

CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE IN A JAPANESE VILLAGE

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## ABSTRACT

This study is based on field work done during a period of eight months when I lived in the Japanese farming village described in the paper. The project was carried out under the financial auspices of the Japanese Government.

The religion Tenrikyō is what I describe as a 'totalitarian' system. That is, it regulates the lives of its members in all of their roles of life. The values and ideals of the religion emphasize the individual and his struggle to attain salvation. Each believer is expected to devote himself and everything he owns to the final fulfillment of the goals of Tenrikyō.

The values and goals in operation in village Japan are in direct opposition to values such as those outlined for the religion. Community solidarity is of utmost importance to a Japanese village. In order to attain this solidarity each member of the village must subject himself to the will of the community. Thus the village too may be described as a 'totalitarian' system.

When Tenrikyō entered the village of Sakōdo the meeting of the two 'totalitarian' systems produced a conflict which the village attempted to solve by formally ostracising the converts to the religion. This action was not satisfactory since it resulted in a weakening of the inner strength of the community. The only recourse was to accept the religion and make it dependant upon the village. This action eventually destroyed the 'totalitarian' nature of the religion and

strengthened that of the community.

This paper is an examination of this conflict and compromise and illustrates the type of reaction which occurs upon the meeting of two 'totalitarian' systems which hold opposing values and ideals.



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## FOREWORD

Background knowledge for this study was gained during a year and a half when I lived at the Headquarters of the Japanese religious organization Tenrikyō in Tenri City, Japan. From October 1959 to April 1961 I studied the Japanese language and the religion at the Tenri Japanese Language School under a scholarship provided by the Tenrikyō organization.

During this period I gave no thought to the study of the religion for anthropological analysis of any sort. My time was spent in learning the language and adjusting to Japanese life. As a student at Tenri I was treated as a part of the system. No consideration was given to the fact that I was a foreigner and I was expected to behave in the same way that the other believers behaved. In addition, however, I was subjected to programs of indoctrination. Though the conversion program was unsuccessful it, and Tenri life in general, supplied me with considerable understanding of the religion--its doctrine, organization, history and conversion methods.

As I became interested in studying Tenrikyō more systematically I applied for a research grant from the Japanese Government which I received in July of 1961. In the meantime, realizing the need for the backing of some academic institution I applied for and was accepted as a research student at the Department of Cultural Anthropology of Tokyo University. From

April to July of 1961 I attended the university where I audited courses on the Japanese family system and Japanese rural sociology, discussed plans with students and faculty, and read in preparation for going into the field.

The project of studying Tenrikyō organization in Tenri, a city of over 50,000 people, was out of the question, so I decided to choose a small village containing a Tenrikyō church and with a majority of Tenrikyō people in the population as a model. The Tenrikyō Headquarters supplied me with the names and locations of four villages that it considered to be about one hundred per cent Tenrikyō. I visited all four villages and finally chose the farming village of Sakōdo in Shiga Prefecture. This village was most suitable because of its size, availability of accommodation, and proximity to the church supervisory to the Sakōdo Tenrikyō church and to the Headquarters in Tenri. The last point was important because, at that time, I hoped to trace movement between the three churches.

From August 1961 to the beginning of April 1962 I lived in the village with only occasional trips to Tenri and Tokyo. Before I entered the village I arranged for accommodation and was given a choice of two homes, one Buddhist and the other Tenrikyō. Because I already had good connections with the Tenrikyō church in the village, I felt it advisable to set up an area of contact with the Buddhist group, and so chose to live in the Buddhist home. Also, this house was the home of the sake

brewer and I rightly surmised that it would be a gathering place for the village men. I was not familiar with the dialect spoken in Sakōdo and, therefore, spent the first months learning the dialect and generally becoming familiar with the village and its people.

Village people knew me as a foreign student who was interested in Japanese rural sociology. They were very willing to cooperate in interviews and were anxious to teach me their ways of life. My one difficulty was that they had trouble taking my work seriously, as I was a woman and young, and they could not see that this study was helping me establish a role in society--Japanese or North American.

The methods used in the study consisted largely of participant observation and informal interviews. A formal interview was conducted with each house in the village and genealogies were collected for every house back four generations (before the time that Tenrikyō entered the village). Land tenure was investigated and detailed land maps procured.

When I first embarked on the field work, my intention was to study the internal organization of the Branch church. The structure of Tenrikyō organization is such that each church is supposedly a model of the one above it in the hierarchy and a mirror of Headquarters. Tenrikyō Headquarters considers Sakōdo Branch church to be a model church and so I hoped to gain insight into the workings of the whole organization.

I soon realized that the number of Tenrikyō people in Sakōdo quoted by Headquarters was an exaggeration. With my background knowledge of Headquarters and of other Tenrikyō churches in Japan I became aware that the Sakōdo church was not typical. As I became familiar with the village I realized that, contrary to the belief of Headquarters, Tenrikyō had not taken over the village. Indeed it seemed to be the other way around. Thus, my original problem of study was discarded and the problem which forms the topic of this thesis came into being.

I owe much more than I could ever express to the people of Sakōdo village for their kindness and patience. In particular I must thank the family of Mr. Kōjiro Fujita who accepted me almost as one of them and who, by their understanding, relieved much of the loneliness of field work. I wish to express my appreciation to the people of Tenrikyō Headquarters and Kōga Grand church. My understanding of the religion is due to their teaching and hospitality.

Also, I wish to thank the Japanese Government for its financial support and the students and faculty of the Department of Cultural Anthropology of Tokyo University for their interest and advice. I am grateful to Dr. H. B. Hawthorn and Dr. W. P. Suttles for their advice and counsel; to Professor R. P. Dore who first oriented me to Japanese studies; to Miss Fumiko Yamaguchi of International Christian University who

spent several weeks with me in Sakōdo translating official documents that I was not equipped to handle; and to Mr. Mitsuru Shimpo for the many hours spent in discussing this work with me.

My special thanks go to Dr. William Newell, Professor of Anthropology at International Christian University in Tokyo. The field work could not have been successfully completed without his guidance, support and friendship.

## INTRODUCTION

Studies of social change are inherently concerned with changes in the system of values within a given culture. Changes in political, economic or family structure cannot be isolated from the influence of community ideals and value-systems since these are integral parts of any social institution.

These ideals and values, operating throughout community life, find both a concrete and philosophical expression in the religious institutions within the social system. They may, in fact, be more clearly defined in the area of religion than elsewhere. Values and ideals connected with political, economic and family structure are often incorporated into the religious system and, inversely, religious values tend to permeate the other areas of community life. The impossibility of disengaging the one from the other has been stressed by both anthropologists and sociologists.<sup>1</sup>

If religion has, indeed, such connections, changes within an indigenous religion or conversion to a different religion will have ramifications throughout the entire social system. This point is exemplified in changes that have

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<sup>1</sup> E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Nuer Religion, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956 and R. Firth, Elements of Social Organization, London, Watts and Co., 1951.

occurred in tribal societies when missionaries have attempted to replace the original religion with Christianity.

Conflict will occur when the system of values expressed in the new religion is basically different from that of the old. If the change in religious values is likely to affect other institutions within the community the conflict will be acute and will result in some form of reaction.

This paper deals with religious change, the resultant change in values, conflict and reaction. Because the new religion under discussion is, in itself, a well defined social system, the discussion of change, conflict and reaction takes place in a framework of the contact between two social systems: the Japanese religion Tenrikyō and a small Japanese farming village. These two social systems have a high degree of similarity and each may be described as a 'totalitarian' system. The term is borrowed from Merton who describes a 'totalitarian' group as: a group which regulates the sentiments and behaviour of its members in all of their roles of life.<sup>2</sup>

When two 'totalitarian' systems, operating within the same social unit and holding different values and attitudes, come into contact conflict will arise. The result of this conflict, in an extreme case, may be destructive to one or the other of the groups. If, however, the opposing values affect

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2 R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Glenco Free Press, 1957.



the means of survival of the members of both groups it becomes essential that a compromise be reached.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the mechanisms and process of this compromise with special reference to the two social systems mentioned above.

The new religion, Tenrikyō, attempts to take the individual away from his traditional set of community values and to force him to absorb a new set of values. These new values work in opposition to the community values and conflict occurs. But the community values, already established and constantly reinforced by the traditional nature of village social institutions and economic factors, are strongly engrained in the individual and moreover, are basic to the operations which ensure his existence. This forces the necessary compromise.

## CHAPTER I

## TENRIKYŌ

The Tenrikyō religion began in 1838 when a Japanese housewife, Nakayama Miki, received a vision from a deity which she later called God the Parent. In this vision she apparently received instructions that she was to be God the Parent's living form on earth and that she was to teach the people His way to personal salvation and a life of happiness.

The religion had its seed in the small group of farmers who believed and supported Miki but it soon spread beyond the farming village of Tanbaichi to include people from all over the southern half of Honshu. Throughout its brief history Tenrikyō has suffered much persecution and change at the hands of Japan's government and its traditional religions. At present Tenrikyō is an officially recognized religion with a rather militant organization and doctrine which is still being modified and extended.

Spreading from southern Honshu to all parts of Japan and to Hawaii, North America, South America and other parts of Asia, the religion now has a following of over 2,000,000 Japanese people. Throughout Japan there are over 15,000 Tenrikyō churches and about 101,000 qualified preachers.

The Headquarters of Tenrikyō is situated on the property of the Nakayama family in the City of Tenri in Nara

Prefecture. Tenri has a population of over 50,000 people eighty per cent of which are Tenrikyō believers. The city proper, which one hundred years ago was only a field near a village of from twenty to thirty houses, is almost completely composed of the large and impressive buildings of Tenrikyō: the great main sanctuary, the sanctuary of the Foundress, the Oyasato Yakata--an immense building used for administrative and teaching purposes, about 127 large dormitories said to accommodate about 150,000 people, hospitals, schools, a university and library, and a publishing house. All of these institutions are administered by the religion.

A visitor to Tenri is first impressed by the immense and beautiful buildings that proclaim the wealth of this relatively new religion. He is impressed by the crowds of believers he sees in the Tenri streets (easily distinguishable by the Tenri happi coat--the uniform of the religion). He is astonished to learn that all these buildings were erected by voluntary labour, using materials supplied by the believers. Later when he sees large groups of Tenrikyō people carrying the earth from building excavations on their shoulders, sweeping the streets, polishing the floors of the buildings on their hands and knees from four in the morning until daylight fades, he begins to wonder what Tenrikyō is that it can accomplish this.

In this chapter I will attempt to answer his question. I will describe the organization of the religion, the ideals

and values held by the believers, and the mechanisms within the organization which operate both to maintain and to fulfill these ideals and values. I will discuss doctrine only when it is important to an understanding of the points outlined above. A discussion of doctrine may be found in the Appendix.

# 1. The Organization of Tenrikyō:

Within the organizational structure of Tenrikyō there are two types of churches. The first is Headquarters church situated in Tenri City. Headquarters is considered to be a church and not just an administrative unit. This church, however, is the most sacred place in the world to Tenrikyō believers for it is built around Jiba, an area of ground which, according to Tenrikyō doctrine, was the birth-place of mankind. The priests of this church and its followers are, theoretically, the descendents of the first followers of the Foundress.

The second type of church--the 'common' church--is found all over Japan and in foreign lands serviced by Tenrikyō missionaries. Among these 'common' churches there is a division based on whether they are under direct or indirect supervision by Headquarters church.

All foreign mission churches are directly supervised by Headquarters. The 127 Grand churches (daikyōkai) scattered throughout Japan are also included in this category. A Grand church is one which has over fifty Branch churches under it.

and whose followers include over 300 qualified preachers.<sup>1</sup> There are also eighty-six churches which are Branch churches of the Headquarter's church and are thus directly supervised by Headquarters.

There are 14,977 churches which are Branch churches of the Grand churches and are, therefore, under only indirect supervision of Headquarters. The supervision for such a church comes directly from the Grand church to which it belongs. The definition of a Branch church (*bunkyōkai*) is a church which has among its followers over ten people who have received the grant of osazuke<sup>2</sup> and over five qualified preachers. There are also Branch churches of Branch churches which are only indirectly supervised by Headquarters.

The following is a brief description of the internal structure of Headquarters. The highest position of the hierarchy is that held at present by Nakayama Shozen. When Tenrikyō priests speak English they give him the title of 'patriarch'. In Japanese he is called *Shimbashira* which means 'true pillar'. Since the formal organization of the religion came into being in 1889, the position of Shimbashira has only been in existence

1 A preacher is a person who has attended the religious training course at Tenri City and the three week training course for preachers at the Headquarter's Church in Tenri.

2 Osazuke is the power to heal people through faith. A believer is granted this power when he has attended nine consecutive Besseki lectures at the Headquarter's Church in Tenri. The healing ritual consists of performing the prayers of Tenrikyō over the sick person. Occasionally water is used in the ritual.

for about two generations. It is a hereditary position based on primogeniture and patrilineal descent. Both Patriarchs, past and present, are direct descendants of the Foundress, Nakayama Miki. The genealogy on page 133 illustrates this relationship.

Although some writers disagree with me<sup>3</sup> I believe that Shimbashira has full and absolute power within the organization. It is by his recommendation that positions within the hierarchy are assigned. All organizational policy and doctrinal changes or additions must have his approval. I believe that his wishes control the purse strings of the religion.

The question of Shimbashira's supreme authority is, however, a difficult one to answer. I have stated the above views on the basis of my experiences while living in Tenri and on information gathered from interviews with high priests. I must, however, mention a few things which might indicate that others are right in questioning the authority of the Patriarch.

If a Tenrikyō missionary has succeeded in converting enough people to establish a church he must apply to a committee within the organization of Headquarters. This application is reviewed by the committee and either rejected or passed on to a higher committee for its approval. At this second stage it may be rejected. If it is not it is passed to the general

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<sup>3</sup> H. Van Stralen, The Religion of Divine Wisdom, Charles E. Tuttle and Co., 1957.

meeting of the hombuin (the highest rank of priesthood). Hombuin may also reject the application but, if it is accepted, it is given to Shimbashira for his approval. Thus although, theoretically, Shimbashira is said to be the one person who grants permission for a follower to establish a church the petition may never reach him if it is rejected at a lower level.

Again, theoretically it is possible to go directly to Shimbashira with such a petition. Tenrikyō people are taught that Shimbashira will grant an audience to anyone. The person of the Patriarch is, however, surrounded with such an aura of reverence that the ordinary believer would, I think, rarely presume upon this favour. If the believer did have the courage to ask for an audience the procedure is so discouraging that I doubt if many would ever actually reach the goal.

To obtain such an audience a believer must go early in the morning to the office at the entrance of the Patriarch's home. There he must state his business and the reasons he wishes to see the Patriarch. It is actually quite an interrogation and the attendant will usually suggest various other ways of attending to the business. If the attendant is satisfied that the business is legitimate or that the person will not go away the believer is asked to wait. This waiting period may stretch over several days. Now the person comes early in the morning, brings his lunch and waits until he is advised to go

home at night. The same thing is repeated the next day. I assume that if he waits long enough he will see the Patriarch. In the cases with which I am familiar the people gave up and went home with their mission unfulfilled. I doubt that the Patriarch knew of their existence.

On the other hand, the fact that Shimbashira can insist that his favourites be given positions within the organization is indicative of considerable authority--particularly when enough positions do not exist and new ones have to be created. My informants told me that the administration was very concerned about the excess of employees acquired in this manner.

Under Shimbashira are two main offices: omotetōryo which represents the administration of Tenrikyō and uchitōryo an office in charge of religious and educational affairs. All departments within the organizational structure are supervised by one of these two offices.

The entire priesthood at Headquarters is divided into three grades. From bottom to top these grades are seinen, junnin and hombuin. A man must move up through these grades by making application to and receiving the appointment from Shimbashira. This is theoretically so but what appears to happen is that a son will take over his father's position after he has passed up through the system. Of course these two things may work hand in hand. It was explained to me that the son of a hombuin will apply for positions when vacancies occur--first



in seinen then junnin and finally in hombuin. Shimbashira will usually grant the appointment. Often the applicant is sponsored by a person already in the upper reaches of the hierarchy.

The two offices of omotetōryo and uchitōryo are filled by two people from the highest rank. At present both men are close relatives of Shimbashira. The other members of hombuin, junnin and seinen fill various positions under the two offices.

The internal organization of the Grand church is patterned after Headquarters. The Head priest takes the place of Shimbashira in exerting absolute authority over the members of the church. Below him is an executive board called the yakuin which corresponds to the hombuin of Headquarters. The Grand church does not, however, have the equivalent of the two lower grades of Headquarters. The young men are organized into the seinenkai (Young Men's Association) but this is an organization that exists on all levels of Tenrikyō from the Headquarters through the Grand churches to the Branch churches.

I will use Kōga Grand church as an example in a description of a Grand church.

The Kōga church grounds form a sort of compound that is surrounded on all sides by a high wall. Within this compound there is an extremely large and beautiful sanctuary. Attached to this by enclosed 'walks' or 'halls' is an administrative unit consisting of several offices. To one side of the

sanctuary and attached to it by the same sort of enclosed walks is the dwelling of the Head priest (kaichō) and his family. Also attached to the sanctuary in the same manner are the guest rooms and the kitchen from which the guests are served. Within the compound but not attached to the sanctuary are twenty-five individual houses. These dwellings house the twenty-five families who belong to the Grand church. A communal kitchen and bath house exist to serve their needs. These twenty-five families seem to be the only families who actually belong to the Grand church. If there are Tenrikyō believers in the town itself they may be attached to a Branch church of Kōga Grand church or they may be attached to Branch churches of other Grand churches. All the families who actually belong to Kōga Grand church seem to live within the compound unless, of course, they are working at the Kōga Grand church dormitory in Tenri City.

The people of Kōga Grand church are extremely proud of their church. When taking you through the various parts of the buildings they will point to some especially beautiful object and proudly state the cost of it. They measure the value of their buildings and furnishings by stating the relative size or value in relation to Headquarters. The history of Kōga Grand church has been written and published in two volumes, beautifully bound. Most of the Grand churches have their own written history. Such is the strength and importance of the Grand church.

The first churches of Tenrikyō were established as kō<sup>4</sup> during the life of the Foundress. They were begun by men who formed the first group of believers who surrounded the Foundress. After she died in 1888 her closest followers took steps to have the religion officially recognized by the government. In 1889 they received governmental permission to establish Honbu Kyōkai (Headquarters Church) and as soon as Headquarters was established the early followers went into action to have their individual churches recognized. Kawaramachi church in Kyoto was one of these early churches.

Fukaya Genshiro, a man from Kyoto, had been one of the Foundress' first followers. As his missionary efforts bore fruit he was able to gather together a relatively large group of followers in Kyoto. At first these people met at his home and formed a kō but as the number of believers increased they decided to apply for official recognition and build a church.

