#### Course No. 3507/3508

## Contemporary Japanese Culture and Society

#### Lecture No. 10

## Religion Shūkyō 宗教

#### This Lecture 今回

- 1. Introduction イントロダクション
- 2. Shinto 神道
- 3. Buddhism 仏教
- 4. Unifying theories 総合宗教論

Next lecture 次回: Confucianism, Taoism, Christianity, New Religions 儒教、道教、キリスト教、新興宗教

#### Part 1. Introduction

Japan: A very religious country where most people are non-religious

日本:とても宗教的な国で、ほとんどの人は無宗教

## Guess how many religious organizations there are in Japan 日本の宗教団体の数は?

18

**180** 

1,800

18,000 180,000

#### Answer: 180,000

On December 31, 2010, the Cultural Affairs Agency counted 182,659 religious organizations (*shûkyô hôjin* 宗教法人) in Japan.

Shinto-related 神道系: 85,343

Buddhism-related 仏教系: 77,681

Christian-related キリスト教系: 4,177

Miscellaneous 諸教: 15,458

(They all enjoy tax-exempt status.)

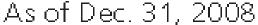
### Now guess how many believers there are in Japan…信者の人数?

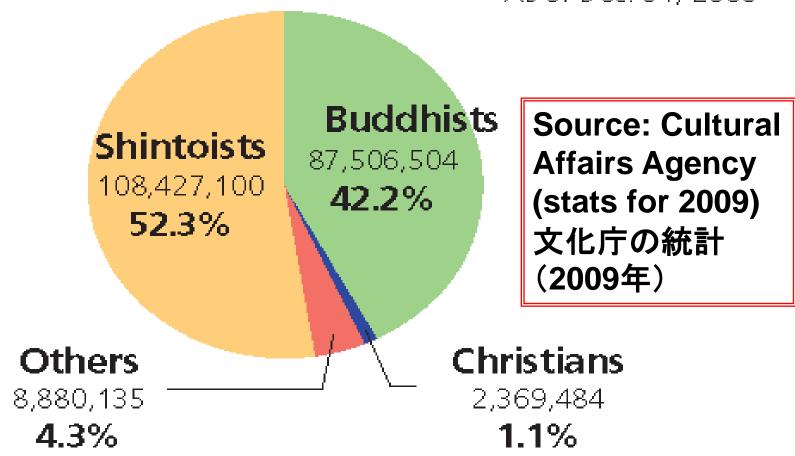
```
1. 207,000
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- 2,070,000
- 3. 20,700,000
- 4. 207,000,000
- 5. 2,070,000,000

(Clue: Population of Japan: 127,000,000)

#### Number of Followers by Classification of Religion





Note: \*The criteria for determining religious affiliation vary with the religious group. Source: *Shukyo Nenkan (Religious Yearbook) 200*9 by ACA

#### If these figures are right,

Most Japanese people believe in / belong to / say they believe in or belong to... at least 2 religions.

この統計は確かならば、日本人の多くは2つ以上の宗教を信じている。

#### Meigaku students...

- ... if it's not too personal, may I ask how many religions <u>you</u> believe in? 0? 1? 2? 3?
- Which ones?
- 明学の学生よ!恐縮ですが、いくつの宗教を信じていますでしょうか? それはどの宗教ですか?

If you ask a Japanese person what his or her religion is, they will often say 'none in particular'... many will deny being religious. Let's try to figure out why.

でも日本人に「どういう宗教を信じている?」と聞くと、「あまり...特に...」という返事が多い。なぜでしょうか?

#### Religious, yet atheistic?

"… the total number of adherents far exceeds the population of Japan, while conversely, over two-thirds of the Japanese people say they believe in no religion." 日本人の3分の2以上は「無宗教」だという。

(Religion in Japanese Culture: Where Living Traditions Meet a Changing World, ed. Noriyoshi Tamaru and David Reid, 1996: p. 220)

Actually that statement tells us far more about Japanese government statistical methods than it does about the religious views of Japanese people. In a word, *the statistics are nonsense*.

変なのは日本人の宗教信念ではなく、日本政府の統計の計算のしかた.この統計 はよく引用されるけど、ナンセンスである。

#### 108.5 million Shintoists?

Not fact, but political fantasy. The government assumes all Japanese to follow Shinto, so the number of believers is the total population of Japan minus the number of those who believe in exclusive religions.

「日本人は全員神道信者」という大前提で、国の人口から「排他的な宗教」の信者数を引くという形で行政が計算する。

#### 87.5 million Buddhists?

A similar story. Every year the government (Cultural Affairs Agency 文化庁) asks Buddhist temples to supply numbers of believers. The temple counts the number of households in its district, multiplies by average family size, and gives that number to the government.

各お寺が自分の縄張りにある家庭を数えて、それを平均家庭人数で掛け算する。現実と関係ない!

