

The Ontake Cult Associations and Local Society : The Case of the Owari-Mikawa Region in Central Japan

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There has been a considerable amount of research published on the Mt. Ontake cult and the religious associations (*kō*) dedicated to the worship of this mountain. Since the main characteristic of the Ontake cult is the spirit possession rite, performed by the *nakaza* ("between seat," or medium), the *maeza* ("front seat," or officer who summons the spirit, interrogates him and sends him away), the *shiten* ("four heavenly kings," or the guardians of the ritual), and various others endowed with spiritual powers, it is natural that most of these studies should deal with the phenomenon of shamanism. They consist, for example, of analyses of the shamanistic elements in the ritual structures and functions of the *ōza* séances; of elucidations of the types and social functions of groups formed around people with shamanistic powers; or of attempts to measure the religious consciousness connected with shamanistic beliefs (Ikegami 1955). The present paper will follow the same line. It will concentrate on the Ontake *kō* associations, and particularly on how these shamanistic groups cope with and respond to change in a local society under the impact of rapidly increasing urbanization.

As a concrete example of local society I have chosen the area which extends from the east of Nagoya City up to Toyota City and environs in Central Japan. This region, crossed by the Sakai-

Translated by Jan Swyngedouw and W. Michael Kelsey from "Ontake *kō* shūdan to chiiki shakai: Bisan rinsetsu chitai no jirei-kenkyū" 御嶽講集団と地域社会～尾三隣接地帯の事例研究 in Oguchi Iichi 小口偉一, ed., *Nihon no shamanzumu ni kansuru chōsa-kenkyū* 日本のシャマニズムに関する調査研究 [Field Research on Japanese Shamanism]. Nagoya: Yūshinsha, 1981, pp. 3-24.

gawa River, consists of the adjacent areas formerly called Owari and Mikawa; it is currently being swept by the violent waves of urbanization affecting many areas in Japan. The Ontake cult associations which are most deeply rooted in this region are called "Shingankō," and they are among the most influential of the many Ontake cult groups in Aichi Prefecture, of which this region is a part (Kodachi 1967).

ORGANIZATION OF THE SHINGANKŌ

Pattern of distribution. The Shingankō is found from the mountainous district of Mt. Sanage (629 m.) in the north to the flatlands of the Okazaki plain and the Chita Peninsula in the south, an area which, taken as a whole, is far from topographically uniform. Its center consists of the Owari hills that begin at the eastern limb of the Nōbi plain. We could compare the whole region to a range of wave crests which gradually rise higher and higher to beat upon a reefy coast. Indeed, the undulated plateau that extends from the lowlands in the southeast to the highlands in the northwest rises little by little, finally becoming the Aichi heights. As a result, the region is dotted with hills, some of them rather low (from four to fifty meters above sea level) and some higher (100–200 m.). The *reijinba* ("sacred places") of the Ontake cult have been established on the tops of these hills.

The center of Shingankō. The largest in scale of the many *reijinba* is at Iwasaki Mt. Ontake (134 m.), located in Nisshin Town, Aichi County, east of Nagoya. Iwasaki Mt. Ontake has worshipers not only in the area where the Shingankō associations are found, but also among the members of Ontake cult groups in other parts of Aichi Prefecture and even as far as Tokyo and the Kansai region (western Japan).

At present one can reach the top of Iwasaki Mt. Ontake by car in about twenty or thirty minutes from eastern Nagoya, but before the Second World War the custom was to make the pilgrimage from Nagoya and from western and northern Owari, with an over-

night stop. Dilapidated houses that were formerly inns, and signboards for resting places can still be seen, indicating that all this is a thing of the not so distant past. The members of the *kō* would first cleanse their bodies under the Kikusui waterfall at the foot of the mountain, then climb the stone stairway on the southern slope leading to the top. Nowadays, this old approach is used only by very fervent worshipers, since one can easily reach the summit along a paved road running from the eastern to the western side. There are two small ridges near the summit, separated from each other by the road, and both are covered by *reijinba*.

In recent years, however, a huge concrete water reservoir and nursing home for the elderly have been built on the southern ridge, and the landscape has been considerably altered. The Ontake Shrine, the worship hall (*saimonden*), the hall of the ancestral spirits (*soreiden*), the shrine office and other facilities are all concentrated on the northern ridge.

Further north of the ridge is a separate hill, topped by the *oku no in* ("inner sanctuary"). The greater part of this hill, however, has been graded to make room for a housing project, so that only the *oku no in* and a little verdure around it are left; it resembles a head covered by a hat. There is no better symbol of one aspect of the Ontake cult in the present rapid urbanization taking place in this area than this hat-covered head.

Nearly one hundred fifty *kō* and other cult groups have a *reijinba*, or sacred spot, on Iwasaki Mt. Ontake. Since many of these *kō*—and this is true for Shingankō, as well—have established several *reijinba*, the total number of these sacred spots is much higher than one hundred fifty. Nearly 4,000 *reijinhi* ("megaliths") and stone or bronze statues are located in these *reijinba*, and the whole mountain is thus covered from top to bottom by a dense forest of megaliths.

Iwasaki Mt. Ontake is thus not only the center of the Shingankō but of all the Ontake cult associations in Aichi Prefecture, and it provides many places where the mountain ascetics (*gyōja*) can perform their practices. The administration and management of the

shrine and its office, however, have traditionally been in the hands of the Shingankō, and this *kō* also reserves the right of ownership of the mountain. The man in charge at present is Mr. Inoue Tadashi, a *sendatsu* ("leader") of the Shingankō. He is the sixteenth in line and lives there with his family, attending to the needs of the *kō* members and others who come to worship.

Organization of the Shingankō. According to the *Iwasaki ontakesan engi* [History of the Iwasaki Mt. Ontake], the Ontake *daigongen* ("great incarnation of the Ontake spirit") was welcomed at Taki-noyama in the village of Iwasaki in 1860 (the first year of the Man'en era) by the ascetics Meikan and Meishin, who were the founders of Shingankō. There are still at present three stone monuments on which the words "first year of the Man'en era" are carved, attesting to the reliability of that date. From these beginnings, the Shingankō spread from eastern Owari to the western Mikawa region.

Organizationally, the *kō* were established around the old *ōaza* ("larger village sections") and were called "such-and-such Shingankō" according to the name of the *ōaza* where they were founded. These individual *kō* then made up the loose federation which is the Shingankō. In addition to Iwasaki Mt. Ontake, which is the central base of all the individual Shingankō associations, there is also a separate base for the *kō* of the Owari district at Yazako in Nagakute Town, Aichi County, and one for the Mikawa district *kō* in Kosema, Toyota City. However, this division does not seem very important on the organizational level.

