

INDIGENIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF CHRISTIANITY
IN A JAPANESE RURAL COMMUNITY

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THE PROBLEM AND THE FRAME OF ANALYSIS

The results to date of studies on the indigenization and transformation of Christianity in Japanese rural communities can be summarized in two theses: an indigenization thesis and a transformation thesis. The indigenization thesis runs as follows: despite being a religion that as a matter of principle emphasizes individual confession of faith and individual membership, Christianity, in order to establish itself in Japanese society, has had to become a religion that bases itself on a group unit, namely, the *ie* or household. The transformation thesis says: Christianity receives particularly strong influence from the ancestral cult, central to which is the Buddha altar.¹

Both theses, however, leave something to be desired. For if, on the one hand, their formulation often lacks a clear analytical framework, their method of substantiation, on the other, often stops short at observation and interviews, failing to go on to systematic data-gathering by means of questionnaires.

This paper, therefore, proposes to reformulate these theses as hypothetical propositions to be investigated in accordance with the analytical framework presented below, and to consider them more precisely in light of the data (including questionnaire data) gathered in the course of this monographic study of Fukuda

Translated by David Reid from "Nihon sonraku ni okeru kirisutokyō no teichaku to henyō—Chiba ken Shimōsa Fukuda Seikōkai no jirei" 日本村落における基督教の定着と変容 千葉県下総福田聖公会の事例 in *Shakaigaku hyōron* 社会学評論 26 (1975), pp. 53-73.

Anglican Episcopal Church in Chiba.

If the traditional religions of Japan may be characterized as forms of "institutionalized culture and the imported religion of Christianity a form of non-institutionalized culture,"² the concept of indigenization used in this paper may be defined as the change whereby a specific form of non-institutionalized culture assumes a new position as a form of institutionalized culture within a specific social group. Correspondingly, the concept of transformation used in this paper may be defined as the change whereby, in the repositioning process, the non-institutionalized cultural form, coming into contact with institutionalized culture, finds its patterns unraveled and rewoven in a definite way. Religious

Figure 1

Patterns in Traditional Religions and Christianity

Deity Conceived as Unique and Universal

	I	II
Individual	Christianity	
	III	IV
		Traditional religions

Deities Conceived as Multipresent and Particularistic

patterns, moreover, will here be considered either central or peripheral, central referring to the character of its god-concept (its religious symbol), peripheral referring to the unit of religious membership.³ The patterns of traditional religions and Christianity may be further clarified as in Figure 1. The group indicated in the term "group unit" (on the extreme right) refers in this situation to the household.

Figure 1 indicates, then, our frame of analysis. Our next step is to reformulate the two hypotheses.

The indigenization hypothesis parallels the horizontal axis, the transformation hypothesis the vertical. Both are capable of reformulation. That is to say, (1) Christianity, when adopted in the Japanese rural community, must take either form II or form IV in order to become firmly established, and (2) of these two, it is peculiarly liable to transformation in the direction of the form IV-type belief pattern (the ancestral cult). These two hypotheses, dealing respectively with indigenization and transformation, appear to refer to completely different subjects, but if Figure 1 is taken as a guide to our thinking about this matter, it becomes evident that both hypotheses have to do solely with transformation in quadrant 1 (the Christian pattern). The only difference between them is whether this transformation refers to a central or a peripheral pattern.

Because this difference is a serious one, the concept of transformation as used in this study will be divided into two subordinate concepts, namely, form and substance. An attempt will be made to verify the two hypotheses in terms of these two subordinate concepts. The first is transformation as change in form—the horizontal axis in Figure 1. The second is transformation as change in substance—the vertical axis in Figure 1. Of these two, it is likely that transformation having to do with change in form is almost inevitable for Christianity as accepted in Japanese rural society.

This brings us to the question of whether the religious faith of our respondents, members of the Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church, has remained at the level of change in form, or whether it has gone on to the level of change of substance. In accordance

with concrete data to be presented, this question will be pursued in the sections that follow.

In order to substantiate these hypotheses, it is desirable that the object of investigation satisfy the following requirements: (1) it should be a church located in a rural society where the traditional religions have comparatively deep roots, (2) it should be a church with a fairly long history (at least two generations of fifty years) since the time of its founding, (3) church members and other members of this rural society are not to differ greatly with respect to occupation or social status, and (4) it is to be a church that, in consequence of the foregoing, is to a certain extent well-rooted in this rural society.

As will be indicated below, Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church satisfies all these requirements,⁴ and hence may be taken as an appropriate object of investigation for the purpose of verifying the foregoing hypotheses.⁵

THE ADOPTION AND INDIGENIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN SHIMO FUKUDA

Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church was first organized in September 1876, and its church building remains to the present day in the Shimo Fukuda ward of Narita City. (At the time the church was founded, the full name of the geographical location was Shimo Fukuda Village, Shimo Habu District, Shimōsa County, Chiba Prefecture.) Since a detailed paper has already been presented on the adoption and indigenization of Christianity in the community of Shimo Fukuda,⁶ the present paper, having its own focus, will merely summarize the main points.

Located 4 kilometers south of the Tone River and 3 kilometers east of the northern tip of the Inba Marsh, Shimo Fukuda is an agricultural community said to have been organized in 1682.⁷ As of the years 1883-1887, there were 3 household associations (*kumi*), 36 households, and a total population of approximately 200. The community held a total of 1,125 *tan* of land, including 570 *tan* in arable land (380 in paddyland and 190 in farmland), 350 *tan* in

woodland, and 30 *tan* in residential land.⁸ (One *tan* equals 2.45 acres or .992 hectares.)

Table 1 shows in *tan* units the distribution of these types of land among the households. If attention focuses on the riceland, it will be noticed that only 10 households (27.9%) held more than 10 *tan* of such land, whereas 16 households (44.4%) held none. This appears to reflect the landowner-tenant farmer relationship of that day.

Table 1
Land Distribution among the Households

No. of <i>tan</i>	Paddyland	Farmland (including Residential)	Woodland
None	16 (44.4)	9 (25.0)	14 (38.9)
1-4	7 (19.4)	15 (41.6)*	13 (36.1)
5-9	3 (8.3)	6 (16.7)	3 (8.3)
10-19	5 (13.9)	5 (13.9)	2 (5.6)
20-29	2 (5.6)	0 (0.0)	3 (8.3)
30-39	1 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
40-49	1 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
50 or more	1 (2.8)	1 (2.8)	1 (2.8)
Total	36 (100.0)	36 (100.0)	36 (100.0)

Source: *Shimo Fukuda mura kōtakuchi sanrin tanbetsu chika chiso gōkeichō* (1885).

Note: The asterisk (*) identifies a figure that has been adjusted in order to make the total percentage equal 100.0. It has the same significance in the table to follow.

Table 2 indicates how the paddyland was distributed among the various *dōzoku* or ancestrally affiliated households. As may be seen, only 5 affiliated households (A, B, C, D, and E) held more than 10 *tan* of paddyland. Of these 5, only 2 (A and B) held 30 *tan* or more. In the A and B *dōzoku*, the 3 households with 30 *tan* or more are particularly important for pursuing the question of the adoption and indigenization of Christianity in the community. In order to facilitate subsequent references, I shall give them identifying labels. In what follows, accordingly, the A *dōzoku* household with 50 or more *tan* of riceland will be referred to as a^1 , the one with 40 some *tan* as a^2 , and the B *dōzoku* household with 30 or more *tan* of riceland as b . It should also be noted that a^1 is the *honke* or head house of A *dōzoku* and that a^2 is a branch house of a^1 started during 1865-1866; b is the head house of B *dōzoku*.

Table 2
Distribution of Paddyland among Affiliated Households

Paddyland in <i>tan</i>	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	Independent Households and Buddhist Temple	Total
None	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	16
1-4	1		1					2	1	2	7
5-9				1		1	1				3
10-19	1	2			1					1	5
20-29			1	1							2
30-39		1									1
40-49	1										1
50 or more	1										1
Total	5	4	5	3	2	2	2	4	2	7	36

Source: Same as for Table 1.