### (Even new-born babies are counted.)

But what does it mean, "to belong to a religion"?

「宗教を信じる」・「宗教に属する」とは?

Most people see 3 key points:

- (1)Faith 信念
- (2)Practice 習慣
- (3)Morality 道徳

#### For example:

- A Christian is supposed to (1) believe in God; (2) go to church; (3) behave in a moral way not committing murder etc.
  - A Muslim is supposed to (1) believe in God; (2) go to the mosque; (3) behave in a moral way not committing murder etc.
- A Jew is supposed to (1) believe in God; (2) go to the synagogue; (3) behave in a moral way not committing murder etc.

#### For most people in Japan...

- Their attitude to Shinto and Buddhism does not cover all three points.
- Shinto no moral code, no regular attendance at a place of worship, rather vague belief in a large number of divine spirits (*kami* 神).
- Buddhism does have a set of beliefs and a moral code, but most Japanese have only a rough idea of what they are, and seldom go to the temple or pray.

#### Toshimaru Ama 阿満利麿

Why Are the Japanese Non-Religious?

Japanese Spirituality: Being Non-Religious in a Religious Culture

University Press of America, Inc., 2004

『日本人はなぜ無宗教なのか』

筑摩書房1996



**Toshimaro Ama** (Retired from **Dept of** International Studies, Meiji Gakuin U) 阿満利麿先生 元明学国際学部



肝本人はなが阿満利麿

#### CHIKUMA SHINSHO

一私は、宗教とは、人間がその有限性に目覚めたときに活動を開始する、人間にとってもっとも基本的な営みだと理解している。このような大切な営みに対して、日本人が長年にわたって「無宗教」の一言ですましてきたということは、尋常なことではない。必ずや深い理由があるのだ。

#### あらためて宗教の意味を問う

日本人には神仏とともに生きた長い伝統がある。それなのになぜ、無宗教、を標榜し、特定宗派を怖れるのか?

筑摩書房 定值680円(\*#660円)

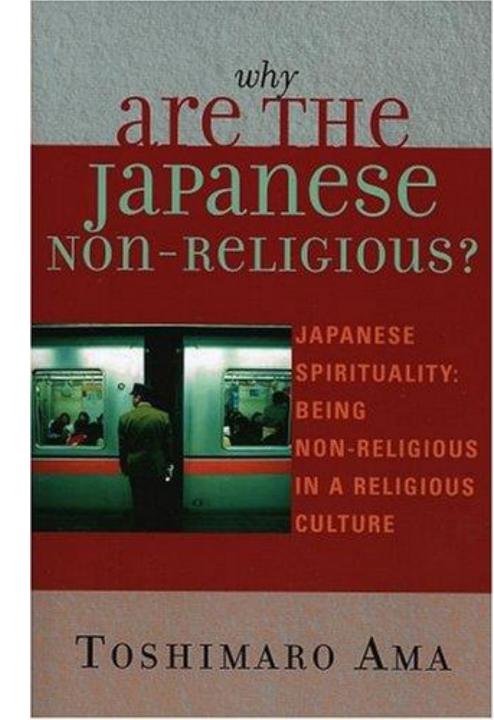
動ちくま新書

Ама Тоянмако

#### Warum sind Japaner areligiös?



Out in **English** at last... an interesting read and just 84 pages



#### Ama sensei's argument:

- Being 'non-religious' (*mushukyo* 無宗教) is not the same as being an atheist (*mushinron-sha* 無神論者).
- Japanese people <u>are</u> religious (despite the title of the book), but they are not attracted by formal, highly organized religions.
- Instead they prefer something more homely and close to nature.

## Revealed Religion vs. Natural Religion

- Revealed religion:創唱宗教 You believe things because they are 'revealed' to you, by a holy book (bible, koran etc.) or by a holy person (pope, imam, etc.)
- Natural religion:自然宗教 folk beliefs centered on worship of ancestors and tutelary deities (*ujigami* 氏神) of family or village.

#### Revealed Religion 創唱宗教 vs. Natural Religion 自然宗教

Revealed: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, and 'new religions' centered on charismatic leaders.

Natural: Nature worship/animism, ancestor worship etc.

In the Ama theory, 'Shinto' falls in between the two categories.

#### With that in mind...

... let's have a closer look at some of the religions influencing Japanese society, starting with Shinto.

#### Part 2: SHINTO

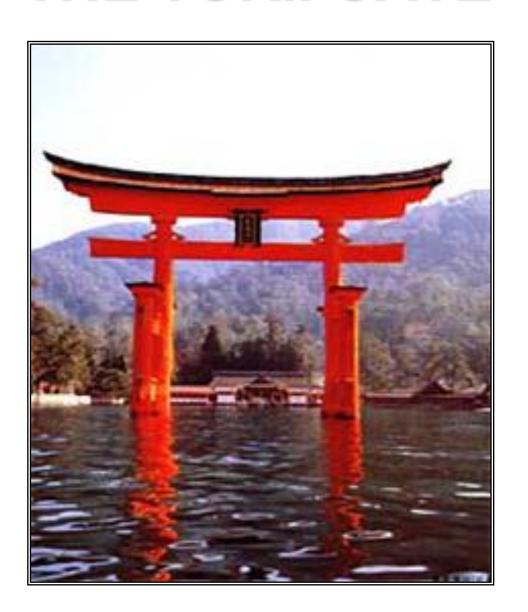
神道



#### For beginners...

Shinto shrines (jinja 神社) and Buddhist temples ([o]tera 寺)... how to tell them apart.

#### THE TORII GATE



## 鳥居

### A boundary marker 境界線のしるし

When you pass through the torii, you are crossing the boundary between 'profane' (ordinary, everyday) space, and sacred space.

Cf. Emile Durkheim on the Sacred (聖) and Profane (俗) in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*.