The present nominal representative of the Shingankō is Mr. Kurachi Mohei, called *daishachō* ("great president"), who is the grandson of Meishin, founder of the *kō*. In his daily life he runs a watch shop in the center of Nagoya, but he comes to the mountain for the great festivals and sometimes functions as a *maeza*. The most influential and trusted of the *sendatsu* is Mr. Katō Gintarō from Yazako. The main reason for his position as the most powerful member of the organization lies in his past achievements.

After the Second World War he was one of the key figures in the founding of the Kiso Ontake Honkyō (a Shrine Shinto organization whose faithful worship at Kiso Mt. Ontake, the volcano which is the center of all Ontake beliefs), and he served as a bridge between the Shingankō and that organization. Many leaders of the Shingankō have received the official title of *sendatsu* from the Kiso Ontake Honkyō through Mr. Katō.

The individual kō associations. This does not mean, however, that the Shingankō is a sub-group of the Kiso Ontake Honkyō. The various local *kō* are all independent. Investigation shows, for example, that the organizational affiliation of the shrines where the individual *kō* worship often differs. These affiliations can be roughly divided into three categories. First we have the Ontake shrines which are located outside the precincts of the (former) district and village Shinto shrines but nonetheless belong organizationally to Shrine Shinto. A second category is that of the Ontake shrines which belong to independent religious organizations such as the Kiso Ontake Honkyō and the Ontakekyō. Finally, there are the Ontake shrines which are in the hands of the *kō*, without any specific organization above this level.

To give some examples, the Ontake shrine of Iwasaki Mt. Ontake is a "shrine outside the precincts" of the Hakusangū Shrine in Hongō, Nisshin Town, which in turn belongs to the Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honchō). On the other hand, the Ontake shrine of Yazako, administered by Katō Gintarō, belongs to the Kiso Ontake Honkyō, while the Ontake shrine at Kosema, which represents the Mikawa district, is the property of the Kosema Shingankō, and does not belong to any higher organization.

Sendatsu status is achieved in a similar variety of ways. There are nominally *sendatsu* of the Kiso Ontake Honkyō, just as there are *sendatsu* of the Ontakekyō. Further, there are both people who received their *sendatsu* certifications from other mountain worship sects, and people who became *sendatsu* simply by assuming the title from their fathers. Except for some special cases, the

facts that the various *kō* might belong to different organizations, or that the *sendatsu* might have received their qualifications from various sources, have had little or no harmful effect on the *sendatsu* group of the Shingankō.

We can point to two reasons for this. One is that the most fundamental base is inevitably the individual *kō* group. Each *sendatsu* represents his own *kō* and he has a strong conviction that his *kō* is an independent and complete group in itself. Consequently, no need is recognized for any standard system of approving qualifications to be adopted by the Shingankō as a whole, or for any organizational statutes or provisions on a higher level, and there have been, consequently, no demands for codification. Put in the frankest of terms, it does not matter much to individual *sendatsu* where the other *kō* belong or what kind of qualifications other *sendatsu* might have.

The sendatsu group. The second reason, which might seem to contradict the first one, is that the *sendatsu* group of the Shingankō maintains a high degree of mutual contact through annual religious observances. The principle of reciprocity by which all the *sendatsu* in the Shingankō participate in all of the observances of the individual *kō*, helping each other in carrying them out, has been kept alive as an unwritten law. There are at present forty different *kō*, each of which performs festivals in the spring, summer and the fall; if the Fire-walking Festival is included this makes four a year, and simple arithmetic tells us that there are thus one hundred sixty times each year that the *sendatsu* see each other. Such often repeated group activities carried out by the same people each time naturally give rise to an implicit hierarchy within the group, but factors such as nominal qualifications or memberships in larger organizations are not given very serious considerations in this. Admittedly, factors such as one's age, income, occupation, social position and the like, which are based on ordinary social life, cannot be completely dismissed, but nonetheless it remains one's achievements and personality as a *sendatsu* which are the most

highly considered.

In sum, what is important is one's experience and length of time as a *sendatsu*, the frequency with which one has attended the observances, one's abilities and skill in performing the specialized incantations and protection devices by means of the *kuji* ("nine mudras") spells, and other behavioral and leadership qualities. These elements, of course, are not formally investigated one at a time. Rather, they come to be mutually understood as the result of long years of contact; this is how the natural hierarchy comes to be recognized.

To conclude, a *sendatsu* has two faces. One comes from his position as the person in charge of his individual *kō*, and as the religious leader of its ordinary members. In this respect, the individual *sendatsu* is formally on an equal footing with other individual *sendatsu*, each of whom has an independent existence. The other face derives from his position as a member of the *sendatsu* group, a group of specialists who are all in the same profession. Within this group there is a tendency to rank people according to specific value standards.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF *REIJIN* FAITH

Thus each *sendatsu* in the Shingankō occupies both a position as religious leader in his own individual *kō* and a position as member of the *sendatsu* group, which is a group of people endowed with special spiritual powers. This latter group is one of functionaries, and the main factor constituting it is an occasional one, based on "ritual exchanges" among the individual *kō*. As a group of functionaries, it does not have a real organizational structure. Of course, as just noted, it has an implicitly recognized internal hierarchical order, and since this is rather strong there are but few cases in which it is violated. On the other hand, the lack of formalized organization makes change very easy and there are sometimes people who—even though temporarily—act in ways which deviate from the hierarchical order.

In this sense the *sendatsu* group is in a relatively fluid situation,

but this might be due to the fact that, as will be explained later, it is still in an initial, unsettled stage. We cannot very readily predict at this point whether the *sendatsu* group will in the future strengthen its cohesion still further and acquire a specific organizational form, or whether it will, on the contrary, proceed in the direction of disintegration and extinction because the *sendatsu* have become scattered or disappeared altogether. In any case, the urbanization trend in the region that constitutes the base of the Shingankō will, along with developments in the individual *kō*, certainly exert an increasing influence on its future fate.

The oza-date séance. In order to elucidate the relationship between the Shingankō and the process of urbanization, we must first say a few words about the actual practices of the Shingankō. Within the Shingankō, the term *sendatsu* is used to designate generally the *maeza* and the *nakaza*. In fact, it is not always true that one given person will perform only the role of either *nakaza* or *maeza*; there are many *sendatsu* who perform both. At the beginning of the *oza-date* or *o-tsutome* (“séance” or “religious service”) there is always a ritual exchange among the *sendatsu*; then, after some mutual declamations, the person considered highest in rank takes the place of *maeza*, indicating that in the Shingankō this role is valued very highly. While the *Ontakesan gongyō yōshū* [Essentials of the Mt. Ontake services] is recited, the spirits of deceased officers of the *kō*, called *reijin*, will take possession of the *nakaza* and deliver oracles.

