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Editorial Intent

Special Number: Transmitting Japanese Cultures

The spread of COVID-19 since late 2019 has affected all aspects of society. While we tend to focus on the effects on society's foundation, such as the economy and education, we must not forget that the pandemic has also caused a crisis in the transmission of cultures. Since 2020 in Japan, many festivals and folk events have been canceled or forced to change their format. Even now, in 2022, there is no sign that the situation will return to normal. Postponing or changing the format of an event is a major blow to the transmission of that culture.

This is true even for individual rituals; you cannot just take the ritual implements out of storage and get started. Maintenance by people with knowledge is required, and there are the ritual's actions that have been passed down. Expertise about the food to be served to the gods and others is also indispensable. There are many rituals for which yearly performance is what makes it possible to regularly pass on skills and knowledge.

Even before the pandemic, the transmission of culture was a matter of concern in Japan due to the country's declining birthrate, aging population, and rural flight. However, the pandemic has made people feel that a crisis is imminent now.

Therefore, we have decided to publish three articles related to the transmission of Japanese cultures. Ogawa's article raises issues regarding contemporary folk performing arts from a broad perspective. Yamamoto's article focuses on a specific regional performing art: Iwami Kagura. Kurosaki's article considers the effects of the Great East Japan Earthquake, which preceded the pandemic, on local culture.

Each of the problems concerning individual festivals and performing arts actually connects to the larger issue of passing on Japanese cultures. Through these three articles, we want to reexamine the question of cultural transmission in contemporary society.
to the present times.

KJS Editorial Committee

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Public Stage Performances of Folk Performing Arts (*Minzoku Geinō*) in Japan: History, Meaning and Significance[1]

Ogawa Naoyuki

Keywords: folk performing arts (*minozoku geinō* 民俗芸能), hometown performing arts (*kyōdo geinō* 郷土芸能), stage public performances (*butai kōen* 舞台公演), folk cultural properties (*minzoku bunkazai* 民俗文化財), bearers of performing arts (*geinō no ninaite* 芸能の担い手), the religious nature of performing arts (*geinō no shūkyōsei* 芸能の宗教性), performers and audiences (*enja to kankyaku* 演者と観客)

Author's Statement

After entering the aughts, Japanese society's declining birthrate and aging population became pronounced. Furthermore, urbanization in Tokyo and other major urban areas, as well as population decline in provincial cities and rural villages, progressed. As a result of these demographic changes, it has become difficult to pass on the traditional folk performing arts that have been nurtured through long historical processes. This is especially true in areas experiencing falling birthrates, aging populations, and declining populations. Under these social conditions, folk performing arts, which are normally performed at their local festivals, were held for the public in theaters and halls in provincial and major cities. Such activities, which seek to draw attention to these performing arts, as well as increase bearers' motivation to carry on their traditions by exposing them to new audiences, flourished more than ever before. One aim in these still ongoing activities is to secure and cultivate future generations that will carry on folk performing arts, and, in some cases, to attract tourists.

In light of this situation, this paper aims to clarify how folk performing arts have been presented on the stages of theaters in cities from the past to the present, as well as the intention in doing so, thereby providing material for examining the future of folk performing arts public stage performances and ways to sustain and pass on such local practices.

[1] This article is a translation of Ogawa Naoyuki 小川直之, "Minzoku geinō no butai kōen: sono rekishi, igi" 民俗芸能の舞台公演—その歴史・意義—, *Toshi minzoku kenkyū* 都市民俗研究 24 (2019): 1–12. Translated by Dylan Luers Toda.

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Ogawa: Public Stage Performances of Folk Performing Arts (*Minzoku Geinō*) in Japan: History, Meaning, and Significance

Introduction

Looking at culture research and cultural events throughout Japan today, folk performing arts (*minzoku geinō* 民俗芸能)[2] are receiving unprecedented attention. This is because the opportunities, examples of which I will provide below, for public performances outside of their localities—such as Tokyo, Osaka, and provincial cities—are increasing.

