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Geographical Study on the Sphere of  
*Kanamura Betsurai Shrine Faith*

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## ABSTRACT

In this paper, the author has tried to clarify the areal differentiation of the sphere of religion with the religious association and believers. To accomplish this purpose, the author picked Kanamura betsurai shrine in Tsukuba, Ibaraki prefecture. The author divided the sphere of Kanamura into two regions, the first and second area, and considered the regional character of them. As a case study, the author selected Toyosato district where Kanamura is located from the first area and Yoshikawa district where many associations are founded from the second area.

As a regional character of Kanamura faith in the first area, the author pointed out as follows. In the first area situated about half or one day's walk from the shrine, it has been worshiped to pray for rain since before Second World War. After the War, new associations typed *dantai-ko* were founded by the people living in a shrine town. As a regional character of Kanamura association in the first area, we can indicate several points.

1) Being united with other religious organizations or a neighborhood one, it is not an independent one. Accordingly, the head of concerned associations hold its post.

2) The system of vicarious visit is not established here. Accordingly, not some of the members selected by rotation but a manager visits it every time.

3) It has no rites related Kanamura in the community. There are no meetings to eat a meal with kami or to confirm members.

Kanamura faith is accepted by the people as a local shrine, being different from both a tutelary shrine and a favor shrine. This is cleared by the content of prayers being specialized in family's safe or soldier's safe, people's frequency or order of visit, and the relation between a Kanamura priest and events of the community. The character of a local shrine is strengthened by distributing amulets or dedicating the festival of tutelary shrine.

As a regional character of Kanamura faith in the second area, the author pointed out as follows. In this area, most of associations have relatively a long history, which were founded before the Meiji era. As a regional character of Kanamura association in the second area, we can indicate that it is an independent one of others. It was cleared by following points.

1) They have their own managers who have been inherited from their family lines. Accordingly, it is able to have a continuation and independence of others.

2) The system of vicarious visit is established here, so that they have their own members. They visit Kanamura by turns. All members visiting it, new members are recruited to start a new association.

3) It has rites related Kanamura in the community. There are pre or post meetings to eat a meal with kami, to distribute amulets, to confirm members or to collect a membership fee.

Kanamura faith is accepted by the people as a favor shrine, being different from both a tutelary shrine and a local shrine. People worship Kanamura for the sake of her divine favor which is derived from thunder god. Her divine favor is achieved by the community prayer. The system of vicarious visit is the way to have a favor from the shrine. Situated far from the shrine, it has a recreational character. In the second area, Kanamura is situated one day trip area, so that all members visit it together in some associations whose purposes are to visit. On the other hand, there are few believers in this area. As a result of religious behavior of inhabitants, they do not visit it privately.

Key words: sphere of religion, religious association, believers, spatial character, local shrine, favor shrine.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1 .The purpose of this study and previous studies

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the spatial structure of the sphere of religion with the religious association and believers. The author tried to clear this problem through differences of acceptance form among some faiths including tutelary deity.

Supposing that an experience of sacred by human beings means religion, religious phenomena are just the experiences of human beings, so it is difficult for geographers to study it. A religion organized, believers appeared, the sphere of religion has been formed as an area of some religious distributions. Analyzing a religion geographically, it is important not only to describe the distribution of believers but also to analyze a spatial structure made by religious behaviors of believers and a religious landscape made by religious activities. A character of the sphere of religion, for example, spatial range or religious form, is different one another according to a character of religion. The important viewpoint of geographical study of it is not to grasp it homogeneity but to clear an areal structure of the sacred and profane in terms of some areal differentiations of believers' density or a religious landscape (Iwahana, 1983a).

Although the study of the sphere of religion focusing an area diffused of some religions is an interesting thesis within the discipline, it does not have enough previous studies. In the United States, studies of regional division based on the spatial pattern of believers belonging to Christian denomination have been accumulated. For example, Zelinsky(1961) divided the U.S.A. into seven religious areas on the basis of a membership of Christian denomination. In contrast to Zelinsky, Shortridge(1976) divided Christian denominations into five type's first,

and considered the distributional pattern in the U.S.A. by using these types. Meinig(1965) analyzed the geographical character of the Mormon culture region. He divided it into three regions such as a core, a domain and a sphere. According to him, that region is interpreted as having a core in the Wasatch Oasis, a domain over much of Utah and southeastern Idaho, and a sphere extending from eastern Oregon to Mexico. He pointed out these three areas distributed like a concentric circle surrounding Salt Lake City. America being consisted of various races and cultures, there exist the studies for a formation of culture regions derived from a religion like Mormon. They are the Texas culture region (Zelinsky,1973), the rural religious cultures of North Texas (Jordan, 1976,1980), the ethnic island of Dutch Reformed immigrants in Michigan (Bjorklund,1964), the reflection of Roman Catholics for cultural landscapes in Louisiana (Clarke,1985; Trepanier,1986), Amish and Mennonite ethnic areas in the U.S.A. (Hostetler,1980).

In the U.S.A., a particular religion has a close relation with a race or a social group and we can recognize the areal differentiation in religious culture region, while in Japan, plural religions are accepted among people and they usually do not conflict each there. Being this situation in Japan, it is difficult to study religious culture region through Church attendance or density of believers.

Studies of the sphere of religion in Japan have been done concerning mountain religions mainly. Mountains have been worshiped as a house of kami (God in Japan) or a place for ascetic practices of *syugenja* (a monk who leads an ascetic life in the mountains). Studies of the sphere of religion grasped mountain religions from a viewpoint of spatial recognition (Ishitobi, 1976). Ariga (1972), Iwahana (1981, 1983b) defined as follows: the top of mountain area whose center is the inner shrine is sacred zone, hillside area that locates a head shrine is semi sacred zone, surrounding area that established a subordinate shrine is sphere zone.

Miyata (1961) first tried to establish zonal structure to understand the spatial character of the sphere of religion. After him, studies of the sphere of Mt. Iwaki (Miyata, 1970), Mt. Kaba (Miyatamo, 1974), Mt. Tsukuba (Nishikai, 1979;

Maki, 1980) have been accumulated from a viewpoint of folklore. However, these studies from folklore tend to describe a process of formation or development of the sphere of each religion and take interest in religious form seriously rather than distributions of believers. So they lacked understanding of the sphere of religion as a source of areal structure.

From geographical view, Mt. Hiko (Nagano, 1987), Mt. Dewa-sanzan (Iwahana, 1983a), Mt. Togakushi (Iwahana, 1992), Mt. Furumine (Hashimoto, 1987) have been studied. Among them, series of Iwahana's studies have a good suggestion. He indicated the importance of distributions of believers. Making use of them, he divided the sphere of religion into some subordinate regions. Iwahana (1983a) tried to build a new concentric circle model of the sphere of religion. As a result, Iwahana got three subordinate regions in the sphere of Mt. Dewa-sanzan. The first zone (0-50km) is characterized as the climbing of youth generation and combination with the community. There exists *daisan-ko* (a religious association that has a system of vicarious visit to shrine) in the second Zone (50-150km). The climbing of older generation and another type of religious association called *dogyo nakama* type are organized in the third zone (150-350km). A lot of branch shrines distribute in a boundary of the second and third zone. The second and third zone can be divided more subordinate areas. In a next study, modifying his previous one, he pointed out the sphere of Mt. Togakushi as follows: it is worshiped as a the kami of water in the first zone (0-50km), in the second zone, the spatial character is as same as that of Mt. Dewa-sanzan, in the third zone, religious characters are weaken and religious association depends on activities of manager (Iwahana, 1991).

Reviewing previous studies, studies of the sphere of religion in Japan have a tendency to divide it into some subordinate regions in terms of religious forms or distributions. However case studies on each religion are not enough, comparative studies will be needed from now on (Matsui, 1993).

As a criticism against Iwahana's theory, Oda (1993) insisted on these three problems. 1) Iwahana seemed to select some indexes arbitrary to indicate the sphere

of religion as a zonal structure. 2) Plural regional types coexist in the sphere of religion, so its spatial character has a lot of differences in the same region. 3) Furthermore, a range of the sphere of religion is not clearly.

As for mountain religions, mountains in itself are worshiped not only as a sacred place but a place for ascetic practices. Ascetics living there need believers for their economic support. Then, ascetics become missionaries and go around an area believers live in. This process made the sphere of mountain religions. Against mountain religions that have a regional relation between sacred place and sphere through active missionaries, it has not been cleared that a religion not having missionaries has what kinds of differences in the sphere of religion. There are more problems in previous studies. Referring to data, a lot of studies depend on secondary data such as Japan folk map or history book in cities, towns and villages. It is necessary for us to collect original data in order to clarify a spatial character of the sphere of religion in modern Japan.

On the basis of these problems, Matsui (1995a) is to clarify regional divisions in the sphere of religion of Kasama *inari* shrine through analyzing distributions of three kinds of believers: individual or group worshipers, donors, partial owners of Kasama *inari*. Results derived from comparison of distributional patterns of the believers or Kasama *inari* are summarized as follows. 1) Within the 50 kilometers zone from Kasama *inari*, excluding Kasama city, several religious associations were organized, and most of them were the *doshoku nakama* type. 2) In the 50 to 150 kilometers zone, specially the 50 to 120 kilometers area, there were a large number of religious associations. Most of them were the *dogyo nakama* type. They were seldom organized beyond the 150 kilometers radius of Kasama *inari*. 3) Donors of agricultural products such as rice and cocoons were mainly distributed in the western and southeastern parts of Ibaraki prefecture. The donors mainly dwelled in the 100 kilometers zone. This index had a smaller range than the other two. 4) Partial owners of Kasama *inari* were more wide spread than the other two. The range of distributional of the owners reached the 200-kilometers radius from

Kasama *inari*, while the most densely distributed area of the donors was found in the 50 to 150 kilometers zone. Especially, in the northern part of the Kanto region and the Boso peninsula, owners worshiped the sacred as a home god. In Ibaraki or Tokyo, owners worshiped the sacred as an office god. The main distribution of owners was in the 200 kilometers zone.

According to Matsui, the sphere of Kasama *inari* was classified into the following three areas: 1) the first area (0-50 kilometers zone): The distribution of donors of agricultural products characterized this area. No other indexes were found in this area. The distributional character of this first area could be recognized in other mountain religions such as Mt. Iwaki or Mt. Togakushi. But no collaborative combines were created by the Kasama *inari* faith. 2) The second area (50-150 kilometers zone): This area had denser distribution of all the indexes than the other areas. The 50-70 kilometers zone in particular had a high average of each index. The over- 100 kilometers zone had no donors, while it was characterized by a dense distribution of religious association of both *dogyo nakama* type and partial owners of Kasama *inari*. 3) The third area (150-800 kilometers zone): This area was the periphery of the sphere of religion of Kasama *inari*. Density of all the indexes of this category is lower than in the second area. In this third area, there were few worshipers and no donors. The main distribution of this area was owners. Over 200 kilometers zone, there were few distributions of all the indexes. The farthest believers were in Hokkaido and Ehime prefecture. The sphere of Kasama *inari* spread over an 800-kilometers zone.

However it is not enough for previous studies to clear differences of acceptance forms in the sphere of religion. Especially, religious traditions in Japan are so much different from European Christian traditions. Plural religions are accepted uncontradictorily in the same village or individuals in Japan. So researchers need to analyze hierarchical structure of religious distribution. In this study, the author tried to clarify the regional structure created by religion from a viewpoint of differences of acceptance forms among plural religions, including faith in tutelary deity.

## 2 .Viewpoints and methodology

To achieve this purpose, the author analyzed Kanamura betsurai shrine (Kanamura for short) in Tsukuba city, Ibaraki prefecture. Kanamura faith has been accepted mainly in rural area in the southwestern Ibaraki, the southeastern Saitama and the northeastern Chiba prefecture.

Contents of this paper are as follows. In the first chapter, general view about a character of thunder faith on the basis of Kanamura faith will be done. The location and history of Kanamura will be described after that. In the second chapter, the community prayer and private one as religious form of Kanamura faith will be referred. The distribution of religious associations and believers will be described, and after that, the sphere of Kanamura will be illustrated. In the third and fourth chapter, according to the result of the second chapter, spatial character of each sphere will be considered with differences of religious forms of Kanamura. The fifth chapter is consideration, and the sixth is conclusion.

Next, the author will comment on the basic idea of religious association called *ko* that is a key concept for Kanamura faith. *Ko* is a sort of community organized all over Japan. It is a social group derived from an opportunity for faith. It is also a basic organization at prayer typed shrine (*Sukei kigan sha*), while faith diffuses. Sakurai (1962) arranged about four hundred kinds of *ko* and pursued the essence of Japanese style of religious association with history, classification, and function. Figure 1 indicates some main functions referring to Sakurai. There are three functions: faith, social, economic in *ko*. Each *ko* usually has plural functions. Both *tanomoshi* and *mujin*, a kind of a mutual financing association, excel in economical function. *Kodomo-gumi* (association of children), *wakamono-gumi* (association of youth) and an association of the same family group are related to social function. Associations characterized as faith functions are divided broadly into two categories. One is an association based on folk religion, the other is a pilgrim

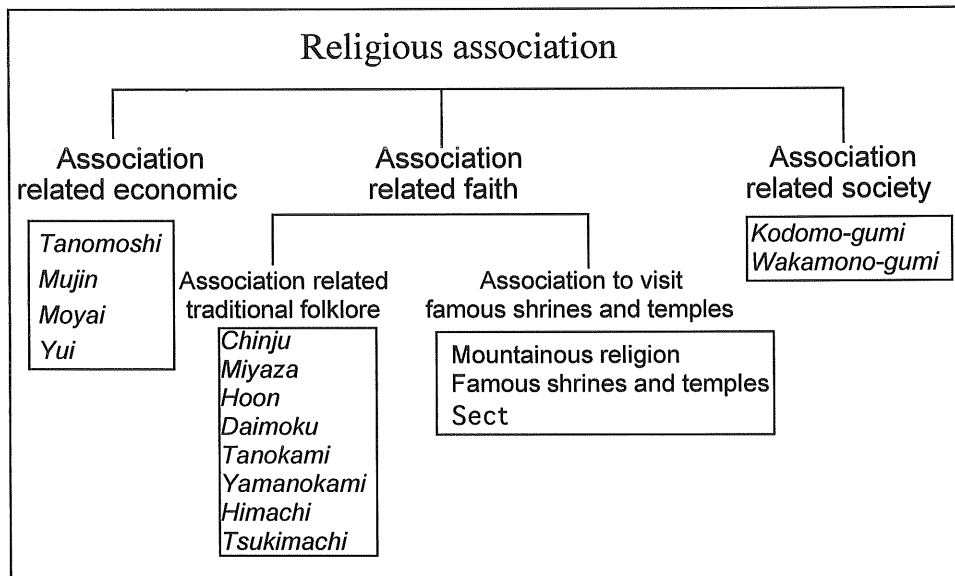


Fig. 1 Classification of religious association  
Data source: Sakurai, 1962

association to visit famous shrines and temples. The former includes paddy field kami association (*tanokami-ko*), mountain kami association (*yamanokami-ko*), the Sun festival association (*himachi-ko*), and the moon festival association (*tsukimachi-ko*). They are thought to be an archetype of Japanese religious association. The latter is organized to pray to kami for the health and longevity of her family, good fortune, or bumper crops. The fundamental form of this type has a vicarious visit to a shrine system (*daisan-ko*). Organized firmly in a region, it has a strong influence for the community. *Daisan-ko* is a kind of Japanese religious associations to visit famous shrines and temples outside their community for divine favor. The people living in a region where a faith accepted seriously take part in *daisan-ko* positively.

As mentioned above, religious associations play an important role in rural community as a religious, social and economic group. Being important organization to study Japanese society, they are obliged to change their characters today. Tabayashi et al. (1996) pointed that the reason traditional territorial relation groups have become weakened or disappeared are as follows. Life activities or sense of value in rural community has been changed with diversification of employment. Development of agricultural management also worked so as to give impetus to this movement. Nowadays the progress not only in urbanization but in technology collapse rural community based on religious associations. On the other hand, *ko* is still alive as a religious organization and social organization. In this paper, the author regards *ko* as one of the most fundamental organization to understand regional structure in Japan, and from a viewpoint of areal differentiations of *ko*, the purpose of this paper will be accomplished.

### 3. Thunder faith and Kanamura

In this paragraph, the author describes thunder faith in Japan related to Kanamura faith. Thunder has been worshiped not only with awe as dreadful being



but with reverence as a kami of water or as a child of kami carrying by lightning originated in heavenly god (Tamura, 1972). Thunder faith is not only the faith in mysterious power of thunder caused huge damage in crops or houses but also the faith as a lord of rainfall. Thunder faith has been diffused over rural community in Japan. Furthermore, thunder has been believed to suffer a disaster. It synchronized with revengeful faith, and was pointed that the original image of Kitano Tenjin had a character of rainfall god (Tamura, 1972; Ueda, 1988). Yanagida(1969) quoted some stories like these. When somewhere in Kanto region was struck by a bolt of lightning, people put a bamboo at that point and hanged a sacred straw festoon there for thunder spirit to be able to go up to the heavens. Thunder god visited the ground to be a child, a respectable farmer brought her up kindly, then the paddy field of that farmer had rain as desired. Yanagida interpreted the figure of thunder written in these stories as a primordial form of thunder god.

It is known that there are a lot of shrines derived from thunder faith in the northern part of Kanto region having a lot of rainfall by thunderstorm (Kurabayashi et al., 1971). These shrines are usually called thunder shrine (Kaminari *jinja*, Raiden *jinja*, Kagutsuchi *jinja*, Betsurai *jinja*). Figure 2 and Table 1 indicate the distribution of thunder shrine in Ibaraki prefecture. The author defined it as a shrine having the name of thunder. There are 26 thunder shrines registered the religious corporation. Kanamura is the only shrine that belongs to the country shrine. Others are the village shrine (12) or the no status shrine. Most of thunder shrines offer Betsurai-*shin* only. There are a few shrines that handed down their history except Kanamura (No. 14), Mito betsurai kotaijin (No. 1) or Kaminari *jinja* (No. 24) and so on<sup>1)</sup>.

There is a thunder shrine that was built after a thunderbolt<sup>2)</sup>. Folkways told us about a way of rites in Tsukuba county as follows: when some cultivated fields are struck by lightning, people put four bamboos at that point and hung a sacred straw festoon. There, a prayer worship not to strike by lightening any more. Because it is told that no crops can grow in the place struck by lightning. These folkways are

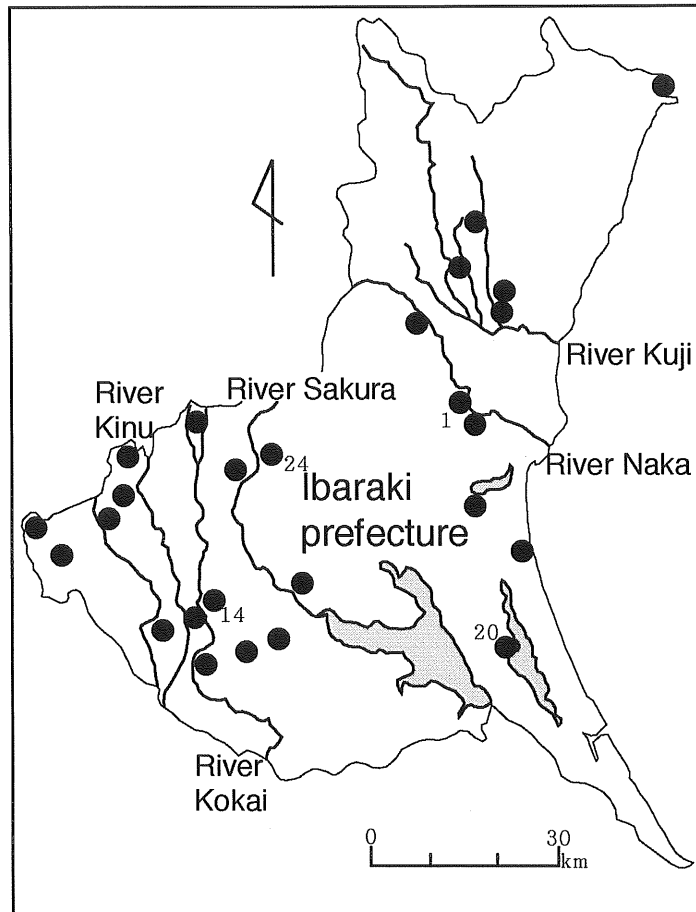


Fig. 2 Distribution of thunder shrines in Ibaraki prefecture, 1989

Number is according to Table 1

Data source: The list of religious corporation in Ibaraki prefecture

Table 1 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  
 2 Other thunder god  
 3 Others

C: Country shrine  
 V: Village shrine  
 N: No status shrine

Data source: The list of religious corporation in Ibaraki prefecture

called "after festival" (*atomatsuri*) (Inokuchi, 1985). On the contrary, there is another transmission about it in the same county. People believe that cultivated fields struck by lightning become a sacred place, and are promised to have a rich harvest. At all events, it seems to be a common that the place struck by lightning is celebrated by hanging some sacred straw festoons there around Tsukuba county, Ibaraki prefecture.

Subsequently the author considers an environmental foundation of the location where thunder shrine was built. It is possible to interpret the location of thunder shrine like this. See Figure 2. First, there are a lot of thunder shrine along the basin of the River Kinu, the River Kokai, the River Sakura, in the southwestern part of Ibaraki prefecture and along the basin of the River Naka, the River Kuji, in the central or northern part of it. Yoshino et al. (1987) pointed out that the basin of main rivers around southwestern or from central to northern part of Ibaraki prefecture is the area that often had a damage of lightning. The accumulation of thunder shrine is in this area. Second, a lot of thunder shrines have a tendency to locate on the natural levee or flood plain along those rivers. This means that thunder faith has an aspect of the faith toward the ruler of water including rainfall. Thunder seems to be symbolized the god of avoiding disasters, image of dragon, pray for rainfall.

Kanamura is the country shrine located in the Kamigo district in the western part of Tsukuba city. It belonged to Toyosato town before 1987. (See Figure 2, No. 14) Kanamura is told to have been built in 931 by Masamoto Toyoda, the first lord of Toyoda family. He is said to have transferred the sacred of Kamo shrine in Kyoto at that time. Kanamura is located on the flood plain formed by the River Kokai. It is 14 meters above the sea level. The River Kokai had no fixed river course. If it rained a lot, water runs through around alluvial plain and the huge damage was caused by flood. The crescent marsh has survived along the river, and interesting topography has been left around here. In spite of this topographical condition, Kanamura is said not to have been damaged by flood (Kushida, 1978).

Kanamura is called *Kanamura-sama* or *rai-sama*, and has been worshiped by the people living in neighborhood since its foundation. Kanamura is counted one of the famous thunder shrines in Kanto region<sup>3)</sup>. The sphere of Kanamura extends to Kanto region over the *ujiko* (people under the protection of community deity, parishioner in Catholic) area.

Kanamura faith has several dimensions, for examples, pray for the family's safe, pray for the health and longevity, pray for a protection against hailstorm and lightning or pray for having bumper crops (Toyosato town history compilation committee, 1985). The author judged that Kanamura is a proper case study because of having a long history and being worshiped by the people living in rural area in Kanto region. It is enough to clear the spatial character of sphere of religion in Japan.

## CHAPTER II

### REGIONAL DIVISION IN THE SPHERE OF KANAMURA

#### 1. Religious form of Kanamura

##### 1) The form of community prayer

Prayer is a mean to accomplish some purposes by gods or something transcendental beings (Miyamoto, 1994). Noticing the prayer, it is classified into two categories, the community prayer and private prayer. The way of prayer is to visit or to dedicate something as usual in Kanamura faith.

Community prayer is a magical behavior to prevent disaster. All members of the community pray to kami for some wishes together (Miyata, 1994). There are some typical customs such as a ritual for rain, wind, a ritual for preventing disaster, an epidemic, damage from insects. A subject for the community prayer attributes to all members of the community. Thus, contents of the prayer depends on common interests of the community. The religious form called Kanamura-*ko* (association) is a common style of the community prayer.

Though the origin of Kanamura association is not clear, it is supposed to be organized around the latter Edo or the Meiji era. Kanamura association is organized in a rural community. There are four types of them as follows.

1) *Daidai-ko*: It is an association for making an offer of sacred dance at the spring and fall festival<sup>4)</sup>. Originally, the association needed to visit Kanamura twice a year at the spring and fall festival. Recently, the frequency of visit is decreasing, not a few associations visit there once a year. Each member of the associations visits Kanamura by turns. Vicarious visitors were given a large sized wooden amulet for them, a middle sized one and an amulet for preventing from insects or

disaster for each member. This typed of Kanamura association is the oldest of all. Some of them are organized in the Edo era and many of them have been since the Meiji era.

2) *Kinen-ko*: It is an association to pray for the New Year. A form of this typed association is not to visit Kanamura directly but to get some amulets for each member by mail. Some of the *kinen-ko* have changed from *daidai-ko* on account of declining in faith derived from farmer's decreasing. In some communities, *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* are organized together. They contact (to visit or by mail) Kanamura three times a year.

3) *Nichigetsunenzan-ko*: It is an association to visit Kanamura daily, monthly or yearly. There is no association that visits daily now. The association whose frequency is once a month (called *tsukimairi-ko*) usually visits Kanamura from March through September, a total of seven months. In *tsukimairi-ko*, it is increasing that the type of visiting Kanamura only in April and September nowadays. Vicarious visitors go there to have an amulet praying for the community. Ninety-five percent of them call at Kanamura only once a year. Although the time of visit is different from each other, they usually visit it in spring or fall, especially, March, April, September and October. The content of the prayers differs from each association. Vicarious visitors are given a box typed amulet or a large sized amulet made of wood or paper to pray for the community, and an amulet for preventing from insects or disaster for each member.

4) *Haruaki dantai-ko*: It is an association to visit Kanamura once a year, mainly in April or November. There are three types in this association. One of them is called shrine group association (*jinjadantai-ko*). The character of this type is to visit Kanamura with all members of the association (*somairi-ko*). Some of them were organized before the Meiji era. Considering for a history of Kanamura association, it is thought to have a relatively long history. Remaining two types are classified by the time of visit. One is called the spring association (*haru-ko*) and the other is the fall association (*aki-ko*). Many of them were founded after the Second World War.

They have a system of vicarious visit.

We can see several kinds of prayers in Kanamura faith. Among them, the prayer for rain is the most important of all. Let me introduce a case in Ozaki district, Yachiyo town, Ibaraki prefecture as an example of the prayer for rain.

Ozaki district is on the dilluvial upland and is about 25 meters above the sea level. The lingulate upland extends from northern to southern part of district. The River Iinuma runs through from the east to the west to dissect some branch valleys. Most of the inhabitants engage in agriculture on the upland. The basis of faith in Kanamura is to pray for rain. The way of ritual praying for rain is as follows. Managers go to Kanamura with a bottle made of bamboo. They are purified by Shinto priest then. Receiving holy water and an amulet, they come back to the village. People in the village are waiting for their coming back, preparing a special meal for ritual. They coming back to the village, someone is beating a drum to inform all villagers of it. All villagers gather around a sacred place in the district. All members gathering, holy water is sprinkled with cultivated fields and street corners, chanting a spell. Finishing to sprinkle, all men jump into a stream in the district. They dash water over a person each other with praying for rain. This is a climax of this ritual. After that, all members eat ritual food and ritual finishes. People believe that this ritual effects rainfall. If it rains after the prayer, people say a prayer to Kanamura for thanks. This is called *rei-sinjin*. It is a rule to bring some rainwater to Kanamura (Yachiyo town history compilation committee, 1987).

This is a typical case of Kanamura faith. It diffused as a lord of rainfall. Now prayer for rain is not done<sup>6)</sup>. However, Kanamura has been worshiped as a lord of rainfall.

The author pointed another three kind of prayer in Kanamura faith. Prayer for a protection against hailstorm and lightning is to prevent damage from hailstorm or lightning during summer and fall, the harvesting season. Prayer for preventing damage from insects is also a typical prayer for farmers. In the spring festival, prayers bought an amulet for this to put it at the entrance of cultivated fields. This



faith is based on the uncertainty against damage from insects during the seed time and the harvesting season. Prayer for preventing an epidemic is to prevent entering some disaster as an epidemic from outside. As an action of this prayer, a large sized paper amulet (*ohuda*<sup>7)</sup> in short) of Kanamura is put at crossings.

## 2) The form of private prayer

While the community prayer is performed to solve some problems relating to the community, the private prayer is for individuals. It is performed to pray someone's fortune or healing (Miyata, 1994). The form of private prayer has more varieties than that of the community prayer in general. They are prayers for a good business or a smooth delivery, a protection against fire or burglars (Miyamoto, 1994).

The author illustrated the content of prayers in believers<sup>8)</sup> of Kanamura in the 1995 fiscal year (Figure 3). The number of them was 945. According to Figure 3, prayer for the family's safe is eminent. 547 persons prayed it (57.9 percent), and 182 persons prayed for traffic safety (19.3%), 70 persons prayed for a good business (7.4%). The number of believers prayed for a protection against lightning is 11. This prayer is based on the origin of Kanamura faith.

