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# Comparable Elements of the Relationships between Ideologies and Social Change in Japan and Europe

—— a case on Japan ——

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The process of “modernization”<sup>1)</sup> and “industrialization”<sup>2)</sup> which Japan experienced since the Meiji Restoration of 1868 has universal historical significance as example of success to date in non-European regions. (It is well known that the meaning of the word “success” is very problematic and has been discussed many times.)

1) definitions :

Modernization : It includes (i) “freedom of individual conscience” as the primary human right and also it includes the establishment of individuality (individual identity) which is accompanied with the basic human rights such as respect for individuality, freedoms of speech, expression and meeting, (ii) it includes the right to pursue on one’s own will an individual’s economic interest with freedom within the law (inviolability of individual ownership, freedoms of contract and of occupational choice) (iii) it purports the prevalence of “reason”. One can anticipate the arrival of the best society in a relative sense if the free (full) exercise of “reason” is guaranteed.

Democratization : (i) It includes as a primary importance the realization of equal rights of the subjects, (ii) It works to halt the multiplication of government offices for the exclusive class of people in order that the offices should be opened to anyone who is so qualified, (iii) It works to minimize the ruling power in order to expand the realm of public opinion and to strengthen its influence, and (iv) It aims, as the result of the above (i) to (iii), at greater active participation of the subjects in decision making within a given society.

2) Industrialization : (i) It refers to the process in which the individual productive activity assumes the nature of management or business. enlarges the operating scale and disperses itself into various industrial divisions, (ii) It means the increasing percentage of industry (the secondary production) against the primary industry such as agriculture, lumber industry and fishery, (iii) It indicates, as a whole, the network expansion of market economy as the various productive activities based on cash economy.

The examples of the above modernization, democratization and industrialization are as follows :

- ( i ) In case of Western world, “modernization” and “industrialization” took place in parallel, and thus “democratization” was achieved.
- (ii) In cases of Germany, Russia (both till the First World War) and Japan (till the Second World War), “modernization” and “industrialization” took place separately, and “democratization” was only prematurely realized.
- (iii) Japan was the case in which “industrialization” and “democratization” did not take place in parallel with “modernization”.

The process of “modernization” and “industrialization” in Japan, a country with different ethnic, linguistic and value systems from those of Europe produced several cultural phenomena common to the European experience—among these one could list: industrial institutions, parliamentary democracy, bureaucracy, science and technology, school systems, modern music, painting, sculpture, architecture, and simultaneously brought forth strong conflicts with counter culture of traditional society which repelled European modern civilization. Conflicts of this nature were also commonly observable when “modernization” and “industrialization” began in non-European regions. In these processes, unique “patterns of culture”<sup>3)</sup>, to use Ruth Benedict’s phrase, are molded for each respective culture. The Japanese example can serve as the axis of the coordinates for cultural comparison in order to help us to understand patterns of cultural change shaped in each country with its own, or different historical cultural backgrounds.

Where one sets the axis of coordinates can vary depending upon the field of study or one’s particular interest. In this paper I shall try to point out the issues brought forth by the process of “modernization” and “industrialization” which took place from the pre-war period to the present day, as reflected in the works of Kunio Yanagita (1875—1962) and of those Japanese intellectuals who have been deeply influenced yet committed themselves with sharply critical eyes to the study of those areas which Yanagita explored.

### 1. Hajime Kawakami and Kunio Yanagita

It is my intention to compare Yanagita<sup>4)</sup> and Hajime Kawakami’s (1879—1946)<sup>5)</sup> triangular, balanced theory of economic development with that emphasizing industry and commerce backed by the Meiji leaderships, agriculture, and the type of commercial and industrial policy carried out by the Meiji Government has remained a continuous theme among Japanese writers dealing with the process of modernization in Japan. Moreover, this debate over Japanese development played an important part in the controversy over Japanese capitalism in the 1930’s,<sup>6)</sup> and resurfaced in the Mutual Securi-

3) Ruth Benedict (1934), *Patterns of Culture*, Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

4) Kunio Yanagita (1902), *Saishin Sangyōkumiai Tsūkai*, Tōkyō: Dai Nippon Jitsugyō Gakkai. In Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū, Bd. 28. Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō.

