JAPANESE FOLKLORE SCIENCE TODAY

By MATTHIAS EDER, Tokyo

Measured by the quantity of new books on folkloristic topics, the interest of the Japanese people in their own old folkways must be wide-spread. These days we see not only the publication of monographs but also of a number of encyclopedias and source books on Japanese history and on folkloristic themes as well, all written by competent experts for the general public. It seems that great treasures of manuscripts have been accumulated during the post-war years on the desks of scholars who have patiently waited for a chance to see heir findings published some time, and the time must have come now. Books we have been able to read and study so far, do not give us the impression that they have been compiled by their writers upon invitation by publishers who want to meet the demand of the public. We find that many forces have been working all the time during the war and thereafter, forces that not only digested earlier publications for the sake of popular editions but have made new advances in many fields. The way of the presentation of the subject matters has also improved. Furthermore, compared with the pre-war publications, there is a more objective attitude towards national folkways, higher methodological standards, and sometimes even a deep cutting criticism of the established old ways of Folklore Science in this country. As we shall see, there are writers who want to put Folklore Science on an entirely new basis and to have it adopt a new world-wide outlook as an integral part of Cultural Anthropology.

In the present survey we have picked out some of the new books now on the market. We came across two new books on the Japanese farmhouse. The farmhouse is called *nôka* (field-house),

or *minka* (people's house), the latter name being justified by the great number of Japanese that still live in the countryside. One of these new books on the farmhouse is devoted to the various types of farmhouses throughout the country, the other one specializes on the farmhouse of Northeast Japan (Tôhoku). The first mentioned book with the title *Minka-chô* (Note-book on the Farmhouse), 306 pages, was written by Kurada Shûchû and published in 1955 by Kokinshoin in the collection *Minzoku Senshu* (Folklore Monographs) edited by the Folklore Research Institute in Tokyo. The author states that the history of Japanese architecture took an interest in the farmhouse only recently; before, only the architecture of Shinto shrines, Buddhist buildings and mansions of nobility were given attention. The author correctly says that the history of the farmhouse is the history of the Japanese people. In fact, the cultural history of the Japanese people is to a great extent reflected in the history of the farmhouse. Thus the student of Japanese religion or of the Japanese society or the economic life can find in the farmhouse important data crystalized. Only a few houses have been found so far that were built as early as the beginning of the Tokugawa era, in the early seventeenth century. They are given special care as cultural monuments by the Governmental agency concerned. The average life expectation of a Japanese farmhouse may be around eighty years. Sooner or later farmhouses fall prey to fire. This is no wonder in view of the inflamable material of which they are built and the open fire-place in them. The building material is all wood, the roof is reed- or straw-thatched, part of the floor is covered with boards and straw-mats (*tatami*), and the room partitions are made with paper covered sliding doors. When making investigation in villages, one finds that some farmhouses have a more elaborate interior as far as the size and the number, and decoration of the rooms goes. They contain many urban elements, improvements taken over from the mansions of the noblemen and higher ranking officials. The history of the farmhouse is the history of the urbanization of the house on the country-side. Ways of life of the upper classes gradually entered the reed-thatched cottages. In the feudalistic age the farmhouse building was subject to minute and rigorous regulations, which were however slowly softened by privileges granted to farmers with an official function in the village administration, and refinements once seen in the village were coveted by all. The present-day farmhouse is a combination of elements due to its

function as a living and working place and of elements added by an upward social tendency in imitation of urban civilization. The author discusses the existing farmhouse types of Japan, starting with that in the North. When talking of farmhouse types, three things have to be examined, that is the roof, the arrangement of the rooms, and the construction. As to the construction, the common type is that with a rectangular ground-plan, but in some areas the house has a ground-plan which consists of two rectangles combined in a right angle. Such houses are called *magariya* (bent houses), or *kagite* (key-houses), because of their shape. In Northeast Japan down the Sea of Japan to Niigata and to Aizu in Fukushima Prefecture, such houses are common. Houses with a simple ground-plan, consisting of only one rectangle, are called *sugoya* (straight houses). In the protruding shorter part of a 'bent house,' that is in the web of the key of the 'key-houses,' the horses have their stable. This part of the house is two-storied. In the upper floor the fodder is stored. Iwate Prefecture and the Eastern part of Aomori Prefecture were always outstanding for their horse breeding. The 'bent houses,' therefore, are common there. Because of heavy snowfall the farmers wish to have their horses inside the house of men, so that no courtyard need be crossed to attend to the horses, at the same time the horses get a little warmth from the fire-place. About one third of the interior of a farmhouse has only a plain wooden floor which is partly covered with thickly woven straw-mats (*tatami*). At the wall-side of the wooden floor (*doma*, literally earth-place), the barn for the horses is built in a way that the horses can be seen from the living quarters. Since a great capital is invested in the horses, the farmers treat them with tender care.

Though there are many peculiarities to be seen in farmhouses, in essential things they are all alike all over the country. The earthen floor (*doma*) serves as room for indoor work and as place for the hearth on which horse-fodder is boiled. In the elevated part of the house we find first a spacious fire-place on which tea water and rice are boiled and meals prepared. The area around the fire-place is the sitting room for the family. In Northeast Japan this sitting room is the largest of all. A few additional smaller rooms are attached to the large sitting room as guest rooms and sleeping rooms. Because of the over-size of the sitting room such a farmhouse is called sitting room type (*hiroma-kei*). In most parts of Japan the room partition is such

that four equally sized rooms result. This is the simplest kind and is called 'the type of character for field' (*ta no ji kei*) because of its similarity with the Chinese character for 'field,' which consists of four sections of equal size. It could also be called "chessboard type," because on a chess-board four neighboring fields form a combination of four square sections of equal size.

Among the key-shaped farmhouses (*kagiya, magariya*) in Akita Prefecture, houses are found with two protruding buildings, so to say, with two webs of a key, one on each end of the main building. Rarely is the "web" attached at the center of the main building. In the attached building two entrances (*genkan*) are found, an outside entrance and an inside one. We should better say 'vestibule' and not entrance. In the outside vestibule are found the latrine and the pigsty, in the inside vestibule the horse-stable is built. The agricultural tools are placed somewhere in the outside vestibule and the straw-raincoats are hung there on hooks. The author of our book aligns many details and variations, so many that the book is not only a new arrangement or digest of earlier publications. In one respect he falls short of our expectation as did also earlier writers, namely the social and religious functions of the various rooms of the farmhouse are, in our opinion, not given sufficient attention.

The author offers good opinions of his own on the history of the farmhouse. It is interesting that both the Northern and the Southern part of Japan have an almost identical arrangement of rooms in so far as a large sitting room occupies the greater part of the living quarters, the few additional rooms are evidently but sections cut out from the large room for the sake of privacy. With its uniform size of rooms the chessboard pattern room partition in no way gives us the impression that one over-sized room dominates and permits only of a couple of small rooms to surround it. Which partition type is the older one? The author tells us that the large sitting room, found in Northeast Japan, on the island of Sado and in Hokuriku (along the sea of Japan and in Chûbu in Central Japan) originated in Kyôto. In their field, explorers of dialects make a similar statement, namely that the present-day Tôhoku (Northeastern) dialect is close to the old Kyôto dialect which travelled to the North along the coast of the sea of Japan and not along the Pacific provinces. The farmhouses look outwardly different in different regions, but their room partition shows more similarity. Our author may have stimulated at least further research by saying that the large sitting room

type (*hiroma-kei*) found on both extremities of the country, dates from the Heian (794-858) civilization of Kyôto. If he is correct, the chessboard pattern must have superseded the large sitting room type later though it is now found in the central part of the country. Other writers have pointed out that the chessboard pattern, as a refined form of room partition, was part of the old Kyôto style of architecture, and has spread out from Kyôto to the provinces but not reached yet the outlying areas. No doubt, in many respects the history of the farmhouse is still far from being established comprehensibly.

