

**Furuno Kiyoto :**  
**The Romance of Religion and**  
**the Pursuit of Science**

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ORIENTATION

*Character and importance of Furuno's work.* Among Japanese sociologists of religion, the work of Furuno Kiyoto (1899-1979) is unique. Morioka (1967, p. 1) once characterized Japanese sociology of religion as distinguished by two features: keen interest in keeping up with and introducing the works of first-rate Western scholars, and the practice of explaining Japanese socioreligious phenomena by referring to the work of scholars in history, folklore, ethnology, and related disciplines. Furuno is a good example of both.

Early in his career he translated into Japanese the chief work of Durkheim, then introduced not only the theories of Mauss and other leaders of the neo-Durkheimian school, but also those of Radcliffe-Brown and other members of the English school of social anthropology. He also took an active part in founding and maintaining the Japanese Society of Ethnology and, taking a step rare for his time, carried out field research on religious phenomena both inside and outside Japan. He thus blazed a trail for what later became widely practiced as empirical sociology of religion research. In these ways he stands out as one of the strongest supporters of Japanese sociology of religion at an early stage of its development.

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Translated by Aiko Carter and David Reid, with the kind permission of both the author and the editor, from "Furuno Kiyoto: Shūkyō no romanchizumu to kagakuteki tankyū" 古野清人～宗教のロマンチズムと科学的探求, *Kokusai shūkyō nyūzu* 国際宗教ニュース 17/1-2 (1979), pp. 42-54.

Those interested in symbolism, theory of religious community, shamanism, epistemological issues in the sociology of knowledge, and other areas that have come up for discussion in recent sociology of religion will find that such concerns occupy an important place in Furuno's work. Yet while it may be said that he anticipated present-day intellectual concerns and research methods, it would be a serious error to suppose that he merely pursued what was in fashion. His research and writing was carried out on a surprisingly consistent basis. One may even describe it as a kind of underground stream that runs beneath all subsequent Japanese sociology of religion.

It would be an exaggeration, however, to suggest that Furuno's position as a scholar was always influential in Japanese sociology or religious studies. In an evaluative reminiscence on his younger days, he put it thus: "Whether in sociology proper or in religious studies, I always felt like an orphan" (1973a, p. 478). The road that led to his later position of influence was long and steep.

#### PROMINENT INFLUENCES

Once when he was critically ill and reflecting seriously about how he should spend his life, Furuno, then a student at Tokyo Imperial University, resolved "to study more about the cultural expressions of the human spirit or inner life" (Furuno 1972d, p. 6). Though still on his sickbed, he transferred his enrollment from the Sociology Department to the Department of Religious Studies. At that time, sociology stood under the influence of the unromantic pragmatism of Comte and Spencer, while religious studies, in accordance with a psychology of religion approach, tended to focus on individuals. Furuno, dissatisfied with both of these academic environments, began his study of "the cultural expressions of the human spirit" in reliance on the French academic tradition. From his student days onward he exposed himself

to the literature expressive of the religious spirit. He was also attracted to Lévy-Bruhl's *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés primitives* and his *La mentalité primitive* (Furuno 1972d, p. 6).

*Durkheim.* Furuno's graduation thesis was devoted to "La théorie sociologique de la religion chez Emile Durkheim." No sooner had he submitted it, however, than he embarked on a study of shamanism. His aim was to analyze the organic interrelationships between group organization and individual experience (Furuno 1974a, p. 414). In this way the basic perspective that informed his subsequent, many-faceted religious studies appears to have been decided on early in his scholarly life.

The year he graduated from university (1926), Furuno published a Japanese translation of Henri Delacroix's *La religion et la foi*, and in 1930 his translation of the first half of Durkheim's *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* appeared (the second half appearing in 1933). During these years, he also threw himself into research and writing, publishing a number of articles on religious studies, ethnology, sociology, and psychology. In 1938 he published his *Shūkyō shakaigaku: Gakusetsu kenkyū* [Sociology of religion: A study of theories], his first substantial writing. The section of this work dealing with the history of theory was revised and republished in 1948 under the title *Shūkyō shakaigaku setsu* [Sociology of religion theories]. In this book Furuno gives a central place to Durkheim's theory of religion and society, describing both the French sociology of religion that preceded him and how the intellectual tradition that started with him grew to influence in the Durkheimian school, the neo-Durkheimian school, etc. Furuno, in considering Durkheim's theory of religion and society, focuses particularly on the highly criticized doctrine of collective representations with its mystical and metaphysical baggage, its insis-

tence on the psychological supremacy of group symbols, and its view of the reality of group psychology. In support of so doing, Furuno maintains that the collective representation hypothesis stands at the heart of Durkheim's views, that there is as yet no empirical basis for refuting what he established theoretically, and furthermore that this hypothesis can even now serve as a useful and effective sociological tool.