5) Hajime Kawakami (1906), *Nihon Nōseigaku*, Tōkyō: Dōbunkan.

6) It points to the controversy between the two groups. The one group consisted of Marxist scholars belonging to the sect of Laborers-Farmers (Rōnōha). The periodical publications of Laborers-Farmers (Rōnō) served as the media for the expression of their view. They regarded the Meiji Restoration as a bourgeoisie revolution and therefore foresaw the necessity of socialism revolution as the next step. The other group consisted of Marxist scholars belonging to the sect of orthodoxy criticized the view of the first group by claiming the nature of Meiji Restoration as feudal Absolutism which can be compared with the Absolutism that appeared in 16-17th century of European history, because they saw the semi-feudalistic nature in Japanese Emperor system. They advocated the two stage revolution; the bourgeoisie revolution should take place as the first step and it should be followed by the socialism revolution as the second stage. The controversy between the two groups also gave a significant

ty Treaty issue of the 1960's as part of the debate over whether Japan had become subject to U. S. imperialism or had in fact freed itself from U. S. imperialism and developed an imperialism of its own.<sup>7)</sup>

Yanagita and Kawakami's agrarian policy, being based on their emphasis on a balanced developmental theory, called for a reform of the feudalistic landlord-tenant system with its high rates of payment in kind, and at the same time emphasized a development of free enterprise on the part of small peasant. To achieve their goals they proposed a series of steps to be followed which were: 1) the modernization of the market for agricultural products; 2) the modernization of the management of farm households; and 3) the conversion of the land tax into cash payment. But before this could be achieved they envisioned the necessity of changes in the landlord-tenant relationships. Kawakami placed continuous emphasis on an expansion of "productive forces" which he saw in a division of labor leading to the promotion of industry in farming communities and the formation of local markets. On the other hand, Yanagita was convinced that the landlord-tenant relationship was not simply one based on economic production, but of a patron-client social relationship that was the product of personal as well as community interests that had emerged in the Japanese village. In this emphasis we are able to foretell the first signs of a *Dōzoku* theory which was later expanded and developed by Japanese rural sociologists such as Kizaemon Aruga (1897—1979), Seichi Kitano (1900—1982), Tadashi Fukutake (1917— ) and others. Yanagita's ideas served as the foundation for further research on the *Ie*,<sup>8)</sup> on the *oyabun-kobun* relationships,<sup>9)</sup> and on ancestor worship.

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impact on the whole academic circle of Japan in regard to the problem of interpreting the character of pre-war Japanese society.

7) In the manifest of "Japanese Communist Party" characterized as it was on the way to the restoration of Imperialism, and it was, as a whole, still "subject" to the American capitalism. Therefore, the Communist Party advocated the two stage revolution; that is the establishment of democracy in Japan as the first step and the establishment of political power of socialism as the second stage. There was the group of its opposition which claimed that Japanese Imperialism was already restored and emphasized that Japan achieved its independence from the United States. Therefore, this group advocated the one stage revolution, that is the revolution of socialism. "The controversy" refers to this debate between the above two groups. "Manifesto" group corresponds to the "Kōza Ha", while the group advocating the one stage revolution corresponds to the sect of Laborers-Farmers. "The controversy" can be taken as the post-war counterpart of the controversy of pre-war Japanese capitalism.

8) Japanese "Ie" contains a single or plural "nuclear families" of a married couple and their children and it is an historical-social institution established under the familial authority controlled by patriarchal right, that is "patria potesta". Seichi Kitano (1976), *Basic Theory of Ie and Dōzoku*, p. 154. Tōkyō: Miraisha.

9) It is a social relationship in which one asks the married couple of one of the influential families in the village to become his parents.....for example, parents of go-between for the marriage arrangement.....and he himself becomes their child, and the parents assure their patronage to the child who in return renders various services to them.....most of such reciprocal behaviors are crystallized in customs. Kitano (1976), p. 19.