Table 3 shows the size and yen value of *dōzoku* land holdings as of 1855. In all categories the extraordinary size and value of the land holdings of A *dōzoku* will be readily apparent. It is also worth noting that when the yen value of the two largest land-owners, A and B, are added together, the total yen value of their holdings is well over half of the overall total.

Table 3
Size and Value of *Dōzoku* Landholdings
as of 1885

D ō z o k u	NH oo .u s oe fs	Number of <i>tan</i>			Yen Value of the Total	
		Paddyland	Farmland (including Residential)	Woodland		Total
A	5	158.0 (50)	72.7 (35)	101.0 (45)	331.7 (44)	8,442(50*)
B	4	62.0 (20)	31.5 (15)	47.6 (21)	141.1 (19)	3,508 (21)
C	5	24.0 (8)	22.6 (11)	22.4 (10)	69.0 (9)	1,444 (9)
D	3	35.5 (11)	21.7 (10)	23.0 (10)	80.2 (11)	949 (6)
E	2	10.7 (3)	10.0 (5)	1.0 (1)	21.7 (3)	570 (3)
F	2	5.3 (2)	11.6 (6)	9.1 (4)	26.2 (4)	504 (3)
G	2	5.4 (2)	7.3 (4)	7.5 (3)	20.2 (3)	396 (2)
H	4	4.7 (2)	5.7 (3)	0.2 (0)	10.6 (1)	263 (2)
I	2	0.6 (0)	8.7 (4)	4.8 (2)	14.1 (2)	119 (1)
T**	7	7.3 (2)	14.0 (7)	8.4 (4)	29.7 (4)	512 (3)
Tot	36	313.5(100)	205.8(100)	225.0(100)	744.5(100)	16,707(100)

Source: Same as for Table 1.

Note: The double asterisks (**) refer to the Buddhist temple and independent households.

With regard to the religious situation in Shimo Fukuda, a few remarks will suffice. As of the period 1872-1876, the main religious institutions in the community were:

- 1 Shinto shrine -- a small, unranked facility enshrining the tutelary kami of the community, namely, Inari, the harvest god;
- 1 Buddhist temple—Shōfukuji temple, a branch temple of Eifukuji temple affiliated with the Buzan stream of the Shingi Shingon sect;
- 1 Buddhist chapel—Nankōin which, though really a unit of Shōfukuji temple, is generally known as *Kannon dō*, the "Kannon chapel."⁹

Household affiliation with Buddhist sects as of 1873 was: 17 Shingon (with overlap into another sect in 2 households), 9 Tendai, 8 Ji (with overlap into another sect in 2 households), and 1 unspecified.¹⁰

The process whereby Christianity was adopted in the community is represented in Figure 2 in terms of the growing scale of its adoption. This process may be divided into four stages: Stage I beginning in 1877 when the head of household *b* became the first person in the community to receive baptism (he was born in 1851 as the second son of a *hatamoto* house, a house directly responsible to the shōgun, married into household *b* in 1872, and later became the first pastor of Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church); Stage II beginning in 1881 when his eldest son and eldest daughter (then ages 5 and 3) were baptized; Stage III beginning in 1882 when two young men (then ages 26 and 21) from two households in B *dōzoku* received baptism; and Stage IV beginning in 1887 when at least one person from each household in the A, B, H, and I *dōzoku* and from each independent household received baptism en masse on 8 September 1887.

The move from Stage III to Stage IV should probably be characterized as a "leap." The number of people who had received baptism during Stage III was a mere 5, the number of households involved only 3—and all 3 from 1 *dōzoku*. But Stage IV opens with the baptism of 32 more people, the total of 37 representing 16 households belonging to 4 *dōzoku*. The year 1887 also marks the

formal organization of Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church; the church building was erected the following year.

Figure 2
Broadening Stages in the Adoption of Christianity

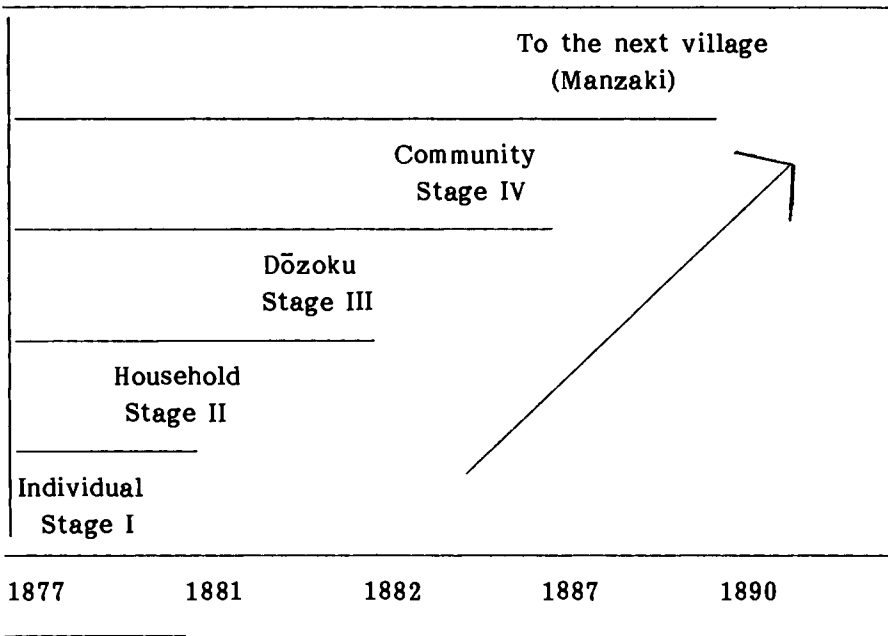


Table 4 gives a breakdown by age and sex of the people baptized in 1887. Overall, the males slightly outnumber the females, and half of the total is made up of males and females under age 30—though 2 of the 32 people are in their 70s. The core of the group is comprised of young men, but rather than being heads of households, these young men tend to be the eldest sons of household heads. In other villages and rural towns during the Meiji period (1868-1911), the general rule was that "the household head, or he and his wife, became church members, and only then did other family members accept the faith" (Morioka, ed., 1959, p.61). But in the village of Shimo Fukuda it was generally the household head's eldest son, or this son and his wife, who first joined the

Church, after which their children and his parents accepted the faith.

Table 4
Age and Sex of People Baptized in 1887

Age	Sex			Total
	Male	Female	Unknown	
0-9	2	0	0	2 (6.3)
10-19	4	0	0	4 (12.5)
20-29	5	5	0	10 (31.2*)
30-39	3	2	0	5 (15.5*)
40-49	2	2	0	4 (12.5)
50-59	2	0	0	2 (6.3)
60-69	0	2	0	2 (6.3)
70-79	1	1	0	2 (6.3)
Unknown	0	0	1	1 (3.1)
Total	19	12	1	32 (100.0)

Sources: Each household's record of deceased Christian members, the church membership record (revised version), and the church's list of deaths, month by month, among church members.

Table 5 gives a breakdown by *dōzoku* of households with persons who had received baptism as of 1887, and Table 6 does the same by *kumi*. In combination they show how greatly the baptisms of this period took place in *dōzoku* units and how much these households tended to cluster in the same neighborhoods.

But how, then, can the "leap" from Stage III to Stage IV be explained?

Beginning with September 1881, the head of household *b* engaged in evangelistic activities for nearly two and a half years in this community where he lived, but his work was impeded by vigorous opposition that stemmed primarily from households *a*¹ and

α^2 of A *dōzoku*. During this period he opened a private night-school and sought to use it to facilitate his evangelistic work by teaching not only Chinese and history but also the Bible. When the fathers and elder brothers of the night-school students learned

Table 5: *Dōzoku* Households with Persons Receiving Baptism

<i>Dōzoku</i>	No. of Households in the <i>Dōzoku</i>	No. of Households with Baptized Members	Percentage
A	5	5	100.0
B	4	4	100.0
H	4	4	100.0
I	2	2	100.0
Independent	7	1	14.3
Total	22	16	72.7

Sources: Same as for Table 4.