Furuno also points out that in Durkheim's writings one can detect a change in his thinking about collective representations. He traces the development of Durkheim's theory of religion from three works of his early period—*De la division du travail social* (1893), *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* (1895), and *Le suicide* (1897)—to *De quelques formes primitives de classification* (1903), an essay written in collaboration with Marcel Mauss. Struck by Durkheim's repeated insistence that religion expresses the collective way of thinking peculiar to a people and, conversely, that all collective ways of thinking invariably possess religious characteristics, Furuno came to the conclusion that these ideas must in all likelihood constitute the matrix of Durkheim's thought about religion. But whereas in early period works Durkheim had advocated the view that religious ideas were products of the social milieu and had emphasized, in accordance with morphological research, that they were expressions of the social structure, later, giving greater weight to physiological aspects, he spoke of religious ideas as representations of collective feeling that come to expression in rites and ceremonies. This, Furuno indicates, amounts to a change in Durkheim's perspective on religious studies. In Furuno's view the ideas about religion contained in *Les formes élémentaires*... built on and extended this changed perspective even further.

In this same book Furuno shows that he himself is greatly

influenced by the views on religion that Durkheim expressed in this later period. This comes out clearly in the following quotation:

For the field of sociology of religion, the point that collective representations are necessarily linked to ritualism is a contribution of the greatest importance. The fact that in some situations individuals share socially determined perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes becomes evident through the sociological attitude that sees ritual activities as representations of the group. . . Rites are unique means for the expression of collective feeling. Through them religious feeling is heightened and refined. In accordance with these rites and their visible symbolism, the spiritual state and ritual attitudes that obtain among individuals in a society come into being. Sociology of religion should move forward by taking each of these features as an object of research and investigating it further. I am firmly convinced that with the amplification of the sociological way of thinking, sociology will someday become worthy of the name of a true science of religion (Furuno 1972c, p. 15).

What Furuno means by amplifying the sociological way of thinking (sociologism) in accordance with the hypothesis of collective representations is set forth in this book in a plan that involves two approaches. One is the approach indicated by Mauss in advocating a new concept of sociology, the other that implied by the structural-functionalism of English social anthropology since Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown.

*Mauss.* Furuno gives high marks to Mauss as “the one who eliminated from Durkheim’s position its residual metaphysical elements and made an incomparable contribution to social studies, particularly to religious studies, by faithfully carrying forward the approach to scientific truth his teacher had pioneered” (1972c, p. 101). In later years Mauss

proposed the view that man in his totality (l'homme total) be considered a synthesis of nature (physiology), individuality (psychology), and society (sociology). Furuno too declares that "only when human and social phenomena are grasped in accordance with the threefold bio-psycho-sociological approach may we speak of comprehensiveness" (1972c, pp. 176-177). Even in more recent writings, the same idea comes to expression. We take it, therefore, that this position has been consistently maintained throughout Furuno's research career.

*English social anthropology.* The other approach that Furuno looked to for help in amplifying the sociological way of thinking was the functionalism of Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and others of the English school of social anthropology. Even before graduating from university, Furuno had come into contact with these men's writings through his reading of Durkheim and Mauss. Furuno thought of exposure to and probing analysis of objectively selected data as a strong basis for the comprehensive systematizing of sociology. He regarded functionalism as an effective tool to this end, and in his own research functionalist methods are employed at every turn.

Against this background, let us take a look at two or three specific case studies.

#### THE TAKASAGO PEOPLE

Furuno's first field research was undertaken among the Takasago-people of Taiwan. During several trips there, he studied common Takasago colloquialisms and, in addition, recorded valuable ethnological data relating to Takasago religious life. The result was the book *Takasago zoku no saigi seikatsu* [The ritual life of the Takasago people] (1972a).