Either the *sendatsu* of the *kō* in charge of the particular festival or any other *sendatsu* whose ability is recognized will serve as *nakaza*. Occasionally as many as six or seven *nakaza* will successively receive oracles during the same séance. Unlike the case of the *maeza*, however, there is no previous approval needed to assume this role. Of course, if a person who is not qualified as a *nakaza* suddenly starts delivering oracles, that person will be scorned as a *tobiza* (“abnormal possession”) and politely be excluded from the group, showing that there is indeed some special

prerequisite for the *nakaza*. But in any event, the *maeza* role is the more important in the Shingankō. As for the *shūten* role (the four officers who mount guard during the ritual), this is usually left unfilled, although the *sendatsu* will take it if necessary.

Authority of the sendatsu. The *sendatsu* are overwhelmingly male. This does not mean, however, that female *sendatsu* who are qualified are treated coldly. One could even say that the female *sendatsu* are much more active than their male counterparts. For example, the representative of Kosema Shingankō is *sendatsu* Yoshikawa Kaneko, who, although she functions mostly as a *nakaza*, is especially well known for her former career and also ranks high in the *sendatsu* hierarchy.

On the other hand, the majority of the ordinary members of the *kō* (*kōin*) are women. If one participates in the summer pilgrimage to Kiso Mt. Ontake, one is struck with admiration for the large group of middle-aged and older women going up and down the steep paths of the 3,000 m. mountain. The “women’s mountain worship” aspect of the Ontake cult in general is, then, also a conspicuous part of the Shingankō.

Individual *kō* often also have a class of members called *sewanin*. These are people who financially support the relationships between the *sendatsu* and the ordinary cult members and who, during festivals, attend to the *sendatsu* and the local dignitaries in the name of the *kō*; they are, in short, in charge of internal and external affairs. Many of these *sewanin* come from wealthy families from within the *kō*, or are descendants of *sendatsu*. It goes without saying that *kō* with many or with well-qualified *sewanin* are the most likely to prosper.

In sum, each individual *kō* consists of three categories of people: the *sendatsu*, the *sewanin*, and the *kōin* or ordinary members; the combination of these three categories defines the vicissitudes and the specific character of the *kō*. Additionally, there are also people who have recourse to the spiritual powers of the *sendatsu* in a private capacity; these are called *sūkeisha*. Most of them are resi-

dents of the center of Nagoya and Toyota and, in former times, there were several presidents of large enterprises and wealthy merchants among them. Some of these *sūkeisha* entered into relationship with *sendatsu* in order to have their wealth restored or to help their business; in some cases their financial support did not stop with the one *sendatsu* they had established a relationship with, but was offered to his *kō* as well, or, occasionally, to the whole Shingankō association. At present, however, there are almost no such influential *sūkeisha* remaining.

Annual observances. All of the individual *kō* have their own annual observances, and these differ only slightly from each other. The main festivals observed at Iwasaki Mt. Ontake are listed in table 1. Since Iwasaki Mt. Ontake is the center of the whole Shingankō, one would expect that its ceremonies would have a special status, but in reality the festivals are those of the individual *kō* called "Iwasaki Shingankō," and they are performed much the same as those of the other individual *kō*. Using the participants

TABLE 1
Annual Festivals of Iwasaki Mt. Ontake

○New Year's Festival (<i>gantansai</i> 元旦祭)	Jan. 1	○Grand Summer Festival (<i>tōzan reijinsai</i> 当山靈神祭)	May 1
◎Fire-walking Festival (<i>hiwatarisai</i> 火渡祭)	Jan. 6	◎All Souls Festival (<i>o-yama shoreisai</i> 御山諸靈祭)	July 13
○Monthly Festival (<i>tsukinamisai</i> 月並祭)	15th of each month	○Summer Pilgrimage (<i>natsu tozan</i> 夏登山)	late July (Kiso)
○Winter Austerities (<i>kangyō</i> 寒行)	early January	◎Grand Autumn Festival (<i>shūki taisai</i> 秋期大祭)	Sept. 18
○Winter Pilgrimage (<i>kan tozan</i> 寒登山)	middle Jan. (Kiso)	○Wakamiya Shrine Festival (<i>wakamiyasai</i> 若宮祭)	Oct. 24 (Kiso)
◎Grand Spring Festival (<i>shunki taisai</i> 春期大祭)	April 18	○Grand Purification Festival (<i>oharaesai</i> 大祓祭)	Dec. 30

- Festivals of only the Iwasaki Shingenkō
- ◎ Festivals attended by the *sendatsu* group

as a criterion, we can distinguish between two types of festivals. The first type includes the religious observances performed by only the members of the particular *kō*, while the second type consists of those participated in by the *sendatsu* of other *kō*, which are thus centered on the *sendatsu* group rather than the *kō* itself.

Ceremonies particular to the individual *kō* are performed by the three categories of people mentioned above (*sendatsu*, *sewanin*, and *kōin*). There are at present five *sendatsu* in the Iwasaki Shingankō, but the *kō* has no *sewanin*, and the *sendatsu* thus take on this role when the necessity arises.

The number of ordinary members of the Iwasaki Shingankō is rather unclear. If we consider as members those who regularly attend the *tsukinami-sai* ("monthly festival"), there are about twelve or thirteen, but if we reckon the "irregular" ones who participate only in the pilgrimages to Kiso Mt. Ontake, there are between fifty and sixty members. In point of fact, the three religious observances connected with pilgrimages to Kiso Mt. Ontake—the *kan tozan* ("winter pilgrimage"), the *natsu tozan* ("summer pilgrimage") and the Wakamiya Shrine Festival—are the most important of the *kō*'s observances.

A big bus is chartered for these trips, which can be either for one day or two. This is true for all the individual *kō*. It often happens that different *kō* travel together, as was the case, for example, with the Iwasaki Shingankō, which until about two years ago went with the Miyoshi Shingankō of Nishi-kamo County. This, however, is nothing more than a matter of convenience or custom. The individual *kō* are all linked directly and independently with the "roots" of their faith, Kiso Mt. Ontake. Moreover, there are a variety of festivals—such as the Kōbō Festival, the Inari Festival, the Jizō Festival and others—which are held exclusively by individual *kō*.

Festivals of the sendatsu group. The festivals in which the *sendatsu* group participates are the Grand Spring Festival, the Grand Summer Festival, the Grand Autumn Festival, and the Fire-walk-

ing Festival. (In the case of the Iwasaki Shingankō, the Grand Summer Festival or *tōzan reijinsai*, serves as the festival in honor of the *reijin* of only that particular *kō*, while the All Souls Festival, or *o-yama shoreisai*, is performed for all of the *reijin* of the Shingankō as a whole.) The dates for the four grand festivals of the individual *kō* have been set after mutual consultation and care is taken that they do not fall on the same day.

