1983) On the process of development of the architectures of churches in the region of Nagasaki Prefecture. Trans Archit Inst Jpn 331:155–163 (JE)
Kawakami H, Tsuchida M, Maekawa M (1985) On the division of era of the church building centered in Nagasaki Prefecture. Technol Rep Kyushu Univ 58(2):111–117 (JE)
Kimura K (2001) The significance of travel as experience of sacred time and space: for the study of travel from the viewpoint of history of religions. Nagasaki Int Univ Rev 1:101–110 (J)
Kimura K (2007a) Pilgrimage to Roman Catholic Churches and tourism in Nagasaki. Nagasaki Int Univ Rev 7:123–133 (J)
Kimura K (2007b) The memory and prayer of the sacred land: on the martyrdom of Kirishitan in Nagasaki. J Konkokyo Res Inst 47:147–184 (J)
Komaki N, Ri K, Fujino S, Yamashita K (2006) Centrality of Mobara City in Kujukuri Region and its transformation with respect to an Urban System. Reg Study Annu 28:1–23 (JE)

Kuroda N (2007) Sekaiisan Shirakawa go (Shirakawago as a World Heritage). University of Tsukuba Press, Tsukuba (J)
Matsui K (2005) Problems of managing sacred sites in terms of tourism. Tsukuba Stud Hum Geogr 29:159–169 (JE)
Matsui K (2006) Christian as a tourism strategy: a conflict between religion and tourism. Tsukuba Stud Hum Geogr 30:147–179 (JE)
Matsui K (2007) The gaze for local-religious culture in a World Heritage movement. Tsukuba Stud Hum Geogr 31:133–158 (JE)
Matsui K (2008a) World Heritage, tourism and religion: Gaze at the Christianity. In: International Institute for the Study of Religion (ed) Modern religion 2008, Akiyama-Shoten, Tokyo, pp 168–195 (J)
Matsui K (2008b) Creating religious tourism: a case of Nagasaki Church Group. In: Kikuchi T (ed) Introduction to the study of tourism. Ninomiya-Shoten, Tokyo, pp 20–29 (J)
Matsui K (2009) Creating sacred places and consumption of cultures. In: Kanda K (ed) Spaces for tourism. Nakanishiya-Shuppan, Kyoto, pp 45–55 (J)
Matsui K, Kojima (2007) Development of Christian tourism in KamiGoto Island, Nagasaki. In: Hiraoka A (ed) Research into people, life and industry of the Japanese Islands. Kaiseisha, Otsu, pp 107–124 (J)
Misawa H, Kawakami H (2000) A great heritage: churches in Nagasaki. Seiundo, Tokyo (JE)
Miyazaki K (1996) Kakure kirishitan no shinko sekai (Religious World of Hidden Christians). University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo (J)
Miyazaki K (2001) Kakure kirishitan (Hidden Christians). Nagasaki Shinbun Shinsho, Nagasaki (J)
Muneta Y (2006) The destination of the World Cultural Heritage: discussion in ICOMOS, International Committee of Monuments and Sites. J Environ Sociol 12:5–22 (JE)
Nagasaki Prefecture (2006) Sekaiisan zantei ichiranhyo tsuikashisan ni kakawaru teiansho (Documents for the tentative list of World Heritage, Nagasaki Church Group). Nagasaki Prefecture, Nagasaki (J)
Nagasaki Prefectural World Heritage Registration Promotion Division (2009) Churches and Christian sites in Nagasaki. http://www.pref.nagasaki.jp/s_isan/english/history.html? Accessed 13 November 2009). (J)
Narita City History Editorial Committee (ed) (1976) Narita City History, modern and contemporary materials 5, Kami-Monzenmachi I. Narita City History Editorial Committee, Narita City. (J)
Narita City History Editorial Committee (ed) (1982) Narita City history, folklore edition. Narita City History Editorial Committee, Narita City (J)
Narita City History Editorial Committee (ed) (1986a) Narita City history, middle ages and early-modern times edition. Narita City History Editorial Committee, Narita City (J)
Narita City History Editorial Committee (ed) (1986b) Narita City history, modern and contemporary times edition. Narita City History Editorial Committee, Narita City (J)
Ogawa N (2002) Mono to kioku to hozon (Memory and preservation of things). In: Ogino M (ed) La sociologie des patrimonies. Shinyosha, Tokyo (J)
Ota Y (1998) Toransu pozishon no shiso (Thought of transposition). Sekaishisosha, Kyoto (J)
Perkins HC (2006) Commodification: re-resourcing rural areas. In: Cloke P, Marsden T, Mooney P (eds) Handbook of rural studies. Sage, London, pp 243–257
Relph E (1976) Place and placelessness. Pion, London
Saitsu Y (2006) Conservation of World Heritage and residents, lifestyles: a case study of Shirakawago. J Environ Sociol 12:23–40 (JE)
Sakaguchi T (1991) Townscape Map of Narita around Meiji 40 (1907). Narita City History Study 15:68 (Revised Map posted in Narita City History Study 16) (J)
Shackley M (2001) Managing sacred sites: service provision and visitor experience. Continuum, London
Shinozaki Y (2003) Naritasan religious associations and regular inns. Hodan (Naritasan Shinshoji) 49:78–88 (J)
Smith MK (2003) Issues in cultural tourism studies. Routledge, London