Not only are there similarities between the ideas of Yanagita and Kawakami but there are also subtle differences. These can be found particularly in reference to their ideas on the Japanese state. In Yanagita's case there is a great empathy for the numerous spirits of those who once lived, or will live, in the land of Japan. As he wrote in *Jidai to Nōsei* (The Times and Agrarian Policy 1910): "Because the life of the state is eternal, one must be concerned with the general welfare (rieki) of millions of those not yet born. More importantly, we have fellow countrymen who have already returned to the earth and their souls (seirei) have an unlimited interest in the prosperity of the state."<sup>10</sup> (The Times and Agrarian Policy p. 27). There is, then, in Yanagita something which goes beyond an economic understanding of agricultural policy. But this is not to detract from his sound analysis of contemporary economic conditions and a convincing objectivity in his research. However it was this interest in aspects of Japanese rural society—his analysis of tutelary deities (ujigami), and ancestor beliefs traditional to Japan which later led to the emergence of *Ie* and *Dōzoku* theories<sup>11</sup>—that led him from the formal study of agrarian policy to folklore.

This is exactly the point where Kawakami's understanding becomes the reverse of Yanagita's, which can be seen in his "Discourse on Emperor Sujin."<sup>12</sup> In this essay Kawakami argues, in contrast to Yanagita, that despite earlier views that religion and the state were separated because of the physical separation of Shrine and Court under Sujin, this was not really the case, but that what had occurred was the extension of what had been the clan deity of the imperial clan to a wider territory. When an authoritarian state, or a political force governing a wider territory is established, the state's relationship to religion is naturally distinguishable from the relationship that exists between local political groups and their religions based on family, clan, or tribal deities.

In the case of the Japanese state, Kawakami maintained, the state assumed a position equal to the deity (Amaterasu) and the Emperor, for his part, became a representative of the deity because he was the representative of the state. It was in this context, Kawakami argued, that "Japan's unique nationalism"<sup>13</sup> became possible. Kawakami

10) Kunio Yanagita (1910). *The Times and Agrarian Policy*, Tōkyō: Shūseido. The article is included in the 16th volume of *Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū*.

11) *Dōzoku* is the relationship established between the stem family and its branch families. The relationship is established on the basis of the latter's recognition and subjection to the traditional authority accrued from the genealogical origin of the stem family. Therefore, the stem-branch families relationship includes in it the vertical status relationship or interpersonal relationship of dominance-subjugation. The union of families formed with such an authority of stem family as its center is called *Dōzoku Dan* (group). Kitano (1976), p. 9.

12) Hajime Kawakami (1911), 'Sujin Tennō no Chō Jingu Kōkyo no betsu arata ni okorishi jijitsu o motte kokka tōitsu no ichi dai jiki o kakusu mononari to yū no shiken' (my view which interprets the new fact of physical separation of Shrine and Emperor's Court as one of the epoch-making for national unity), Kyōto: *Kyōto Hōgakukai Zasshi* Bd. 6. No. 2.

13) This is followed from the title name of "Japanese unique Nationalism" by Hajime Kawakami (Tōkyō: *Chūōkōron*, Bd. 26. No. 3. 1911.)

wrote that his position differed from Yanagita's in that, "a religion of ancestor worship is not unique to the Japanese when other underdeveloped societies are taken into consideration. What is said to be unique in the Japanese case lies in the fact that the religion of ancestor worship gradually grew to become a religion of state-worship in its contemporary form. That the contemporary Japanese regard their Emperor as a representative of the deity is not because they venerate their ancestors as deities, and regard the Emperor's family as their main stock, nor is it because they believe the Emperor to be the head of the main stock, but it is because they regard the state as their deity and revere the present Emperor as the main deity representing the state."

Visiting Okinawa in April of 1911 (Meiji 44) Kawakami attempted to follow this line of reasoning by declaring his anticipation that Okinawa, an island weak in nationalism, would produce an outstanding thinker or religious leader in the near future. Okinawans reacted unfavorably to his prophetic vision. However Fuyū Iha (1876—1947), the founder of Okinawan studies, which emphasized Okinawan cultural and ethnic differences from Japan Mainland, responded favorably to his anticipation, which led to their life-long friendship.