It is difficult for one individual to acquire a complete understanding of such performances throughout Japan and examine their meaning, significance, and associated issues. Organized research is necessary. However, it is clear that folk performing arts were often performed outside of their communities even from the mid-1920s to around 1940 (also at the time referred to as *minzoku geijutsu* 民俗芸術 or "folk art"). During these decades, stage performances of folk performing arts took place around Japan in a similar form as today.

Of course, these were different times, and the characteristics and content of these performances cannot be simplistically compared. However, it is the case that public stage performances of folk performing arts flourished also in the decades leading up to the middle of the twentieth century.

What are the historical circumstances in the background to such performances in places like Tokyo? To answer this question, I will first provide an overview of the historical circumstances of folk performing arts' stage performances, as well as their meaning, significance, and issues.

1. The History of Folk Performing Arts' Stage Performances: Meiji, Taishō, and Early Shōwa

With Japan greeting modernity, in the early Meiji period (1868–1912), the so-called "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化) project began. While technology, thought, and institutions entered the country from Europe and the United States, it appears that the modernization of people's daily lives did not go so well during these early years. However, from the late 1880s to late 1890s, this project would manifest itself concretely and take root in people's daily lives. Amidst such Westernization, Japanese increasingly looked to "hometowns" (*kyōdo* 郷土), and the new cultural research perspective of "folk art" or "folk performing art" appeared. Allow me first to provide an overview of such developments.

[2] Also referred to as "hometown performing arts" (*kyōdo geinō* 郷土芸能).

Hometown Education and Local Studies: The Meiji Period

One manifestation of the attention paid to local cultures amidst the civilization and enlightenment project was the "hometown education" (*kyōdo kyōiku* 郷土教育) at elementary schools that began around the turn of the twentieth century. It was an effort to pay attention to the economic structures and economic power of the various cultures and societies throughout Japan. Based on the idea that local history should be studied before Japanese history, and that one's local geography should be studied before world geography, hometown education was incorporated into school curriculums. This involved many actors and hometown education would gradually grow and become institutionalized. Even today, students receive assignments to look into the daily lives of the past in their communities. The study of one's hometown is alive in school education.

After hometown education began, in response to historical research that entirely focused on the central government, Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造 (1862–1933) proposed "ruriology" (*jikata-gaku* 地方学;[3] lit. "regional/local studies"). This field advocated thinking about Japan as a whole after taking into account the details of local communities' lifestyles and histories. Nitobe created the "Hometown Society" (Kyōdo-kai 郷土会) at his home, and, under his leadership, figures from a variety of fields came together, seeking to understand the histories of and daily lives in local communities throughout Japan. They included Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 (1875–1962), the anthropogeographer Odauchi Michitoshi 小田内通敏 (1875–1954), as well as the agriculture/forestry bureaucrat and then Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Ishiguro Tadaatsu 石黒忠篤 (1884–1960). In other words, from around this time, people's gazes would come to focus not only on the history of the "center" but also concrete aspects of local communities' histories, economics, and daily lives.

The Hometown Gaze: Taishō

In 1913, along with Takagi Toshio 高木敏雄 (1876–1922), Yanagita Kunio published the inaugural issue of the journal *Kyōdo kenkyū* 郷土研究 (Hometown Research). It elucidated people's daily lives in communities throughout Japan, primarily focusing on folklore. People from around the country contributed to this journal, which was distributed in great numbers.

Amidst such developments, public stage performances began to be held of folk performing arts. This had its beginnings in the building of the Japan Youth Hall (Nippon Seinenkan 日本青年館; completed in 1925), a result of youth organizations throughout Japan coming to Yoyogi (today, Harajuku) to offer their labor to build the shrine Meiji

[3] The world *jikata* is still used in the study of Japan's early modern period (for example, in the term "local documents" or *jikata bunsho* 地方文書).