With torii = Shinto = Shrine (jinja)

No torii = Buddhist = Temple (tera)

鳥居あり = 神道 = 神社 (Shinto shrine)

鳥居なし = 仏教 = (お)寺 (Buddhist temple)



神道の神社は「赤」のが多いです。

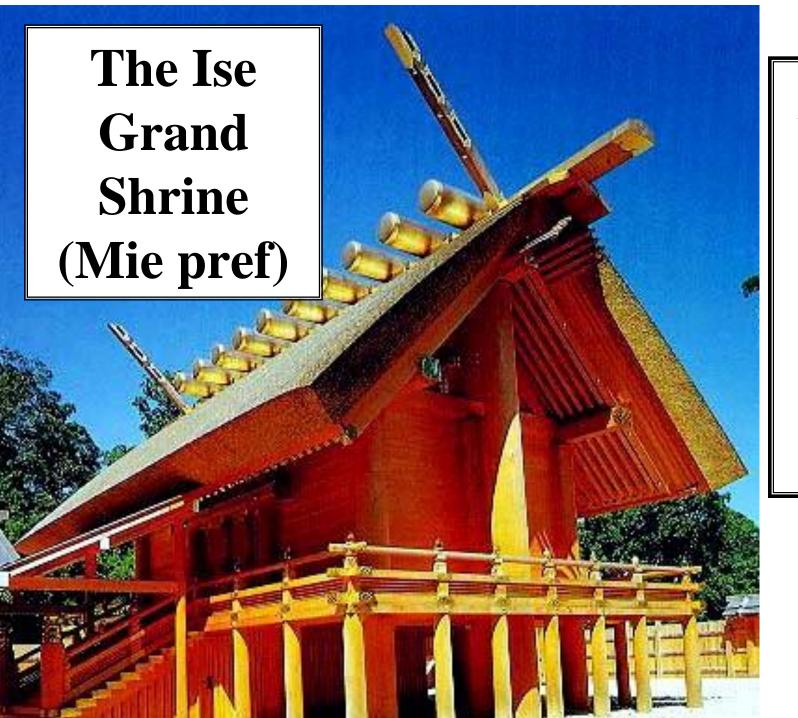


Shinto shrines make much use of the auspicious color RED in their architecture.

#### Heian Shrine (Kyoto) 平安神宮 (京都)

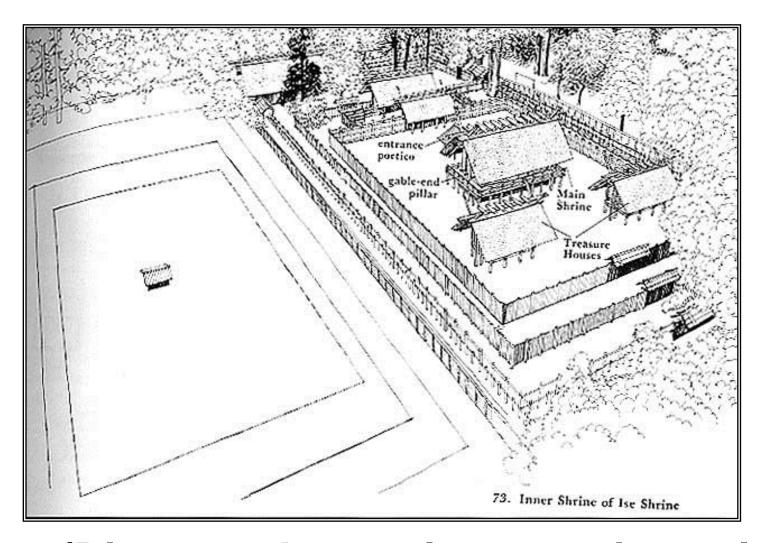


A few emphasise an ancient, almost primitive style, using unpainted wood and traditional thatching 藁 methods.



# 伊 野 神 宮

#### Destroyed and rebuilt every 20 years



(Diagram shows alternate site on left)

#### Some scholars

Relate the tradition of destroying and rebuilding shrines to the contemporary Japanese style of supercharged consumerism: cars, electrical goods etc are thrown away and replaced very fast indeed... new things generally preferred to old.

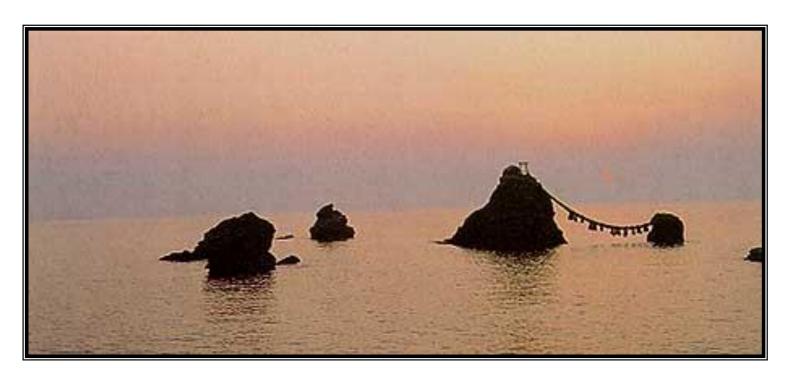
#### Waterfront shrines

In coastal regions of Japan, it is common to find the village shrine close to the waterfront. (You don't often find Buddhist temples there...)

「海岸の近くに神社がある」というパターンがよく見られます



#### "Wedded" Rocks Meoto iwa 夫婦岩



Shinto-style animism: 'male' rock and 'female' rock



The Rocks- A Natural object with a spirit, or Kami inside

#### SYMBOLS

The Rising Sun - a symbol of Japan



The Rope (Shimenawa)- Used in every Shinto Shrine to set the boundaries of the Sacred area.

#### SHIMENAWA (しめ縄)



The shimenawa is a rope, together with gohei 御幣 (the zigzag paper strips hanging from the rope) used to mark out sacred areas in a Shinto Shrine. They can be found tied to sacred trees, rocks, and torii gates.





#### Shinto and nature worship

"Shinto" 神道 literally means simply the way (道) of the gods (神). Originally it was a loose general term used to describe hundreds of local cults worshipping animals, mountains, forests, or particularly large trees and rocks. 'Shinto' is said to recognize 8 million gods – a traditional number signifying 'infinite', or at least a very large number.



Sacred tree at a shrine in Oiso



# Even sacred trees may have to be trimmed...

... or even chopped down to make room for a car park



#### The Inari 稲荷 Cult

20,000+ Shinto shrines practice the Inari cult. Origins in rice worship - a harvest cult. **Emblematic** animal is the fox.

## 大自然を祭るほかのアジア国々の伝統的な宗教と共通点がある

Though indigenous to Japan, Shinto has much in common with religious traditions in other parts of Asia that also feature nature worship and shamanism.



A Buryat oboo [sacred place] consisting of two ceremonial serge poles connected with a rope. The ribbons, bud, represent prayers made by visitors... rather like the shimenawa and gohei hanging from a Shinto torii.

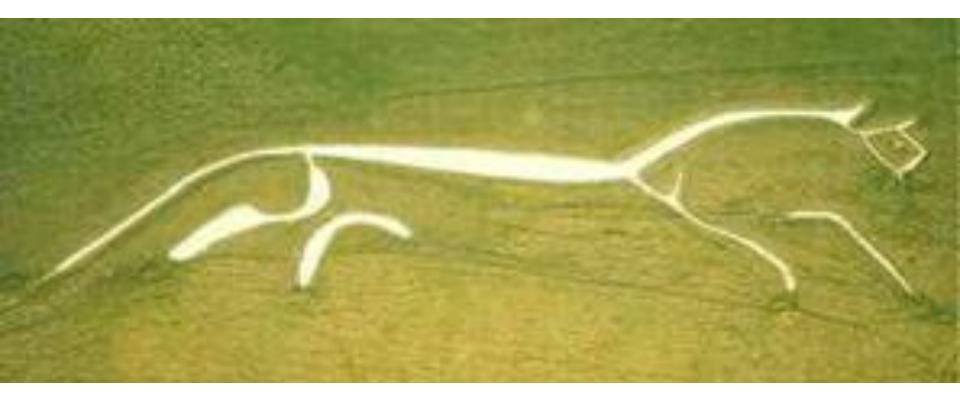
(Buryat: District of Siberia with many ethnic Mongolians.)

The white horse cult Some shrines have white horses (hakuba 白馬)



Particularly lucky to see one at New Year...

# White horses are also part of traditional English nature worship, by the way...



The Uffington White Horse in Oxfordshire イギリスにも「白馬」を自然の神として見る伝統あり

絵馬



The good magic of white horses...

# A rack of Ema (prayer tablets)





Literally, 'horse pictures'