There is a fixed pattern in the performance of the festivals; this consists of a morning part and an afternoon part. The morning observances would be called the "public" festival held by the Ontake Shrine, while in the afternoon we have services performed by the *sendatsu* group and the ordinary members. Since, as indicated above, the affiliation of the Ontake shrines differs from *kō* to *kō*, there is also some difference among those who perform the morning ceremonies. In the case of Iwasaki Mt. Ontake, since the Ontake Shrine belongs organizationally to the Hakusangū Shrine, the old village shrine of the area, the priest of that shrine comes to the mountain and performs the Shinto rituals of purification, *no-rito* prayers, offering of the *tamagushi* (usually a branch of the sacred tree) and the like. The *sendatsu*, dressed in the garb of the Shinto priest, assist in this ceremony. In case the Shinto priest does not come, the highest rank *sendatsu* will perform this role. Influential persons, such as the village headman and counsellors, representatives of the local Shinto parish, officials of the Agricultural Cooperative and the like, participate as honored guests with the *kō* members themselves and others who wish to attend.

In the afternoon, the situation changes completely. After the noon meal, the Shinto priest and the guests leave, and only the *sendatsu* and *kō* members remain. The *sendatsu* don the attire of mountain ascetics (*gyōja*), a headband and white robe, with a handbell and container for incense around the waist, and a *heisoku* ("white paper wand") in the hand. The *maeza* then takes his place in front of the *goma* ("sacred fire") altar, with the drummers at a fixed place at his side; the ordinary *kō* members take seats behind the *sendatsu* group and the *o-tsutome* or religious service begins.

The *Ontake gongyō yōshū* [Essentials of the Mt. Ontake services] consists of thirty-seven kinds of prayers—exorcisms, *darani* (“Buddhist incantations”), sutras, etc. The *Nakatomi no harae* in the first half, and the *Hannya shingyō*, or Heart Sutra, in the second, are especially important. When the *Hannya shingyō* is intoned the *goma* is kindled and the sound of the drums becomes stronger. Usually after the recitation of this sutra, during the *Busshingō*—and particularly when the name of the great *sendatsu* Meikan is mentioned—the *nakaza* becomes possessed by a *reijin* (“spirit of deceased”). Following this, the *maeza* recites the names of all the *reijin* of the *kō*. Possession also easily occurs when the names of the *reijin* who founded the *kō* are mentioned. The beating of the drums is then halted and all the participants prostrate themselves. At the urging of the *maeza*, the *reijin*’s oracle is conveyed through the mouth of the *nakaza*. (It often happens that in the Fire-walking Festival, due to a lack of time, there is no spirit possession.)

Oracles from the reijin. This *o-tsutome* contains almost all the elements common to shamanistic rituals (Moroi 1957). Now, even though the Shingankō and all other *kō* groups connected with Mt. Ontake can be approached generally as shamanistic phenomena, it goes without saying that their main characteristic lies in the factors of belief in *reijin* and possession by these spirits. A closer look at the *reijin* is therefore essential to our discussion.

We can distinguish between several categories of *reijin*. A first category is those *reijin* who are important to the Shingankō as a whole, that is to say, founders such as Meikan and Meishin, or others. A second category consists of the *reijin* who founded or rendered service to the individual *kō* associations, and a third one is that of the *reijin* who were ordinary *sendatsu* or *kō* members. The *reijin* of the first and second categories can take possession of people, while those of the third category usually do not.¹

1. We can also classify *reijin* according to whether they are living or not:

(1) *reijin* of deceased *sendatsu* who take possession of people

It is more difficult to classify the contents of the oracles delivered by the *reijin*, but certain general tendencies can be identified. The *reijin* of the second category usually start with a greeting to the assembled *sendatsu* and *kō* members: "It was good of you to come. Thank you so much." Then, when necessary, they might make concrete demands concerning problems of the *kō*: "The *reijinba* fence is broken. All of you work together to have it repaired. I will certainly protect all of you." The *reijin* of this second category take possession of people and deliver messages only at the services held by their particular *kō*.

On the other hand, the *reijin* in the first category appear at all of the individual *kō*. In their case, the oracle will consist of a greeting, such as, "I want all of you to support the Shingankō," and also of answers to personal prayers connected with sickness, marriage, family problems, and the like. Answers to personal prayers are whispered into the ear of the petitioner by the *maeza*.

Even though there are very concrete oracles, concerned with this-worldly benefits on both the *kō* and the personal level, the majority of the oracles are rather general and abstract, consisting of greetings, encouragement to the *sendatsu* and *kō* members, promises of protection, advice to preserve traditional morality and the like.

The fact that the contents of the oracles are generally not very concrete seems to be a recent development in the Shingankō. There are exceptions, however. For example, in the case of the Kose Shingankō in Fujioka Town, Nishi-kamo County, which lies

(2) *reijin* of deceased *sendatsu* and *kō* members who do not take possession of people

(3) living *sendatsu* and *kō* members who have received the title of *reijin* (but do not take possession of people).

The third category should, strictly speaking, be called people who are expected to become *reijin*, and I will therefore exclude them from discussion. However, although still alive, their names are recorded in the list of *reijin* and intoned during services, and they are worshiped on an equal footing with the *reijin* of the other world.

in the mountains and where traditional customs are relatively well preserved, the possession phenomena of the *nakaza* are quite eccentric and the contents of the oracles are very concrete. Yet another case of a concrete oracle occurred about three years ago when a certain influential *sendatsu* became incurably ill and was forced to undergo surgery. All the *sendatsu* of the Shingankō came together and recited the *Sengan Sutra*, and one after another became possessed by a *reijin*; in chorus the *sendatsu* delivered the following oracle: "I don't know yet about the future, but this time I shall certainly heal you. Be more and more devoted to the faith."

The loss of an influential *sendatsu* means a crisis for the *sendatsu*. It is clear that there were "this-worldly" elements inherent in the expectations that the *Sengan Sutra* would be efficacious in overcoming this crisis.² In spite of such examples, however, the contents of the oracles are generally deficient in the concrete power of this-worldly benefits, and we must therefore conclude that the confidence of the *sendatsu* and the *kō* members in the spiritual powers of the *reijin* is a rather formal thing. That being so, then, where do we look for the reasons explaining the fact that the Shingankō and its shamanistic elements remain alive and that, at least in some places, faith in the *reijin* is truly full of vitality?

