

# *JAPAN'S TRADITIONAL FAMILY SYSTEM AND ITS SYMBOLS*

by

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## **Chapter 1**

Since the beginning of human history, a sort of social group, such as horde, has been developed in its long course into the huge scales of machine of human societies such as being at present, where political and social systems have, gradually, turned out to be intricate machinery.

How to operate these kinds of huge, complicated societies——human groups——seems still up to the man, or men who is, or are, on the top of the echelon in the gigantic administrative structure that, generally, can be categorically divided into three major functional organs, that is to say, the respective independence of the legislature, the executive, and the judicature.

The divisions of social functions classified into the three categories, as mentioned above, the theory of which was founded by the noted scholar, Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755), are, more or less, in possession of the administrative and political might that can be called in the name of 'power.'

'Power' has since quite a long time ago wielded its diversified might upon people or groups. Not until that people wrenched the 'power' from the then feudal despots, 'power' had rather reigned, than governed, over the people within its 'tread-down' region or state. As expounded by many historians, through such several ordeals in the history of men of both Europe and America as the Italian Renaissance (1344), the Reformation in Germany (1517), the Industrial Revolution in England (1760), the Independence of America (1776), and the France Revolution (1789), which, in the hemisphere, most of the people underwent as their labor pains, longing for the coming dawn, for giving birth to the new society in which 'power' would be handed down on people——people who, for generations, paid heavily for obtaining it.

Historically speaking, then, power——political power——had been the supremacy upon the people. In Europe's erstwhile feudal system, the rulers had been on the thrones, having themselves give a God-like place, wielding the sceptre——a regal symbol, and regarded by the people as God himself. It had been something inviolable and this somewhat religious system had been supported, in general aspects, by the people's traditional, feudalistic mentality.

And, strangely enough to the most, while I feel obliged to prove it somewhat more clear later, those serial movements for spiritual and physical emancipation contained such components of mental or sentimental tints as authoritarian, symbolic and, though in a small portion, sensual sense of emotion that appeared to be comparable to some kinds of claustrophobia of the soul that had usually its physical symbolism and physiological ground.

Of course, since the dawn, of the social consciousness of people, through the above mentioned, epochmaking but suffering events which made people unbind from the feudalistic blind fetters, toward the then existing state of the regime, pioneers of modern thought currents had tried to criticize the power system, and to fight against it, directed by the new social and political theory that was, in short, the theory of "THE SOVEREIGNTY RESTS WITH THE PEOPLE." The embodiment of this thought has been reduced to the prevailing tide of the social, or political, system, that is, "democracy."

## Chapter 2

But whatever the position of social system may be, in both democratic and feudalistic alike, administrative functions should consist in the power whose major role to society might be represented themselves as to be social control, whether they suppressed people or not, for keeping social order.

Social control, in its abstract idea, would become functional on the mass through the channels of the ramified administrative organizations, namely, the government's agencies. Most of them might be open to the mass. In this respect, the more does the system become democratic, the more widely the doors in the agencies would become open to the general mass. So, freely, would the people get into, or out, there!

Social function and social control, implicitly backed up by the power from behind, through various kinds of the organs or agencies, distributed on the plan, implement the imposed role in the terrain of society. And then, such social organs as law-courts, municipal offices, tax offices, police stations, and so forth, might be traced, through their functions concerned, of control, back to authority which seems to the idea in our minds rather abstract than concrete, and then, finally, back to power. In this, power becomes of authority which might be led to social control. But it never means that the authority pertinent to power directly produces the operative control upon people. Ordinarily, the effects of the authority upon people depend to a great extent on symbols of wide varieties which are straightforwardly indicative of the governing or ruling authority attached to power. Thus, to the rulers, using various kinds of symbols as token of their authority became common.

In other words, power, without exception, as history tells, produces its authority, and then authority is always represented by its symbols. "People," said Dr. Erich Fromm in his noted book—'*Escape from Freedom*,' (1941)—, "tend to cause themselves dependent on authority through some psychoanalytical stages. Inside of men's mental mechanism, there exists a complex sentiment which seems to manifest itself in a constant striving for power or authority over others. At the same time, as Dr. E. Fromm labeled it as 'authoritarian orientation,' people embrace in their minds a certain complex, a desire to find a source of a superior power upon which to rely."<sup>(1)</sup>

This also goes for another example one can glimpse the sentiment that is probably an inevitable result of the child's dependence upon his/her parents during his/her formative years. Viewed in this light, all men are more or less authoritarian.