Jingū 明治神宮 (kami enshrined in 1920) and the subsequent heightening of the youth group movement. With youth in communities throughout Japan engaging in a variety of performing arts, the first "Hometown Dance and Folk Song Festival" (Kyōdo Buyō to Min'yō no Kai 郷土舞踊と民謡の会) was held at the just-completed Nippon Seinenkan in October 1925, and then again in 1926. This means that public stage performances of folk performing arts in Tokyo began ninety-three years ago.

In this way, with the term/concept of *kyōdo* 郷土 or "hometown" being used in phrases such as *kyōdo kyōiku* (hometown education), Kyōdo-kai (Hometown Society), *Kyōdo kenkyū* (Hometown Research), and *kyōdo buyō* (hometown dance) from the end of the Meiji period, a gaze towards the "local" took a quite clear form. We should also note that in this context, scholars began to talk about folk performing arts.

The Folk Art Society's Launch and the First Folk Art Photography Exhibition: Early Shōwa

Upon entering the Shōwa period (1926–1989), the term *minzoku geijutsu* (folk art) began to be used in place of *kyōdo buyō* (folk dance). In 1927, the Folk Art Society (Minzoku Geijutsu no Kai 民俗藝術の会) was launched. Involved were the folklorists Yanagita Kunio, Hayakawa Kōtarō 早川孝太郎 (1889–1956), Nagata Kōkichi 永田衡吉 (1893–1990), and Kodera Yūkichi 小寺融吉 (1895–1945); as well as the songwriter Nakayama Shinpei 中山晋平 (1887–1952) and the Yoyogi resident, writer of the lyrics to the song *Haru no Ogawa* 春の小川, and Japanese literature scholar Takano Tatsuyuki 高野辰之 (1876–1947). The society launched its journal *Minzoku geijutsu* in January 1928.

In the same month, the society held its first folk art photography exhibition (Minzoku Geijutsu Shashin Tenrankai 民俗藝術写真展覧会) at the Mitsukoshi store in Nihonbashi. Department stores in Japan often serve as venues for cultural activities such as exhibitions, and Mitsukoshi has put the most effort into such work. This can be seen by its Mitsukoshi Theater. The fact that the Nihonbashi Mitsukoshi store was the sight of a photography exhibition of folk art (hometown dance, folk performing art) from around Japan reflects the movement from the beginning of the Shōwa period to capture cultural phenomena in photographs and present them in exhibitions. While war photography exhibitions had been held at the time of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), photography exhibitions related to folk culture gradually began to appear around 1930. Also, at the exhibition, approximately one hundred different cabinet-size photographs of performing arts from around Japan, such as Sada *shinnō* 佐陀神能 (the Noh theater of Sada Shrine in Shimane Prefecture's Matsue City), were sold. This was the beginning of folk performing arts as photographic subjects. Today, one finds many photographers at festivals and folk performing art performances in Japan today, and their genealogy stretches back to this time.

Folk Performing Arts: Early Shōwa

The November 1935 issue of *Nihon minzoku* 日本民俗 (Japanese Folklore; no. 4) included an announcement for the first Folk Performing Arts Convention (Minzoku Geinō Taikai 第一回民俗芸能大会). This convention was held at the Hibiya Public Hall (Hibiya Kōkaidō 日比谷公会堂), and featured performances of Nekko *bangaku* 根子番楽 (from the Nekko area in Akita Prefecture's town of Ani) and Kanasa *dengaku* 金砂田楽 (from the Kami-miyakawauchi area in what was Ibaraki Prefecture's Kanasa Village [today, Hitachiōta City], as well as the Kanasa area in what was Ibaraki Prefecture's Kegano Village [today, Hitachiōta City]). In *Nihon minzoku*'s August 1937 issue (vol. 2, no. 12), there was a special feature on Nanbu kagura 南部神楽 (Hachinohe City, Aomori Prefecture). Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 led the activities of the Folklore Society of Japan (Nihon Minzoku Kyōkai 日本民俗協會), which published *Nihon minzoku* (ed. Kitano Hiromi 北野博美). Nanbu kagura was publicly performed in 1937 at the Kokugakuin University auditorium. The Japanese phrase *minzoku geinō*, or "folk performing arts," had its beginnings in this convention's name.