The issue here is that "modernization" and "industrialization" in Japan was not of the "balanced developmental" type, nor of the "internal growth" type, which emphasized, as in the case of England and the United States, the growth of an internal market. In the Japanese case we can describe the model as an "unbalanced" or "limping" type. In short, a "mixed" type that combined features of the American and English type with the pure export orientation of the "Dutch" type. Until the First World War, Germany and Austria also showed developmental tendencies similar to Japan. A persistent question that remains is the search for the primary motivating forces that lie behind such "modernization" and "industrialization". Max Weber<sup>14)</sup> found such forces in the ascetic protestant ethic for England and the United States, but Kawakami argued that it was a kind of unique nationalism in the Japanese case. (He said it would be called even state-religion.)<sup>15)</sup>

## 2. Kunio Yanagita and Fuyū Iha

Iha's scholastic interests in Okinawan studies were first aroused during his middle school years. And his Okinawan studies began in earnest when he was given a copy of "Omorozōshi," the Okinawan Manyōshū,<sup>16)</sup> by his favorite middle school teacher, To-

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14) Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der »Geist« des Kapitalismus*, 1904-05. in : *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, Bd. 1. 1920. Tübingen, Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr. (Paul Siebeck), p. 202.

15) Hajime Kawakami, 'Nihon dokutoku no Kokkashugi (in : *Kawakami Hajime Shū*) ed. by Uchida Yoshihiko, Tōkyō : Chikumashobō, 1977) p. 138, 146.

16) "Manyōshū" is the collection of the oldest songs known to the present day of Japan. It consists of 20 volumes. The editor is said to be Yakamochi Ōtomo. Actually it contains about 4,500 songs written during 400-500 years from the era of Emperor Nin toku to the

shisaburō Tajima. This occurred while Iha was a student in the linguistics department of the faculty of literature at Tōkyō Imperial University. One should not overlook the fact that his Okinawan studies were founded on the field of linguistics. The study of the "Omorozōshi" enhanced his interests in the origin of the state. During this phase of his studies he became interested in the folkloric work of Yanagita and Shinobu Origuchi (1887—1953). In his research Iha found a close relationship between Yanagita's studies of the "Sister's Force"<sup>17)</sup> (*Imo no Chikara*), dealing with the spiritual dominance of sisters over brothers, and his own work and effort to analyze the Onarigami belief.<sup>18)</sup> On the other hand, Iha's studies were also influenced by Origuchi's work on Marebito (Sacred Visitor). Origuchi had advanced the Japanese study of deity through his analysis of the Nirai Kanai deity<sup>19)</sup> from the perspective of the Sacred Visitor interpretation.

Now there is another phase of Iha's Okinawan Studies. This was the historical recognition that Okinawan people had been mistreated by the Japanese. For this reason Iha bitterly criticized the Shimazu Han<sup>20)</sup> for its invasion of Amami and Okinawa in 1609, and at the same time wrote warmly of the Meiji Government's efforts to annex the Ryukyus<sup>21)</sup> in 1879 as a step towards modernization in Okinawa. At the base of

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3rd year of the Emperor Junnin. It is one of the greatest three classics which are indispensable for understanding of life and culture of ancient Japan. The other two classics are "Kojiki" and "Nihonshoki".