*General characteristics.* In this book ideas about the spirits of the dead, ancestral spirits, the spirits of animate and inanimate natural phenomena, god-spirits, souls, and other religious ideas, together with the agricultural rites, festival structure, age sets, rites of passage, headhunting, etc. of the various tribes, are considered as concepts and systems in their relation to the social organization. Maintaining that in order to understand Takasago religious life, especially their ritual life, it is essential to have an accurate grasp of their religious concepts, particularly their concept of god-spirits (*shinrei*), he presents a detailed depiction of the religious ideas of each tribe.

Furuno's concise analysis of Takasago religious life later appeared under the title "Takasago zoku no shūkyō seikatsu" [The religious life of the Takasago people] (1971b, pp. 279-295). According to this study, what characterizes the Takasago way of making a living is that they have fixed dwellings, till unproductive land using crude production techniques, and instead of growing rice cultivate deccan grass and two kinds of millet [*awa* and *kibi*, the latter having a slightly larger grain and being more glutinous]. What characterizes their social life are the male military societies connected with intra- and intertribal strife—societies evidenced by the existence of men's club houses and group fishing.

*Agricultural rituals.* Takasago ritual life is analyzed in relation to these several characteristics. In Takasago farm work there is always the danger of poor crops and famine. At their rudimentary stage of agriculture, the demand for complementary or concerted magico-religious ideas and ceremonies, characteristic of primitive peoples generally, is therefore inevitable.

Since the traditionally cultivated grains are deccan grass and millet, the predominant agricultural rites are those that

seek to conserve these grains and cause them to multiply. For example, in one tribe where rice is in fact already cultivated in irrigated fields, there is a sowing festival. It is important to note, however, that the ritual observed is one relating to millet. Because wetland rice cultivation calls for cooperation among all connected with the village agricultural deity, a feast is held, but no religious rites are performed. A spirit called the *tsumas* is thought to dwell in the millet, and this means that rites have to be held. The people say, though, that there is no *tsumas* in rice.

Thus Takasago religious life, when considered in terms of modern thought-forms, contains much that is vague and ambiguous, but if abstracted from its connection with god-spirits and souls, it becomes well-nigh incomprehensible. Every tribe, for example, strictly observes the ritual for the first ears of grain, but in the Saisiat tribe it is forbidden not only to eat this grain but also to present it to the god-spirits. This is because of the belief that there are both good and evil god-spirits, and that if the evil ones were to share the first grain with the good, it would lead to a bad harvest.

*Headhunting.* The Takasago people once practiced headhunting. Furuno regards their motivation for headhunting as closely connected to their magico-religious beliefs and agricultural rites. On his view, the real motive for taking heads derived from the primitive mentality which felt that it was necessary to preserve all the souls and maintain the spiritual quality of one's own group or else expose it to misfortune and cause it to forfeit the blessings of the spirits.

By extension, this basic idea seems to have given rise to the belief that if a group wanted an abundant harvest, it had to seize the initiative and take heads from others. This followed from the idea that the one part of the body in which the soul or spiritual quality most fully dwells is the head. Thus headtaking was a magico-religious rite. It in-



volved dream-divination on the night preceding, and again on the way to, the hunt. Many tribes tabooed sexual intercourse from the day before the hunt, and rites held with the heads thus taken were performed with scrupulous care. Headhunting was in many cases a major communal ritual that involved all the village members and was accompanied by dancing.

*Theoretical implications.* Furuno's way of understanding the ritual life of the Takasago people, then, is to grasp its functional relationship to the social structure of tribal society. Distinctive in this analysis is his minute description of their ideas about spirits. Here one can discern something of the care with which he seeks to comprehend religious ideas at their deepest level.

This attitude comes out with particular clarity in his consideration of the problem of a religious polarity between right and left as treated in Hertz's "La prééminence de la main droite." Hertz, for whose work Furuno has high regard, claimed that the custom of preferring the right to the left reflected a religious polarity between sacred and secular or, at bottom, between pure and impure, and that this polarity had given rise to an absolute antithesis. Furuno, disquieted by what he perceived as an inadequate explanation of why the right hand was the superior, eventually came to hold the view that in order to understand the social constraints requiring use of the right hand and prohibiting use of the left, particularly in situations having to do with the sacred, it was necessary to suppose a background concept in which the decisive factor was a polarization between good and evil spirits (Furuno 1972b, p. 24). This idea doubtless arose from, and found empirical corroboration in, his conscientious description of the religious world view of the Takasago people.