In the presentation of farmhouse types the author proceeded from the North to the South. He has much to say on the farmhouse of the vast Kantô area. Though 'the key-houses' are not typical of the Kantô provinces, they can be frequently seen there, but their functions do not always coincide with those of the 'key-houses' in the North. There are places where the projecting section contains the horse-stable, but in others it is merely an additional construction to create space for living purposes. The common roof type of Kantô is that of four plains, trapezoidal in the front and in the rear, triangular on both small sides.

In Musashi in the Kantô plain the whole farmhouse compound, which is fenced in by a hedge, has an impressive garden-door and behind it a well, and from the garden-door to the house-entrance are stepping stones. The ridge of the house-roof is tile-covered. On its Northern side the house is protected against the wind by a bamboo grove. The Kantô plain is known for its strong winds. One finds there many farmhouses that are hidden in a grove among huge trees. The first settlers in the Western part of Musashi were Korean refugees who were experts in sericulture and rice-planting. Their village burnt down in the 13th century, was rebuilt during the Kamakura era in the then prevailing style, and the particular roof form in Western Musashi bears still witness of the close terms on which the Korean community there was with the warriors and monks of Kamakura. The same roof style as can be seen on the temple Enkakuji in Kamakura is found in the Korean village and the surrounding Western part of Musashi. The author gives a detailed description of the houses on the Izu Islands which are known for their preservation of old forms of house construction. It is rightly said that the present-day Japanese farmhouse was developed during Tokugawa time. The houses on the Izu Islands and on Hachijoshima are however specimens of earlier forms of build-

ings. To mention only one of their features, the walls of the house there consist of wooden boards.

Among the house types of Japan, those of the old provinces Kai (Yamanashi Prefecture) and Shinshû (Nagano Prefecture) are also outstanding for their peculiarities. They have in common a roof which has only two sides falling down from the ridge. There is no roof under the ridge ends, in other words, the length of the ridge coincides with the length of the house. In Kai the roof is steep, in Shinshû its inclination is very moderate, it is covered with shingles which are pressed down and kept on their place with heavy stones. Nowhere else in Japan do we find two-sided roofs, the four-sided roof being the rule everywhere. To say the least, the possibility cannot be discounted that we have here an ancient house form which falls in line with most of the house-figures which are found among the Haniwa or clay tomb-figures of the Tumuli Period. Thus, the four-sided roof would seem to be a later innovation or import from the continent.

A rich variety of roof forms can be seen in Yamato in Central Japan. It is worth noting that the central pillar of the house, which is called *Daikoku-bashira,* directly supports the ridge-pole, a fact that has significance in the endeavor to establish a connection between the prehistoric houses and the recent farmhouse. In Nara continental influences are noticeable in the whole outlay of a farmhouse compound. The mansion is surrounded by a wall, just as in China, and the use of bricks and tiles on the roof reminds us of Chinese farmhouses.

In Shikoku we find the farmhouse partitioned in three rooms, of which the central one is the living room, the one to the right is the kitchen, the one to the left, a guest-room. On the north side of the central room an additional small room is attached as sleeping place. It is said that the three-room house is a tradition of the Taira clan of which remnants have settled down in the mountains of Shikoku after their defeat by the Minamoto clan. But it seems to us that the three-room house type needs not necessarily to be connected with a certain clan. Houses of other provinces can also be easily reduced to the three-room pattern. If an increased number of rooms is found, they are but secondary and small additions to the basic three rooms. An essentially different type is that with four rooms which are arranged in a chessboard pattern. The rooms of a three-room house cut from the front on through the whole house. In case of four rooms, two are on the front side, the two others behind

them.

The Japanese house consists basically of pillars and the roof. Rooms were made by filling in the space between the pillars with boards, doors, plaster, or with sliding doors which are either entirely made of boards or of a wooden frame over which paper is braced. The earliest known relics of houses are pit-dwellings. The first step toward "modernization" was to have an elevated wooden floor in the house. Only one third of the interior was left without it and served as working place, as a space for storing, and the horse-stable. The elevated floor with the fire-place in its center served as the common sitting room for the family. About three hundred years ago this nice innovation was not yet in use in all farmhouses. Instead of it, a part of the interior was covered with thick layers of straw and mats. Occasionally even in our times houses with such rooms can be found in remote places where living is hard. The book under discussion here has a chart showing the distribution of the various types of the partition of the interior of the farmhouse, there are 18 types listed. Another chart, showing the distribution of roof forms, enumerates 22 types. Roof types and partition types went each their own way independent from one another. We must omit here a description of roof types, as this could hardly be done without illustrations.

We have picked out a number of more important topics discussed by the author. Many equally important ones we could not even mention. The author, a trained architect, professor at the College of Technology of Musashi, and a prominent member of the Farmhouse Research Society in Musashi, has presented his material with professional skill and technical knowledge, and has illustrated his book with good photos and expert drawings. He did well not to proceed prefecture-wise as Ishihara Kenji did in his *Nômin kenchiku* (Farmhouse Architecture), since the country has been divided into prefectures only in the Meiji time with boundaries which do not always coincide with those of the older political and cultural areas. What he presents is a factual description of the farmhouse types in all their manifold aspects. Occasionally he touches on a few questions of cultural history anent farmhouse building. Many more such questions could have been brought up. For instance, the line could have been shown that leads from innovations in the elegant residences in the old capitals of Heian and Kamakura into the farm-house, and the influence of the farming samurai on farm-

house construction and refinement could have been discussed. The author must however not be blamed for such omissions, he did well to leave questions pertaining to the cultural, social and economic history to the competent specialists. These specialists are certainly grateful to the author for having provided them with a basis of well established facts from which they can start their own investigations in their specific fields. As the author also states, there are still many almost untouched questions left for historians. We think, also the anthropologist will have to be consulted in an attempt to elucidate the development of the Japanese farmhouse.

Next, we wish to introduce another recent publication on the Japanese farmhouse, Ogura Tsuyoshi: *Tôhoku no minka* (The Farmhouse of Northeast Japan), Tôkyô, 1955, 270 pages, published by Sagami. The author states first that the farmhouse of Northeast Japan (Tôhoku) has most of its features in common with those of the farmhouses of the rest of Japan, but has in many respects preserved old forms and shows also features that are due to the climatic conditions of these Northern districts. An old form is the living room which has no elevated floor. The bare ground is covered with straw and husks of legumes over which straw-mats are spread. Also heavy snowfall necessitates some peculiarities. One of them is that the house is a so-called *magariya,* (bent house), a construction in which the house has two ridges which are at a right angle. In other words, part of the house is protruding in a right angle, with the entrance door in it, and it has a second floor. In the upstairs, either a room is made for somebody, or the family has a kind of living room there during winter-time when the room downstairs is very dark because of the high snow-walls around the house. Straw-mats hung on a scaffold protect the house against snow-storms. The second story may also serve as an emergency exit in case of fire. Houses without a second story are always in danger of being completely covered with snow. To withstand the pressure of the snow on the roof the house must be built solidly.