Tabayashi A, Tanno Y, Yokoyama T, Yoshida K (2008) Proposed development of tourist industries on the commodification of rural spaces in the Nasu region, Tochigi Prefecture. Geogr Space 1:83–113 (JE)

Tachikawa M (2005) Post-productivist transition of rural Japan and transformation of its social representation. In: Japanese Association for Rural Studies (ed) Annual bulletin of rural studies vol. 41 special issue: consumed rurality—new rural problems in the Post-Productivist era. Nosangyoson-bunkakyokai, Tokyo, pp 7–40 (JE)

Takahashi M (1998) The rural as space to social representation of rural space: notes on social construction of rurality-1. Stud Informat Sci 7:97–117 (JE)

Takahashi M (1999) Post-productivist countryside, commodification and rural planning: notes on social construction of rurality-2. Stud Informat Sci 9:79–97 (JE)

Tanno A (2008) A geographical approach towards the sustainable relationship between World Heritage site and Tourism. Geogr Space 1(2):114–127 (JE)

The Association for Declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage (2007) Let ┌s work for declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a World Heritage! Accessed 5 September 2009. (J)

The Tourism Department, Regional Development Division, Nagasaki Prefecture (2002) Nagasakiken Kanko Doko Chosa Gaiyo Hokokusho (Nagasaki Prefecture tourism trends survey summary report). Nagasaki Prefecture, Nagasaki (J)

Timothy DJ, Boyd SW (2003) Heritage tourism. Prentice Hall, Essex

Ueno K (2007) On the problems for the registration of the World Heritage in Japan: the meeting of Nara conference. Hist Geogr 49(1):71–85 (JE)

Urry J (1990) The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies. Sage, London

Urry J (1995) Consuming places. Routledge, London

Woods M (2005) Rural geography. Sage, London

Yamanaka H (2007a) Nagasaki Catholic Church Group and tourism. Stud Philos 33:1–22 (JE)

Yamanaka H (2007b) Tourism and Myth: a case of the Nagasaki Church Group as candidates for the World Heritage. In: Matsumura K, Yamanaka H (eds) Myths and our age. Riton, Tokyo, pp 423–454 (J)

Yasuhuku E (2000) Bunka hyoshou toshite no tourismu (Tourism as cultural representation). Sociology 44(3):93–107 (J)

Conclusions

This book discussed certain geographical aspects of Japanese religion. Let us consider the conclusions.

Geography of religion aims to clarify the relationships between the environment and religious phenomena. I discussed some characteristics of the four major fields of this research in Sect. 1.1.

The first field concerns the relationship between the natural environment and religion. The emphasis in this field, however, is on the influence of the environment on religion. While many scholars study how climate and topography affect the formation of religious beliefs, the influence of religion on the natural environment has hardly been studied. To fill this lack, it is necessary, for example, to clarify the role of religion in environmental protection.

The second field of study concerns how religion influences social structures, organizations, and landscapes in local areas. Scholars mainly examine the urban structure and its transformation within religious cities with regard to the dominant religion. There are also some studies concerning the significance of religion in the formation of new cities. The relationship between religious orientation and the local structure of cities and villages, however, has yet to be thoroughly studied.

The third major field of research in the geography of religion concerns pilgrimage. Most studies so far, however, remain preliminary, showing pilgrimage routes without reconstructing the networks of sacred places and their surroundings. Moreover, the contemporary meaning of *pilgrimage* lacks sufficient study, though people today still fervently carry out pilgrimages.

Lastly, geographers of religion try to clarify the structures of spaces created by the sacred through examining the distribution and propagation of religion. One of the major research subjects in this field concerns the catchment areas of religion.

Geography of religion as the study of the relationship between the environment and religion has two indispensable approaches since the space created by this relationship has two aspects: empirical and symbolic. On the one hand, religion has the power to organize local communities, and this power generates the structure of space, which is grasped empirically. On the other hand, religion supports human

K. Matsui, *Geography of Religion in Japan: Religious Space, Landscape, and Behavior*, International Perspectives in Geography 2, DOI 10.1007/978-4-431-54550-7,

existence by offering a cosmology. This cosmology appears symbolically in the structure of space. Geography of religion should study the religious structure of space by adopting both positivistic and symbolic approaches.