Apart from deepening the analysis down to psychological depth of human soul whose major ingredients are, as being well known, likely to be divided into the two extremities, i. e., masochism and sadism, and so human soul should, as a matter of course, find its position restless, vibrating or oscillating between those two poles which are contrary to each other. But once the power sets people fixed at their suppressed position, or getting them off in one direction, and authority, above the people, settled, the restless state of the people's mentality that drifts aimlessly, ordinarily shows a tendency of bending to the presence of the authority.

In the course of this 'authority-build-up-process,' the ruler, consciously or unconsciously, establishes his power-symbols the roots of which are generally found in all kinds of social systems. Symbols, thus derived, and enforced, upon the people, to make them contribute to, consolidate, and strengthen the spiritual tie of the people by accepting one common authority, varies vastly in its patterns.

### Chapter 3

In this brief summary, I tried to pick up several items, displaying some of the examples of such symbolic patterns in Japan, as being the transformations out of any kind of authority that has made a phenomenal contribution to the 'promotion' of the government authority.

Most kinds of agencies of the ruling power, or the government, have been qualified with the 'right' of assuming its control upon the people. In the prior days under feudalistic system, this 'right' belonged, exclusively, to the feudal despots, peers, and priests. They usually pretended to their thrones, and held their regal sways upon the people tightly.

Under this sort of regime, the functions of social control would be reasonably called under the title of 'authority.' The word 'authority' wielded its power, functioning among the people, as being regarded as a symbol of their feeling of dread and fear toward the then despot or ruling power.

As concerns Japan's case, it was until the end of World War II that the word 'authority' was called in the name of '*okami*,'<sup>(2)</sup> containing somewhat of the sense of fear mingling with the feeling of worship or veneration. The people of Japan had looked up at the '*okami*' with suppressed breath, and bent to it obediently. What was more notable, the people's object of dread or worship to '*okami*'—the center of the authority representative of the ruler—was, in the eyes of the people, driven to shift its sheer substance of the authority itself from the real functional officials, or staffs, in the government agencies of the ruling power, finally to the structures or the edifices in which the real functions of the '*okami*' organs existed, and operated.

As P. A. Sorokin once put it in his laborious work, '*Power and Morality*,' (1959),<sup>(3)</sup> the people's image of their authority was, then, taken over by such symbols as the edifices, (castles, namely), banners, badges, portraits of rulers, and other items most of which served as tools for handling the people's psychological aspect. Thus, the center of their image to the ruling power shifted finally from the substantial functions of the government to the newly gilded images—symbols. Naturally, though those symbols were rather unrealistic, and not substantial for the people's routine, real and actual everyday-life of the 'subjects,' viewed from a different

angle, in mental and psychological sense, everyday-life of most of the people—the subjects—, seemed to revolve around them. Simultaneously and as an essential phase of the same operation of the people's psychology, the image of those symbols was being enhanced in the highest tradition of the nation's cult. In this sense, those powerful and provocative effects pertinent to those symbols on the people were, for the ruling power, expectedly or unexpectedly, conduced to aiming at governing, or dominating, the whole nation.

At any rate, the authority of the ruling power formed, in its concrete expression, in the rather ideal and abstractive word, '*okami*,' into the symbolic embodiments, which, from the psychological sense to actual reality, wielded its mighty power upon the people of this nation. Thus, the '*okami*' became to take the shapes as symbols representing the authority of His Majesty's government. It would be needless to say that the God-incarnated-man, His Imperial Majesty, was the personified supreme symbol of this nation, even since the establishment of the Imperial Restoration in the Meiji Era was achieved. The Emperor and his family were, indeed, worshipped, as personal gods, enshrined at the inner sanctuary deep into the palace across the Double-Arched-Bridge, '*nijyu-bashi*,'<sup>(4)</sup> built over the palace moat as a main entrance gate to the 'holy inside,' which was also hallowed and regarded as a symbol of the national holiness—the 'divinity-object' of the nationwide worship.