Among the followers of Fukaya were several devout people whose missionary activities enabled them to gather

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<sup>4</sup> A kō appears to be an informal group of people held together by ties of usually a religious nature and aims of mutual benefit. The dictionary definition is: a fraternity, association, club. For example, today in Sakōdo there are remnants of various kō in existence. Fuji-kō members have all made a pilgrimage to Mount Fuji. Ise-kō members have made a pilgrimage to the shrine at Ise. The kō has various financial duties as well. Usually the members donate a certain sum of money during the year and this money is used to send a representative on the pilgrimage. In rural Japan the groups also provide a medium for social activity.

followers of their own. They, in turn, established churches. Yamada Tauemon was one such devout believer. He came from the village of Uda situated in Shiga Prefecture a short distance from Kyoto. By the time that Kawaramachi church received official recognition from the prefectural government Yamada's following had increased to a point where he too sought prefectural recognition. Because he was a follower of Fukaya Genshiro the Uda church was established as a shikyōsho (evangelical station) of the Kawaramachi church. Gradually Yamada's followers began to establish their own churches. By 1901 the Kōga church at Uda had over two thousand followers including those of the subordinate churches. It was therefore separated from its parent church, Kawaramachi, and promoted to the rank of Branch church. At this time Kawaramachi church was still a Branch church.

Missionary efforts continued and the subordinate churches to both Kawaramachi and Kōga increased in number. The highest rank that a church can have in the system is that of Grand church. Both Kawaramachi and Kōga were promoted to this rank in 1909.

I have used Kawaramachi and Kōga churches as an example of the organizational structure of the religion. Each of the 127 Grand churches has at least fifty Branch churches beneath it. These Branch churches may, in turn, have churches subordinate to them but final allegiance is paid to the Grand

church.

The Branch churches can never take precedence over their parent church. If, for example, the Branch church of a Branch church became very strong and managed to establish over fifty churches subordinate to it it could not become a Grand church even though it had fulfilled the requirements. Its parent church had not become a Grand church and it cannot go above the parent church. Also, although a Branch church is subordinate to the parent church to which the head of the Branch church belongs, theoretically no Branch church can belong to another Branch church.

The same thing holds true for the priests in charge of each church. Returning again to our example, Fukaya of Kawaramachi was the parent figure. He owed allegiance only to Headquarters and to the Patriarch. Yamada of Kōga church owed his allegiance to his parent figure, Fukaya, until Kōga was separated from the parent church. After separation Yamada no longer owed allegiance to Fukaya. His allegiance went directly to Headquarters and Shimbashira. The churches subordinate to Kōga church were no longer tied in any way to Kawaramachi and their members now owed loyalty only to Yamada.

Since Tenrikyō people themselves describe the relationship of Grand and Branch church in terms of

oya-ko-no ri<sup>5</sup> it is not too far wrong to draw a parallel between the relationship of the churches and the 'ideal' relationship traditional Japanese society dictates for the parent and child in the family situation. The analogy does not strictly apply but there are interesting similarities.

One could say that the parent acts as a teacher and guide while the child is in turn asked to give respect and support and submission of will to the parent. This moral principle appears to be basic to the structure of Tenrikyō. From Headquarters teaching and guidance flow out to the Grand churches and, through them, to the Branch churches. In turn, respect and support in the form of money and labour flow from the Branch church through the Grand church back to Headquarters.

The analogy breaks down in that in a family situation the parent is expected to support and nurture the child until it is capable of earning its own living. In the Tenrikyō structure this is not the case. Neither money nor labour ever flows in the reverse direction. From the time the young

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<sup>5</sup> Oya-ko-no-ri can be roughly translated as 'the principle of filiation'. It is a moral principle taught and supported by Confucist thought and ancestor worship which supports the positions of superiority and inferiority within the Japanese family system. This principle dictates that the parent must be generous, gracious and benevolent towards the children who must be loyal and obedient and exhibit filial piety towards the parent. The relationship is one-sided in that the child cannot request benevolence from the parent.

missionary first goes off to gather together the followers of his future church he is completely on his own. He receives aid in the form of moral support but he does not receive financial aid. The individual follower of Tenrikyō will receive guidance, prayers and admonishment from his local church if he is in trouble but he will not receive financial help. If a Branch church is crumbling or cannot meet its financial commitments the Grand church will lecture but will not give material aid. A Grand church, when it is in difficulty, will receive nothing to meet its material needs from Headquarters. Money flows up the ladder but it does not flow down.

The financial aspect of Tenrikyō is a very important reason for the closely knit relations between a Grand church and its Branch churches. Each Grand church is given an estimate of the amount of money Headquarters would like to receive from it each month. The Grand church may decide to give more but it does not, if at all possible, give less. To give less would result in a loss of status at Headquarters. The church which can give more wins favour and thus power and a higher place in the hierarchy.

A Grand church cannot usually obtain the needed amount of money from its immediate followers. For example, the immediate members of Kōga Grand church are only twenty-five families. All of these families live within the compound of the church and are engaged in either church administration or

missionary work. They receive no salary--simply a living allowance. They alone could never raise enough money to meet the commitment. This money and the money for the member's living allowance comes from the numerous Branch churches. The money from the Branch churches is obtained from the individual followers.

The Grand church does not dictate the amount that it wishes to receive from each Branch church. It tells the Branch churches what the total commitment to Headquarters is and asks for their support. The head priest of the Branch church then informs his followers of the amount and urges them to give as much as they can in support of the parent church. The amount that a Branch church gives to its parent church affects the status of the Branch church at the Grand church.

In each church a service of worship is held at the rising and setting of the sun. A money box stands at the front of the church and the followers throw in their offering each time they visit. Theoretically, no one knows how much each person gives. This is the daily offering.

If a person becomes ill or if trouble befalls him he is supposed to give an offering to God the Parent. Then if he becomes well or if the trouble passes he must give another offering. People give extra offerings on birthdays or on New Year's Day or if they are particularly thankful about something. This type of offering is given directly to



the priest and the amount and name of the giver is recorded in the financial statement each month.

The money then proceeds from the Branch church to the coffers of the Grand church. Again it is not given in the form of a payment but as a gift or offering and is presented at the monthly festival ceremonies.

Tenrikyō has one major ceremony each month. The ceremony is held on the twenty-sixth of the month at Headquarters and the head priest from each of the 127 Grand churches is required to return to Tenri for the service. He brings with him the money he has committed his church to give. For this reason the monthly service in each Grand church is set exactly enough days ahead of the twenty-sixth to enable the priest to receive the offerings from the Branch churches and then travel whatever distance he may be from Tenri by the twenty-sixth. The monthly service in each Branch church is similarly set ahead of the ceremony at the Grand church so that the priest will be able to collect the offering and arrive at the Grand church in time to present it during the ceremony. Thus a Branch church of Kōga church situated in Hokkaido may have its monthly service ten days ahead of the Branch church in Sakōdo which is only a twenty minute bus trip away from Kōga.

Generally a Branch church does not pass on everything it receives from its followers. Nor does a Grand church make a complete donation of everything it receives from its Branch

churches. In most cases the family of the head priest lives in quarters adjoining the church and the upkeep of the church and the priest's living allowance must come out of the offerings received from the members. Nevertheless the amount passed on to the superior church is usually quite sizeable.

The financial system not only makes close contact between Grand and Branch church a necessity but it serves as a means of reinforcing cohesion between churches. This cohesion is supported not only financially but also through the contact that the priest of the Branch church has with his Grand church at the ceremony that he is required to attend.

Another way in which close contact is maintained between Grand and Branch church is through hinokishin which is a form of voluntary service. Like the financial system hinokishin is labour given by the subordinates to those in authority. The most widely known form of hinokishin is tsuchimochi. This is the work of carrying earth away from the excavations for the buildings of Tenrikyō. The earth is carried from one place to another in a straw rope-net slung on a pole and carried on the shoulders of a team of two people. When building is in progress at a Grand church the Branch churches are expected to supply the labourers. Otherwise, tsuchimochi is usually done at Headquarters where building is constantly in progress.

Each Grand church is expected to supply labourers to carry out the work on the buildings at Headquarters. These labourers are recruited from the Branch churches. Usually these work parties are made up during the monthly festival and last for several days. The number of labourers a Branch church can supply is an indication of its strength.

The churches in a district will generally arrange to charter a bus or sometimes an entire train to take the followers to Tenri. Each church's party will travel together under the flag of their church. During their stay in Tenri they will do everything together marching behind the flag of their church.

There are other forms of hinokishin. The followers may be called upon to houseclean the Grand church or garden or sew cushions--just about anything. Hinokishin is not compulsory but doctrine teaches that it is a means to salvation and that illness may be cured by doing it joyously. This plus the pressure brought to bear by the Grand church that wishes to make a good showing ensures that the population of Headquarters is swelled unbelievably each month by the followers who have returned to Tenri to do "joyous labour".

Hinokishin is also a unifying factor in the organizational structure. The regular visits to the Grand churches and to Headquarters serve to familiarize the believers with the upper reaches of the hierarchy and to impress upon them the

strength and power of the religion. The communal effort of hinokishin re-emphasizes the ties between the churches and strengthens the loyalty to the parent church.

The churches demand one further service from their followers. The work of evangelism is the most costly to the believer but the work that is most emphasized by the church. Everything we have spoken of--money, labour, prestige, power--all hinge on the number of followers a given church has. Thus it is not surprising that evangelism is the most important work of the church. Any follower who has obtained osazuke is expected to convert at least one other person. The church that shows the greatest results in evangelism will be the most prosperous.

## 2. Ideals and Values of Tenrikyō:

The ultimate religious ideals of Tenrikyō are:

a) the salvation of mankind and b) the realization of a 'joyous' world. Translated to the level of the individual believer the ideals are: a) personal salvation and b) attaining a 'joyous' life in the immediate present.

According to Fukaya Tadamasa by 'salvation' Tenrikyō means the regeneration of the mind.<sup>6</sup> Tenrikyō doctrine teaches that God the Parent first created the 'joyous' life in order to

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<sup>6</sup> Fukaya Tadamasa, The Fundamental Doctrines of Tenrikyō, Tenri Jihōsha, Tenri City, 1962.

share the happiness of mankind. He created man and loaned him a physical body. This body is at all times subject to the will of God. The mind, however, is subject to human will and, because of disobedience to God the Parent and by breaking Heavenly laws, it degenerates or becomes 'covered with dust'. Man is, therefore, out of harmony with God and with his fellow man. Salvation, which implies a state of harmony with God and with mankind, can be attained when the accumulated 'dust' is swept clear. Salvation with the implied harmony results in a 'joyous' life. On the other hand salvation may be attained by living a 'joyous' life in the present.

Thus the two ideals are interdependent.

In order to attain the salvation of mankind and establish the 'joyous' world the doctrine of Tenrikyō must be taught throughout the world. Consequently, a high value is placed on evangelism and missionary zeal.

For the individual both salvation and a 'joyous' life may be attained in various ways. Within these methods are found the system of values held by the religion.

First, the believer must submit himself to complete obedience to the will of God the Parent. God's will is made known through the people who are closest to Him--Shimbashira, the hombuin, and the head priests. Thus the believer is expected to submit to the will of anyone who is above him in the religious hierarchy.

The will of God the Parent is made known in another way. Tenrikyō doctrine teaches that mijo (illness) and jijo (difficulties encountered in day to day living) are sent by God to teach and guide the believer. Thus, when encountered with sickness or trouble, the believer must not complain since he, himself, is responsible for the problem. Rather, the Tenrikyō believer must be happy that God is sending this guidance and must search his mind to determine what he has done or how he has failed. If the search proves too difficult a priest may be asked to interpret the message.

Because of this belief the church will give no material aid to its troubled believers. Such aid would be interfering with God's will and the individual concerned could not, then, be led to a realization of his wrongs. The same principle applies to medical care although here some allowance is made for strength of belief. That is, a person who is considered to have a weak faith may be advised to seek medical attention. The story of a young Japanese American is a case in point.

Bill Y came from America to Tenri to study Tenrikyō--the religion of his parents. While at Tenri he contracted tuberculosis of the spine. The doctors advised surgery and Bill was told that if the operation did not take place immediately he would lose the use of his legs. But Bill was a Tenrikyō believer and felt that this illness was meant to teach him something. He consulted with the priest of the Grand church

to which he was connected. After discussing the problem the priests decided that Bill was still rather ignorant in the faith and that he would not be able to cure himself through soul-searching. They gave permission to have the operation but advised Bill to first consult with the priest of his home church in America. Because of the parent-child ties between priest and adherent it was more important to have permission from his own priest than from his actual parents. Letters were sent back and forth and finally, several weeks later, Bill had the operation.

Another story illustrating the Tenrikyō attitude to illness directly concerned me. While living in Tenri several corns developed on the soles of both my feet. When it became too painful to walk I went to the hospital to consult a doctor. He told our dormitory 'mother', she told the Foreign Mission Office and eventually several priests came to visit me. They suggested that rather than have the corns removed by the doctor, I should consider them to be a 'little letter' from God. If I searched my mind for a reason why God would send this letter and tried to wipe the 'dust' from my heart the corns would vanish. The fact that my feet never properly healed after the operation is considered to be a result of further 'dust' I acquired by ignoring God's 'letter' and not, as I firmly believe, because Tenrikyō doctors are incompetent.

The above stories are illustrations of values instilled in Tenrikyō believers: submission to authority, obedience to the parent figure either God or priest, happiness and contentment in the face of trouble.

Another way to salvation open to the Tenrikyō person is to follow as much as possible the model of the Foundress in daily life. This of course includes the values stated above but also embraces a further Tenrikyō value: subjecting oneself to absolute poverty in order to experience the divine love of God the Parent. Thus people are encouraged to dispose of material possessions and dedicate themselves to the service of the church.

Believers are encouraged to give their material possessions to the church. Complete dedication of self and possessions is further accomplished by doing hinokishin.

All of these roads to salvation and a 'joyous' life express the intrinsic values of the religion. These values are included in the over-all important task of placing the ideals of Tenrikyō above any other earthly claims upon the individual.

### 3. Mechanisms within the Organization which Operate toward the Fulfillment of the Ideal:

Within any group that holds a definite system of values and a clearly defined ideal there exist internal mechanisms which operate to stimulate the members and the group to seek attainment of the ideal. In Tenrikyō I see four such factors at work.



The first of these mechanisms is, perhaps, simply the religious promise that is given to each believer--a promise of salvation and a happy, joyous existence. Such a promise brings hope for 'better things to come' to people who do not find this hope in the traditional religions of their country. If such hope is to be kept alive it must be reinforced from time to time. Tenrikyō practises a type of faith healing and many are the stories the priests tell of miraculous recovery at the hands of a Tenrikyō healer. To people who suffer difficulties and whose faith is thus endangered the repetition of these stories serves to reinforce the feeling of hope. Again, stories are told concerning people who have financial difficulties and who, by being converted, have become fairly wealthy. The following story was taken from my field notes and is a good example of many such tales:

Mr. K owned a bicycle shop. He was married and had four children. They were very poor because Mr. K did not get much business and he was disheartened so he spent all his money on drink. The family had nothing to eat and only rags to wear. Then the smallest child became ill and they could do nothing because they had no money for doctors or medicine. They were very unhappy. Then a Tenrikyō neighbour came and taught Mrs. K about Tenrikyō and prayed over the baby and it got better. Then Mrs. K tried to teach her husband about Tenrikyō. At first he would not listen but then he became Tenrikyō and suddenly his business got better and better. Then it started getting bad again so he asked the Tenrikyō priest for the reason. The priest said that it was because he never thanked God the Parent with money but kept it all to himself. So Mr. K gave God a gift of money and since then the business gets bigger and bigger every year.

These stories are always told in simple words and repeated again and again. There are many more spectacular tales of babies born without eyes who have been made to see or a child with a cleft palate who has been given speech. The moral is obvious--become a Tenrikyō believer and your life will improve--it has happened to others; it could happen to you.

The second mechanism is the more technical one of indoctrination. Based on common methods of brain-washing the Tenrikyō indoctrination program is very successful. The recruits are sent to Tenri, usually by relatives or friends, to live for three months in a completely Tenrikyō environment. During this three month period their lives are strictly regulated and they are cut off from anything that is not Tenrikyō. They are fed little else than rice and pickle, they get little sleep--less than five hours a night, they work at hard labour for most of the day. They attend some classes where they are taught the ritual dance and songs and where they listen to simple stories like the one quoted above. Hunger, fatigue, and monotonous repetition ingrain the beliefs of Tenrikyō deep into their minds. The stimulus of group activity also acts as a reinforcement to learning.

A third mechanism exists in the stratification of the organization and in the system of rank. When positions are clearly stratified and mobility is theoretically possible an

incentive to rise in the hierarchy is produced. Tenrikyō states that mobility up the ladder is possible if one attempts to live a 'joyous' life and sweep away the 'dust' of the mind. Thus service, missionary activity and donations of wealth are measured, by the ambitious believer, as a means of climbing higher in the hierarchy.

The ranking of the churches also produces incentive towards fulfilling the religious goals. The individual member is encouraged to help his church attain a higher status. The believer derives prestige in accordance with the status of the church to which he belongs.

The fourth mechanism operating towards the fulfillment of the ideal is the authoritarian nature of the organization. This is based on the principle of oya-ko no ri mentioned above. Oya-ko no ri can be roughly translated as 'the principle of filiation'. It is a moral principle taught and supported by Confucist thought and ancestor worship which supports the positions of superiority and inferiority within the Japanese family system. This principle dictates that the parent must be generous, gracious and benevolent towards the children who must be loyal and obedient and exhibit filial piety towards the parent. The relationship is one-sided in that the child cannot request benevolence from the parent. The principle of oya-ko no ri operative in the family system is evident in a more modified form in other areas of Japanese society. In

organizations where ranked positions exist (for example, large business corporations, political parties, underworld groups, university faculties) the principle is used to support positions of superiority and inferiority. In such cases the parent-child relationship is fictitious but nevertheless strong.

This fictitious parent-child relationship exists within the organization structure of Tenrikyō. The members of a Tenrikyō church look to the head priest as the parent figure. The priests of Branch churches regard the head priest of the Grand church as their parent figure. Shimbashira, the Patriarch of the religious organization, is the supreme parent figure on earth and above him are the spirit of the Foundress and God the Parent. The principle of oya-ko no ri dictates the Japanese familial obligations of loyalty and obedience to the 'parent' superiors. The doctrine of the religion and the promise of salvation makes the fictitious parenthood in Tenrikyō much stronger than it is in the other Japanese social organizations listed above.

Thus the authority of the superiors cannot be questioned. Suggestions and orders from the priests are immediately carried out.

The highest authority in Tenrikyō is Shimbashira. His word is law. There were many occasions when he ordered me to do various things. If I refused I was immediately jumped upon by high priests who were greatly concerned because I would not bow to his wishes.