Table 6: *Kumi* Households with Persons Receiving Baptism

<i>Dōzoku</i>	No. of Households in the <i>Dōzoku</i>	No. of Households with Baptized Members	Percentage
A	5	5	100.0
B	4	4	100.0
H	4	4	100.0
I	2	2	100.0
Independent	7	1	14.3
Total	22	16	72.7

Sources: Same as for Table 4.

that the lectures included material on "Jesusism," they forbade the children to continue (Iida 1921, Yamagata 1924, etc.). This was a period when agricultural depression and the persecution of the people's rights movement were becoming more and more intense, a period when Christianity, hitherto confident that "the morning sun was about to rise over eastern skies" (*Rikugō zasshi*, Jan. 1882), began to suffer telling blows from the camps of emergent ultra-nationalism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, etc. that rode the waves of political and economic change. Christianity now found itself falling into a situation where it was surrounded by enemies on every hand (Sumiya 1961, chaps. 3-4).

In contrast, by about 1887 the starting point of Stage IV, the Christian Church has undertaken a revival movement as a way of meeting this challenge. It thus rebounded from the blows it had suffered, and in succeeding years this carried over without a break into a period of Westernization (Sumiya 1961, chaps. 3-4).

In connection with the change from the "period of conservative reaction" that characterized the 1881-1882 years to the palmy period of Westernization that began about 1887, public opinion reversed itself with regard to Christianity. This eventuated the view that "from a religious perspective [people] are calling for growth on the part of Christianity" (Sawa 1938, vol. 5, pp. 23-24). It is by no means inconceivable that this change in public opinion concerning Christianity should have lent strength to the founding of a church in the community of Shimo Fukuda.

If, however, we look in the community itself for factors that assisted the founding of this church, it becomes necessary to attend to the fact that the group baptism administered in 1887 took place under the leadership of the eldest sons (then aged 20 and 16) of the a^1 and a^2 households of A *dōzoku*, the most powerful *dōzoku* in the community. At this period the a^1 and a^2 households were the landowners in a landowner-tenant farmer relationship linking them with nearly every household that had members baptized in this group ceremony. It appears, therefore, that the actions of the a^1 and a^2 households served, on the one hand, to block the adoption of Christianity up to 1882 and, on the other, to make possible the "leap" that took place in 1887.

Following the establishment of the church, the A and B *dōzoku*, which Table 3 shows as the ones with the largest holdings, formed a combination that permitted Christianity a certain degree of stability as it extended its influence within the community.

The factors that assisted Christianity's indigenization in Shimo Fukuda can be identified, then, as the following items: (1) the landowner-tenant farmer relationship that obtained between the a^1 and a^2 and b households, on the one hand, and the other households that accepted Christianity, on the other; (2) the *dōzoku* bonds among the households accepting Christianity; and (3) the neighborhood-cluster relationship.

In 1890 the Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church went on to extend the faith to the neighboring village of Manzaki, and three years later a church was established there. But because these assisting factors were lacking, the church was dissolved in just four years.

Is it possible, then, to specify at what time the Christianity adopted by Shimo Fukuda actually became indigenous?

If we take as criteria the establishment of Christianity within a household (three generations of family members receiving baptism) and the acquisition of particularly important facilities by the church (a church building, land, graveyard, etc.), it turns out that the time at which Christianity became indigenous in the community was the period between 1907 and 1911. As Table 7 shows, 87.4% of the households with members receiving baptism at the mass ceremony of 1887 had, by 1907, three generations of Christian family members.¹¹ To this it should be added that the church acquired its graveyard and paddyland between 1907 and 1911.

THE CONTEMPORARY CHURCH

This section will consider data essential to pursuing the question of substantive change in Christianity that will be taken up in the next section.

Table 7
Years in which Households Produced Third-Generation Christians

Years during which Third Generation Christians Received Baptism	Number of Households
<hr/>	
In the Meiji Period	
1887-91	6 (37.5)
1891-96	1 (6.3)
1897-1901	5 (31.0*)
1902-06	1 (6.3)
1907-11	1 (6.3)
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Subtotal	14 (87.4*)
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In the Taishō Period	
1912-16	0 (0.0)
1917-21	0 (0.0)
1922-25	1 (6.3)
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Subtotal	1 (6.3)
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In the Shōwa Period	
1926-29	1 (6.3)
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Subtotal	1 (6.3)
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Total	16 (100.0)
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Source: Same as for Table 4.

Geographical Distribution of Church Members

As of 10 September 1971,¹² Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church had a total of 108 members. Of this number, 79 (73.2%) resided in the Shimo Fukuda community and 29 (26.8%) outside the community.

Moreover, of these 29 non-resident members 19 (65.8%) were people who had been raised in the community but moved away later in connection with marriage, adoption, formation of an independent household, or the emigration of an entire family. From this we may gain some idea of the closeness of the connection between Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church and this particular community.

The Pattern of Existence of the "Christian Household"

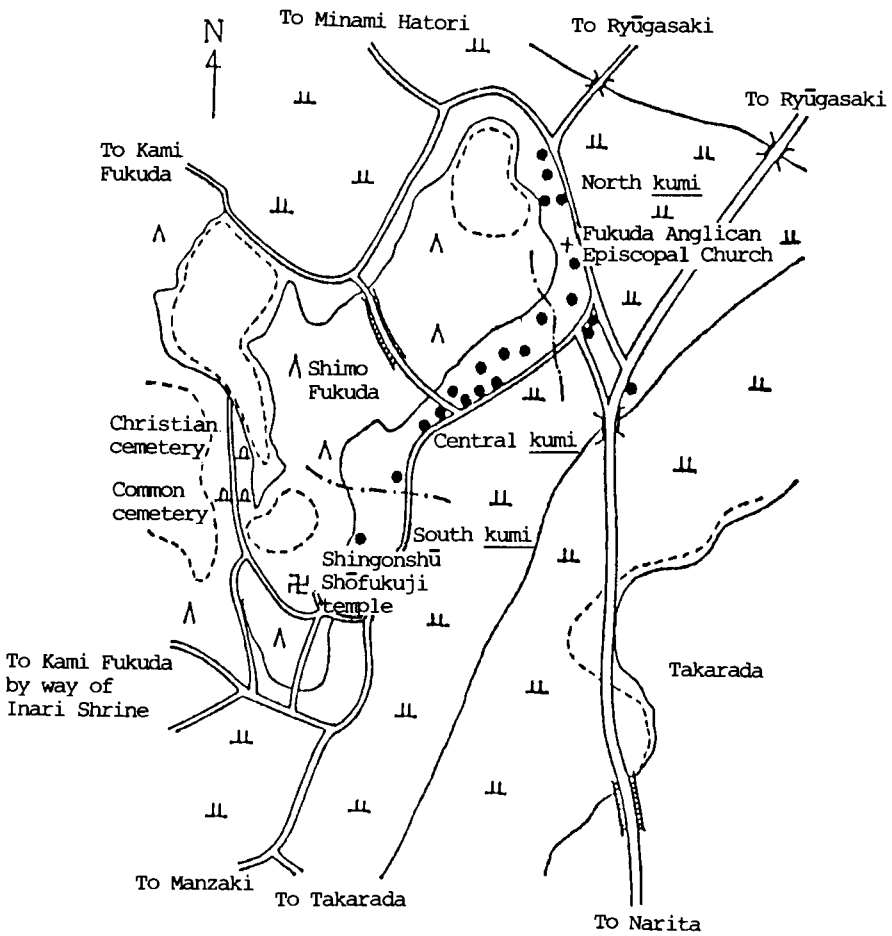
In Shimo Fukuda, households that have accepted Christianity are spoken of as "Christian households."¹³ Apart from the pastor and his family who come from outside the community, all the residents members of the church are members of "Christian households" that over the generations have followed Christianity as their "household religion." Other than such members, there is not one "individual believer" in the entire community.