What was so outstanding about the symbols representing the solem dignity of the Imperial Household before World War II were the Imperial Standard, the crest of the Imperial Family, and, in more special measure, the photographs of the Emperor and the Empress. Before the end of World War II, all the students and the pupils on school campuses of this country kept their worship to the small 'sanctuary house' in which the sacred photographs of the Emperor and Empress were enshrined. In these small sanctuaries on the school campuses all the teachers and students found a perfect, and supreme symbols of their feelings and sentiments which were fortified by the solemn statue, the Imperial Rescript on Education,— '*kyoiku-chokugo*.'<sup>(5)</sup> The proclamation of it was made on the 39th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji (1890), and it strictly regulated the ways of the school life from the elementary step to the college, at the highest of the school levels.

The period before World War II and during the wave of the thought, i. e., the 'Emperor First' principle, both the sanctuary of the photographs of the Emperor and the Empress and the Imperial Rescript on Education marked the highest point in symbols in Japan's school life and others in general. In the Imperial Rescript on Education, we read in the authentic mode of phraseology, among its lines like this: ".....Know ye, Our subjects: Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of and herein also lies source of Our education ..... and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers. The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by

Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places.....”

In attempting to understand the symbolic patterns of the Empire of Japan I need to add another several items of the symbols for a little more amplification.

Besides the symbols of the government the symbolic status of the Emperor should be described as being beyond the secular or modernized administration by the government. Whether unconsciously or consciously, the nations used the word, ‘*okami*,’ with the feelings of worship, respect and, somewhat fearful sentiment towards the supreme, or rather absolute, symbol of the Emperor, which shined as a brilliant token of the divinity of His Majesty far beyond the ruling power of the governmental administration of this country. Among the distinguished symbols of the Emperor and his family, the family crest, “the form of the open chrysanthemum of 16 rays, “did represent the utmost symbol led by the concept of the ‘*okami*.’

The national concept of the people of this country was sure to have stemmed from the principle of the unity of religious faith and state administration, ‘*saisei-itchi*.’<sup>(6)</sup> Both the ceremonial performance of Shintoism, which were held at the Imperial Court every year, and the governmental acts had symbolic significance over this nation. We can recognize in the standardized pattern of the ceremonies, in those days, regardless of the kinds that were in the opening ceremonies of the prewar-Imperial Diet, in the people’s rallies, in the naming ceremonies of airplanes, in the ceremonies purifying building sites, and in most of the other occasions. Those ceremonial acts, most of which were based on the faith, if not truly devout, of Shintoism, were quite effective to unify the people’s faith to the Emperor or his status-symbols and the sentiment of obedience, of the people, to the ‘*okami*,’ and to be as dramatic devices to induce response in their audiences, as symbolic of the national sentiment or of appeal for the national consensus.

There seems to be no need for us, for the Japanese, to dwell upon the political, constitutional, and military aspects of the effectiveness of the symbol—the chrysanthemum-crest. In the defunct Imperial Army, such and all the major weapons had with them the marks of the open chrysanthemum of 16 rays. Along with the Imperial Family’s Crest, there were the colors, or battle flags, all of which also carried the Crest, and, as morale-standards in the military life, both of them, remarkably, had marvelous effects upon the warriors, not only in the battle field, but in the service at home, to maintain the discipline of the army with great strictness and severity, giving a tremendous stimulus to martial spirit. All the military men were disciplined under the most strict order that they must defend those symbols of the regimental honor to the death. Those symbolic objects really costed them their own lives for no other reason than that the supreme symbols, the Royal Crests, were attached, or rather enshrined, on the tops of every regimental flag, on the heads of the major vessels of war, and other main armes, namely military rifles. As described above, the Crest of the Emperor’s Family had long been regarded as, in the very sense, the nation’s religious object, sacred and inviolable, signifying ‘the Line of Emperors Unbroken for Ages Eternal.’

The Crest, it was in fact the most sacred object for both the military-men and the general people of this country before the ending the Second World War. It was sure to make the people stir and align for their whole devotion to His Majes-

ty, but, not to the people. This national characteristics of men depended on the fact that it was in their very nature to believe, to be obedient to their masters, or, in the case of the people within each feudal lords' fief, during the former era under the shogunal regime.