Historically, the Tôhoku area was exposed to two cultural currents, one coming from Kyôto and Osaka along the Sea of Japan, which seems to have been the stronger current. The other current came from Edo along the Pacific coast. The house with a second floor is found in the prefectures of Akita, Yamagata, Niigata, and in Aizu in Fukushima Prefecture. This house type is also called *chûmon tsukuri,* (literally, construction with the

door inside the house); namely, one enters from under the second story, goes through a corridor alongside the horse-stable and reaches the interior proper where the fire-place is. This house type has its origin in Ura-Nihon, namely the districts on the Sea of Japan. Outside Tôhoku this construction is not found though there is plenty of snow in other places.

The room partition is done in a way that the living room is over-sized. According to the typology introduced by the great explorer Ishihara Kenji, houses with such a room are called *hiroma-kei,* (hall-type). However around Sendai in Miyagi Prefecture the prevailing house type is that with a chessboard pattern in their room partition, which probably came up here from Edo in Kantô along the Pacific coast. For many regional peculiarities in details, carpenters with their professional traditions and trade unions have been responsible in the past. There are several places in Tôhoku where the art of carpentry has reached a high level. The carpenters of Kesen in Iwate Prefecture were specialized in shrine and temple constructions, but also built farmhouses. Their works can be traced southward along the Pacific coast to Miyagi Prefecture. Another center of high class carpentry existed in the Kambara Districts, Niigata Prefecture. Masters came over to Fukushima Prefecture, trained there young men of Aizu in 10 years of apprenticeship so that later, local carpenters built the beautiful farmhouses of the mountain areas of Aizu. This information was given to the writer of this review when he visited many villages there in the summer of 1959 and photographed and filmed farmhouse types. In Iwai District, Iwate Prefecture, a house type is found which is called *karakasa tsukuri* (umbrella construction). Its characteristic feature consists in its room arrangement. This is made in the chessboard pattern, that is, four rooms of equal size are made with a pillar in the center. When the sliding walls (*fusuma*) are taken out, one large room emerges which can be used for gatherings with many persons, for wedding and funeral rites. It became known that this room type was brought over from Kansai in Central Japan by carpenters who settled down in the North.

Even linguistic movements give us suggestions as to the possible ways of distribution of farmhouse types. The earliest Japanese colonizers of Tôhoku came up here along the coast of the Sea of Japan, from Akita they went into the mountain valleys and reached the Nambu districts, but never Tsugaru,

the Northernmost tip of Honshû. The dialect of Akita, Shônai and Nambu is said to be of the Kyôto type, whereas that of Tsugaru stands apart. The Southern half of Tôhoku, comprising areas around Sendai, part of Yamagata and Fukushima Prefecture, belongs to the Kantô group of dialects. Dialect boundaries and house type distribution coincide in the North, a fact that can hardly be explained by coincidence, but only by the direction demographic and cultural currents have taken.

Differences of farmhouse constructions are furthermore conditioned by economic factors, that is, whether the farmers plant rice or cultivate other crops, whether they are silkworm breeders or tobacco planters. In the prefectures of Akita, Aomori and Yamagata, and, according to our own observation, also in Aizu in Fukushima Prefecture, part of the earthen floor (*doma*) in the house is used for processing the rice crop. The harvested rice is stored here for a while, then threshed on the spot. The rice-bags are either hung on a beam with a rope or placed on shelves. The smoke from the fire-place helps to dry the fresh rice bundles. When many helpers are hired for rice planting in springtime, the earthen floor is the place where they take their meals. Thus it is due to its economic functions that the earthen floor of the farmhouse is larger than that part of the house which is partitioned into rooms. The heavy snow-masses in winter make the people wish to do as much work indoors as possible.

Sericulture requires other changes in the house construction. In earlier times the farmers used all their living rooms to place the shelves for the silkworm baskets and lived themselves rather uncomfortably in what was left of the house, in the kitchen, in the loft under the roof, or on the verandah. To keep the house warm, a ceiling was made. Most silkworm breeders have their houses in a topsyturvy state even nowadays during the breeding season. Not only in Tôhoku districts but also elsewhere, a second or even a third story is added to the house for keeping the silkworms, so that discomfort for the family is eliminated. The roof-form also had to undergo changes because silk-worms need draught and a little light. Thus openings had to be made which can be seen mostly under both ends of the ridge.

Tobacco planters need space in the house to hang their leaves for drying, if this is not done on scaffolds outside the house. There are places where the loft has to be spacious to hang hemp for drying. In the course of time, various economic factors brought a change in the house construction with them.

Social levels among farmers are also expressed in terms of house construction. Farmers with a higher standing have more rooms for the sake of representation. They were always the progressive ones and eager to go along with the privileged classes in the social hierarchy when innovations were dictated to them by fashion, while less fortunate farmers could not afford to have doors on their houses and had to use only mats instead and lived on the earthen floor. Only the better class started to build an elevated floor neatly covered with boards, a luxurious usurpation in the times when the life of the farmers was rigidly controlled by regulations from above.

It is impossible to follow the author of this monograph in all descriptive details of the Tôhoku farmhouse. We only wish to say that the book establishes well the peculiarities of the house types of the region and contributes greatly to the elucidation of the historical development of the Japanese farmhouse in general. Many literary sources are quoted throughout the book and at the end of it a collection of regulations of the feudal era concerning the farmhouse is presented together with their explanation. In issuing regulations the lords had in mind the delivery of as many taxes as possible to them by the farmers and feared that what they considered as luxuries for farmers might curtail their productiveness. To write a special book on the farmhouse of Tôhoku is justified by its several characteristics, such as the large earthen floor and the over-sized living room, features that are a step closer to the earlier forms of the Japanese home. The author is to be credited with his comprehensive treatment of the Tôhoku farmhouse from a functional view, that is of the farmhouse with all its aspects in the life of those who live in it. The book, furthermore, brings to light all the dynamics which work on the farmhouse all the time so that it is far from being something fixed. It is changing to the same extent that the human living conditions are changing. Again we wish that something had been said more in extenso about the socio-religious and social side of living in a Tôhoku farmhouse. But even as it is, loaded with facts and data, the book is a valuable contribution not only to our knowledge of the farmhouse of Japan but also of cultural history.

We wish now to discuss one of the encyclopaedic collections which presents a comprehensive survey of the results of research on various fields of the science of Folklore. We have already offered our comments on two other collections in Vol. XVII of

this journal. This time it is *Nihon minzokugaku daikei* (Encyclopaedia of Japanese Folklore Science), a collection of 13 volumes of which Vols. 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 11, 12 have appeared so far. Since each volume is packed with facts and thoughts, and also in view of our limited space, we are not in a position at present to review them all in this issue. For this time we shall confine ourselves to Vols. 2, 9, and 11. The editors of the collection are Ômachi Tokuzô, Oka Masao, Sakurada Katsunori, Seki Keigo, and Mogami Takatoshi, all known and outstanding folklorists.