During 1971, Shimo Fukuda had a total of 54 households. Of this total, the number of Christian homes (including the pastor and his family) came to 21 (38.9%), the remaining 33 (61.1%) being Buddhist households.¹⁴ For the geographical location of Christian households within the community see Figure 3.

Quite apart from the question of whether the members of Christian households are to be counted as church members,¹⁵ Christian households and Buddhist households may be distinguished on the basis of criteria such as: financial support for the church¹⁶ and various kinds of voluntary labor,¹⁷ participation in the major church events,¹⁸ and participation in the non-religious voluntary association *Yusanko*.¹⁹ These routine practices, transcending generational changes in family members, are carried on in what may be regarded as generation after generation of "inter-household contact."

Table 8 shows the current percentage of Christian households in each *dōzoku*. The one Christian household in C *dozoku* got a late start since it did not accept Christianity until some time after the mass baptism of 1887. J *dōzoku* was an independent household at the time of the mass baptism, but it later established a branch household of its own and thus formed a new *dōzoku*. As

FIGURE 3
Location of Christian Households within Shimo Fukuda
as of September 1971



Note: Christian households are identified with a ● sign.

this table shows, except for C *dōzoku*, each *dōzoku* listed has Christian households ranging from 80 to 100% of all its constituent households—an unusually high percentage.

Table 8
Percentage of Christian Households in Each *Dōzoku*

<i>Dōzoku</i>	Constituent Households	Christian Households	Percentage
A	7	6	85.0
B	5	5	100.0
C	10	1	10.0
H	5	4	80.0
I	2	2	100.0
J	2	2	100.0
Total	31	20	64.5

Table 9 gives the percentage of Christian households in each *kumi*. The general characteristics shown in Tables 8 and 9 are essentially the same as those that existed at the time the church was founded.

Table 9
Percentage of Christian Homes in Each *Kumi*

<i>Kumi</i>	Constituent Households	Christian Homes	Percentage
North	18	9	50.0
Central	15	11	73.3
South	21	1	4.8
Total	54	21	38.9

Tables 10 and 11 indicate the degree of convergence in contacts among Buddhist and Christian households as regards one "non-religious" household event in the community. Of these two Tables, the results shown in Table 10 could have been deduced from Table 8, but those of Table 11 could not, for the people with *nando* roles are chosen not only from the households constituting a *dōzoku*, but also from neighboring households.²⁰ In addition, *dōzoku* contacts are reciprocal, but *nando*-role relationships are not.

Table 10
Household Religion and Intra-*Dōzoku* Contacts

	Christian Households	Buddhist Households
Christian Households	33 (76.7)	10 (24.4)
Buddhist Households	10 (23.3)	31 (75.6)
Total	43 (100.0)	41 (100.0)

Note: This Table includes 1 Christian household that moved away in 1961 but maintains its contacts.

Table 11
Household Religion and *Nando* Roles

Served Households	Serving Households	
	Christian	Buddhist
Christian	96 (76.8)	18 (22.2)
Buddhist	29 (23.2)	63 (77.8)
Total	125 (100.0)	81 (100.0)

From Tables 10 and 11 it may be seen that there is a pronounced tendency, so far as these "non-religious" events are concerned, for Christian households to associate with Christian households and for Buddhist households to associate with Buddhists. But apart from these particularly important household relationships, the households of Shimo Fukuda, far from remaining within the confines of their own religious group, are relatively free about associating with each other.²¹

In comparing Christian and Buddhist households, one notes that the former generally trace their founding to an earlier date than the latter. Thus whereas 65.8% (13) of the Christian households were founded no later than the final decades of the Edo period (1603-1867), 60.6% (20) of the Buddhist households were not founded until after the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1911).

Today, however, the households belonging to these two groups do not exhibit any conspicuous disparities either in occupation or in social status.

Table 12 compares Christian and Buddhist households with respect to the proportion of total household income deriving from possible types ranging from completely agricultural to completely non-agricultural. Type A represents income that is entirely

Table 12
Household Religion and Type of Household Income

Type of Household Income	Christian Household	Buddhist Household
A	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
B	3 (15.0)	6 (18.2)
C	6 (30.0)	4 (12.1)
D	5 (25.0)	12 (36.4)
E	4 (20.0)	3 (9.1)
F	2 (10.0)	8 (24.2)
Total	20 (100.0)	33 (100.0)

agricultural, type B income that is predominantly agricultural, and type C income that is more agricultural than non-agricultural; type D indicates income that is more non-agricultural than agricultural, type E income that is predominantly non-agricultural, and type F income that is entirely non-agricultural. As this Table shows, the Christian households, partly because they were established earlier, rely somewhat more heavily on agricultural income than the Buddhist. The difference between the the two groups, however, is not pronounced.

Today's community, moreover, having experienced the Occupation land reform, is one in which the distribution of arable land is far more equal than it was at the time the church was founded. Just as there are no households with more than 30 *tan* (7.4 acres or 3 hectares) of land, so there are none with no land whatever. In positive terms, the largest number of households (13) now have more than 10 but less than 20 *tan* (2.45-4.9 acres or .992-1.98 hectares) of arable land. Here again, there is no conspicuous difference in percentage of land holdings as between the Christian and Buddhist households.

The Religious Practices of Church Members

Table 13 indicates, for church members resident in the community, the number of males and females constituting first-generation Christians, second-generation Christians, etc.²² If the totals for people in the fourth through the sixth generations are added together, the result is over 50% of the overall total—a fact suggestive of the degree to which the Christianity of Shimo Fukuda, framed by the Christian household, is constituted by successive generations from household units. The high percentage of women (40%) counted as first-generation Christians derives partly from the fact that most the brides who marry into Christian households first accept Christianity after entering their new family, partly from the fact that the females born into Christian households, after growing up, usually marry into households outside the community.

Table 13
Church Members Resident in the Community
Grouped as First and Succeeding Generations of Christians

Generation	Male	Female	Total
First	1 (2.9)	18 (40.0)	19 (24.1)
Second	2 (5.9)	2 (4.5)	4 (5.1)
Third	7 (20.6)	6 (13.3)	13 (16.4)
Fourth	13 (38.2)	8 (17.8)	21 (26.6)
Fifth	9 (26.5)	11 (24.4)	20 (25.3)
Sixth	2 (5.9)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.5)
Total	34 (100.0)	45 (100.0)	79 (100.0)

Note: These figures represent all church members resident in Shimo Fukuda, including not only the pastor and his family but also family members who have left home.

In this connection it may be observed that the majority of Shimo Fukuda women who are raised in Christian households but marry into non-Christian households, whether inside or outside the community, cut their ties with the church. Conversely, unless there are strong reasons for doing otherwise, by far the greater part of those who marry into a Shimo Fukuda Christian household, abiding by its customs, receive baptism and become members of Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church. Again, the children born to Christian households ordinarily receive infant baptism soon after birth, and they receive confirmation when they become middle school or high school students.

Table 14 shows, for the total number of church members, the percentage of those who received baptism as infants and the percentage of those who received baptism as adults. Attention is invited to the fact that among church members resident in the community, those baptized as infants account for more than half (60.8%) of the total.

Table 14
 Infant Baptism and Adult Baptism among All Church Members

Type of Baptism Received	Church Members Residing within the Community	Church members Residing outside the Community	Total
Infant	48 (60.8)	12 (41.4)	60 (55.6)
Adult	31 (39.2)	17 (58.6)	48 (44.4)
Total	79 (100.0)	29 (100.0)	108 (100.0)

Table 15 presents the results of asking people who received adult baptism and people who received confirmation about their motivation for accepting Christianity. The item included a number of possible responses, such as "Because of the attractiveness of Christian teachings," "Because of the attractiveness of the pastor's personality and life-outlook," "Because of the attractiveness of a lay believer's personality and life-outlook," etc.—responses that could be regarded as indicative of active motivation. As it turned out, however, the answer that the overwhelming majority of respondents selected was "Because Christianity is the religion of my household." This is the motivation given by 78.6% of

Table 15: Motivation of Church Members Resident in the Community for Accepting Adult Baptism or Confirmation

Motivation	Members who Received Adult Baptism	Members who Received Confirmation
Because Christianity is the religion of my household	22 (78.6)	29 (67.4)
Other answers (7 selections)	6 (21.4)	14 (32.6)
Total	28 (100.0)	43 (100.0)

Note: The total number of people in Shimo Fikuda who have accepted adult baptism is 31, none of whom have left home; the total number of people who have received confirmation is 54, of whom 4 have left.