- 17) Kunio Yanagita (1925), *Imo no Chikara* in Fujin Kōron. Bd. 10 No. 11 and also in vol. 9 of Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū.
- 18) "Onari Gami" is the folk belief of spiritual predominance of females over males which is observable widely in Japanese Southwestern Islands. Especially, the sisters are thought to have the ability of giving a kind of patronage to their brothers. Tōichi Mabuchi proved that the existence of such belief is not limited to the Southwestern Islands but found in a wider area including Indonesia and Oceania. "Spiritual predominance of the sister", in H. Smith (ed.), *Ryukyuan Culture and Society* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, pp. 79-91. Also, in vol. 3 of writings of Tōichi Mabuchi, Tōkyō: Shakai Shisō Sha, 1974.
- 19) "Nirai Kanai" means a 'far away' or 'zemote' place in Ryūkyūan dialect, and today it refers to the land of the ancestral deity who is believed to visit the villages of his descendants at a certain period of the year from there. The villagers think that it is the paradise of happiness and prosperity for this secular world. Kunio Yanagita and Shinobu Origuchi interpreted such belief in Visiting Deity as the prototype of Ujigami belief in Japan.
- 20) It was the feudal lord whose founder was Tadahisa Shimazu and who controlled regions of Satsuma, Ōsumi and Hyūga located in the Southwestern part of Kyūshū Island. His descendants, formed the strong clan which played an important part, together with Chōshū Han, in the great work of Meiji Restoration. But its ruling structure retained older features than the "ständische patrimoniale Bürokratie" (M. Weber) of the Tokugawa Shōgunite.
- 21) The Ryūkyū Dynasty maintained a complex relationship of a double subjugation to the Shimazu Clan which conquered the Ryūkyū Dynasty in the beginning of 17th century and to the Min Dynasty of China to which the Ryūkyū Dynasty brought tributes since the middle of 14th century. However, the Dynasty was converted into Japanese territory in 6th year of Meiji (1873) and it became Okinawa prefecture in 1879 in compliance with the national policy of the abolishment of clans and establishment of prefectures. It is generally known as "Annexation of Ryūkyū". One of the peculiar aspects of "Annexation of Ryūkyū"

such attitudes was his recognition of common roots between the Japanese and Ryūkyū-an people. In fact, Iha argued that Okinawans came to the Ryūkyūs from Japan and this served as a keynote of his Okinawan studies and gave it its particularly nationalistic coloring.

Iha's wish for the reform of the miserable conditions found in the Okinawa of his day seems to have been the outworkings of his longings for the type of primitive matriarchal and communal society he envisioned as existing in Okinawa before its occupation by the Shō Shi Han<sup>22)</sup> and which he saw as described in the Omorozōshi. His last words, "the Emancipation of Okinawa will be possible only when imperialism is wiped from the face of the earth",<sup>23)</sup> most clearly illustrate this quality of his Okinawan studies. It is not hard to imagine that this critical historical consciousness had sources in Kawakami's article "The Unique Nationalism of Japan",<sup>24)</sup>

In writing on the origin of the Okinawans, Iha proposed the theory of a southward migration of the Okinawan people from Japan. This theory stood in distinct contrast to Yanagita's theory of a northward migration of the Japanese people as projected in his "Road by Sea"<sup>25)</sup> (*Kaijō no Michi*, 1963). It is in reference to this point that Yanagita's "New Studies on the State" (*Shin kokugaku*) and Iha's "Study of Okinawa" (*Okinawagaku*) are most distinctly different. Yanagita subsequently staked much of his later intellectual career on the theory projected in "New Studies of the State" and these were to be highly influential for Japanese folkloric studies. It was, however, over these ideas that Eiichiro Ishida most seriously disagreed with him.

The problem that I should like to propose here is related to the problem of "expansion of modern capitalism" "into whole world" which contained in it the situation which caused "annexation of colonial territory." In case of Japan, "Annexation of Ryūkyū" of 1879 was its beginning form. Yanagita opposed to the process of assimilation of Ryūkyū culture into Japanese culture imposed "from the Above". Also, Iha came to oppose to the "assimilation from the above" because it became clear to him that the assimilation policy was against his expectation. This case could be compared with the question of Ireland for England. Since the nation of cultural = ethnic homogeneity

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is that there was no process of return of the land and people to the Emperor as was in the Mainland of Japan. Thus, the status of Ryūkyū in relation to the State of modern Japan precludes the Ryūkyū from becoming simply one of the local regions in relation to the central government of Japan as is observed in the Mainland of Japan.

22) In 1429 Shō Ha Shi conquered the rival lords and established itself as the unified dynasty called the First Shō Shi Dynasty. But this Dynasty was only short lived. In 1470 the Second Shō Shi Dynasty was organized by Shō En and it lasted until "Annexation of Ryūkyū" of 1879.

23) Fuyū Iha (1974), "Okinawa Rekishi Monogatari" in *Iha Fuyū Zenshū*, Bd. 2. Tōkyō : Heibon Sha, p. 457.

24) See Note (13).