## 3) *Ujiko* region of Kanamura

The *ujiko* region of Kanamura consists of four old villages. Those are Kamigo, Tegomaru, Konomata and Nobata. These four old villages are divided into 29 districts. Between one and three persons are selected as managers in each district. Vicarious visitors are selected to dedicate new rice or to pray for gratitude in the fall festival. The main district of *ujiko* region is Raijin. It had been a shrine town before 1960s. Two shrine maidens dance in three festivals. It is called an infant dancing. Both of shrine maidens are selected in Raijin district. This district was situated besides a bank of the River Kokai. It was obliged to move another place by a river improvement. Economic connection between Kanamura and people in Raijin district was disappeared then. People in this district have been in charge of the preparation

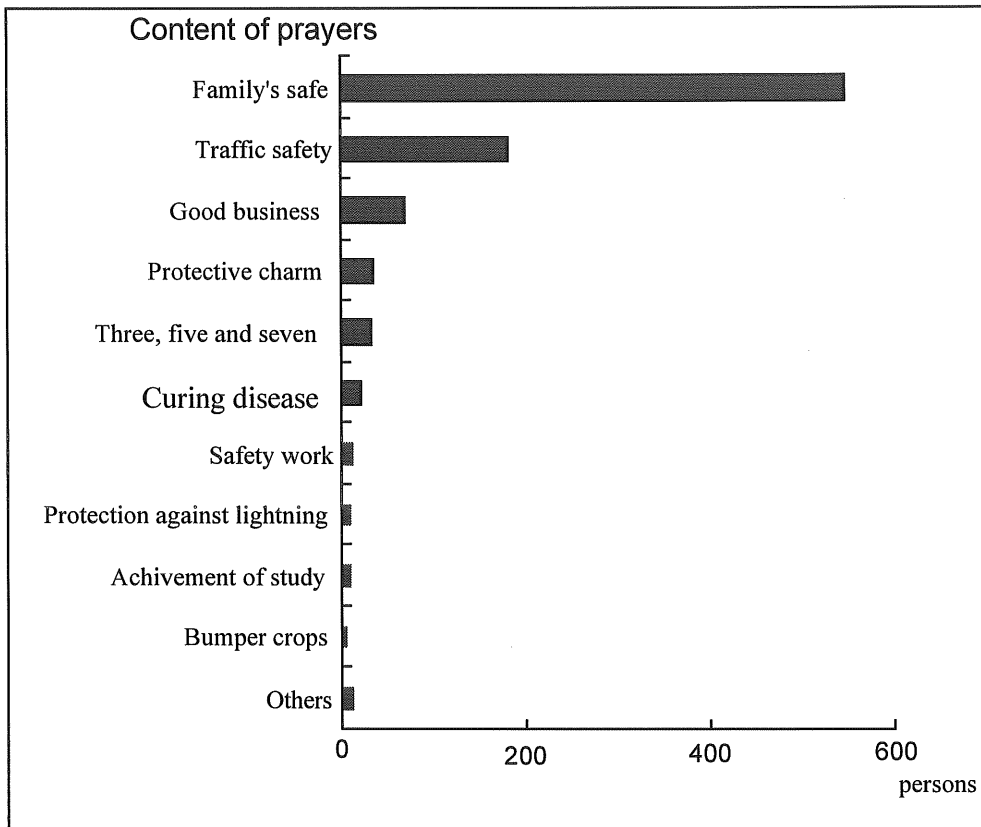


Fig. 3 Content of prayers in believers of Kanamura, 1995  
 Data source: Kanamura office

of festivals.

## 2. Regional division in the sphere of Kanamura

### 1) The distribution of Kanamura association

The author illustrated the distribution of *kinen-ko* in 1949 (Figure 4)<sup>10)</sup>. It was an indicator of the sphere of Kanamura then. *Kinen-ko* spread over the area of 6 prefectures including Tokyo Metropolis. It was organized in 218 communities. There were 81 in Chiba, 73 in Ibaraki and 56 in Saitama. The associations distributed in these three prefectures amounted to more than 96 percent. The core area of the distribution of *kinen-ko* was in the northwestern part of Chiba and the southeastern part of Saitama. To the contrary, there are few associations to the northern part of Kanamura. The farthest was in Koriyama city in Fukushima prefecture. Considering from mentioned above, the sphere of Kanamura reached 150 kilometers from the shrine.

Summing up by cities, towns, and villages, Miwanoe village (now in Yoshikawa city) in Saitama had 11 and this was the most. Tomisato village (now the same) in Chiba had 9 and Nanafuku village (now in Noda city) in Chiba and Osagami village (now in Koshigaya city) in Saitama had 8, Towa village (now in Misato city) in Saitama and Kamagaya village (now in Kamagaya city) in Chiba had 7. According to Figure 4, the main distribution of *kinen-ko* was in the villages on the northeastern part of Shimousa upland or Nakagawa lowland. They are situated in rural settlements about 20 to 40 kilometers from Kanamura.

The settlement on the northeastern part of Shimousa upland had a lot of pioneer villages after the Meiji era. Kanamura associations are organized in some of pioneer villages. For example, Hatsutomi district in Kamagaya village was reclaimed from Koganenakano-field in 1869. Inari shrine was founded to pray for bumper crops in 1873. There were some transmissions about poor crops on account of a failure in cultivation or the unseasonable weather. In Hatsutomi district, there were a lot of

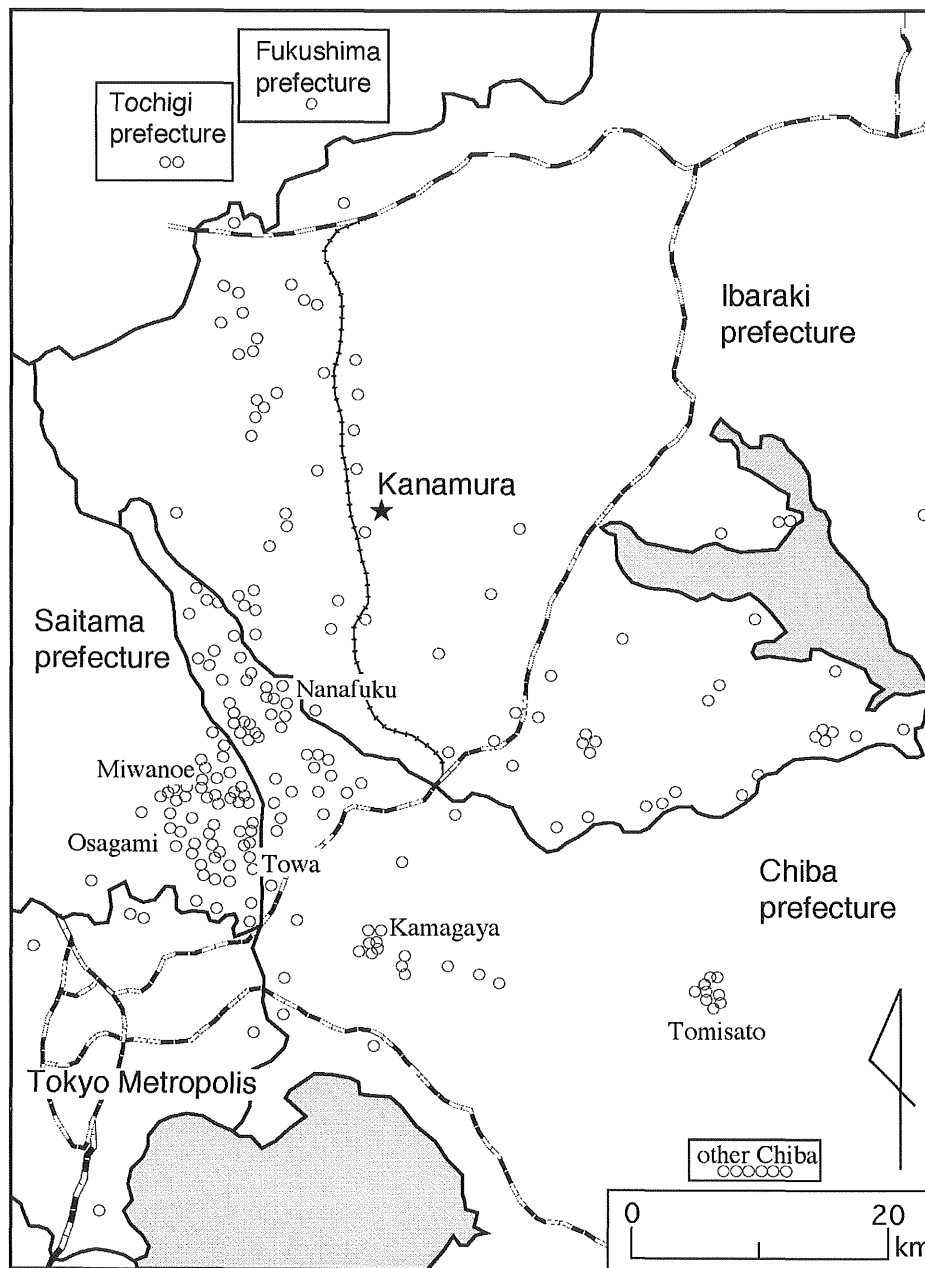


Fig. 4 Distribution of *kinen-ko*, 1949

Data source: The list of dedication for repairing the shrine roof

religious associations to visit famous shrines and temples such as Fuji association for Fujisengen shrine, Furumine association for Furumine shrine, Mitsumine association for Mitsumine shrine, Narita association for Shinsyoji temple and Onabake association for Onabake shrine. Moreover it was reported to have a variety of annual events (Kamagaya local history center, 1993). Toyoshiki village and Toyofuta village (now in Kashiwa city) settled after reclaiming from Kogane-field also had a lot of religious associations. Farmers in these pioneer villages after the Meiji era could not have a good harvest because of a failure in cultivation or bad conditions of land. It is considered that religious associations were organized to pray for bumper crops, and Kanamura was worshiped as a lord of rainfall.

The author illustrated the distribution of Kanamura associations in 1985 (Figure 5)<sup>11)</sup>. There are 320 Kanamura associations in four prefectures, Ibaraki, Chiba, Saitama and Tokyo. Ibaraki has 221 (69%), Chiba has 58 (18%) Saitama has 38 (11.9%). Viewing from cities, towns, villages, Noda city in Chiba and Yatabe town (now Tsukuba city) in Ibaraki have 26, Mitsukaido city in Ibaraki has 24 and Yawahara village in Ibaraki has 20.

Viewing from classifications of association, *dantai-ko* is 124 (35.8%), *nichigetsunenzan-ko* is 104 (30%), *kinen-ko* is 63 (18.2%), *daidai-ko* is 54 (15.6%)<sup>12)</sup>. It is possible to interpret the extension of Kanamura association as follows. More than 90 percent of *dantai-ko* are in Ibaraki prefecture. Especially, as for *haru-ko* and *aki-ko*, all of them are in Ibaraki prefecture near Kanamura<sup>13)</sup>. Yawahara village, Ina town and Fujishiro towns that are around the lower reaches of the River Kokai are the core area of *haru-ko*. Yatabe town, Mitsukaido city located near Kanamura are the core area of *aki-ko*. The core area of *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* are from the southeastern part of Saitama to the northern part of Chiba. More than 90 percent of associations in Saitama belong to *daidai-ko* or *kinen-ko*. Especially, Yoshikawa town (now Yoshikawa city), Koshigaya city, Yashio city, Misato city located the lower reaches of the River Naka are the core area of those. Farther area from Kanamura (over 30 kilometers) the proportion of those is high in

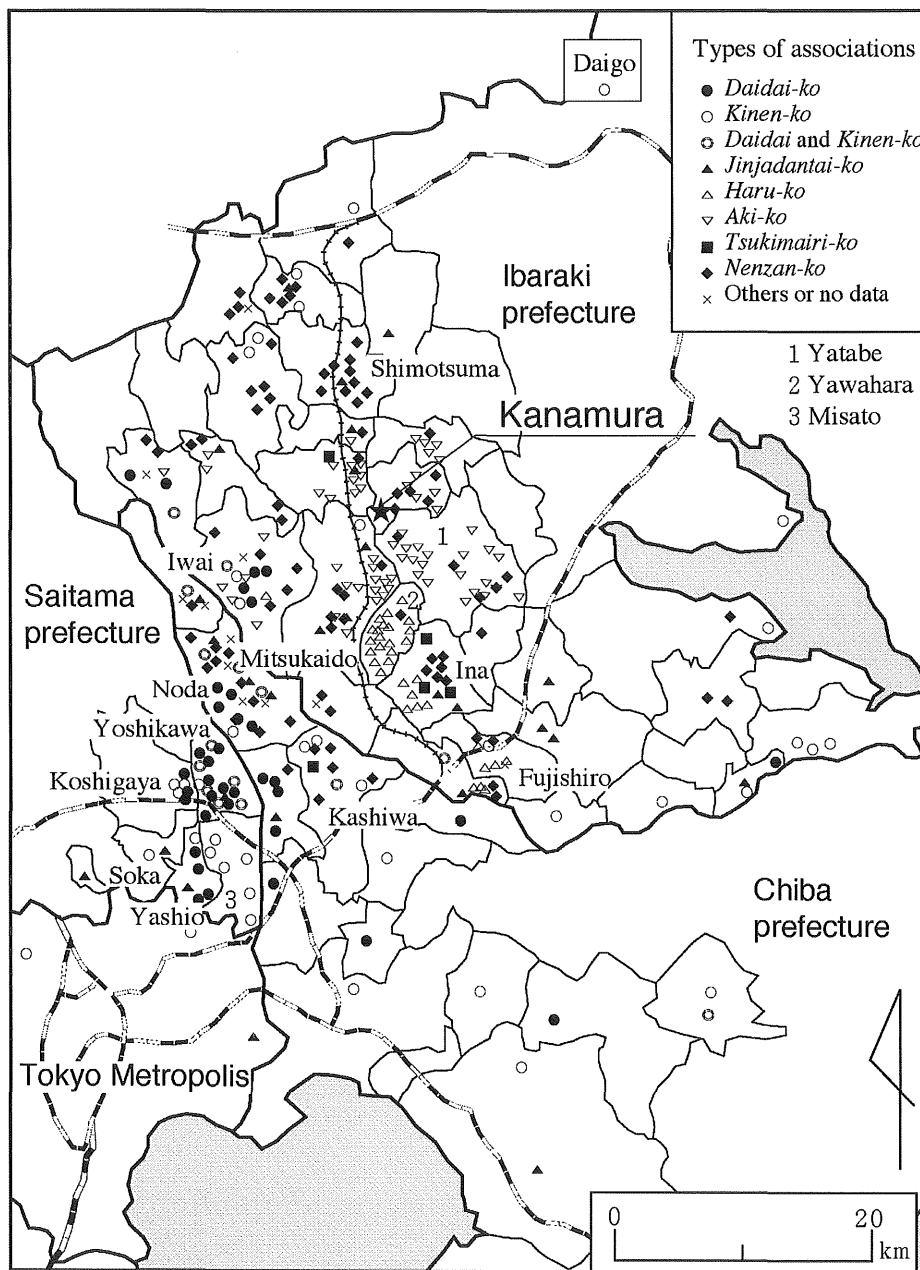


Fig. 5 Distribution of Kanamura associations, 1985  
Data source: Kanamura office

Chiba or Ibaraki.

The core area of *nichigetsunen-zan-ko* is within the 20 kilometers zone from Kanamura. There is no *nichigetsunen-zan-ko* in Saitama. Viewing from cities, towns, villages, there are a lot of associations in Shimotsuma city, Mitsukaido city, Iwai city, Toyosato town (now in Tsukuba city), Yatabe town in Ibaraki, and Noda city, Kashiwa city in Chiba.

The distribution of *nichigetsunen-zan-ko* is related to the origin of it. Its origin is the prayer for rain. Before an age of the Second World War, a technology of irrigation was undeveloped. It was difficult to use enough water for cultivation in the villages on the dilluvial upland. *Nichigetsunen-zan-ko* was organized depending on the pray for rainfall. The way to pray for rain was like this: managers of village went to Kanamura and had a Shinto priest to pray for rain, after that, they came back to their village with holy water, and all villagers prayed for rain together. It is because the way of main traffic was on foot or by bicycle that the distribution of *nichigetsunen-zan-ko* agreed with a half day area on foot from Kanamura. As for the difference of distribution among four directions, *nichigetsunen-zan-ko* is the smallest, and is distributed in the northern part of Kanamura.

The author illustrated the distribution of Kanamura associations in 1995 (Figure 6)<sup>14)</sup>. There are 254 Kanamura associations in four prefectures, Ibaraki, Chiba, Saitama and Tokyo. Ibaraki has 175 (68.9%), Chiba has 50 (19.7%) Saitama has 28 (11.0%). The number of Kanamura association has been decreasing year by year. Especially, urbanized region in Chiba or Saitama decreased the most. The subject of this paper is these 254 Kanamura associations in 1995.

According to Figure 6, it is appeared that the distribution of Kanamura association is dense in the southern or western part, mainly in 10 to 30 kilometers zone from Kanamura. The outermost region of the distribution of it is about 50 kilometers zone from Kanamura. There is no Kanamura association father than this zone<sup>15)</sup>. There are few associations in the northern part of Kanamura. The author guesses three reasons. First, Yamizo-Agakuni mountains range there, and they

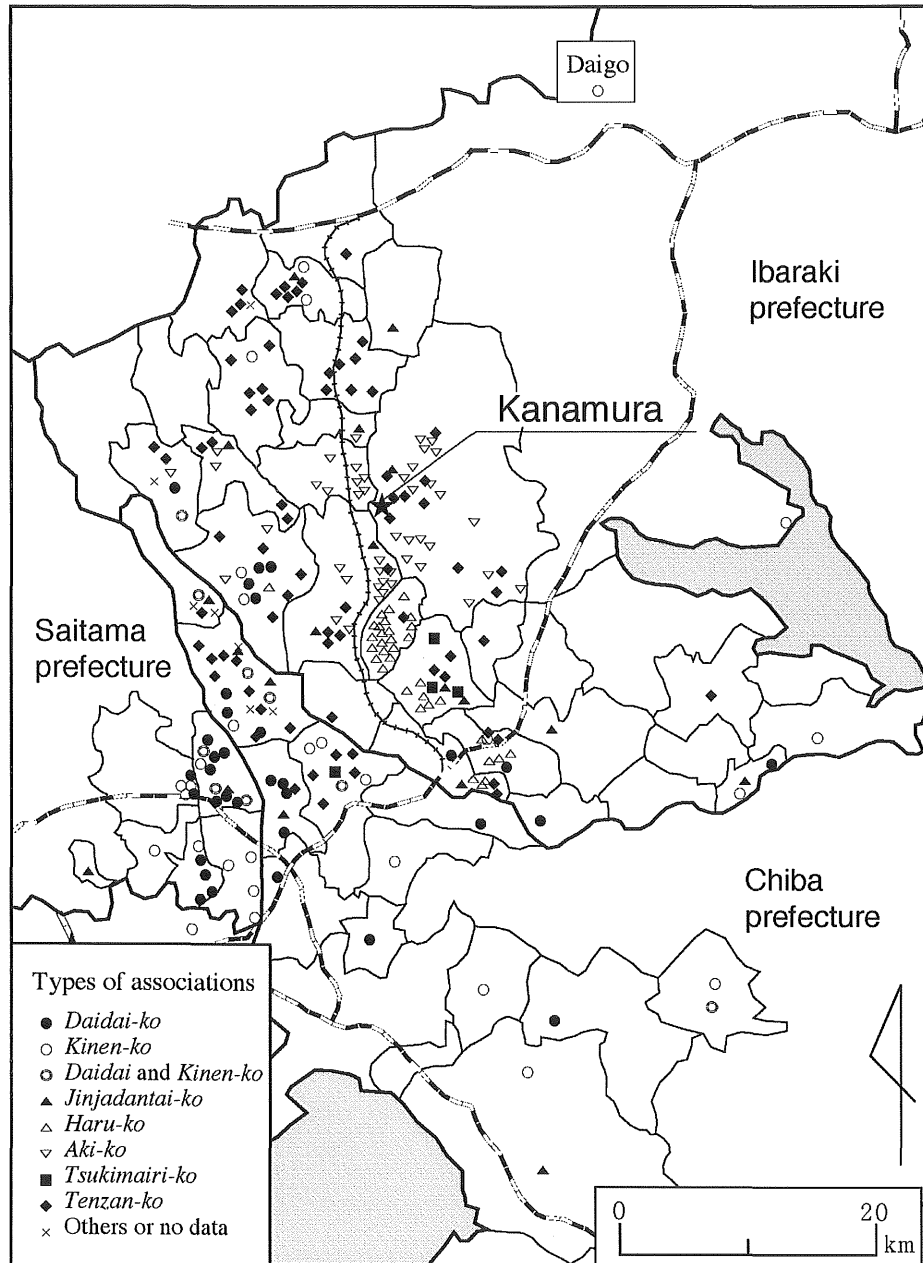


Fig. 6 Distribution of Kanamura associations, 1995

Data source: Kanamura office



check the transportation north and south<sup>16)</sup>. Second, there seems to be a competition with the sphere of Itakura thunder shrine or Betsurai kotaijin, because they have similar divine favor. There are a lot of Itakura associations from Koga city in the western part of Ibaraki to Kasukage in the eastern part of Saitama. Thus there are few Kanamura associations there.

## 2) The distribution of believers

The map (Figure 7) shows the distribution of prayers to Kanamura, including corporations and we call them believers<sup>17)</sup>. The numbers of believers are 1031 in all<sup>18)</sup>. There are seven prefectures (Ibaraki, Chiba, Saitama, Tokyo, Tochigi, Kanagawa, Aichi and Nagano) that have believers. Believers living in Ibaraki amount to 878, and occupy 85.2 percent. The distribution of believers is different in each region. Toyosato district in Tsukuba city has 273 and is top. More than two-third of believers (182 persons) in Toyosato district live in *ujiko* region. Mitsukaido city is next and has 155. Iwai city has 107 and Yatabe district in Tsukuba city has 62. The number of believers is decreasing gradually to the outer area, and a distributional area of believers is wider than that of associations. As for Kanamura associations, the core area of distribution lies in 10 to 30 kilometers zone from Kanamura, however, most of believers are dwelling in the neighborhood area and the core is in *ujiko* region. In this way, the distribution of believers is different from that of associations. For examples, there are a few believers in one of the core area of Kanamura associations such as Noda city in Chiba having 20 or Yawahara village in Ibaraki having 21.

Viewing from the time of visit, several characters are seen through. A lot of believers visit Kanamura in winter (from December to February). It has 495 persons and the most of all seasons. It accounts for 48 percent. This is caused by Japanese custom called *Hatsumode* that means someone's first visit to shrines made during the New Year. Especially, the New Year Day, 348 persons visited Kanamura to pray, and this day contributes to prosperity in January. The number of

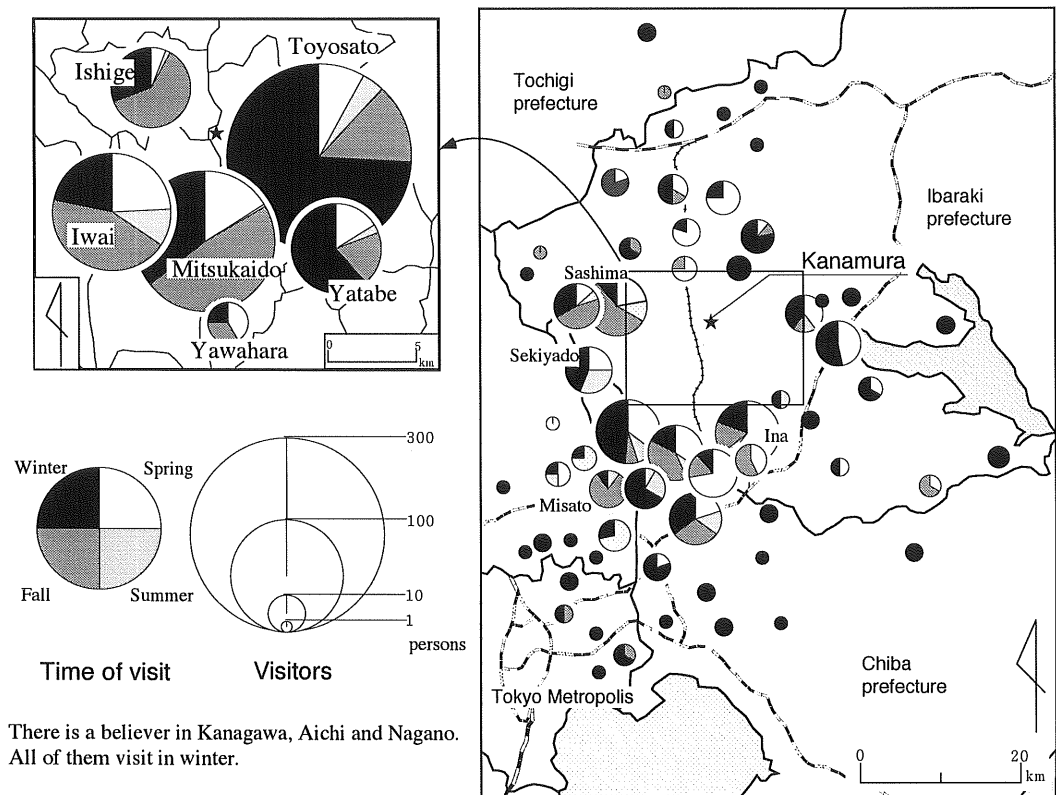


Fig. 7 Distribution of prayers to Kanamura, 1995

Data source: Kanamura office

believers in winter excels in various parts. Especially, it excels in Toyosato and Yatabe district in Tsukuba city including *ujiko* region, Kanagawa prefecture, the Metropolis of Tokyo, Tochigi prefecture. They are located in the nearest or outer zone of the sphere of Kanamura.

Fall (from September to December) is in the next place, which has 279 persons (27%). spring (from March to May) has 196 (19%), and summer (from June to August) has 61 (5.8%) and is the fewest. The area a lot of believers visiting Kanamura in fall live in is in the neighborhood. For example, Mitsukaido city has 74 persons, Iwai city has 47, Toyosato district in Tsukuba city has 38 and Ishige town has 30. As for believers in spring, 26 believers live in Iwai city and this is the most. There are 25 believers living in Mitsukaido city, and 22 in Toyosato district in Tsukuba city, 19 in Ina town. Believers in spring or fall usually visit Kanamura during a time of each festival. Some believers come to Kanamura as vicarious visitors of *daidai-ko* or *dantai-ko*. Seeing from content of prayers, summer is characteristic though being a few visitors. Prayer for a protection against lightning is a character of summer believers. They distribute on the fringe of the sphere such as Misato city, Sekiyado town, Sashima town.

Figure 8 shows the distribution of donors of crops<sup>19)</sup>. The donation of crops means to express the prayer for bumper crops or prayer for gratitude. Many of the donated crops are polished rice. Some believers donate turnips, bamboo shoots or eggs. It is said that kami of Kanamura favorites bamboo shoots and eggs. That is the reason believers donate those. There are 232 persons that donate crops to Kanamura, and about three-fourth of donors (173 persons) visit it in fall to donate. More than 95 percent of donors dwell in Ibaraki prefecture, especially, in Mitsukaido city and Iwai city. Both cities account for 43.5 percent. On the contrary, only 9 persons dwell in Toyosato district in Tsukuba city where it has a lot of believers. It is because people in *ujiko* region are obliged to pay a membership fee or donate polished rice in fall festival. They do not need to donate crops to pray for gratitude.

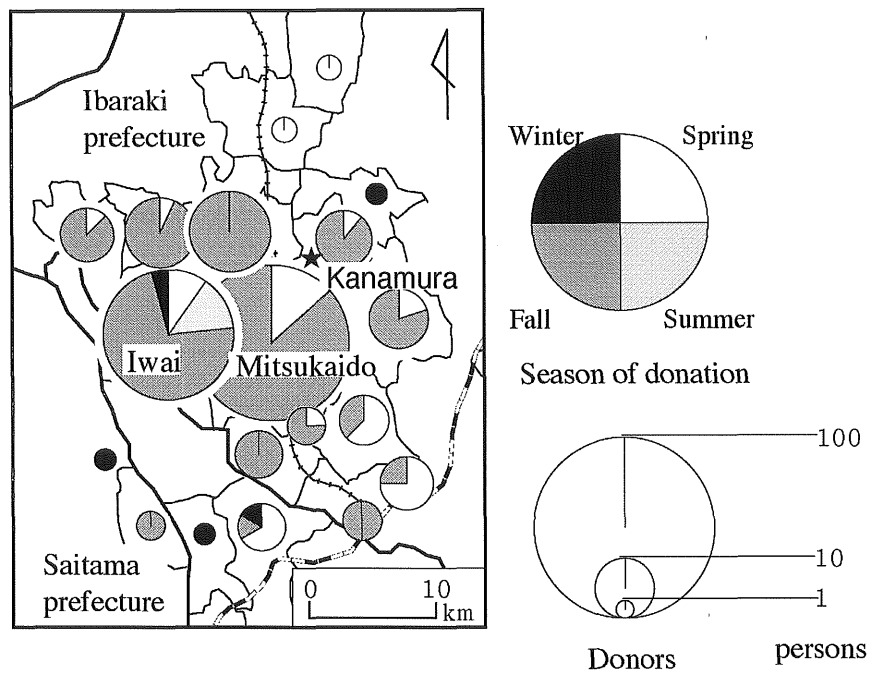


Fig. 8 Distribution of donors of crops, 1995  
Data source: Kanamura office

### 3) The regional division of the sphere of Kanamura

The author divides the sphere of Kanamura into two regions based on the distribution of Kanamura associations and believers (Figure 9).

The first area is like an oval whose major axis is 50 kilometers and minor axis is 20 kilometers. It lies from the western to the southern part of Ibaraki prefecture, including Yuki city, Yachiyo town, Chiyokawa village, Ishige town, Mitsukaido city, Toyosato district in Tsukuba city, Yatabe district in Tsukuba city, Ina town, Yawahara town, Fujishiro town and Toride city. There are two spatial characters in this area. One is to have a lot of *dantai-ko*, especially, *haru-ko* and *aki-ko*, and *nichigetsunenzan-ko*, the other is to account for more than 80 percent of believers. As the spatial character of the first area, previous studies have clarified as follows: the climbing of youth generation and combination with the community that are in Mt. Dewa-sanzan, the character of the water kami that is in Mt. Togakushi, the character of the harvest god that is in Kasama *inari*.