Table 16: Church Attendance during the Past Year
by Members of Christian Households

Frequency of Attendance	Inquirers	Baptized Persons		
		Unconfirmed	Confirmed	Total
Nearly every Sunday/2-3 times per month	0 (0.0)	3 (17.7)	17 (39.6)	20 (33.4)
About once a month	1 (4.5)	0 (0.0)	3 (7.0)	3 (5.0)
5-6 times a year/2-3 times a year	1 (4.5)	1 (5.9)	8 (18.6)	9 (15.0)
Almost never	20 (91.0)	13 (76.4)	15 (34.8)	28 (46.0)
Total	22 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	43 (100.0)	60 (100.0)

Note: "Inquirers" refers to members of Christian households who have not yet been baptized and thus are not yet church members. The total number of baptized persons who remain unconfirmed is 25 (of whom 1 has left home). The total number of baptized persons who have received confirmation is 70 (of whom 5 have left home). "The past year" refers to the 12-month period ending 10 September 1971. The same definitions apply in the tables that follow.

those who received adult baptism and by 67.4% of those who received confirmation—a passive response indicative of a traditional orientation. This suggests that the life of faith in Shimo Fukuda community today is perhaps to be characterized as one of somewhat less than conscious, autonomous commitment.

In point of fact, the results in tables 16-19 confirm this

Table 17: Worship Materials that Exist in Christian Households and are Generally for the use of the Respondent

Type of Worship Material	Posses- sion	Inquirers	Baptized Persons		Total
			Unconfirmed	Confirmed	
Bible	Have	1 (4.5)	5 (29.4)	28 (65.1)	33 (55.0)
	Not have	21 (95.5)	12 (70.6)	15 (34.9)	27 (45.0)
Prayer- book	Have	0 (0.0)	5 (29.4)	24 (55.8)	29 (48.4)
	Not have	22 (100.0)	12 (70.6)	19 (44.2)	31 (51.6)
Hymn- book	Have	0 (0.0)	3 (17.7)	24 (55.8)	27 (45.0)
	Not have	22 (100.0)	14 (82.3)	19 (44.2)	33 (55.0)
Total		22 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	43 (100.0)	60 (100.0)

Table 18: Bible reading at Home during Past Year by members of Christian Households

Frequency		Inquirers	Baptized Persons		Total
			Unconfirmed	Confirmed	
R e a d i n g	Almost daily	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.3)	1 (1.7)
	Once a week	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (7.0)	3 (5.0)
	Once a month	0 (0.0)	3 (17.7)	10 (23.3)	13 (21.7)
	Almost never/ Never	10 (45.5)	11 (64.6)	28 (65.1)	39 (65.0)
	Subtotal	10 (45.5)	14 (82.3)	42 (97.7)	56 (93.4)
Never read it		12 (54.5)	3 (17.7)	1 (2.3)	4 (6.6)
Total		22 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	43 (100.0)	60 (100.0)

suggestion. These results are also of considerable importance for taking up, in the next section, the question of substantive change in Christianity.

Table 19: Family Worship at Home during the Past Year

Frequency	Inquirers	Baptized Persons		
		Unconfirmed	Confirmed	Total
D Daily	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	11 (25.6)	11 (18.6)
i Occasionally	0 (0.0)	2 (11.8)	3 (7.0)	5 (8.)
d Special times	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (9.3)	4 (6.5)
s				
o Subtotal	0 (0.0)	2 (11.8)	18 (41.9)	20 (33.4)
Never done so	22 (100.0)	15 (88.2)	24 (55.8)	39 (65.0)
No answer	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.3)	1 (1.6)
Total	22 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	43 (100.0)	60 (100.0)

CONTACT WITH TRADITIONAL RELIGION
AND THE QUESTION OF SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE

The problem to be considered here is that of the nature and degree of substantive change that Christianity in the Shimo Fukuda community has experienced now that some ninety years have passed since evangelism was begun. Particular attention will be paid to the ancestral cult.

The Traditional Religious Facilities of the Household

The results of taking all the households of Shimo Fukuda, classifying them as either Christian or Buddhist, and comparing the two groups with regard to their possession of religious facilities traditional to the household, are shown in Table 20. The "substitute" referred to in the first type signifies a place to

venerate the ancestors other than the traditional altar; it is peculiar to the Christian households. Generally it has a cross, a photograph of the deceased, a flower vase, and an incense burner, but it may have, exceptionally, something similar to a mortuary tablet but engraved with a cross.²³

A bird's eye view of Table 20 shows that the Christian and Buddhist households exhibit diametrically opposed tendencies as regards possession of two types of facilities: the kami altar and an altar for the kitchen kami or the well kami. Conversely, the Christian and Buddhist households (despite a slight lag on the part of the Christians) tend to follow the same practice as regards having a place to venerate the ancestors and a shrine for the house-kami. It should be noted, however, that what they hold in common is the tendency to have a place to venerate the ancestors, but not to have a house-kami shrine.

The circumstances that result in a low percentage of house kami shrines differ, however, for the Christian and Buddhist households. As mentioned above, the Christian households were established somewhat earlier than the Buddhist, 65% of the Christian households having been established during the closing decades of the Edo period. At the time they began, most of these households had a shrine for the house-kami, but on accepting Christianity during the Meiji period, they removed or discarded this shrine along with other traditional religious facilities.²⁴ Consequently, the percentage of Christian households possessing such a shrine remains low to the present day. It should also be indicated that the house-kami shrines of this area are constructed not of straw but of stone, so once thrown away, they are hard to replace.

As for the Buddhist households, 60.6% of them were founded, we have seen, after the opening of the Meiji period, but at this late date they generally did not establish new house-kami shrines. This is the reason for their low percentage.

The question to be considered here is: what are the reasons for the fact that both groups showed high scores with regard to having a place to venerate the ancestors? For 78.8% of the Buddhist households to indicate that they have a buddha altar is

Table 20
Household Possession of Traditional Religious Facilities

Type of Facility	Possession	Christian Household	Buddhist Household
A place to venerate the ancestors	H A Buddha altar	6 (28.6)	26 (78.8)
	a A substitute	6 (38.1)	0 (0.0)
	v ----- e Subtotal	14 (66.7)	26 (78.8)
	Do not have	7 (33.3)	7 (21.2)
Kami altar	Have	7 (33.3)	26 (78.8)
	Do not have	14 (66.7)	7 (21.2)
A house-kami shrine	Have	3 (14.3)	7 (21.2)
	Do not have	18 (85.7)	26 (78.8)
Kitchen kami altar, well kami altar, etc.	Have	2 (9.5)	19 (57.6)
	Do not have	19 (90.5)	14 (42.4)
Totals		21 (100.0)	33 (100.0)

hardly unusual, given their religious affiliation.²⁵ Attention focuses, therefore, on the Christian households. Their situation can be described as follows.

Most of the Christian households removed or discarded their buddha altars during the Meiji period (1868-1911), and their "altarless state" continued until the early years of the Shōwa period (1926-). But from about the time of the "Fifteen-Year War" that began with the Manchurian incident of 1931, a growing number of these households began to set up buddha-altar substitutes in order to have a place to "remember" their war-dead. At this time, however, almost none of the Christian households

actually set up buddha altars. This development did not occur until after the end of the war—in fact, not until quite recently. Since 1970 many new houses have been built in Shimo Fukuda. In the case of the Christian households, building a new house came to include, almost as if taken for granted, provision in the house design for a special place in which to venerate the ancestors, and in this place either a buddha altar or a substitute was installed.²⁶ Of the 6 Christian households that now have buddha altars, 3 obtained them since 1970. It is important to indicate, however, that this revived interest in having a place to venerate the ancestors resulted not only in reviving the buddha altar, but also in bringing to life the buddha altar substitute. If the percentage of Christian households with substitutes were eliminated from Table 20, the item having to do with a place to venerate ancestors would show a major discrepancy between Christian and Buddhist households.