25) Kunio Yanagita (1961), *Kaijō no Michi*, Tōkyō : Chikuma Shobō. In ; Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū, Bd. 1.

such as Japanese nation exists only exceptionally in world history, it may be said that the way it has relationship with different peoples = cultures constitutes one of the indices to characterize the processes of "modernization" and "industrialization". Also, the question of "Origin of people so-called ethno-genese", in case of Japan, deeply concerned selfrecognition = self awareness for Japanese and Okinawans.

### 3. Eiichirō Ishida and Kunoio Yanagita

Eiichirō Ishida (1903—1968) was in his youth intellectually influenced by Kawakami's stoic self denial. Under the influence of Marxism, which he studied as a student at Kyōto University, he joined the student movement, and later was arrested and jailed as the first offender under the revised Peace Preservation Laws (*chian-iji-hō*).<sup>26)</sup> After his release from prison he became dissatisfied with Marxist historical materialism based on a theory of historical inevitability, stages of development, and economic determinism. Instead he became attracted to Yanagita's folkloric approach and under the influence of Masao Oka (1898—1982) studied historical ethnology at the University of Wien. As a result he pioneered the study of various legendary motifs common to Japanese folklore through the method of comparative folklore and from the perspective of international cultural history. His monumental work was "a study of kappa drawing horses into the water" (*Kappa Komabiki kō*).<sup>27)</sup> This method or viewpoint, which tries to give interpretation to various cultural elements in the Japanese past through the wider context of international cultural history distinctly differs from Yanagita's method of explaining them on the basis of national cultural history. This is the reason why Ishida inevitably criticized the nature of Japanese folkloric studies created by Yanagita. But Yanagita saw in Ishida's efforts the transformation and destruction of folklore. The cause of this discrepancy in their understanding of the discipline of folklore may be, I suppose, sought in what Yanagita expected of folklore. Yanagita Folklore, if we trace its outset, began as a *Heimatskunde* ((local history, *Jikatagaku*). That was the study of the past of common folks (=peasants) who were ignored and dropped out from the subjects of history of documentary records, that is, common folk who left no written records and, therefore, did not become the subject for historians. For this purpose the study had to analyze the whole life culture such as folkways, customs, traditions and others of the

26) It was enacted with the main purpose of oppressing communistic activities and it prescribed the punitive provisions against any associational as individual activities having the intention of denial of private ownership system or any change of the national policy. It was promulgated in 1925. It soon became known as a notorious law having a provision even to pass sentence of death as an extreme punishment, and was abolished at the termination of the Second World War in October of 1945 because the law would trample on the freedom of speech and thought.

27) Eiichirō Ishida (1947), *Kappa Komabikikō*, Tōkyō : Chikuma Shobō, New Edition, Tōkyō : Tōdai Shuppankai, 1966. in : Ishida Eiichirō *Zenshū*, Bd. 5. Tōkyō : Chikuma Shobō. "The Kappa Legend : A Comparative Ethnological Study on the Japanese Water Spirit Kappa and its Habit of Trying to Lure Horses into the Water" (*Folklore Studies*, vol. IX. 1950. Peking).



past deposited in current daily life of common folks. The core part of this folk culture has been repeated day in daily life from the older days. He saw the core part, because of its repetitiousness, was more accurate "historical" facts than the historical "facts" for history of documentary records with the aim of describing non-repetitious phenomenon in the known process of history. In this we see Yanagita's attempt to develop folklore as the history of common folks against the authorized history. Through this study he wished to reproduce the past life culture of common folks, to build the basis upon which the common folks establish themselves by their own strength, enlighten themselves by their own effort, and thereby become those who give meaning to this world on their own will, that is what Max Weber termed "Kultur Mensch".<sup>28)</sup> In this sense folklore bore the character of practical study from its beginning, and, in corresponding to Japanese Classics since the day of Norinaga Motoori (1730—1801),<sup>29)</sup> contained in it orientation toward this world.