### Many other animals are also revered...





E.g. These mice at Otoyo Shrine in Kyoto 大豊神社 の「狛ネズミ」です

#### When do you go to the shrine?

One difference between Japanese religious practice and Judaism, Christianity, Islam etc. is the absence of a regular holy day on which true believers are supposed to worship.

ユダヤ教・キリスト教・イスラム教はみんなそれぞれ「特別な日」を設けている。でも日本で見られる神道と仏教はそういうことがない。

#### Leave it to the professionals...

Religious professionals (priests, monks, nuns etc.) will attend the shrine or temple every day. Lay people usually go only on special occasions.

神主・舞子・修道士・尼などという宗教の「プロ」は毎日宗教の場(神社・お寺)にいる。しかし「凡人」は毎週の決まった日に行く義務は特にない。

### The Head Priest of a Shinto Shrine:



#### **KANNUSHI**



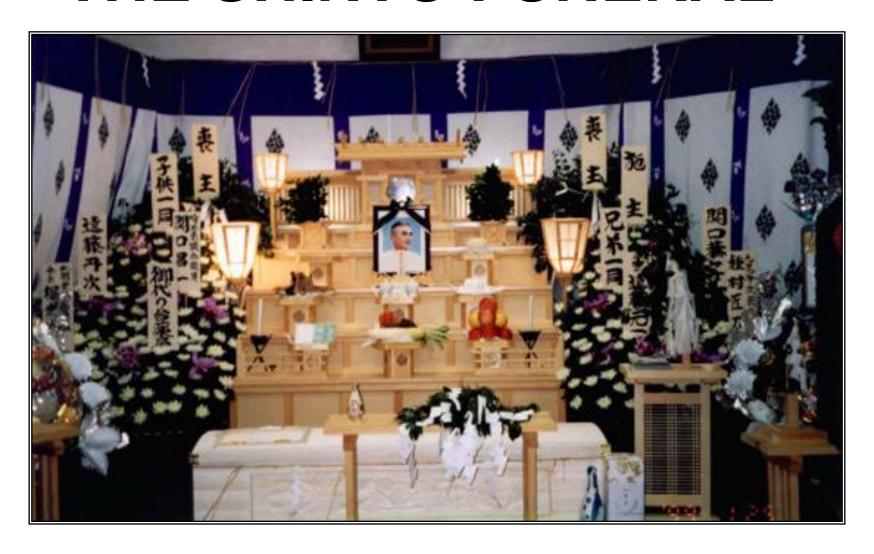
#### Special occasions include:

- 1. Hatsu-mōde (初詣)
  - 2. Oharai (お祓い) purification (of people, new cars etc.)
  - 3. Shichigosan
  - 4. Seijinshiki (coming of age)
- 5. Some weddings, a few funerals.

### Hatsu-môde (初詣)



#### THE SHINTO FUNERAL



Much less common than Buddhist funerals

#### THE SHINTO WEDDING



結婚式



## SHICHIGOSAN (seven, five, three)... Shinto numerology







#### Seijinshiki (Coming of Age)



成人式



follows the Shinto ritual



#### Yakudoshi 厄年

"Years of Calamity" by David C. Lewis, in *Interpreting Japanese* Society: Anthropological Approaches, ed. Joy Hendry.

The journey through life can be a very dangerous one...

#### Yakudoshi at a major shrine in Kansai

Seriousness	Men	Women
Principal	<b>42</b>	<i>33</i>
Major	25, 61	19, 37
Medium	24, 26, 41, 43, 60, 62	18, 20, 32, 34, 36, 38
Minor (gendered)	18, 19, 20, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38	24, 25, 26, 41, 42, 43, 60, 61, 62
Minor (ungendered)	1, 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 22, 28, 40, 46, 49, 52, 55, 58	

#### 性 女 性 男 平成 後厄 本厄 前厄 後厄 前厄 本厄 お厄 申除 昭和61年生 昭和62年生 昭和63年生 17 昭和55年生 昭和56年生 昭和57年生 下の 20歳 18歳 19歳 26歳 25歳 年 う(うさぎ) とら 21 たつ いぬ 昭和47年生 昭和49年生 昭和48年生 昭和38年生 昭和40年生 昭和39年生 厄 32歳 33歳 43歳 34歳 42歳 年 ね(ねずみ) み(へび) う(うさぎ) うし たつ とら 昭和19年生 昭和21年生 昭和20年生 昭和45年生 昭和43年生 昭和44年生 覧 61歳 62歳 36歳 37歳 38歳 211 いめ いぬ さる

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### Careful how you count the years

Yakudoshi are calculated using *kazoedoshi* ('counting years'). You are one year old at birth, and then get one year older on New Year's Day (or Jan 15 in some traditions). So a baby born on Jan 10, say, may have a *kazoedoshi* age of 2 after less than a week.

厄年は数え年で判断します。 数え年とは、年が変わり、誕生日が来るまで は満年齢に2歳を加え、誕生日が過ぎれば満 年齢に1歳を加えて計算します。

### It's quite confusing...

- ... there are also local variations and differences among shrines.
- Some people are never quite sure they are not in a yakudoshi year.
- Anyway, you can avoid supernatural danger by having 'oharai' performed.

### You can check on the internet

... with a 'yakudoshi hantei' (厄年判定)program where you key in your date of birth and gender and learn whether you are in danger this year.

# 厄年の早見表

A yakudoshi ready reckoner from Tokoji Temple in Nishinomiya http://mondoyakujin.or.jp

小厄 (男・女とも)			大厄 (男)	大厄 (女)
平成15年(生)	平成13年(生)	平成11年(生)	昭和54年(生)	昭和60年(生)
1歳	3歳	5歳	25歳	19歳
平成9年(生)	平成6年(生)	平成3年(生)	昭和38年(生)	昭和47年(生)
<b>7歳</b>	10歳	13歳	41歳	32歳