Taking the Christian households by themselves now, let us rank the items in Table 20 by percentage scores, beginning with the lowest and ending with the highest. Facilities for the functional kami of the house (the kitchen kami, the well kami, and the like) stand at the bottom. Next comes the house kami who protects the area around the house and whose shrine stands outside. As for the protective spirits inside the house, namely, the kami of the kami altar and the ancestral spirits, the highest percentage of special facilities are found in connections with the cult (or remembrance) of the ancestors.

Christianity and Traditional Religious Events of the Community

Table 21 shows, for Christian and Buddhist households, the degree of participation in the annual round of traditional religious events. The Christian events, Christmas and Easter, have been part of the Shimo Fukuda tradition for over 80 years, so they are counted here as "traditional."

No attempt will be made to account for the degree of participation in each and every event, but it is remarkable that the one event for which both groups of households show the

Table 21
Participation in the Annual Cycle of Traditional Religious Events

Type of Event	Participation	Christian Households	Buddhist Households
<i>Christian</i>			
Easter service at church (Mar/Apr)	Yes	18 (85.7)	0 (0.0)
	No	3 (14.3)	33 (100.0)
Christmas service at church (Dec)	Yes	21 (100.0)	6 (18.2)
	No	0 (0.0)	27 (81.8)
<i>Other</i>			
For New Year hang fresh straw- rope and pendant paper-strips on kami-altar	Yes	7 (33.3)	25 (75.8)
	No	14 (66.7*)	8 (24.8)
Otoko obisha (Men's association) (Jan)	Yes	1 (4.8)	27 (81.8)
	No	20 (95.2)	6 (18.2)
Onna obisha (Women's association) (Feb)	Yes	0 (0.0)	25 (75.8)
	No	21 (0.0)	8 (24.2)
Serve during meeting of Daishikō (assn honoring founder of Shingon) at Buddhist temple (July)	Yes	0 (0.0)	14 (42.4)
	No	21 (0.0)	19 (57.6)
Visit Shinto shrine during the Gion Festival (July)	Yes	1 (4.8)	17 (51.6)
	No	20 (95.2)	16 (48.4)
Welcome and see off the ancestral spirits at the Bon Festival (Aug)	Yes	15 (71.4)	26 (78.8)
	No	6 (28.6)	7 (21.2)
House-kami rites during the Ujigami Festival (Oct)	Yes	1 (4.8)	17 (51.6)
	No	20 (95.2)	16 (48.4)
Total		21 (100.0)	33 (100.0)

highest degree of participation, the welcoming and seeing off of ancestral spirits at the time of the Bon Festival, corresponds to the high percentage of Christian and Buddhist households that have special facilities for venerating ancestors.

As for participation in other events, the highs and lows vary to some extent, but on the whole the Buddhist and Christian groups demonstrate a comparatively high degree of participation in the events associated with their respective traditions. Conversely, for events other than those associated with their own tradition, their participation is low.

Table 22
Participation in Traditional Birth and Growth Ceremonies

Type of Ceremony	Participation	Christian Household	Buddhist Household
Shinto shrine visit with newborn child	Yes	2 (9.5)	30 (91.0)
	No	19 (90.5)	3 (9.0)
Shinto shrine visit with 7 and 3 year old girls and 5 year old boys	Yes	2 (9.5)	30 (91.0)
	No	19 (90.5)	3 (9.0)
Total		21 (100.0)	33 (100.0)

Table 23
Participation in Other Customary Observances

Type of Observance	Participation	Christian Household	Buddhist Household
Memorial service of pet dogs (for easy childbirth)	Yes	0 (0.0)	25 (75.8)
	No	21 (100.0)	8 (24.2)
Rites for the road-guiding kami	Yes	2 (9.5)	14 (42.5)
	No	19 (90.5)	19 (57.5)
Taboos on the Day of the Rabbit (to plant or sow brings bad luck)	Yes	2 (9.5)	10 (30.3)
	No	19 (90.5)	23 (69.7)
Total		21 (100.0)	33 (100.0)

We turn now to the degree of participation in traditional ceremonies pertaining to the birth and growth of children, the subject of Table 22. Here the difference between Christian and Buddhist households is plain and clear. Table 23 deals with the degree of participation in other customary observances, and here again the difference is evident.

No matter what non-Christian event is considered, then, the degree of participation by Christian households is invariably lower than that of the Buddhist. Without much exaggeration one could say that the Christian households participate in almost none of the non-Christian events. For this very reason, their high degree of participation in the welcoming and seeing off of ancestral spirits at the time of the Bon Festival becomes all the more noteworthy.

Christianity and the Ancestral Cult

The strong and distinctive sentiments that the Japanese people hold with regard to their ancestors has long been known. These sentiments go well beyond merely loving, respecting, and cherishing the memory of the dead; they entail addressing the dead in prayer, regarding them with worshipful respect, and beseeching their unseen aid. When this stage has been reached, it is appropriate to speak of the "ancestral cult" (Cf. Yanagita 1969, Aruga 1969, Takeda 1957, Morioka 1959, p.31, etc.). The position adopted in this study is that when Christians come to hold ideas about their ancestors and deceased family members that correspond to this stage, their faith may be regarded as having undergone a substantive change.

The first question to be raised in considering whether such a substantive change has occurred is this: to what extent has the Christian concept of monotheism entered into the consciousness of Shimo Fukuda Christians? This is treated in Table 24, which presents the results of asking respondents whether they agree with the view that people belonging to his or her religious group should not worship a kami or buddha of a different religion.

For the purpose of analysis, the responses to this question are matched with the earlier responses to the question of whether the respondent's household has a place to venerate the ancestors.

Table 24
Monotheistic vs. Syncretistic Ideas about God

Question: Do you agree that people of your religious group should not worship a kami or buddha of a different religion?

<i>Response</i>	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	Total
Christians who have a buddha altar	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
Christians who have a substitute	4 (50.0)	4 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (10.0)
Christians who have no special place	4 (66.6*)	2 (33.4)	0 (0.0)	6 (100.0)
Total	9 (47.4)	10 (52.6)	0 (0.0)	19 (100.0)
Non-Christians who have a buddha altar	3 (16.7)	15 (83.3)	0 (0.0)	18 (100.0)
Non-Christians who have no special place	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
Total	3 (15.8)	16 (84.2)	0 (0.0)	19 (100.0)

Note: The respondents in Tables 24 and 25 were selected in the following way. First, Christian households with church members were chosen (20 households). Second, an equal number of Buddhist households founded at approximately the same time as the Christian and similar in other respects was selected as a control group. Since, however, it proved impossible to question 1 Christian household, 1 household was removed from the Buddhist group, thus making 19 in each group. The principle followed in each case was to interview either the head of the household or his wife. It should be added that all of the Christians interviewed had received confirmation.

Since only one person in the non-Christian group said that his household had no place to venerate the ancestors, the figures for this respondent have been deleted from the analysis; the non-Christian "Total" column is used instead. (The same holds true for Table 25.)

One point to note about Table 24 is that a majority of the Christians (52.6%), even though this rate is lower than that for the non-Christians, responded that they do not agree with the view stated in the question. To the extent that Christian people selected this answer, their faith reflects, we venture to say, a substantive change.