Vol. 2 comprises of a collection of papers by various authors, fourteen altogether, who wrote on the common theme "The History of Japanese Folklore Science and its Fields of Activity" (*Nihon minzokugaku no rekishi to kadai*). Prof. Oka Masao wrote a foreword on the topic: The various conditions under which the Japanese culture developed (*Nihon bunka no seiritsu no shojôken*). The writer points out that some of the characteristic conditions under which the Japanese culture developed is the traditionalism of the Japanese, their tendency to assimilate basically heterogeneous elements which compose the Japanese culture. The student of Japanese culture must always keep in mind that the basis of this culture and its strata are something complex, the result of an accumulation of foreign imports and influences. This holds true also for other cultures, but of the Japanese culture it is true to a much greater extent as a consequence of the geographic position of the Japanese islands. Many peoples and cultural waves from the Eurasiatic continent have reached the Japanese shores and came to a standstill. In the Japanese culture are deposited elements from the North, the South and the West. Their further diffusion in an Easterly direction was halted by the Pacific Ocean. Within the relatively small space of the country an extraordinary density of all kinds of elements had to result under the pressure of the manifold peoples and cultures of the immensely vast surroundings. Besides its geographic position, the continuity of an essentially agricultural civilisation and the numerous cultural units in the country, created by its mountainous nature, have further contributed to the uniqueness of the Japanese cultural development. The Japanese culture showed already a complex pattern before the influx of the Chinese culture in historic times. The writer summarizes that the oldest culture in Japan was a matrilinear one with secret societies carried by taro planters and hunters. The next layer was one with matrilineage, rice planting, and hunt-

ing. Then came a patrilinear layer with clan organisation of the (Tungusic) *hara* type, with field plantation and hunting, followed by a culture with a system of age classes of men, wet rice plantation and fishing. On top of these layers is a patriarchal clan organisation of the (Japanese) *uji* type and kingship. The *uji* is a patriarchal exogamous clan. The author holds that these various cultures were carried to Japan by alien tribes and were here combined into a new culture. The author is aware of the hypothetical character of his position. He is to be credited for his resolutely defended thesis that the Japanese culture has started with thoroughly differing elements from East and Southeast Asia. So far the Japanese Folklore Science has never raised the question as to the cultural composition of Japanese culture. The working methods of the historically working cultural anthropology remained unknown to most Japanese folklorists. For them it is an established fact that the Japanese culture was born in this country and they start studying it only from the time when written sources tell them about it. There are fields in which historically minded folklorists have done a fine work, but the chief occupation of most Japanese folklorists is the description and classification of living folkways and customs. It can be expected and is earnestly to be hoped that the publication of this Encyclopaedia of Japanese Folklore Science will mark the beginning of a new era with more attention given to historical and comparative studies of the Japanese culture by competent scholars in the country.

Shibata Minoru writes on "The Historical Development of the Japanese Culture" (*Nihon bunka no rekishiteki tenkai*). He looks out for the earliest traces of the Japanese culture. He subscribes to the heterogeneity of the initial elements of it, but is convinced that since the Stone Age the Japanese people have already lived in these islands without immigrations of tribes of a measurable size from abroad. Only new cultural elements came in. The author knows of immigrations of many individuals from the continent and of their racial absorption by the Japanese people. The question is raised as to the characteristics of the earliest Japanese culture. In the writer's opinion these characteristics must have preserved a certain stability in the course of the unfolding of the Japanese culture, which should appear in the way Japanese culture reacts in situations of contacts with alien cultures. According to him, the wet rice culture patterned the life of the Japanese, and became the basis of their

religious and other folkways, so that wet rice planting can be looked upon as the most characteristic side of Japanese culture. Another characterisic side is the old clan (*uji*) organisation which remained essentially intact throughout the Middle Ages with their feudalism into the capitalistic society of our days. In the religious sphere, the worship of clan-gods and ancestor spirits remained basically constant. Another element is the ruling dynasty. The author now tries to show the process of the further unfolding of the Japanese culture by borrowing extensively from the continental cultures without losing its basic characteristics. The most important acquisitions from abroad were bronze casting and wet rice cultivation. With them superior weapons and tools were placed into the hands of the Japanese and new sources of power and wealth were opened to the possessing classes. The author should also have referred here to social stratifications. The unification of the country under a predominant clan leader and subsequent military and political enterprises on the continent were further steps foreward, followed by an intrusion of the Chinese culture with all kinds of higher achievements, such as techniques in weaving, pottery, metallurgy, and architecture, calendar, astronomy, astrology, and Buddhism. With this new cultural outfit politicians of the Yamato court effected the Taika Reform in the middle of the seventh century by which they reorganized he State apparatus along the Chinese models, doing away with the clan State and introducing the Chinese law code. The T'ang culture, being the second strongest cultural wave from the continent, permeated all spheres of religion, art, architecture, music, dance. During the Kamakura era in the twelfth century this wave reached all provinces. A third wave were the Sung and Yuan cultures, bringing mainly poetry and ink painting (*sumie*). Sung learning, felt in Japan from the seventeenth century, had a special bearing on ethics. Western civilization reached Japan as the fourth wave.

Not only cultural waves from abroad, but also internal factors contributed to the formation of the Japanese culture. Such factors were the economic conditions, social stratification, and the subsequent mutual cultural interchange between the higher and lower levels of society. The class differences were never absolute ones. Society was always outbalanced by processes of accommodation and assimilation. The dynamics of the internal factors worked at a different tempo when the cultural elements involved were by nature more constant than others. In general, elements

belonging to the material side of the culture, such as techniques and costumes, could easily be taken over from outside. Religious, ethical, and political ideas, and family and social systems were of much greater continuance. Thus the Japanese culture is very variable and very traditional at the same time. Things as sciences and arts or the external forms of political systems could easily be imported from China, whereas native family relations remained more steady. For instance, the visiting marriage continued to exist from the earliest times until the Muromachi era (1392-1490), a matrilinear society being its basis. The patrilinear family developed together with the formation of the State. It became common practice during the Edo time (1603-1867) that the bride became a member of the bridegroom's family. The change from the one family system to the other required a long time, more than 1500 years. Another case of traditionalism is found in the funeral customs. The Buddhist cremation of the dead is now widely practiced, but it did not change the old ideas on the soul. The earlier ideas on the whereabouts of the soul of the deceased and the double burial system in that connection, remained unchanged. Only the avoidances with regard to the corpse are to a great extent fallen in oblivion nowadays.

The domain within which the Japanese culture underwent many and spectacular changes is after all limited. The tendency of continuance is strong in the basic strata of the Japanese society. Further research on the history of Japanese culture will find many problems to solve if it keeps in mind all factors of the internal dynamism of cultural change. No injustice is done if we say that this was not sufficiently the case so far, and it is to be hoped that Shibata's paper will sollicit a change to the better.

In the next paper (p. 33-42) Kindaichi Kyosuke, in our times Japan's most outstanding scholar in the field of research on the Ainu, writes on "The Historic Development of the Culture of the Ainu" (*Ainu bunka no rekishiteki hatten*). Since the Ainu do not come under the object of Japanese Folklore Science, we omit here our comments on Prof. Kindaichi's contribution. The author has devoted a lifetime's work to the study of the Ainu and can safely be called the greatest authority in the world on the Ainu.

Seki Keigo writes (p. 43-56) on the "Sociological Character of the Japanese Folklore Science" (*Nihon minzokugaku no shakaiteki seikaku*). He proposes that the Japanese folk customs be studied in a horizontal line, that is together with the social groups who practice them; then in a vertical line, that is accord-

ing to the social strata in which they are found; and thirdly, the folk customs should be studied together with the process of interaction between the different groups and classes. These methodological principles, the author finds, were greatly neglected by the Japanese folklorists in the past.