## Chapter 4

Thus, as aforesaid, the family crests played as important role in this nation, symbolizing the then social system under which men had been urged to raise the reputation of their family, their family name——'kamei.'<sup>(7)</sup> This 'kamei' consisted in the fundamental concept of the 'ie',<sup>(8)</sup> or the family and its line. This 'ie' concept directed the people, in both nation's domain and every lord's fief, to sacrifice themselves to their masters——the head of their family, the lord of their manor, and the 'shogun.'

In the '*Human Nature and Political System*,' the formative process of the people's characters and latent potentiality of people's desire to be subject to authority were described by Mr. Hadley Cantril. He pointed out that, "This characteristic of man means that it is in his very nature to believe. It allays anxiety; it brings comfort; it makes social life what it is. It extends the loyalties and significances he can take into account far beyond his own immediate concrete experience by making institutions, nations, and ideologies real for him. By preserving, fostering, or creating symbols, myths, and beliefs and by devising rituals such as rallies, oaths, national anthems, salutes to the flag, or prayers, political systems enable people to identify themselves with larger values and to experience in their own lives what these values refer to."<sup>(9)</sup>

Mr. Cantril's sentences also gave us an epitome of the formation of symbols, and various patterns of symbols under social or political systems of all kinds, and, being remarkable for its brevity and directness, he examined and clarified the basic human response to the formation of political systems and symbolic patterns. In this sense, I am not able to give up another quotation from his book. Next, you will find a few lines extracted from the same book. He said, "Human beings could not build up the self-constancies they do nor maintain their wide-ranging identities and loyalties unless there were some way to hang on to them, to recall them at will, to give significance to immediate behavior in the here and now by relating it to more universal values not so bounded by time and space. Man accomplishes this feat through his capacity to create symbols, beliefs, images, and myths..... A psychological function of symbols is to hold reality worlds together by giving a person something to cling to, aspire to, hope for, or have faith in. They extend his reach and enrich his dreams, enabling him to define and envision goals."<sup>(10)</sup>

In both the Orient and the Occident under the mediaeval regimes, these phenomenal tendency of people's mental dependancy, seen in their characteristics, and been reinforced with the institutionalization and the concept of the 'unity of the religion and the state'; in the case of Europe, it must be said 'church and state'; in Japan, Shintoism had been closely connected with the social and political control, in its concept, and in its reality. The tutelary deities, village or town-shrines, in every section of this country were the nuclei of the local communities, and held the village's or town's people together in one unity. The shrine, called 'ujigami-

*sama*,<sup>(11)</sup> or '*chinju-sama*,<sup>(12)</sup> played a role as a pivot or a central pillar in a large family—a consanguineal society, or a communal society. These kinds of local communities are/were quite rich in local color, racy of the soil, having their spiritual band, settling around their '*ujigami-sama*.' Tied closely with the feeling that they belonged to one tutelary deity, the inhabitants in the community had the strong sentiment of one unity, that is to say, a feeling of integration—group identification, in sociological terms.

In other words, these kinds of feelings stemmed out of the time-honored system as called '*ujiko*'<sup>(13)</sup> system, or the indigenous clan-society that occupied one territorial limit in each section, here, in this country. Every protégé or protégée of the tutelary deity would be traced back to one clan-system, which consisted of only one or two, or several, in some places, lineal kinsmen in general. The whole clan seems to have been all in one relative; each belonged to one membership-group which centered around one shrine of their guardian god, '*ujigami-sama*.' '*Ujigami*' had been allotted invaluable part as their guardian symbol that had produced among the community members a solid sentiment of oneness—ALL 'WE.' Every member of a community felt emotional belonging, or rather dependancy, to their own reference-group which made the community members keep the resultant morale-system among them, and more, in their mentality, felt a stable security-feeling through the '*ujigami-sama*', the village's or town's shrine, as a safeguard-symbol, against any trouble or hardship, assaulting their community, and their interests in it, which played a band-role to keep them together, around the 'symbolic god,' for their own safety in the everyday-life there. In the community-life, whenever sorrowful or joyful, they would haunt the shrine, its precinct; they prayed there when drouthy, gay-spirited there in the every-year-festival annually held in their community.