While today *minzoku geinō* is an official term—it is listed as a kind of "folk cultural property" (*minzoku bunkazai* 民俗文化財) in Japan's Act for the Protection of Cultural Properties (Bunkazai hogohō 文化財保護法)—this phrase was also used in prewar times. During the Taishō period (1912–1926), it was called *kyōdo buyō* (hometown dance), and then *minzoku geijutsu* (folk art) also came into use. Amidst such terminological changes, interest heightened in the performing arts passed down in local communities.

The Era of Min

The term *minzoku geijutsu* appeared with the launch of the Folk Art Society in 1927, and subsequently *minzoku geinō* began to be used in 1935. Both include the term *minzoku*, which in this context means "folk" or "folklore." One finds many terms that start with *min* 民 (the people) in the early Shōwa period: *minkan denshō* 民間伝承 (folklore), *mindan* 民譚 / *minwa* 民話 (folktale), *minka* 民家 (traditional-style house of non-rulers), *min'yō* 民謡 (folk song), *mingu* 民具 (traditional everyday or ceremonial implements used by ordinary people), *mingei* 民芸 (folk craft), and so on.

As I stated, in 1925 the "Hometown Dance and Folk Song [Min'yō] Festival" was held, and subsequently the term *min'yō* (folk song) would come into use. After this early example, we find *minwa*, *minka*, *mingu*, and *mingei*. Academic terms then appeared around 1935, with Yanagi Muneyoshi 柳宗悦 coining the term *mingei* and Shibusawa Keizō 渋沢敬三 the term *mingu*.

The fact that so many of these terms began to be used at the beginning of the Shōwa period means that a strong interest developed in "ordinary people." It is important to historically contextualize this pronounced focus on "the people" instead of "rulers" (*kan* 官)

as Japan began moving towards wartime footing around 1929/30.

2. Public Stage Performances of Folk Performing Arts Today

The Great East Japan Earthquake and Folk Performing Arts

As I have stated, today there is an increased interest in folk performing arts, and those from throughout Japan are being staged around Tokyo. A major cause of this is the 11 March 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake. We learned many things from this disaster. One was that a great number of folk performing arts with long histories were being passed down in the Pacific Ocean coastal areas of the Tōhoku region. When, exhausted, locals sought to resuscitate their daily lives, hearts, and minds, they first sought to revive the folk performing arts that they had been passing down.

For example, in the Ōishi area of Iwate Prefecture's Rikuzentakata City, where 120 of 160 households were affected by the tsunami, on 23 March—approximately two weeks after the earthquake—a tiger dance (*toramai* 虎舞) was performed.[4] This dance inspired local survivors, giving them the courage to press on. There were other similar cases in the Pacific Ocean coastal area of the Tōhoku region. Folk performing arts became one pillar towards recovery.

In this way, the value of folk performing arts was reconsidered due to the Great East Japan Earthquake, and this can be seen as one factor that led to a heightened interest in these performing arts and the flourishing of their public stage performances.

Public Stage Performances of Folk Performing Arts Around Japan

Today we find many public stage performances of folk performing arts in Tokyo and its environs. I have listed some of the folk performing art stage performances throughout Japan in **Table 1**. In the Greater Tokyo area, there was a public performance of Kuromori 黒森 kagura (Miyako City, Iwate Prefecture) at the temple Kenchōji 建長寺 (Kamakura City, Kanagawa Prefecture) in November 2017, and a public performance of *hōin* 法印 kagura (Tome City, Miyagi Prefecture) at the Japan Education Center (Nihon Kyōikukan 日本教育館) Hitotsubashi Hall in Chiyoda City in February 2018. I myself was involved in the Mukaiyama Hizoe 向山日添 kagura (Shiiba Village, Miyazaki Prefecture) performance at the National Noh Theatre (Kokuritsu Nōgakudō 国立能楽堂) in the Sendagaya area of Shibuya City in October 2017, and the Keichiku 京築 kagura (Kanda Town, Fukuoka Prefecture) and Nishimera 西米良 kagura (Nishimera Village, Miyazaki Prefecture) public performances at Kokugakuin University in the same month. Folk performing arts are