Sakurada Katsunori and Miyamoto Tsuneichi write jointly on "The Regional Character of Japanese Folk Customs" (*Nihon minzoku no chiiteki seikaku*). They stress first that investigations should be carried out both on local variations of customs and on the diffusion of the same customs in wider areas. The boundaries of areas to be investigated must be well planned. There will be cases that the explorer must include areas outside Japan, for instance, when studying cultural aspects going together with rice plantation. By doing so, he will accept the assistance of cultural anthrolopolgy. Only by expanding the scope of research to wide areas the explorer will be in a position to decide whether a given custom is the outcome of internal climatic and other conditions or a feature commonly owned by a group of people. Until now one of the weaknesses of Japanese Folklore Science was the almost entire neglect to take notice of the findings of ethnologists. They labored with the impossible task of explaining Japanese folkways and customs by considering exclusively the premises from within the country. On the other side it is obvious that also once imported, customs begin to display national and even local traits. In Japan, as far as tools and objects of handicraft are concerned, these traits are simplicity and propriety. Local variations are innumerable as there is hardly a country which is split up into so many local cultural centers as Japan is. This country is extremely rich in objects for daily use made of perishable material, such as straw baskets, wooden trays, toys made of straw, wood or clay, then all kinds of brooms, straw-hats, wooden clogs (*geta*), straw-mantles, and what not. All these objects show in their simple decorations local variations. The author devotes to the regionalism of Japanese culture a special chapter.

In 1930 Yanagita Kunio put forward his theory that linguistic antiquities are found most in the marginal areas of the country. This theory was applied also to folk customs. In the annual cycle of the rites and practices, which center around the Small New Year, many coincidences were found between Northeast and Southwest Japan. However, the theory, taken over from dialect research, did not prove to be of value for folklore research, and had to be partly rejected also for dialect research.

In his discussion of the diffusion of folk customs the author first asks the question whether or not the diffusion of customs may be due also to a racial differentiation. The Japanese were not always the uniform people they are now. Physical anthropology has found that west of Gifu Prefecture, through the Inland Sea South to North Kyûshû, a race different from that of the rest of the country is living. Dialect research has made parallel findings. As an instance of such parallelism in the cultural field, it was found that the distribution of the ring on which the cauldron is placed over the fire of the fire-place and of the hook (*jizaikagi*) from which to hang the cauldron over the fire goes together with the living areas of the two different races. The cauldron ring is found chiefly west of Gifu Prefecture, the cauldron hook east of Nagano Prefecture, in Shikoku and in the mountains of Central Kyûshû, that is, in more marginal areas. The cauldron hook seems to have been in use already in the Yayoi period and later in the Tumuli period. Furthermore, in the countryside there is an area with a hearth for cooking and an area with a fire-place for the same purpose. In Eastern Japan people rarely transport loads on their heads, but they do it in Izu, Ishikawa, Niigata, and Miyagi. In Western Japan, however, this customs is found everywhere. Eastern and Western Japan have many distinct customs. Patriarchal clan federations have their densest distribution in Eastern Japan. Kinship associations, including the maternal uncle, are frequently found in Western Japan. A change from clan federations to kinship associations is hardly thinkable. In Western Japan the position of the maternal uncle has always been high. All these differences between Eastern and Western Japan have their roots in a tribal difference. At the end of the Heian time we find seven political parties each in Musashi and in Nasu. Western Japan never saw the formation of such parties. They are federations of patriarchal clans which are not based on blood relationship but on the relationship of lords and vassals. It was on this basis that the Minamoto clan had built up its power. Its opponents, the Taira, with West Japan as their dominion, never succeeded in building up clan federations. Their organisational pattern was that of a hierarchically graded officialdom composed of blood related kin. The author wishes to show that several instances speak for a tribal differentiation between East and West Japan. As another different tribe he mentions fishermen who lived on family boats.

Returning to the local variations of the Japanese culture,

the author finds that the predominance of religious sects and the laws and regulations of the autonomous feudal lords are other factors that created variations. It can be taken for granted that not only geographic factors, such as the distance from the capital as a cultural center, are responsible for cultural differences. Many local factors of a cultural and political nature also played their role independently from a common cultural center and far removed from it.

The present form of Japanese Folkways is a mixture of those of tribal or even racial elements which lived on the islands from very early times with those of later arrivals, plus the variations which were conditioned by regional or local factors. Of this intense process of mixture, the author cites many instances taken from various fields of folklife. By doing so the author shows himself well versed in a great amount of pertinent literature. His special merit is that he sees in the making of the racial and tribal differentiation in the Japanese nation a source for the differentiation of its folkways. His present treatise might well stimulate a new approach of the Japanese folklorists to their object of research in so far as they might now start on a new analysis of folk customs and pay due attention to the question of causality instead of stopping at a mere description of customs.

The next essay is written by Seki Keigo on the "History of Japanese Folklore Science" (*Nihon minzokugaku no rekishi*), so far the most exhaustive presentation of the subject ever written (p. 81-196). We shall review here only the most important mile stones in this process of the making of Japanese Folklore Science. Such a science has existed since 1888 (Meiji 20). In its early years it sailed under the flag of the then predominant evolutionistic anthropology. Soon after 1912 the science was given the vernacular name *kyôdokenkyû* (countryside research) and was understood to be the study of traditional Japanese culture. At the beginning of the period of Shôwa (1925) the science was reorganized, its scope enlarged and subdivided. In 1935 (Shôwa 10) systematic fieldwork was started under the guidance of Yanagita Kunio, better methods were applied and advances in the theoretical orientation were made, though a good deal of the previous dilettantism remained. After the second world war Yanagita Kunio founded his own research institute which however closed in 1957. After the appearance of the journal *Kyôdo Kenkyû*, the Japanese Folklore Science advanced in its path for about ten years. At present we witness its fifth step. In our days

outstanding sociologists and students of cultural anthropology are stepping into the picture, and are starting to exploit the great mass of collected material on folkways under entirely new aspects and with fresh approaches. They see their task in making use of the findings of related sciences for the promotion of Folklore Science, keeping in mind that also in Western countries Folklore Science has profited much from linking itself up with neighboring sciences, first of all with anthropology. In Europe, the author writes, Folklore Science as an independent science has almost disappeared, or has been integrated into branches of the anthropological and social sciences. Voices could be heard denying to Folklore Science its raison d'être altogether as a science of its own. While standing its ground, the Japanese Folklore Science must reflect again and again upon how to improve its methodological procedures. Its subject matter is the Japanese culture. Instead of comparing the cultures of other peoples with that of their own, the Japanese folklorists still tend to explain the Japanese culture without affording themselves a look at that of peoples outside Japan. The author stresses the necessity of linking up the study of Japan with a comparative study of all those peoples who are in one way or other related with the Japanese people. The Japanese folklorists will profit greatly also in their methodological approach if they give up their self-imposed isolation. With his suggestion Seki Keigo has certainly laid his finger on the weakest point of Folklore Science in Japan. Only scholars sufficiently versed in foreign languages and thus capable to follow up publications on folkloristic and ethnological matters in other countries can do first-grade Folklore research in Japan. With his criticism Prof. Seki wants in no way to deny the intrinsic value to many achievements of Japanese folklorists. Also a Folklore Science working with a wider horizon must rely on the results of spade work of specialists in the country, be these the collection of data on still existing folkways or historic investigations.

The following papers, all written by noted folklorists, discuss the tasks and the methods of Japanese Folklore Science. They are: Hirayama Binjirô: On Oral Traditions (*Densho ni tsuite,* p. 198-212); Wakamori Tarô: History and Folklore Science (*Rekishi to no kankei kara,* p. 213-232); Sakurada Katsunori: The Study of the Modern Variations of Folk Customs (*Gendai ni okeru minzoku henbô ye no taisho to tachiba kara,* p. 233-241); Seki Keigo: Folklore Science as a Historical Science (*Rekishi*

kagaku to shite no minzokugaku, p. 242-258); Mogami Takatoshi: The Characteristics of Japanese Folklore Science (*Nihon minzokugaku no tokushitsu*), with special regards to its tasks and methods (*kadai to hôhô wo to chûshin to shite*) (p. 259-271); Oka Masao: Some Proposals for Japanese Folklore Science (*Nihon minzokugaku ye no futatsu, mitsu no teian,* p. 272-294).—In an appendix are added biographical data on some pioneers of Japanese Folklore Science.