The second area lies in the outer zone of the first area, mainly extends to the southern. It includes the southwestern part of Iwai city and Sakai town located in the western part of Ibaraki, Kawauchi town, Azuma town, Edosaki town located in the southeastern part of Ibaraki, and around southeastern part of Saitama, northwestern part of Chiba. There are also two spatial characters in this area. First, most of *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* are organized in this area, second there are few believers dwelling in this area. Referring to believers, many of vicarious visitors pray for their private wishes, and they are counted as believers. It is appropriate to consider this area as a main area of *daisan-ko*. Previous studies have clarified organization of *daisan-ko* is one of the important spatial character of the second area (Iwahana, 1983a; Matsui, 1995a). Though it is not contradictory to a case of Kanamura faith, the author cannot establish the third area of it. It is pointed out that the spatial character of this area is an existence of *somairi-ko*, establishment of branch shrine, and thinness of religious associations' density (Iwahana, 1983a;

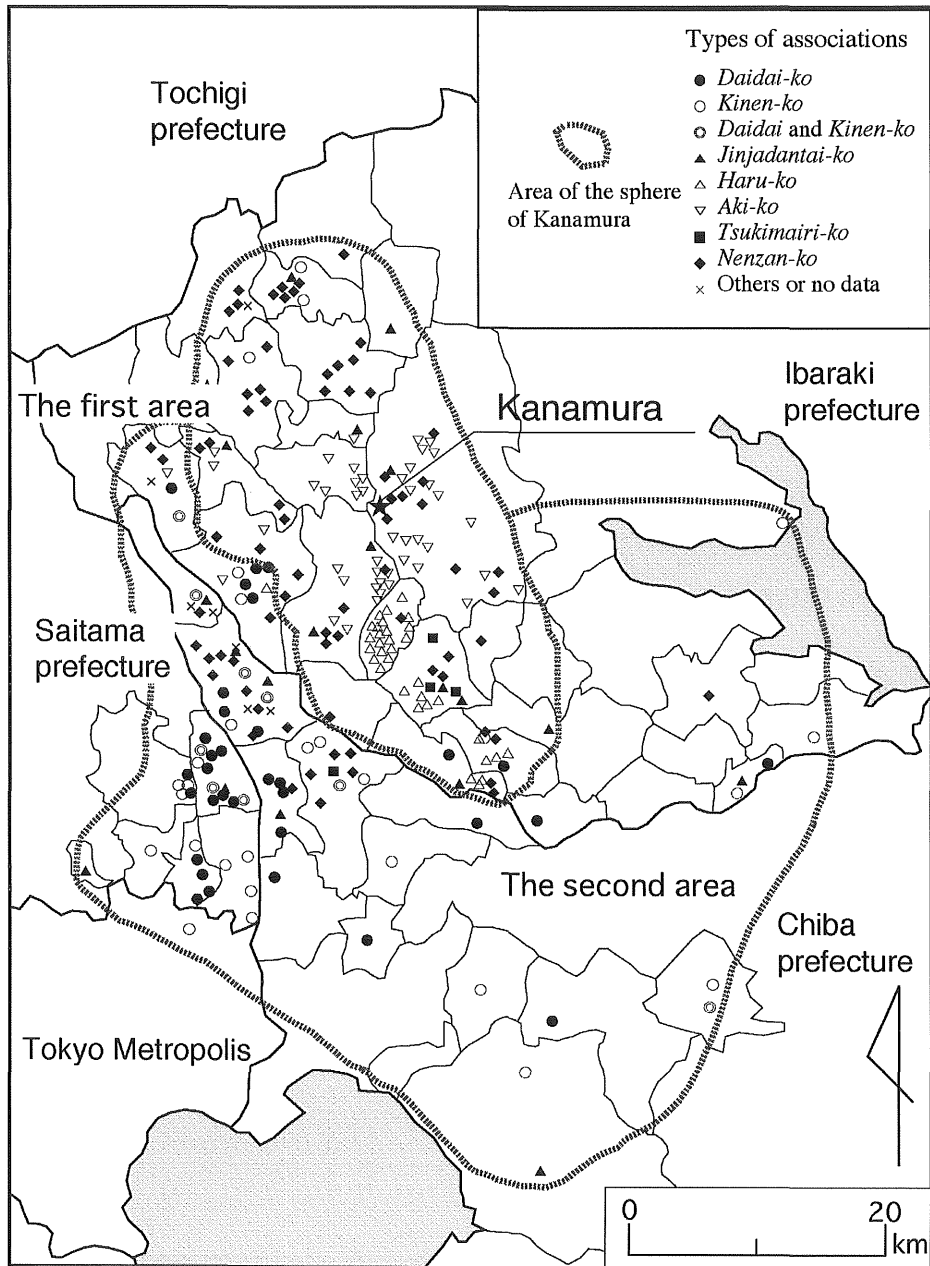


Fig. 9 Regional division of the sphere of Kanamura, 1995  
 Data source: Fig. 7 and Fig. 8

Matsui, 1995a). However, Kanamura not having branch shrine system, and the distribution of *somairi-ko* being agree to the second area, there is not the third area in Kanamura.

In following chapters, the author will select a couple of sample districts within both spheres of Kanamura. As sample districts, the author will choose Toyosato district in Tsukuba city from first area and Yoshikawa city from the second area. Kanamura is located in Toyosato district in Tsukuba city a lot of believers dwell in. As for religious associations, all of them belong to *nichigetsunenzan-ko* and *dantai-ko*. It is thought that this district is a representative of the first area. Both *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* have been organized since the Meiji era in Yoshikawa district. It is thought that this district is a representative of the second area.

## CHAPTER III

### THE SPATIAL CHARACTER OF FIRST AREA -IN THE CASE OF TOYOSATO DISTRICT IN TSUKUBA CITY-

Toyosato district lies in the western part of Tsukuba city (Figure10). It is on the flat plateau about 25 or 30 meters above the sea level. Both the East yata River and West yata river run through north and south. Paddy fields are cultivated around the basin of both rivers. The River Kokai also run through north and south at the edge of this district. Volcanic ashes are covered with plateau, which is used as forests or fields.

Kamigo district locating Kanamura is a main district that had 339 homes and 1662 persons in 1724 (Takeuchi, 1991). Kamigo village, Asahi village and Yoshinuma village were born in 1889 when the organization of cities, towns and villages became effective. Kamigo village consisted of four hamlets whose name is Kamigo, Konomata, Tegomaru and Nobata. In 1955, Kamigo village and Asahi village were combined into Toyosato town, and a part of Yoshinuma village was absorbed into it the next year. In 1987, Toyosato town was combined with Yatabe town, Oho town and Sakura village into Tsukuba city. The population of Toyosato district in Tsukuba city is 13137 in 1990.

#### 1. The spatial character of Kanamura faith in Toyosato district in Tsukuba city

##### 1)The spatial character of Kanamura faith in 1930s

Table 2 shows a record of prayer for rain in 1931 and 1932 in Toyosato district. According to table 2, a head of village and a district prayed to Kanamura for rain in



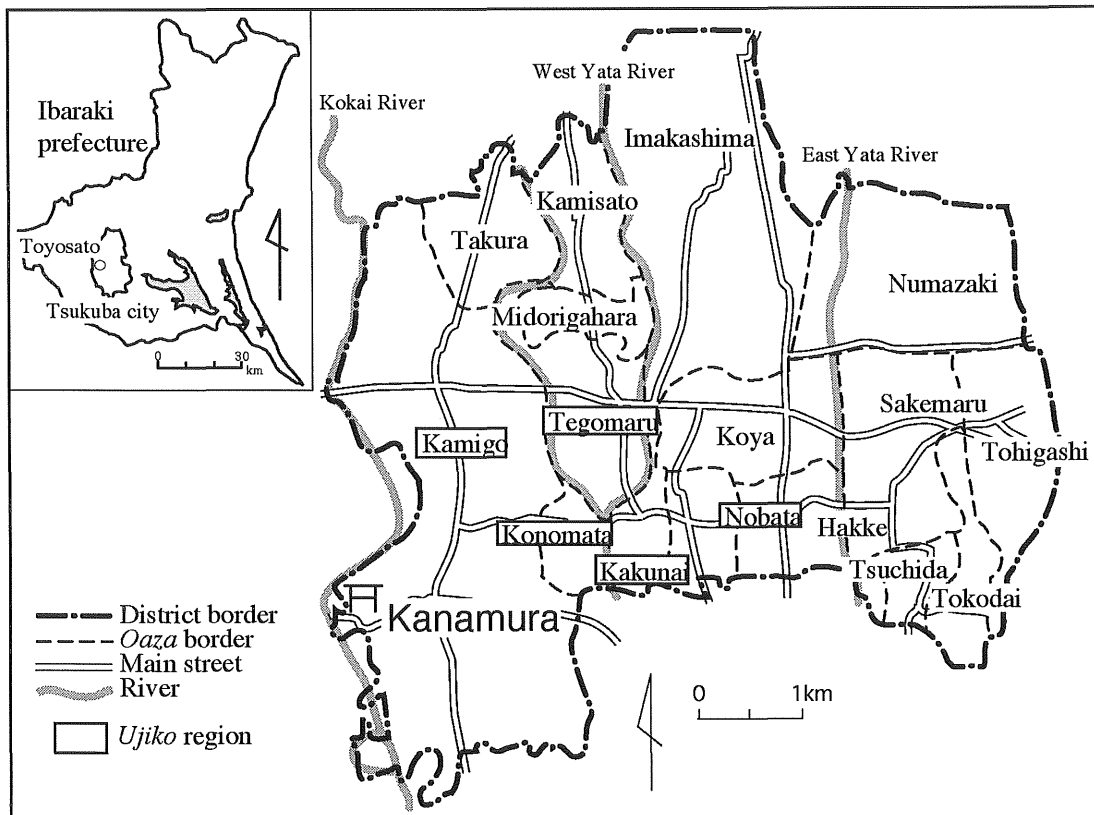


Fig. 10 General view of Toyosato district, Tsukuba city, 1995

Table 2 Record of prayer for rain in Toyosato district, 1931-2

Unit: Yen, Persons

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

-: No data or not clear

Data source: Kanamura office

those days if it had little rain in July and August. The way of prayer is supposed by the record of prayer for rain left in Kanamura. Following data are written on the record, such as a name of village, head of village and district, cultivated fields damaged by dry weather, the number of homes, a distance and direction from Kanamura. Vicarious visitors<sup>20)</sup> brought it to Kanamura with their stamps and asked a Kanamura priest to pray for rain. They came back to their village with holy water given by a Kanamura priest. This water is drawn from a well at Kanamura. It was put into a bottle made of bamboo and was brought it to their village as soon as possible<sup>21)</sup>. After their coming back to the village, people put holy water on the sacred space like a tutelary shrine, chant the Shinto prayers and offered sacred sake and food. Some water mixed normal one with holy is handed to each, and it is sprinkled with cultivated fields. It was custom to bring back the bottle with water to Kanamura within a week<sup>22)</sup>. There were some taboos<sup>23)</sup> at the prayer for rain. For examples, women could not get close to the sacred space or people were forced to refrain from talking and chatting or eating eggs and bamboo shoots. Judging from the existence of these taboos, it is clear that the prayer for rain did as a common prayer.

It is said that people living in Imakashima district suffered from heavily damage from a drought because of a shortage of rain frequently. Suffering from a drought, a ritual for rain was done. A washbowl full of holy water was put in front of an open space of public hall. All young men wearing a loincloth came around the washbowl to dance with chanting<sup>24)</sup>. They drummed hard and dashed water over a person each other with praying for rain. In northern part of Imakashima district<sup>25)</sup>, all young men wearing a loincloth came to an open space in front of a temple dedicated to *Kannon*. A washbowl full of holy water was put there. The young went to Mt. Tsukuba shrine, the middle went to Kanamura and the old went to tutelary shrine to receive holy water. Each water being put into a washbowl, they chanted the Shinto prayers with a musical band. All men dashed water over a person each other after that. This ritual had been done since it rained. It can be

thought that before the Second World War, people living in Toyosato district prayed to Kanamura for rain, if they suffered from drought. Praying Kanamura for rain, all members of the village are requested to take part in the ritual, consequently, Kanamura was worshiped as the subject of common prayer in those days<sup>26)</sup>.

Figure 11 shows the distribution of believers in the 1931 fiscal year in Toyosato district<sup>27)</sup>. There were 287 believers in it, and a core area was in Kamigo district. Considering from the content of prayer, the prayer for soldier's safe accounts for 75 percent (218 persons) of all. Secondary, the prayer for family's safe accounts for 20.8 percent (58 persons), and there were few other prayers. Considering the social background in Japan in those days, the Manchurian Incident occurred in this year<sup>28)</sup>, it seems to be natural that the prayer for soldier's safe occupies a large number. Soldier's safe or a victory was commonly prayed in Japanese shrine then. These are thought to be prayed to a local shrine or a tutelary shrine. The author suggests that Kanamura has been worshiped as a local shrine in Toyosato district.

As mentioned above, a community prayer for rain performed village by village while the prayer for soldier's safe or a victory prayed to Kanamura privately. This shows Kanamura being worshiped as a branch shrine that rules rainfall and a local shrine in Toyosato district.

## 2) The spatial character of Kanamura faith in 1995

Table 3 shows some religious forms of Kanamura association in Toyosato district in 1995. There are 12 associations organized there, half of them belong to *dantai-ko* and another half belong to *nichigetsunenkan-ko*<sup>29)</sup>. Kanamura associations organized in Toyosato district are territorial relation group in principle. The author considers these three points: a period of organization, managers and religious forms.

As for a period of organization, in case of *dantai-ko*, many of them are organized in 1940s except Kamisato district organized in 1991. As regards *nichigetsunenkan-ko*, a period of organization is unclear in most of districts. The

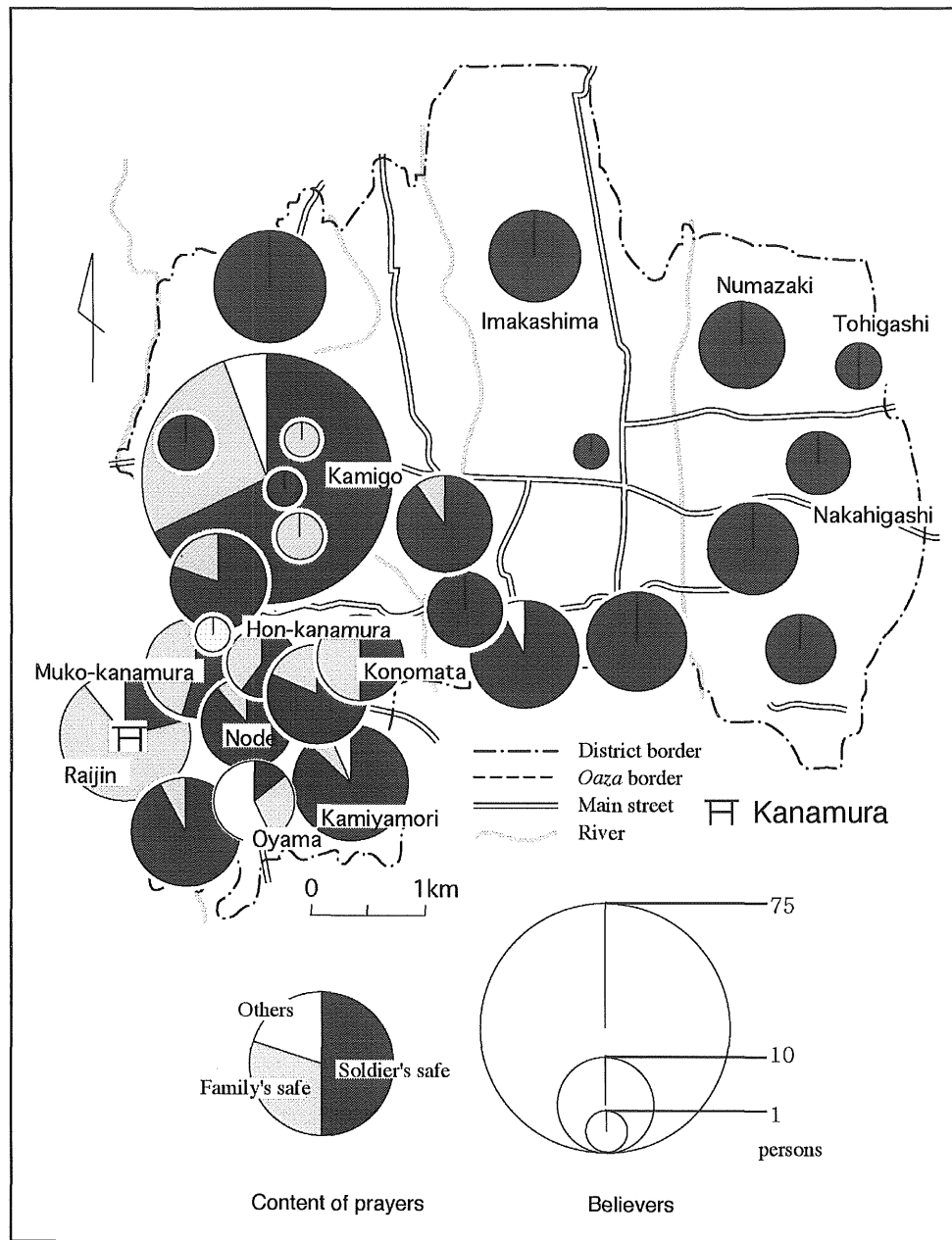


Fig. 11 Distribution of believers in Toyosato district, 1931  
Data source: Kanamura office

Table 3 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
<i>Dantai-ko</i>	1	Koya	1940s	District	62	3	-	1 year	FV	3	Fixed to manager	No	M
	2	Tohigashi	1940s	District	50	1 inherited	-	No term	FV	1	Fixed to manager	No	M
	3	Nakahigashi	-	District	43	3	RU	1 year	FV	3	Fixed to manager	No	M
	4	Kamisato	1991	District	106	6	RU	6 years	FV	6	Fixed to manager	No	M
	5	Imakashima-kaihata	1940s	Community	85	1	RU	2 years	FV	1	Fixed to manager	No	M
	6	Imakashima-tsubakimoto	1940s	Community	39	1	HD	2 years	FV	1	Fixed to manager	No	M
<i>Nenzan-ko</i>	7	Imakashima-Kamisyuku	1940s	Community	48	2	RU	1 year	NV	2	Fixed to manager	No	L
	8	Kakunai	-	Community	39	1	RU	1 year	NV	1	Fixed to manager	No	L
	9	Konomata	-	District	38	3 inherited	-	No term	NV&FV	1 or 2	Fixed to manager	No	M&L
	10	Yoko-machi	-	Community	46	1	HD	2 years	NV	1	Fixed to manager	No	L
	11	Oyama	-	Community	40	7	HD	1 or 2 years	NV	7	Fixed to manager	No	M

RU: Representative of *ujiko* organization

HD: Head of district

There is another association in Toyosato.

FV: Vicarious visit in fall

NV: Vicarious visit in January

-: No data or not clear

M: Amulets of middle sized for dedicating to a household altar

L: Amulets of large sized for *tsujifuda*

Data source: The author's field survey

author guesses that many of them had been organized before 1940 because two associations are proved to be organized in 1931, which are Kamigo central youth club and Oyama district. It is possible to point out that there are three reasons about mechanism of organization founded after 1940. First, it is encouraged to organize religious associations by the persons related Kanamura. *Dantai-ko* was encouraged by the persons living in Raijin district<sup>30)</sup>. Raijin district was made up a shrine town, and the people doing business there intended to make active commerce by increase of visitors. Kanamura priests were not concerned in each association directly, people in Raijin district sent an information mail to visit. Priests were given 30 percent of income as a reward. This typed association was called *kangiku dantai-ko* early in the Showa era. A purpose to visit Kanamura is to appreciate chrysanthemums as a recreation. The name of this typed association was changed in wartime<sup>31)</sup>. Although most of the records of *dantai-ko* have got scattered and lost, it is said that an association of Imakashima-Kaihata district and Koya district were organized by the people living in Raijin district. On the contrary, the case of Kamisato district is different. A Shinto priest of tutelary shrine in Kamisato district died in 1990, after his death, the chief priest of Kanamura performs a festival at the tutelary shrine. Managers of religious organization in Kamisato district organized *dantai-ko* to visit Kanamura to offer their thanks to the chief priest of it in 1991. There was a religious association that has a vicarious visit system to Osugi shrine in Sakuragawa village in Ibaraki prefecture before the Second World War. In those days, five districts in northern Imakashima were united as to religious organization. In wartime, vicarious visit to Osugi shrine being stopped, after the war, people thought that a religious organization should be revived. Accordingly, people living in Kamisyuku district have begun to visit Kanamura in stead of Osugi shrine since then. Oyama district and Kakunai district are the similar case where Kanamura was prayed for rain before the war.

As for managers, the most characteristic point is the system of election. They do not adopt the hereditary system of managers in most of Kanamura associations

organized in Toyosato district<sup>32)</sup>. It is common that fixed members are in charge of for a long time. However in case of Kanamura associations in Toyosato district, managers are changed every one or two years in nine districts from eleven. Considering an attribute of managers, a representative of *ujiko* organization of tutelary shrine or the head of district are in charge. It means that Kanamura association unites with other religious ones or a neighborhood one, and the head of concerned associations hold its post. Kanamura association not being independent organization, it is natural that managers change in a few years because the term of them depends upon others' one.

As for religious forms, the author considers the time of visit, vicarious visitors and rites. Concerning the time of visit, vicarious visit is done in fall in case of *dantai-ko* and in January in case of *nichigetsunenzan-ko*. In case of *dantai-ko*, the time of visit is determined by Kanamura. It is possible to say that the frequency of vicarious visit to Kanamura is less than that in Yoshikawa district. Managers visit Kanamura as a vicarious visitor once a year. This indicates very clearly that vicarious visitors are not determined in rotation but are fixed for managers. It is remarkable point that a rotation system of vicarious visitors is not adopted by Kanamura association in Toyosato district. Thus it is different from other religious associations in point of visit system<sup>33)</sup>. As for rites, it has no religious events such as drawing lots or a meal with kami. This means that it has no function as an independent religious organization.

As we have seen, there are two types of Kanamura association organized in Toyosato district, one is *nichigetsunenzan-ko* originated in prayer for rain and the other is *dantai-ko* founded after 1940s by encouragement of people living in a shrine town. Their organization is united with other religious ones or a neighborhood one, and other organization's head holds the additional post of its manager. Accordingly, it has no function as an independent religious organization because no religious events perform and the frequency of visit is low.

The author indicates the distribution of believers dwelling in Toyosato district



in the 1995 fiscal year in Figure 12. This figure shows the distribution of 261 persons that have been ascertained their address by the time of visit. Seen from their place of home, Kamigo district being a part of *ujiko* region has 183 persons accounting for 70.1 percent. Believers are accumulated especially, in Raijin, Hon-kanamura, Muko-kanamura that are in neighborhood of Kanamura, and Oshuku, Kamisyuku that are in central part of Kamigo district. Over three-fourth of believers (75.6%) visit Kanamura in January. In comparison of 1931 with 1995, the time of visit in 1931 was dispersed each month, while in 1995, it is concentrated on January as a first visit to shrines. It is because that in 1931, prayer for soldier's safe accounting for more than 75 percent were dispersed to visit, while in 1995, the content of prayers is specialized in prayers for family's safe in January (See Figure 3).

Table 4 shows the proportion of believers per all households by districts. In Toyosato district, some of members in 227 households out of 3135 are believers in 1996. It accounts for 7.2 percent of all. We can see large difference between *ujiko* region and other one. In *ujiko* region, some of members in 166 households out of 1229 are believers and the proportion reaches 13.5 percent, while in other region, only 61 out of 1906 are believers (3.2%). Even in *ujiko* region, the proportion of believers is different. 16.1 percent of household has believers in Kamigo district where Kanamura founded, however there are only 2 in Konomata, 4 in Tegomaru and 0 in Nobata. The total of these three districts accounts only for 2.5 percent. Even if these districts are parts of *ujiko* regions, they were other villages before 1889, so that their religious consciousness of Kanamura is different from that in Kamigo. Viewing from by district, Raijin district that was once a shrine town is the highest accounting for 67.7 percent. Node, Muko-kanamura and Hon-kanamura are the second group.

As mentioned above, the author examined an aspect of Kanamura faith in Toyosato district. As a result, Toyosato district can be divided into two sub regions: *ujiko* region and out of *ujiko* region. Then the author chooses two districts

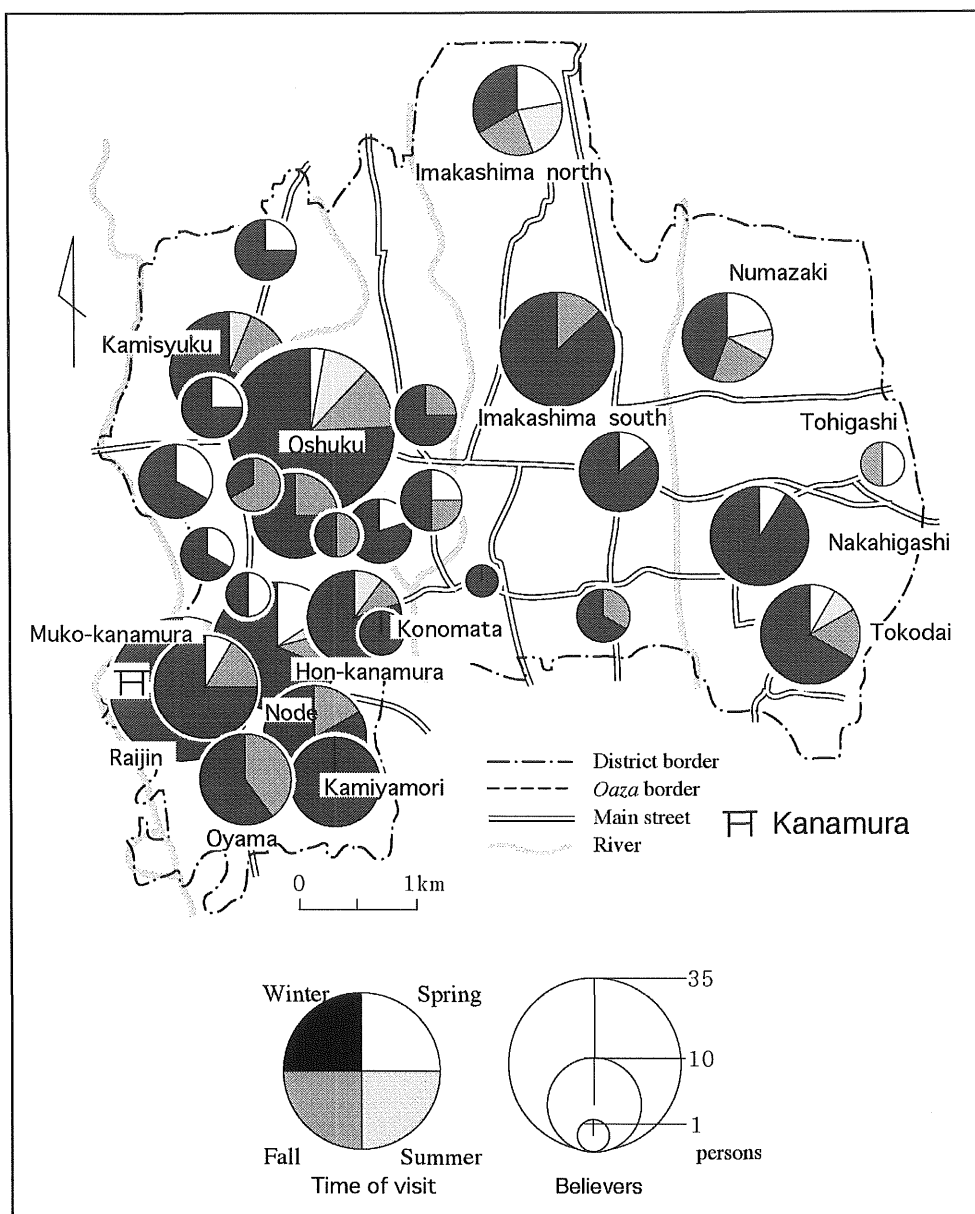


Fig. 12 Distribution of believers in Toyosato district, 1995

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

Data source: Kanamura office

Table 4 Proportion of believers per all households  
by districts in Toyosato, Tsukuba city, 1995

Unit: Household

Name of District	Name of Community	Number of all	Number of believers	Ratio (%)
Kamigo	Raijin	31	21	67.7
Kamigo	Node	23	12	52.2
Kamigo	Muko-kanamura	33	12	36.4
Kamigo	Kamisyuku	48	13	27.1
Kamigo	Hon-kanamura	73	18	24.7
Kamigo	Oyama	41	9	22
Kamigo	Shinsyuku	19	4	21.1
Kamigo	Gonge	40	8	20
Kamigo	Dokaku	73	10	13.7
Kamigo	Osyuku	213	29	13.6
Kamigo	Yoko-machi	46	5	10.9
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

as case studies from each sub division. One is Konomata district from *ujiko* region, the other is Nakahigashi district from out of *ujiko* region.

## 2 .An aspect of Kanamura faith in Konomata district

Konomata district is situated in the southwest of Toyosato district (Figure 10), and is on the flat plateau about 20 meters above the sea level. West yata river runs through north and south to the east. Paddy fields are cultivated around the basin of this river. Though Konomata district had been the fief of the Toyota family since 12 century, it became the fief of the Sugaya family after 1603. The Sugaya family being moved in 1698, it was a shogunal demesne (Toyosato town history compilation committee, 1985). There are two main streets north and south and from east to west. It adjoins Kamigo district in the west. Houses stand along two main streets from the central to the south as street village. Forests in flatland have still remained in the north, however they are cut down and new houses have been building there. This is a dry field farming area where vegetables, turf and peanuts are cultivated. It has 166 persons and 38 households in 1995.