These community-sentiments, indeed, are reduced to the symbol, enshrined at the site, though not always located at the site of the geographical center in the village or town. In this naive, or single-minded traditional sentiment, the community people tend to have kept isolated from other communities. Neither did the linkage to the social and political situations at that time provided their strong urge to enlighten or further their spirit and reform-activities. In this sense, anyway, it can not be denied that the Shintoism-shrines of the tutelary deity served with its symbolic role in the community life, regarded as a spiritual core, symbolizing the superior power and prestige of the old people in the farming settlements, and functioned, in a general sense, as a wedge for keeping up the conventionalism, in clinging to the old customs.

The village festivals dedicatory to the shrine and the village or local administration formed a complete and harmonious whole. The theory of the unity of religious faith and state administration was more thoroughgoing on its local level. We shall find the facts that the influential leaders, or local policy-makers were, also, as a matter of common knowledge, a committee-member of the parish representatives, who joined it as an ex-officio, having tremendous voice in every matter in the community.

Though these were common phenomena throughout the world under the old regime, the distinctiveness of this country's has to be considered chiefly in con-

nection with the old family-system in which large family, or, according to Prof. G. P. Murdock's classification, 'extended family,' were amalgamated into one communal society, and, as stated by Prof. C. C. Zimmerman, "Any primitive form of society depends in a large degree upon the extended-family-system — the clan, gens or genos — for its local (and civil, in modern society) rule and as the responsible collective unit for the support of more extensive, or overhead, forms of government."<sup>(14)</sup>

These consanguine units, consisting of 'blood' relatives and several conjugal family units, constituted a significant functioning group among other groups, or institutions placed under the control of the federal lord. And, in this country, the conjugal unit was merely a part of a consanguine family, which had a single head, 'toshu,'<sup>(15)</sup> 'koshu,'<sup>(16)</sup> or 'kacho'<sup>(17)</sup> in more common usage, contiguous residence, and shared almost all the living arrangements.

What is more significant, the concept, or character, of 'ie' appears to be a far cry from that of others. What is the etymology of the word, 'ie,' is derived from the word, 'house.' This derivation of the word must be identified through the prism of the patriarchal age in old days. Aside from the house and the family, the word, 'ie' became to embrace some connotations of it, and came to be generalized its concept. In this context, emphasis is to be put on the placement of formal authority and dominance in the family, that is, the father-dominant, patriarchal system. And, for the next, the strict manner that descents are recorded in the male line, i. e., patrilineal system. Thus, beyond the words of 'family' or family members of a 'house,' and of family generations, in concrete terms, the word 'ie' became entirely symbolic of the family escutcheon — 'kamei' (its real sense is a family name), of the family status — 'kakaku,'<sup>(18)</sup> and of the family tradition and custom — 'kafu'<sup>(19)</sup> (the ways of life in a family). For these symbolic concepts connected in the word, 'ie,' the concrete, materially visible symbols, the family-crests, 'kamon'<sup>(20)</sup> (the emblems of a family), stand. This family-symbol, 'kamon,' in former days, raised among the descendants of the 'samurai'-families the strong sentiment of the credit and the honor to their families ('ie'). About raising the reputation of the family, and never blotting the escutcheon were the utmost concerns to the 'samurais' for those days.

Though, however, the difference of ways of life between those of 'samurai'-families and of farmers' ones, for instance, were in those days quite remarkable. It was a matter of course that the 'samurai'-class was ranked highest far beyond all the rest, i. e., the agricultural, industrial, and merchantile classes. Class-distinction was definitely clear-cut. But, in each class, the concept of 'ie' had rested on similar approaches to each's specific symbol according to their characters of classes in which loyalty and filial piety, self-mastery, industry, and moral consistency were prized virtues. Disloyalty, or infidelity, was of course at quite the opposite pole from the virtues. Moral athleticism, aptly described for those ascetic quality, was a product of such a state of mentality as suppressed through acts of denial, restriction, and self-control, and trained themselves and displayed to others that they possessed the stern virtues of character which enabled them to conquer their inner impulsive demands.