In Sect. 1.2, I examined recent trends in Japanese geography of religion since the 1990s. Geographers of religion in Japan have mainly analyzed and interpreted the distribution or diffusion of religious phenomena, including religious experience or practice, the spatial structure of religion, and the religious landscape. I categorized these studies into four types. The first type focuses on how certain religions have been practiced in urban or rural areas. The second examines the influences, roles, and changes of religions in urban and rural communities and their landscapes. The third research category concerns the achievements of religious ecology and the relationship between religions and the natural environment. The fourth type of study concerns the historical geography of pilgrimages; such research has revealed the socioeconomic networks produced by religion. Three directions are suggested for future studies. First, geography of religion should contribute more to the elucidation of religion. Second, achievements in this field of study should correspond to the religious situation of contemporary Japan. Lastly, there is a need for studies that take into consideration the religious characteristics of Japan.

Chapter 2 focused on some characteristics of Japan's religious traditions. The famous Japanese philosopher Tetsuro Watsuji has discussed the relationship between religious thought and natural environments as follows: The first category is the monsoon zone (Asia), which is characterized by its heat and humidity. Although wind and flood occasionally plague the region, food is plentiful and other naturally occurring benefits are abundant. In this region, people tolerate nature and are passive about it; thus, nature nurtures them in return. The second category is the desert zone (Arabia, Africa, and Mongolia), which is a large, dry, and barren area that appears rather drab and desolate. The people in this zone are united under the absolute authority of their tribal chiefs and constantly struggle against both nature and other tribes. The conditions in this area engendered the development of the notion of an absolute personal God who transcended human strength. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are part of the monotheistic, desert-created religions and comprise the notion of strictly one God who is linked to humans through testaments. The third category is the pasture zone (Europe), where the weather is mild throughout the year but is dry and rainy in the summer and winter, respectively. The mild *fudo* in this area demands of its residents neither tolerance (as in the monsoon zone) nor awe (as in the desert zone). The tractability of nature in this zone created an environment that enabled European rationalism and the idea of freedom to develop along with academic disciplines such as philosophy and the sciences.

These ideas were criticized for being too ideological and involving environmental determinism. However, the idea of *fudo* being closely related to the spiritual foundation of people's lives, culture, and history deserves approbation.

The Onbashira festival of the Suwa Taisha, which consists of four shrines, is a significant example of tree worship in Japan. It evokes the image of *Ujiko* (shrine parishioners) sitting astride *onbashira* (wooden pillars), accompanied by bravely marching trumpeters. Held every seven years in the year of the tiger and monkey

(in accordance with the Chinese zodiac), the Onbashira festival is known as one of the three most unconventional Japanese festivals.

The landscapes of sacred places are closely related to the *fudo* that nurtured them; landscape can therefore be used to identify the religious sensibilities of the Japanese people. The entrances to divine areas incorporate symbols that indicate the borders between the sacred and secular worlds. *Torii* represent the "gates" to the sacred area of a shrine. The approaches to shrines will usually have at least one or more *Torii*, as well as rivers with arched bridges over them that border the sacred area; this represents a separating and bridging of the sacred and the profane.

Chapter 3 clarified regional divisions in the catchment areas of Japanese Shintoism by analyzing the distribution of certain kinds of believers. I discussed two case studies—the Kasama Inari Shrine (Sect. 3.1) and the Kanamura Shrine (Sect. 3.2).

According to my analysis, the catchment area of the Kasama Shrine consists of three areas. The characteristic of the first area (0–50 km zone) is the distribution of donors of agricultural products. No other indexes were found in this area. The distributional character of this first area could be recognized in other mountainous religions in Japan. The second area (50–150 km zone) has a denser distribution of all the indexes than the other two areas. The 50–70 km zone in particular has a high average for each index. The over-100 km zone has no donors, while it is characterized by a dense distribution of fraternities of *dogyo nakama* (accompanying peer type) and branch shrines of Kasama Inari. In the third area (150–800 km zone), which is the periphery of the catchment area of this shrine, there are few worshippers and no donors. The main distribution of this area is branch shrines. In the over-200 km zone, there are few distributions in all indexes. The most remote believers are in the Hokkaido and Ehime prefectures. The catchment area of the Kasama Shrine spreads over an 800 km zone.