Achievement-oriented nature of reijin belief. Above I noted that the ranking order within the *sendatsu* group elevates those *sendatsu* who are considered to be the most competent. Of course, there is a tendency to acknowledge a kind of hereditary charisma in the second and third generations of outstanding *sendatsu*. Moreover, since judgments of competency derive from a long history of mutual contact within the limits of a particular region (the Owari-Mikawa region), there are certainly elements lacking here in the

2. The oracle was eventually not fulfilled. The *sendatsu* died shortly after the operation. But his colleagues apparently were not too particular about the outcome of the oracle. They contented themselves with the knowledge that he had been able to look forward to the operation with hope.

universality that the word “achievements” (*gyōseki*) implies. We must take due account of these limiting factors, but on the other hand we must also acknowledge that the *sendatsu* qualifications have arisen from elements of achievement which can be thought of apart from the traditions and social conditions of the region.

There is a close relationship between the qualifications of the *sendatsu* and the personality of the *reijin*. To begin with, the *reijin* who take possession of people were themselves, when living, *sendatsu* with extraordinary powers who rendered services to their *kō*. The veneration for the *reijin* depends, thus, on the deeds of these *reijin-sendatsu*. In other words, *reijin* belief demonstrates the expectations people hold in actual achievements. Additionally, in *reijin* possessions, the *maeza* asks, “Who is it who has descended?” and the name of the *reijin* in question is made clear through an answer such as, “I am Meikan, you know!”; only then will the oracle begin. Veneration of the name of the *reijin* during the oracle can thus be seen as a manifestation of the importance placed on the individuality—which is to say, the achievements—of that *reijin*.

A third point has to do with the problem of the social basis of this achievement-oriented character of the *reijin*, namely the social class to which the *sendatsu* belong. Until recently, the area where the Shingankō is predominantly found was agricultural. Before the war, the main industries of the region were rice culture, the cultivation of vegetables and sericulture. The majority of the people were farmers and theirs was a society in which traditional customs and observances regulated the rhythm of village life. The principal axis of this society was a social class order which consisted respectively of a landlord class, an independent farmer class, and a tenant class.

Shifting our attention to the *sendatsu* in the Shingankō, we find that the matrix which generated them was a social class removed from this main axis of the agricultural community, since most of them were merchants and artisans. People from the grocery business, confectionaries and hardware merchants, carpenters, plas-

terers, gardeners, construction laborers, commercial travelers and the like—in sum, people from small business enterprises—were numerous among the *sendatsu* and were the reservoir from which the *sendatsu* were drawn. They had a more or less guaranteed income and could regulate their time quite freely, so they were in a better position than most to go to Kiso Mt. Ontake or to make tours of various places as *sendatsu*. It was also relatively simple for them to act as *sewanin* and to entertain or give lodging to famous traveling ascetics.

But seen from the point of view of the farmers, who lived on the land, these people ultimately belonged to a class outside the mainstream of local society, no matter how they might have contributed to it as healers of the sick or hosts of the fire-walking festivals. They were, therefore, deprived of the local society's central values. They were, according to I. M. Lewis (1971, ch. 4), persons who tried to recover the values they were deprived of through the phenomenon of possession. Particularly during the pre-war years, it is postulated that the central social values were tradition and a sense of belonging, with the landowners being those who controlled society; if this is true, then it is not surprising that the values of those excluded from this ascription-oriented system, those who were struggling against it, should be centered around achievements.

The shamanistic activities of the *sendatsu* were thus calculated to break through this sense of belonging to the local society and to compensate for the social discrimination felt by these people. The emphasis was placed not on "where do you belong?" but rather on the question, "what have you done?"

This is directly related to the fact that there are many housewives from farmer families among the *kō* members. When women, in a society where men are thought to be superior, don the robes of ascetics (*gyōja*), form the central core of religious services with the *sendatsu*, and set out on pilgrimages to Kiso Mt. Ontake with arms swinging, they do so because there is a guarantee in performing achievement-oriented acts mediated through the symbolism of the *reijin*. In this sense, the Shingankō exhibits the aspect of a

“deprived group” of *sendatsu* who were socially discriminated against because of their profession, and of women who were socially discriminated against because of their sex. A similar reason accounts for the fact that there were many of the male members of the *kō* who were members of the tenant class in addition to those who were engaged in small enterprises.

It is also necessary to touch on another problem, the names carved in the *reijinhī* or stone monuments for the *reijin*. Just as the *reijin* who take possession of people reveal their names in the oracle, all *reijin* of *sendatsu* and *kō* members—even those who do not descend or are still alive—have their names engraved on the megaliths, which gives them the opportunity to escape from anonymity within the local society and to assert their individual existence; this carving signifies that they have been able to accumulate spiritual powers as *reijin*. These megaliths are fossilized expressions of resistance to being buried in oblivion as “parishioners in general” or as “generations of ancestors” (*senzo daidai*), which is generally written on tombstones. Often one sees the names of both husband and wife on these stone monuments, in the form of “such-and-such *reijin* and such-and-such lady *reijin*”; this is certainly a public demonstration of non-ending marriage vows for women who would otherwise be but anonymous members of the non-ruling class, and especially for women who were discriminated against because of their social status.

URBANIZATION AND REIJIN BELIEF

The reijin “boom.” We have seen how the *reijin* symbolized the achievement-oriented values of people of a lower social class. (These values are, however, marginal values when compared to the ascription-oriented values central to the society.) How, then, has social change in the Owari-Mikawa region affected this meaning of the *reijin*?

As a concrete example let us look at the list of *reijin* names of a *kō* which, at present, is one of the most prosperous of all the single *kō* in the region, namely the Morowa Shingankō in Tōgō Town,

Aichi County. These name lists are a necessary item for all the *kō*, since during the religious ceremonies the names of all the *reijin* of that particular *kō* are recited by the *maeza*, but the ways and procedures of recording the names are not necessarily always the same. In the case of the Morowa Shingankō the word *chinkon* (“repose of the soul”) or *kaigen* (“opening of the eyes”) is added after the name, with a date. The term *chinkon* is here used to mean “registration as a *reijin*.” Yet, when we classify the various relationships between the date of the *chinkon* and the number of *reijin*, we notice the following.

In the case of Morowa, the *reijin* are overwhelmingly people of the postwar era. An older informant said that this is because it was quite difficult before the war to receive the title of *reijin*, but even so, there is no question that this Morowa Shingankō saw a remarkable development after the war. Its name list is characterized by the fact that on specific dates during the postwar years people were registered as *reijin en masse*. Moreover, their numbers increase suddenly after 1965, and more than half of the total number of *reijin* recorded on the list are concentrated in the last ten years (see table 2).