It was obvious that a new Japanese Classics was established with consciousness of the old Japanese Classics since the days of Motoori. "New" in this case was not only chronologically new, but also methodologically so in the sense that it was an empirical science based on induction. Furthermore, a new Japanese Classics was formed into the study for salvation of state and people, with an indispensable condition to meet the demand of the days. When one pays attention to this aspect, Yanagita's folklore will be termed "Yanagita's Science" (Yanagitagaku). That was a genuinely prophetic study for self revelation of common folks, and for giving them a firm and introspective foundation which would guide Japanese who became almost floating grass when Japan surrendered. That was the study to trace the origin of Japanese people and culture and to analyze ancestor-worship which was proper to Japanese an ethnic religion which made Japanese exactly what they were from its beginning to the present. For this reason, the study centered on belief in tutelary deity which was the core in shaping life culture (folk ways) of common folks from the remote past, Miyaza, its religious service organization, and Ujiko, its protégé organization. "Tales of Ancestors" (Senzo no Hanasi)<sup>30)</sup> published in the year of Japanese surreder was an introductory work. In the short period following it, the three works, "A Study of Festival Days" (Saijitsukō),<sup>31)</sup> "A Study on Mountain Shrine" (Yamamiyakō),<sup>32)</sup> and "A Study on Tutelary

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28) Max Weber, Die Objektivität sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis, 1904. in : *Cesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, p. 180. Dritte Aufl., 1968. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr.

29) Norinaga Motoori (1730). A Japanese classical scholar, one of the four reatest classical scholars. He wrote a volumirous work : "Kojiki Den" after spending thirty years of study on Kojiki, the oldest Japanese literature. He insisted on people's return to the ideal of ancient Japan described in "Kojiki" by eliminating Confucianism and Buddhism.

30) Kunio Yanagita (1946) *Senzo no Hanashi*, Tōkyō : Chikuma Shobō In : Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū, Bd. 10. Chikuma Shobō.

31) Kunio Yanagita (1946), *Saijitsukō* (Shin Kokugakudan I), Tōkyō : Koyama Shoten, in : Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū, Bd. 11. Chikuma Shobō.

Deity and His Protégé” (Ujigami to Ujiko),<sup>33)</sup> were published in rapid succession. Those works are the fruits of his research as well as the fruits resulted from the pursuit of “Yanagita’s Science”. on extension from them, “Road by Sea”, his masterpiece, was to appear. In this work the origin of Japanese people was analyzed in tracing along the “Road by Sea” from Miyako, Okinawan Islands to Amami, and to Kyūshū. At the same time, the issues facing Yanagita’s folklore were also to appear more clearly. It was Toshiaki Harada (1893—1983), a scholar of religion who made most serious criticism against those issues.

The issue here is the question of the nature proper to Japanese culture; it is the question about the structure of value systems in traditional society which repels or promotes the processes of modernization and industrialization. The question has its parallel in the questions raised by H. Heine, Jacob and Grimm brothers, H. Reel and others. Its counterpart is also found in “Western Spirit and Germany” by Ernst Troeltsch. “The Outline of Discourse of Civilization” (Bunmeiron no Gairyaku by Yukichi Fukuzawa, 1875)<sup>35)</sup> and “The Future for Japan” (Shōrai no Nippon by Sofō Tokutomi, 1886)<sup>36)</sup> are on the side of promoting the processes, while “Truth, Goodness and Beauty for Japanese” (“Shin, Zen, Bi no Nihonjin” by Setsurei Miyake, 1891)<sup>37)</sup> belongs to the side of repelling the processes.

#### 4. Kunio Yanagita and Toshiaki Harada

Culmination of Yanagita’s folklore was his search for Japanese idea of deity, core of Japanese people and culture, the belief of ancestral spirit as found in Miyaza’s tutelary deity. “A Study of Festival Days”, “A Study of Mountain Shrine”, and “Tutelary Deity and his Protégé” are all focused only on the analysis of this point. However, is it sure that the deity for Miyaza, the core of village community which could be compared to the cell form in traditional Japanese society, would be the villagers’ ancestor-tribal ancestral deity?

Toshiaki Harada demonstrated that the deity for Miyaza was Mono-deity of no figure, hidden deity and supreme deity who governs and protects the villagers. The deity of Miyaza exists only as one deity in each of the villages. There is only one Shrine named Ujigami (tutelary deity) in the village. There is no graveyard at all in its holy boundary. The living space for the deity is quite different from the living quarter

32) Kunio Yanagita (1947), *Yamamiyakō* (Shin kokugakudan II), Tōkyō : Koyama Shoten, In : Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū, Bd. 11. 22. Chikuma Shobō.