In this, as mentioned in the previous chapter, upon those members of each



class the influence of symbols was enormous and strong. They lived under the symbols so obediently, without entertaining any doubt, that each had his own symbols, and directed in each own way by those symbols which implied the matrix in which their class-concepts should be formed. The family-crest, especially in the 'samurai'-families,—the symbol of 'ie,' and a pair of swords, long and short in length—the symbol of the honor of the 'samurai'-class (military caste) were, for example, also the individual, or class-status-symbols. In each feudal lord's fief, the castle situated, as were seen in the case of 'ujigami'-shrine, at the heart of its domain, symbolizing its role as the central axis of 'samurai' spirit. The most symbolic among the castle-structures was its main tower, 'tenshu-kaku,'<sup>(21)</sup> whose dignified and imposing appearance looked not only scenic, but in reality, held absolute command of the whole town, with its symbolic presence, around which all the sections, whether mental or spiritual, and the real activities, in everyday-life, of the lord's retainers and other class-people, seem to have revolved. In this sense, the symbolic roles, within their geographical boundaries, of both 'ujigami'-shrines and castle-towers were of the same kind. In addition to these symbolic roles of the 'ujigami' and the castles, the several noted temples or shrines should be regarded as applicable to those cases afore-cited. The existence of the old temples, for instance, had made a concentricity-formation of the towns, all the streets and the roads of which were usually laid down, radiating in all directions, deduced from the central holy site. These cases of the formations of the towns (or, in some cases, cities) are, according to geographical denomination, called 'monzen-machi'<sup>(22)</sup> (the word, 'monzen'—literally 'in front of a gate' in English), i.e., shrine or temple-town; the town, in these cases, spread out around its nucleus, the centrally-located-shrine/temple.

## Chapter 5

Thus, as briefly described above, the old family system shared its major part to the feudalistic control, as the smallest unit of the classic institutions under the old regime. Japan's feudal government, namely, the Tokugawa Shogunate regime, and its fortified seat as a feudal administrative organ, owed much to the old family system and the concept of 'ie.' On the ruling top of the pyramidal hierarchy, the Tokugawas had continued its domination directly over the local lords, indirectly over the whole heads of the 'samurai'-folks, the patriarchs who stood for their families, with absolute power upon their family members, devoting themselves to the master. The patriarchal system, indeed, had been a guardian of the system. And then, the concept of 'ie' for all the castes, the image of the castle for the military caste, and the 'ujigami' for the residents in the community might serve as examples of the illustrations related to the symbolic roles in them.

"As men have been told ever since philosophy was born," said Mr. Hadley Cantril in his description on this subject, "these symbols and beliefs easily turn into stereotypes and prejudices and can become substitutes for thought and for a growth in sensitivity."<sup>(23)</sup> Man's longing for power and authority tends, when he feels frustrated, to be turned into the strong desire of seeking for emotional response. This sort of man's desire reveals through man's mental process his inner-cherished-wish for perpetuality. Mr. Ralph Linton used the same argument in his book.<sup>(24)</sup> Anyway, the feudalistic characters or traits in people were sure to be the defender

of tradition. They were all identified with old concepts that the feudalistic ways of life, or social customs had been attuned to the traditional patterns as they were transmitted within family, neighborhood, and local organizations. The people's stances were inward, toward their immediate environments, preserving, as a matter of fact, the past and seeing change as damaging and upsetting; and the older, traditional patterns were enunciated by the then status symbol within the local structures.

To this argument I attempt to amplify with quotations from Prof. E. Fromm. In his book, *'Psychoanalysis and Religion,'* Prof. Fromm noted that, "There is no one without a religious need, a need to have a frame of orientation and an object of devotion; but this statement does not tell us anything about a specific context in which this religious need is manifest. Man may worship animals, trees, idols of gold or stone, an invisible god, a saintly man or diabolic leaders; he may worship his ancestors, his nation, his class or party, money or success; his religion may be conducive to the development of destructiveness or of love, of domination or of brotherliness; it may further his power of reason or paralyze it; he may be aware of his system as being a religious one, different from those of the secular realm, or he may think that he has no religion and interpret his devotion to certain allegedly secular aims like power, money or success as nothing but his concern for the practical and expedient. The question is not religion or not but which kind of religion, whether it is one furthering man's development, the unfolding of his specifically human powers or one paralyzing them."<sup>(25)</sup>