TABLE 2
Classification of Registered *Reijin* of Morowa Shingankō

Period	Number of registered <i>reijin</i>
1868–1912 (Meiji)	4
1912–1926 (Taishō)	3
1926–1946 (early Shōwa)	20
1946–1975 (postwar era)	187
Jan. 1970	14
April 1971	10
April 1973	55
March 1975	43

As an immediate reason for this fact we can point to what has happened to the *reijimba*, the places where the *reijin* are venerated

with stone monuments. This increase in number of *reijin* corresponds precisely to the period when the ground behind the Morowa Ontake Shrine was leveled and stone monuments were erected in the enclosed reclaimed land, which invited a boom in the construction of *reijinhi* (“megaliths”). Both the establishment of the new *reijinba* and the increase in registrations can be seen, then, as results of the urbanization process in the Morowa district.

The example of Morowa is a typical case, and there are several *kō*, as for example Komenoki Shingankō and others, which, though they differ in degree, had a similar development. In order to clarify the relationship between urbanization and this *reijin* boom in the Owari-Mikawa region, we must first draw a rough sketch of the historical development of the Shingankō, and in particular must touch on the evolution of the urbanization process in the region. We must also make it clear that the example of Morowa does not serve as a model for all the individual *kō* associations.

History of the Shingankō. The history of the Shingankō is still rather vague, and we cannot sufficiently substantiate our argument

TABLE 3
Historical Development of Shingankō

1860 (Man'en 1)	Period of Iwasaki Mt. Ontake
1877 (Meiji 10)	
1912 (Taishō 1)	Period of establishment of individual <i>kō</i> associations
1935 (Shōwa 10)	First period of expansion
1955 (Shōwa 30)	Period of stagnation
1970 (Shōwa 45)	Period of recovery
1980 (Shōwa 55)	Second period of expansion

with documents or other materials. I have attempted in table 3 a rough outline, based on both a record from the Otsuo Shingankō and a few other written data, and on what the *sendatsu* have told me. The “period of the establishment of individual *kō*” is the period during which the founders of the Shingankō such as Meikan, Meishin and Seikan, are thought to have traveled around in the Owari-Mikawa region sowing the seeds of the Ontake cult. The “first period of expansion” refers to the period during which *kō* came into widespread existence, or, to exaggerate a bit, the period when there were *kō* founded and *reijinba* established in nearly all of the *ōaza* (“village sections”). Soon afterwards, as Japan gradually came to be dyed a wartime hue, the activities of the Shingankō stagnated.

Accusing the *kō* of using “questionable terms such as *reijin* and the like, which show no awe of the Japanese *kami*,” the government interfered further with the *kō* and Katō Gintarō (discussed above) and others were interrogated about whether they properly venerated the *kami*. But the decisive period for the Shingankō was the dark time of the Second World War itself and the immediate postwar years. Almost all the *kō* disappeared during this period, when people had to do their utmost just to stay alive.

However, accompanying the political and economic recovery, signs of resurgence became evident in the Shingankō. Links with the Kiso Ontake Honkyō provided, of course, one of the motive powers for this recovery. From about 1970, then, the Shingankō enters its “second period of expansion.” This is precisely the period in which the Owari-Mikawa region began making rapid strides towards urbanization.

Urbanization of the local society. Accompanying this urbanization, the towns and villages in the vicinity of Nagoya (and other big cities as well) became so-called bed towns, and suburban territory in the true sense of the term; the region east of Nagoya—the Owari-Mikawa region—underwent an especially surprising change. The leveling of hills and reclaiming of swamps became a daily event,

and housing complexes were set up on this newly-acquired building land. Many tales go around of small farmers possessing only unproductive land who were reborn overnight as millionaires, since hilly land unsuitable for agriculture was on the contrary very favorable for housing. Walking through the region now, one will constantly encounter beautiful modern shrines and temples which do not seem to fit well with the surrounding landscape. These result from the fact that the money made from selling public land in the area was converted into religious buildings. In addition, town offices, schools and public halls have been transformed into modern buildings. There is no need to point out that this rebuilding is a symbol of the complete change of social factors in the area.

Table 4 shows the shifts of farms and of the population of Nishin town in Aichi County; it shows graphically how farm villages have declined at a rapid tempo since the late 1960s, and how the population of the area has increased sharply through immigration. Aichi County and Miyoshi Town in Nishi-kamo County are areas which have undergone particularly rapid changes, but the same basic process has taken place in the whole Owari-Mikawa region, and data are too numerous to record here.

These social and economic changes inevitably brought with them profound transformations and even extinction of the religious and cultural customs and observances which formed the basis of life in the rural communities. The Owari-Mikawa region overlaps almost completely the territory of the people who worship at the Sanage Shrine. Before the war, nearly all the villages in Mino, Owari and Mikawa cooperated in celebrating the Sanage *gasshoku* or Omantō Festival. This was a festival in which every village offered a horse to the shrine, equipped with an ornate saddle which was called "*omantō*," and which symbolized the presence of the *kami*. But horses found less and less use on the farms, and the festival itself also began to decline; finally, with the war, it disappeared entirely.

However, this Omantō Festival has been revived in a different

TABLE 4
Changes in Farming Households (Nisshin Town, Aichi County)

	Number of farming households			
	Total Number	Exclusively farming	Farming households with side business	
			Farming primary	Farming secondary
1960 (Shōwa 35)	1,564	382	605	577
1965 (Shōwa 40)	1,463	35	638	790
1970 (Shōwa 45)	1,375	66	292	1,017
1975 (Shōwa 50)	1,139	13	95	1,031

Population Changes (Nisshin Town, Aichi County)

Year	Population	Households	Members per household	Density
1960 (Sh. 35)	11,051	2,242	4.9	316.1
1965 (Sh. 40)	13,206	2,786	4.7	377.7
1970 (Sh. 45)	19,838	4,773	4.0	567.4
1975 (Sh. 50)	30,734	8,364	3.7	879.1
July 1980 (Shōwa 55)	38,915			

form and is now celebrated with much lustre, no longer at the Sanage Shrine, but now at the Hakusangū Shrine in Nisshin Town, not far from Iwasaki Mt. Ontake. In the past ten years, children have become the main actors of the festival. The children's associations of the different districts belonging to the parish area of the Hakusangū Shrine make ornaments modelled after the *omantō* and bring them, competing with each other, in procession to the shrine, where they receive purification. By borrowing the *omantō* tradition, with which the old residents were very familiar, the festival has become a celebration which integrates the area by mobilizing its children. As a result, the Omantō Children's Festival serves effectively as a device to absorb the tensions between the old residents and those new ones whom urbanization brought to the area.

In fact, the festival is energetically supported and managed by the influential personalities of the town.