昭和55年(生)	昭和30年(生)	昭和27年(生)	昭和37年(生)	昭和46年(生)
24歳	49歳	52歳	42歳	33歳
昭和24年(生)	昭和19年(生)	昭和15年(生)	昭和36年(生)	昭和45年(生)
55歳	60歳	64歳	43歳	34歳
昭和9年(生)	昭和6年(生)	昭和2年(生)	昭和18年(生)	昭和42年(生)
70歳	73歳	77歳	61歳	37歳
大正11年(生)	大正8年(生)	大正5年(生)		昭和18年(生)
82歳	85歳	88歳		61歳
大正2年(生) 91歳	厄年は数え年で見ます。 数え年は1月1日で満年齢に2歳を加え、 その年の誕生日から満年齢に1歳を加えます。			



### **OHARAI:**





**Purification rite** 

### Omamori/ofuda お守り・御札



### State Shinto 国家神道

After the Meiji Restoration (明治維新 c. 1864-71), the leaders of Japan sought ways to modernize the nation and emulate the imperial powers of Europe.

The British model was influential: the King (or Queen) is head of state, and also head of the state religion (the Church of England).

英国型国家:王様=国家宗教(英国教会)の トップ

### Shinto remodelled 新スタイル神道

So Shinto, which had been a general name for a cluster of diverse local nature cults, was deliberately remodeled as a single unified religion centered on the figure of the Emperor, now viewed as a "living god."

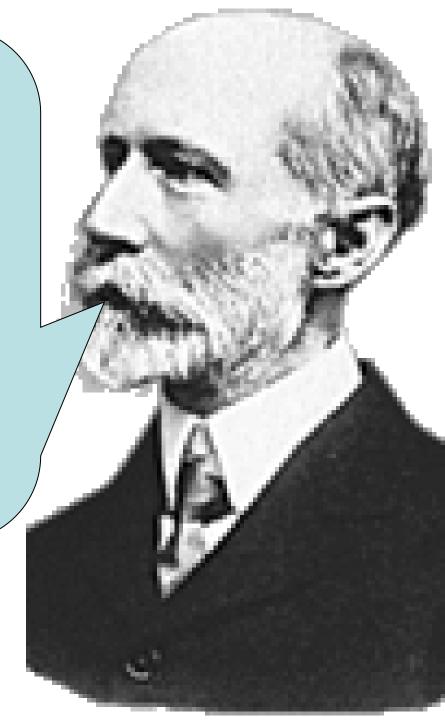
民俗神道→国家神道 「生き神」の天皇を中心にする

### **Key text:**

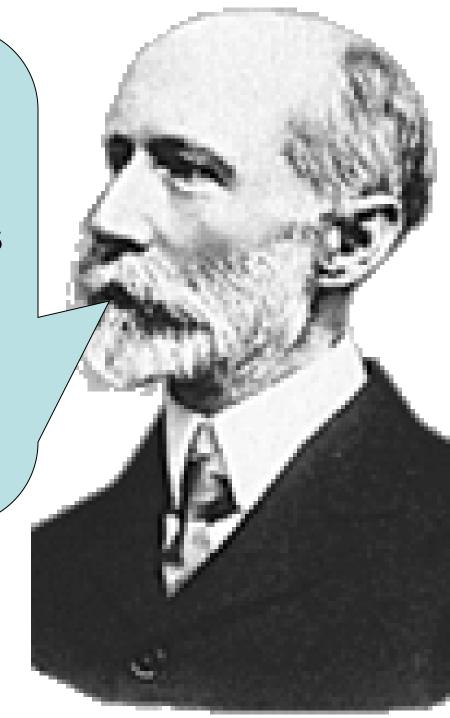
## THE INVENTION OF A NEW RELIGION

- By Basil Hall Chamberlain, Emeritus Professor of Japanese and Philology at the Imperial University of Tokyo, 1912
- ... still says it all.
- バジル・ホール・チェンバレン、『新しい宗教の 発明』、1912年

"The Japanese are commonly said to be an irreligious people. Writes one of them, the celebrated (Yukichi) Fukuzawa... "I lack a religious nature, and have never believed in any religion."



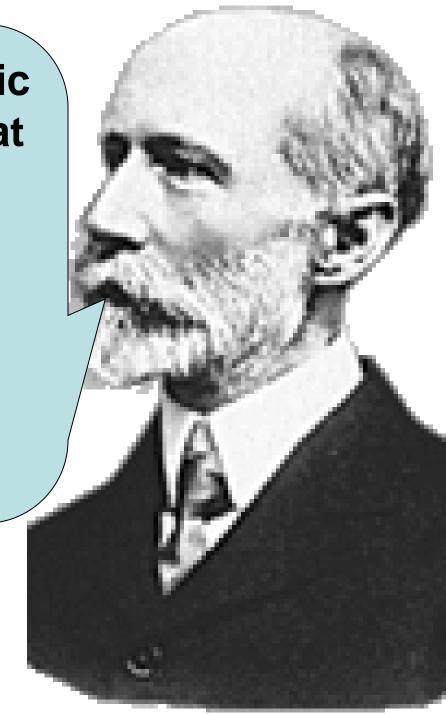
"The average, even educated, European strikes the average educated Japanese as strangely superstitious, unaccountably occupied with supramundane matters."



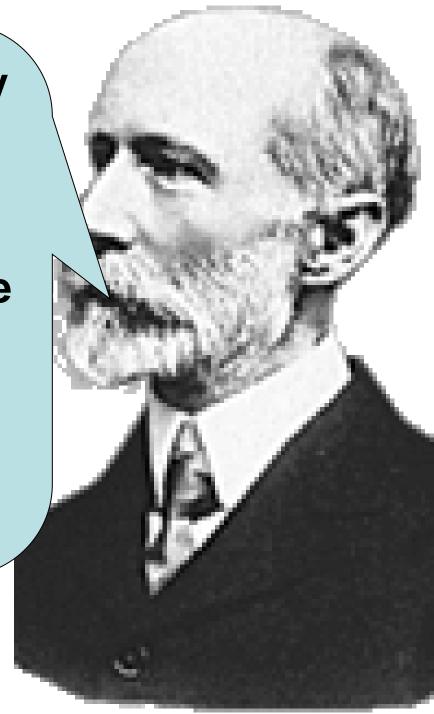
"The Japanese simply cannot be brought to comprehend how a 'mere parson' such as the Pope, or even the **Archbishop of** Canterbury, occupies the place he does in politics and society."



"Yet this same agnostic Japan is teaching us at this very hour how religions are sometimes manufactured for a special end -- to subserve practical worldly purposes."



"The twentieth-century Japanese religion of loyalty and patriotism is quite new, for in it pre-existing ideas have been sifted, altered, freshly compounded, turned to new uses, and have found a new centre of gravity."



### Chamberlain's argument

State Shinto was invented as a tool of social control, along with Bushido 武士 道, "the Way of the Warrior," an invented moral system to turn the easygoing Japanese people into a nation of disciplined soldiers who would forge an empire based on the British/European model.

国家神道&武士道は社会管理の道具だと

"Bushido was unknown until a decade or two ago! THE VERY WORD **APPEARS IN NO** DICTIONARY, **NATIVE OR** FOREIGN, BEFORE **THE YEAR 1900."** 



### After World War II

State Shinto is officially dissolved. 国家神道解散

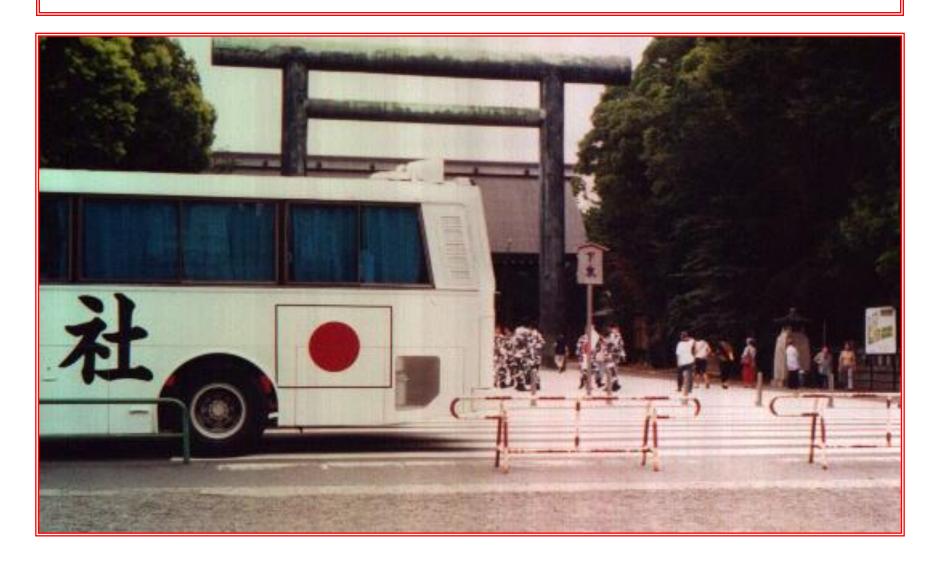
Emperor Hirohito, in his famous surrender broadcast, renounces his divinity.天皇はもう神ではないと認める

The new, US-authored constitution stipulates separation of church and state (articles 20, 89).新憲法:「政教分離」

### And yet...

... some traces of State Shinto still remain.