The first New Years that I spent in Tenri I was ordered to dress in Japanese kimono for the celebrations. The order came from the wife of Shimbashira via the dormitory 'mother'. I did not want to dress in kimono and declined. I soon realized that my wishes did not count at all. A kimono was brought and I was dressed in it. Then we set out on our New Year calls. At a certain corner we happened to meet Shimbashira and a group of priests. While they were yet a good way off one of the priests of the Foreign Mission Office said "Hawkey San, that is Shimbashira San." I nodded to indicate that I understood. "Mr. Nakayama," the fellow then said. I replied "Yes." "The Patriarch of Tenrikyō," he continued. I again replied, "Yes, I know." Finally, in desperation, the fellow grabbed me by the obi of my kimono and pushed me to a ninety degree bow where I was held until the Patriarch had approached and spoken to me.

The Patriarch then ordered me to return with him to his house. I started to reply that I was with a group and would like to come again some other time but I caught the horrified looks on the faces of the people around me and meekly followed after the Patriarch and his group.

When we arrived at the house we proceeded to a large reception room where about fifty people were waiting to pay their New Year respects to the Patriarch. Someone put a sake container into my hand and ordered me to serve the guests. I

hadn't the slightest notion of the correct procedure and tried to explain my way out of it. The reply I received was simply 'gambatte' which is an imperative command meaning something like 'do your best'. I learned how to serve sake very quickly.

At another time while I was away in Tokyo I received an invitation to dinner at the home of Shimbashira. Tokyo is approximately nine hours away by train but I received a long distance phone call requesting me to return to Tenri by the next train. I declined the invitation and apparently caused considerable trouble for those people responsible for seeing that I attended the dinner.

As long as you comply with all wishes things go smoothly but if you decide that you have had enough of being ordered about you create confusion throughout the whole system.

It was not, of course, only we lowly students who received orders and were expected to obey them. I have been present when high priests had to get up and perform like monkeys at the command of the Patriarch. I have had important people in the hierarchy rush to me with English papers written by the Patriarch which they have been ordered to correct in a fantastically short space of time. I have witnessed whole crowds of people mobilized and marched off to line the streets of the town, cheering and waving banners, whenever the Patriarch leaves his residence to ride out.

Whenever I asked the question, "Why should I do this?" the answer was always patiently given. "Shimbashira is the Patriarch. His wisdom is greater than any man. We do not ask questions, we only obey."

The same applies to everyone right down the hierarchy.

The authoritarian nature of the religion based on a principle of the traditional Japanese family system is a strong mechanism which supports and maintains activity towards the fulfillment of the religious ideal.

#### 4. The 'Totalitarian' Nature of Tenrikyō:

A young girl that I will call H is the daughter of a Tenrikyō family. I first met her while she was attending the religious training school in Tenri. H is a firm believer and devoted to the service of the church. She was told by her priest that in order to serve God the Parent she should go to Hiroshima as a missionary. She left her family and travelled to Hiroshima where she found a small room in which to live. She was told that as a missionary she must work completely on her own. Though there are Tenrikyō churches in Hiroshima she was not to contact them. There were no Branch churches of her Grand church in the city and her task was to establish such a Branch church. For months H walked the streets of the city and talked to people about Tenrikyō. She visited the homes of Hiroshima people. Most often she met with hostility and was not allowed to enter the house of the person she had gone to

visit. When she found sickness she asked if she could try faith-healing. No one would let her perform the ritual so she stood every night outside of the sick people's homes and prayed. H received no financial aid from her church. Probably she received some help from her home though I am not sure. Any money she received from people in Hiroshima was sent back to her Grand church. I am certain of this since I carried it from Hiroshima to Tenri several times. When I last saw H she had managed to convert one person to Tenrikyō.

Mr. O is a young man who was sent along with two other young men to Nagoya to do missionary work. He is the eldest son of a non-Tenrikyō family and, since his Tenrikyō activities come before his obligations to the family, he has been outcast from his home. The young men live in a small attic room in Nagoya city. They sleep on the bare floor with no covering even in winter and eat two pieces of bread a day. They have no money for anything else since money they receive in their missionary work is sent to the Grand church.

Miss Y is a young Japanese American who works at the Foreign Mission Office in Tenri. She went to Japan seven years ago to act as interpreter for the Foreign Mission Office. Her family is in America and she wishes to return to them. However, she is financially unable to do so as she works in Tenri for a bare living allowance. I asked her why she did not approach Headquarters for the return fare to America and she replied that



since her life belonged to the religion it was up to Headquarters to decide how she could best serve the church.

These three people are examples of many people who have dedicated their lives to the service of the church. They exemplify the ideal of complete dedication which regulates the lives of Tenrikyō believers. Merton has described a 'totalitarian' group as one which regulates the sentiments and behaviour of its members in all of their roles of life. Because of the complete dedication expected of the Tenrikyō believer I believe that this religious organization can be described as a 'totalitarian' system.

Each individual member of the religion is governed by the priest of his church. The church rules the economic side of the individual's life. There are many cases where adherents have literally given all they possess to the church. The church rules family and social life through its teachings and rules the individual's life by regulating his time. The church even instructs as to what time members should arise in the morning. Once a person becomes Tenrikyō he assumes the responsibility of helping to fulfill the goals of the religion and those of his particular church. He is aided in this by the authoritarian nature of the religion which dictates his behaviour in all his roles of life. He is no longer just a farmer, a father, a son or a neighbour. He is Tenrikyō and this takes precedence over everything else.

## CHAPTER II

## THE VILLAGE OF SAKŌDO

1. Description of the Village

Sakōdo is a small farming community in the southern part of Shiga Prefecture. Its physical aspects are those of a typical Japanese farming village. Its nucleus of eighty-six households crammed together on a small section of land is surrounded on all sides by the fields and rice paddies that give its people sustenance. The area of land belonging to the village is bordered on three sides by the fields of three neighbouring villages and on the fourth side by the Yasu River, the main means of irrigation to Sakōdo and its surrounding villages.

Sakōdo can be reached by bus or car by travelling along the Number One National Highway which passes within 900 meters of the village. It can be reached by rail by travelling on the Kusatsu line from Kusatsu to Mikumo. The bus from Mikumo station to Minakuchi town stops at the entrance to the road leading to Sakōdo village. From this road entrance it is about a 500 meter walk to the village itself.

The land in this river valley is quite fertile. The main crops are rice, barley and rapeseed. To the east of Sakōdo, beyond the town of Minakuchi, some tea is grown but this does not affect the economy of the village of Sakōdo. Until about five years ago there was little industry in the

district but recently two large factories have been built in the Minakuchi area. One is a plastics works and the other specializes in electrical equipment. These recent developments have given work to several Sakōdo men. There is good fishing in the Yasu River but little commercial fishing is done in the area. The mountains beyond the village supply the people with firewood and some of this wood is sold commercially.

Previously the area around Minakuchi town was divided into mura. Sakōdo was included in Kashiwagi mura and all local administration was handled by the mura. Now however, the surrounding villages have been incorporated into the town of Minakuchi and administration is looked after by the Minakuchi town hall. According to the statistics of 1960 Minakuchi has a population of 22,145 people. This includes the 481 residents of Sakōdo.

Village affairs are administered by the local yakuin. This is a village council consisting of a ku-chō (village head) and fukuku-chō (vice-head) plus a representative from each of the seven village 'neighbourhood' groups (tonari gumi). A representative of Sakōdo sits on the town council of Minakuchi and acts as a liaison between the village and the larger administrative body.

The ku-chō and fukuku-chō are elected each year at the end of February. No one is allowed to hold the same office for two consecutive years but it generally occurs that the

fukuku-chō is elected to the position of ku-chō. Village people explain that this makes for continuity in village affairs.

The representatives of the neighbourhood groups are not necessarily a policy-making body although various village activities are discussed in the village council meetings. They act more as a liaison between the executive officers and the households they represent. These representatives are not elected to the position. The responsibility rotates from house to house within a given group. The representative changes each year.

Village revenue comes from an allotment issued by the Minakuchi town council and from a village fee which each household must pay. This fee is collected on the basis of eight categories. If Mr. Fujita is considered to be the most wealthy man of the village his fee is reckoned first of all. How much he should give is decided on the basis of his income. The next seven categories are based on the amount Mr. Fujita has been assessed and people are placed in these categories depending on income or amount of land owned. About ten per cent of the money collected in village fees goes to the upkeep of the temple, about fifteen per cent to the upkeep of the shrine and to pay the shrine keeper, and the remaining amount is used for secular purposes and village upkeep.

Village maintenance is attended to by the villagers under the direction of the village council. Each household must

donate labour for the village projects and those who are not able to donate labour must pay money. The village council keeps account of the names of the people who have provided labour and in April this is all balanced and those who have not given labour must pay the equivalent sum of money. This system is called dashimon kanjo (balancing of output). The problem here in the last few years is that more men are going out of the village to work and the number of men available to do maintenance work is limited. Since the amount of money counted as labour is small and the wages of hired men are getting higher the actual work cannot be done. A subsidy for these projects (road repairs, bridge building) is received from Minakuchi town council but it amounts to less than half the amount needed.

The Farmers' Cooperative Association looks after the administration of agricultural produce. This business is not conducted by the local council nor by the town. This is one administrative function still handled in the division of the old mura. Sakōdo sends a representative to the association and all but nine households hold membership in the Farmers' Cooperative Association.

Aside from the major task of handling the marketing of rice and barley the Kashiwagi mura Farmers' Cooperative Association is divided into the following sections: pigs, chickens, vegetables, dairy products, and a section which sells household supplies to members at reduced rates.

Sakōdo village is divided into two parts--east and west. It is further divided into seven sub-groups called tonari gumi. These tonari gumi were, traditionally, neighbourhood groups set up for the purpose of village administration. They still function in this capacity but can no longer be considered strictly neighbourhood groups. Though they once embraced a specific geographic area in the village the households that belong to a particular tonari gumi are now scattered over the entire village. This has occurred as a result of branch households being built at a distance from the head households yet still retaining membership in the tonari gumi of the head household. The tonari gumi is also a social unit. From time to time a party will be held among the members of a group or they will organize some sort of outing. Because of ties between head and branch households the groups can be considered to have some kinship connections though I did not find any one group which was completely made up of related households.

Only the members of tonari gumi are informed of village events. Consequently, membership in one of these seven groups is an important part of village life.

A more prominent division in the village is that occurring between the eastern section and the western section. I was told that this is merely a geographic division though in earlier days it may have been an administrative division. Whatever the villagers say about what it is now or what it has been

in the past it is most certainly a social division. Various customs differ from east to west, work groups tend to be composed of people within the division, and the sub-grouping of the village (tonari gumi) takes place within the east-west boundary.

Of the eighty-four houses in the village thirty-eight are considered as belonging to the west and the remaining forty-six as belonging to the east. Within the thirty-eight 'western' houses six are geographically situated to the east of the boundary. Although these houses are situated in the east they are considered to be western houses. Thus I would think that geographic or administrative reasons do not seem to apply. In each of these cases the tonari gumi to which they belong are in the west.

The following is a list of these six households with the reasons informants gave as to why they should be considered to be a part of the west:

- house 41 - used to be situated in the west but the house burned down and was rebuilt where it now stands.
- house 31 - my informants were not sure but suggested that it might be because all the relatives of this house live in the west.
- house 37 - this man used to live where the Tenrikyō church is now. The family owned both houses at that time. They gave the main house to the Tenrikyō church and moved to the house in the east.
- house 48 - a long time ago this house was a branch house of either house 25 or 21 in the west.

house 49 - the same reason given as for house 48.

house 53 - this house is really a branch of house 23 in the west but they are renting house 53 from a man who moved to Chiba Prefecture.

In each case it seems to be kinship or patrilocal residence which ties the household to the west.

I could cite many examples of customs that differ between the eastern and western parts of the village. Allowing for brevity in what is intended to be an outline description of the village, I will give only one example of such differences.

The mountains of the village are extremely important to the people of Sakōdo. If a household does not own rights to mountain property it is not considered to be a part of the village and cannot vote in village elections. A household that does not own mountain land has no say at all in village matters.

Administration and ownership of mountain property differs between the eastern and western sections of the village.

In the west all households form a large group for the administration of the mountain property belonging to that group. The property is subdivided among the households. There are two types of property involved--'old' land and 'new' land. 'Old' land is land that has belonged to a given house for many generations. It is inalienable. Even if a person moves away from Sakōdo the rights to his 'old' land (technically the property of the village) still remain. Each household in the



western section owns a piece of 'old' land. 'New' land is also apportioned to each household in the group. However, at the discretion of the group 'new' land rights may be withdrawn at any time and, if a person leaves the village, he must forfeit the rights to his 'new' land. If a household that does not own mountain property expresses the wish to join the group, portions of each household's 'new' land will be taken and given to the new member.

In the eastern section of the village the distinction between 'old' and 'new' land does not exist. The east has divided its mountain property into three sections and each section is owned by a separate group of people. Within each group the land is sub-divided to give each member a section of mountain property. But the property may be reshuffled to give newcomers their share if the group so decides.

Both the east and the west pay homage to the Mountain God who is the protector of the mountains and a fertility god in connection with the rice fields. But each group has its own Mountain God shrine. However, though there are four shrines in Sakōdo dedicated to the Mountain God the ceremonies conducted at each shrine and the days on which the ceremonies occur are identical.

Both parts of the village have an association of young men who have certain obligations to the Mountain God and to the mountain. Again the custom differs between east and west. In

the west the group of young men is entirely responsible for the administration of the land--even to re-dividing the 'new' land for distribution to new members. Further duties of the group include mountain patrols to ensure that people are using only the land they are entitled to use, to ensure that thieves do not damage property, and to ensure that fire does not break out.

In the east the young men are only responsible for patrolling the mountain since administration is conducted by the adult males within the three sub-groups.

Business concerning the mountain is one area in which differences in custom between east and west can be observed. There are other areas where differences occur. There are many small voluntary groups in the east that do not exist in the west. Kinship or dōzoku<sup>1</sup> groups are more clearly defined in the east than they are in the west. There are two graveyards besides the one at the temple--one belonging to the east and the other to the west. Each section has a separate bridge crossing the Yasu River.

But for all this separateness the two areas work together to make up the solid unit that is their village.

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1 For a description of the dōzoku see: Dōzoku: A Preliminary Study of the Japanese 'extended family' Group and its Social and Economic Factors, Interim Technical Report number 7, Research in Japanese Social Relations, Office of Naval Research Project NR 176-110 and Rockefeller Foundation, 1953.

Though the mountain property is strictly divided and administered separately the basic administrative body is the village council who rents the land from the neighbouring district. When matters occur that affect all the property the household heads of the entire village meet to discuss village procedure.

Though both the east and the west have their own social groupings there are social gatherings that involve the entire village. The Women's Association involves every adult female in various activities--from making pickles to practising folk dancing. The men's meetings at the village hall invariably end in a great sake party.

Though kinship or dōzoku groups are more clearly defined in the eastern section the network of kin ties crosses and re-crosses the boundary so that any person in Sakōdo can truthfully say that he is in some way related to every other member of the village.

Though each section has its own bridge and its own road leading to the bridge all of the roads and irrigation ditches within the village are maintained by the cooperative efforts of both sections in the manner described above.

The use of the irrigation ditches and the planting of rice are activities which require the cooperative efforts of the entire village. Since the water flows from one field to another in sequence it is obvious that the farmers depend upon cooperation to ensure that each field is sufficiently

flooded at the proper time. The fields are all flooded at the same time and transplanting occurs immediately. To ensure that all the fields are planted at the same time the whole village turns out to help with the planting. In Sakōdo a neighbouring village is also called upon to help. This activity is followed by a community sake party.

The village contains both a Shinto shrine and a Buddhist temple.

In Sakōdo the Shinto shrine is located not in the village but on the outskirts of the neighbouring village of Uda. It is about 600 meters distance from Sakōdo. The shrine, however, serves only the village of Sakōdo and has no connection with Uda. The deity of the shrine is the tutelary god of the village and all residents of Sakōdo stand in the relationship of 'children' to the deity.

The local shrine or miya is a branch of a larger Shinto shrine situated several miles from Sakōdo. There is no resident priest at the village shrine. During a shrine festival priests are brought from the head shrine to conduct the services. However, a shrine keeper lives at the shrine to attend to its maintenance. This keeper is hired by the village shrine committee which looks after the needs of the shrine and takes care of any business connected with the local deity. The shrine is supported by a portion of the village budget. Traditionally the local deity was called upon in times of

trouble. Men and women paid visits to the shrine if crops failed or if health was not good. A childless marriage or some unfulfilled wish occasioned a petition to the deity. Since the deity was in charge of that particular land it was because of its benevolence that good befell the village or because of its malevolence that trouble occurred.

The deity held a parent-child relationship with the villagers. Thus newcomers to the village must visit the shrine to pay their respects and ask for the deity's protection. A bride or groom marrying into the village was taken early to the shrine for this purpose. A new-born baby was presented to the deity in order that the god protect it while it resided on the god's lands.

Today villagers rarely visit the shrine. Improved irrigation and scientific methods of farming have overruled the god in importance and people no longer petition the god for good crops. Use of modern medicine has replaced amulets and prayers for good health. Brides are still sometimes led to the shrine but this practice is also dying out. Six hundred meters is a long walk if the bride is wearing the traditional heavy bridal headdress. Babies are still presented to the deity.

There are four major activities connected with the shrine each year. Villagers say that there used to be many small ceremonies and traditional offerings at the shrine but that these are now made to the Buddhist temple as it is more

central to the village.

The largest celebration in connection with the shrine is the annual shrine festival. This takes place on the first day of April. It is a festival that involves the whole village. Everyone turns out to observe the religious services performed by the visiting priests and sacred dancers. After the service the young boys of the village shoulder the two omikoshi, sacred palaquins containing the spirit of the deity, and rush them through the village streets with great shouts of merriment. The men of the village spend the rest of the day and evening at the shrine eating and drinking sake. The women visit around the village and sample the delicacies that each house provides for guests. Perhaps if teased long enough, they will drink a small bit of sake.

On the fourteenth day of July there is a celebration called the Gion festival. This has no connection with the large Gion festival of Kyoto. On this day the villagers are not allowed to enter the fields. There is a small ceremony at the shrine when people go to pray for good rice crops and a village sake party is held in the evening.

About the third of July the village holds a celebration called the sanaburi festival. By this time the rapeseed has been harvested and the rice seeds have been sown in the seedling beds. The festival is in honour of the rice seedlings. Services are held at the shrine but this time, instead of a

priest, a miko (female medium) performs the service. Only the village officials and the shrine committee attend the service. In the evening the people of the village eat udon (noodles) for supper.