### 1) Religious landscape

The author takes a general view of religious landscapes in Konomata district to analyze Kanamura faith here (Figure 13). Akagi shrine being a tutelary shrine in Konomata district is dedicated in forests in flatland along a south side of main street running east and west<sup>34)</sup>. The period of Akagi shrine's foundation is said to have been 1780s, but it is not sure. There are 7 small shrines made of stone in the precincts of Akagi shrine, dedicating inside *torii* that was a Shinto shrine archway. A stone monument of *Batokannon*, a stone statue of *Yakushi nyorai* and *Jizoson* are dedicated in a community along the main street running north and south. A stone statue of *Yakushi nyorai* is believed to cure the disease, being called *Yakushi-sama*. Similaly, a stone statue of *Jizoson* is believed to help a smooth delivery, being

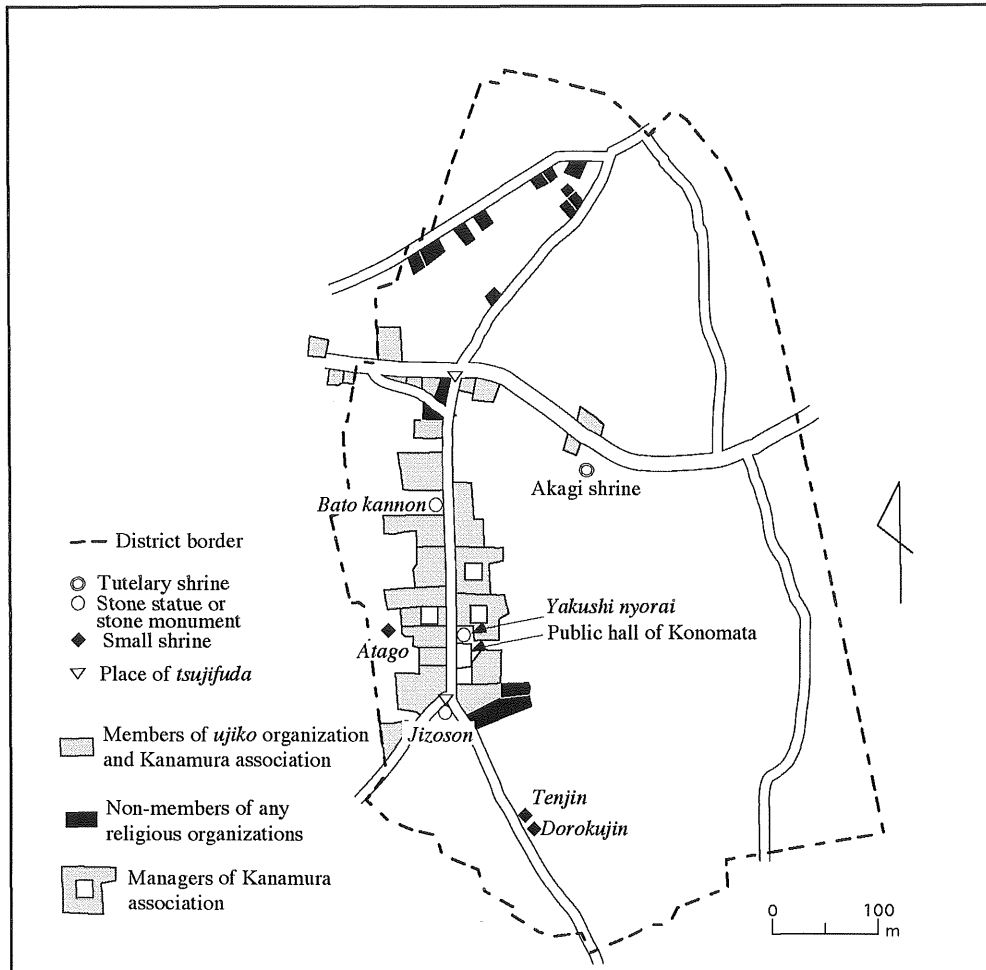


Fig. 13 Religious landscapes in Konomata district, Tsukuba city, 1995  
 Data source: The author's field survey in September, 1995

called *Jizo-sama*. It is possible to observe that a pregnant woman pays a daily visit to it. The place where *Yakushi nyorai* was dedicated is now used as a public hall, however it had been a temple until 1868 when the anti-Buddhist movement that led to the destruction of Buddhist temples in Japan.

In January, a large amulet called *tsujifuda* is stood at both crossroads. It is a kind of religious rite called *michikiri*. People stand an amulet to pray for preventing disaster from outside. There are other small shrines in the south, called *Tenjin*, *Atago* and *Dorokujin*. They are kami of some pioneer family in Konomata district.

## 2) Religious organization

In 1995, there are two religious organizations in Konomata district, one is the organization of Akagi shrine and the other is that of Kanamura (Figure 13)<sup>35)</sup>. The managers of Kanamura association dwell nearby the public hall at the center of community. Their family names are T, being a pioneer family in this district. There are 19 households whose family name's are T, and they say most of them are originated in three pioneer families.

The number of households joining religious organization of Akagi shrine is 26, three of them being situated in Dokaku district to the east, all of them are branch family in Konomata district. 20 of households joining religious organization of Akagi shrine have a family name of T. Originally Akagi shrine being a family shrine of T, all members in Konomata district can join the religious organization of Akagi. There are 15 households from 41 not joining it. 11 of them are new comers living in northern part where forests in flat land were cut down. All of new comers do not engage in agriculture, they do not want to join any religious organization in community<sup>36)</sup>.

There are 26 households joining Kanamura association, the same members of religious organization of Akagi. Three pioneer families are in charge of the managers of Kanamura association every 5 or 10 year by turns, no other family is in charge. In this way, there are two religious organizations in Konomata district,

one is the organization of tutelary shrine named Akagi and the other is Kanamura association. Both of them have had same members since 1980s<sup>37)</sup>.

The family in charge of manager of religious events in Konomata is called *toke*<sup>38)</sup>. Table 5 clearly shows roles of *toke* in Konomata district. They take in charge of it during a year from main festival called *hon-matsuri* in December to next one. They consists of two households, one is called *uwado* and the other is called *shitado*. All households belonging to religious organization of tutelary shrine are divided into 12 groups, each group takes in charge of it by turns. *Uwado* is in charge of a Shinto priest and *shitado* assists her. There are three main works for them: first is a religious service of *kamisama*, second is a religious service of the tutelary shrine and last is vicarious visits to Kanamura. *Kamisama* is a being worshiped by the people belonging to the religious organization in Konomata district. It is dedicated in *uwado*'s house called *shuku*. People call this one the spirit of tutelary shrine. It is enshrined in the wooden box turned black, whose size is about 25 centimeters in length and width, 1 meter in heights, surrounded a sacred straw festoon. The box *kamisama* enshrined is put in the alcove. *Uwado* offers a cup of rice and a cup of water to it every morning, offers a cup of red rice and a glass of Japanese sake on the 15th every month. This is also her work to offer a cup of red rice to Akagi shrine and seven small shrines in the precincts of it on the 15th every month. As for vicarious visits, she has to visit Kanamura twice a year in January and March. People have a meal with kami after each festival in her house. Moreover, she has to keep three taboos as one year Shinto priest. First, in case of death of her family, *kamisama* has to be moved into *shitado*'s house on that day. She goes into mourning for 49 days during when *shitado* executes for her all work. Second, there exists taboos on meat-eating for her. She was restrained by religious taboos from eating a four-footed animal like cows, pigs or sheep. Concerning this taboo, it is not kept so strictly that she can eat them out of the alcove. Third, it is firmly believed that if someone opened the door of the box, terrible misfortune would happen to him. That is why no one has ever seen inside the door. Though

Table 5 Roles of Toke in Konomata district, Tsukuba city, 1995

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

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



the consciousness of keeping taboos has been weakened gradually, they are keeping taboos in 1995. As we have seen, religious organizations in Konomata district do not become a mere name but have a substantial meaning to people's life.

### 3) Religious events

Table 6 shows annual religious events done in Konomata district in 1995. It shows the schedule, name, who is in charge, place and contents of each religious event<sup>39)</sup>. A ritual for preventing disaster and the first musical band are performed on January 10 and 11. *Uwado* visits Kanamura to buy two large amulets in the morning on January 10. She stands each amulet at two crossroads north and south of community (Figure 13). The amulet called *tsujifuda* was put between a trunk of bamboo that has 1 or 2 meters tall. She standing the amulet, there is no special rites. A ritual for preventing disaster should be done by all members of the community, however it is done by her now. Finishing it, a musical band begins. She drumming, all members visit Akagi shrine to celebrate the New Year in the evening that day. A watch fire burning, old amulets are put into the fire. After that, a simple meal is offered by her at her house around 8 o'clock. The next day, all *ujiko* members of Akagi shrine gather together there to pray for the health and longevity of their family with boiled rice mix with fish and vegetables and a cup of leek soup. They had paid by three *go* of polished rice and soy sauce before 1970s, but now, *uwado* collects 300 yen per a household that day. *Shitado* and 6 group leaders of a neighborhood association help her<sup>40)</sup>.

March 17 according to the old calendar (now new one) is the day daily visit called *nissan-hajime* begins. There was once a paddy field of Akagi shrine called *maturida*. That is the day a ground-breaking ceremony is done. A head of a family did it in the morning, after taking a lunch break, they used to come to the public hall to eat together until 1940s. In those days, they visit Kanamura every day from March 17 to May 6 according to the old calendar by turns. A rotation being established, names of all visitors were written in turn on a wooden board shaped

Table 6 Annual religious events done in Konomata district, Tsukuba city, 1995

Time	Name of event	In charge	Place	Content
Jan. 10	Ritual for preventing disaster	<i>Toke</i>	Kanamura	Standing <i>tsujifuda</i>
Jan. 10 to 11	Musical band	<i>Toke</i>	Akagi shrine <i>Shuku</i>	New Year's visit Meal with kami
Mar. 17	Beginning of daily visit	<i>Toke</i>	Kanamura Public hall	Visit Meal with kami
Mar. 17 to May 6	Daily visit	Each household	Kanamura	Visit
Jul. 15	Summer festival	<i>Toke</i>	Akagi shrine <i>Shuku</i>	Dedication of sacred straw festoons Meal with kami
Middle of Oct.	Fall festival of Kanamura	Manager of Kanamura	Manager's house Each household	Information from Kanamura Confirming members and collecting membership fee
Nov. 5 to 10			Kanamura	Dedicating membership fee
Nov. 12			Kanamura	Prayer
Nov. 25			Each household	Distributing middle sized amulets
Nov. 26 to 27			Akagi shrine	Gratitude for tutelary shrine
Sunday just before Dec. 15	Main festival	<i>Toke</i>	Akagi shrine <i>Shuku</i> <i>Shuku</i> (New)	Rite of changing <i>toke</i> , Meal with kami Meal with kami
Late in Dec.		Manager of Kanamura	Each household	Distributing amulets of Ise Grand shrine Distributing twisted paper strings

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

pentagon. New rotation being established next year, new names are rewritten on it after the surface used a plane on. She visits Kanamura on March 17 according to the new calendar now, while no other members visit there after that day. Each of the members of Kanamura association hands it to the next person without visiting. When *uwado* visits there on March 17, she does not step into the holy stage, and does not receive any amulets, either. Furthermore, there are no religious events including a meal with kami when she comes back to the community.

Summer festival called wheat festival is held on June 15 according to the old calendar, now on July 15. This is the festival of a wheat harvest. *Ujiko* men make a sacred straw festoon in the morning, and women make an ornament shaped a stick typed of two rice cakes. The sacred straw festoon and offerings are dedicated to Akagi shrine. After the dedication, these rice cakes are cut and eaten by *ujiko* members at *uwado*'s house. It is said that eating a piece of them prevent from disease.

Konomata being one of the *ujiko* community of Kanamura, not *toke* but a manager of it visits there on November 25. Visiting Kanamura is done as a following process. The information of fall festival is mailed for the manager around the middle of October. Three managers call on each member to have a contribution around early in November. It was used to be offered by a sho of polished rice, now 1000 yen each house. He dedicates a membership fee and a list of members until November 12. On the festival day, he received some amulets to distribute each household. There are no religious events after his coming back.

The festival performed on November 15 according to the old calendar is called main festival. It had been done according to the old calendar before 1955, from 1956 to 1994, it was done on December 15, and since then, it has done on Sunday just before December 15. Before the Second World War, it was so lively that all people come to *shuku* to eat enough rice harvested at a paddy field of Akagi shrine. They were very looking forward to that day then because they have few chances to eat rice without wheat. Though it is not so lively now, *ujiko* members gather at

*shuku* to cook three *shos* of red rice, to dedicate it to Akagi shrine. Eating it with their fingers at the precincts of Akagi shrine, they drink and eat at *shuku*. The offerings, that are red rice, Japanese sake and ice cake are as same as those of wheat festival. Finishing main festival, the rite of changing one year Shinto priest called *to-watashi* is done, next ceremonial year will start. The manager of Kanamura has another work. Amulets of Ise Grand shrine called *jingu-taima* dedicated to a household altar are mailed for him from Kanamura. He distributes them among *ujiko* members<sup>42)</sup>.

The author has considered annual religious events in Konomata district. As mentioned above, there are many events every season and all members belonging to religious organization take part in them as a principle. An occasion of having a meal with members and kami is always held after festivals related to a tutelary shrine at *shuku*. On the other hand, no accompanying events except *nissan-hajime* are held after religious events related to Kanamura.

#### 4) Religious behavior of inhabitants

In this section, the author will consider an aspect of Kanamura faith through analyzing religious behavior of inhabitants to visit shrines and temples. The author picks up a head of a T's family (Mr. T in short) taking in charge of *uwado* in 1996 as a model of religious behavior. Mr. T visits several shrines and temples regularly every year. Thus we considered him to be a model. Figure 14 shows the religious behavior of Mr. and Mrs. T according to the distribution of visited shrines and temples and the frequency of their visit<sup>43)</sup>. Mr. T is a *ujiko* member of Akagi shrine and Kanamura. Considering visited shrines and its frequency, we can see some characters of them. Mr. T visits Akagi shrine, and several small shrines such as *Atago*, *Yakushi-nyorai*, *Jizoson* daily or monthly. The frequency of them seems to be relatively high. All of them are located within 10 minutes' walk from his house. The visit to them is accompanied with his recreation activities, shopping or a taking a walk. He visits Kanamura and Shinshoji temple in Narita once a year in January.

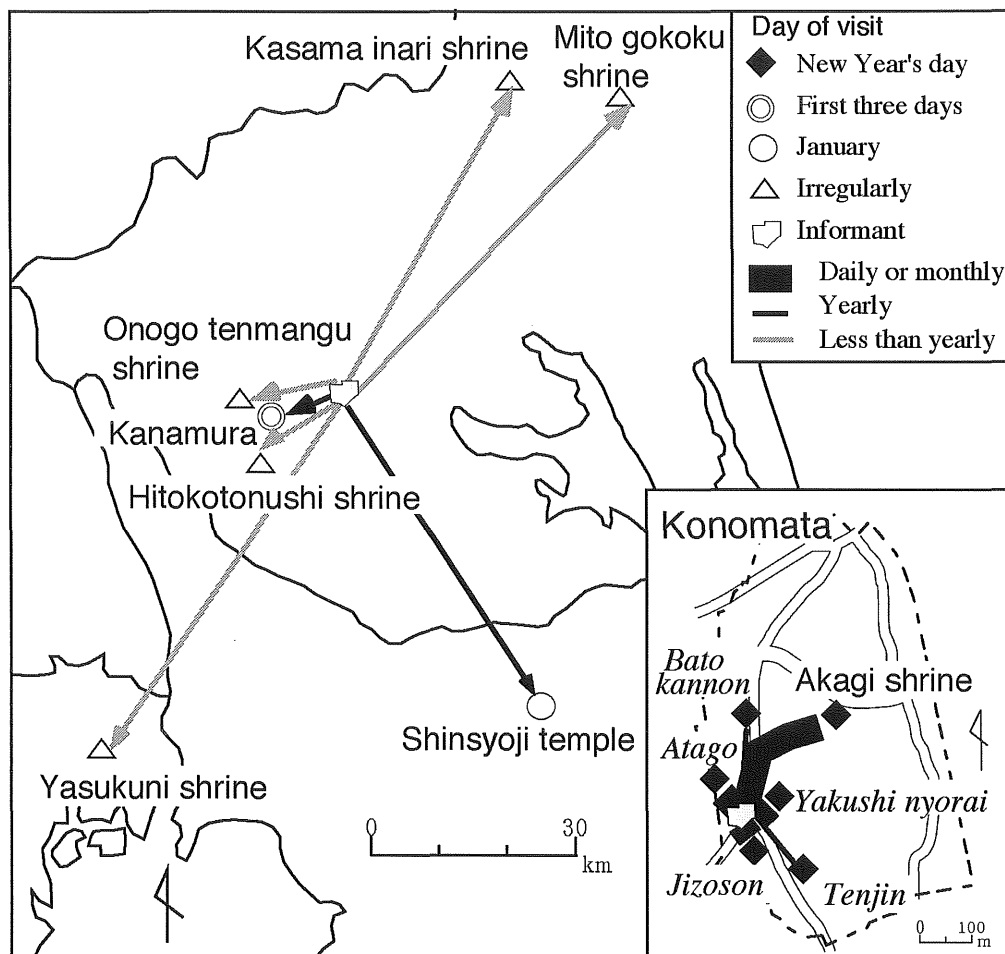


Fig. 14 Religious behavior of Mr. and Mrs. T in Konomata district, Tsukuba city, 1996

Data source: The author's field survey in September, 1996

He visits Kanamura by bicycle, and visits Shinsyoji temple by car with his son's family.

These shrines and temples are visited regularly. Moreover there are five shrines visited by him irregularly, which are Yasukuni shrine in Tokyo Metropolis, Gokoku shrine in Mito city, Kasama inari shrine in Kasama city, Onogo tenmangu shrine and Hitokotonushi shrine in Mitsukaido city.

The shrines and temples visited more than once a year are visited as *hatsumode* in January. It is possible to see some differences of an aspect of each faith through his religious behavior in January. In the morning of New Year's Day, he visits Akagi shrine at the very first ignoring some small shrines on the way to it. On his way home from Akagi shrine, he visits four small shrines in the neighborhood. This is a custom of his family. Kanamura is visited during the first three days of a new year. He visits Kanamura once a year in a normal year<sup>44</sup>). As for Shinsyoji temple in Narita, he visits there in the holidays in January. In this way, the order of visiting is the same every year as follows: first, a tutelary shrine, second, small shrines in the neighborhood, third, Kanamura, and last, Shinsyoji temple.

It has been cleared from his religious behavior that the faith in a tutelary shrine is the superior to others because of the order and frequency of visiting. The faith in Kanamura is next to it.

### 3 .An aspect of Kanamura faith in Nakahigashi district

Nakahigashi district is located in the northeastern part of Toyosato district (Figure 10), and is on the flat plateau at the left bank of East yata River. It was the fief of the Sugaya family from 1603 to the end of 17 century as well as Konomata district. It became the fief of Yatabe after that (Toyosato town history compilation committee, 1985). The public hall situated in the center of community is used for various activities including the aged club. Both West Sakemaru village and West Yagashiro village were combined into Sakemaru village in 1883. It became a part of

Asahi village in 1888. It had the same area of *oaza* Sakemaru now.

Tsuchiura-Sakai street is running east and west in the center of Nakahigashi district. The community is to the north. Shinmei shrine, being a tutelary shrine, is dedicated to the north of community. It is about 25 meters above the sea level, the most distinguished land use is a dry field cultivated cabbages or leeks. A large-scale development of housing and institution related to Tsukuba science city is on going to the east of Nakahigashi district. An outdoor typed recreation facility called *Yukari no mori* is constructed to the northeast of it. A lot of housings of employees and private research institutions have been constructing in the southeast of it since 1981 through readjustment of town lots. In this way, this region is going to be urbanized rapidly in recent years. It has 176 persons and 43 households in 1995.

### 1) Religious landscape

The author shows the distributions of religious facilities and households joining religious organization, and also shows households whose family name's are N in Nakahigashi district (Figure 15). Shinmei shrine, a tutelary shrine of here, is dedicated in the north of community. A front shrine and a gateway at the entrance to it being a southern exposure, there are forests at the back of the shrine. It shows a typical landscape of a tutelary shrine, however, the approach to a shrine is paved, and there are few visitors except at the festival. There is a Nakahigashi rural community center in the midst of this region. Though this center is now used as a public hall, it was Tokoin temple whose denomination was the *Shingon* Buddhism before the anti-Buddhist movement in the Meiji era that led to the destruction of Buddhist temples. In a site of this center, some religious monuments being still remaining, traces of temple are left in its landscape<sup>45)</sup>. This center is used in religious events. A deserted shrine named Inari shrine is adjacent to it to the east. There lived a Shito priest until around 1980. It has been a deserted shrine since he died in 1980s. He was also an ascetic, Inari shrine is not dedicated by a territorial relation group. It looks a dilapidated house, no one visits it now.

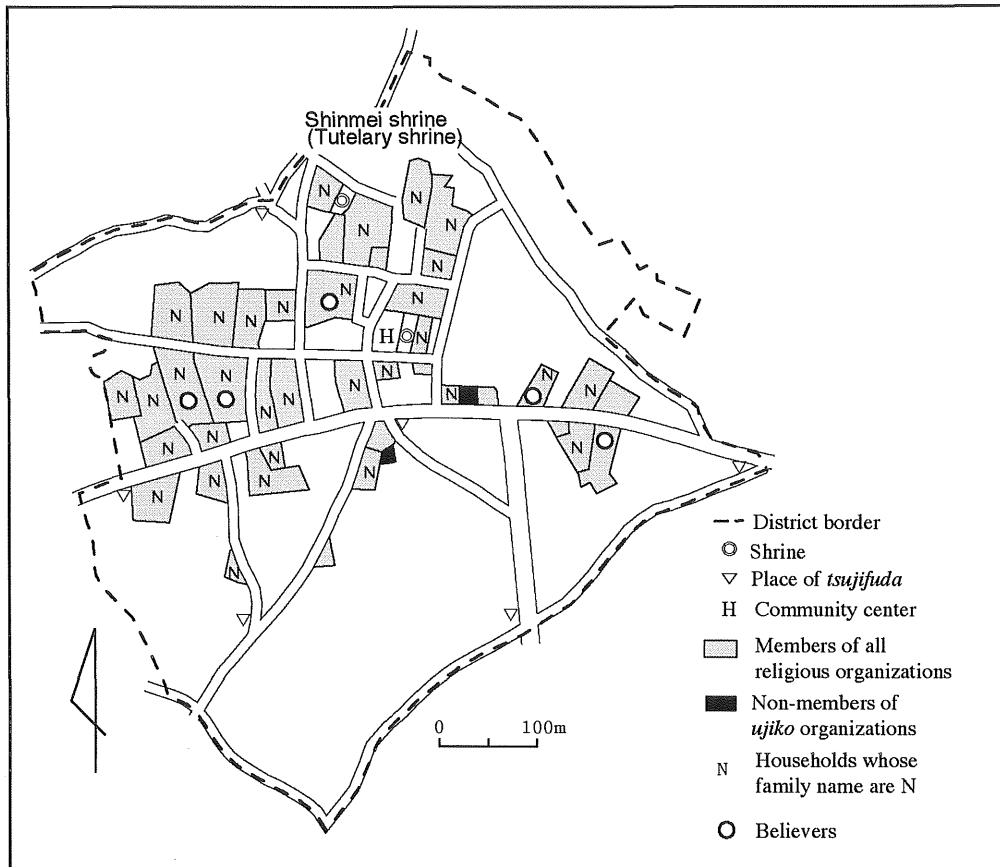


Fig. 15 Religious landscapes in Nakahigashi district, Tsukuba city, 1995  
 Data source: The author's field survey in September, 1995



A ritual for preventing disaster is also performed in Nakahigashi district. Two kinds of *tsujifuda* that are from Osugi shrine and Atago shrine are put at the entrance of the community<sup>46)</sup>. The form is almost as same as that of Konomata. Each of them is put between a trunk of bamboo that has about 1.5 meters tall.

## 2) Religious organization

There are four religious organizations which were confirmed in Nakahigashi district in 1995 (Figure 15). They are *ujiko* organization of Shinmei shrine, religious association of Kanamura, Osugi shrine, and Atago shrine (Osugi association and Atago association in short). There are 41 of 43 households joining *ujiko* organization of Shinmei shrine. Two of them are excluded as female household because it has been a taboo for women to take part in a festival of Shinmei shrine. There are 32 households who have the family name of N. *Ujiko* organization having been organized these 32 households before 1991, Shinmei shrine was a kami of N's family then. It has been no relation to the family name since 1992.

The manager of religious events is called *toban*, having a rotation system of one year shifts. A representative of Shinmei shrine's *ujiko* takes in charge of them. There are two assistants of him, one is called *shimoko* who was the previous *toban* and the other is called *uwako* who was the next *toban*. As occasion calls, those who will be in charge the year after next and who was in charge the year before last help them. They are the stuff of *ujiko* organization. In this way, people take in charge of managers for 5 years. Being different from Konomata district, it has no customs such a dedicating *kamisama*, or no taboos, either. The principal work of *toban* is to dedicate Sinmei shrine on December and to visit Kanamura on November.

All of households(43) are joining to Kanamura association, Osugi association, and Atago association. As is differed from Sinmei shrine, there are no taboos for these shrines. The manager of tutelary shrine also takes in charge of Kanamura's. A representative of Shinmei shrine's *ujiko* has a rotation system of one year shift.

Both Osugi and Atago association are those which have a vicarious visit system to both shrines. Two vicarious visitors with rotation system visit each shrine once a year in January. It is considered that no one visits both shrines the same year. Though the members of both religious associations are as same as Kanamura's, they have other managers.

As we have seen, there are four religious organizations including *ujiko* organization. As for members of them, there is a difference between *ujiko* organization and others. Osugi and Atago association have their own managers, while Kanamura and Shinmei have the same one.

### 3) Religious events

Table 7 shows religious events in Nakahigashi region with the name of events, who is in charge, place, and contents of them. A person of all households visits Kanamura in the morning on January 3 at 9 o'clock every year. Group leaders of a neighborhood association in it take them to Kanamura with their cars. In case of 1996, the prayer for community was worshiped by a leader of district, and 20,000 yen is dedicated to Kanamura. Some of the visitors prayed for their own wish privately. All of believers (5 persons) living in Nakahigashi district visit it on that day (Figure 15)<sup>47)</sup>. After their coming back, the New Year party called *hatsu-jokai* is held in the community center. One person of each household takes part in it<sup>48)</sup>. Vicarious visitors of Osugi and Atago associations are confirmed at the party. They used to be selected by lot at the party around 1980, however they were determined by turns. In this way, *hatsu-jokai* has three meanings to people: first, a meeting of a neighborhood association, second, the New Year party having functions of friendship and social intercourse, last, *musubi-ko* of both associations<sup>49)</sup>.

The purpose of Osugi association is to pray for preventing an epidemic, and the purpose of Atago is to pray for preventing a fire. There are two vicarious visitors in each association. The day of visit is determined by them. It costs 500 yen to join each association. They visit each shrine to pray and to have some amulets including

Table 7 Annual religious events done in Nakahigashi district, Tsukuba city, 1995

Time	Name of event	In charge	Place	Content
Jan. 3	New Year's visit to Kanamura		Kanamura	Prayer for community
Early in Jan.	Ritual for preventing disaster (Osugi)	Vicarious visitors of Osugi	Osugi shrine	Standing <i>tsujifuda</i>
	Ritual for preventing disaster (Atago)	Vicarious visitors of Atago	Atago shrine	Standing <i>tsujifuda</i>
Aug. 17	Summer festival		<i>Kannon-do</i>	
Middle of Oct.	Fall festival of Kanamura	<i>Toban</i>	<i>Toban</i>	Information from Kanamura
Nov. 5 to 10		<i>Toban</i>	Each household	Confirming members and collecting membership fee
About Nov.15		<i>Toban</i>	Kanamura	Dedicating membership fee
Nov.23		<i>Toban, shimoko</i>	Kanamura	Prayer
Nov.24 to 25		<i>Toban</i>	Each household	Distributing middle sized amulets
Second Sunday of Dec.	Main festival	<i>Toban, Kanamura priest</i>	Shimmei shrine	Gratitude for tutelary shrine
			Public hall	Meal with kami
Late in Dec.		<i>Toban</i>	Each household	Distributing amulets of Ise Grand shrine
				Distributing twisted paper strings
				Distributing amulets of tutelary shrine

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

small ones for each household and large ones for *tsujifuda*. After they coming back to the community, they distribute small amulets among members and stand six large ones at each street corner. The aim of *tsujifuda* is the prayer for preventing disaster including an epidemic or a fire. People usually offer an amulet of Osugi shrine on a household altar, and an amulet of Atago shrine is offered on the kitchen as a kami of kitchen range. Two persons take care of both associations.

A summer festival called *manto* of *kannon* is held on August 17 according to the new calendar. It is also called *jushichi-ya*, being a Bon Festival. All of households take part in it. A banner of *join-sama* that is dedicated in the community center is stood in the yard of it by men. People enjoy Bon dance in the evening there. The preparation and management of summer festival are carried out by groups of neighborhood association. Two groups are in charge of it by turns, and leaders of both groups become managers.

The vicarious visit to Kanamura is done as follows on November 23 when the fall festival is celebrated. There is no taboo in case of death, which is differed from the case of Konomata. Consequently, all members take part in Kanamura association every year. The information of fall festival is mailed for a representative of *ujiko* around the middle of October. He calls on each member to ask them to pay 1,500 yen early in November. He dedicates a membership fee and a list of members until November 15. In the morning on November 23, he and *shimoko* visit Kanamura and receive some amulets to distribute. After they coming back, *toban* distributes them to each household. The amulet people receive is middle one prayed the family's safe, which is dedicated on a household altar<sup>50</sup>). There are no religious events that are not only meeting but also a meal with kami.

The festival performed on the second Sunday in December is a main one. Women are not permitted to take part in it. The day before festival, the precinct of Shinmei shrine is cleaned by 5 stuffs of *ujiko* organization and a gateway at the entrance to Shinmei shrine is also decorated with a sacred straw festoon by them. In the morning on that day, three banners kept in *toban* is built in the precinct. A

Kanamura priest dedicates a Shinmei shrine at the festival. He eats lunch at *toban*'s house. Main festival begins at 1 o'clock at a front shrine. He reports to kami a Shinto prayer<sup>51)</sup>. People dedicate two bottles of fermented sweet sake that are homemade, a sho of polished rice, marine products and land products as offerings.

*Toban* prepares those offerings from a week ago. Sweet sake is put into two bottles which are common properties, wrapped by *hanshi* put into a leaf of Japanese cedar, with two-tone paper cord. A sea tangle and a couple of dried cuttlefish are marine products. Two of leeks, Japanese radishes, cabbages, burdocks and carrots are land products. All of them are wrapped by *hanshi* with two-tone paper cord as well as sweet sake. Offerings have not changed since 1970s<sup>52)</sup>. It finishes within an hour or so, a meal with kami is held at the community center around 2 o'clock.

Though 2,000 yen is collected as food expenses, *toban* bears the rest. Recently, supplying food to order is used to save labor. The seating order is fixed, *toban* is the top seat and next *toban* is the second one and so on<sup>53)</sup>. Relatives of *toban* prepare a meal with kami. They discuss a schedule of next festival with having a meal. Amulets of Ise Grand shrine and Shinmei shrine are distributed to each household. The whole festival has finished until half past 3. Offerings to Shinmei shrine except sweet sake and ten *shos* of polished rice are dedicated to a Kanamura priest. The day after the festival, a rite to change *toban* is performed. He handed two bottles which are common properties and three banners to next one.