### THE LION-MASK DANCE

Furuno's studies of Japanese religious folklore fall primarily into three areas: the lion-mask dance (*shishimai*), the *miyaza* or lay ritual organization of Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen [a district of Fukuoka Prefecture in northern Kyushu],<sup>1</sup> and the hidden Christians of northwest Kyushu. This paper will deal only with the first and last.

Furuno's writings on the lion-mask dance are based on intensive fieldwork carried out between 1936 and 1938, and on supplementary field research conducted in later years. The results appear in scattered articles and in his *Shishi no minzoku* [The lion in Japanese folkways] (1968), now gathered together in his *Nihon no shūkyō minzoku* [The religious folkways of Japan] (1973c).

*Three lions.* The type of lion-mask dance on which Furuno particularly focuses is one involving three lions and having a close relationship to agricultural rites. His analysis of the lion-mask dance gives comparatively greater weight to "ritualistic" aspects than to other factors. He takes the lion-mask dance not merely as one more Shinto ceremony but as one in which the masked dance element is central. He seeks to describe this dance as essentially a group phenomenon dominated by a muscular and rhythmical inter-responsiveness and spiritual fusion between dances and spectators.

The festival ceremony at which the lion-mask dance of the three lions is performed is a kind of coordinated art involving flutes, drums, songs, etc. Form, sound, and color combine in vivid expression of an atmosphere quite out of the ordinary. From time to time dozens of masked dance teams come together in magnificent procession. In all this the

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1. For a word of explanation about the *miyaza*, see p. 169, note 3.—Ed.

sense of obligation to perform the sacred ceremonies blends with the desire to enact the rituals in an aesthetically pleasurable way, thus revealing the exhilaration and delight of "the play world."

In the lion-mask dance as performed in farm villages, the spectators play the role of passive directors; they hold to the same magico-religious world view as the members of the dance teams. Performers and spectators blend together in an "in-group" feeling and immerse themselves in the rhythm and pathos of a shared life (Furuno 1973, pp. 49-50).

Furuno's interest in the three lions, as in the agricultural rites described earlier, derives from the perception that here effective art comes to particularly clear expression. The three lions are by no means the same as a single lion in isolation. With great skill the performance of this male-female trio blends sacred and secular.

One remarkable feature of this performance is its eroticism. Furuno pays special attention to the dramatic, performative factor that creates excitement and enjoyment during the course of the lion-mask dance.

The lion-mask dance itself is a ritual act. The lion's head, invariably related to magico-religious faith, symbolizes a source of spiritual power. As in the case of the Takasago people, Furuno, following functionalist methods, analyzes the lion-mask dance in relation to agricultural society.

*Village heritage.* The first thing Furuno points out is that the lion-mask dance manifests a local character. It is not associated with any particular shrine or temple; it belongs to the village community, and the village community constitutes its only life-space. It is performed, therefore, for the sake of village well-being and prosperity.

Inasmuch as the community that maintains the lion-mask dance is a farm village, agricultural rites play a particularly

important role. This does not mean, however, that it is performed only for abundant harvests. Depending on the locality, there is considerable latitude in deciding what purpose the dance will serve. Through comparing the data gathered, Furuno finds, for example, that though the lion-mask dance is often performed as a kind of anticipatory celebration of a good harvest, in some localities there are examples of its use in connection with funerals.

*Eldest sons.* The second point he emphasizes is the place of the dance in the village social structure. This dimension features the correspondence between the dance teams or groups with responsibility for the lion-mask dance and the social organization of the village.

As a general rule, those who bear the lions' heads tend to be members of the junior young men's association or the young men's association. Moreover, the bearers' group tends to be comprised of eldest sons.

On the basis of these facts Furuno establishes that the lion-dance teams are connected, on the one hand, with the young men's age-set system and, on the other, with the eldest son inheritance pattern of the family system, both being part of the village social structure. But he also finds this explanation insufficient and, in order to remedy the deficiency, turns again to religious concepts.