The fourth celebration in connection with the shrine is held on the seventh of August and is called mi ga iru. It is primarily a children's festival. The day before this is the tanabata festival. The tanabata is a celebration connected with an old story of two lovers who were turned into stars and who are allowed to meet in the heavens once a year on this date. The children decorate small sprigs of bamboo with coloured papers and have a party. The next day, during the mi ga iru festivities, the oldest sons of primary school age take the branches to the river and let them float away. They then have a feast of pumpkin on the river bank. After the feast they go to the shrine where they all drink a bit of sake and then they proceed from house to house begging for rice. When they have obtained the rice they go around selling it and in this way obtain some pocket money.

Membership in the Shinto faith is a village matter. The local word for the deity is ujigami (tutelary deity or guardian god) and the people of the village refer to themselves as ujiko (children of the deity). This, according to Dore, reflects "the fact that the ritual community was earlier

defined by lineage rather than by residence."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the shrine is the concern of every member of the community. Simply by being a member of a long established household one has automatic association with the deity. Each member of the community is obligated to its support.

The Buddhist temple stands at the entrance to the village of Sakōdo. It is a branch temple of the Enryakuji temple on Mount Hie, and is the Tendai shu form of Buddhism. The temple priest and his wife are not Sakōdo people. They came from Mie Prefecture to take over their duties at the village temple. Consequently they are not considered to be 'village people'. The priest does not own land in Sakōdo and has no voice in village matters. He has no relatives living in the village except for two married daughters. These daughters married men from outside of the village so they, too, are not considered to be 'village people'. However, the priest and his wife have ritual kin ties with three families in the community. These families perform the same duties towards him as would his own kin.

The heads of these three ritual kin households form the temple committee. This committee is in charge of the upkeep on the temple, the priest's living allowance, and helps to arrange the activities that take place at the temple.

Funds for temple maintenance come from the village budget. Money for the priest's living allowance comes, however, from a special collection that is taken in the village.

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<sup>2</sup> R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, p. 295.



The following is a list of the yearly Buddhist activities in the village:

- Jan. 4th - okonai: A group of eight houses takes rice offerings to the temple to ask for good crops. It is connected to nawashiro, the place that small rice seedlings are grown until they become large enough to plant in the paddy fields.
- Mar. 18-24 - higan: This week is the week of the spring equinox. For the entire week the people gather at the temple for small parties. Each household brings gifts of food and their gift is recorded.
- ireisai: During the above week a service in memory of the dead of World War II is conducted in the temple grounds in front of the war memorial.
- Aug. 7th - ohakka osōji: Everyone goes in the morning to tidy up the graves of their ancestors. In the afternoon they cooperate to tidy the graves of people who have no relatives living in the village. The temple and temple grounds also get cleaned.
- Aug. 10th - ohakka mairi: The villagers visit the graves of their ancestors. They leave flowers at the graves and burn incense.
- Aug. 13-15 - obon: A Buddhist festival for the return of the spirits of the dead. The people serve vegetables to the ancestral tablets and throw the vegetables away in the river afterwards. They have celebrations which include the bon dances. Usually all the members of the family return home during obon. Because the spirits return they welcome them with parties and festivities.

- Sept. 20-26 - higan: The fall equinox. The same festivities occur as for the spring equinox.
- Dec. - hatsuhovosei: During the month of December the villagers take rice to the temple for the priest's private living.
- Monthly - nembutsu kō: A group of elderly women who go to the temple on the fifteenth of each month. The priest conducts a short service and they all have a party.
- Bukkyō Fujinkai: The Buddhist Women's Association meets each month. Its activities include cleaning the temple, making cushions or giving similar service to the temple.

Membership in the Buddhist faith is a family matter. An individual is a Buddhist because his household is Buddhist. The household is Buddhist because the ancestors were Buddhist and because they were buried by the temple. No sense of personal belief is necessary to ensure that obligations to the temple will be fulfilled. A sense of obligation to the household and to the deceased ancestors makes the villager support the temple with money and time. One member of the household performs the duties at the household butsudan (altar) each morning but visits to the temple are rare and Buddhism has little meaning in day to day life. Buddhism supplies a hope for a life after death but it does not deal with matters of the present as far as the layman farmer is concerned. The philosophical teachings of Buddhism are not the concern of the layman

and, in general, no one has the concept of 'being a good Buddhist'.

In Sakōdo we find a third religious institution--a traditional folk religion concerned with the Yama no kami or Mountain God. This god resides in the mountains of Sakōdo. Its primary function is to protect the mountains but it also has some connection with the fertility of the fields. The god does not like women and thus women are strictly forbidden to visit the mountain shrines. There are four of these shrines. As described above, each shrine is connected to a group of people who own the rights to that particular piece of mountain land and they alone are allowed to worship at that shrine. Considerable importance is attached to the right to worship at a Mountain God shrine. In the past, according to informants, there were only three Mountain God shrines and the right to worship at them was jealously guarded. Apparently there were a number of people who did have rights to mountain property but who were not included in any of the Mountain God groups. These people visited the shrines secretly at night. When this activity was discovered a sort of feud developed and they were advised to stop 'poaching' on other people's gods. Eventually they formed a group themselves and erected their own shrine. This occurred so long ago that now no one is sure which of the existing groups is the newest.

Today village inhabitants cannot explain why the Mountain God shrines are so important. People scoff at the idea of really believing in the Mountain God and say that it is just custom to carry out activities involved with the shrine. Nevertheless, taboos are strictly kept. On certain days of the year village people are not allowed to enter the mountains because the 'devils' which are apparently another form of the god, are having a party. People laugh at this custom but on these particular days no one goes to the mountains. The taboos regarding females are also rigidly upheld. My landlady would not take me to the shrine and my landlord suggested that if I really wanted to see it I should go unobserved and never admit to having been there.

There is only one yearly activity involving the Mountain God shrines. On the third of January every male in the village takes a fish and a bunch of rice-straw containing rice, salt and stones (tsutto) to the Mountain shrine of the group to which he belongs. Members of each group go together. They drink sake at the shrine and generally get rather merry. On this day the men play pranks and jokes on each other and, in the words of a villager 'anything goes'. When they return from the shrine they must each bring home a fish and a bundle of rice-straw but it cannot be the same one that they took to the shrine. The fish is cooked and eaten that evening by the men of the house. The bundle of straw is kept for nine days and then

placed in a corner of the rice seedling bed to ensure fertility.

Membership in the Mountain God groups is limited to those people who hold a lease on mountain land. Membership has nothing to do with personal belief in the powers of the god. The religious significance of the Mountain God has been forgotten and only the social significance remains. The social significance of membership in the Mountain God groups will be discussed in the following section.

No description of village life would be complete if it did not include the yearly round of economic activity.

During the month of January the villagers do not work in the fields. Some of them do part time work in factories or as labourers for the town public works. January is also spent in cutting wood in the mountains and the women spend time making the straw baskets, mats and wrap-arounds used for field labour. This activity usually extends over February and March. About the middle of February a day is set aside for balancing the accounts in the small cooperative bank. This bank is called the suito and is a small organization handled by the village office. It was first begun in order to give the villagers a higher rate of interest than they would get by depositing their money in the Farmers' Cooperative Association. Now the rate of interest is the same but the villagers continue to use the system. The money received

from the sale of rice and barley is deposited in the suitō and is taken care of by the fukuku-chō. The people are able to deposit or withdraw at any time. A person may borrow up to 30,000 yen at a time but he must have a relative act as a guarantor. In the middle of February, the end of the fiscal year, the money deposited and withdrawn is balanced and each household in the village is called in to go over its accounts. In this way the income of each household is readily known to the entire village. My informants suggested that this system may be an extended form of an old system called tanomoshi-kō.

On March twenty-fourth the election of the ku-chō and fukuku-chō is held. The head of each village household that has the right to vote gather at the village hall. Each person writes the name of his choice on a piece of paper and the position goes to the man who received the most votes. There are no candidates for this election. However, as I stated before, the position of ku-chō always goes to the man who held the position of fukuku-chō. On the thirtieth of March the retiring village council formally hands over the business to the newly elected council.

During April people work in the fields tending the rapeseed plants. In May, from about the twentieth to the end of the month, the barley is harvested and the fields are ploughed ready for flooding. For all of June the people are busy in the fields and there is little social activity in the

village. The fields are flooded around the twentieth of June and the rice planting begins on the twenty-fifth.

The rapeseed is harvested in early July and the villagers are busy during the rest of the month fertilizing the fields and supervising the irrigation. This continues through August and September. Around the twentieth of September the villagers are no longer allowed to go into the mountains since it is mushroom season. The harvesting of the mushroom crop is the duty of one man and his hired labourers. He has bought the right to the mushrooms at a village lottery.

From the middle of October to about the fifteenth of November the rice is harvested. During the remainder of November the chaff is removed from the rice and the rice is graded by government officials. In November the barley and rapeseed are planted.

In December the every day task of weeding the barley and rapeseed fields continues and towards the end of the month the villagers turn out to repair village roads.

## 2. Ideals and Values of the Village:

The village of Sakōdo could never exist as a completely isolated unit. Both its geographic location on the banks of a main river and its political situation as a section of a larger administrative district predetermine extensive interaction with society outside of the village.

Water for the irrigation of Sakōdo's fields is obtained from the Yasu River. Three neighbouring villages also use the river as a source of irrigation. Because of the large demand made upon the resources of the river, Sakōdo and its surrounding villages must be in agreement as to the times when the villages will drain water from the river and the amount of water needed by each community. In order to reach an agreement that will be satisfactory to its members a village must be internally unified. Dissention within the village will weaken its position in the eyes of the surrounding villages and negotiations favourable to the village will be difficult to manoeuvre.

Similarly, a village must be internally strong in order to negotiate within the larger administrative district.

Internal unity is important not only in relation to the surrounding area but also to matters within the village itself. Each household must be in agreement as to the day on which the fields will be flooded and planting will occur. Village maintenance is the concern of the village people and all must participate.

Thus, a village which does not have a high degree of social cohesion cannot function in rural Japan. Social cohesion is a necessity and the most important ideal of a Japanese village.



Social cohesion is maintained by and exists because of several social institutions which are found in the village. Operating within these institutions are the values that I consider to be of major importance to village people.

The village community is made up of individual households. Several households may be linked together as a kin group or dōzoku. The dōzoku consists of a 'head' household and 'branch' households related to each other by patrilineal descent. It may also include households tied to it by fictional kinship. In Sakōdo there are no dōzoku containing such fictional kin households. In the previous chapter I described the concept of oya-ko no ri or the 'principle of filiation'. Within the dōzoku the 'head' household acts as the 'parent' and the 'branch' households as the 'children'. Since the dōzoku often functions as the medium of intimate social interaction and also as a medium for reciprocal work relations cooperation and loyalty among its members are essential values.

The realization of these values is possible when the individual households maintain internal unity. Positions within a Japanese household are rigidly stratified. Unity is maintained when each member of the family behaves according to the position that he fills within the family. Again, this behaviour is dictated by the concept of oya-ko no ri. The head of the household must be generous, gracious and benevolent towards those of lower status within his family while family members

of inferior position must be loyal and obedient to the head of the household. Individual desires are secondary to the well-being of the entire family and for this reason family members of inferior status must submit to the will of the family head. These are the values operating within the Japanese family system.

The individual household and thus the kin group is dependent upon the village for social interaction and, in the great majority of cases, for its entire livelihood. Hence mutual respect and cooperation must exist between the households in order that the village function as a unit. Cooperation, respect and loyalty are expressed by fulfilling obligations to the family, kin group and community. When these obligations are not fulfilled the group, whether family or community, has ways of enforcing conformity. When the will of the group cannot be enforced the family or community ceases to recognize the offender as a member.

The best way to illustrate the strength of the values held by the village is to examine cases of exclusion from village membership.

I stated previously that village membership depends to a certain extent on ownership of mountain property. Residence alone does not permit a household to vote in village elections or to participate in community affairs.

The largest group of excluded household's members are, in fact, aliens in Japan. The eight households of Koreans in Sakōdo are situated in three groups on the periphery of the village. Although in the official census they are counted as residents of Sakōdo the Sakōdo people do not number them among the members of the village. They do not participate as full members in any of the village social affairs.

Although their deceased relatives' remains repose in the village temple grounds, this is considered a temporary measure until the remains can be transferred to Korea. The Korean residents do not join in any of the temple ceremonies. They have nothing to do with the village shrine and none of them belongs to the Tenrikyō church. The Koreans do not join in any of the secular activities nor are they eligible to vote in village elections. They do not belong to any of the tonari gumi and the east-west division of the village does not affect them.

The Koreans may purchase land but only one Korean in Sakōdo owns paddy land. None of them owns the rights to mountain property.

There are, in addition to the Koreans, several households of Japanese people who are not considered to be village members. They are considered to be residents of Sakōdo but they cannot vote in village elections or participate in village ceremonies. They do not belong to tonari gumi.

In two cases the households were once members in good standing in the village but they acted in a way detrimental to the common good of the community. As a result of their actions they were excluded from the tonari gumi groups and their mountain property was confiscated. Since they do not own mountain property they have no say in village matters.

In one case the action which brought about this ostracism was a consistent failure to meet village obligations. In the second case the household borrowed money from the suito without obtaining the permission of its relatives and when pressed to repay the money did so by selling wood it had stolen from other people's mountain property.

In the remaining cases the households are excluded because of a failure to accept responsibility to the village. These are 'new' households. That is, they do not have a long history of residence in Sakōdo. Either they are branch households or households established by outsiders who have moved into Sakōdo. My informants tell me that if these households would agree to take over ownership of some mountain property they would then have the right to vote in village elections and would be included in tonari gumi.

Thus membership in the village of Sakōdo is clearly defined. Each person knows when he is a member and knows, also, when another person is not a member. Membership entitles a person to certain advantages but he also incurs responsibilities

and obligations. Fulfillment of obligations is the equivalent of unity among the members. Furthermore, public recognition of unity is necessary in order that the village function properly. Each member is involved in village obligations in all of his roles of life. He dare not allow anything to interfere with the solidarity of the village. In this sense the village fulfills the definition that has been outlined for a 'totalitarian' system.

## CHAPTER III

## THE TWO SYSTEMS IN CONTACT

1. The Entry of Tenrikyō into the Village:

The most fitting introduction to Tenrikyō in the village is the historical account of its coming to Sakōdo in 1888. This account is taken from the books of the Tenrikyō church in Sakōdo. I have added descriptive details to make it more comprehensible to the reader.

From within the farmhouse comes the sound of an infant crying. But the household is still and quiet. The old man and his guest sit huddled over the hibachi (charcoal brazier) smoking. Finally the guest stirs. "Ojiisan, (\*grandfather\* or \*old man\* ) let me bring the old woman to her. No one will know. We will come in the night." The old man speaks softly but firmly. "She shall not enter my house. This house does not want trouble and these despised people will only bring trouble." "But Fuji is my sister. The old woman can help her. She has helped many." The third and younger man lifts his head from his hands and speaks to the guest. "Brother-in-law, Fuji is no longer your sister. She is my wife and the daughter of this house. She would not bring dishonour upon us. My father is right. The old woman will only bring us trouble." "Then think of your newborn son, Sokuro. Who will feed him if Fuji dies? She will die, Sokuro, you know that. No one lives through the childbirth sickness." "Yes, no one lives," and the young man's head sinks back into his hands.

Night passes. The next day fades towards evening and the guest comes again. As before they sit quietly smoking knowing that their thoughts are the same--thoughts of the woman

who lies dying within the house. "Ojiisan, let me bring the old woman to her." And the old man looks straight ahead as he says, "Do as you like. I have no part in it." "Thank you, Ojiisan, we will come in the night. There will be no trouble. No one will know."

In the night the old woman comes. No one speaks to her and she goes immediately to the inner room, then leaves. But Fuji lives. She recovers and grows strong.

The old man asks to have the woman brought to him again--in the night, and he presses upon her gifts of gratitude. These gifts she accepts and then she speaks. "Ojiisan, think about this. You were not able to cure your daughter-in-law. Nor was the mid-wife able to do so. No herbs nor medicines would work. Only through the grace of God the Parent does your daughter live today. Why is this? It is because our bodies do not belong to us. We have only borrowed them from God the Parent. Because we are humans we do not think of this. We do not realize that our bodies are lent to us until we become ill and then we can do nothing to stop the illness. You have a good fate, Ojiisan. God the Parent was waiting for you to come to Him. You would not and so He caused Fuji to be ill in order to call you to Him."

The old man listens and asks questions and the woman promises to come again. Eventually he will go to the nearby city to learn more of this thing from people who are dedicated to it. And he will return to his house in the farming village to tell others what he has learned and what he has come to believe.

Thus did the new religion Tenrikyō enter the farming village of Sakōdo through the door-frame of the house of Ban Sozaemon in 1888.

Sozaemon became the leader of the small group of households who were converted. They struggled to learn the new

faith and went forth into the village to preach and teach and heal. But the village was not impressed and was not ready to abandon the gods of Shintoism nor the teachings of Buddhism. The beliefs of the new religion, the ideals and values held by Tenrikyō, were alien to the villagers and conflicted with the traditional ideals and values of the village.

## 2. The Conflict of Values and Ideals:

In the previous chapter I described village unity as the common ideal of all members of Sakōdo. Social cohesion is necessary to village life. Because of its importance I now ask what is the basis of this cohesion?

My immediate conclusion is that the economic and ecological factors described in Chapter II necessitate a degree of cooperation among the villagers which requires strong social cohesion. However, Mr. Mitsuru Shimpo has pointed out to me that strong social cohesion is a common occurrence in village Japan and that Japanese villages do not all have similar economic and ecological problems. A fishing village, for example, would not have to contend with problems such as irrigation to which I attribute the need for social cohesion in Sakōdo.

Mr. Shimpo feels that social cohesion in village Japan is a result of a vague but, nevertheless, strong religious feeling which is connected to ancestor worship. Loyalty and allegiance to the locale and to fellow residents is an



extension of filial ties to the ancestors. Certainly the discussion above of the shrine deity and its relationship to the villagers is an indication that social cohesion might be explained at the level of religion. My feelings on this are that religion in the form of ancestor worship or shrine worship acts as a means of reinforcing village unity rather than as an instigator of social cohesion. The argument, however, tends to be circular and it produces a 'which-came-first' question that cannot be answered.

Though the economic and ecological factors operating in Sakōdo may not be universal to all Japanese villages their importance to the social structure of this particular village cannot be overlooked. But if these factors are considered to be the basis for the need for social cohesion another circular argument arises. On the one hand we may say that since village unity is necessary to ensure that irrigation and agricultural problems are smoothly administered, the ideal of social cohesion is a result of these factors. Or, stated in another way, the need for unity in the village is determined by factors which are important to the subsistence of the village people. On the other hand, we may say that the need for cooperative endeavor in, say, agriculture is not a cause but a result of the social cohesion. Again, the nature of the economic and ecological problems helps to maintain village unity.