The author considered annual religious events done in Nakahigashi district. We can see some characters of this region. Osugi and Atago associations have their own managers and *musubi-ko*, however Kanamura one does not have them. It is common with *ujiko* organization, and has no religious rites before and after. On the other hand, the faith in Kanamura has another aspect, for example, a Kanamura priest dedicates a festival of tutelary shrine or all members visit Kanamura on January 3.

#### 4) Religious behavior of inhabitants

Next, the author will consider an aspect of Kanamura faith through analyzing religious behavior of inhabitants to visit shrines and temples. The author picks up a head of an N's family (Mr. N in short) taking in charge of *toban* in 1996 as a model of religious behavior. Mr. N is a member of all religious organization of Nakahigashi district and visits several shrines and temples regularly every year. Thus we consider him to be a model of this region. Figure 16 shows the religious behavior of Mr. N according to the distribution of visited shrines and temples and the frequency of their visit. On New Year's Day, Mr. N dedicates a kami of his family first of all<sup>54</sup>). After dedicating it, he visits Shinmei shrine and Anrakuji temple in the morning on that day. In the afternoon, he visits Hitokotonushi shrine to pray for family's safe. He had once visited this shrine twice a year in January and September, however once a year in January. He visits Kanamura on January 3 with community members. This is the only chance to visit it in a normal year. Considering visited shrines and its frequency, Mr. N visits or dedicates a kami of his family every day to offer a cup of water and polished rice. He always visits Shinmei shrine twice a month (1st, 15th). There are three shrines or temples visited once a year, Anrakuji temple, Hitokotonushi shrine, and Kanamura. He visits Gansan saint temple once a few years.

It has been cleared from his religious behavior that the faith in kami of his family is top and that of a tutelary shrine is the second. They are superior to others because of the order and frequency of visiting. The faith in Kanamura is next to it as same as that of Hitokotonushi shrine and Anrakuji temple.

#### 4. Combination between a Kanamura priest and community

In this section, the author will consider relations between a Kanamura priest and

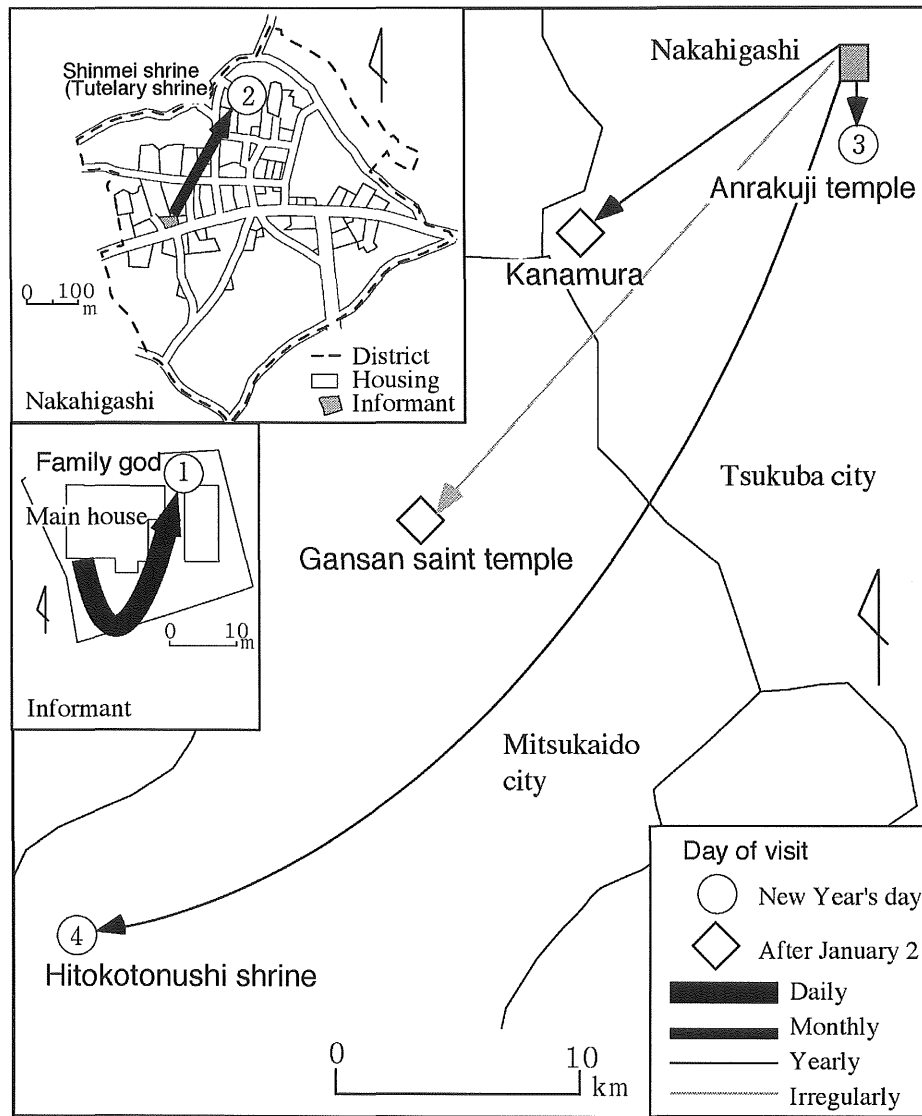


Fig. 16 Religious behavior of Mr. N in Nakahigashi district, Tsukuba city, 1996

Number is the order of visit on New Year's day.

Data source: The author's field survey in September, 1996

a tutelary shrine. Figure 17 shows the distribution of additional shrines<sup>55)</sup> and Kanamura associations in Toyosato district in 1977, 1995. In 1977, there were 14 additional shrines of a Kanamura priest. The festivals of those shrines are basically performed by him excluding some communities that have one year Shinto priest. Kanamura association was organized in the district which has an additional shrine of him except Tegomaru and Nobata<sup>56)</sup>. Though the number of associations is decreasing, new association for Kanamura has been organized in Kamisato district that has new additional shrine of him.

Thus what is the meaning of additional shrine of a Kanamura priest? Figure 18 shows the distribution of communities which a Kanamura priest distributes amulets of Ise Grand shrine to people and the number of households receiving them. All communities that have additional shrine of him including *ujiko* region are distributed them by him. They are mailed for a manager of the religious organization of tutelary shrine except Konomata and Tohigashi where they are mailed for a manager of Kanamura association. The author figured a system of distribution of them to people in case of a Kanamura priest (Figure 19). He mailed them a manager of each community. A manager sells them to those who desire to buy. Selling them, he brings money and the rest of them to a Kanamura priest.

Figure 20 shows the distribution of communities which a Kanamura priest distributes amulets of a tutelary shrine to people and the number of households receiving them<sup>58)</sup>. It is thought that a Kanamura priest plays an important role to distribute amulets to each household or dedicate the festival of tutelary shrine. As we have seen here, it can be recognize that there is a relation between a Kanamura priest and a community in Toyosato district. It is founded on not only people's visit but also distributing amulets or dedicating the festival.



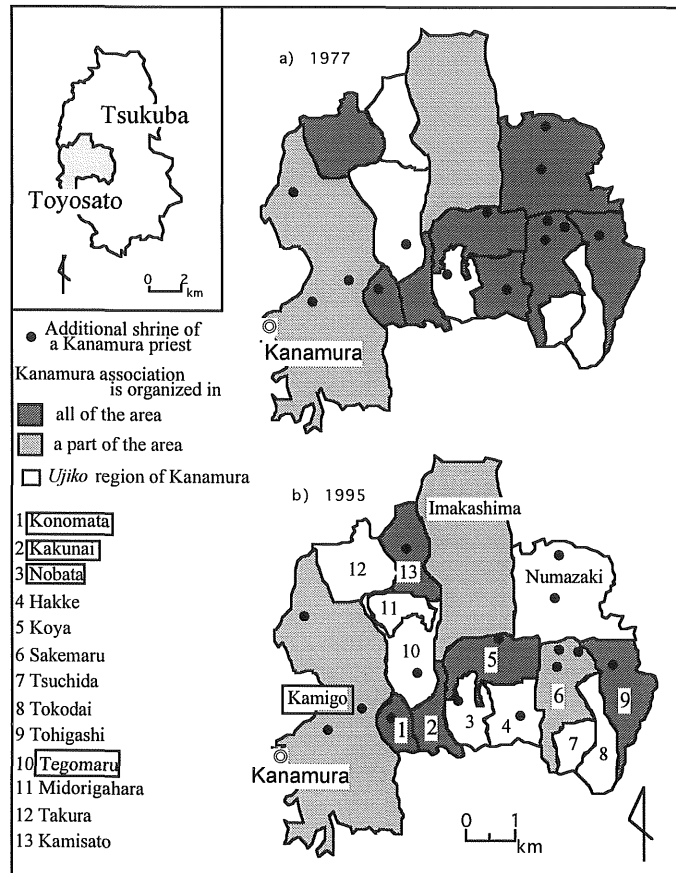


Fig. 17 Distribution of additional shrines and Kanamura associations in Toyosato district, Tsukuba city, 1977, 1995

Data source: The author's field survey in December, 1996

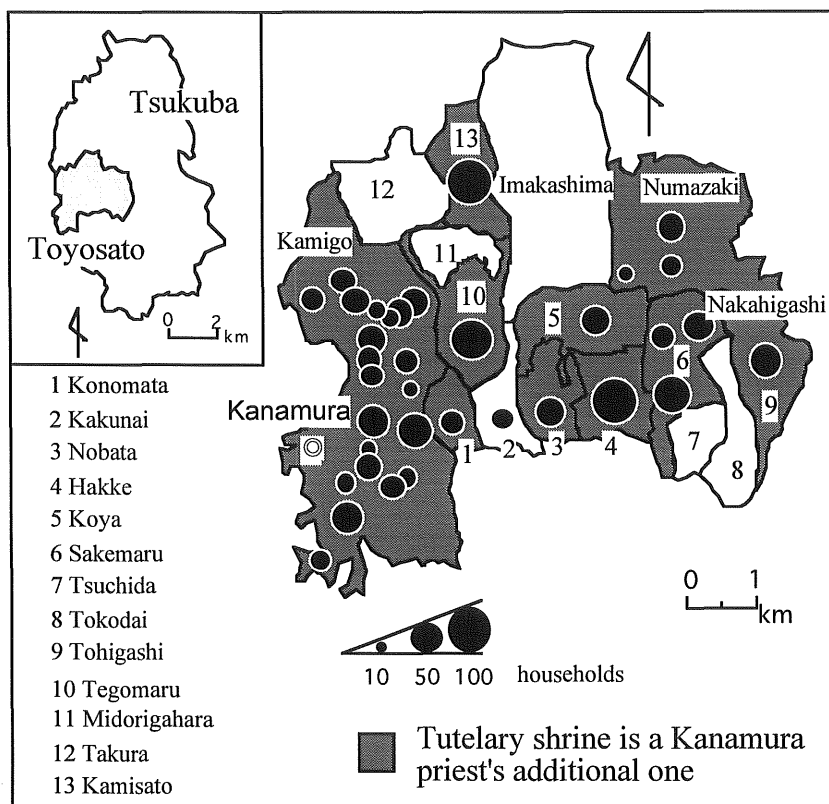


Fig. 18 Distribution of communities which a Kanamura priest distributes amulets of Ise Grand shrine to people, 1995

Data source: The author's field survey in December, 1996

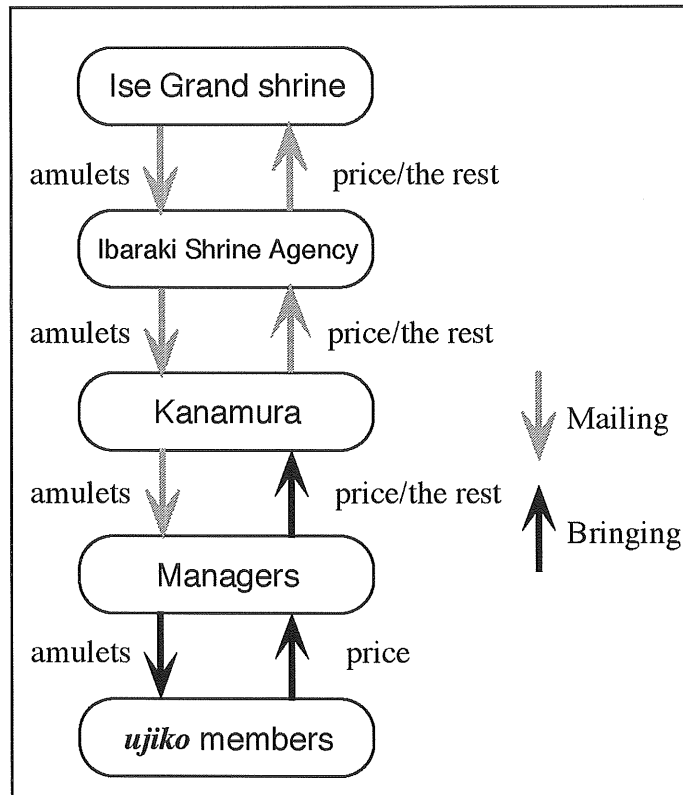


Fig. 19 Distribution system of amulets of Ise Grand shrine to people in case of a Kanamura priest

Arrow indicates flow of money and goods

Data source: The author's hearing survey from a Kanamura priest

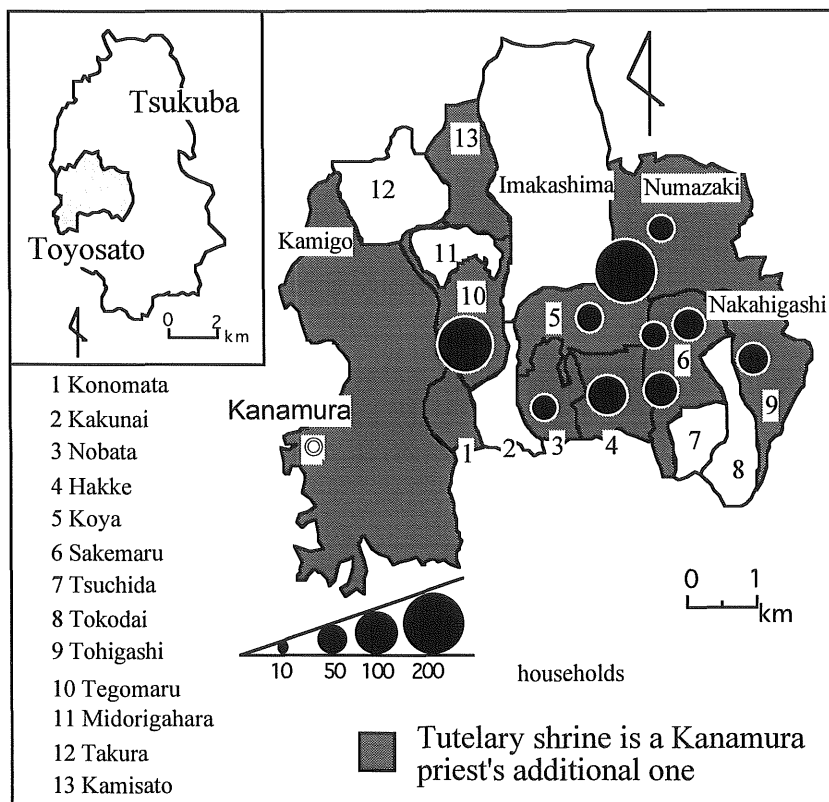


Fig. 20 Distribution of communities which a Kanamura priest distributes amulets of a tutelary shrine to people, 1995

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

CHAPTER IV

THE SPATIAL CHARACTER OF SECOND AREA  
-IN THE CASE OF YOSHIKAWA DISTRICT  
IN SAITAMA PREFECTURE-

Yoshikawa city, which is the study area of this chapter, is located in the southeast of Saitama prefecture. It lies within 20 kilometers zone from the center of Tokyo Metropolis, the wave of urbanization is rapidly on going (Figure 21). Noda city and Nagareyama city in Chiba prefecture are to the east on the other side of Edo River. Matsubushi town, Koshigaya city, and Soka city in Saitama prefecture are to the west on the other side of Naka River. Yoshikawa city is located in the southeast at 30 kilometers' distance from Kanamura, which is the core area of *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko*. Thus it is the core of the second area as well as Misato city, Yashio city, Noda city, and Nagareyama city. Most of land is flat and marsh in the area of Yoshikawa city, which is 3 or 4 meters above the sea level. So it has suffered from flood since long time ago<sup>59)</sup>. Considering a land use pattern, agricultural land use, especially, paddy fields, occupies the most. This area was developing as a collection and distribution place of an early rice crop using shipping service of Old Tone River in the middle of the Edo period (Takeuchi, 1980). Some of the communities located on natural levee of Old Tone River has been old, most of them in this area are new or departed from main villages by developing newly cultivated rice field in the Edo era. It is thought that there were 1,646 households and about 9,000 people in 1830.

In 1955, Yoshikawa town united Asahi village and Miwanoe village, and became new Yoshikawa town. The National Railways Corporation established Yoshikawa station in 1973, after that, development of a housing complex is rapidly

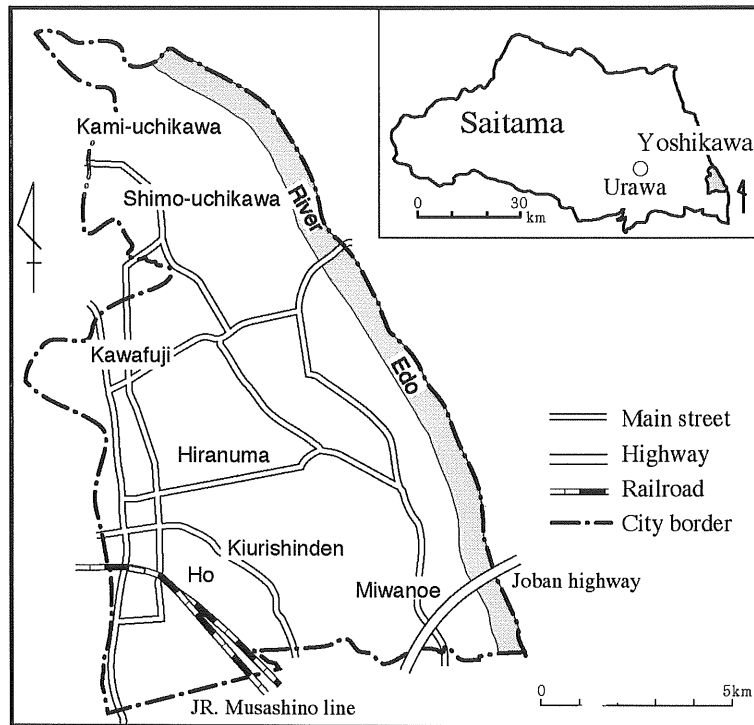


Fig. 21 General view of Yoshikawa city, Saitama prefecture, 1996

on going. Yoshikawa development was completed in the same year, shopping center was opened around there. Population became 1.83 times from 1965 to 1975. Yoshikawa town became a city in 1995<sup>60)</sup>. It has a population of 52,668 in 1995.

## 1. The spatial character of Kanamura faith in Yoshikawa district

### 1) The spatial character of Kanamura faith before 1950

Figure 22 shows the distribution of Kanamura associations in 1899 and 1949 organized in Yoshikawa district. In 1899, there were 17 communities in which Kanamura association organized<sup>61)</sup>. It was highly organized in the communities on natural levee of Old Tone River. In 1949, there were 19 communities<sup>62)</sup>. It is cleared that there were at least 25 communities in which Kanamura association organized before 1950 by figure 22.

As for the religious forms of it in those days, we will see an example of Kiurishinden district. Kiurishinden is a relatively new settlement developed in the end of 17 century. It is said that it had 21 households in early 18 century and 26 in 1876<sup>63)</sup>. Though it is not certain of the reason Kanamura association was organize, it seems to be organized before the Meiji era<sup>64)</sup>. Kanamura was worshiped as a kami of agriculture, and 4 people visit it in spring and fall festival by turns. There were 4 managers who inherited from their father. Before Second World War, it was one day trip to visit it. Vicarious visitors stayed at a shrine town. After praying, they received amulets for a household altar and for preventing damage from insects. They are stood at the entrance of a bed for rice seedlings to pray safety. It used to receive a bottle of water in case of dry weather.

*Musubi-ko* was held before their departure and vicarious visitors are determined by drawing lots there. They coming back to the community, *kanjo-ko* was held and all events are finished<sup>65)</sup>. It has been organized in 1995 in Kiurishinden. The system of visit has been changing, for example, they use cars and do not stay there any

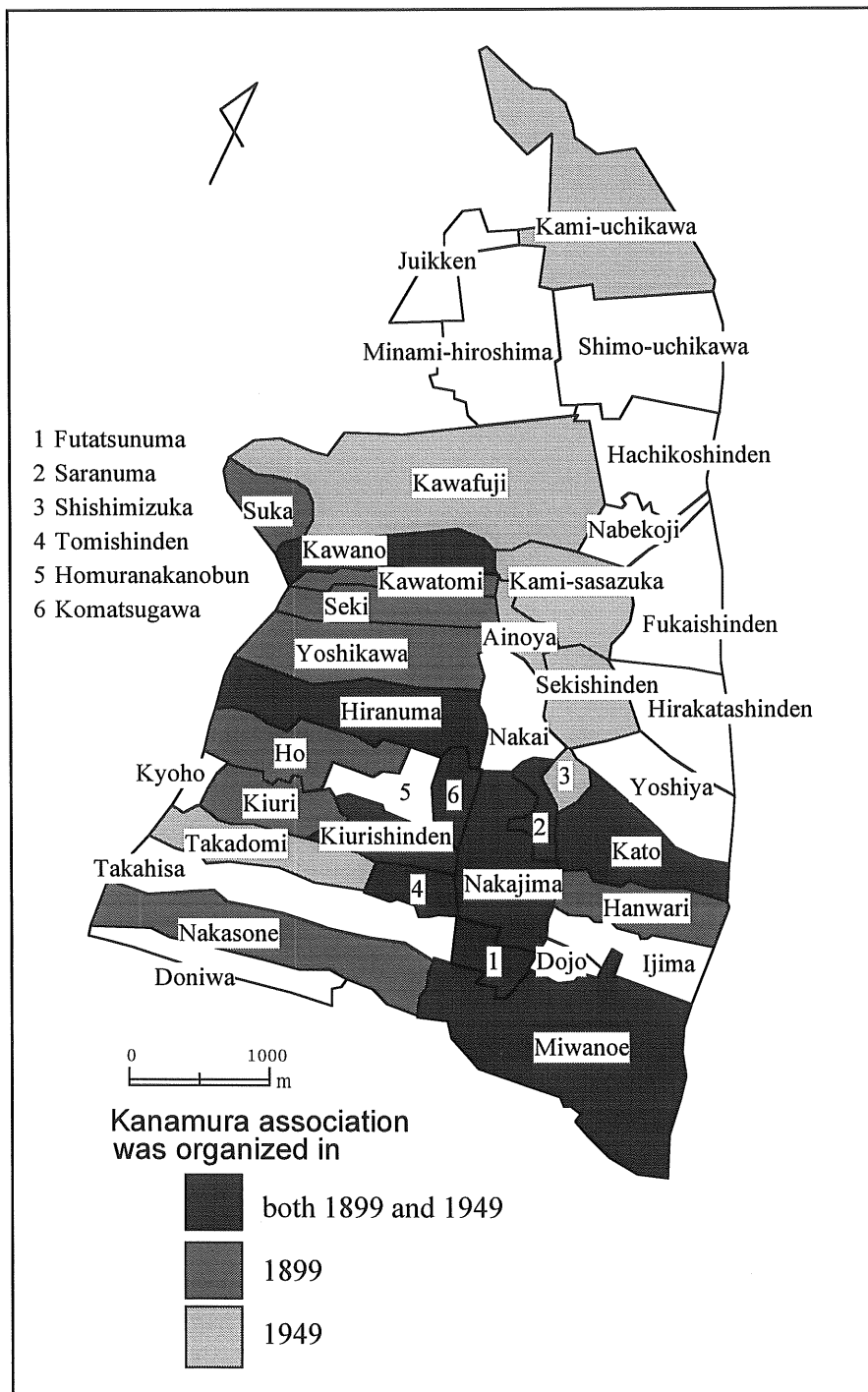


Fig. 22 Distribution of Kanamura associations in Yoshikawa district, 1899, 1949

Data source: Stone monument erected in the precincts of Kanamura, 1899 and the list of dedication for repairing the shrine roof, 1949



more. However the way of visit Kanamura has been succeeded since then. It has 18 households now in 1995.

Figure 23 shows the distribution of believers according to the content of prayers in Yoshikawa district in the 1931 fiscal year. There were 21 believers living there. Considering the content of their prayers, 12 persons (57.1%) prayed *torigo*. It is a kind of fictitious parents and children relationship in Japan. The purpose of *torigo* is to get rid of troubles of children by priest's power (Hattori, 1994). This is the prayer to expect magical effect, so people ask it to a religious man believed to have a magical power in general. It seems that they worshiped Kanamura as a shrine having miraculous efficacy. The core area of believers was in Kawafuji district where Kanamura association has been organized since the Meiji era. According to the record of visit in those days, it is considered that vicarious visitors prayed their own wish to Kanamura.

While *torigo* accounts for the greater part, no one prays to Kanamura for soldier's safe. As we mentioned, if this prayer means a faith in the local shrine, Kanamura is worshiped to be a favor shrine in Yoshikawa district.

## 2) The spatial character of Kanamura faith in 1995

Table 8 shows the religious forms of Kanamura associations in Yoshikawa district in 1995. There are 3 communities both *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* organized, 7 communities only *daidai-ko* organized, 1 for *kinen-ko* only, and 1 for *dantai-ko* only. Thus there are 12 communities Kanamura association has been organized in Yoshikawa. They consist of territorial relation groups. In this section, the author examined characters of religious forms in Yoshikawa district through comparing with those of Toyosato district.

As for a period of organization, it had already organized before the Meiji era in 10 of 12 communities<sup>66)</sup>. Though they have not left any transmission, it is supposed that the divine favor as thunder god to control lightning or rainfall is prospected so as to have bumper crops<sup>67)</sup>. It was worshiped at Kanamura that

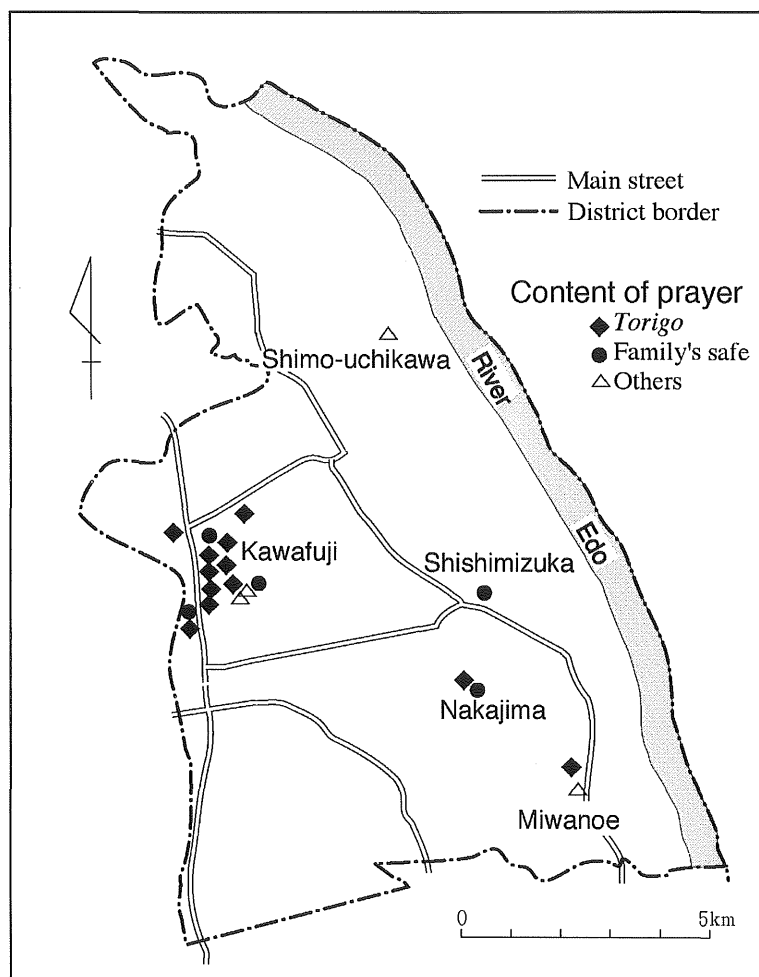


Fig. 23 Distribution of believers in Yoshikawa district, 1931  
Data source: Kanamura office

Table 8 Religious forms of Kanamura association in 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	Pre meeting	FS
2	Kami-uchikawa	1949	Community	3 inherited	24	NSFV	4	Drawing lot	Post meeting	AL, BC
3	Mitwanoe	Meiji era	District	3	85	NSFV	8	House order	Post meeting	FS, BC
4	Shimo-uchikawa	Meiji era	District	4 inherited	50	SFV	5	House order	Post meeting	AL, R
5	Kawafuji-yakatamae	Meiji era	Community	1 inherited	11	SFV	4	Drawing lot	Pre meeting	BC, AL
6	Kiurishinden	Meiji era	District	4	18	SFV	4	Drawing lot	Pre meeting	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	Pre meeting	AL, FS
9	Nakajima	Meiji era	District	4 inherited	25	SV	9 or 10	House order	Post meeting	FS, BC
10	Hyogo	Meiji era	Community	1	23	FV	4	House order	Post meeting	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	Post meeting	Not particular

SFV: Vicarious visit in spring and fall

NV: Vicarious visit in January

FS: Prayer for family's safe

AL: Prayer for a protection against lightning

BC: Prayer for bumper crops

Data source: The author's field survey

SA: All member's visit in spring

R: Prayer for rain

NSFV: Vicarious visit in January, spring and fall

SV: Vicarious visit in spring

FV: Vicarious visit in fall

prayer for a protection against lightning or storm, and prayer for rain. In case of Kami-uchikawa district where Kanamura association was organized after the end of Second World War, the reason of its organization is as follows. It was organized in 2 of 6 communities of Kami-uchikawa, whose name are Nakamura and Shimo-shinori. People living in those communities had once visited Itakura thunder shrine by turns. However it was stopped by Second World War. After the War, people organized Kanamura association to visit to pray for rainfall or for the protection against insects, because it is nearer than Itakura thunder shrine.