If changes in this festival must be seen against the background of the urbanization phenomenon, other customs have experienced a quite different fate. For example, the Kōshin cult associations, which once were one of the main factors of community integration in almost all the *ōaza*, have almost completely died out. Other agricultural observances which had been generally practiced in the area, such as the *mushi-okuri* (torch procession to drive insects away), the O-kuwa Festival, the Suhara Festival and the like have been forgotten. In the midst of such a state of affairs, it would seem that the Ontakekō alone has followed the path of revival and prosperity.

The Shingankō and urbanization—towards an ascription orientation. In dealing with the relationship between the Shingankō and the urbanization process it will be useful to distinguish between the case of the individual *kō* and that of the *sendatsu* group.

As far as the individual *kō* are concerned, the second period of expansion, which accompanied the urbanization process in the late 1960s, can hardly be called a repetition or simple revival of the first period of expansion. In the first period, the emphasis was on the founding and development of *kō* groups around the various *ōaza*. In the second period, however, some of these *ōaza*-based *kō* were revived after the period of forced rest during the war, and others remained extinct; most of the *kō* did not recover from the war experience.

Even among the revived *kō* we must distinguish between *kō* which were revived in the fullest sense of the term and others which were revived only nominally. If we classify the *kō* on the basis of their membership, we see that in the case of the truly revived *kō* there are (1) some consisting of *sendatsu*, *sewanin*, and ordinary members, and (2) some which are a combination of *sendatsu* and ordinary members, or of *sewanin* and ordinary members. I will call "nominal" *kō* those which consist only of *sendatsu*. The exist-

ence of *sendatsu* without a real base was one of the motives in the establishment of the *sendatsu* group, but before taking up this problem, I would like to deal with the relationship between the *kō* which saw further development and the urbanization process.

There are five aspects to this relationship, which I shall discuss in turn.

1. "Basic economic stability as a *kō*."

Because of the massive population influx, land had to be turned into housing lots, apartments built and roads improved; the activity which accompanied this development brought about a sharp increase in land prices. The *kō* associations which, just like many of the shrines and temples, sold part of the lands they possessed and used the money effectively were able to solidify their financial basis for further development. Similarly, individual *kō* members who sold their land were able to accumulate capital assets which served to support the *kō*. The development of the *kō* went particularly smoothly where *sendatsu* and *sewanin* participated in the building and land selling booms.

2. "Contacts with the *kō* initiated by local dignitaries and the ruling class."

The sudden leap in land prices, and in particular the transformation of barren hills into housing lots, caused changes in the traditional relationship between the economically ruling and ruled classes. Additionally, the fictitious democratization that accompanied urbanization, especially the power of the single vote in elections, prompted members of the ruling class to seek contacts with the small farmers and people in small industrial and commercial enterprises. Parallel to this phenomenon, the higher consciousness on women's rights brought about through the mass media considerably benefitted the Shingankō, with its many female members.

3. "The festivals of the Shingankō as mechanisms for integrating the local community."

The tendency for the festivals of the Ontake shrines to function as community festivals in the local communities where the various

kō existed can also be considered in connection with the urbanization process. (This is also related to the attitudes of the ruling classes mentioned above.) The Shingankō is, in principle, an association of fellow believers, but as we can gather from the fact that the *kō* were first established around the *ōaza*, they never became sects which rejected integration in the local community (Yanagawa 1955). Further, most of the associations such as the Kōshin cult groups, which had previously symbolized the local community, were closely connected with agricultural structures and had lost their general communal support, thus ceasing to exist. The Shingankō presently fulfills, at least partially, this function of symbolizing the former village community. This function finds concrete expression in the morning parts of the four annual great festivals. The fact that since the war the *sendatsu* have been allowed to perform religious services clad in the garb of Shinto priests has especially strengthened their ritual leadership and promoted the development of the *kō*. Even so, the fact that the morning and evening parts of the festivals are sharply separated shows the specific character of the Shingankō, and it is also true that some local prominent people are secretly opposed to the *sendatsu* donning the attire of Shinto priests.

4. "The restructuring of local consciousness."

Formerly social distinctions were made on the basis of occupation—farmers and non-farmers—or on social class—landlords, small independent farmers, and tenants—but the postwar population increases gave birth to a new dualism, that of the old and the new inhabitants. The influence of this duality on the consciousness of the people and the subsequent influence of the consciousness of the people on the Shingankō, are significant. There have been some subtle oscillations in the attitudes of the old residents, particularly those powerful residents and members of the ruling class. As pointed out above, on the one hand there has been a tendency to participate in the festivals of the Shingankō, which were considered as one agent by which to unify the old population. Although before the war the ruling classes tended to look down on the Shin-

gankō as a “gathering of beggar ascetics and women,” this new attitude has resulted in the *kō* being granted citizenship in the community. *Kō* members can now exist in the light of the day, and have no need to feel ashamed. As a result, they have become more energetic in seeking the title of *reijin* for both parents and relatives who are deceased, and for themselves as well, and also have renewed their efforts to construct stone monuments. On the other hand, however, there is now a new tendency within the ruling class to discriminate against the *kō*, though this is a different kind of discrimination than was formerly practiced.

Many landlords and independent farmers—the people who formerly considered wealth, family status, lineage and other ascription-oriented values as central to society—have been converted to the lifestyles of the new inhabitants, the white-collar workers who have become the majority of the population of the region; this has brought them to a rationalistic way of thinking and they now criticize the *kō* in terms such as, “spirit possession is superstition and the belief of foolish people.” As the ruling class has recovered from the initial shock of rapid urbanization, it has also preserved its superiority in terms of education, and has thus found it relatively easy to make ties with the new residents; it has used these ties to take steps to maintain its prerogatives. For the *kō* members, this means the birth of a new discrimination. The reform of the festival at the Hakusangū Shrine is a concrete example of this state of affairs. The *kō* members have reacted to this discrimination by gradually strengthening their consciousness of being a group which represents the old residents, and they project this consciousness onto the *reijin*.

5. “Strengthening of identity against the new discrimination—the new meaning of *reijin*.”