In the same way both arguments hold in a discussion of the family and its relation to village cohesion. The

submission of all members of the family to the will of the one person who represents the family in all village affairs ensures that no individual will interfere with the smooth functioning of the village. Loyalty and allegiance to the household; concern for its status in the community; common bonds that unite the households in both an economic and religious sense--all are both a result of social cohesion and a motivating factor towards maintaining the desired cohesion.

An attempt to say that any one factor is the cause or result of social cohesion in Sakōdo or in any Japanese village would be foolish. The question of cause and result is relatively unimportant. The above discussion does indicate that, whichever way the argument leads, in Sakōdo, religious, economic and social institutions interact as mechanisms which support and maintain the desired cohesion.

Thus, if the new set of values and ideals introduced by Tenrikyō endanger the traditional ones held by the village the conflict would occur in one or all of these three areas.

The primary religious value of the village was loyalty to dead ancestors. This value was overtly expressed by fulfilling obligations to the Buddhist temple and by participating in and performing ritual practices at the temple and in the home. A secondary religious value was loyalty to the tutelary god of the village shrine. The second has little connection with ancestor worship except that the shrine deity

was the tutelary god of the residents of the village both past and present and, in this sense, was a connecting feature between the ancestors and their living descendants. Loyalty to the ancestors was also expressed covertly within the family system. The submission of the individual to the will of the household head can be regarded as an extension of the filial concern for the ancestor.

This leads directly into the second area where I believe conflict between the two value systems can be observed. The positions within a Japanese family are highly stratified. Each member passes through the various ranks as they grow older and a person is socially ranked by the village according to the particular position he occupies in a certain household. The amount of influence a person has over household matters is determined by his position within the house. Values held within the family are those of submission to the will of members of the family who are in a higher position and benevolent care for those who are in a lower position. It is important that no member of the house bring shame upon the family by an incautious or inconsiderate action. Loyalty to and pride in the household are important values.

The economic area of village life is the third area where conflict is likely to occur. Because this area is one which affects the subsistence of the villagers I believe it to be the one in which the conflict will be the most acute. Here the primary value is cooperation between households and villagers.

In Chapter I I discussed the values and ideals of Tenrikyō. The religious ideal is to live a 'joyous' life of service and dedication to God the Parent and to the Foundress. Total submission to the authority of the church is stressed by the doctrine and believers are expected to give property and self to the church.

Ten of approximately sixty households in Sakōdo were converted to Tenrikyō. If the new value system successfully supplanted the traditional values of the village in all of these ten households a significant percentage of the population was no longer in harmony with the village ideal. In these ten households the importance of village social cohesion would be secondary to the ideal of complete dedication to the new religion. The acceptance of Tenrikyō belief required a shift from an emphasis on a common concern to fulfill obligations to ancestors, temple, shrine and household to an emphasis on the individual and the personal struggle to attain salvation and the promise of the 'joyous' life. The fictitious parent-child relationship in the Tenrikyō organization replaced the actual family relationship. Since the god of Tenrikyō was seen as a loving 'parent' who cared for his 'children' filial obligations to ancestors were displaced by the new faith. The same thing applies to the tutelary shrine deity. Monetary and service obligations to the shrine and temple were replaced by the same obligations to the Tenrikyō church.

The new religion stressed the importance of individual fulfillment of the religious goal and, thus, the importance of the individual took precedence over the importance of the family. In cases where the household head became converted to Tenrikyō the nature of the family system would operate to include the other members of the family in the religion. Conflict within the house would be less likely to occur. If, however, a person of lower position in the family were converted the conflict would be more acute. First, the converted person, asserting his individuality in matters which reflected a different set of values, would be seen as a disrupting influence by members of the family. Simply by acquiring a new set of values the individual would be asserting an independence which threatened the authoritarian nature of the family. Second, if members of the family accepted a set of values foreign to those of the community the relative status of that household would be lowered.

The change from the ideal of village unity to that of personal salvation would be felt in the economic areas of village life. The economic life of the community was based on shared activity and cooperation. If ten per cent of the population was now more intent on following personal pursuit of salvation it could no longer be counted upon to contribute its share of labour. Furthermore, Tenrikyō teaching encouraged the converts to give their property and material wealth to the cause

of the religion. If the early converts in Sakōdo had put their property into the hands of the church it might have created difficulty for the villagers in terms of planting and irrigation schedules. Also, since Ban Sozaemon, the first convert, was one of the two largest landowners in the village, landlord-tenant problems would have arisen.

The incursion of Tenrikyō values, occasioning conflict in all three areas, would result in an undermining of community solidarity. In order to assert its rights within a group of villages that shared the same water supply, it was necessary that Sakōdo be internally unified. Internal dissention would weaken the village in its relationship to the villages around. The threat to village social cohesion made the villagers actively concerned with opposing the new religion.

### 3. Village Reaction: the Formation of a Buddhist Group and Ostracism:

Most of the villagers had not been overly concerned with religion except in the event of a birth, death or marriage. Now, however, in opposition to the new faith they became rampant Buddhists and the village temple flourished.

In the previous chapter I described how the villagers paid more attention to the Shinto shrine than they did to the temple. The temple was used only in the case of death and the priest's duties were mostly concerned with those ceremonies connected to the dead. After Tenrikyō entered the village several things happened which indicate that the villagers<sup>†</sup>

attention was drawn to the temple. In 1891 the temple was renovated and a new statue was bought for the altar. Up until this time no religious instruction had been given but now a temple school was established and village children were taught Buddhist belief.

I have outlined the conflict as it might have occurred in three areas of village life. The villagers could have chosen to oppose Tenrikyō in any or all of these areas. They chose to use the Buddhist temple as the institution through which to direct the opposition. Why was this choice made? Since the conflict was spread over general areas of village life and based upon a change in a common value which was the foundation for all other values in the village, a vague, over-all opposition would not be too effective. Since the common value was no doubt subconsciously held, a more clearly defined field of opposition was necessary. Effective opposition can be established if the opposing group is able to set up a polarity of common or conflicting factors. The villagers, in choosing the Buddhist religion as a basis for the counter attack, chose the same type of institution as Tenrikyō. The choice of the same type of institution increased the immediate polarity between the two groups and focused the opposition into one clearly defined unit. The Shinto shrine was not chosen because, although it is a religious institution, it had few features in common with Tenrikyō. Polarity, as a

mechanism of opposition, is more effective if it is based on an underlying similarity of the groups in conflict.

Both the Tenrikyō and the Buddhist religious organizations have a formalized doctrine. Polarity here was possible because the teachings of Tenrikyō rendered ineffective the ancestor worship which was part of the Buddhist faith. The similarity of the internal organization and the presence of a priestly leader in each religion was again a basis for polarity. The geographical proximity of the groups must be considered. The Shinto shrine was some six hundred meters from the village whereas the Buddhist temple was a few houses distant from the Tenrikyō meeting place.

With renewed vigour the Tenrikyō people went forth into the community and found hostility. The village people, united as Buddhists, made a formal attempt to discourage the members of the new religion.

A village meeting was held at the temple and for three days and three nights (informants insist that there was no break) the non-Tenrikyō element of the village tried to persuade the Tenrikyō people back into the fold of Buddhism. As a result the ten Tenrikyō households decreased to six. The remaining six would not yield and, therefore, the village took the most drastic means of persuasion known to them--murahachibu.



The desired social cohesion in rural Japan makes it necessary for each individual and each household to conform to the norms of the community. There are various mechanisms in operation to ensure this conformity. When these ordinary methods of control are not sufficient the Japanese village can attempt persuasion by cutting the life-line of the offending household. By social ostracism the villagers withdraw the privileges of village membership. This ostracism is known as urahachibu.

#### 4. The Acceptance of the New Religion and its Growth:

Murahachibu is an extreme method of enforcing social conformity and is used only as a last resort. Even after the decision has been reached and the households in question formally ostracized negotiations to reinstate the households continue. In the case of Tenrikyō versus Sakōdo negotiations continued for several months. During this time not one of the six households broke down under the enforced isolation. Finally a mediator was called in from the seat of local government, Kashiwagi mura. The man, Yamanaka Kōji, succeeded in having the ostracism stopped and the six households again became part of the village.

I do not have information as to what agreement was reached before the households were reinstated. It may be that the Tenrikyō people agreed to abandon their conversion efforts though, in view of later developments, I doubt that this was

the case. It is more probable that the village discovered that the ostracism of six households (at that time about ten per cent of the population) was more detrimental to village unity than the new religion would be. Certainly the ostracism would diminish the labour force and problems of irrigation would arise. Again, we cannot overlook the fact that Ban Sozaemon was one of the largest landowners and thus controlled a considerable portion of land and irrigation channels. It would also be interesting to know in what season the ostracism occurred and ended. It may be that as the planting season drew closer difficulties in planting and irrigation were foreseen. This may have been a deciding factor when considering the reinstatement of the ostracized households.

After the urahachibu Ban Sokuro, Sozaemon's son, became the leader of the small group. The six household heads were: Okuda Kaheiji, Okuda Kokichi, Hayashi Toramatsu, Fukunishi Kizo, Fujimura Uzaburo and the leader of the group, Ban Sokuro. The descendents of these men are the leaders in the village church today with the exception of Fujimura Uzaburo who does not seem to be connected to any of the present residents of Sakōdo.

I have already described how Ban Sokuro was converted to Tenrikyō by his father when his wife was nursed back to health after the birth of their child. I have, as yet, no information as to the actual conversions of the other five households. However, until I receive this information I will

hazard a guess that in most of these cases illness played a part in the conversion. I make this guess knowing that today it is so and drawing on examples of parallel situations. For example, of the twenty-five households of Kōga Grand church twenty-two became Tenrikyō as a result of illness. The further conversions which occurred in Sakōdo all were due to illness. Thus, I feel fairly secure in my guess concerning the first five households.

These six households were not related with the exception of the two Okuda households which stand as 'head' and 'branch' household to one another. No intermarriage has occurred among them to this day.

Some change has occurred in the location of these households since 1888 but Map III on page        shows the location of the six households in that year. From the map it can be seen that four of the first six Tenrikyō families lived in the same neighbourhood in the western section of the village. The remaining one, possibly two, lived in the east.

Three of these households were in the same tonari gumi: Ban Sokuro, Okuda Kaheiji, and Okuda Kokichi were all members of Kamikaito. Fukunishi Kizo was a member of Shozugaito and Hayashi Toramatsu was a member of Shinagaito. Map V on page        shows the seven tonari gumi and the household membership of each.

The next question in connection with the beginning of the Tenrikyō church in the village is that of the position of Ban Sokuro and how he attained it.

In Chapter I I described the concept of fictional parenthood within Tenrikyō organization. I stated that a priest is considered the parent figure to the members of a church. In the smallest unit within the organization--that of convert and converter--the same principle applies. The converter is the parent figure and the convert is the loyal and obedient child.

Ban Sozaemon was probably the 'converter' of the five original households of Tenrikyō in the village. As such he would be the parent figure. By patrilineal descent his son Sokuro would fill this position at the time of his death. To illustrate the strong connection between the members of the family of the head priest and the members of their church I insert a quotation taken from my field notes. The informant was a member of hombuin, the highest rank of priesthood at the Tenrikyō Headquarters. The interview concerned patrilineal descent within the organization.

In the Japanese family, if the head of the family dies, the next person, usually the oldest son, takes his place as the head of the household. Each member of the family, even elderly members of branch households, accept this young person's new authority. It is, I think, because of our ties with our ancestors. In Tenrikyō we feel that all the members of a church are one family and the

head priest is the head of the family. If he dies his son becomes the head priest because of the loyalty of the church members to his family. The head priest's family knows all personal things about the church members and there is more continuity if the position stays in that family. Even if the son does not want to be the head priest he usually accepts the position because of filial ties and obligations to the members of the church. Besides, from childhood he is trained to take over the position.

The early groups of Tenrikyō believers were organized into kō. I believe that they did not form a kō until after the ostracism. If this assumption is correct it is possible that they may have re-entered the village in an organized grouping which functioned in a way that was more familiar to the village population. Certainly, as a kō the Tenrikyō people performed the three functions outlined in the definition of kō given earlier in the paper. They met for religious purposes; they gathered donations to enable their members to make pilgrimages to Tenri; and they acted as a social group in the village. Informants told me that the house of Ban became a center for evening gatherings.

At first these gatherings included only those families who had gone through the ostracism. Up until 1916 no further attempt was made to convert the other residents of Sakōdo but I am told that members of non-Tenrikyō houses in the neighbourhood of the Ban house began to drop in on the social evenings. At first it was the women who came to join the Tenrikyō women in the kitchen gossip. Then their husbands joined the

gatherings. There are no conversions reported as a result of this. In fact the present head priest stated that no attempt was made to convert the non-Tenrikyō guests. However, he felt that the gatherings served to familiarize the people with Tenrikyō, removed a certain amount of suspicion and paved the way for the next missionary effort that occurred in 1916.

During this time, however, missionary work was carried on outside the village. From the scanty information that I have it seems that the six men directed their efforts towards recruiting members in two nearby villages. Sakōdo believers went out to call on families in the villages. At each house they had little success but eventually they established at least one contact in each village. Once this contact was established he would keep the Sakōdo group informed regarding illness in the village. When illness was reported the Sakōdo people would send one of their members to the sick person's home. There they talked to the people, prayed over them and performed the faith-healing ritual. Through the medium of illness they managed to convert several households in each village. The converts in Yoshinaga village eventually died out and that village has no connection with the Tenrikyō church in Sakōdo at present. However, in Ban Tani village the descendents of the converted households are still members of the Sakōdo church and come to Sakōdo every month for the festival.

In 1916 the young grandson of Okuda Kaheiji travelled to Tenri to attend Bekka.<sup>1</sup> His name was Okuda Tsunesaburo. Up until this time no one from the village had attended the full six month course at Tenri though three of the original six men had received osazuke.

When Tsunesaburo returned from Bekka it seems that he was fired with evangelical zeal. I give a translation of his own words on the subject taken from field notes on a personal interview:

I saw so much unhappiness in the village and at Bekka I learned that Oyasama (the Foundress) wants all men to be happy so they may live the 'joyous' life. I was working every day in the fields with my father but at night or on rainy days I went around the village and told people about Tenrikyō. Sometimes they didn't like to listen but I went to every house in the village. If someone was ill I asked them if I could give them osazuke. When they said no then I would stand outside their door and pray. After a while some people used to come to me if they had illness or trouble.

My first convert was Hayashi Yoichi. He sometimes came to the Ban house but he wasn't Tenrikyō. Then his father got an eye disease and he was very worried. I asked if I could give osazuke but he put me off. But after awhile he came and asked me and I gave his father osazuke and he got well. After that Hayashi became Tenrikyō.

Between 1916 and 1918, as a direct result of Okuda

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<sup>1</sup> Bekka was the old religious training center at Tenri founded in 1908. This six month special course was abolished in 1941 when the present course was instigated.

Tsunesaburo's missionary efforts, eleven households were converted to Tenrikyō. They were:

<u>Convert</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Converter</u>
Hayashi Yoichi	1916	father's illness	Okuda Tsunesaburo
Yamaryo Inomatsu	1916	wife's illness	" "
Hayashi Toramatsu	1916	wife's illness	" ?
Yamazaki Takao	1918	own illness	Okuda Tsunesaburo
Hayashi Kisuke	1918	grandfather's illness	" "
Fukunishi Jin	1916	mother's illness	" "
Yamanaka Koji	1917	father's illness	" "
Nishimura Chuemon	1918	own illness	" "
Sakata Yasusaburo	1917	father's illness	" "
Nishimura Ichiro	1916	" "	" "
Kobayashi Shikaji	1918	illness in family	" "

Towards the end of 1918 four men who were not Tenrikyō but who were then leaning heavily towards it were persuaded to make a visit to Tenri for the grand festival. They were Okumura Shunichi, Hayashi Torasaburo, Okumura Sakujiro, and Fukunishi Kiroku. I have no information as to the experience they had in Tenri but it must have been convincing since they all returned to enter Bekka before the year changed.

Thus by the end of 1918 there were twenty-one households in the village who had been converted to Tenrikyō. One woman, Kobayashi Mika, was Tenrikyō but a member of a non-Tenrikyō household. She had no sons and when her husband died the reins of the household fell into her hands and the household became Tenrikyō. This accounts for twenty-two of the twenty-seven present households that stated they had connections with Tenrikyō.



The remaining five households are listed below with the year in which the household head received the grant of osazuke. This is the only information I have on them. The date on which they received the grant of osazuke has little to do with the year in which they were converted to Tenrikyō.

Yamada Kenzo	- 1921
Kitade Fusajiro	- 1930
Fujita Kumaichi	- 1933
Ban Shinichiro	- 1936
Kitade Isao	- 1953

In 1925 Ban Sokuro died and his son Soichiro became the leader of the Tenrikyō group. Soichiro had, by this time, attended Bekka. The organization of the group had also developed beyond that of the kō to the organized 'church' that exists today and Soichiro became the first kaichō (church head or head priest) of the Sakōdo Branch church.

As the number of believers increased the house of Ban became too small. In the village of Uda, about six hundred meters from Sakōdo, was another group of Tenrikyō believers. These people had a well-formed organization and had built themselves a church. The Sakōdo people placed themselves under the Kōga church of Uda and joined it each month for the festival. To a certain extent this act does follow the pattern outlined in Chapter I. Ban Sozaemon was converted by a person from the Kawaramachi church in Kyoto. The Sakōdo church should thus be a branch church of Kawaramachi. However, at that time

Kōga church was also a branch church of Kawaramachi. Thus the Sakōdo people could join them without disloyalty to the 'parent' church.

After the series of conversions between 1916 and 1918 missionary efforts in Sakōdo seemed to slacken. The occasional person must have been converted since the present situation reveals a Tenrikyō population of more than twenty-two households. However, there were no more complete household conversions and those people who joined the group after 1918 are considered to be only partially Tenrikyō. They also consider themselves to be only partially Tenrikyō. To illustrate this I quote the following from my field notes:

When asked if the household had any connection with Tenrikyō he (household head) replied that he prayed to Kamisan (god) every morning and evening just to say thank you for the day and night but that that was all the praying he did to Tenrikyō.

He never goes to the church and has not received osazuke but when he was younger he often went to Tenri for two weeks at a time to do hinokishin.

When asked if there was a connection with Tenrikyō he said 'Only in that we believe in it. We are Buddhist really.'

When asked if there was any connection with Tenrikyō he answered that there was. He explained that if anyone got sick they asked a Tenrikyō person to perform osazuke and that they went to the church every month for the festival. They have also been to Tenri many times. When asked if any of them had received osazuke or gone to Besseki he said that their belief was not strong enough to interest them in going that far.

In 1936 the Kōga church at Uda decided to move to a new location as a result of conflict with the non-Tenrikyō element in the village. They moved to Kibukawa, a town about four thousand meters from Sakōdo. It was now inconvenient for the Sakōdo people to worship with them each month so the believers in Sakōdo applied to the prefectural government for permission to establish their own church.