In Toyosato district, more than half of them were organized after 1940, by contrast in Yoshikawa district, most of them were organized before the Meiji era. It is reported that there have been many Kanamura associations around here since the Meiji era (Nagareyama city museum, 1991). It means that this area has been a core of them since long time ago.

Managers in Yoshikawa district are contrast with those of Toyosato district, 9 of 12 communities have the hereditary system of them. In Nakajima, Ho, Kawafuji-Yakatamae, they are the fourth generation, and in Hiranuma, Suka, Kawafuji, they are the third generation. They are inherited from their father to son, from son to grandson. The change of manager is caused by his death as usual. If he becomes an advanced age, his families help him to do the job. The continuation of managers is one of the remarkable characters in this district. We can see the continuation of them not only period but also number. In case of associations having 3 or 4 managers, they have no changed since the beginning. Ho, for example, 4 names are recorded on the document of donation to Kanamura in 1894, who are ancestors of managers now. In case of other 3 communities that does not have the hereditary system of them, they will change when they die, so they have no terms in principle. In this way, managers are fixed and Kanamura association is independent of other neighborhood one or religious one.

As for religious forms, the author considers the time of visit, vicarious visitors and rites. Concerning the time of visit and its frequency, it is natural for *daidai-ko* to

visit there twice a year in spring festival and fall one. In Kawafuji, Kami-uchikawa, Miwanoe where *daidai-ko* and *kinen-ko* are organized, they visit three times a year, spring, fall and the New Year. Some of the communities that *daidai-ko* is organized reduce the frequency of visit. In Nakajima, for example, people have visited there once a month in spring festival since 1970s. In Hyogo and Ho, people have once visited there twice a year. Though the frequency of visit is changing recently, compared with that of Toyosato, it can be said to be kept high average in Yoshikawa.

Vicarious visitors are in charge of by a rotation system<sup>68)</sup>. As all members have finished to visit there once, new association will start next time. The way to select visitors is different from each community. In the district where they were selected by lot, people hold a pre meeting called *musubi-ko* where visitors are selected before visiting<sup>70)</sup>. In Kawafuji-yakatamae, for example, *musubi-ko* is held at the public hall on the day before. Previous visitors prepare a meal with kami. A manager prepares for 11 chopsticks, four of which are partly colored black. Four people drawing these black one will visit Kanamura the next day. At the meeting, a hanging picture of Kanamura is hung and Japanese sake is offered in front of it. In Kiurishinden, about half a month before visiting, *musubi-ko* is held to confirm members and to select visitors. Managers make 19 twisted paper strings numbered from 1 to 19. Each member takes one by one, thus one paper is left there, the people who took near number of it are to visit Kanamura. We can point out as characters in Yoshikawa district that the rotation system of visitors and having a pre meeting.

There are 6 communities which has a post meeting called *kanjo-ko*. In Kami-uchikawa community, they visit Kanamura in the morning, after they coming back, all of members come to a public hall to have a meal with kami. This one is called *kanjo-ko* or *yamagaeshi*, where visitors hand some amulets to them and next visitors are selected by lot. In case of Yoshikawa district, there are 8 communities having a pre or post meeting to do something related Kanamura. It accounts for

more than half. It means that Kanamura association has their own meeting as an organization.

Concerning believers, the author indicates the distribution of believers dwelling in Yoshikawa district in the 1995 fiscal year in Figure 24. There were 8 persons visiting Kanamura as a believer. 7 of them visited there in fall festival on November 23. Considering the distribution of them, there are 4 in Tomishinden and 2 in Takadomi. They had been an association for Kanamura before 1985. After it being stopped, past managers would visit it in fall festival privately. Accordingly, it is thought that Kanamura is worshiped by not an individual but a community. In the following section, we will consider an aspect of Kanamura faith through analyzing the case of Shimo-uchikawa district.

## 2 .An aspect of Kanamura faith in Shimo-uchikawa district

Shimo-uchikawa district is situated in the northeast of Yoshikawa city and houses are built on the low land about 3 meters above the sea level along the right bank of River Edo. Noda city in Chiba prefecture is the other side of the river. The east of this district is riverbed of Edo River, where athletic park is developed. It is a kind of stadium held in common used by people living in Yoshikawa city, Koshigaya city and Soka city. Kawafuji-Noda street is running along the bank connecting here and central Yoshikawa.

In early the Edo period, it was the fief of Matsubushi. In early 19 century, there were 74 households, and in 1875, there were 87 households and lived in 423 persons (Takeuchi, 1980). Housing is distributed from north to central along the street. As for land use, paddy field is the most. Some pieces of land are used as dry field cultivated leeks or lettuces to the north. The land of housing is gradually increasing. Shimo-uchikawa district consists of 5 groups whose names are Higashi, Okuma, Nishi, Shimo, and Oyanagi. It derives from a five-family neighborhood unit in the days of the Edo era. Various organizations including a neighborhood

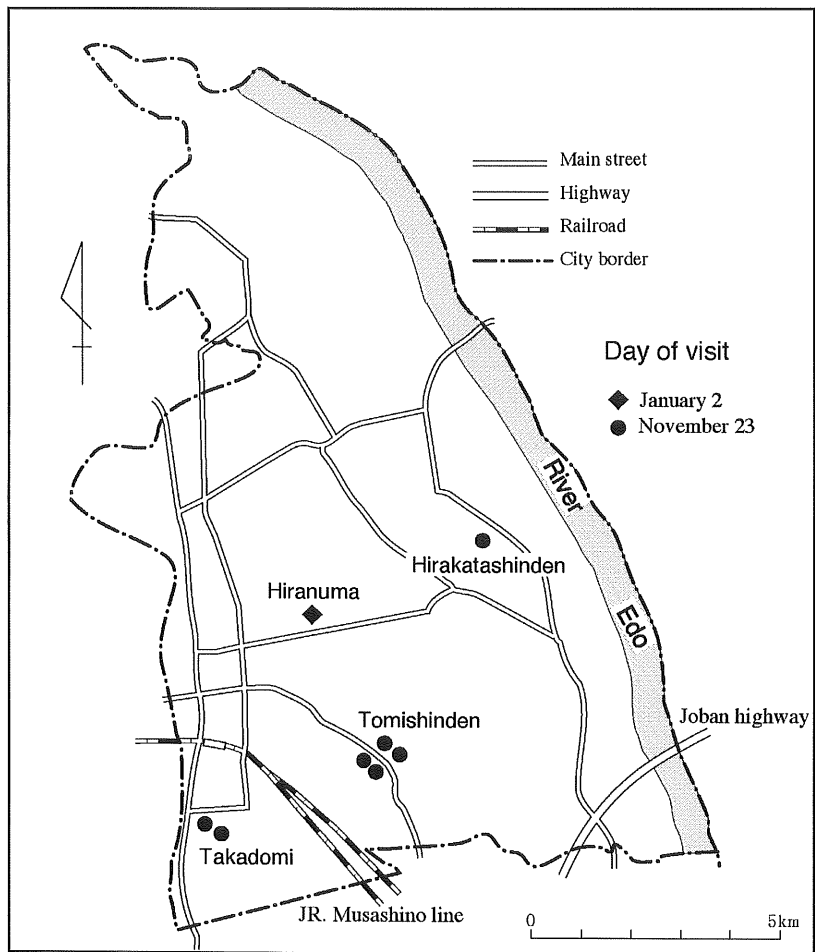


Fig. 24 Distribution of believers in Yoshikawa district, 1995  
Data source: Kanamura office

association or a religious one are based on these groups. There are 132 households and 605 persons in this district in 1995.

## 1) Religious landscape

Figure 25 shows the distribution of religious facilities in Shimo-uchikawa district. Oiwa shrine, which is a tutelary shrine, is dedicated in the center of the community. A front shrine and a gateway at the entrance to it are an eastern exposure. There are some stone pagodas of nineteen nights, stone Buddhist images, stone monuments of Jizo or Hakusan avatar in the precincts of it. Four Nyotai shrines, two Tenjin shrines and one Inari shrine are enshrined together here in Oiwa shrine in 1912. Oiwa shrine is the only one that is dedicated by people, and is worshiped as tutelary shrine of this district.

Shokakuin is at the east of Oiwa shrine. It belongs to *Buzan* party of *Shingon* sect of Buddhism, is told to be opened in 1504. In a graveyard of it, a lot of stone pagodas such as *seimen-kongo*, *koshin*, or nineteen nights are standing. There are two former temples in this district, one is Saikoin to the west, the other is Kongoin to the south. Each of them is now used as a cemetery. Kongoin has a *kannon* worshiped by the people in Oyanagi. A eleven-faced *kannon* is dedicated in it and it was unveiled every 12 year. An association to pray to Amitabha is also held in it.

We can see two stone monuments dedicated Sengen shrine. These are the monuments of the association of climbing Mt. Fuji which was organized before Second World War. They are dedicated by former manager. Though Nyotai shrine is situated in the north of Oiwa shrine, no one dedicates it now.

## 2) Religious organization

There are two types of religious organizations organized in Shimo-uchikawa, one is the *ujiko* organization of Oiwa shrine and the other is an association to visit famous shrines and temples. It includes 7 associations to visit them. They are religious organizations to visit Togakushi shrine called Togakushi association, to



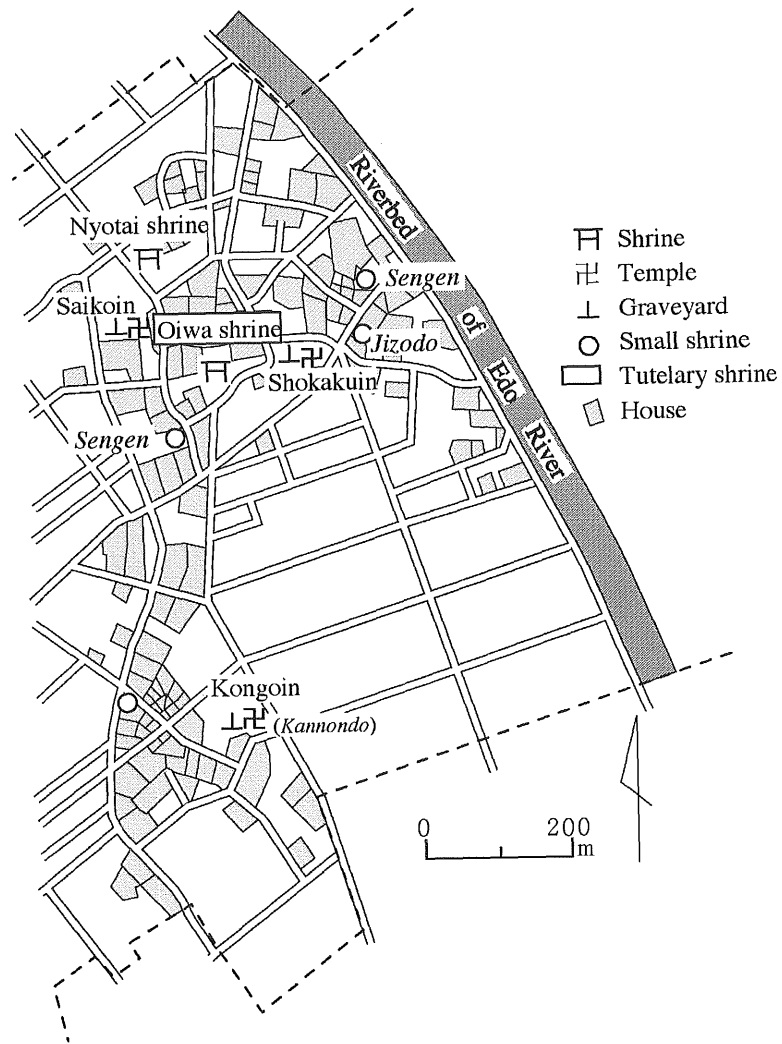


Fig. 25 Distribution of religious facilities in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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

visit Mitake shrine called Mitake association, to visit Haruna shrine called Haruna association, to visit Furumine shrine called Komine association, to visit Kanamura called Kanamura association, to visit Itakura thunder shrine called Itakura association, to visit Shinsyoji temple called Narita association<sup>71)</sup>. The author shows the site of each shrine and temple in figure 26. Figure 27 shows the distribution of households joining *ujiko* organization of Oiwa shrine. Those who desire to be a member of it can join freely because it has no special qualification to join. It counts 93 of 132 households to join it, accounting for 70.5 percent. Most of non members are new comers. It is clear that inhabitants living in new housing built to the south and to the north seldom join any kinds of religious organization<sup>72)</sup>. Mr. A belonging to Higashi group is in charge of a representative of *ujiko* organization having no terms and no change in Shimo-uchikawa. He and his father took in charge of the head of district. After retiring it, he has been a representative of it since 1960s. Two households are selected from each group as a manager. The manager is shifted for two years<sup>73)</sup>. A task of him is to perform rites of Oiwa shrine three times a year.

The author indicates the members of each religious organization to visit famous shrines and temples in figure 28 to figure 34. Members are different from each of them. The members of associations to visit Furumine, Togakushi, Haruna, and Mitake are distributed in all range of Shimo-uchikawa district. They have a master and 5 managers selected by each group to collect a membership fee or to distribute amulets. An association to visit Kanamura consists of 4 groups except Oyanagi. It has 4 managers but has no master. Those which to visit Itakura or Shinsyoji is organized only in Oyanagi. A representative of both associations is called a manager.

There are 39 households joining Komine association, which visits Furumine shrine once a year on April. The number of vicarious visitors is 8 and it will finish for 5 years to be a new association. There are 41 households joining Togakushi association, which had visited Togakushi shrine by 8 persons on May until 1988. Now the system of visiting has changed to *somairi* since 1989. This is done every 6

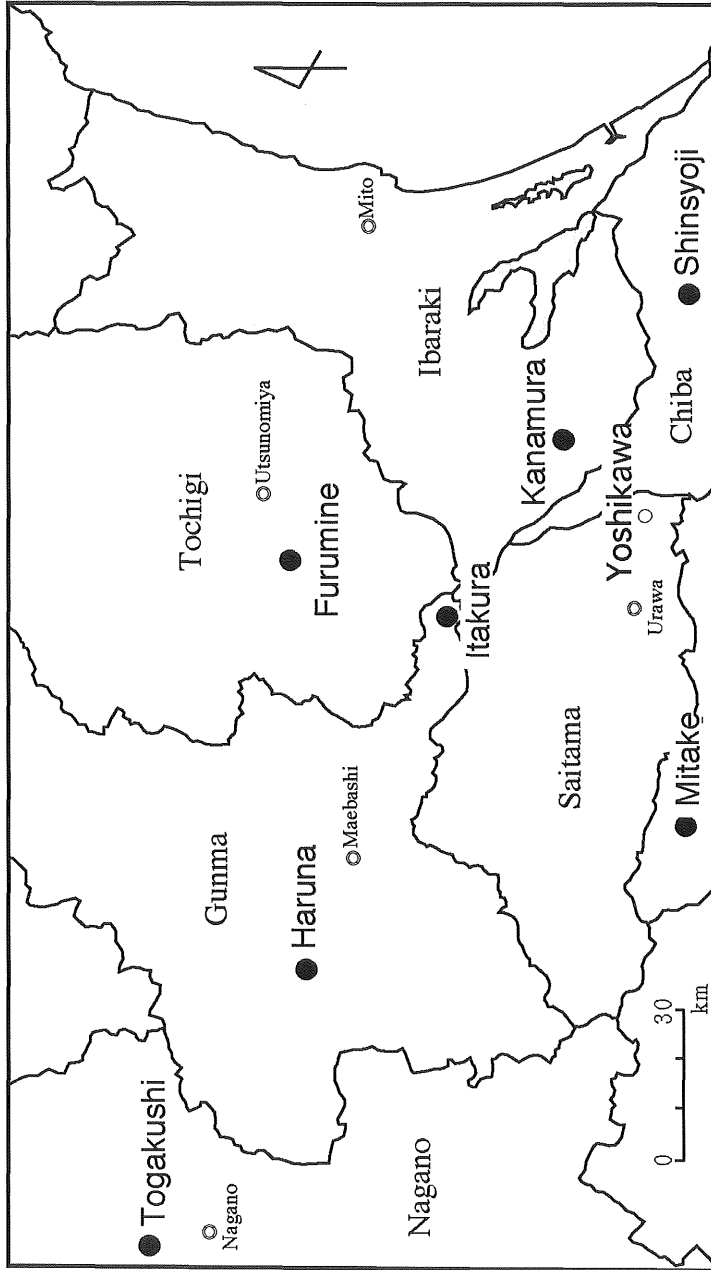


Fig. 26 Site of shrines and temple of religious associations organized in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1996

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

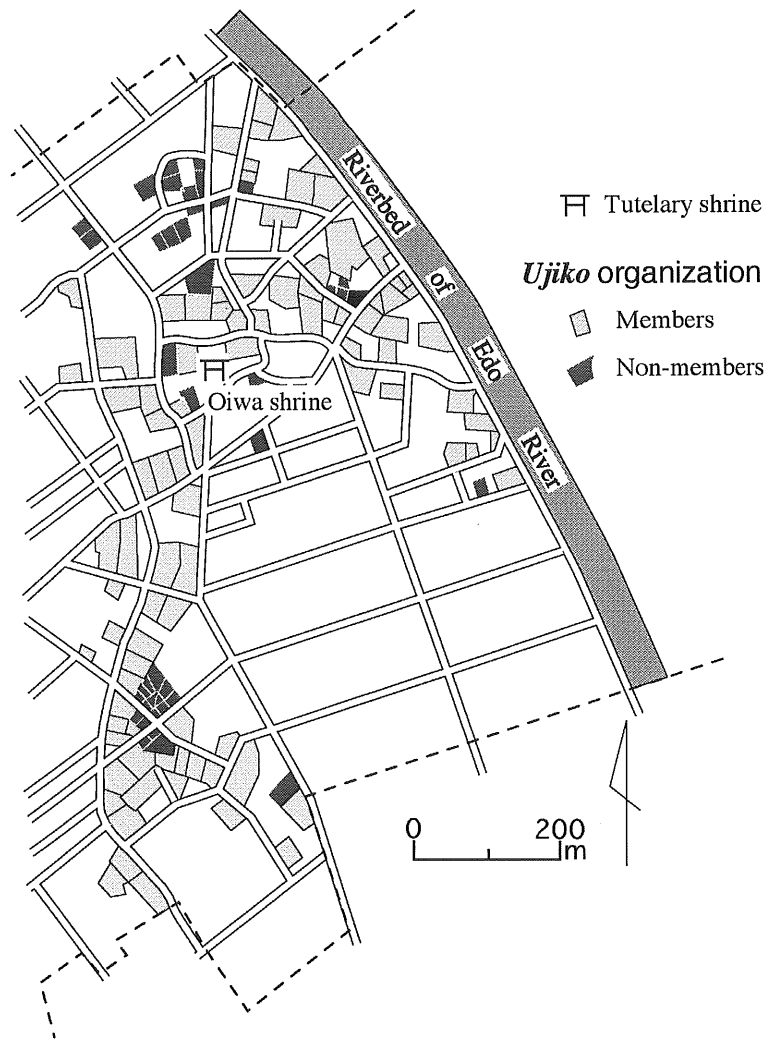


Fig. 27 Distribution of households joining *ujiko* organization of Oiwa shrine in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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

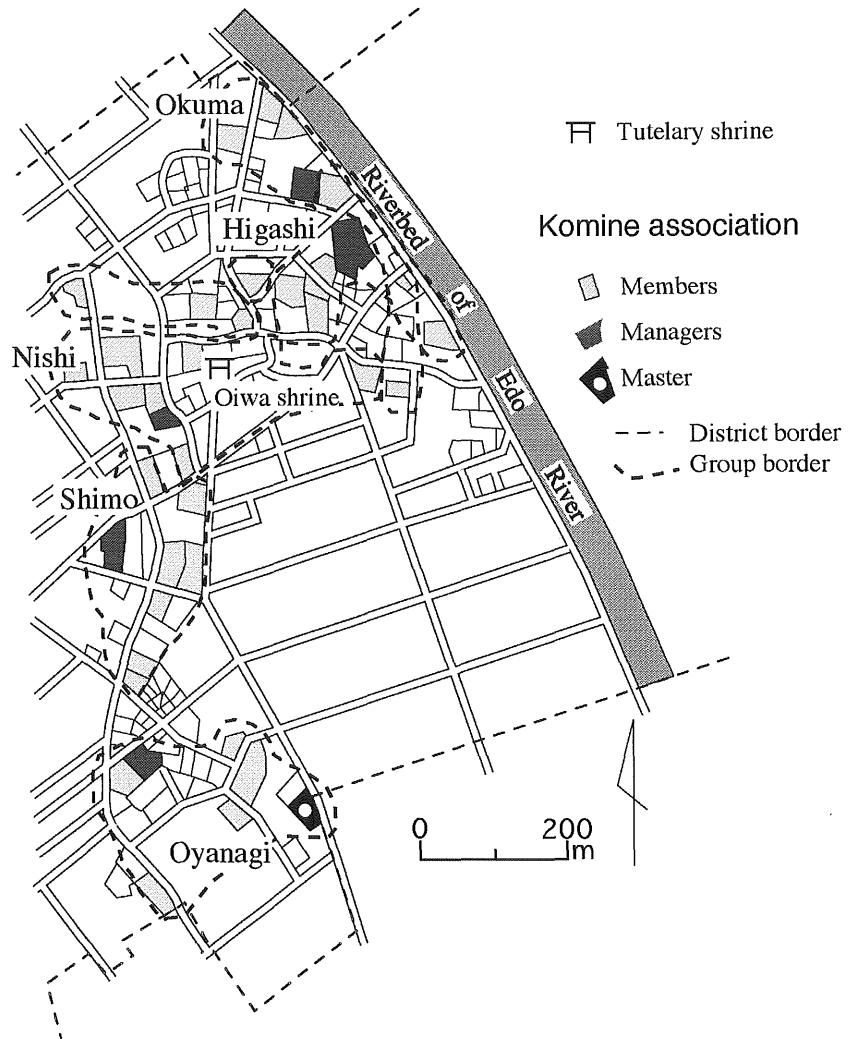


Fig. 28 Distribution of households joining Komine association in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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

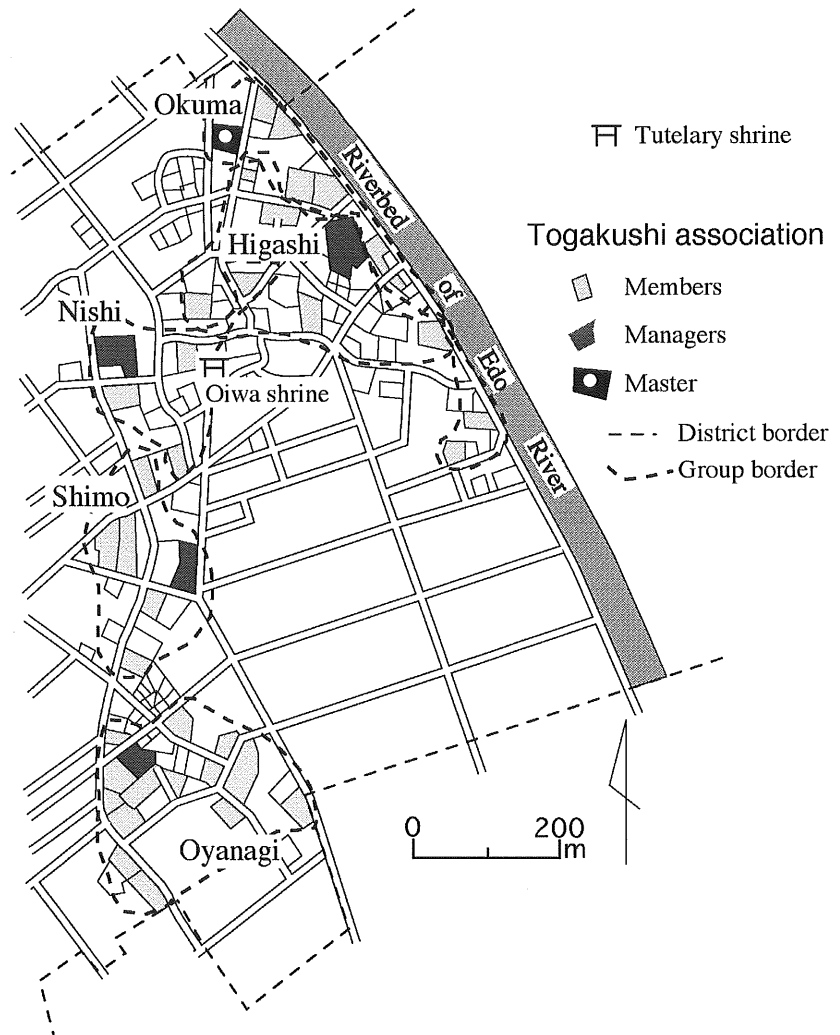


Fig. 29 Distribution of households joining Togakushi association in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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

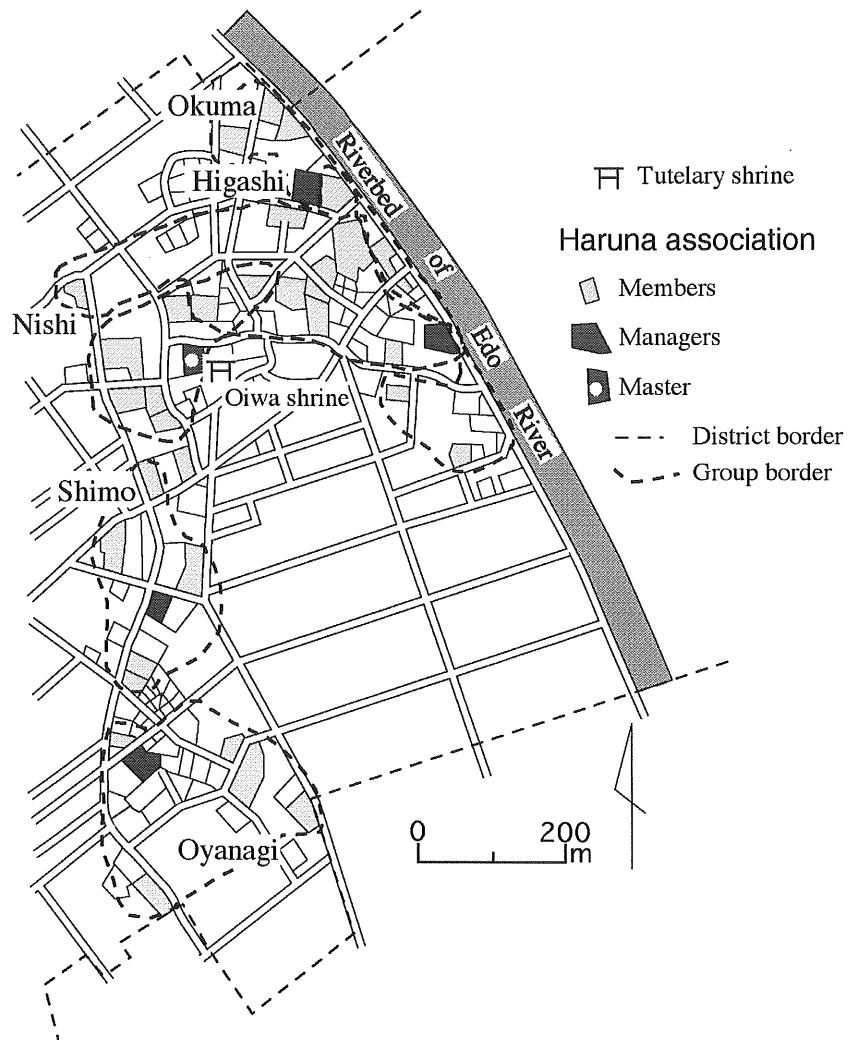


Fig. 30 Distribution of households joining Haruna association in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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

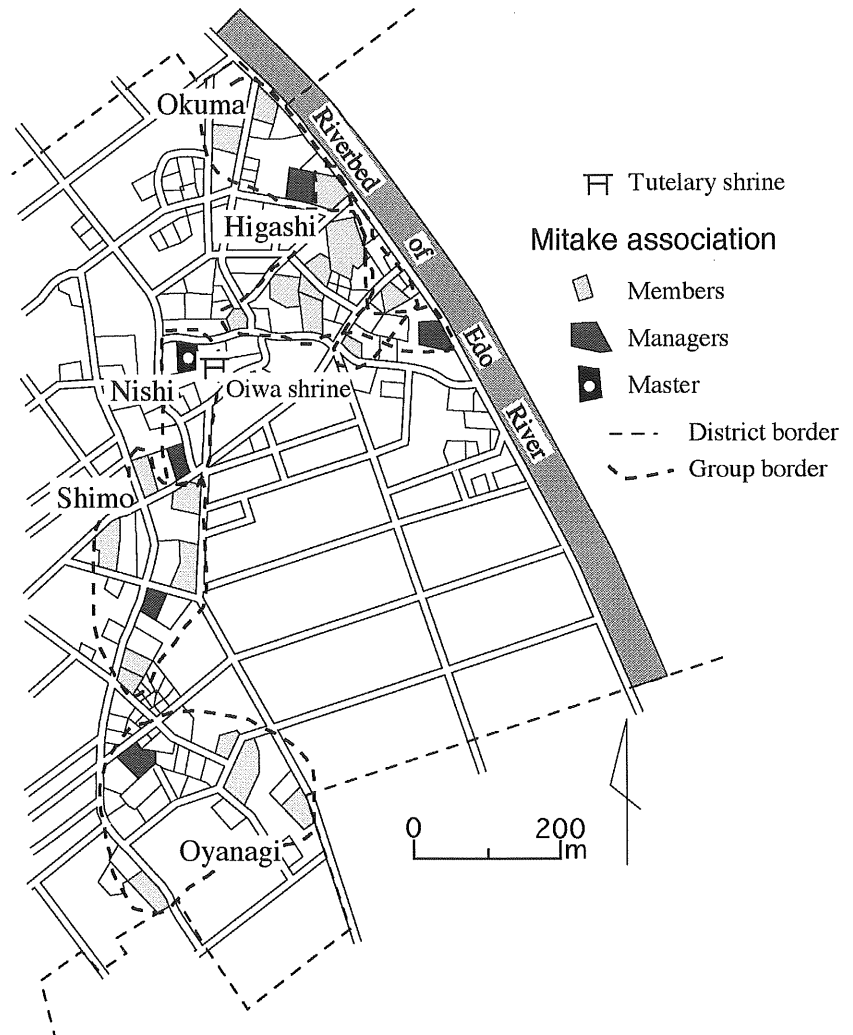


Fig. 31 Distribution of households joining Mitake association in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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