When the answers to this question are matched with the responses to the question dealing with provision of a place for venerating the ancestors, an interesting pattern emerges. Of the Christians who agreed that one should not worship a kami or buddha of another religion, the highest percentage (66.6%) is found among those who "have no special place" to venerate the ancestors, the next to the highest (50.0%) among those who "have a substitute" (for the buddha altar), and the lowest (20.0%) among those who "have a buddha altar." Conversely, the percentage for Christians disagreeing with this view was highest if they had a buddha altar and the lowest if they had no special place to venerate the ancestors. The fact that the high percentage of Christians with buddha altars who disagreed with this view (80.0%) differs only slightly from that of the non-Christians (82.2%) suggests that even today the buddha altar represents a tangible power-base for the ancestral cult.

Table 25 presents the results of measuring three different attitudes toward ancestral or memorial rites and analyzing the responses in accordance with whether the respondent's household has a buddha altar or substitute. The first question asks the respondent's views as to the importance of such rites, the second whether they hold that the ancestors watch over the living members of their lineage, and the third about the attitudes (feelings) they hold as they direct their attention toward the ancestors in the special place provided for their veneration.

Three sets of responses are particularly worthy of attention: (1)

Table 25
Attitudes Toward Ancestral or Memorial Rites

Attitude	Christians			Total	Non-Christians		
	Have a buddha altar	Have a substitute	Have no special place		Have a buddha altar	Have no special place	Total
Are ancestral (memorial) rites important or not?							
Important	5 (100.0)	7 (87.5)	5 (83.3)	17 (89.5)	18 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	19 (100.0)
Unimportant	0 (0.0)	1 (12.5)	1 (16.7)	2 (10.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Don't know	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Do the ancestral spirits watch over their own?							
They do	5 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	4 (66.6*)	17 (89.4)	17 (94.5)	0 (0.0)	17 (89.5)
They don't	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (16.7)	1 (5.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Don't know	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (16.7)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.5)	1 (100.0)	2 (10.0)
What feeling do you usually have when using the place where the ancestors are venerated?							
Remember with respect	0 (0.0)	4 (50.0)	2 (33.2)	6 (31.5)	2 (11.1)	0 (0.0)	2 (10.5)
Like talking with a living person	1 (20.0)	1 (12.5)	1 (16.7)	3 (15.8)	2 (11.1)	0 (0.0)	2 (10.5)
Prayer to the kami or buddhas for protection	2 (40.0)	2 (25.0)	1 (16.7)	5 (26.3)	2 (66.7)	1 (100.0)	13 (68.5)
Prayer to God for their salvation	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (16.7)	1 (5.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
I don't think about anything	2 (40.0)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	3 (15.8)	2 (11.1)	0 (0.0)	2 (10.5)
Never used such a place	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (16.7)	1 (5.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Don't know	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Total	5 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	18 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	19 (100.0)

those affirming the importance of such rites, (2) those acknowledging belief that the ancestors do watch over the living, and (3) those indicating that use of the ancestor-veneration place is accompanied by the feeling of praying to the kami or the buddhas for protection. Of the items leading to these responses, the first deals only with the most general, superficial, and peripheral kind of attitude, for the question speaks of ancestral rites as embracing memorial rites, though only the latter can clearly be said to involve no conflict with Christian faith. The second item, however, dealing with whether the ancestors watch over their living kin, introduces another attitude. In this case the question of conflict with Christian faith becomes harder to answer, for this attitude may involve the idea of "unseen aid" (divine protection) or it may involve a completely different kind of understanding. Be that as it may, affirmation of the belief that the ancestors watch over their own would seem to involve greater possibility for conflict with Christian faith than affirmation of the importance of ancestral or memorial rites. Finally, as over against these first two attitudes, the attitude that one is "praying to the kami or buddhas for protection" when addressing oneself to the ancestors in the special place provided for their veneration is even more definite, deeply seated, and central. For here the ancestors, the deceased family members, are clearly placed on the same level as the kami and buddhas, and it is in this capacity that their "unseen aid" is besought.

With regard to the item dealing with the importance of these rites, all the non-Christians affirm their importance. As for the Christians, 100% of those with a buddha altar believe them important, 87.5% of those with a buddha altar substitute, and 83.3% of those with no special place for venerating the ancestors—a series of diminishing percentages; conversely, among those who believe them unimportant, a series of increasing percentages is found. The reason that as many as 89.5% of the total number of Christians affirmed that these rites were important is probably due to the fact that the question included the term "memorial." Hence even though the great majority of Christians said they believed the rites important, it would be a

hasty judgment to say without further ado that their faith has taken on an ancestral cult coloration.

The second item, raising the question of whether the ancestors watch over their own, resulted in percentages that were nearly identical for both Christian (89.4%) and non-Christians (89.5%). But whether this means, for the Christians, that their faith has taken on an ancestral cult coloration is still open to question. For it is by no means certain that the term "watch over" is to be identified with the more specific divine protection suggested by the term "unseen aid."

If the Christians alone are considered in relation to this second item, it turns out that both those with a buddha altar and those with a substitute were 100% in agreement with the idea that the ancestors watch over their living kin, whereas those with no special place for venerating the ancestors were only 66.6% in agreement with this idea. It appears, therefore, that the responses to this item are not unrelated to whether the household has a special place to venerate the ancestors.

Finally, let us consider the third item, the one having to do with the "feeling of praying to the kami or the buddhas for divine protection." The percentage of non-Christians giving this reply was 68.5%, the percentage of Christians 26.3%. As compared to the first two items, the difference between the Christian and non-Christian percentages is considerably greater. Among the non-Christians, the percentage of people who chose this response (68.5%) far outweighs all the other responses to this item, but among the Christians, the response that takes first place is "a feeling of remembering him/her with respect" (31.5%). From this it appears that the Christians of Shimo Fukuda, when compared with the non-Christians, have succeeded to a fairly high degree in extricating themselves from the traditional ancestral cult. Again, it may be possible to interpret what we see here as a substantive change in the ancestral cult resulting from the adoption of Christianity.

On the other hand, if this situation is viewed from the standpoint of Christian faith, it becomes apparent that if as many as 26.3% of the Christians, when using the special ancestor

eneration place, have the "feeling of praying to the kami or the buddhas for protection," then to this extent the Christianity of this community has undergone a substantive change in the direction of the ancestral cult. With regard to the items dealing with the "importance" of ancestral or memorial rites and with the question of whether the ancestors are believed to "watch over" their own, it was not possible to state flatly that a substantive change had occurred, but with regard to this item, it can be state without equivocation.

The Christians' responses to this item form a diminishing series of percentages: those with a buddha altar at 40.0%, those with a substitute at 25.0%, and those with neither at 16.7%.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The results of the foregoing study may be summarized as follows:

1. In the Shimo Fukuda community, membership in Christianity, generation by generation, takes place in household units. The Christianity of this community exhibits, in other words, peripheral change.

2. Going beyond mere peripheral change, Shimo Fukuda Christianity also gives evidence, particularly in relation to the buddha altar and its substitute, of substantive change in the direction of the ancestral cult. Again, the percentages for attitudes relating to ancestral rites suggests not only that these attitudes are closely linked to the presence or absence of ancestral cult facilities, especially the buddha altar, but also that the buddha altar continues to the present day to be a tangible power-base for the ancestral cult.

3. Consequently, the primary factor leading to substantive change in the Christianity of this community is the ancestral cult. It may be concluded therefore that the two hypotheses presented at the outset have been verified.

Appendix

This paper originated as an M.A. thesis presented to the Tokyo University of Education in 1972. A summary report was presented to the Japan Sociological Society in 1974, and that summary, revised and corrected, forms the content of this paper.

From the writing of the thesis through the writing of this paper, Professor MORIOKA Kiyomi provided me with a wealth of instruction. Also, at the actual research stage, a number of people in Shimo Fukuda community assisted me in more ways than I can begin to count. To both I should like to express my deep appreciation.

Notes

1. The reader is referred to Morioka 1959, p.232; 1957, p.4; 1967, p.12; 1970b, pp.142-143, etc.

2. This is not to say that Christianity as a whole, including that of Europe and the America, is a non-institutionalized form of culture; it is only to stipulate that the Christianity that came to Japan, by reason of its relatively short history here, is a non-institutionalized form. One should also bear in mind Durkheim's characterization of "social facts" as consisting of externality and restraint (Durkheim 1895).