[4] "Dentō tashika na kizuna" 伝統　確かな絆, *Asahi shinbun* 朝日新聞, 2011.3.26, Tokyo evening edition.

Table 1. Examples of Folk Performing Art Public Stage Performances in the Great Tokyo Area and Provincial Cities

Date	Place	Event Name (Japanese)	Event Name (English Translation)	Performances
October 2017	Kokugakuin University (Shibuya, Tokyo)	Kyūshū no kagura ga kyōbu suru 九州の神楽が響舞する	Kagura in the Kyushu Area in Tokyo	Keichiku kagura (Kanda Town, Fukuoka Prefecture), Nishimera kagura (Nishimera Village, Miyazaki Prefecture)
October 2017	National Noh Theatre	Shiiba kagura yūkyū no mai 椎葉神楽悠久の舞	Shiiba Kagura: Dance of Eternity	Mukaiyama hizoe kagura (Shiiba Village, Miyazaki Prefecture)
November 2017	Kenchōji (Kamakura City, Kanagawa Prefecture)	Iwate kyōdo geinō matsuri 岩手郷土芸能祭	Iwate Hometown Performing Arts Festival	Kuromori kagura (Miyako City, Iwate Prefecture)
November 2017	Yokohama City, Kanagawa Prefecture	Heisei 29 nendo Kanagawa kodomo minzoku geinō fesutibaru 平成29年度かながわこども民俗芸能フェスティバル	2017 Kanagawa Children's Folk Performing Arts Festival	Children's folk performing arts from Kanagawa Prefecture
December 2017	Odawara City, Kanagawa Prefecture	Kōkeisha ikusei happyō-kai 後継者育成発表会	Successor Cultivation Recital	Folk performing arts from Odawara City
February 2018	Japan Education Center Hitotsubashi Hall (Chiyoda City)	Dai 29 kai minzoku geinō to nōson seikatsu o kangaeru kai 第29回民俗芸能と農村生活を考える会	The Twenty-Ninth Meeting for Thinking About Folk Performing Arts and Rural Daily Lives	Kanmachi hōin kagura (Tome City, Miyagi Prefecture)
February 2018	Shizuoka City, Shizuoka Prefecture	Dai kagura sai 2018 大神楽祭2018	Great Kagura Festival 2018	Folk performing arts from mountainous areas in Shizuoka City
February 2018	Miyazaki City, Miyazaki Prefecture	Kyūshū no kagura shinpojiumu 2018 九州の神楽シンポジウム2018	Kyushu's Kagura Symposium 2018	Sada *shinnō* (Matsue City, Shimane Prefecture), Hirado 平戸 kagura (Hirado City, Nagasaki Prefecture), Ushiodake 潮嶽 kagura (Nichinan City, Miyazaki Prefecture), Haraigawa 祓川 kagura (Takaharu Town, Miyazaki Prefecture)
March 2018	Iida City, Nagano Prefecture	Minami shinshū minzoku geinō keishō fōramu 南信州民俗芸能継承フォーラム	Forum for Passing Down Minami Shinshū Folk Performing Arts	Kuroda *ningyō* 黒田人形 (Iida City), Niino Snow Festival (Niino no yuki matsuri 新野の雪祭り; Anan Town), Ōshika 大鹿 kabuki (Ōshika Village)
March 2018	Miyazaki City, Miyazaki Prefecture	Takachihogō-Shiibayama chiiki sekai nōgyō isan fōramu 高千穂郷・椎葉山地域世界農業遺産フォーラム	Takachihogo-Shiibayama Site Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems Forum	Shiiba 椎葉 kagura (Shiiba Village, Miyazaki Prefecture), Takachiho 高千穂 kagura (Takachiho Town), Hinokage 日之影 kagura (Hinokage Town)

being staged not only in the Greater Tokyo Area. In provincial cities as well, performances are being held of surrounding areas' folk performing arts: forums in Miyazaki and Nagano, a festival in Shizuoka, and so on.