To the papers dealing with the tasks and methods of Japanese Folklore Science (*Nihon minzokugaku no kadai to hôhô*), Oka Masao wrote a foreword from which it becomes evident that many folklorists themselves are growingly critical of their results so far achieved, that is of the definition of tasks and topics and of methods. They find that their many outdated conceptions and attitudes must be substituted by new and better ones. Oka writes that Japanese Folklore Science has fallen prey to a mannerism and, if no remedy for this is found, the Folklore Science of Japan will itself become folklore. This is a healthy self-criticism. The authors who have contributed papers to this chapter present new ideas and submit them to competent scholars for evaluation. With no intention to impair the merits of the other papers, we pick out that of Prof. Oka for a summarization of its main ideas. Oka Masao is one of the few Japanese folklorists who have gone through anthropological training and who possesses the necessary background for undertaking an analysis in terms of cultural history of the data gathered by fieldworkers. He earned his Ph.D. degree from the University of Vienna with his thesis "Kulturschichten Alt-Japans" (cultural strata of ancient Japan), which, we regret, has never been published. In his foreword to the papers of the volume under discussion here, Oka writes on the subject matter, the tasks and the methods of the Folklore Science of Japan. According to him it is the science that deals with the fundamental culture of life. First of all the question has to be tackled as to what the Japanese people are. So far this question has never been touched. The origin, the formation, and the structure of the Japanese people were never a concern of the Japanese folklorists. Questions of this kind were considered to belong to the realm of ethnology and anthropology. The Japanese folklorists took it for granted that their people were always a homogeneous entity and the folk customs were only variations of this. Meanwhile ethnology, anthropology and linguistics have taught us otherwise. Further research work has to show

that several different peoples were amalgamated into the new people which the Japanese are. The last arrived Imperial tribe subdued the earlier fishermen and farmers, built up the first State, solidified and enlarged its might. A stratified and graded society developed. With the breakdown of tribe and clan exogamy, the process of racial and cultural mixture ended with the unification of all races and tribes and clans on the islands in the one Japanese nation. In the main, this had already happened when the Chinese and Buddhist culture arrived and met, as the latest additions to it, an established pattern of culture without changing it basically. It is the task of Folklore Science to study the forms of life of all groups and layers of the folk. These are specifically clothing, food, dwelling, social structure and organizations, religious rites and beliefs, and techniques, in other words, the whole traditional culture of the community. Though the higher ranks of the community follow many individualistic tendencies, they are by no means cut off from the culture of the community. Oka sticks here to well known theoretical principles of the Western Folklore Science. He then discusses the problem of how the cultural history of Japan can be reconstructed. He demands that in investigations and collections of data the single item must not be isolated but be seen in synthesis with all others so that meaning and function of each of them can be properly understood. Oka finds it possible that several types of villages and family systems and social organisations exist in Japan. In the methodological procedure he proposes that first the typology, then the diffusion and then the historical background should be studied in all fields of folklife. He is convinced of the existence of at least two different types of villages. The one, he writes, is based on the age class system, the other one on a tribal organisation with patriarchal families from which new families have branched off. All these families occupy a common territory. When, while applying a sociological and historical procedure in methodology, everything possible has been done in the domestic field, it is then imperative to consult ethnology for a comparison of the findings with those from among other peoples. In a final chapter Oka has some good remarks to make concerning the special character of the Japanese Folklore Science. He finds that its founder, Yanagita Kunio, has in the main followed Frazer who is essentially an evolutionist. Japanese Folklore Science can be saved, Oka says, from disintegration if it cooperates closely with comparative ethnology, becoming the regional ethnology of Japan. The time

has come that ethnologists begin to take interest in their own people and that folklorists get interested in other peoples. In this way, ethnology and Folklore Science become essentially one and the same science. To this latter conclusion we wish to say that the theoretical orientation of the Western Folklore Science has vaccilated throughout many decades. Probably many, if not most folklorists, will agree with Oka in his identification of the two sciences. The division of them into two sciences is a division of work rather than one based on a difference of their object. For this division of labor exist good reasons. Folklore Science is the regional ethnology of a society with a high civilisation. Oka's criticism cuts deep into the body of Japanese Folklore Science. We wish to add that ethnology as envisaged by Oka is represented in Japan only by a small handful of scholars. We hope that their number increases steadily and that Japanese ethnologists may perhaps engage themselves less in costly expeditions to foreign countries as long as mountains of work wait for them in their own country.

Vol. 9 of the collection on Japanese folk customs deals with "Dramatic Performances and Amusements" (*Geinô to goraku*) (340 pages). *Geinô* are all kinds of religious dances and dramatic performances that are connected with the worship of gods and with special places, occasions and traditionally fixed days of the annual cycle of festivals. If no such connections are found any more, dances and other artistic performances come under the term *geijutsu*, for instance, the Nô play. Honda Yasuji, who wrote the foreword to Vol. 9 and a paper on *geinô* in general and on *kagura* in particular, hits the point when he tells us that the Japanese *geinô* originate in the old religion of the country. He further states that with the import of continental civilization, numerous refined forms of dance and music were added to the old heritage, but that in many rural *geinô*, very old elements have been preserved with which a history of the *geinô* has to begin. The author is of the opinion that the Japanese *geinô* have their origin in the belief in souls as this existed when the animism did not know yet of humanized gods. The gods in the official mythologies of the Kojiki (712) and Nihongi (720) are no longer different from human beings and were probably humanized already several centuries before the compilation of the said mythologies. Later human beings were divinized and gods humanized. Thus a pantheon was created in the course of the formation of the clan society in which each clan was for political reasons in need of a

powerful clan god. Before this time, however, the forces of nature were worshipped as such. The acts of worship envisaged the intensification of these forces or their mitigation when they became so strong as to be a menace for the people. The divine force or its personification was invited to come down and take up its abode in a special seat prepared for it. This abode was either a post or a tree or a spear or only a pair of chopsticks. The objects which were to carry the god were placed either on a rock or on a hill, on sand or on a rice-cake. The thus sacred objects were purified, then carried around in dances. Also the female medium into which a god came down had first to undergo purification through dancing. The purification dance was an ecstatic action of the person chosen by the god as his medium. Many dances coming under *geinô* were originally repetitions of the ecstatic movements of the persons in their state of divine possession. Many other dances were magic performances aimed at securing success in hunting and fishing or a good crop. Other dances had to prevent or eliminate diseases and epidemics and other calamities. The magic effect of such dances is directed against those gods who sent evils. The assembled crowd intensified the magic effect by shouting and playing the flute and drum. When in springtime the young folk of both sexes gathered for the *utakagai,* that is for the joint singing of love songs, they did it as an act of cult which was believed to increase the forces of nature.