## Yasukuni Shrine... Mecca for nationalists. Note black torii.



### YASUKUNI SHRINE (TOKYO)



靖国神社(東京)

And here we have part of the reason why the governments of China, South Korea etc. get so angry when Japanese prime ministers maks visits to Yasukuni Shrine to pray for the souls of Japan's war dead.

小泉首相の靖国参拝が中国や韓国に批判される理由の一部はここにあり

## 天皇陛下 崩御

### The imperial family always uses a Shinto funeral

E.g. the funeral of Emperor Hirohito in 1989.



### PART 3: BUDDHISM

パート3: 仏教 (Bukkyo)



### An ancient cultural import

Buddhism was introduced to Japan in the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The religion was born in India but came to Japan via China. (Later it would fade away in India with the spread of Hinduism)

Although Buddhism is so ancient, everybody knows that it was originally a foreign religion, as opposed to Shinto, an indigenous faith.

It is part of Japan's cultural debt to China, along with the *kanji* writing system (5<sup>th</sup> century)... an older debt than that owed to Western civilization...

... Chinese politicians don't let Japan forget that.

### 奨励、弾圧、合併

So over the centuries, the state response to Buddhism has varied widely, depending on how pro-China or anti-China, more or less nationalistic, the government of the day has been. Buddhism has been encouraged, repressed, or integrated with Shinto. (It is possible to find Buddhist temples with toriis... dating back to the integration movement.)

Along the way, Buddhist influence has given Japan some of her most beautiful works of sacred architecture.

仏教的な建築は美しい...

### Byodoin 平等院



### Located at Uji 宇治, near Kyoto



... it's the one on the ten yen coin.

#### A massive tourist attraction...

... its name means "The Hall of Equality."
Origins of this ancient name are
obscure, but it may have something to
do with the principle of Buddhist
hospitality – any weary traveler could
stay there (at some points in its history).

平等院:文字通り、「平等主義」で、昔は旅人は誰でも泊まることができた(らしい)

### KIYOMIZU TEMPLE



清水丰

"Kiyomizu" means "pure water"



## Features a stage for ritual dancing...

... which is also a popular place for lovers to jump off if they want to commit suicide.

Kiyomizu-dera (meaning 'Pure Water Temple') also has a famous temple market (monzen-machi 門前市). The sacred next door to the commercial: a common Japanese pattern.

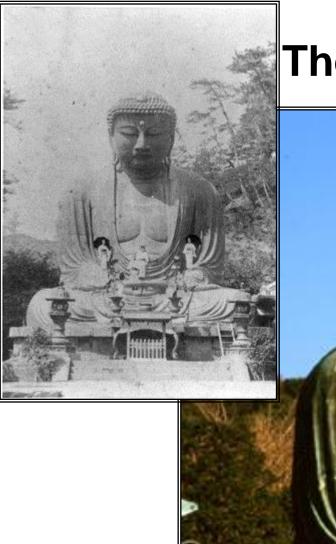
### **GINKAKUJI**, The Silver Pavilion



### Ryoanji: the Zen Rock Garden



### 龍安寺



#### The Great Buddha of Kamakura

鎌倉大仏

#### The Great Buddha at Nara





奈良の大仏

### Buddhism is a full-scale religion

- 1. It has its own set of magical beliefs. Most sects believe in a series of reincarnations (rinne 輪廻), leading ultimately to enlightenment (satori 悟り). Some sects, famously Jôdoshû 浄土宗 and Jôdo Shinshû 浄土真宗, believe in a 'Pure Land', a version of heaven.
- 2. It also has its own moral code:

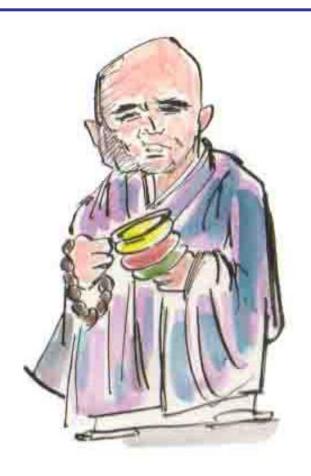
## Five Great Sins (Buddhism) 仏教の五つの大罪

- 1. Murder せっしょ (殺人)
- 2. Theft ちゅうとう (窃盗 せっとう)
- 3. Adultery 邪淫 (じゃいん、浮気)
- 4. Slander もうご (悪口、中傷)
- 5. Drinking おんじゅ (飲酒)

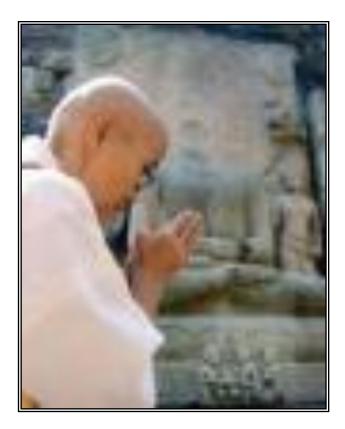
# Major Schools

- Zen. Amidism
  - → Jodo-Shu and Jodo-ShinShu.
- Shingon, Tendai, Kegon, Sanron