Japan's social virtue has long had its deep rooted foundation in necrolatry—ancestor-worship, in more reasonable words, and the instructions left by the forefathers, also, have been observed strictly by the people in every section, trying not even to bring disgrace upon the good name of their ancestors and fathers. In this case of the traditional ancestor-worship, we can find one of typical farmers' houses, maintained long in Kashiwazaki area, Niigata Prefecture,<sup>(26)</sup> which was built about 350 years before, and, in recent years, removed to the site of the Branch of Northern Cultural Museum,<sup>(27)</sup> in Shimizuen,<sup>(28)</sup> Shibata, Niigata Prefecture. Contrary to the too limited room planning in the house, its family Buddhism-shrine (*'butsudan'*)<sup>(29)</sup> and family Shintoism-shrine (*'kamidana'*)<sup>(30)</sup> look remarkably luxurious, not to be suitable to this narrow room-arrangement. Both Buddhism and Shintoism altars in one family-residence show us the conventional custom of the ancestor-worship in the traditional household. The god of community—*'ujigami,'* closely tied with the native clan there, was, in this sense, main, intensive symbol of the sentiment of the ancestor-worship which might be ascribable to the spirit of *'samurai'* (*'bushido'*),<sup>(31)</sup> or of their loyalty to the lord and filial piety. In this case of a *'samurai,'* all the members of his family should be subordinate to the master, and if the *'samurai'* incurred the wrath of his lord, the entire membership of *'ie,'* would, among some of the cases, have been forced to take the guilt jointly upon themselves. Then, the head of the family, the *'samurai,'* had to devote faithfully to his master; his single-hearted loyalty, in turn, had to be backed by the filial piety of all the family of his *'ie.'* In Japan's traditional family system, it was quite obvious that the clear-cut demarkation-line had been drawn between a head-family, *'honke,'* and a branch-family, *'bunke,'*<sup>(33)</sup> for the ranking of the family

status. (In the recent reseach by Prof. Hiroji Naoe of Tokyo University of Education, it became systematically clarified that there were three categories of 'ujigami'-shrines, and that some of them would be quite often found on the premises of the head-families, and also on the sites of the branch-families. And also, the common shrines of the tutelary god for the whole clan, or clans, in a community.)<sup>(34)</sup>

These tutelary gods, by and large, appeared to be the symbols, more psychological rather than spiritual. It might be reasonable under the feudal period that the 'ujigami'-god preoccupied in people's minds with its persuasive images, wielded the strong influence, side by side with the other symbol—the family-crest, upon each 'ie'-member in every caste, or class.

While these symbols had acquired big imaginative power-position in the psychological sense, adherence to these moral or spiritual concepts at that time had to add anything to Japan's time-honored tradition.

"It is not what folks do not know that makes them so damned ignorant, it is the things they know that is not so."<sup>(35)</sup>

## NOTES

- (1) Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, 1941.
- (2) 「お上」
- (3) P.A. Sorokin and W.A. Landon, *Power and Morality*,—*Who shall guard the guardian?*, Porter Sargent, Boston, 1959.
- (4) 「二重橋」
- (5) 「教育勅語」
- (6) 「祭政一致」
- (7) 「家名」
- (8) 「家」
- (9) Hadley Cantril, *Human Nature and Political Systems*, Rutgers University Press, 1961, p. 29.
- (10) H. Cantril, p. 28.
- (11) 「氏神様」
- (12) 「鎮守様」
- (13) 「氏子」
- (14) Carle C. Zimmerman, 'The Family,' *Contemporary Sociology*, ed. by J. S. Roucek, Peter Own Limited, London, p. 87.
- (15) 「当主」
- (16) 「戸主」
- (17) 「家長」
- (18) 「家格」
- (19) 「家風」
- (20) 「家紋」
- (21) 「天守閣」
- (22) 「門前町」
- (23) H. Cantril, p. 31,
- (24) Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, 1945.
- (25) Erich Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, Yale University Press, 1959, p.p. 25-6.
- (26) 新潟県刈羽郡南鱒石村大沢（現柏崎市）四目間屋
- (27) 北方文化博物館

- (28) 清水園（在新潟県新発田市内）
- (29) 「仏壇」
- (30) 「神棚」
- (31) 「武士道」
- (32) 「本家」
- (33) 「分家」
- (34) Hiroji Naoe, *Studies in The Family Shrines* (Yashikijin no Kenkyu), Yoshikawa-Kobunkan, 1966.
- (35) H. Cantril, p. 31.

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