Those who perform the lion-mask dance are, as indicated, most often eldest sons, people who do not marry out of the village as adoptive sons. This preference for eldest sons may have something to do with the practical difficulty of training new people for the role, but more important is a mystic virtue attributed to the art of the lion-mask dance, a hidden but powerful magico-religious concept manifested in the fear of divulging to outsiders the secrets of this sacred art. By the same token, males from other villages who become residents by virtue of adoption or marriage are for

the most part not given the lion role, but are shunted off into supporting roles. This too is not unconnected with the difficulty of learning the necessary skills after the usual age, but Furuno has come to think that the basic motive at work here is to prevent outsiders from participating in this sacred rite.

The lion head is replete with the spiritual capacities demanded in each locality. The lion-mask dance is a village's sacred art. To disclose its secrets is taboo. Furuno regards this taboo as the key to explaining what makes the lion-dance teams distinctive. That he does not assign priority either to the family system or to the taboo goes without saying. The method by which Furuno analyzes the lion-mask dance, a method that examines the dance not only in relation to social structure but also in relation to the dimension of religious concepts, has much in common with the pattern of analysis found in his study of the Takasago people.

#### UNDERGROUND CHRISTIANS

*Syncretism as a sociological problem.* Furuno's study of the hidden Christians of northwest Kyushu is based on fieldwork undertaken while teaching at Kyushu University. At the center of his study is the problem of syncretism. He defines syncretism as the state that results when opposing elements from two or more cultures meet and, while retaining some of their original characteristics, fuse to form a unique element. This necessarily points toward the phenomenon of enculturation that follows from intercultural contact (Furuno 1973b, p. 1).

Furuno regards the hidden Christians not as orthodox Catholics in concealment, but as a singular synthesis of a traditionally distinctive Buddhism and Shinto, a wide range of folk beliefs and customs, and medieval Roman Catholi-

cism. Building on the Japanese term for these underground Christians, namely, *kirishitan*, Furuno gives to their particular type of syncretism the name *kirishitanism*. His investigation of the syncretism of these hidden Christians has two foci. One is the dimension of belief, the other that of ritual kinship.

*Faith.* With regard to what they believe, Furuno's study indicates that the hidden Christians of Amakusa in the early 1800s held a magico-religious faith characterized by an interest in tangible, this-worldly benefits. Further, his study of the beliefs and ceremonies of the hidden Christians of Ikitsuki and Urakami reveals the presence of ancestor worship concepts. From this, "I infer that in the faith and practice of hidden Christians, preserved for some four centuries, Japanese ethnic ideas about spirits (spirits of animate and inanimate phenomena, spirits of the dead, and ancestral spirits) long on the wane among non-Christian Japanese have tenaciously persisted" (1973b, p. 310).

*Ritual kinship.* Furuno analyzes the syncretism of the hidden Christians by comparing their ritual kinship with that of another area. In order to get at what is distinctive in the hidden Christians' syncretism, he takes for the purpose of comparison a primitive society of Latin America that was catholicized not long before Catholic mission work began in Japan. The object of study, ritual kinship, has two concrete manifestations: *padrinazgo* and *compadrazgo*. The former refers to the relationship between children and godparents (those who serve as witnesses at the time of baptism, being not physical but ritual parents); the latter refers to the relationship between actual parents and ritual parents, or again to the relationship among ritual parents.

In Mexico, early Spanish cultural influences, particularly

Catholicism, were assimilated and maintained as a continuing body of tradition. The tendency was to regard religious kinship as more important than the social kinship of blood or marriage. Particular emphasis fell on the *compadrazgo* relation. This constituted the supreme bond of solidarity. In general the godparent institution, by providing auxiliary parents, fulfilled the purpose of supplying guardians and sponsors to a godchild; it functioned as a guarantee of security. The *compadrazgo* institution, by extending the ritually created kinship bonds, functioned to enlarge the dimensions of the in-group.

*Blood ties and ancestor worship.* As a result of comparing ritual kinship in both cultures, Furuno finds that the biggest difference between them is that among the hidden Christians of Japan the *padrinazgo* has been preserved, whereas the *compadrazgo* has not taken root at all. In order to get at the underlying reason for this difference, he turns to the family system in the two areas. His conclusion, in brief, is that the *compadrazgo* seems well suited to a society in which the extended family is weak, as in Tepoztlán, but that the Japanese extended family system, which attaches greater importance to blood ties, seems to have stifled it. Under the Asian extended family system, in other words, there was apparently no need or desire to extend ritual kinship beyond the *padrinazgo* (1971b, pp. 336-337).