- Nichiren ...

## **OBOSAN: a Buddhist monk**



お坊さん

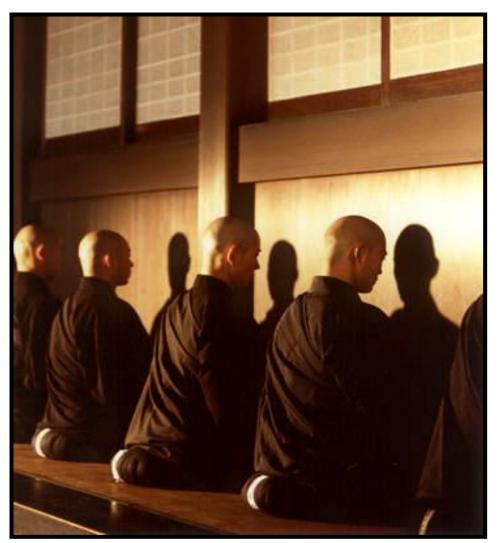


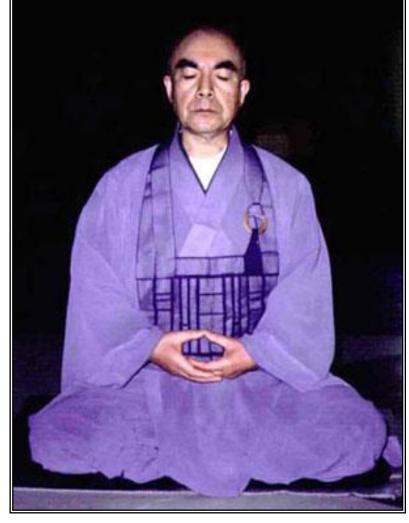




# Burning incense

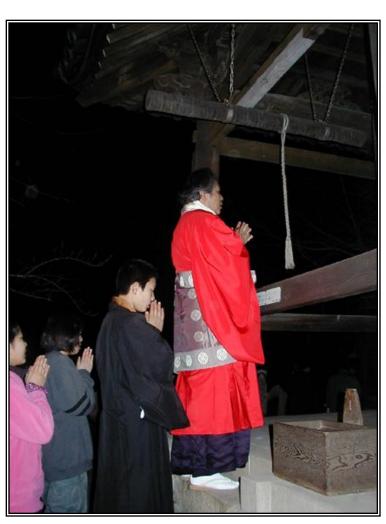
## ZEN MEDITATION





#### **NEW YEARS BELLS**





除夜の鐘

## GRAVEYARDS





墓地

# A Buddhist nunnery (amadera) in Tottori prefecture



摩尼寺(鳥取県)

A mendicant (begging) monk

托鉢[たくはつ] 修道会士



# Professional Buddhism has that austere side to it...

プロ(修道士)の仏教はこの austere (厳格な? 禁欲的?渋 い?)面があります...

#### But it has another side too:

- Unlike in other Buddhist countries, most Japanese Buddhist orders are not celibate.
- Unlike in other Buddhist countries, most Japanese Buddhist monks are not vegetarian or tee-total
- I see them wearing gorgeous robes and riding in the 'Green Car' on the train
- ・他の仏教国の場合と違って、日本の修道士は独身主義・禁欲ではないし、菜食ではければ禁酒でもない。グリーン車にのるし...

# How Shinto and Buddhism combine in everyday life

- "... the widespread practice of having in the same home not only a Shinto altar for worship of the kami but also a Buddhist altar for remembering the ancestors."
- (Religion in Japanese Culture: Where Living Traditions Meet a Changing World, ed. Noriyoshi Tamaru and David Reid, 1996: p. 220)

## Kami-dana 神棚



A mini **Shinto** altar, usually made of hinoki (cypress wood)

## A particularly posh one



### THE BUTSUDAN



仏壇



A couple more fine specimens

## Question:

How many of the Japanese students in this class have (a) a kamidana; (b) a butsudan; (c) both (d) neither in their family households?

## Conclusion 結論

Finally, let me consider a couple of ways of looking at Japanese religions that may cover both Shinto and Buddhism:

- 1. Exchange theory 交換論
- 2. Purification theory 浄化論神道と仏教を含める、総合的なアプローチの2つの試み

# **Unifying theory No.1**

# EXCHANGE THEORY

交換論

## Religious Exchange 宗教的な交換





## Ema hung up at a shrine



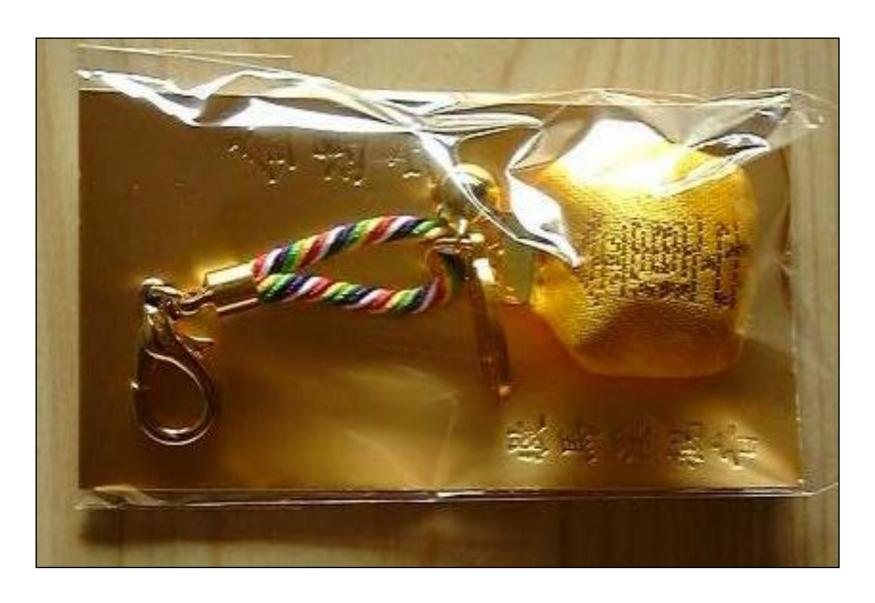
## Typical ema requests:

- Pass an exam 試験合格
- · Have a baby / safe birth 妊娠·安産
- Recovery from illness 健康回復
- Success in business 商売で成功
- More pocket money 「お小遣いアップ」

### En-musubi omamori 縁結びお守り



### Kin'un omamori 金運お守り



## One for "safety travel"



### More gaijin influence: 4-leaf clovers





Golf omamoris

## Ema and omamori reciprocity

Money is paid to the shrine... the ema or ofuda is purchased... and the gods are asked to help or protect... in this world.

**Balanced reciprocity?** 

#### Cf Christian tradition キリスト教では

You get your reward for good deeds in the *next* world. Considered bad to expect material reward in this world... lucky charms etc considered superstition, not religion – a distinction not made in Japan.

宗教:この世で良いことをやって、あの世で報酬をもらう。ラッキー・グッズは<u>宗教</u>ではなく、ただの迷信だと思われることが多い。

But most Japanese don't believe in heaven and hell... 天国・地獄・死後でも魂が存在すると信じる日本人が(割合)すくない

"Percentage claiming to believe in the continued existence of the soul after death."

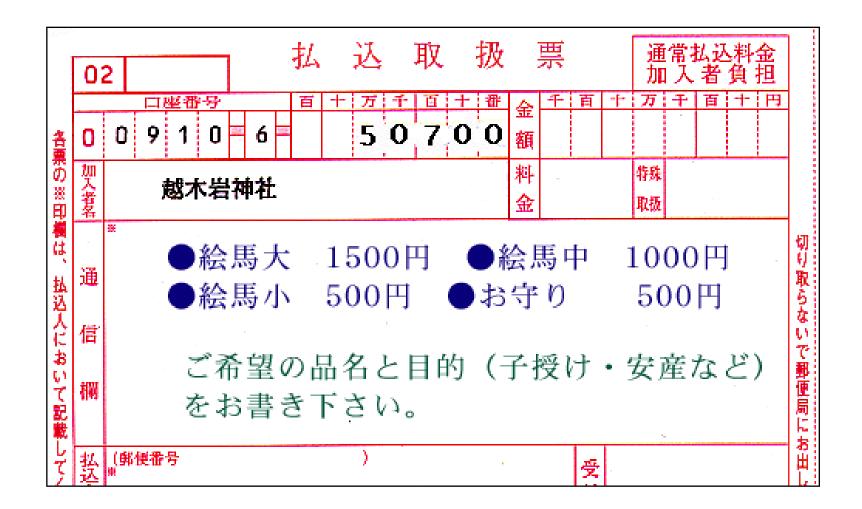
Age-group	Males	Females
16-19	53.2%	60.0%
20-29	<b>30.7%</b>	40.5%
30-39	22.0%	31.2%
40-49	21.8%	23.7%
50-59	27.5%	25.6%
60-69	33.0%	34.4%
70+	31.6%	30.0%

1984 **Asahi** Shinbun survey of 3,000 randomly selected **Japanese** people