The Sakōdo church seems to have had no difficulty in obtaining official recognition although the Headquarters of Tenrikyō and many of the Branch churches had difficulty with the government.

Permission was granted and in the same year the building was begun. The land was donated by Okuda Tsunesaburo who gave the land that his own family house stood upon. The house itself was moved to a locale just inside the eastern section of the village. This 'eastern' land was also the property of the Okuda family.

In 1939 Ban Soichiro died. He had had no son of his own. The first boy he adopted died and the second was not old enough to take over the leadership of the church. Thus Okuda Tsunesaburo became the second head priest of the Sakōdo Branch church.

I have stated that the position of the head priest is based on the concept of fictional parent-child relationship and that by patrilineal descent the son of a head priest

assumes this position at his father's death. Though Okuda Tsunesaburo became the head priest he was not related to the Ban household and was not, in the same sense, supported by the 'principle of filiation'. Did this weaken the position of the head priest in the Sakōdo Branch church? It may be a possible explanation for the rather weak authority he holds today. However, I also stated that the 'principle of filiation' operates between convert and converter. Since almost all of the conversions can be attributed to Okuda the concept of fictional parenthood does operate between him and the majority of the believers. I therefore doubt that the weakened authority of the head priest is a result of the change from one family to another. Rather, I feel that it is a manifestation of the compromise made between the village and the religion. This will be further discussed in a later chapter.

I have no information as to the attitudes of the non-Tenrikyō villagers towards the church from the time the murahachibu ended until the present day. I have a few statements gathered from informants that "grandfather greatly disliked the Tenrikyō people" or "when they started to build the church the father of our house gathered some men together to see if they could be stopped" but no data on any active discrimination.

Before leaving this section I wish to suggest several questions that arise pertaining to the history of the Sakōdo Branch church: 1. Under what agreement were the

original six households accepted back into the village?

2. Was there any external event such as drought or disease that occurred during the period of 1916-1918 which might help to explain the large number of conversions that occurred at that time? 3. During the evangelical spree of Tsunesaburo from 1916-1918 was there no active opposition on the part of the non-Tenrikyō villagers? 4. Did Tsunesaburo's missionary zeal flag after 1918 and if so, why? 5. Did the establishment of the church in 1936 produce any action from the non-Tenrikyō element?

I cannot answer these and must leave them as questions which may someday be answered by further research.

## CHAPTER IV

## TENRIKYŌ IN THE VILLAGE TODAY

1. Description of the Church: its Membership, Activities and Organization:

A definition of the boundaries of membership in Tenrikyō cannot be given in any strict sense. Because there is no initiation rite there is nothing which officially recognizes a new member. In Sakōdo we can talk of Tenrikyō church membership only in terms of varying levels of affiliation. These levels merge into each other and overlap but a discussion of them may help to determine who in the village is Tenrikyō and who is not.

The non-Tenrikyō population of the village has been determined on the basis of a house to house interview in which questions were asked concerning the household's relationship to Tenrikyō. All households that stated there was no connection have been listed as definitely non-Tenrikyō. Out of eighty-three households forty-four stated that there was definitely no connection with Tenrikyō. In almost every case these answers were strongly given - chittomo kankei ga gozaimasen (there is absolutely no connection) and in some cases the informants went on to make hostile remarks concerning the religion.

In a few cases there is a discrepancy between what I received in the interview and the church records. Households that state they are non-Tenrikyō are recorded as belonging to the church. The answer appears to rest on 'filial' ties. The parents or grandparents were Tenrikyō and were buried by the church and the present heads of the households must recognize the religion that buried their ancestors. I have recorded these households as non-Tenrikyō because, although they are recognized by the church and they themselves recognize the connection of the church to the household, the present members of the household are not in sympathy with Tenrikyō.

Because the forty-four households that are non-Tenrikyō were so very definite about having no connection with the religion the 'stated some connection' households may be grouped together in what I shall call the first circle of affiliation. This is composed of all households that stated some connection to the religion during the interview. A stated connection does not in any sense imply membership. It is only when I take into account the definite non-Tenrikyō group that I can suggest that the households that stated some connection form a very broad and vague circle of affiliation.

Within this circle are the various levels of affiliation. The highest level is composed of the priests.

Only the priests are allowed to lead the services in the church and perform the sacred dances at the monthly festival. The Sakōdo church has nine priests, three women and six men. These nine people come from five households and are: the head priest, Okuda Tsunesaburo, his mother and his son; Ban Yukihiro; Okumura Sakujiro; Fukunishi Kiroku and his wife; and Hayashi Torasaburo and his son. With the exception of Okumura Sakujiro these families are all descendents of the original six Tenrikyō households.

The second highest level consists of those believers who have attended the three month missionary training course. Members of thirteen village households have attended this course making a total of twenty people. Eleven of these were household heads and nine of the twenty are those already counted as priests.

The next level consists of all people who have obtained osazuke. Here we find people from twenty-three households making a total number of fifty-one people who have received osazuke. Again, all people who have attended the missionary training course are included in this count.

For purposes of analysis I would tend to group these three levels together as people who are 'definitely' Tenrikyō. The reason for this is that when a person receives osazuke he, for the first time, goes through a ceremony which officially recognizes his belief and he is recorded in the statistics of Headquarters.



Thus there is a group of 'definite' Tenrikyō people and a group of 'definite' non-Tenrikyō people. The remaining sixteen households are within the circle of affiliation but because they have not received osazuke they are not included in the group of 'definite' Tenrikyō people. Of these sixteen households six are included in the register of the church.

When these sixteen households were questioned about their connection with Tenrikyō the following reasons were given as to why they felt they were connected to the religion: two households said that although they were not strong believers they were registered with the church; one stated that they never went to church but that they returned to Tenri on pilgrimages and did voluntary labour for two weeks each year; five said that they occasionally go to church and that someone from the house returns to Tenri at least once or twice a year; one household feels that they are connected because the girl who married into the family is Tenrikyō; four stated that they seldom go to the church but that if a member of the household is ill they will call upon Tenrikyō faith healers; and three gave combined answers of occasionally going to the church, returning to Tenri and calling upon Tenrikyō people for healing.

Since the yearly pilgrimage to Tenri, belief in faith-healing, and attendance at the monthly festival are requirements stressed by Headquarters, the above households can be fitted into the circle of affiliation.

It must also be noted that of the thirty-nine households included in the circle of affiliation thirty answered the question on religion by saying that the household was Buddhist. It was only after they were questioned as to a connection with Tenrikyō that they stated this connection. Then they generally amended their first answer by saying "the house is Buddhist but we are Tenrikyō" or "we worship both." Each of these thirty households have both a Buddhist and a Tenrikyō household altar and services are performed at each every morning. Thus there are only nine households in Sakōdo that consider themselves to be Tenrikyō and not Buddhist.

The Sakōdo church is organized after the pattern of the Grand church and Headquarters with the most influential position being that of the Head priest. I have said that the Head priest acts as a parent figure to each member of his church. This is not really evident in Sakōdo. Okuda Tsunesaburo does act in this capacity as far as church matters are concerned but in the everyday lives of the church members his influence is not seen as readily as it is in other churches.

At the moment there is a controversy in Sakōdo as to who will be the next Head priest. Okuda has a thirty year old son who is definitely concerned with attaining the position. The Ban son is also old enough and interested. It is interesting to speculate as to whether the position will go back to the

Ban family or not and, if it does, whether the position of the Head priest in the village will change at all.

Below the Head priest are the yakuin or administrative body. There are three yakuin in the village church. These men are all descendents of the original Tenrikyō households. Though there is little actual business to conduct in the small church these men are the leaders of the congregation. Each is a priest in his own right.

Sakōdo church is dedicated to the task of strengthening its parent church. Of the three areas of duty to the parent church discussed above, Sakōdo believers are certainly intent on carrying out two of the three duties far beyond the extent to which most Branch churches would go.

I have already said that most Branch churches pass on only a percentage of the offerings gathered from the believers. A necessary amount is held back for the Head priest and his family and for maintenance and other things on the budget. In Sakōdo the Head priest does not live off the church. He has his own home and earns his own living by farming. Consequently almost the entire amount of money collected each month is passed on to the Kōga Grand church. The following is a fairly representative financial statement for one month:

debit:

charcoal -----	445 ¥
<u>Kokyū</u> (musical instrument) repairs---	700 ¥
church district fee-----	700 ¥

cooking pot -----	200 ¥
altar offerings (vegetables, fruit, etc.)-----	2200 ¥
	<hr/>
	4245 ¥

credit:

people's offering -----	33780 ¥
money left from preceding month -----	3026 ¥
	<hr/>
	32561 ¥

From this remaining 32,561 yen they gave 30,000 to the Grand church; gave a gift of 300 to a visiting priest from the Grand church; bought altar offerings for the Grand church for 1,200; and ended up 2,839 in debt. Thus a total of 35,400 yen passed from the Sakōdo Branch church to the Kōga Grand church in one month. Since the starting salary of a university graduate in a Japanese business firm is approximately 18,000 to 20,000 yen per month it can be seen that the Sakōdo church situated in a farming community actually gave a sizeable amount. Informants at the Grand church say that the Sakōdo people give more than the average Branch church and the Head priest at Sakōdo said many times that he was proud of the way in which his followers responded to the requests for money.

The way in which the Sakōdo people answered the call to do hinokishin impressed me during my stay in the village. I am familiar with many Branch churches throughout Japan and seldom have I seen an entire congregation turn out to do hinokishin the way the Sakōdo people do. When hinokishin is done at a Grand church usually a different Branch church is

called upon each month. Although this is also true of Kōga Grand church while I was in the village not a month passed that the Sakōdo church did not send a group of people to do hinokishin at the Grand church. It is also unusual to find a Branch church that will send a contingent of believers to do hinokishin at Tenri every month. Yet the Sakōdo church was always represented at the Headquarters for the monthly festival. During the summer months when people are busy in the fields the representation often dropped to between three to ten people and this group was composed of a core of people who had attended the missionary training course. However, during the winter months Sakōdo sent a group of over thirty people each month and, in January, for the Grand Festival, the people who returned to Tenri numbered sixty-three. These numbers exceed in many cases the number of people a Grand church will have at hinokishin in Tenri.

Most people to whom I have spoken agree that in the two areas of finance and labour the Sakōdo church gives far beyond the average that is expected of it.

However, when examining the third area of duty to the parent church--evangelism--it is found that the Sakōdo church just does not measure up. It does not attempt to. There is no evangelism done by the followers of Tenrikyō in Sakōdo either within the village or outside of it. They do not appear to be concerned with spreading the doctrine. When the Head

priest was asked about his own evangelistic efforts he replied, "I used to but not any more." He gave no reasons and rather than talk about the present lack of evangelical activities he turned to talk about the days when missionary work was done in Sakōdo.

I know of this lack of evangelical zeal in the village church from personal experience. While I lived in Tenri I was constantly subjected to a program intended to convert me to the religion. When I moved to the village the Foreign Mission Office at Headquarters talked to Kōga Grand church about continuing the program. In turn, the priest of the Grand church instructed the village church to make an attempt to convert me to Tenrikyō. However, during my stay in the village not one person ever approached me regarding Tenrikyō belief. This was despite the fact that at least two sermons that I heard (each month a priest from the Grand church came to the village to give a sermon) consisted of instructions to convert the foreigner in their midst.

You farmers cannot do the Foundress' great work by going to the ends of the earth to teach people how to live the 'joyous life'. But the Foundress has recognized your great belief. She has brought a foreigner to live here in your village. You don't have to be missionaries in a foreign land. The Foundress has smoothed the path for you. Prove your love for her by teaching Thora-san the 'joyous life'."

However, there was no attempt to convert me or anyone else.

The church sponsors two organizations: the Tenrikyō Fujinkai and the Tenrikyō Seinenkai. The Fujinkai is a women's association and in the village looks after the cleaning of the church and the preparation of food for the monthly festivals. The women view these chores as a form of hinokishin. The association meets once a month. At these meetings the women discuss the work schedule for the coming month and for hinokishin at the Grand church; practice the religious dance and the playing of the musical instruments; and occasionally do such things as preserve pickles for the parties that are held at the church.

The Seinenkai is the young men's association and its main activity is to help with the upkeep of the church or to take over building projects. Meetings are supposed to be held once a month but in Sakōdo the group does not meet regularly. The Seinenkai is a rather militant group and its activities are carried out as though they were military manoeuvres. These young men never walk together--they march in formation, a flag held high before them, loudly singing the marching hymn of the Seinenkai.

There is no organized activity for the children in the Sakōdo Branch church although each child of a Tenrikyō household is registered with the Children's Association (kodomo-kai). Every year during the summer vacation a children's week is held at Headquarters in Tenri. There is little religious training done during this week and the whole

affair has a very festive air. There are always a good number of Sakōdo children in attendance.

The yearly round of Tenrikyō activities in the village includes: services of worship each morning and evening; a service on the twentieth day of each month followed by a party; three 'grand' services a year in January, April and October also followed by parties; the monthly meetings of the Fujinkai and the Seinenkai; organized pilgrimages to the Grand church and to Headquarters; and an annual service in memory of the dead of the war.

2. Participation of Tenrikyō church members in non-Tenrikyō village activity:

In the introduction to this paper I have suggested that the Tenrikyō church in present day Sakōdo is no longer a unit of the separate 'totalitarian' system that it should ideally be. Having lost its 'totalitarian' nature it has been absorbed into the stronger 'totalitarian' system--the village. I have defined a 'totalitarian' system as one which regulates the sentiments and behaviour of its members in all of their roles of life. In Chapter I outlined the way in which Tenrikyō, as a 'totalitarian' system, regulates the lives of its members. Therefore, to illustrate the break-down of the ideal system in the Sakōdo church I will discuss some of the members of the church and their roles in the community.



The life of a head priest of a Tenrikyō church is usually dedicated solely to the church and its functions. This is not true of the head priest of the Sakōdo branch church. Okuda Tsunesaburo is a farmer and his duties on the farm often interfere with his obligations to the church. During the busy planting time and when work in the fields is heavy Okuda is rarely present at the daily worship services in the church. This does not worry him as he knows that one of the other priests will always be present to conduct the service. He says that he is an old man and that there are younger priests who are able to do both their work and the business of the church. His fields come before the daily worship but he does not allow them to come before the monthly festivals or his visits to the Grand church and Headquarters. He does not however restrict his activity to his farming and to the church but is also active in village affairs which do not concern Tenrikyō. He is a member of a group of men called Fuji-kō. This is a group that was started when its members all went on a pilgrimage to Mount Fuji. They now meet once a year for a party. While I was in the village Fuji-kō met on an evening when a priest from the Grand church was visiting the Sakōdo Branch church. Okuda was not present at the Tenrikyō gathering and I was told that he was attending the Fuji-kō party. In 1941 and 1942 Okuda was the fukuku-chō and ku-chō of the village. These positions would require him to spend

considerable time away from his duties at the church and he admits that during these two years he was not able to adequately fulfill his obligations to the Grand church and to Headquarters.

Okuda's eldest son, Minoru, who is possibly next in line for the position of head priest, is also a farmer whose days are usually taken up with his work in the fields. However, Minoru is usually present at the daily worship. In effect, he takes his father's position at the service. Minoru was president of the Tenrikyō Young Men's Association (Seinenkai) until he became village ku-chō in 1957. While he was ku-chō most of his church duties passed to another young man. Minoru was re-elected ku-chō in 1961 and when the term of office ended he again took up most of the duties of the church. He is also active in the village Young Men's Agricultural Association (nōgyō seishōnenbu).

Minoru's wife is the only female member of the Okuda family and as such is the hostess of the church. It is her duty to entertain guests and to see that church social affairs are run smoothly in the same manner as would a housewife look after guests and social gatherings in her home. Since she like her husband is a priest, she has the additional duty of participating in the services. Although she is not the president of the Tenrikyō Women's Association, as the only woman of the head priest's household she must act as leader

and teacher to the women of the church. However she too is active in non-Tenrikyō activities in the village. Sadako is a member of the Buddhist Women's Association and is president of the Village Women's Association. When Tenrikyō activities conflict with her duties to the Village Women's Association Sadako chooses to fulfill her obligations to the village. An example of this is the evening that the Village Women's Association was practising folk dancing. A dancing instructor from a neighbouring village had come to teach the women dances that they would do at the annual Old People's Day. The same evening a meeting was held at the Tenrikyō church. Four people had come from the Grand church to teach the Sakōdo people to play the musical instruments that would be used during the service opening the new wing to the Sakōdo church. The entire congregation was expected to turn out to the practice and a party was held afterwards. Sadako attended the village Women's Association folk dancing practice.

The three yakuin of the village church are also concerned with non-Tenrikyō activities. One has been both the fukuku-chō and ku-chō of the village and is a member of the Shinto shrine committee. His wife is a member of both the Tenrikyō Women's Association and the Buddhist Women's Association. His son, who like his father is also a priest, is a member of the volunteer village fire brigade of the Young Men's Agricultural Association and of the Tenrikyō Young Men's

Association. The son's wife belongs to the Tenrikyō Women's Association and the Village Women's Association.

The second yakuin is a member of the Aged People's group and is chairman of an association of families who lost some of their members during the war. His wife has received osazuke and is a member of both the Tenrikyō Women's Association and the Buddhist Women's Association. His son, who has also received osazuke, is a member of the Tenrikyō Young Men's Association and the Young Men's Agricultural Association. His son's wife is a priest and belongs to the Tenrikyō Women's Association and the Village Women's Association.

The third yakuin is president of the Tenrikyō Young Men's Association, a member of the volunteer fire brigade, and a member of the Young Men's Agricultural Association. His mother is president of both the Tenrikyō Women's Association and the Widow's Association and is a member of the Buddhist Women's Association. His wife belongs to the Village Women's Association and to the Tenrikyō Women's Association.

There is one more priest to be accounted for--Okumura Sakujiro. Besides his duties at the Tenrikyō church Okumura was village ku-chō in 1948, fukuku-chō in 1951 and ku-chō again in 1952. He is a member of the Mountain temple committee (Buddhist) and is the ritual parent of the mountain temple priest. His son belongs to the Tenrikyō Young Men's Association;

his wife belongs to the Tenrikyō Women's Association and to the Buddhist Women's Association; and his son's wife belongs to the Village Women's Association and the Tenrikyō Women's Association.

The remaining Tenrikyō believers carry out various activities within the village. They are all involved in Shinto shrine festivals and in the annual festival at the Buddhist temple on the mountain. Each farming family is concerned with the Farmers' Cooperative Association and with the Mountain God groups involved with mountain property. Each Tenrikyō household sends a representative to the Village Women's Association and to the Buddhist Women's Association. The Buddhist households in turn send a representative to the Tenrikyō Women's Association. Each Tenrikyō household is a member in good standing in the village. The group of households that are not considered to be 'members' of Sakōdo does not contain a Tenrikyō believer.