Syncretism in the form given it by the hidden Christians he attributed, then, to the blood tie-oriented extended family system. This system is connected not only with social relationships but also with ancestor worship. Thus ancestor worship once again emerges as a characteristic of the syncretism of the hidden Christians.

*Complexities.* Furuno's study of hidden Christian syncretism is by no means as narrow as the preceding description

might suggest. The extended family system and magico-religious world view, together with their particular religious organization, remind us that this syncretism is so complex that monistic explanations are rendered impossible. Furuno himself gave great weight to the role of the extended family system in the syncretism of the hidden Christians, but this point has yet to be verified.

In the course of his detailed examination of the phenomenon, Furuno turned up many facts. With regard to the hidden Christian family, for example, he points out that among the underground Christians of Amakusa during the early 1800s when the political authority had prohibited Christianity, the faith was not necessarily held as a household tradition. Some families included members who did not believe, among whom some later converted. Evidence of marriages between believers and non-believers can also be found.

*Indigenous models.* In the Christian community on the island of Ikitsuki, the core group known as the *compañia*, the smallest of the Christian organizations, does not as a rule depend on ties of blood or locality. Furuno thinks that the main structural factor in the hidden Christians' survival came from the *kumikō* organization.<sup>2</sup> The *kumikō* "sought inasmuch as possible to dissolve the mutually antagonistic vertical relationships of the feudal order, to replace them with a mutual aid system, to promote the spirit of friendship, and to prevent disruption stemming from class differences" (Furuno 1973b, p. 90). But if, for the moment, one assumes the readily conceivable point that the *kumikō*, like the *compañia* of Ikitsuki, in principle did not rely on ties of blood or locality and, in addition,

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2. A religious association or cell, somewhat analogous to the early Methodist "classes."—Transl.



that the Japanese extended family system prevented development of the *compadrazgo*, where is one to look, then, for factors that would account for the Christian adoption of the *kumikō*?

Here again Furuno refers to the magico-religious world view of the underground Christians.

The hidden Christians of Amakusa believed that when they died they would go to heaven, but as far as this world was concerned, they prayed that they would be blessed with abundant crops and good catches of fish, and that they would not experience sudden illness or any other calamitous misfortune.... For these things all they could do was to pray to God. In their daily life these people were somehow aware of the presence of the supernatural, and from time to time would pray fervently to this being in the expectation of abundant blessings to come. This ... was an expression of intense, earnest, and very human desires (1969b, p. 105).

In this kind of magico-religious world view, it is probably to be expected that ancestor worship would be included. In the last analysis, however, the decisive factor in this world view is not the ancestor worship of the extended family system but the individual. The world view may be shared by an entire community, but the family group is not necessarily the smallest unit to hold it. As indicated above, individual choice in the matter of faith is evident at the level of behavior. It is this element that would appear to account for Christian adoption of the *kumikō*.

In his comparative study of hidden Christian syncretism, Furuno points out the embracing influence of the extended family system, the tenacity of religious organization, and the dynamics of the magico-religious world view. The relationships among these three, however, have yet to be clarified.

INSTITUTIONAL ANIMISM

*The concept.* As we have seen, Furuno analyzes religious phenomena by means of the functionalist approach and the comparative method. Holding that religion should be grasped as a totality, he seeks a concept of religion that will integrate every particular aspect. The work in which these intensive theoretical reflections appear most clearly is his *Genshi shūkyō no kōzō to kinō* [The structure and function of primitive religion] (1971a), a revised version of a dissertation that he submitted to Tōhoku University in 1962.

The key concept of this book is "institutional animism," a term he proposes as fundamental to the analysis of primitive religion. Through his study of the history of comparative religion theories dealing with ideas of souls and spirits, Furuno came to the conclusion that since all known primitive religions give evidence of "belief in spiritual beings," and since there are no examples of ethnic or tribal groups that fail to observe rituals corresponding to this belief, it is altogether suitable to consider institutional or organizational animism as the conceptual basis of primitive religion as it actually exists.