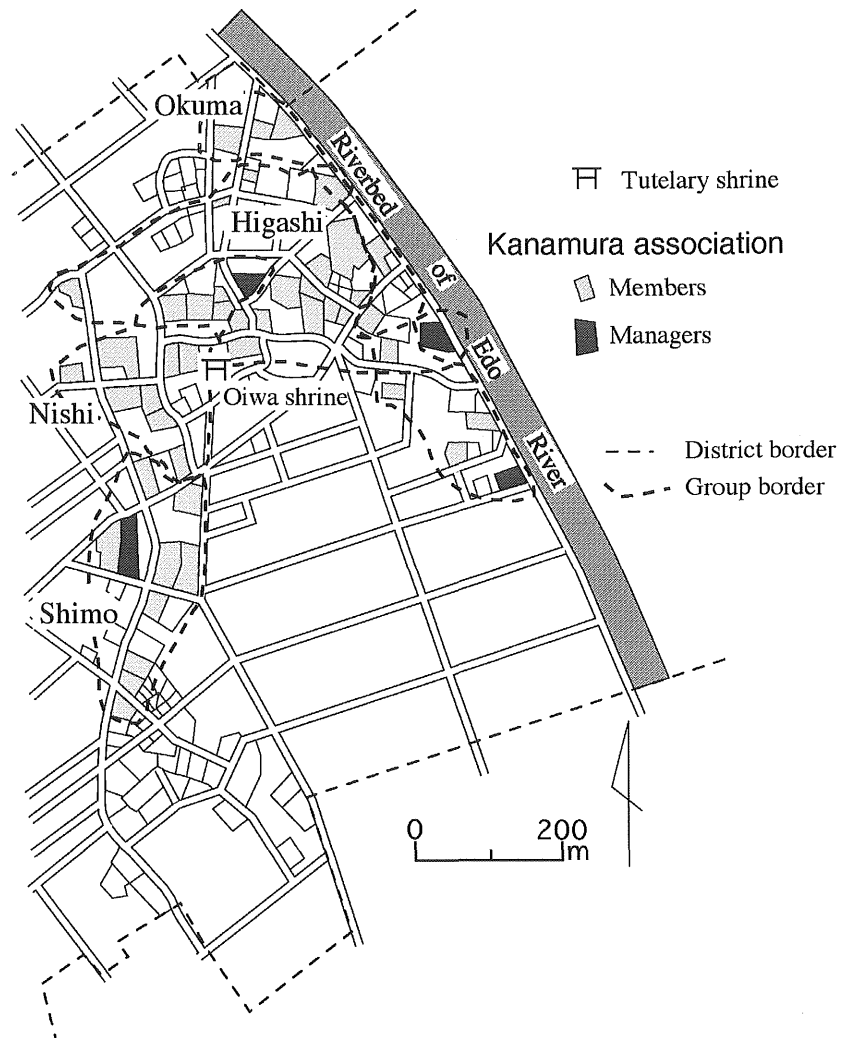


Fig. 32 Distribution of households joining Kanamura association in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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

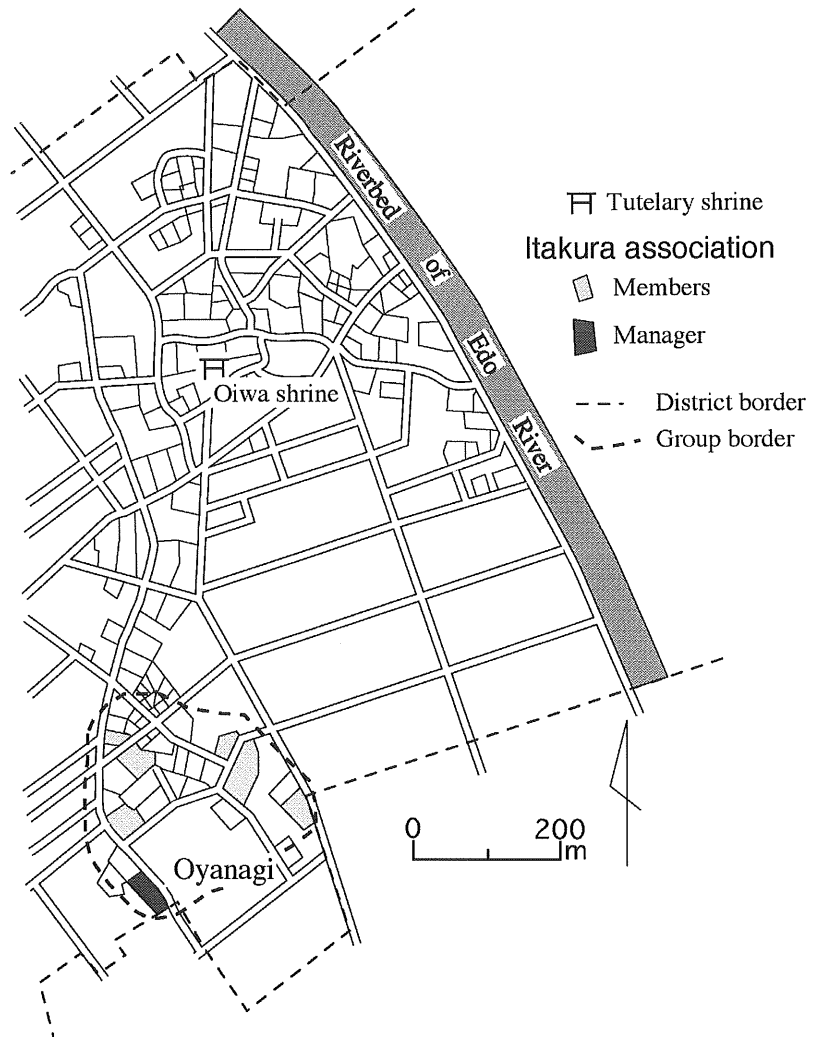


Fig. 33 Distribution of households joining Itakura association in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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

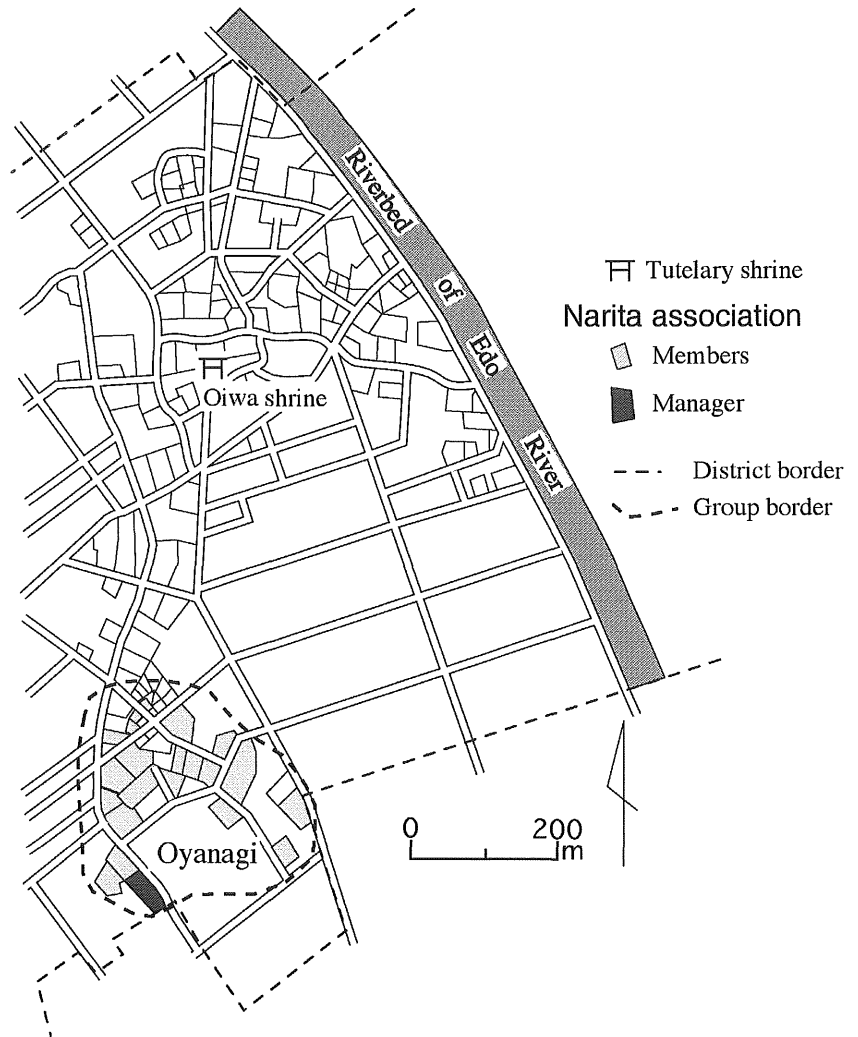


Fig. 34 Distribution of households joining Narita association in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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

year with a grand festival. As for Haruna association and Mitake one, they have the same master and managers. The former has 38 households, the later has 26. In spring, 8 persons visit Haruna shrine and 5 persons do Mitake shrine. Though this visiting system had continued until 1996, the way of both member's *somairi* was done in 1997. It is not certain for them which way to visit. Both Kanamura and Itakura associations are derived from the faith in thunder god. As for Kanamura association, it has 50 households in Higashi, Okuma, Nishi and Shimo group, and as for Itakura, it has 7 in Oyanagi<sup>74)</sup>. Five of them visit Kanamura twice a year in spring and fall. All members visit it in 5 years, it will be a new organization after that. It has the most members of all associations to visit famous shrines and temples organized in this district. In case of Itakura association, two of them had visited it once a year in spring until 1995. The way of visiting has changed to receive amulets by mail since 1996. There is also an Narita association in Oyanagi group. People are going to visit Shinsyoji temple on someday in March. It has 22 households and has more members than any other religious organization in Oyanagi. Some people do not join the *ujiko* organization of Oiwa shrine but an Narita association<sup>75)</sup>. It recruits new members to hope to receive Shinshoji's amulet every year. Two of them visit it one time.

### 3) Religious events

Table 9 shows religious events in Shimo-uchikawa community with the name of events, who is in charge, place, and contents of them. A representative and each manager of *ujiko* distribute some kinds of amulets of Oiwa shrine to those who desires to get them on January 2. They had prepared fermented sweet sake for visitors on New Year's Day until 1993. This event was stopped to reduce a burden on them in 1994.

A divine service called *obisha* is performed on February 11<sup>76)</sup>. The purpose of it is to pray for their health and longevity. All member of *ujiko* come to the house of *toban* called *syuku* at 9 in the morning on that day. She prepares making a bow and

Table 9 Annual religious events done in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1995

Time	Name of event	Area	Members (persons)	Place	Content
Jan. 2		All	RU, Managers	Each household	Distributing amulets
Late in Jan.		All	Master, Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
Feb. 11	<i>Obisha</i>	All	<i>Ujiko</i> SP, RU, Managers <i>Ujiko</i> <i>Ujiko</i>	<i>Shuka</i> Oiwa shrine Oiwa shrine <i>Shuka</i>	Making bows and arrows Dedicating a Shinto prayer Shooting arrows Meal with kami
Mar. 15	Spring prayer	All	SP, RU, Managers, HD	Oiwa shrine	Dedicating a Shinto prayer, Meal with kami
Middle of Mar.	NA	Oyanagi	Members	Public hall	Pre meeting
	IA	Oyanagi	Members	Public hall	Pre meeting
	NA	Oyanagi	VV (2)	Shinsyoji temple	Receiving amulets
Late in Mar.	NA	Oyanagi	Members	Public hall	Distributing amulets
	IA	Oyanagi	Members	Public hall	Distributing amulets
Early in Apr.	FA	All	Members	Master's house	Pre meeting
	HA	All	Members	Master's house	Pre meeting
	MA	All	Members	Master's house	Pre meeting
Middle of Apr.	FA	All	VV (8)	Furunime shrine	Prayer, Receiving amulets, Meal with kami
	HA	All	VV (8)	Haruna shrine	Prayer, Receiving amulets, Meal with kami
	MA	All	VV (5)	Mitake shrine	Prayer, Receiving amulets, Meal with kami
	KA	4 groups	VV (5)	Kanamura	Prayer, Receiving amulets, Meal with kami
Late in Apr.	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
Aug. 9 to 10	<i>Kannon-ko</i>	Oyanagi	Members	<i>Kannon-do</i>	
Late in Sep.	HA	All	Master, Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
	MA	All	Master, Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
Nov. 23	KA	4 groups	VV (5)	Kanamura	Prayer, Receiving amulets, Meal with kami
Late in Nov.	KA	4 groups	Managers	Public hall	Distributing amulets
Dec. 15	Donation of crops	All	SP, RU, Managers, HD	Oiwa shrine	Dedicating a Shinto prayer, Meal with kami
Late in Dec.		All	RU, Managers	Each household	Distributing amulets of Ise Grand shrine

TA: Togakushi association  
 FA: Komine association  
 HA: Haruna association  
 MA: Mitake association  
 KA: Kanamura association  
 IA: Itakura association  
 NA: Narita association  
 VV: Vicarious visitors  
 RU: Representative of *ujiko* organization  
 HD: Head of district  
 SP: Shinto priest  
 4 groups: Higashi, Nishi, Shimo and Okuma group

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

arrows or a meal with kami for all. One or two households are selected as *toban* from each group on that year. People make two bows which are big and small and some arrows and two targets which are big and small at *shuku*. They are made of a bamboo and a reed gathered by her on the bank of River Edo. After having lunch there, *ujiko* members move to Oiwa shrine at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. A Shinto prayer dedicated by a Shinto priest, each person shoots two arrows to aim two targets on which a black circle meant disaster drawn. It means that people wish to get rid of disaster by shooting the targets. The rites finishing around 3 o'clock, they come to *shuku* to have a meal with kami by each group.

In Shimo-uchikawa, it is done for people to visit various shrines and temples from March to May. In Oyanagi group, there are Itakura and Narita association. Itakura association has been since the Meiji era, however it has only 7 members. Two of the members had visited Itakura thunder shrine in spring until 1995. The amulets have been sent to the manager by mail since 1996. Pre meeting was held to select vicarious visitors before visiting in March. They visit Itakura by turns. Those who wish to visit doing it, in case of no one who wishes to do, it is decided by lot<sup>77)</sup>. The day to visit is decided by them on convenient day in March or April. After having a prayer at the shrine, they eat a meal with kami and come back. They distribute amulets to each member directly at a regular meeting of a neighborhood association. Visiting Itakura thunder shrine stopped on account of a decrease of members and abolition of bus traffic<sup>78)</sup>. The manager distributes them mailed by Itakura thunder shrine. Each group of Shimo-uchikawa district has a regular meeting of a neighborhood association once a month. They use it to recruit new members or to distribute amulets. The faith in Itakura thunder shrine is to pray for bumper crops and rain. It is sure for them to include the amulet to pray for a protection against hailstorm. People used to stand it at the entrance of a bed for rice seedlings to pray safety.

As for Narita association, three of members visit Shinshoji temple to pray for the family's safe in March or April. Two of them had visited it twice a year in

spring and fall before 1980s. Pre meeting is held at the same time of Itakura association to confirm visitors and to pay a membership fee. It has not been changed after 1996 when visit to Itakura was stopped. The amulets of Shinsyoji temple are distributed to each member at a regular meeting of a neighborhood association.

Furumine shrine is worshiped as a kami of a protection against fire. It is said that people in Yoshikawa suffered from a big fire about 1845. An association to visit Furumine to pray for it has been organized since then. Pre meeting is held at master's house in April. All members take part in the meeting to confirm visitors and to pay a membership fee. People visit it by turns. They visit Furumine shrine by car. Having a meal with kami at shrine, they come back to the community. Coming back, they hand amulets to the master to distribute them to each manager. They distribute them to each member at a regular meeting of a neighborhood association.

The same master and managers take in charge of an association to visit Haruna shrine and Mitake shrine. Both of them have continued since the Meiji era. The master has been in charge of B's family, which was inherited from. He is at least the third generation. His father had also been in charge of an association to climb Mt. Kiso-ontake before 1960s when a mountain priest of died. The visit to both shrines had been done through a vicarious visit system until 1996. They had a common pre meeting at master's house to select visitors by lot and to pay a membership fee. Haruna association has 8 visitors and Mitake has 5. It was possible to change the member of visitors if he is going to visit another shrine or temple. In April, both of visitors went and prayed to each shrine to have amulets. Coming back, they handed amulets to the master to distribute them to each manager. Each manager distributed them to all members at a regular meeting of a neighborhood association. In September, amulets are sent to the master by mail to distribute to each member. Those are distributed in the same way. Visiting each shrine, they used to stay two nights to visit Haruna shrine and stay one night to visit

Mitake shrine around 1970s. Recently it has been a day trip to Mitake shrine and an overnight trip to visit Haruna shrine since 1980s.

Members of both associations are tend to decrease. Especially, Mitake association is on the decrease because it has little element of sightseeing. The author considers one reason to be the existence of too many religious associations to visit shrines and temples. There are 5 in Higashi, Okuma, Nishi, and Shimo group, 6 in Oyanagi group. Some households being a member of plural association tend to quit joining them because they cannot visit every year. In these circumstances, they changed the way to visit both shrines into a bus tour to enjoy a trip to them from 1997. They left Shimo-ushikawa at 6 in the morning, visit Mitake shrine first until noon, and visit Haruna shrine next in the afternoon<sup>79)</sup>. After visiting both shrines, they stayed at Ikaho hot spring, and came back to Shimo-uchikawa the following day. In case of Mitake members, they receive an amulet to pray for a protection against burglars, and in case of Haruna members, they receive two.

The members of Kanamura association visit it twice a year at spring and fall festival. There are 4 managers inherited from their ancestor in each group. A manager living in Higashi group is a leader of them. The family of Mr. C has been in charge of the manager. He is the fourth generation<sup>80)</sup>. It has 50 households, which do not change in recent years<sup>81)</sup>. Five of them visit Kanamura by turns, so that it will be a new association for five years. The turn of visit begins from Higashi, Nishi, Shimo, and ends with Okuma group except managers. Their turn is the last. It has never selected by lot. Vicarious visitors drop in Mr. C's house in the morning on that day to receive a membership fee. After visiting Kanamura, they go on a trip around Mt. Tsukuba, for example. On the way to coming back, they have a meal with kami, and after that, they give Mr. C amulets prayed by a Kanamura priest, which are distributed to members by each manager at a regular meeting of a neighborhood association. It has no pre or post meeting.

The master of Togakushi association has been continued since the Meiji era. One of a low Shinto priest belonging to the middle shrine of Togakushi takes in



charge of a reservation of visitors' lodgings in a temple or mailing amulets and so on. There are 41 households and 8 persons had visited it by turns until 1988. They are selected at pre meeting by lot as well as Haruna or Mitake. All members come to the master's house to have a meal and to draw a lot. They visit it in May at main festival. Coming back to the community, they distribute amulets to each member directly. The frequency of visit is different from a period. There were 64 members and 5 of them visit it in September in 1936. In those days, visit to Togakushi was not always done regularly. After Second World War, it was done every 4 or 5 year. It has been done as *somairi* every 6 year since 1989. In case of 1997, they left Shimo-uchikawa at 6, arrived at Togakushi shrine around half past 10. After praying to it, they stayed visitors' lodgings in a temple there. The following day, visiting Zenkoji temple, they came back in the evening. There are about 30 persons taking part in this Togakushi bus tour. They are recruited by managers. A low Shinto priest in charge sends some kinds of amulets to the master every year in January. They are distributed by him.

There are two festivals besides *obisha*, spring prayer on March 15 and donation of crops on December 15<sup>82)</sup>. Both festivals are performed in accordance with the same process. Ten managers from each group, a representative of *ujiko*, an accountant, and the head of district are taking part in those festivals. A Shinto priest comes to Oiwa shrine to pray at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. After praying, all participants have a meal with kami at the public hall. It had been held at former Shinto priest's house until 1986 when he died. No *ujiko* members except them take in part of both festivals. Nothing is donated toward Oiwa shrine then. Amulets of Ise Grand shrine are distributed by a Shinto priest of Oiwa shrine through a representative of *ujiko* and managers to those who wish to have them.

#### 4) Religious behavior of inhabitants

In this section, the author will consider an aspect of Kanamura faith through analyzing religious behavior of inhabitants to visit shrines and temples. The author

picks up 4 households from Higashi, Okuma, Nishi and Oyanagi group as example of this district. All of them are members of *ujiko* organization of Oiwa shrine or various associations to visit famous shrines and temples. They taking in charge of the master or manager of them, the author considers them to be good examples. Three of them are joining an association to visit Kanamura. Figure 35 shows an annual religious behavior of sample households in Shimo-uchikawa district. All of them visit Oiwa shrine on New Year's Day, moreover, they visit it at festivals or the rites of life, for example, a gala day for children of three, five and seven years of age. Three of them regularly visit Shinsyoji temple once a year in January. Though an association to visit it is organized in Oyanagi group, he visits it every year privately. One of them regularly visits Kawasaki saint temple to pray for gratitude for curing every January. As shrines and temples visited irregularly, there are Sensoji temple, Kasama inari shrine, Sano gansan saint temple and Atago shrine. They pray to Sensoji temple and Kasama inari shrine for a good bussiness and pray to Sano gansan saint temple for an exorcism. Atago shrine is situated in the neighborhood, so that the visit to it is accompanied by shopping or commutation. It is important for us to point out that no one visits Kanamura privately. Figure 35 gives us an important idea to understand an aspect of Kanamura faith.

Analyzing religious behavior of informants, it has been cleared that the faith in a tutelary shrine is top and that of Shinsyoji temple and Kawasaki saint temple is next to. They are superior to others because of the order and frequency of visiting. Kanamura is not worshiped by an individual but by the community.

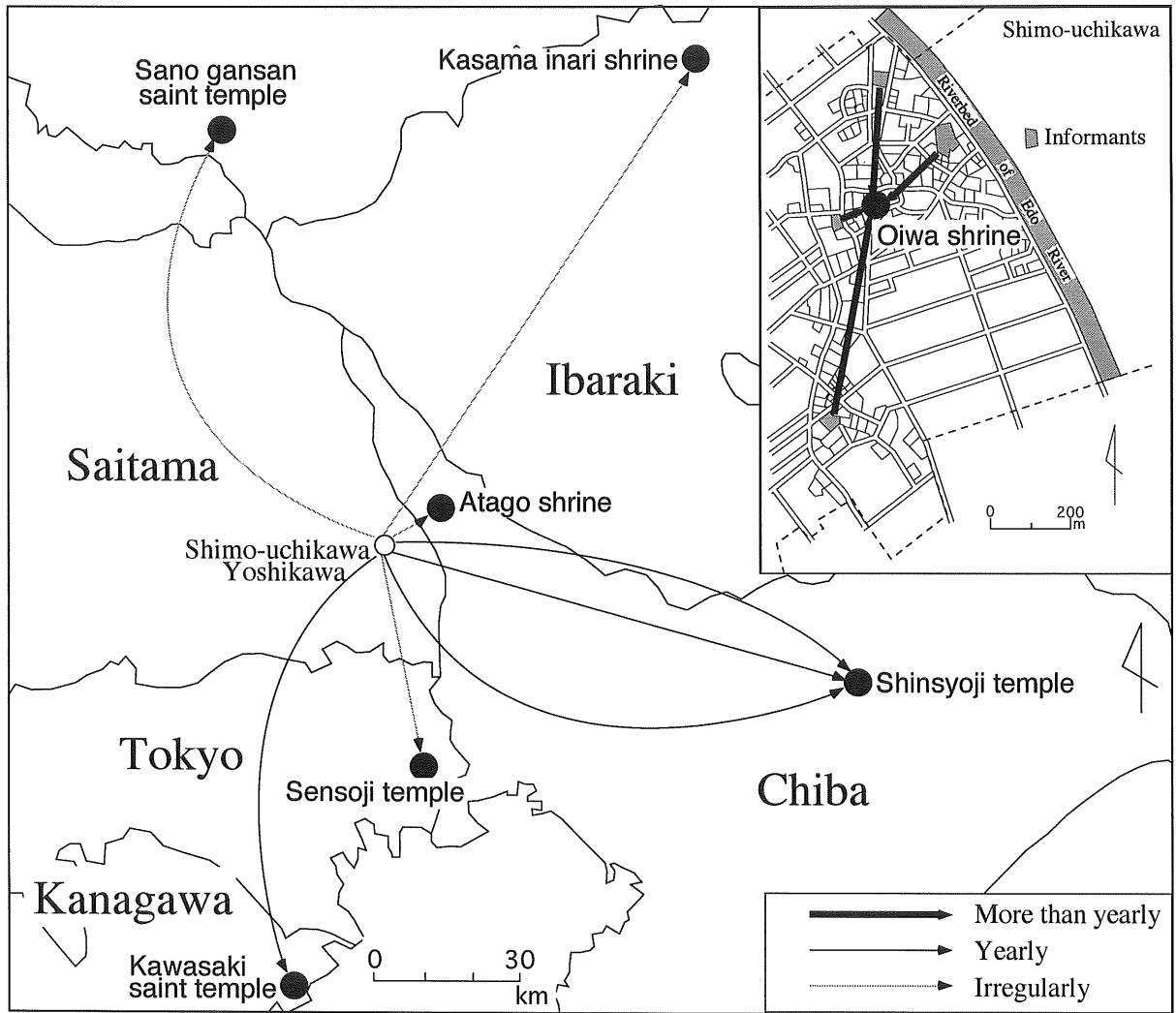


Fig. 35 Religious behavior of inhabitants in Shimo-uchikawa district, Yoshikawa city, 1997

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

## CHAPTER V

### THE SPATIAL CHARACTER OF THE SPHERE OF KANAMURA

#### 1. The spatial character of first area

##### 1) The character of an aspect of Kanamura faith

As we have seen above, the author has considered an aspect of Kanamura faith through analyzing the case of Toyosato district in Tsukuba city as a representation at the first area. As a result of this, it is clear that there is a difference between Kanamura faith and others regarding religious organization, religious events and religious behavior. In Konomata district, *ujiko* region of Kanamura, we can see these points.

Kanamura association is the organization having three managers. Being different from *ujiko* organization of Akagi shrine, both of them have same members, so that they seem to be the same one. Analyzing the form of religious events, they are different from each other. The most characteristic difference is about presence and way to have a meal with kami. In case of tutelary shrine, it is always held at *shuku* after a festival, so all *ujiko* members gather to have a meal with kami.

*Kamisama* is dedicated in *shuku*, where people eat together after worshipping of it. On the contrary, there is no meal with kami after Kanamura association except *nissan-hajime*<sup>83)</sup>. The author thinks one of the reasons that religious events related Kanamura are performed by a particular person such as *uwado* or manager, not by all members as follows. Both a ritual for preventing disaster in January and vicarious visit in November give us a good hint. In case of *nissan-hajime* in March, it still remains religious activity to pass a wooden board shaped pentagon. That is why a meal with kami is held on that day. However, we have to pay attention that it

is different from other one held after a festival of Akagi shrine. It is held at not *shuku* but a public hall where kami is not. Moreover, other religious events related kami of outside are done at the public hall<sup>84</sup>). It seems that Kanamura is also accepted as a kami of outside. However it does not mean that Kanamura is inferior to a tutelary shrine. Kanamura is worshiped to pray for preventing disaster from outside or worshiped when farming begins in spring. It is believed to pray for important things related social life of the community. In a sense, it is superior to a tutelary shrine.

Analyzing religious behavior through the frequency of visit and the order of visit on New Year's Day, the followings are cleared. Mr. T, the sample, regularly visits Kanamura once a year in January. Visiting a tutelary shrine or small shrines once a month, Kanamura is ranked the second to them as well as Shinsyoji temple. It is often visited compared with Kasama inari shrine or Hitokotonushi shrine. They are next to Kanamura.

In Nakahigashi district, we can see these points as a regional character. There are various religious events in this district, such as vicarious visit to Osugi shrine and Atago shrine are in January, all member's visit to Kanamura is also in January, summer festival is in August and main festival is in December. All of them are taken in charge of *ujiko* organization of a tutelary shrine except summer festival. There are 4 organizations of religion. Associations to visit Osugi and Atago have two managers and two of members visit them by turns. Visitors are confirmed at the New Year party.

As for an association to visit Kanamura, it is different from former two organizations. Though members are as same as those, visitors and systems are different. Not only managers but visitors are as same as those of *ujiko* organization. Thus, it does not have a rotation system of visit. It seems that it has no function as an independent organization, having a function to exist to distribute the amulets to each household. It has been cleared that they have a pre meeting to confirm visitors and to collect a membership fee, while it has no rites before and after visiting.

Compared with Osugi or Atago faith, an aspect of Kanamura faith has a different dimension. This idea is supported by a combination between shrines and a region. In Nakahigashi, people have something to do with Kanamura. For example, all members visit it on January 3, moreover a Kanamura priest dedicates a festival of a tutelary shrine and amulets of Ise Grand shrine are also distributed by him. Kanamura is more connected to the people in Nakahigashi than Osugi and Atago shrine.

We can also point out the difference between Kanamura faith and faith in a tutelary shrine. The festival of a tutelary shrine has a taboo of women and members are restricted. Many offerings are donated to a tutelary shrine at the festival, by contrast, there is no rites of Kanamura. Coming back from Kanamura, it is not held so much as a meal with kami<sup>85)</sup>. The difference can be known by religious behavior of informants. A tutelary shrine is more visited than any other shrine. Kanamura is the second to it, while no one visits Osugi and Atago shrine privately.