In the cases outlined above it can be seen that energy which should ideally be used to fulfill the ideals of the religion is channelled away from the church. When a choice of activity is made the choice is consistently towards village activity. The choice is made deliberately. Tenrikyō people explain that since they are part of the village they must participate in village affairs even if it means neglecting some of their duties to the church. They point out, however,

that in other respects (donations of time and money to the Grand church and to Headquarters) the Sakōdo church is a model Branch church.

The extent to which the upper hierarchy of the church participates in non-Tenrikyō activity sometimes appeared extreme in view of the neglected commitments to the church. Since only the upper hierarchy are this active in village affairs it may be an attempt to compensate for the difference they feel exists between themselves and the non-Tenrikyō villagers. Fringe believers are not very different from the average villager and thus do not need to consciously establish themselves as part of the village. I suggest that this activity in village affairs is a conscious effort to be a central part of the community. My reasons for this suggestion are: first, that Tenrikyō people stated that they must take care to participate fully in village activity since many villagers do not like Tenrikyō and second, that non-Tenrikyō people stated that they felt that the Tenrikyō believers' interest in such activity was superficial and that they were "too busy" or too eager about their non-Tenrikyō positions in the community.

The ideal whereby the religion regulates the sentiments and behaviour of its members in all of their roles of life does not operate in Sakōdo. Acceptance by the community and participation in its affairs are motivating factors which supersede the values stressed by Tenrikyō.

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION: THE COMPROMISE

I have described the ideals and values of Tenrikyō as they exist both in the overall organization of the religion and in the Grand and Branch churches with which I am familiar in other areas of Japan. I have described the 'totalitarian' nature of the religion. Because of the early conflict between the Sakōdo believers and the villagers and the history of the growth of the village church I am prepared to say that these ideals and values and the 'totalitarian' nature of the religion were in evidence during the early history of the church in Sakōdo. In the previous chapter I have shown that the situation has changed. Today, in Sakōdo, the religion does not have a 'totalitarian' hold over the lives of its members. The ideal of personal salvation and attainment of the 'joyous' life is not of sole importance to the village believer. Tenrikyō followers in Sakōdo no longer adhere to the values of complete dedication of self and property to the cause of the religion. The most devout believers are consciously striving to fulfill obligations to the community at the expense of their commitments to the religion.

The differences in this respect observed between the Sakōdo Tenrikyō church and other Tenrikyō churches in Japan

are based on the situation in which the churches exist. The majority of churches with which I am familiar are, like the Kōga Grand church, self-contained units isolated from the surrounding society. As such they can function as part of a 'totalitarian' system maintaining and supporting the ideals and values of the religion. However, when this 'totalitarian' religion moved into Sakōdo it encountered a social system which also, because the community completely regulated the lives of its members, was strongly 'totalitarian'. Since the values and ideals of the invading system endangered the traditional values basic to village unity conflict occurred. The village could only rid itself of the new religion by withdrawing the privileges of village membership from the converts. This action, however, was also detrimental to village unity and the final recourse was to accept the new religion into the community. By accepting Tenrikyō the village of Sakōdo made the initial compromise and the results of this compromise are evident in the village today.

The way in which the village has accepted Tenrikyō is indicated in several areas. Intermarriage of Tenrikyō and non-Tenrikyō families occurs freely. These marriages are for the most part based on kinship ties that existed before Tenrikyō entered the village but the religious factor seems to have made no difference. Considering the original sharp conflict between Tenrikyō and the village and the fact that hostility towards the religion still exists in Sakōdo it might be expected that



marriage into Tenrikyō households would not be desired. The fact that this is not so may have little to do with religion since the relatively small population of the village does not afford a wide choice of marriage partners. Sakōdo people tend to marry within the village and they usually marry into a household where kinship ties have already been established. Villagers explained that this practice prevents a widening of the circle of obligations incurred by marriage. However, a bride is expected to participate in the religious practices of her husband's family and staunch Buddhist supporters in Sakōdo have sent their daughters into devout Tenrikyō homes. It seems to be less desirable to extend the circle of obligation beyond the village than to subject a member of the family to the teachings of Tenrikyō.

Village acceptance of Tenrikyō is evident in the selection of the ku-chō and fukuku-chō. Religion makes little difference if the man has qualities of leadership and devout Tenrikyō men have been selected alongside of devout Buddhists and others who are on the fringe of the two groups.

Villagers have accepted Tenrikyō to the extent that the Sakōdo Branch church is now recognized as a village institution. The church festivals are given a place in the village schedule and it is recognized that on the festival days cooperative village efforts will not include Tenrikyō believers. Each house in the village whether Buddhist or Tenrikyō sends a representative to the Tenrikyō Women's Association and each

house pays a yearly fee to this organization. Although the village budget does not include money for the Tenrikyō church a large portion of the budget was given to the church several years ago to help with the building of the new wing. The village ku-chō is expected to attend large celebrations at the church as the representative from the village council.

The initial compromise was made by the village but the act of accepting the new religion has worked the compromise in favour of the village. By accepting Tenrikyō and incorporating it into village life the village has effectively increased the dependence of the religion on the community. The strengthening ties between village and religion curtailed the possibility that Tenrikyō followers give away their property or fail to meet their obligations to the village. Thus the threat to village unity was decreased.

The most evident result of the compromise is perhaps the joint membership of a large percentage of the village in both the Buddhist temple and the Tenrikyō church. Here the compromise is more on the part of Tenrikyō for in most cases when a household became Tenrikyō the Buddhist ties were maintained because of loyalty to ancestors and because of obligations to the Buddhist temple. These are two factors described in Chapter II as contributing to village cohesion. Non-Tenrikyō villagers occasionally go to Tenri City on a sight-seeing tour and often send their children to kodomo hinokishin in Tenri during the summer vacation. This too is a result of

the compromise and an indication that the villagers no longer feel threatened by the new religion. The reciprocal representation in the Tenrikyō and Buddhist Women's Associations; Tenrikyō believers' activity in non-Tenrikyō affairs; and village activity in Tenrikyō affairs indicate that the compromise reached will continue to be maintained.

There is one further area in which the compromise is evident. In Chapter III I stated that the reaction of the villagers to the new religion resulted in the formation of a strong Buddhist group. At the end of the ostracism Tenrikyō was accepted into the village. The Buddhist group, however, remained and in present day Sakōdo the polarity between the two religious groups still exists. This polarity and also considerable hostility is maintained by the core group of each religion. These core groups consist of the devout members of Tenrikyō--the nine households that stated they had no connection with the Buddhist temple--and the eleven devout Buddhist households, six of which form the Buddhist temple committee. Do the members of these core groups in fact submerge loyalty to their religion in favour of loyalty to the ideals of the village as a whole? What interaction occurs between these two groups?

The social situation in which the two groups exist necessitates a certain degree of interaction between them. In the secular aspects of village life members of the two groups meet often. There are farmers in both groups and farming

necessitates that villagers meet and agree on various matters. Members of both groups meet as common members of both the Farmers' Cooperative Association and the Village Women's Association. Members of both groups own mountain property and are thus included in the Mountain God groups. There is no tonari gumi group which is exclusively composed of the members of one or the other of the core groups. Kin ties cross and recross the boundaries that might be set for the religious groups. In order to exist in the village members of both groups must meet and agree on both the economical and social plane of community life.

In the realm of religion there is an attempt to compromise loyalty to doctrine for the sake of village cohesion. Members of the core group of Tenrikyō give an annual donation to the village temple. Reasons given for this action are that the ancestors of the Tenrikyō people are buried by the village temple and that duty to these ancestors involves this gift of money. The Tenrikyō head priest, however, stated that although the Tenrikyō people do not believe this gift is necessary they consider it to be the 'neighbourly' thing to do. "After all," he said, "the temple is a part of village life and we live in the village." The Buddhist group does not give financial help as such to the Tenrikyō church but the members of the Buddhist core group donate gifts to the Tenrikyō church on occasions such as birthdays or the New Year.

The annual service in commemoration of the dead of the war is held in the temple grounds. The entire village attends this service. Actually there are two services. First the Buddhist priest conducts a Buddhist service and the families of war dead proceed to the altar to burn incense for the dead. When the Buddhist service is ended the priest exits from the scene and the Tenrikyō priest enters. The altar is rearranged and a Tenrikyō service then takes place. Families of war dead proceed forward to offer Tenrikyō offerings to the dead (a green branch with white prayer papers tied to it). The services are sponsored by the village council. The fact that both religions take part in the service is an indication of the compromise existing between the core groups. Since members of both core groups offer both incense and the green branch it can be seen that this joint service is a concrete illustration of the way in which the core groups have chosen to support village solidarity rather than the differences in religious belief and doctrine.

One last thing must be mentioned to illustrate the interaction of these core groups. The village Shinto shrine committee is composed of two men. These men are the head of the Buddhist temple committee and the head of the Tenrikyō yakuin. These two members of opposing religious groups meet to organize and conduct the business of the shrine which is a traditional religious organization involving every member of

the village both Tenrikyō and Buddhist. However, the activities of this committee are not confined to those concerning the shrine. The Shinto shrine committee is also used for the purpose of discussing and solving differences that arise between the Tenrikyō church and the Buddhist temple. In effect, the Shinto shrine committee is used as an inter-faith council. During my stay in the village it was discovered that a special Tenrikyō service was scheduled to take place on the day of a traditional Buddhist festival. Since most of the village was involved with both affairs it was obviously necessary to arrive at an agreement on a change in the program. The compromise was reached in a meeting of the Shinto shrine committee.

The initial compromise, village acceptance of Tenrikyō, was necessary because of the economic system operating within the Japanese village. The traditional values of village Japan discussed in Chapter II are all directly concerned with maintaining the high degree of social cohesion required for the smooth functioning of operations which ensure the villagers' existence. Although the values of the new religion conflicted with the traditional values of the village and thus threatened village unity, the ostracism of a relatively large percentage of the population was eventually a greater threat to the social cohesion of the community.

Although the ostracised Tenrikyō people could not be compelled to give up their belief village membership was very

important to them. The village provided them with their means of living and the only social environment in which they knew how to function. The fact that they eventually compromised basic ideals and values of the religion in favour of active membership in the community demonstrates the importance of the village to their lives.

The Tenrikyō converts were already members of the village and held certain ideals and values in common with the non-Tenrikyō village residents. Had the Tenrikyō believers been able to make a successful transition from allegiance to the village ideal to that of the Tenrikyō ideal membership in the village would not have mattered. They would have given their property to the church and gone off as missionaries. The Tenrikyō ideal was not sufficiently strongly engrained to enable them to leave the village.

The village, by making the initial compromise actually safeguarded itself against future problems. With the compromise the villagers strengthened the 'totalitarian' aspect of the village by making the new religion a part of it. The new religion, on the other hand, became a segment of the 'totalitarian' village rather than the 'totalitarian' system it should itself ideally be. As a part of a 'totalitarian' system the Branch church was absorbed into the village as a village institution and its members' behaviour and sentiments were once more regulated by the community.

The Sakōdo church is governed by Kōga Grand church and the members thus have dual obligations to fulfill. When obligations to village and Grand church are conflicting the Sakōdo believers choose to fulfill their obligations to the village. They compensate for their neglect toward the church in ways which do not affect village unity. In the donation of money and labour the Sakōdo church is far ahead of its sister Branch churches.

Thus the study of religious change in the village of Sakōdo demonstrates the conflict that arose when two 'totalitarian' systems holding different values and ideals came into contact. The study further shows that the reaction of compromise resulted in the weakening of the alien system until it became absorbed into and dependent upon the original, traditional system.

A secondary problem arises from the study of the situation in Sakōdo. It has not been discussed in this paper but I mention it briefly as a point of interest in conclusion.

The study of Sakōdo seems to indicate that in village Japan differences in religious doctrine are of an importance secondary to social cohesion. The village people reacted against Tenrikyō not because it preached a doctrine alien to them but because it preached a doctrine that threatened the social cohesion of their community. The present situation in Sakōdo further illustrates the lack of concern over doctrinal



differences and the extreme concern to maintain social cohesion. This is so on every level of affiliation in either religious group, from the ordinary believer who attends both Buddhist and Tenrikyō services through to the core groups of each religion which extend mutual aid to one another. At the memorial service cited above the only people who did not participate in both Tenrikyō and Buddhist services were the priests of each religion. Perhaps this means that on the very highest level of religious affiliation doctrinal differences do matter. However, the Tenrikyō priest concerns himself with the fact that his ancestors were buried by the temple and thus he must meet certain obligations to the temple. The Buddhist priest, on the other hand, sought the aid of a Tenrikyō faith healer when he scalded his foot. Even on the highest level of religious affiliation doctrinal differences may be submerged by other considerations.

## APPENDIX I

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF TENRIKYŌ

In the year 1838 in a small agricultural village in the old Yamato province (now Nara Prefecture) the woman Nakayama Miki, her husband and son were stricken with an illness. A priest was called in to perform a ritual over the ill family and the wife, Miki, acted as the medium. During her activities as the medium it seems that one of the heavenly deities forced himself upon her, using her as the vocal instrument through which he uttered these words: "I am the True and Original God. I have a predestination to this residence. Now I have descended from heaven to save all human beings. I want to take Miki as Tsuki Hi's Yashiro shrine of God and mediatrix between God the Parent and men."<sup>1</sup>

Only when the entire family had agreed to accept this situation did Miki recover from her trance. This occurred on October 26, 1838 and that day is officially recognized as the founding day of Tenrikyō.

Nakayama Miki was born in the village of Sanmaiden of Yamato province on June 2, 1798. She was the first daughter of Maekawa Hanshichi Masanobu. Tenrikyō literature abounds in tales of the childhood of the Foundress. She is said to have

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1 Tenrikyō Kyoten, Tenri Jihōsha, Tenri City.

been a happy, gentle child who desired to busy herself with housework and with helping others rather than to participate in the normal play of children. From childhood she was instructed in the tenets of the Jōdo sect of Buddhism and gradually became a very devout Buddhist. When she was thirteen years old she married into the Nakayama family. It appears that this marriage was somewhat against her wishes because of her strict devotion to Buddhism and her celebistic intentions. However, it is said that she took over her wifely duties with a great sense of responsibility and that she was a very good daughter-in-law. At the age of nineteen Miki was initiated into the Buddhist service of deliverance called gojūsōden. This is one of the highest ritual forms of the Jōdo sect and such an attainment at the age of nineteen is considered to be quite an accomplishment.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous are the stories concerning the way in which the young wife and mother helped the people of the community and others but I will pass over these except for one which is of prime importance in Tenrikyō literature.

A neighbour's baby was suffering from malnutrition because the mother could not nurse him. Miki took the child under her own care and while he was in her house he caught smallpox and soon was close to death. Miki spent many days

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<sup>2</sup> H. Van Straelen, The Religion of Divine Wisdom, Charles E. Tuttle and Co., 1957, p. 35.

walking from shrine to shrine and temple to temple offering prayers for the salvation of the child. Finally she offered the lives of her own two children and herself in exchange for the life of the boy. The child was apparently miraculously healed. Later, after her first revelation she became famous as a healer of smallpox.

After the first revelation in 1838 many more such experiences followed. All these revelations occurred at the place which now holds the main sanctuary of Tenrikyō at the Headquarters in Tenri City.

Miki now began to practise charity to such an extent that she gave away all the family property and reduced the family to an extreme state of poverty. Upon the death of her husband in 1863 Miki ordered that the family mansion was to be demolished and, freed from this last worldly possession, she began in earnest to propagate her word of salvation.

For the purpose of this propagation she began to exercise a type of faith healing. Actually, in the beginning there seems to have been little doctrine at all and only the charitable giving and faith healing. Miki's ability in faith healing first became known through her 'grant of painless childbirth' and the healing of smallpox.

After the death of her husband Miki sent her youngest daughter to Osaka where she became the first missionary of Tenrikyō.

During this time she was supported and aided in her work only by two daughters and a son. However, in 1863 Miki healed the wife of Iburi Izō, a carpenter. This man became a firm believer in the divine mission of Miki and later became a sort of co-founder of the religion. He was extremely grateful to Miki for healing his wife and offered to build a shrine for Tenrikyō worship. Miki declined the offer and asked instead for a small house which could be used for the purpose of worship.

Upon the building of this house persecution from the Shinto and Buddhist religions began. It seems that the first priests who inquired into the faith usually went away satisfied with the explanations given by Miki and her daughter, Kokan.

Soon after this, in 1875, Miki is said to have been walking alone in her garden when suddenly her feet became rooted to the ground and she was unable to move. At this point God is supposed to have spoken to her saying that the place upon which she stood was the center of the earth and the place in which God first created human beings. When she was able to walk away she blindfolded several of her followers and led them to the place. When they approached it they too became as if rooted to the earth. Thus it was established that the origin of man took place at a specific location in the old Yamato province of Japan. From that time on the place has been called Jiba and plays an important part in the religion. It is an

extremely sacred place which is now marked by a hole in the ground in the middle of the main sanctuary at Tenri. No one but the highest priests are allowed to approach it and it is kept under guard twenty-four hours a day.

After this occurrence the Foundress began to teach the liturgy of the religion. She composed and taught the music, words and motions of the mikagura uta, the main prayer of Tenrikyō. Later she began to teach the kanrodai tsutome or service dance. The kanrodai refers to an eight-sided wooden column built in the center of Jiba. On the top of this column is a wooden platform. Tenrikyō people believe that eventually, when the world is converted to Tenrikyō, all people will be happy and live a 'joyous' life. At that time the wooden column and platform will be replaced by a column and bowl of stone. When this happens a heavenly dew or manna will fall from heaven into the stone bowl and anyone tasting this manna will live for 115 years in health and happiness. At the end of this life term they will be reborn again and again living each life for 115 years in a state of bliss or, if they wish to die forever their spirit will go to dwell with the spirit of the Foundress. The kanrodai tsutome is a religious dance which is done down in the hole around the kanrodai. Only the top ten priests and the Patriarch and his wife are allowed to do this dance in Jiba. The movements of the dance represent the creation of the first human beings.

It seems that upon the completion of the mikagura uta and the accompanying music and dance police persecution became stronger. Objections were raised because of the noisy, weird music and the curious dance. In order to evade the police persecution Shuji, the son of the Foundress, took out a hotel license and for a time the believers performed the ceremony at the 'hotel'. This was soon discovered however and the license was confiscated.

In 1880 Tenrikyō placed itself under the administration of a Buddhist temple at Kongozan and began to teach under the disguise of Buddhism.

Around this time the believers began the construction of the kanrodai. At first they attempted to build the kanrodai of stone but it was destroyed by the police the following year.

During this period the Foundress continued to have visions and revelations and wrote these down in the form of teachings in a volume called the ofudesaki.

Gradually the number of believers increased and persecution was levelled at the Foundress herself. It seems that she spent considerable time in and out of jail and was continually called to appear in courts both religious and secular.