33) Kunio Yanagita (1947), *Ujigami to Ujiko* (Shin Kokugakudan III), Tōkyō : Koyama Shoten, in : Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū, Bd. 11. Chikuma Shobō.

34) Ernst Troeltsch, *Deutscher Geist und West-europa*, Gesammelte Kulturphilosophische Aufsätze und Reden, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr. 1925.

35) Yukichi Fukuzawa (1875), *Bunmeiron no Gairyaku*. Tōkyō. In : Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū, Bd. 2. Iwanami Shoten, 1971.

36) Sofō Tokutomi (1886), *Shōrai no Nippon*, Tōkyō : Keizai Zasshisha.

37) Setsurei Miyake (1891), *Shin Zen, Bi no Nihonjin*, Tōkyō : Seikyō Sha.

for the ancestral spirits, which is in the most sharp contrast to the cases such as Obotsu Yama, Utaki (the sacred grave) and Uganjyo (the place for public worship) in Southwestern Islands. Adding to it, males perform a religious service, but females are excluded in case of Miyaza. In Southwestern Islands its comparable situation is obtainable only in Akamata-Kuromata<sup>38)</sup> religious ceremony of Yaeyama Archipelago, and in others, on the contrary, females perform the religious service.

But there is another exception in the Islands of Amami, where the master of Toneya (chief ceremonial house), male person called gujinushi, along with Noro, priestess, occupies an important place of a caretaker, and also in Yaeyama, Yamaninju, male caretaker, plays an important role as an assistant in the ordinary religious life. Similarly, one can point out that a medium plays a certain role in the shrines of Japan Mainland. However, at all events, it is hardly deniable to note the reversal of sex in the performance of religious service between Japan Mainland and Southwestern Islands.

Either Yanagita or Origuchi, in this respect, tried to understand the above fact in conformity to their hypothesis by making conjecture that females would have played the main role in Ancient Japan as is in Southwestern Islands. But, according to the view of Harada, there does not exist any case to be regarded as the one in which females play the major role in the Miyaza religious service as far as the facts are known. Instead, it can be maintained that the female organization of religious service in Southwestern Islands developed under different cultural conditions from the Mainland of Japan. We could even explain the reason why the organization of Okinawa might be rather the secondary form of its development when they are compared to the development when they are compared to the developmental process of religious service of Miyaza in the Mainland of Japan. It is now clear that we are methodologically necessitated to explain the cause for their typological difference existing between Okinawa and Mainland of Japan while admitting that each of them is an independent culture area. Okinawa can not necessarily be said to be "A Mirror of Ancient Japan" (Simon, 1913).<sup>39)</sup>

Knowing that Yanagita's folklore-New Japanese Classics has such a limitation, I propose to say that we will be able to evaluate the significance in history of thought it occupies in the history of ideological development of Japanese civil society (not as a value judgement!)

The issue in this instance is that the value system of traditional society has religious

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38) "Akamata-Kuromata" is a ritual organization which is composed of only males and which has the nature of a secret society with the use of mask and disguise. It now remains to exist only in Miyara of Ishigaki Island, Komi of Iriomote Island, Obama Island and Aragusuku Island Archipelago in the southern part of Southwestern Islands. Masao Oka pointed out the possibility of its belonging to one of the cultural strata which were introduced over the sea from the southern direction in the middle of Jōmon period. Masao Oka, *Kulturschichten in Alt-Japan*, Bd. 5. p. 1447, Wien (die Dissertationsarbeit).

39) Simon Edmund M. H., *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Riukiu-Inseln*, Leipzig. 1913.

value as its core, and the tutelary deity of the village corresponds to that value in case of Japan. Analysis of the character of this deity is assumed to illuminate Japanese ideology of deity. And, it was already pointed out by Max Weber<sup>40)</sup> that the processes of "modernization" and "industrialization" are in correlation with the value system of traditional society in question, especially with religiosity.

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40) Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. Bd. 1. p. 535-536.