After tracing the foundation of religious dances and dramatic performances, the author classifies the still existing *geinô*. Outstanding among them are the *kagura,* dramatic performances accompanied with music, in which a spirit is either placated or given more strength. Numerous varieties of *kagura* are still enacted in our days. Their leading actors are either female soothsayers or other persons of a similar nature. *Kagura* are intended as purification rites, rites to dispel evil spirits, or rites to increase crops. Others are New Year's congratulations with a Buddhist stinge. For a considerable length of his paper the author dwells upon the history of the studies on *kagura* and we learn that such studies were already made as early as the Tokugawa time (1603-1868). In modern times *kagura* studies have been a favorite occupation of folklorists. A voluminous standard work is the *Hanamatsuri* (flower-festival) by Hayakawa Kôtarô which deals in two volumes with the rural *kagura* of Kitashidara District in Aichi Prefecture and in neighboring villages of Shimoina District in Nagano Prefecture (1930). Another recognized publication is

Kagura kenkyû (*kagura* studies) by Nishizuma Masayoshi (1934). The *kagura* and the *geinô* are perhaps the best studied field of the Japanese Folklore Science. In games of children we find traces from the *geinô* which have however lost their religious meaning. In Vol. 11 of the encyclopedia under review, a special paper of 45 pages discusses this. We learn in it about the types of the *kagura* and 6 charts show us their distribution throughout the country. The bibliographical list of *kagura* studies is impressive. The contribution on *kagura* has been written by Honda Yasuji.

Very old religious elements are also contained in the so-called *dengaku*, that is dances connected with rice plantation. They have a great ethnological significance. Arai Tsuneyasu wrote a contribution of 31 pages on them. Goto Toshi wrote 35 pages on the *bugaku*, which are refined and artistic dances of a religious and ceremonial character, taken over from China and Korea already before the Nara time (710-784) and enacted at ceremonies in Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples in the Imperial Court. In modern times *bugaku* are still danced in their traditional way in temples all over the country as we can see from 3 distribution charts.

In his paper on *Fûryû* (taste or refinement) Misumi Haruo deals with many public dances, processions, and pageants, such as the *Bon* dances, Buddhist prayer dances (*nembutsu odori*), and rain prayer dances (*amagoi odori*). In such dances Chinese or Indian tales are dramatized, the spirits of cranes, turtles, or the Gods of Good Luck appear. They are vast fields of folklore research. Even under their foreign cloak we find in them the old Japanese idea of man's direct intercourse with his gods given concrete forms. The author is doubtless well versed in the history of customary dances. Many illustrations help the reader follow excursions into the manifold ramifications of the dramatic art of which the Japanese possess almost unlimited riches. For this reason, we are not surprised that a special dictionary of rural dances exists, namely *Kyôdo minyô butsû jiten* (Dictionary of Rural Folk Songs and Folk Dances) by Kodera Yukichi (1941). In 1953 the Theater Museum of Waseda University published the *Geinô jiten* (Dictionary of Religious Dances and Dramatic Performances).

A most charming field has been ploughed up by Nagata Kokichi in his contribution on puppets and puppet shows under the title "Puppets for Sacred Dances and Puppet Shows" (*Kamimai ningyô, ningyô shibai* (p. 165-194). In three chapters—puppets

used for worship of gods, puppets used to perform sacred dances with them, and puppet shows—the author introduces to us the many puppets which are used in connection with religious rites and ceremonies. We can catch a glimpse into the riches of the Japanese art of puppet making and of puppet shows when we look through the list 13 pages long of places with still practiced puppet shows. Human figures had originally a religious function in so far as they represented the human world before the gods and the spirits. They also were carriers of human sins and squalor and removers of spirits of diseases who were compelled to enter into them. Puppets were furthermore the seat of gods and spirits after the latter had been called down by their worshippers. In old literary documents, such as the *Kojiki,* the *Nihongi,* the *Manyôshû,* the *Wamyôshô,* the *Engishiki,* we find several terms for puppets which refer to the material they were made of or to their function in the worship of gods. The basic elements in the belief in puppets are: 1) puppets are a magic means to call spirits, and 2) puppets serve as means to eliminate impurity. About 50 kinds of puppets are listed in the Comprehensive Nomenclature of Japanese Folklore Terms (*Sôgo Nihon minzoku goi*). The Japanese art of puppet making and the puppet show have their roots in religious grounds. The author substantiates his statement by showing first what kind of puppets were and are still used singly for religious and magic purposes. Such puppets are moved around by the hands of a player, this movement being called "dance of the god" (*kamimai*). The performance is not enacted for human onlookers, and no human activities are imitated, but the movements of the puppets are taken as those of a god or spirit who wants to communicate his will to human beings. A simple piece of wood may serve as the seat of the god. One of the names for religious puppets is *kugutsu,* of which the etymology can easily be *ku (ki)-gutsu,* that is 'piece of wood.' Puppets with eyes, noses, hands and feet appeal not only to gods but to man as well. The *Oshirasama,* figures manipulated by a sort of female shamans in Northeastern Japan, are still not more than wooden sticks clad in a piece of cloth, so that many see in it the most primitive form of cultic puppets. In the Middle Ages professional players created refined and artistic forms of the puppets for shows, partly under the influence of foreign models. The term *kugutsu* (religious puppets) exists for the same purpose in Korea also. Nowadays a great variety of puppets is still employed in religious ceremonies in temples and private houses.

The puppet shows in which several puppets are played with, and the way they are manipulated and their distribution areas have been made the subject of detailed studies. The author lists 95 different puppet theaters throughout the country with data on the number of puppets used, show times and places, and relevant literature. Most of the puppet shows are the product of the last three hundred years.

The next chapter (pp. 195-210), written by Gunji Masakazu is devoted to the *Nô* and the *Kyôgen*. These two and the *Kabuki* are dramatic arts which now transcend the realm of popular plays and belong to urban civilization, but they still display local color and traditions. The author tells us that studies so far made on them fall short in showing those elements which the higher dramatic art has adopted from its rural sources. *Nô* and *Kyôgen* which were enacted in the provinces not on the professional and commercially operated stages of the cities, were mostly acts of worship, Buddhist services, or rites at the courts of feudal lords. Before their promotion to high art in the cities, various theophanies had been taken over into the popular dramatic art, which happened thus to form a substantial element in the artistic shows on the great stages. Hayakawa Kôtarô has previously published his Notes on Local *Kyôgen* (*chi-kyôgen zakki*). To them the author of the chapter under our review contributes much of his own. It is surprising to see the rich treasures the Japanese provinces still possess of dramatic arts and we are grateful to the folklorists for their devoted and thorough studies of them.

On pp. 211-236 Goto Toshi writes on masks, procession wagons, stages and orchestras (*kamen, dashi, butai, hayashi*). Among others, the question interests us whether or not the Japanese had masks before Chinese and Korean masks became known to them. We know for certain that this was the case on the Ryûkyû Islands. So it becomes probable also for Japan, though written documents do not bear witness. We know of masks in Japan not earlier than the time when the high dramatic art had already developed. Archaeological excavations brought to light clay figures with human faces. Masks may have been carved in wood and perished. Still in modern times crude wooden masks could be seen hanging on roof tiles, on house-doors, in the kitchen. They are different from the masks used on the stage and resemble rather the faces on prehistoric clay figures. Furthermore, masks of Tengu (long-nosed goblins) and of devils, used for rain prayer ceremonies and driving evil spirits away, fall also in line with

the clay figures as far as their function goes. Refined masks used on the stage show a strong Chinese influence. They are a vast field for research on folk art and on the religious background of the Japanese dramatic art.

Briefly to be mentioned are the so-called *dashi* (lit. mountain-wagon), which were originally seats of gods who deigned to descend on them. Still in our days such wagons can be seen in numerous festive processions that start from a shrine. The author lists many instances of such. They were recorded the first time at the end of the 10th century. We wish that the author had aired their remote Indian origin. With many references to local centers of religious dramatic art, a section follows on stage and music.