Also, in Yokohama City (Kanagawa Prefecture), the Kanagawa Children's Folk Performing Arts Festival was held in November 2017, and the Successor Cultivation Recital was held in Odawara City in December of the same year. In these places, people see intangible performing arts as pillars that will provide vitality and enduring strength for local communities amidst the aging of society and depopulation, and they are therefore dedicating themselves to cultivating these arts' next generations.

Sometimes, the pieces performed are changed for different locations. For example, in the case of Iwami 石見 kagura (Shimane Prefecture) and Aki 安芸 kagura (Hiroshima Prefecture), there are *komai* 古舞 (old dances), *shinmai* 新舞 (newer dances), and *shinshinmai* 新々舞 (recently-created dances). The latter two are performed for tourists and the former for village festivals. While clearly choosing between pieces, an attempt is being made to turn these kagura into tourist attractions, and kagura conventions and regular performances are held in a form close to that of commercial shows.

3. Folk Performing Art Theater Stage Performances

Next, I will consider issues related to today's theme, namely, public theater stage performances of folk performing arts. When inviting a regional folk performing art to come to Tokyo, it is important to make clear the meaning and significance of putting on a stage performance.

There are four issues that require consideration.

(1) The Performers

The first issue is: who are the performers? Folk performing arts having been passed down while maintaining close relationships with local communities. People in a certain village's certain hamlet are the bearers of a performing art. Parents pass it down to their children, who pass it down to their own children. While traditions differ in content, they have all have been passed down in their respective communities. With this in mind, the issue arises of maintaining coherence for stage performances outside of these communities. In other words, there is the issue of how event planners can explain to performers why they should come to Tokyo, or of how event planners can be accepted by performers.

Japan has now constructed a society that is not based on social status. Japanese people have spent considerable time and effort abolishing social statuses and creating a society in which everyone is equal. Orikuchi Shinobu referred to the kabuki actors and other

professional performing artists in social status society as “outcast vagrants” (*gorotsuki* ごろつき). His article “Gorotsuki no hanashi” ごろつきの話[5] published in 1928 discusses who has shouldered performing arts throughout history.

Out of this scholarship has developed research on the organizations that transmit performing arts, transmission genealogies, the relationship between the maintenance of local communities and performing arts, as well as the relationship between community identity formation and performing arts. However, if one takes into account public theater stage performances, aspects arise that cannot be addressed with such existing academic concerns in mind. It is necessary to adopt a research framework that focuses on the relationship between society and the performing arts.

(2) Performances' Settings and Times

The second issue is that folk performing arts have settings and times intrinsic to them that give their existence meaning. For example, twenty-six types of kagura are passed down in Miyazaki Prefecture's Shiiba Village. Sometimes, a performance will be canceled because the skill-holders are in mourning after a death in the kagura's district. While therefore kagura are not performed yearly in all districts, as a general rule they are in November or December from the evening into the morning. Such rules exist for performing arts around the country.

Another is example is the distinction between “garden performing arts” (*niwa no geinō* 庭の芸能) and “stage performing arts” (*butai no geinō* 舞台の芸能). At the Tanadui 種取 Festival of Taketomi Island (Yaeyama, Okinawa), a stage is erected in front of the sacred place called an *on* 御嶽. After the stage performance finishes, the festival shifts to the garden performance, namely, dances on the *on*'s grounds. This is also found at the Niino Snow Festival (Anan Town, Nagano Prefecture). At the beginning of the festival, in the front shrine building ritual prayer performing arts (*zun* 順 and *chūkei* 中啓 dances, *senmyō* 宣命) are presented and then a garden dance is performed. In other words, there are rules about the places that the performances are to take place.