In 1886 Tenrikyō placed itself under the administration of the Shinto religion (Shinto Honkyoku) and such was the situation at the time of the Foundress' death.

On the 26th of January, 1887, at two o'clock in the afternoon the Foundress died. She was ninety years old. As the life span of a human being had been set by her teaching to be 115 years, her followers were somewhat troubled that the Foundress had been taken from them at such an early age. They turned for guidance to Iburi Izō who, from that time, carried the responsibility of the religion until the first Patriarch, the grandson of Miki, took over.

Iburi, apparently, had a revelation and was able to explain to the people that the Foundress could not bear her worn out body any longer and had asked God the Parent to take her to Him. In this way her spirit could be with them always. In order to help man understand God the Parent's will she sacrificed her body by asking to be taken to Him so that her spirit would be free to teach and guide her followers.

From this time onward Iburi continued to have revelations. If trouble came to the followers or if they were unsure as to what God the Parent wanted of them Iburi would place himself in front of a small shrine and begin to speak in strange words. Today the priests of Tenrikyō are not clear as to the meaning of these oracles and there has been considerable discussion as to whether or not present doctrine should exclude the oracles of Iburi.

On the first anniversary of the Foundress' death the believers were performing the service dance when they were



interrupted by the police. Now more than ever they desired official permission to perform the service. Led by the grandson of the Foundress they applied at the prefectural office in Tokyo. Permission was granted and immediately the first church was built in Tokyo. Some members of the party remained in Tokyo to continue the business of the newly established headquarters and the grandson of the Foundress returned victorious to Jiba as the first Patriarch of Tenrikyō.

However, now internal strife arose. Many of the believers felt that the headquarters should be situated at Jiba and that it was heresy to have built them in Tokyo. Iburi's oracular powers were called upon and it soon became apparent that no place except Jiba would do for the headquarters of the religion. Therefore, the Tokyo church was demoted to a Branch church and the headquarters established at Jiba.

Upon the establishment of the headquarters at Jiba the zeal of the believers increased and soon the Religious Training Course was opened and a Tenrikyō Publishing Company begun. Missionary work began to flourish both inside Japan and in other countries. After the Sino-Japanese war the large tsumeshō, followers' dormitories, were built.

In 1896 a secret order was given to the prefectural governments to be more strict on Tenrikyō. The religion was ordered to comply with a set of new regulations. Eventually it was decided that there was nothing to do but comply and in

doing so the doctrine was considerably modified.

At this time there seems to have been some internal rebellion. From time to time in the history of the religion there has been rebellion among the ranks at Headquarters. It has always been successfully repressed and it is extremely difficult to acquire information on this subject.

In 1908 Tenrikyō finally obtained independence from Shinto Honkyoku and a new sanctuary was built at Headquarters. At this time the Tenrikyō Mission School was also established. In 1913 the Sanctuary of the Foundress was built.

The first Patriarch died in 1914. I have been unable to find out who took over from that time until 1925 when the second Patriarch came of age. In 1936 and 1937 several more institutions were organized. These included the orphanages, the Young Men's Association (seinenkai), and the Women's Association (fujinkai).

During the war the doctrine was again modified but this time along Shinto lines. However, after the war the original doctrine is said to have been restored.

Since the second and present Patriarch, Nakayama Shozen, came of age in 1925, building at Headquarters has been continually in progress. Many new institutions have been added to the organization: the tuberculosis sanatorium; general hospital; primary, secondary and middle schools; university; library; museum; Japanese language school for foreign students;

and the Institute of Mongolian Research. The Oyasato Yakata, a seven story building which will eventually enclose the entire city of fifty thousand people like a large wall, is one-sixteenth finished and is continually being extended.

Before she died the Foundress is supposed to have given her followers instruction that for seventy years after her death they were to concentrate mainly on converting people inside Japan. After seventy years they must send people to all parts of the world to carry the words of God the Parent to all people. In 1958 the world wide conversion program began and at present this is the activity with which Tenrikyō is most concerned.

## APPENDIX II

## OUTLINE OF THE DOCTRINE OF TENRIKYŌ

During the relatively brief history of Tenrikyō the doctrine of the religion has undergone at least four major changes. In 1880 Tenrikyō placed itself under the administration of the Buddhist temple at Kongozan. During this period the original and unformalized doctrine of the infant religion was influenced and modified by the Buddhist organization. Six years later under the administration of Shinto Honkyoku Shinto elements were added and the doctrine underwent further changes. In 1896, by order of the government, Tenrikyō had to comply with a set of government regulations which changed the doctrine again. During the second World War the doctrine was once more modified. This time it was changed to agree with the nationalistic Shintoism of the war period. At the end of the war the nationalistic doctrine was discarded and, according to the priests at Headquarters, Tenrikyō returned to its original doctrine.

I am highly skeptical about the possibility of returning to an 'original' doctrine. In fact the doctrine taught today, though based on the teachings of Nakayama Miki, is embroidered with the interpretations of more recent committees on doctrine and with the more sophisticated philosophy of religion acquired by a large percentage of priests at the

Department of Religious Studies at Tokyo University. A look at the Kyoten, the Tenrikyō layman's 'bible', and at the ofudesaki, the writings of Nakayama Miki upon which the Kyoten is based, will suffice to demonstrate that the present organization finds it necessary to interpret and explain the original teachings of the Foundress.

Such interpretation is unavoidable and very necessary. Almost one hundred years of history have passed since the ofudesaki was written. This alone means that a certain amount of interpretation is required. Add to this the fact that the teachings were written in the old Yamato dialect for specific people and events in Miki's time and interpretation becomes absolutely obligatory. Thus it is not surprising that the committee on religious doctrine at the Tenrikyō headquarters is at present re-examining the teachings of the Foundress, modifying interpretations, and making additions to the doctrine.

Because of the many changes that occurred in the past and that are occurring at present it is difficult to give a clear outline of the doctrine of Tenrikyō. Therefore I will discuss only those teachings used today that are clearly expounded by Nakayama Miki in the ofudesaki. The doctrine of any religion grows and develops along with the organization and a detailed description of only the very early teachings would be more than inadequate if a full explanation of the religious beliefs was intended. However, I am concerned with doctrine

only in so far as it is connected with the sentiments and behaviour of the members of the religion from its early history to the present. Thus a discussion of those early teachings that have remained relatively constant is of more value than would be a detailed description of the doctrine as it is today.

Tenrikyō people hope for and work towards the realization of yokigurashi, the 'joyous' life. According to the teaching of the religion when people of the world become aware of the will of God the Parent and follow His way all mankind will enter into a state of joyous and happy existence. At this time the promised manna will fall from heaven and those who partake of it will live for 115 years in a state of bliss. At the end of this term they may choose to be reborn again for another 115 years or they may die that their spirit may dwell eternally with the spirit of the Foundress.

The 'joyous' life may be attained in two ways. There is no concept of original sin in the teachings of the religion. Tenrikyō people believe that a person is born pure and guiltless but that during his life, by not following the will of God the Parent, he piles up dust on his heart. This dust must be swept clean in order to attain the 'joyous' life. Also, each person has a personal fate or innen. This may be good or bad, it may stem from something that person has done in this lifetime or in a previous existence or it may arise through the actions of the person's ancestors. When the causes of the bad innen

are understood and when it is overcome the person may attain the 'joyous' life.

The dusting of one's heart and the overcoming of innen may be accomplished by following and understanding several of the teachings of Tenrikyō.

The first important teaching is that of kashi-mono, kari-mono (a thing lent, a thing borrowed). According to Tenrikyō doctrine a man's body is lent to him by God and he has no control over it. Man has control over his mind alone. Thus, a man can do nothing to prevent his body from becoming sick or growing old. In fact sickness and trouble are sent by God to teach man to turn to Him. Thus, if sickness occurs a person must accept it without complaint and try to discover why God would be sending such a message. If the reason is understood and the person attempts to correct whatever wrong he has done he will possibly be cured.

Faith healing plays an important part in the religion. Tenrikyō believers who have received the grant of osazuke are supposed to be able to cure people of sickness and disease. Osazuke is received after attending nine consecutive lectures at the Headquarters. The faith healing rite is simply the performance of the mikagura uta prayer over the sick person. Occasionally water is blessed and used but this is not necessary.

A second means of ridding oneself of bad innen and dust is to follow the life of the Foundress in one's own personal life.

This requires the complete devotion of self and property to the cause of the religion. It means donating money to the church and giving voluntary labour in the form of hinokishin and submission to the will of the authorities of the church.

The third method is the one stressed most often by the Foundress in the writings of the ofudesaki--the performance of the service dance. This dance is to be performed diligently, in a state of mind completely free from any other cares of the world, concentrating only on the will of God the Parent and on the religious promise of the 'joyous' life.

The service dance is to be performed anywhere but when it is performed at Jiba it is supposed to have more effect. Therefore, believers are encouraged to make regular pilgrimages to Tenri for the festivals at which this dance is performed. Since Jiba is considered to be the birth place of mankind, believers are taught that when they return to Tenri they are returning home. Because of the extreme sacredness of the place it is said that innen is understood and overthrown more quickly if one attempts this in Jiba. Sickness, too, is cured more easily at Jiba.

Through sickness and trouble God speaks to mankind. When man listens to the will of God and tries to overcome this illness or innen he will gradually attain the state of tannō-- a state of acceptance of the inevitability of things. The state of tannō results in a reduction of bad innen and the dust



on the heart and eventually, the believer will attain  
yokigurashi--the 'joyous' life.

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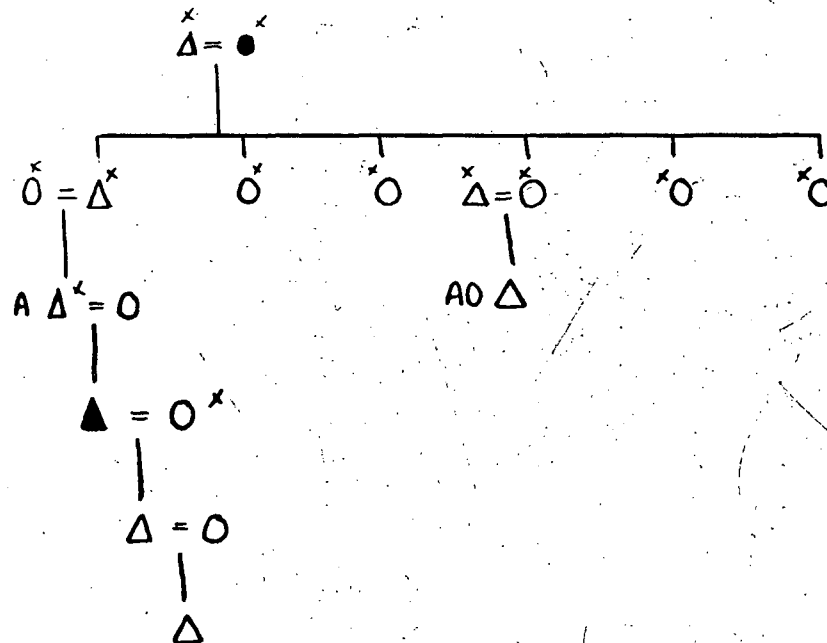
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## DIAGRAM I

## A GENEALOGY OF THE NAKAYAMA FAMILY



A adopted

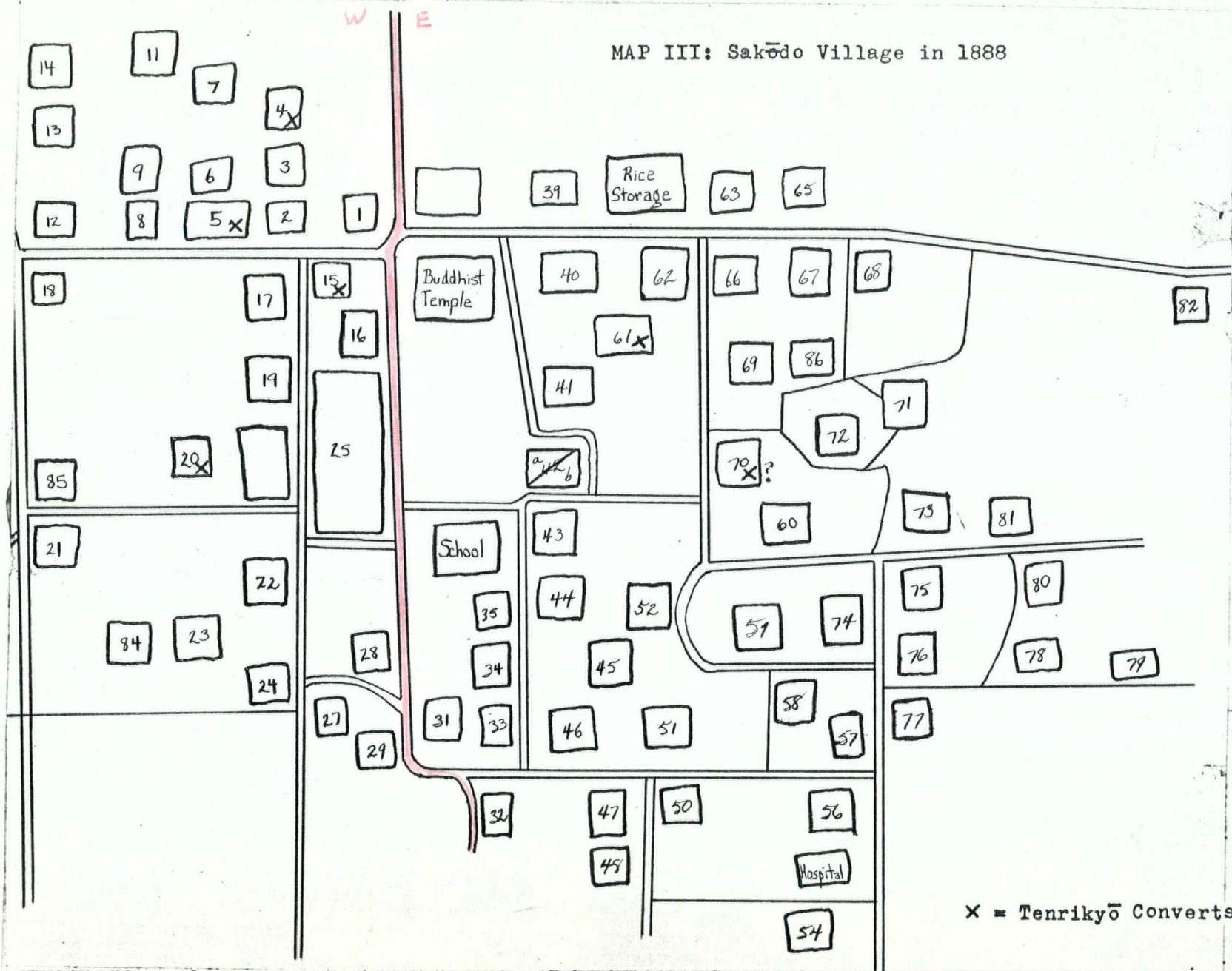
AO adopted out

x deceased

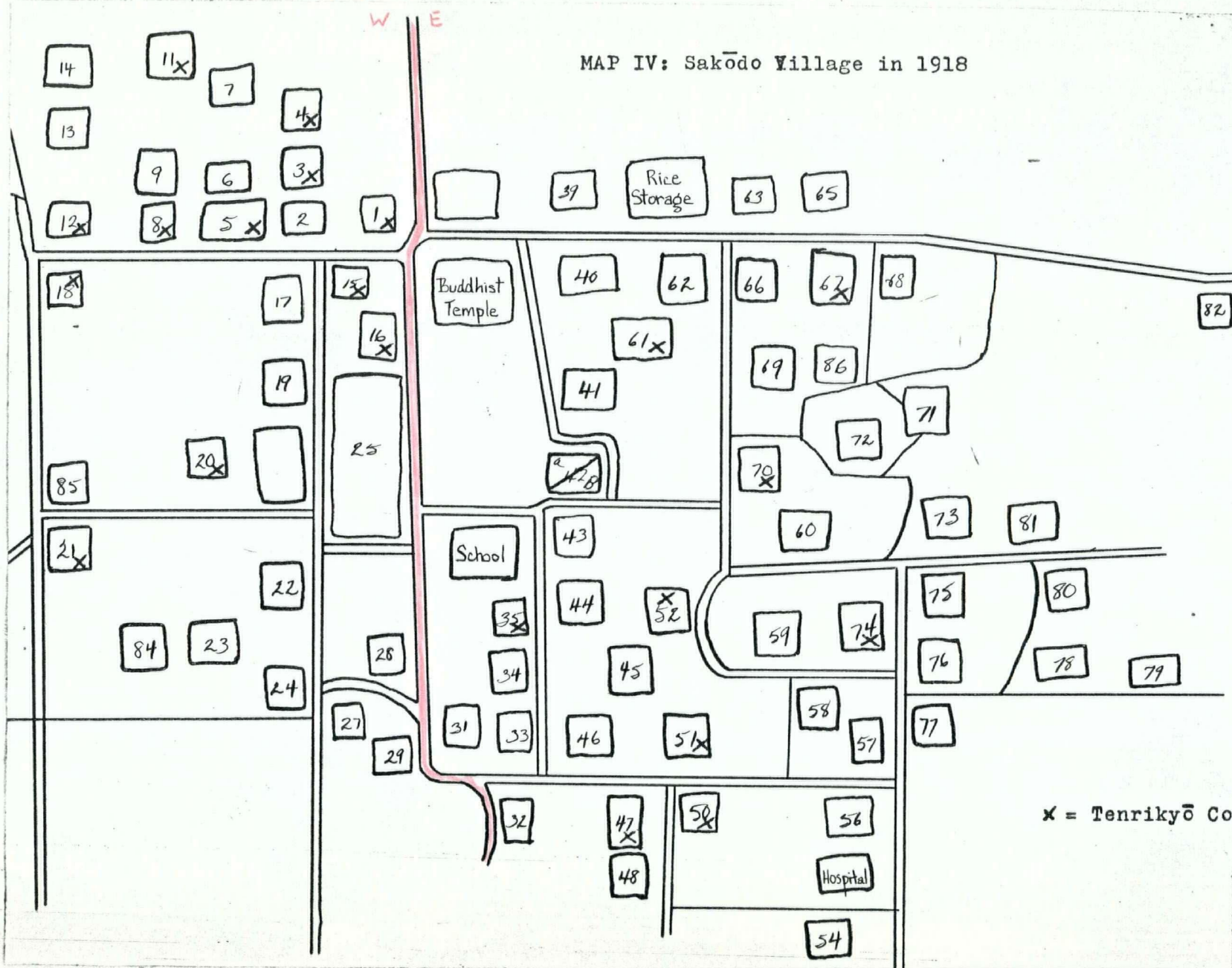
● the Foundress

▲ the present Patriarch

MAP III: Sakōdo Village in 1888



MAP IV: Sakōdo Village in 1918





MAP V: Sakōdo Village in 1962