# Shrine maidens selling *omamori* and *ema*



# Payment slip for postal ema and omamori



### So relations with the gods...

... also appear to be based on ideas of reciprocity.

## **Unifying theory No.2**

# PURIFICATION THEORY

浄化論

### Life + Death

Broadly speaking, people tend to associate Shinto with life and Buddhism with death.

The *kami* 神 are the nature gods who will look after the living, while the *hotoke* 仏(Boddhisatvas) are the souls of the dead, to be commemorated by their descendents.

# Emiko Namihira's theory of ritual space:

Namihira 波平恵美子 (a Japanese anthropologist who trained in the US), studied several Japanese villages and found this characteristic layout: the Shinto shrine near the waterfront, the houses of the village behind the shrine, and the Buddhist temple (including the graveyard) set further back, often in the foothills of the mountains.

### Three zones of life

Emiko Namihira, Kegare, 1985 (Japanese) 波平恵美子 『ケガレ』 1985年 東京堂出版

KEGARE 穢れ	KE ケ	HARE 晴れ
Inauspicious zone (bad magic; death)	Everyday life	Auspicious zone (Good Magic)
In mountains, apart from village	The village itself	The sea front (near source of life)
Buddhist temple お寺	People's houses 民家	Shinto shrine 神社

Namihira Emiko's Japaneselanguage book Kegare came out in *1985.* 

# Though Namihira originally wrote in English

- "Hare, Ke and Kegare: The Structure of Japanese Folk Belief." Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1977
- "Pollution in the Folk Belief System." In Current Anthropology, Vol.28, No.4, S65-74, 1987.

**Buddhist** temples in the foothills, with graveyards behind: the border between culture & nature

## Spiritual geography

**Plains** between mountains and sea: houses, everyday life

Shinto shrines down by the shore, facing the sea, sacred source of sustenance

KEGARE

KE

HARE

山に入ると 仏教のお寺 やお墓があ り、死との 関連+文明 と自然の境 界線

山と海の間 は盆地。そ れは集落が あり、人々 が日常生活 を行うとこ ろ。

## 瀬戸内海の漁村で は

漁村にとって海は聖 なる場所。魚のおか げで生きていける。 海岸に神道の神社を 置く。神に感謝をす る、吉兆の場。

ケガレ地帯

ケの地帯

ハレの地帯

## According to Namihira...

... and many Japanese folklore scholars, such as Noboru Miyata (宮田登) and Takanori Shintani (新谷 尚紀 ), a lot of the discrimination in Japanese society relates to kegare - especially discrimination against Burakumin. Their ancestors worked in occupations that were connected with death slaughtering animals, executing criminals, digging graves etc... resulting in spiritual pollution (kegare).



Visitors should rinse hands and mouths before entering sacred grounds

### Whether it's a shrine or a temple





Rokusono Shrine, Kyoto 六孫王神社

Chokenji Temple, Kyoto 長建寺

# SUMO (Purification of Ring with Salt)



# Is kegare still a part of Japanese society?

This is a hotly disputed point. Roughly speaking, anthropologists (人類学者) and sociologists (社会学者) tend to say "no", while folklorists (民俗学者) tend to say "yes."

I personally tend to say "yes". For instance, you can get a much lower rent on a house if its near a graveyard... considered a nice quiet location in my country, Britain.

And if you keep your eyes open, you can observe cases of ritual purification in everyday life today.



日常生活の塩 による浄化 Use of salt for ritual purification in everyday life **Ogawaka** Restaurant, Waseda, Tokyo