Gunji Masakazu wrote a paper (pp. 237-250) on wandering singers and actors who call at house-doors asking for a gift. In the cultural history of Japan they have made lasting impressions. Honda Yasuji wrote on the *geinô* of Okinawa (pp. 251-280), giving us valuable informations also on the old religion of the Ryûkyûs. The chapter on contests, games and other amusements was written by Tawara Hisa (pp. 283-312), and the one on children's games by Maruyama Hisako (313-334).

Through the volume under review its contributors have laid before us a summary of the stock taking of folklore research done so far. Japan abounds in meaningful and picturesque customs with a still recognizable or at least a former religious background, as already a glance at the many illustrations can convince us. The reader of the volume admires the systematic approach to the respective problems and an intimate knowledge of historical sources displayed by the contributors, and also the lucidity in tracing down the manifold offshoots of old customs and their religious significance. We need not remind the Japanese scholars that after this stock taking, the time has come for comparative ethnological studies.

Vol. 11 is dedicated to Regional Investigations and Studies of of Folk Customs (*chihôbetsu chôsa kenkyû*) (382 pages). The plan of the volume has been laid down by Omachi Tokuzo who wrote also the foreword. The peculiarity of Vol. 11 is that the folklore research work of each prefecture (*ken*) is described and evaluated. Resident explorers in the provinces are familiar with the customs of their territory. They can visit their field of research frequently and extend their stay there. Each folklore phenomenon must be seen in its context with the whole of folk

life. This can be done best by natives or residents. As Omachi points out in his foreword, the purpose of this volume is to outline the history of folklore research of each prefecture, and to call for a continuation of the work done in accordance with the requirements of up-to-date standards of Folklore Science. The survey covers Okinawa, Hokkaido, and the 42 prefectures lying between these two extreme areas of Japan.

In the compilation of the history of regional research activities, the editorial committee followed the following directives: 1) not only work done by natives but also by outsiders should be surveyed; 2) only items typical of and important for the respective area should be listed; 3) a list should be compiled both of occasional and of periodical publications. A comprehensive bibliography covering the whole of Japan is planned for Vol. XIII; 4) Regional Folklore Societies with their top personalities should be discussed; 5) Photographic documentation on local research and on important and typical folklore material should be added; 6) the chronology adopted should be in accordance with the peculiarities of the provinces concerned. This last point is of use in so far as the said chronology may deviate from the chronology which is valid for Japanese Folklore Science as a whole, which can be arranged as follows: 1) The period before the publication of the journal *Kyôdo kenkyû* (1941), that is the journal for the study of rural customs; 2) the period since the start of *Kyôdo kenkyû* down to about 1925; 3) the period since publication of the journal *Minzoku* (Folk) (1924) until the publication of the journals *Minzoku geijutsu* (Folk Art), *Tabi* to *densetsu* (Travel and Local Traditions) (1929), this period lasting to about 1934; 4) the period since publication of *Minkan densho* (Folk Traditions) (1910) until now. The papers published in this volume, however, emphasize the history of the regional research activities. Whatever chapter of the volume we peruse, we find soon that the planning of it has well been put into practice. The tree of Japanese Folklore Science has already so many branches and leaves that it is hardly possible for a single student to look them all over. Side by side with the above named leading journals many others were and are published in the provinces as organs of local groups of folklore experts and enthusiasts. A comprehensive survey of the whole body of material published is further handicapped by the great number of publication organs which are often not specialized folklore journals but contain also information on prehistoric, historic, topographic matters, and

even on natural sciences. It is still more difficult to pick out all the folkloristic information which is carried in local gazetteers (*gun-shi*) of the 45 prefectures of Japan. To some provinces quite respectable bibliographical lists are added. So we find 153 items for the Ryûkyû Islands, 58 for the Fukushima Prefecture, 58 for the Saga Prefecture. Though prefectures, created only in modern times, are no natural units for a division of the country into folkloristic areas, for practical purposes this division must work. The activities in the various prefectures are not equally lively and there are prefectures which do not form homogeneous units in their folkloristic composition. Illustrative of such a situation is Nagano Prefecture. Politically it was for many centuries known as the province of Shinano, geographically however, and also culturally, it falls apart in two areas, the Northern and the Southern. The city of Matsumoto lies just between both. The vast province was made the field of its research activities by the Shinano Education Society (*Shinano Kyôiku kai*), which ranks among the most active research bodies of Japan. It was formed early in the Meiji era by graduates of the Normal School of the province with the purpose to raise the educational level of the people. It centered around a journal with papers on all historical and cultural matters of Shinano, founded in 1887. From 1888 the society opened branches in all districts of the province. Folklore research ranked always high in the endeavors of this group of progressive educators. Early in this century the society started on a programme of compilation of so-called *kyôdo-shi,* that is descriptions of the various districts, their historic background and making, their religious centers and peculiarities, feudalistic institutions, folktales, dances and festivals, and other items of folkways. By 1910 a great number of monographs were already made available. Their compilers and collaborators however felt increasingly the need of guidance and welcomed greatly the publication of the journal *Kyôdo kenkyû* (studies in one's own native region, in German,' "Heimatkunde") started in 1914 by Yanagita Kunio, the pioneer of Japanese Folklore Science. From 1920 Yanagita became also the leading spirit in the inner circle of the editors of the journal *Shinano kyôiku* (Education in Shinano). In 1933 the Broadcasting Station in Nagano, the capital of the prefecture, started regular folklore lectures, many of them given by Yanagita. The writer of this review, when doing fieldwork on farmhouses, had the privilege of receiving guidance and advice from the gentlemen of the Iida branch of the Shinano

Education Society. They served him with such a great list of old farmhouses that it was not possible to visit and study them all in the 20 days of his stay in the field.

Within the frame of this review it is not possible to do justice to the folklore activities in all prefectures. For a complete survey it is not easy to trace down the many papers published in local organs of which a considerable number exists throughout the country, or in the almost innumerable regional and local gazetteers. In the latter, folkloristic material is submerged in the predominating geographic and historic documentation, and shows also various degrees of scientific usefullness. We are however fortunate enough to possess a good number of bulky monographs written by competent researchers in many spheres of our Science. Only when all 13 volumes planned for the Encyclopaedia of Japanese Folklore Science have appeared, shall we be better able to look over the entire output of folkloristic publications in this country and many achievements of otherwise perhaps isolated and forgotten explorers and authors will find their proper appraisal. Further work will have to continue where theirs had ended, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

We list here those volumes of the collection which are already on the market by the time our papers go to press, and for the sake of completeness we include also the three volumes on which we have offered our comments.

Vol. 2: The History of Japanese Folklore Science and its Fields (*Nihon minzokugaku no rekishi to kadai*)
Vol. 3: Society and Folk Customs (*Shakai to minzoku*) I
Vol. 4: Society and Folk Customs II
Vol. 5: Occupations and Folk Customs (*Seigyô to minzoku*)
Vol. 6: Life and Folk Customs (*Seikatsu to minzoku*) I
Vol. 9: Dramatic Performances and Amusements (*Geinô to goraku*)
Vol. 11: Regional Investigations and Studies on Folk Customs (*Chihôbetsu chôsa kenkyû*)
Vol. 12: Folk Customs on Amami Oshima and Okinawa. Problems of comparative ethnology (*Amami, Okinawa no minzoku. Hikaku minzokugaku shomondai*)

(We plan to continue our review in the next issues of *Folklore* Studies)