*Leaving room for the non-rational.* Animism, manism, pantheism, and other such theories are at bottom, in Furuno's view, scholarly attempts to seek out, analyze, and explain the structures of the world views peculiar to people of primitive societies through reference to religion or magico-religious reality. But when primitive man's pantheism, pan-manism, and the various other isms that scholars prescribe are studied in concrete detail, it becomes clear that the distinctive feature they hold in common is a certain non-rational, emotional, and preconscious quality. In this religious world view there throbs, in other words, a continuing Lévy-Bruhlian "law of mystical participation." Thus

when Furuno speaks of the world view of primitive religion, he has reference to a total system that includes not only its conceptual but also its emotional dimension, and of course its organizational or social nature. His idea of "institutional animism," then, "lays stress on the point that this world view is socially and culturally determined. It refers to a religious system that is sensed, thought about, and enacted in a variety of social organizations. It is not so much a matter of what Tylor calls a 'philosophy of life' as of an emotion-engaging world view filled with prospects for the future" (1973a, p. 15).

#### CONCLUSION

The concept of institutional animism is a distinctive and densely packed outcome of Furuno's research. In his study of religion he took as a hypothesis Durkheim's theory of collective representations. From Mauss, who eradicated the metaphysical tendencies from Durkheim's sociologisme, he borrowed the ideas of "l'homme total" and "faits sociaux totaux." It is self-evident that he developed his concept of institutional animism on the basis of these ideas.

For Furuno, however, the principal sociological theory of religion was one oriented to the concept of mana—a point of view easily overlooked by a sociological outlook that was overly inclined toward Cartesian rationalism and thus fell prey to the evils of deductive logicism. Again, Lévy-Bruhl threw light on the problem of explaining primitive people's magico-religious world view, but because he took no interest in the social structures that go with this view, his work, according to Furuno, lacks scientific explanatory power. As for Malinowski, Frazer, and Radcliffe-Brown, Furuno saw in them a propensity to give disproportionate weight to Durkheim's theories.

Furuno, like other scholars, attached considerable importance to studying religion scientifically, that is, with

due regard to theory and method. The problem of greatest concern to him, however, was to explain religious phenomena realistically. This interest in the animistic world view that frequently comes out in his case studies implies, I believe, the idea that it is essential to the scientific study of religion that the analysis include the provinces of meaning of the phenomena themselves. The attitude evident in Furuno's empirical studies shows that in his efforts to plumb the depths of religious phenomena and get to their basic structure, he sought above all else to be objective.

#### A Brief Account of the Career of Furuno Kiyoto

Birth in Fukuoka Prefecture in 1899. Enters the Law Department of Tokyo Imperial University with the intention of entering the foreign service. Later changes to the Sociology Department, but during a serious illness transfers to the Department of Religious Studies. After completing graduate work at the same university in 1928, he takes a part-time clerical position with the university library, a year later taking a similar position with the Imperial Academy.

Before taking employment with the East Asia Economic Survey Department of the Southern Manchurian Railroad in 1940, he makes several trips to Taiwan to carry out research among the Takasago people; he also studies Japanese agricultural rites and conducts religio-ethnological research among the Ainu and Oroks of Sakhalin. With Tanabe Suketoshi as coeditor, he begins to publish the academic journal *Shakaigaku* [Sociology] in 1932. (This journal was banned beginning with issue number 5.) In 1935 he participates in the founding of the Japanese Society of Ethnology and becomes editor-in-chief of its journal *Minzokugaku kenkyū* [Japanese journal of ethnology]. In 1943 he becomes a staff member of the Ministry of Education's Research Institute on Ethnic Groups; in 1944 he is sent to conduct scientific surveys of peoples in southeast Asia.

In November 1945, following the end of the war, he accepts the combined posts of president and professor at the Tenri School of Linguistics and moves to the Kansai. In 1948 he becomes a professor of Kyushu University with responsibility for religious studies. In 1956

he becomes president and professor at North Kyushu University, in 1960 professor of sociology at Tokyo Metropolitan University, in 1964 professor of anthropology and sociology at Dokkyō University, in 1969 professor of social anthropology at Musashino University, and from 1973-77 professor of sociology at Komazawa University. Death from pneumonia on 1 March 1979 at age 79.

### References and Chief Publications

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