3. The term "unit of religious membership" used in this paper is equivalent to Morioka's term, "social basis of religion." See Morioka 1968.

4. With regard to requirement 1, see Section IV; with regard to requirements 2, 3, and 4, see Section III.

5. It should be noted, however, that within the spectrum of Protestant denominations, Fukuda Episcopal Church belongs to the strand that stands closest to the older traditions, namely, the Roman Catholic and Orthodox. As compared to other Protestant denominations, the Anglican or Episcopal Church lays only mild emphasis on individualism; with regard to mission work in non-Christian countries, it endeavors to take as sympathetic an attitude as possible toward the cultures of these countries and the feelings of their people, and it may be supposed that for this very reason its faith, as compared to that of other Protestant

denominations, is prone to substantive change. In this respect, therefore, it is not altogether suitable as an object of investigation. But when Fukuda Anglican Episcopal Church is taken as our object and concretely considered with respect to the problem of substantive change, it becomes quite difficult to ascertain whether and to what extent this denominational factor plays a role. In this paper, accordingly, an analysis of this factor will not be undertaken. I should like, however, to express here my appreciation to Professor NISHIYAMA Toshihiko of Eichi University who, in response to a presentation I made at the 47th Assembly of the Japan Sociological Association, kindly and aptly pointed out the importance of this denominational factor. I should also like to refer the reader to an article on the Christian University by Tsukada (1971).

6. Nishiyama 1972, 1973.

7. See the *Chiba ken Shimōsa no kuni Shimo Habu gun Shimo Fukuda son shi* 千葉県下総国下埴生郡下福田村誌 (Chronicle of Shimo Fukuda Village in Shimo Habu District, Shimōsa County, Chiba Prefecture; February 1884).

8. See the preceding reference; also the *Shimo Fukuda mura kōtakuchi sanrin tanbetsu chika chiso gōkeichō* 下福田村耕宅地山林反別地価地租合計帳 (Memorial covering the assessed value of and land tax on the arable, residential, and wooded land, in *tan* units, held by Shimo Fukuda Village; 1885).

9. See the previously cited *Chronicle*.

10. See the document entitled *Meiji go (mizunoe, saru) nen Inba ken kankatsu dai-nana daiku dai-ni shōku koseki no ichi (Habu gun, Shimo Fukuda mura)* 明治五壬申年印旛県管轄第七大区第二小区戸籍之一 (埴生郡下福田村) (Household registry no. 1 for sub-district no. 2 in district no. 7 of Inba Prefecture (Habu gun, Shimo Fukuda Village). February 1873.

11. The term "three generations" means that the first family member to receive baptism is counted as the first generation, and that the next family members to become Christian are his or her parents, on the one hand, and children, on the other.

12. Most of the data to be considered in this section were obtained in a survey conducted for four days beginning on 10 September 1971. One part of the data, however, comes from a supplementary survey conducted on 28 November 1971.

13. The term "Christian household" has a broad and a narrow meaning. The broad meaning includes the pastor and his family,

even though they come from outside the community; the narrow meaning excludes the pastor and his family, limiting the term to those community households that for several generations have identified Christianity as their "household religion." In this paper, the narrow meaning will be employed. When it becomes necessary to include the pastor and his family, a different term will be used, namely, "Christian home."

14. Even though lumped together as "Buddhist households," their actual sect affiliation shows considerable variety. These sects and the number of households affiliated with each are as follows: Tendai 17, Shingon 6, Ji 3, Nichiren Shōshū (Sōka Gakkai) 2, Zen (further details unspecified) 1, Jōdo 1, Tenri Honmichi 1, Shintō (Shintō funeral) 1, none 1. The reason for treating them as a single category here is that, with the exception of the two households affiliated with the Nichiren Shōshū (Sōka Gakkai), all participate cooperatively in the traditional religious ceremonies. In this respect they are to be distinguished from the "Christian households."

15. In Shimo Fukuda today there is one "Christian household" that belonged to the church up to the previous generation, but currently has no church member in the household. Despite this anomaly, it does not allow its contact with other Christian households to lapse.

16. "Financial support" means, of course, money given to the church through offerings, but the point to note is that most of this support derives from a system in which a treasurer is assigned to each *kumi* and is responsible to visit each Christian household and collect money for the church on a household basis. The money thus collected is called *jikyū* (self-support), a term that began at an earlier time when the church, seeking to eliminate reliance on subsidies from the mission board and other churches, undertook to raise "offerings for the sake of achieving self-support." Today, however, the term simply identifies money given to the church by the Christian households.

17. The voluntary labor includes work in the Church's paddyland, offering hospitality to the bishop who comes each autumn to administer confirmation rites, etc.

18. Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving, etc.

19. A voluntary association held on completion of the major agricultural tasks of the year (planting and harvesting) as a form

of recreation for the women. Its activities consists primarily of eating, drinking, and pleasant chatting.

20. "Nando role" means that on the occasion of a death, 5 or 6 persons from the affiliate *dōzoku* and neighboring households take complete responsibility, on behalf of the bereaved household members, for the management of everything that must be done from the wake through the funeral.

21. One may mention, for example, the neighborhood fellowship groups, the group known as *kamasu nakama* whose members pay condolence visits on any member who suffers bereavement, the *kyōdē keiyaku* (fraternal covenant) group in which people so inclined form bonds like those between brother and brother, and the *yoi* and *suketo* groups that have as their purpose agricultural cooperation and mutual aid.

22. In this table the first person to accept Christian faith is counted as a first-generation Christian, his or her children as second-generation, his or her grandchildren as third-generation, etc. In the case of adopted sons-in-law and brides, if they were raised in Christian families, the method of counting is the same, but if they become Christian in connection with marriages into a Christian household, they are counted as first-generation Christians. It is to be noted that this method of counting differs from that employed in Table 7.

23. Of the 8 Christian households possessing such a substitute, only 1 has a cross-engraved mortuary tablet. This kind of item may also be found, to cite one example, among Christian households belonging to the Roman Catholic Hō'onji Church, a mountain village church located within the city limits of Fukuchiyama. In the case of Hō'onji Church, since the church authorized the establishment of a mortuary chapel as part of its evangelistic strategy, it may be inferred that the percentage of Christian households possessing tablets of this kind is so high as to be beyond comparison with Shimo Fukuda. See Ōnishi 1974, pp.71-72.

24. Hence the oral tradition that immediately following the mass baptism of 1887, the banks of the brook in the Shimozutsumi section of Shimo Fukuda were covered with piles of discarded kami altars and buddha altars (recounted by OGAWA Asa, a resident of the community). For further details, see Nishiyama 1972, 1973.

25. According to a 1964-1966 survey conducted by Morioka, the percentages of households with buddha altars were found to be 92% in a rural village in Yamanashi Prefecture, 69% in a

commercial area of Tokyo, and 45% in a residential area of Tokyo. See Morioka 1970a, pp.113-159.

[It may be appropriate to add a word here about the buddha altar. The term "buddha altar" is a direct translation from the Japanese *butsudan*. This expression is often translated "Buddhist altar," but I regard the lower case form as better for two reasons. First, it is closer to the original, which refers not to the Buddha in particular but to buddhas in general. Second, despite the terminological and customary linkage with institutional Buddhism, the buddha altar is first and foremost a "home" for the ancestral spirits. (In Japan the general custom is to refer to any person who dies as a buddha.) Hence it is quite possible for Japanese Christians wishing to honor their ancestors to install not a Buddhist but a buddha altar. Cf. note 26. Transl.]

26. Of 6 Christian households that built new houses, 3 did so in 1970 (1 installing a buddha altar, 2 a substitute), 3 between January and September 1971 (2 installing a buddha altar, 1 a substitute). If the buddha altars in the new houses belonging to the Christian households are compared with those in the Buddhist, it is apparent that the former are less elaborate. One Christian household, despite having purchased a small altar, felt that it had too much of a "Buddhist taint," so they sent it back and replaced it with a simpler altar.

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