As opposed to the old upper class of farmers who are adapting themselves to the lifestyle of the new residents, *kō* members see their own specific reason for existence in the consciousness of the old inhabitants. The *reijin* both provide the justification for this standpoint as well as manifest it clearly. The *reijin* are thus the

symbol of the *kō* members' ties to the old population; in this aspect they are no longer *reijin* who are based on achievements, but rather they themselves have come to fill the old values of belonging. We can see that the meaning assigned to the *reijin* has thus shifted. Certainly economic and political factors, as well as the institutionalism of the *kō* within the local community, lie in the background of the "*reijin* boom" at Morowa, but at the same time the affirmation of the self-consciousness of people who cannot adapt themselves, or who refuse to adapt themselves to the new ways of life and thinking, is also behind this phenomenon. The words "Good that you came here together" are more meaningful than any concrete effects of the *reijin* oracles, and when they reveal their names—"I am Meikan," or "I am Kakusei" (the founder of the Morowa Shingankō)—the spirits make it clear to the *kō* members where the roots of their identity lie. By this they create and strengthen their unity as a group. Of course, this does not mean that the achievement-oriented nature of the *reijin* faith has been completely swept away by urbanization. The importance of achievement is still stressed, particularly in personal relationships as, for example, in the relationships between *reijin* and petitioners, or in the relationships between the individual *sendatsu*.

Urbanization has given a new impetus to the group formation of the Shingankō. While formerly personal faith was predominant, the process of urbanization has strengthened the consciousness of group identity. The foremost example of this is the formation of the *sendatsu* group.

There are many points in the relationship between the formation of the *sendatsu* group and urbanization which overlap with what I have said about the individual *kō* associations. I would like, therefore, to concentrate here on those aspects which are peculiar to the *sendatsu* group.

Meaning of the formation of the sendatsu group. The individual *kō* have their own histories, but the *sendatsu* group came into existence almost as a gift child born of the urbanization process. Before the

war the most representative festival of the various *kō* was the Fire-walking Festival, and the *sendatsu* of the *kō* which held it would invite the famous *sendatsu* of the region to participate. This does not mean there was no other contact between the many *sendatsu*, but at least participation in each other's ceremonies was not a customary obligation as it is now.

The motive for establishing the *sendatsu* group was ritual exchange, but when we inquire further into the reason for this ritual exchange, one which comes to the fore is the ecological change brought about by urbanization. Traveling in the vast area of the Owari-Mikawa region is virtually impossible for the *sendatsu* if certain concrete physical conditions—such as the provision of roads and traffic networks, the financial means for buying a car, driving techniques and the like—are not met.

A second factor, related to the third point mentioned above for the individual *kō*, is that the institutionalization of the *kō* activities in the local community lent a new vigor to the activities of the *sendatsu* themselves.

The third factor is related to points four and five for the individual *kō*. That is, activities of the Shingankō became publicly accepted on the one hand, but on the other hand they also became the object of a new discrimination. Even more than the ordinary *kō* members it was necessary for the *sendatsu* to reaffirm their self-identity, and this constituted the main driving force for their solidarity consciousness.

A fourth and final point is, in relationship with the preceding point, the heightening of consciousness that the *sendatsu* ought to support each other. As mentioned, there are examples of *kō* which have only *sendatsu* left, with no *sewanin* or ordinary members. Besides offering incantations and prayers for individual petitioners, the *sendatsu* of these *kō* reinforce their self-consciousness as *sendatsu* by traveling around to the festivals of the other *kō*. Since they continue to fulfill their duties as *sendatsu* without being backed by a real *kō* group, many of them are regarded as being exceptionally endowed with spiritual powers and as having a deep attachment to

their profession. The activities of these *sendatsu* were probably among the most decisive factors in the formation of the *sendatsu* group.

The mutual aid of the *sendatsu* also manifests itself in the exchange of congratulatory gifts and remunerations during festivals. Since the value of these mutual gifts is equivalent, it is in fact only labor which is offered. When many *sendatsu* come together, the religious services prosper; there are many notices pasted up to announce the gifts made, and all this works to enhance the interest of the *kō* members and of other people.

We cannot make an immediate judgment about how the *sendatsu* group, which came into existence due to the urbanization process, will develop in the face of continuing urbanization, but it is possible that the factors of the consciousness of belonging to the old population and the closed nature of this group of people endowed with spiritual powers will further their tendency towards belonging-centered values even more than was the case in the individual *kō* groups. Virtually no consideration has been given to the replacement of the *sendatsu*, and the group is gradually stagnating into an association of elderly people; the ascetic practices for cultivating the activities of the *sendatsu* have similarly been abandoned.

At present it seems that the group is petering out, but it could also happen that they can free themselves from the current emphasis on group-belonging and return to the old tradition of being *sendatsu* for whom personal achievements based on their own spiritual powers are of central importance.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

To conclude, in the cases of both the individual *kō* and the *sendatsu* group, a certain social discrimination has acted as a spring which has kept the *reijin* faith alive and in motion. The main characteristic of the Shingankō is that it has experienced a transmutation from its prewar achievement-orientation to its postwar ascription-orientation. Both of these mutually opposite orientations have been symbolized by the *reijin*, but it is especially in the process of

change toward a stronger group consciousness, with belonging as its central value and which accompanied urbanization, that, I think, the “*reijin* boom” has found its utmost expression.

GLOSSARY

<i>Busshingō</i> 仏神号	<i>norito</i> 祝詞
<i>chinkon</i> 鎮魂	<i>ōaza</i> 大字
<i>daigongen</i> 大権現	<i>oku no in</i> 奥の院
<i>daishachō</i> 大社長	<i>omantō</i> おまんとう
<i>darani</i> 陀羅尼	Ontakekō 御嶽講
<i>goma</i> 護摩	<i>Ontakesan gongyō yōshū</i> 御嶽山勤行要集
<i>gyōja</i> 行者	<i>o-tsutome</i> お勤め
Hakusangū 白山宮	Owari-Mikawa 尾張・三河
<i>Hannya shingyō</i> 般若心經	<i>oxa-date</i> 御座立て
<i>heisoku</i> 幣束	<i>reijin</i> 靈神
<i>Iwasaki ontakesan engi</i> 岩崎御嶽山縁起	<i>reijinba</i> 靈神場
<i>kaigen</i> 開眼	<i>reijinhi</i> 靈神碑
Kakusei 覚誠	<i>saimonden</i> 祭文殿
Kiso Ontake Honkyō 木曾御嶽本教	Seikan 清観
Kiso Ontakesan 木曾御嶽山	<i>sendatsu</i> 先達
<i>kō</i> 講	<i>Sengankyō</i> 千卷經
<i>kōin</i> 講員	<i>senzo daidai</i> 先祖代々
<i>kuji</i> 九字	<i>sewanin</i> 世話人
<i>maeza</i> 前座	Shingankō 心願講
Meikan 明寛	<i>shiten</i> 四天
Meishin 明心	<i>soreiden</i> 祖靈殿
Morowa Shingankō 諸輪心願講	<i>sūkeisha</i> 崇敬者
<i>Nakatomi no harae</i> 中臣祓	<i>tagagushi</i> 玉串
<i>nakaza</i> 中座	<i>tobiza</i> 飛座

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