In Sect. 3.2, I clarify the regional differences in the modes of people's beliefs in the Kanamura Shrine between the outer and inner zones of its catchment area. In the Toyosato district—a typical district of the inner area—the Kanamura religious associations (*ko*) do not function as autonomous religious groups. They are dependent on other religious or administrative organizations. While the majority of individual believers used to wish for the safety of soldiers before the war, they now wish for the safety of their families. People in this area worshipped the Kanamura Shrine as not only an efficacious deity, but also as a tutelary shrine. One of the factors causing people to regard the Kanamura Shrine as their tutelary deity is the close connection between the local community and the shrine through the distribution of amulets and ceremonies in addition to people's visits to the shrine. In the Yoshikawa district—a typical district of the outer area—there are few individual believers, but the Kanamura associations in this district have their own managers and members, and they function independently of the Ujiko, or other, religious organizations. It is clear that people in this area worshipped the Kanamura Shrine not as the tutelary deity, but as a removed efficacious deity.

Chapter 4 discussed some modern aspects of sacred places and tourism through two case studies. Section 4.1 focused on changes in the types of businesses at the

Omotesando of the Naritasan Shinshoji-Monzenmachi. The section further discussed the transformation of the commercial space at Shinshoji-Monzenmachi that resulted from involvement in a landscape improvement project currently being promoted at *Omotesando*. The discoveries made in this study are summarized below.

The formation of the city center of Narita has its origin in *Monzenmachi* and its core at Shinshoji-Omotesando. The transformation of *Monzenmachi* can be divided into five different periods. Along with the dissemination of belief resulting from expositions on Naritasan and Ichikawa Danjuro of Edo kabuki fame, which occurred at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a belief in the *fudo* of Naritasan rapidly penetrated the lives of the normal citizens of Edo. The *Monzenmachi* was then formed mainly in Honcho and Nakamachi near Shinshoji in the eighteenth century (the *Monzenmachi* formation period).

Beginning in the 1860s, worshipers of Shinshoji increased due to the laying of railroad networks, which thereby enabled day trips to be taken from Tokyo. The *Omotesando* expanded into Hanasakicho and Kamicho (located between Narita Station and Shinshoji) where shops for use by worshipers stood and which flourished as the central shopping street until the 1960s (the central shopping street period).

In the 1990s, a community planning council was organized by the shop owners who felt a sense of crisis regarding the shopping street. Thus, community planning was promoted along with administration (the reorganization of *Monzenmachi* in the community planning period).

Omotesando succeeded primarily because of the cooperation of Shinshoji with the administration. Shinshoji has not had any accommodations or dining facilities within the temple grounds since the Edo period, and that fact was very important in the formation of *Monzenmachi*. The towns benefited economically from worshipers staying overnight, eating, and making purchases at *Monzenmachi*. With Shinshoji, the development of *Monzenmachi* resulted in other mutually beneficial relationships. Shinshoji—where worshipers tend to concentrate in the New Year, in May, and in September—desired an increase in the number of tourists and worshipers during other months. The Narita Tourist Association, which was mainly established by the Inns Association of *Omotesando*, made an effort to attract guests by holding events in the off-season of Shinshoji to make it more attractive to guests throughout the year. Some tourists come to visit *Monzenmachi*, but they also worship at Shinshoji and visit the shopping street of *Omotesando*, thus making it a mutually beneficial relationship.

Sections 4.2 and 4.3 examined the revitalization of the local community through the promotion of religious tourism. Today, the politics surrounding World Heritage designations have created the important challenge of conserving and using cultural landscapes, such as rural spaces. This book examines the World Heritage registration movement of the Nagasaki Church Group and Christian Related Cultural Assets as a case study of what local faith-related heritages in rural areas and their cultural landscapes can expect, including the attention they will receive as a cultural heritage site. In this book, the author focused on the role of three main actors: the World Heritage Association, who hopes to achieve the goal of World Heritage registration for the Nagasaki Church Group; the administration, who wishes to create an opportunity to

promote tourism while conserving cultural properties; and the Catholic Church, who wants people to understand Christianity while remaining in harmony with tourism. Culture attracts the attention of others, which brings about changes, so the problem of being treated as a commodity can arise. When a cultural landscape such as the Nagasaki Church Group attains the valuable designation of World Heritage Site, ever larger waves of commodification can sweep over it. In general, to commercialize something, it needs to be exchangeable after being separated from the context of its production. A church can be separated from the context of the life in which it is rooted and that has maintained its vocational activities, climate, and accumulation of history; the place itself can then be produced and consumed as information. The philosophy behind designating World Heritage Sites may reflect human wisdom, but the more strongly heritage is connected to a region, the broader the influences will be on the region once it is registered as a World Heritage Site.