Through analyzing the case study, the character of Kanamura faith in Toyosato is summed as follows. In this region, there are two types of Kanamura associations, *nichigetsunenzan-ko* derived from the prayer for rain and *dantai-ko* organized after 1940. Not being independent, they are a part of other religious organization or a neighborhood association. It is easy to understand only to know that the manager is also in charge of a representative of *ujiko* organization in Nakahigashi. Kanamura is worshiped as a being differed from a tutelary shrine. People in Toyosato had prayed to Kanamura for soldier's safe before Second World War. It is capable of thinking that it is believed as a local shrine.

What makes Kanamura believed to be a local shrine? The author considers a primary factor of it to be a close relation between a Kanamura priest and a community. Many of tutelary shrines in Toyosato have been additional shrines of him. He distributes amulets of Ise Grand shrine or a tutelary shrine to people here. Moreover, some of the festivals here are dedicated by him. A representative of *ujiko* organization is often connected with him. The relationship between people and a

Kanamura priest helps to be worshiped as a local shrine.

## 2) The spatial character of first area

As a result of discussions, the author considers the spatial character of first area as followings. The first area is situated in the neighborhood of Kanamura, including Tsukuba city, Mitsukaido city, Ishige town, Ina town or Yawahara village. In this area, two types of Kanamura associations are mainly distributed, one is *nichigetsunenzan-ko* derived from the prayer for rain and the other is *dantai-ko* organized after 1940. Besides this, more than 80 percent of believers are dwelling here. A ritual for rain needs carrying a bottle of sacred water on foot or by bicycle, so that the distribution of *nichigetsunenzan-ko* is restricted within a half day's walk area. Originally, all members of *dantai-ko* are to visit Kanamura at least once a month, however it has changed in quality in the first area.

It is usual that a visitor to the shrine is not a member selected by rotation system but a manager or a representative of other organization. The character of an aspect of Kanamura faith is that it is not an independent organization but a subordinate to another one. It is cleared by following three points. First, the manager is not inherited. Second, the representative of other organization takes in charge of it. Third, it does not have a social function to have a meeting or to have a meal with kami together. Accordingly, it is nothing but a part of other religious or a neighborhood association. The purpose of association is to get an amulet of Kanamura.

Examining the content of prayers in believers, prayer for the family's safe and traffic safe are 77.1 percent in all. As for the time of visit, most of them visit it in winter, especially, New Year's Day is 34 percent in all. The prayer for soldier's safe was the most in 1931. The prayers for the family's safe or soldier's safe do not anything to do with divine favor of Kanamura originally. People worshiped Kanamura not only as a kami of thunder and agriculture but also a local shrine of this area. It means that Kanamura faith has another phase of a tutelary shrine. In

many of communities, a Kanamura priest dedicates a festival of tutelary shrine if it is an additional shrine. In this case, people often believe it to be more miraculous shrine than a tutelary shrine. It is also examined by religious behavior of them.

## 2.The spatial character of second area

### 1) The character of an aspect of Kanamura faith

The author has considered an aspect of Kanamura faith through analyzing the case of Shimo-uchikawa district in Yoshikawa city as a representation at the second area. As a result of this, it is cleared that we can see some differences and similarities between Kanamura faith and others regarding religious organization, religious events and religious behavior.

There are 8 religious organizations in Shimo-uchikawa, and 7 of them are ones to visit famous shrines and temples. Each of them has their own members. As for a *ujiko* organization of Oiwa shrine, one representative and ten managers from each group are in charge. There are 3 festivals in a year, *obisha* on February 11, spring prayer on March 15 and donation of crops on December 15. Above all, *obisha* is important for *ujiko* people. In each group, *shuku* is selected being apart from two managers, who is in charge of preparing goods to use at the festival or preparing a meal with kami. Associations to visit famous shrines and temples are organized to have their divine favor. The author indicates religious forms of them in Table 10. Being different from the way to visit, the number of visit and divine favor, it is common to have their own managers (or master) and members. Four of them (Furumine, Togakushi, Haruna and Mitake) are organized in the range of village. Three of them (Kanamura, Itakura, and Shinsyoji) are organized in the range of group. In case of Kanamura, it is organized in the range of four groups (Higashi, Nishi, Okuma and Shimo). The master or managers of them being usually inherited from their family line, it caused to have a sustainability of them. Most of them hold a pre or post meeting to confirm visitors or to collect a membership fee. As we have



Table 10 Religious forms of religious associations in 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	Pre meeting
Togakushi	Togakushi shrine ( <i>Tyusha</i> )	Togakushi village, Nagano	BC	1 inherited	4 inherited	District	41	SA, NM	All	No	Pre meeting
Haruna	Haruna shrine	Haruna village, Gunma	AH	1 inherited	5 inherited	District	38	SV, FM	8	Drawing lot	Pre meeting
Mitake	Mitake shrine	Ome city, Tokyo	AB	1 inherited	5 inherited	District	26	SV, FM	5	Drawing lot	Pre meeting
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	Pre meeting
Narita	Shinsyoji temple	Narita city, Chiba	FS	No	1	Oyanagi	22	SV	2	Free	Pre meeting

AF: Prayer for a protection against fire

AH: Prayer for a protection against hailstorm

SV: Vicarious visit in spring

SA: All member's visit in spring

SFV: Vicarious visit in spring and fall

SM: Mailing in spring

FM: Mailing in fall

NM: Mailing in January

4 groups: Higashi, Nishi, Shimo and Okuma group

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

seen, each of religious organizations has their own members and rites. It shows that they are independent of each other, while they also have a relation among them. For example, each association to visit Haruna and Mitake being independent of each other, managers in charge are the same and a pre meeting is in common. The same may be said of an association to visit Itakura and Shinsyoji temple. Moreover, the relation among them will be cleared by the fact that visitors are influenced by other association's. People can change their turn to visit into other person. In Shimo-uchikawa, a regular meeting of a neighborhood association plays a role of a post meeting. For example, each of managers distributes amulets of Kanamura, Furumine, Haruna and Mitake to each member there on April. They also report an account there. In this way, a regular meeting of a neighborhood association has a function of post meeting of associations to visit famous shrines and temples. It is also used recruiting new members. Compared with the fact that amulets of Ise Grand shrine or tutelary shrine are distributed to each household directly, they are different of *ujiko* organization.

Considering religious behavior, we can understand circumstances of the time of visit and the frequency of visit in this region. A tutelary shrine is the only one that was visited more than once a year. Shinsyoji temple and Kawasaki saint temple are visited once a year. Only these three shrines and temples are visited regularly. We can find the regularity of the order of visit. All of informants visit a tutelary shrine on New Year's Day, Shinsyoji and Kawasaki saint temple are in January. No one visits Kanamura privately in this region. Kanamura faith as well as Furumine, Togakushi, Haruna, Mitake and Itakura thunder shrine is accepted with divine favor. They are the protection against hailstorm and lightning (Kanamura and Itakura), against burglars (Mitake), against fire (Furumine). Those divine favors that are accomplished by the community prayer. It is clear that they are not visited by the people privately. Kanamura is not worshiped as a local shrine but as a favor shrine. In this region, a Kanamura priest has nothing to do with the community through dedicating a tutelary shrine or distributing amulets. Kanamura is not a

shrine worshiped by individual but by the community.

## 2) The spatial character of second area

As we have seen here, the author considers the spatial character of second area as followings. The second area is located in the outer zone to the south of the first area. It spreads from southwest to southeast Ibaraki, in southeast Saitama and in north Chiba. In this area, few of believers distribute here, and two types of Kanamura associations are mainly distributed, one is *daidai-ko* and the other is *kinen-ko* which are derived before the Meiji era.

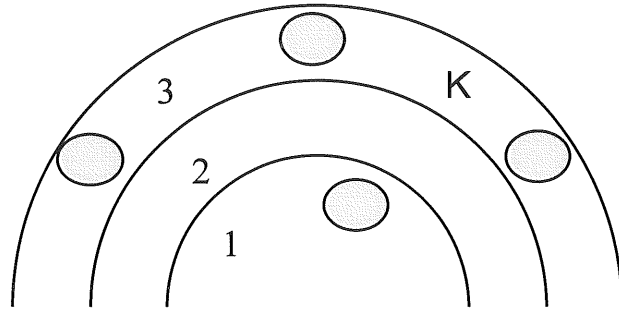
They have their own managers and members. One of the characters of this area is this association being independent of others. It is also examined by the existence of rites as pre or post meeting. On the other hand, Kanamura faith is not worshiped as a local shrine but as a favor shrine. This is the second character of this area. Kanamura is not a shrine worshiped privately here. Even if people visit it, they prayed for *torigo* or a protection against lightning based on divine favor. Kanamura faith is accepted as the community prayer based on her divine favor. The relation between Kanamura and people is restricted to the vicarious visit.

The author thinks that visit to Kanamura becomes tourism in this area, that is, it is not only a religious activity but also a recreation. That is the third character of this area. For example, the author illustrates difference in *dantai-ko*. Less than 10 percent of them is distributed in the second area, all of them are called *jinjadantai-ko* derived from the Meiji era. In case of *jinjadantai-ko*, all members visit Kanamura together, that is, visiting Kanamura is the purpose of it. Every time, the master and managers recruit members to visit it. Some of the associations typed this visit around famous shrines and temples. Here we will show a case of Hatogaya in the second area. They visit three shrines and temples such as Kanamura, Shinsyoji temple and Fuji sengen shrine. The master is a representative of a religious corporation. He is the third generation and his grandfather founded it in 1930s. There are 46 members in recent years. It had more than 70 members in 1950s, they

tend to decrease recently. They rent a tour bus to visit. In 1996, after visiting Kanamura, they stayed at Kusatsu hot spring. They visit Shinsyoji temple three times a year, while Kanamura once a year in April. As the author illustrated here, the association in the second area has more or less a recreational character in common.

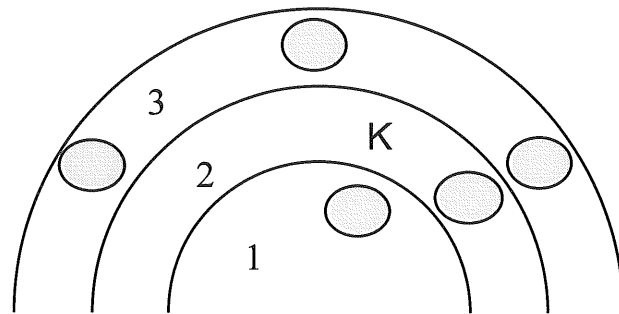
Figure 36 shows the schematic model of an aspect of Kanamura faith. Being branched from Kamo shrine in Kyoto in 10 century, Kanamura is believed to be a local shrine in each community in the first area. Many people visit it privately to pray for the family's safe in January. In the second area situated to the outer zone, Kanamura is believed to be a favor shrine in each community. It is worshiped not by individuals but by the community. It also means a kind of recreation to visit Kanamura.

1) The first area



○ Shrine being worshiped  
K Kanamura

2) The second area



Worshiped as a  
1 Tutelary shrine  
2 Local shrine  
3 Favor shrine

Fig. 36 Schematic model of an aspect of Kanamura faith

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

In this paper, the author has tried to clarify the areal differentiation of the sphere of religion with the religious association and believers. To accomplish this purpose, the author picked Kanamura betsurai shrine in Tsukuba, Ibaraki prefecture. The author divided the sphere of Kanamura into two regions, the first and second area, and considered the regional character of them. As a case study, the author selected Toyosato district where Kanamura is located from the first area and Yoshikawa district where many associations are founded from the second area.

Next, the author tried to elucidate the character of both spheres of religion. We examined the form of organization (the attribute of members or managers), the religious form (the frequency of visit, the way to visit, rites, the content of prayer), and the distributions of believers (the time of visit, the content of prayer). Considering these points, we compared them with the faith in other religions in study areas. The results of the analyses are as follows.

Kanamura faith consists of two aspects, community prayer and private one. The contents of former are summarized in three, a prayer for rain, a prayer for the protection against hailstorm and insects, a ritual for preventing disaster. The community prayer is expressed in a form of association. The contents of later are also summarized in three, a prayer for the family's safe, a prayer for traffic safety and a prayer for good business in 1995. Those are different according to time and space.

There are 254 communities that has Kanamura associations in 1995. The core of their distribution is in the 10-30 kilometers' zone to the south or west of the shrine. The farthest one locates in 50 kilometers' zone. The distribution of believers

spreads in 7 prefectures and Tokyo Metropolis. The core of them is within 10 kilometers' zone from the shrine. They are gradually decreasing to the outer zone. In the neighborhood of the shrine, many believers visit on New Year's Day to pray for their family's safe. Some of believers living in outer zone pray for something related to the divine favor of Kanamura as a prayer for a protection against lightning.

As a regional character of Kanamura faith in the first area, the author pointed out as follows. In the first area situated about half or one day's walk from the shrine, it has been worshiped to pray for rain since before Second World War. After the War, new associations typed *dantai-ko* were founded by the people living in a shrine town. As a regional character of Kanamura association in the first area, we can indicate several points.

1) Being united with other religious organizations or a neighborhood one, it is not an independent one. Accordingly, the head of concerned associations hold its post.

2) The system of vicarious visit is not established here. Accordingly, not some of the members selected by rotation but a manager visits it every time.

3) It has no rites related Kanamura in the community. There are no meetings to eat a meal with kami or to confirm members.

Kanamura faith is accepted by the people as a local shrine, being different from both a tutelary shrine and a favor shrine. This is cleared by the content of prayers being specialized in family's safe or soldier's safe, people's frequency or order of visit, and the relation between a Kanamura priest and events of the community. The character of a local shrine is strengthened by distributing amulets or dedicating the festival of tutelary shrine.

As a regional character of Kanamura faith in the second area, the author pointed out as follows. In this area, most of associations have relatively a long history, which were founded before the Meiji era. As a regional character of Kanamura association in the second area, we can indicate that it is an independent one of

others. It was cleared by following points.

1) They have their own managers who have been inherited from their family lines. Accordingly, it is able to have a continuation and independence of others.

2) The system of vicarious visit is established here, so that they have their own members. They visit Kanamura by turns. All members visiting it, new members are recruited to start a new association.

3) It has rites related Kanamura in the community. There are pre or post meetings to eat a meal with kami, to distribute amulets, to confirm members or to collect a membership fee.

Kanamura faith is accepted by the people as a favor shrine, being different from both a tutelary shrine and a local shrine. People worship Kanamura for the sake of her divine favor which is derived from thunder god. Her divine favor is achieved by the community prayer. The system of vicarious visit is the way to have a favor from the shrine. Situated far from the shrine, it has a recreational character. In the second area, Kanamura is situated one day trip area, so that all members visit it together in some associations whose purposes are to visit. On the other hand, there are few believers in this area. As a result of religious behavior of inhabitants, they do not visit it privately. The author illustrated the schematic model of the sphere of Kanamura in figure 37.

Generalizing from the case of Kanamura, the author demonstrates the regional character of the sphere of religion in a prayer typed shrine. It is branched from a famous shrine to have a divine favor. In the area the prayer typed shrine is branched, it has already founded a faith in a tutelary shrine. The faith in the prayer typed shrine is accepted as a local shrine in the neighborhood the author named the first area. On the other hand, it is worshiped as a favor shrine based on the divine favor in the outer area the author named the second one.

The study of the sphere of religion has developed by folklore or science of religion. Above all, Miyata (1970) gave us an important suggestion, which demonstrates that the sphere of mountain religion has the zonal structure. However,



Relation between Kanamura and community

- 1 Private visit
- 2 Vicarious visit by manager
- 3 Visit by all members
- 4 Request for dedicating a festival
- 5 Dedicating a festival
- 6 Distributing amulets of Ise Grand shrine
- 7 Distributing amulets of Kanamura
- 8 Visit by all members with recreation
- 9 Vicarious visit by each member

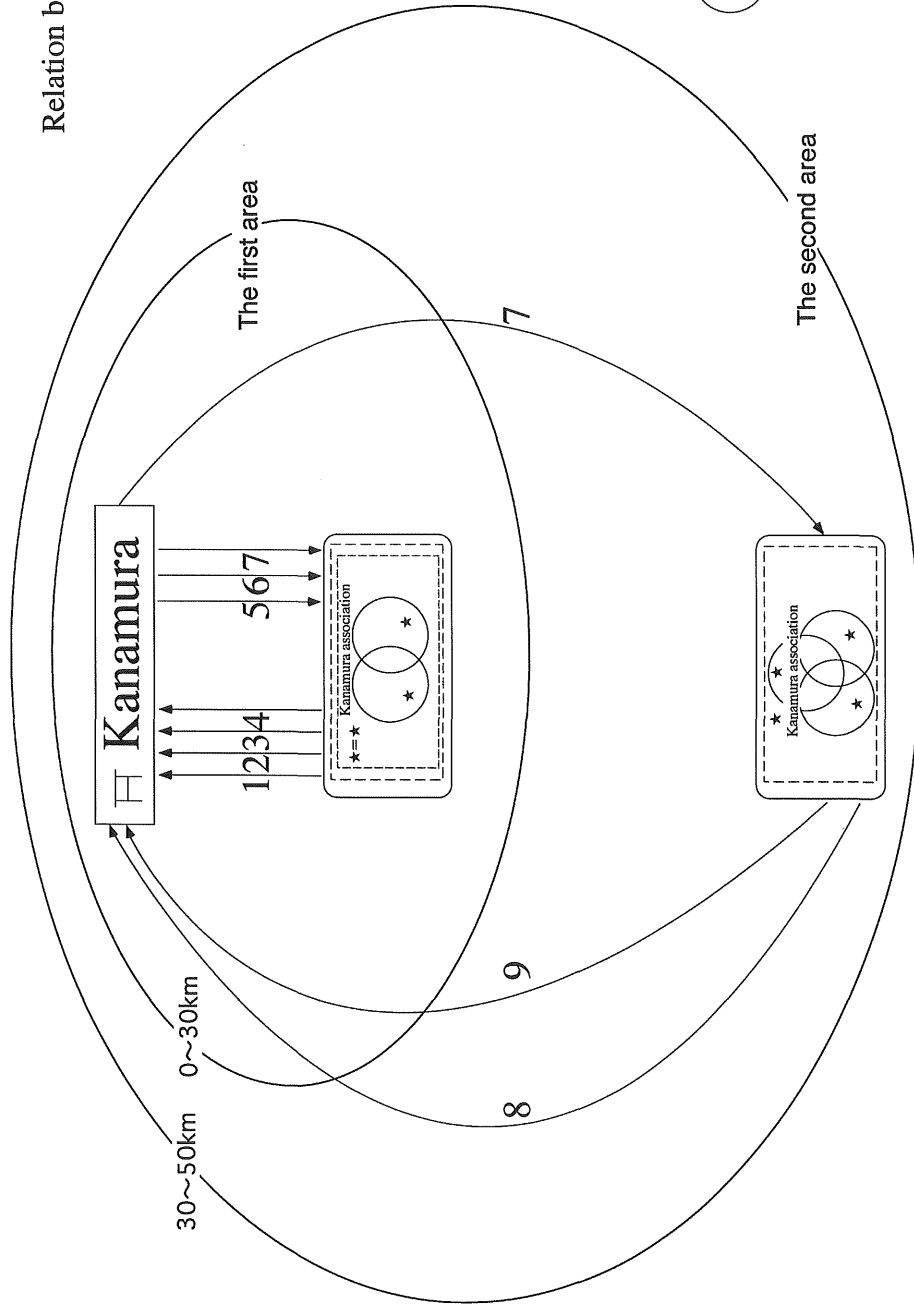


Fig. 37 Schematic model of the sphere of Kanamura

studies following him tend to describe a process of formation or development of the sphere of each religion and take interest in religious form seriously rather than distributions of believers. Thus there are few studied to have a spatial viewpoint. Geographers have tried to consider the sphere of religion since 1980s. Iwahana (1981, 1983ab, 1992) and Nagano (1987) are the cases. These previous studies have clarified the spatial character of the sphere of Mt. Dewa-sanzan, Mt. Togakushi, Mt. Iwaki, Mt. Hiko and Mt. Tsukuba. However, it is not enough for them to reveal the spatial structure of the sphere of religion. They are apt to quest whether it has the zonal structure, if it is, how far it is from the religion.

However, it is so superficial that we have to clarify the spatial structure of the sphere of religion through analyzing an aspect of some religions at the same time. In Japan, it is common for rural community that a lot of religions are believed together. So it is necessary for us to clarify a relation between religions and regions. In this paper, the author demonstrated the spatial structure of the sphere of religion through comparing Kanamura faith with other faiths. As a result, the author could succeed in explaining the areal differentiation of the sphere of religion from the difference between an aspect of Kanamura faith and that of other religions' faith.

## Notes

- 1) Kanamura and Betsurai kotaijin are branched from Kamigamo shrine in Kyoto. Kaminari *jinja* located in Yamato village is from Kashima shrine.
- 2) Kaminari *jinja* located in Aso town (No.20) is this case.
- 3) Kanamura, Itakura raiden shrine and Betsurai kotaijin are called three major thunder shrines in Kanto region.
- 4) The spring festival is called "*okaminari-machi*" (waiting for thunder). Believers make red rice or a mugwort rice cake. They visit Kanamura to pray for proper rainfall in summer. It had been done according to the old calendar until 1992. The fall festival means thanksgiving for harvest. It has been done on November 23.
- 5) The size is about 30 to 60 centimeters.
- 6) The last prayer for rain was done in 1960s.
- 7) The size of *ohuda* is about 40 centimeters in length and 8 in width.
- 8) Believers are defined as a person offered a prayer by Shinto priest on a hall of worship.
- 9) Most of believers praying for a protection against lightning is farmers.
- 10) The data of this figure is a name list of dedication for repairing the shrine roof in November 1949.
- 11) The list of Kanamura association was revised in 1985. The older one was abolished then. The data of Fig.5 is based on this revised one.
- 12) Though the number of settlement that was organized Kanamura association is 320, some of them have had more than two types of it. The author summed up the number of it separately. The total of it is 346.
- 13) As for *haru-ko* and *aki-ko*, the time of visit to Kanamura was determined by Kanamura.
- 14) The definite of Kanamura association here is visiting Kanamura at least once

- from 1993 to 1995.
- 15) The farthest Kanamura association in 1995 is in Daigo town in Ibaraki. Being *kinen-ko*, only one person is received an amulet by a Kanamura priest now.
  - 16) The prayer for rain needs to have managers to bring holy water to their village. That is why the convenience of transportation is important for Kanamura faith.
  - 17) The definite of prayers is to request a Kanamura priest to pray. Kanamura priest prayed for something for prayers.
  - 18) These are the data of believers whose address has become clear.
  - 19) The definite of donors are restricted to the donors of crops excluding donors of Japanese sake or so.
  - 20) Two men were selected as vicarious visitors as usual.
  - 21) Carrying holy water to their village, they took a rest as little as possible. A folklore said that if they took a rest somewhere, it would rain there and it had no rain in prayers' village. So they are said not to stop even at a red signal.
  - 22) It was called *okaeshimizu*.
  - 23) It is a kind of a social custom that means a particular activity or subject must be avoided. People refrain from sacred space, a particular person or goods in a special time and space (Konno, 1994).
  - 24) They chant like this: " *Zange, zange, rokkonshojo.* "
  - 25) It consisted of five districts. They are Gotomaki, Kamisyuku, Shimosyuku, Ikehata and Teramachi.
  - 26) In the case of Tsubakimoto district, the last common prayer for rain was done in 1941.
  - 27) Toyosato district consisted of Kamigo village, Asahi village and a part of Yoshinuma village.
  - 28) 187 persons in Kamigo village and 251 persons in Asahi village were killed in the war from 1931 to 1945 (Toyosato town history compilation committee, 1985). A monument to the loyal war dead has been built in the precincts of

Kanamura.

- 29) In *ujiko* region, managers selected from each district visit Kanamura in fall festival to receive amulets for members. Kanamura has not recognized this as Kanamura association but as visit of *ujiko*. The author followed Kanamura's classification in this paper.
- 30) Kanamura priests and people in Raijin district made a contract in 1928.
- 31) It was changed into *Kanamura raijin sensyo kigan dantai-ko* that means *dantai-ko* to pray to Kanamura to victory.
- 32) Tohigashi and Konomata are adopting the hereditary system of managers. In Tohigashi, he is the second generation and in Konomata, they are the third generation.
- 33) However managers are rotated every 2 or 3 year, vicarious visitors change in accordance with it. Vicarious visitors are the same in Tohigashi and Konomata where managers fixed.
- 34) *Omonomushi* is celebrated as kami.
- 35) There had been several religious associations to visit shrines and temples before 1960s: such as Amabiki-kannon in Yamato village in Ibaraki prefecture, Tsukiyomi shrine in Kukizaki town in Ibaraki, Kokagesan shrine in Tsukuba city, Mitsumine shrine in Otaki village in Saitama prefecture, however all of them have already disappeared.
- 36) Some of the non members do not join because of their private faith. In Konomata district, there is an agreement not to take part in all religious events in case of calamity.
- 37) While farmers are decreasing, members of both religious organizations have not changed.
- 38) Generally speaking, it is called *to* or *toya* meaning head and takes in charge of divine service at festivals of tutelary shrine. She sometimes does a Shinto priest (Hagiwara, 1984).
- 39) Those which consist of a part of members are excluded here, for example,

*koyasu-ko* consisting of women.

- 40) The minimum unit of the organization of administration is a group (*han*).  
Konomata district is divided into 6 group.
- 41) It is a wooden board that has 40 centimeters in length, 30 in width and 2 in thick.
- 42) *Jingu-taima* is an amulet which was distributed from Ise Grand shrine to each household. It is said that a low Shinto priest began to distribute it to each temple parishioner around Japan in the Kamakura era. About 800 millions of households are distributed now.
- 43) Hearing survey is done for his wife without occupation.
- 44) It means a year when he is not in charge of *tote*.
- 45) They are authorized as cultural assets in Tsukuba city. It is thought to be made in the Muromachi era (Toyosato town history compilation committee, 1985).
- 46) Atago shrine is located in Iwama town in Ibaraki prefecture.
- 47) The content of prayers was as follows; family's safe is 5, a good business and traffic safety are 2 including repeated answers.
- 48) The New Year party for women is also held on the second Sunday in January.
- 49) This is a meeting with meal of vicarious visit system, where vicarious visitors or a cost of participation is determined.
- 50) It is a middle-sized amulet made of paper, which has about 20 centimeters in length and 6 centimeters in width.
- 51) A Shinto priest of Inari shrine had taken in charge of a priest of Shinmei shrine before he died. After his death, a Kanamura priest does it.
- 52) Offerings had been a buckwheat and sweet sake before 1960s so as not to stop a festival caused by a poor crop.
- 53) On the other hand, it has no seating order at the New Year party.
- 54) A kami of his family is thunder god, dedicated on November 15 according to

the old calendar. He asked a Kanamura priest to dedicate it in 1996 when he was in charge of *toban*.

- 55) Every religious corporation has become to need a representative since the end of Second World War. If a Shinto priest of a shrine takes in charge of another one, it is called additional shrine of him.
- 56) Both Tegomaru and Nobata are parts of *ujiko* region, so a representative visits Kanamura at fall festival. Accordingly, associations are thought to be organized in both districts.
- 57) The way of distribution is as follows. Amulets of Ise Grand shrine are mailed for Kanamura by way of Ibaraki Shinto Agency. Kanamura distributes them to those who desire to buy in *ujiko* region of his own and additional shrines. Kanamura collects the money and pays it to Ise by way of it.
- 58) If a tutelary shrine is Kashima shrine, an amulet printed Kashima shrine is distributed. A representative prints it by themselves in some communities.
- 59) There were about 50 times during the Edo era. Though flood was occurred after the Meiji era, they have been little damage from it since repairing construction of River Edo finished in 1954.
- 60) We call this area Yoshikawa district in this paper.
- 61) As for the distribution in 1899, they are the names carved in a stone monument erected in the precincts of Kanamura. This one is erected by the association in Miwanoe village, Yoshikawa village, Waseda village (now in Soka city), Osagami village and Masubayashi village (now in Koshigaya city), and Nagareyama town. Accordingly, it does not include former Asahi village which consists of Kami-uchikawa, Shimo-uchikawa, Hachikoshinden, Nabekoji, Juikken, Minami-hiroshima, and Kawafuji.
- 62) The data of the distribution in 1949 are the names of contributors repairing Kanamura's roof.
- 63) There lived 180 households in 1995.
- 64) This is hearing data from the manager.

- 65) It is a post meeting to distribute amulets or to report an account.
- 66) It means that they are surely organized till the Meiji era. So it has a possibility to be organized in the Edo era.
- 67) It is reported that the damage of lightning caused an association (Misato city history compilation committee, 1991) or the prayer for rainfall caused it (Yashio city history compilation committee, 1985).
- 68) In case of *kinen-ko*, people are received an amulet sent to the manager by mail as usual, but in Yoshikawa district, they visit Kanamura to get it by themselves in the New Year.
- 69) This is called new association.
- 70) In Kami-uchikawa community, next visitors are selected at the post meeting.
- 71) There had been Fuji association before 1945, Kiso-ontake before 1950s, Dairokuten before 1970s.
- 72) Some of them do not join because of their own faith or being a branch family.
- 73) In Nishi and Shimo group, after taking in charge of assistant for two years, he will be a manager for two years. In Oyanagi group, one of managers is fixed as an account, the other changes every other year.
- 74) The faith in Kanamura and Itakura thunder shrine are competing in Yoshikawa district.
- 75) Hearing from them, they expect divine favor of Shinsyoji temple.
- 76) It is one of the divine service trying to know God's will by drawing a bow.
- 77) Drawing lot is seldom done according to his memory.
- 78) The bus transporting from New Koga station to the shrine was done away with.
- 79) The households joining both associations are 23, Haruna is 15 and Mitake is 3.
- 80) Mr. C is also in charge of Haruna and Mitake association.
- 81) It has the following reason. Someone trying to secede from it, his house was struck by lightning. They say it was a curse of thunder god.



- 82) In case of donation of crops, it is often performed on Sunday before and after in recently years.
- 83) In case of a ritual for preventing disaster in January, a meal with kami is held in the evening on that day, however it is done as a meal with kami for festival of tutelary shrine.
- 84) Seventeenth night is one of the religious events held in the public hall. It is an association of women during the agricultural off-season. They sometimes visit Amabiki kannon.
- 85) The New Year party is also another event from Kanamura.

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