Ise 伊勢 dance is passed down in the Kisō and Takano areas of Kōchi Prefecture's Tsuno Town. When it appears that someone is going to die, it is performed in the hope that the individual will survive, or, in other cases, pass away without suffering. This is the only time it is performed. There is also a rule that performers cannot practice. This is because it is only performed when people are about to die and not during normal times. Here, the setting and time intrinsic to this performing art that gives it meaning produce a taboo.

Orikuchi Shinobu explained the meaning of the seating stands (*sajiki* 桟敷, *yagura*

[5] Orikuchi, “Gorotsuki no hanashi.”

櫓) in Japanese theaters in his lectures on performing arts history from the 1928 to 1930 academic years.[6] He says that they came from the offering of performing arts to greet kami. However, since normally theater stage performances do not involve meaning-instilled settings and times, there is the issue of creating coherence with regard to these two elements.

One way to address this issue is the purification done at Kokugakuin University's Shinto sanctuary before Omae 尾前 kagura (Shiiba Village, Miyazaki Prefecture) was performed at the university in 2015. Also, when Nanbu kagura (Hachinohe City, Aomori Prefecture) was performed at the university in 1937, a dance was offered at Ōmiya Hikawa 大宮氷川 Shrine, the priestship of which had been historically assumed by the family of the then-Kokugakuin professor Nishitsunoi Masayoshi 西角井正慶, and then a performance was held at the university's auditorium, thereby maintaining coherence with regard to setting.[7] As we can see here, the way that performers' feelings of incongruity is addressed is important.

Recently, there have been new developments with regard to performing arts' settings. In 2017, Goya Junko 呉屋淳子, who specializes in educational anthropology, published an ethnography of performing arts at schools.[8] It describes high school students in Okinawa Prefecture's Yaeyama area, primarily Ishigaki Island, learning Okinawan folk performing arts on their own and working hard to appear as Okinawa's representatives in a national high school cultural festival. In this way, performing arts' settings are now not only places with religious meaning but also schools.

In the case of Kanagawa Prefecture, performers can appear in a national hometown performing arts competition after being selected at Kanagawa's prefecture-level competition. While there are variations in degree, people are actively engaging in such undertakings at schools throughout Japan. In connection with performing arts being divorced from times and spaces assigned specific meanings, we also must consider whether the term "school performing arts" will take root.

(3) Folk Performing Arts and Their Religious Nature

Third, there is the issue of how to handle the religious nature of folk performing arts. Scholars have for many years asserted that folk performing arts have an inherent religious nature. In other words, they have discussed these performing arts' meaning as Shinto performances that include the appeasement of souls and purification. While these

[6] See "Yagura to kadō" 櫓と花道 (pp. 367–377) and "Sajiki" 桟敷 (pp. 435–442) in Orikuchi Hakushi Kinen Kodai Kenkyūjo, *Orikuchi Shinobu zenshū nōto hen dai 5 kan* "*Nihon Geinōshi*."
[7] Nishitsunoi, "Kyōdo kenkyūkai kōkai ni okeru nanbu kagura narabini tamashiki jinja no kagura."
[8] Goya, *'Gakkō geinō' no minzokushi*.

discussions are slanted in a sense, it is true that on the ground in these traditions we do often find some sort of religious nature. For example, I once asked a child what they thought of wearing a mask when performing kagura, and they replied that they were no longer themselves when wearing it. In other words, they became like a kami. Also, in the case of Ōshika kabuki (Ōshika Village, Nagano Prefecture), a middle school student said that when they put on their makeup they ceased to be themselves. They primarily thought about becoming their character. With this being the reality, scholarship has sought some sort of religious significance in the origins of performing arts.

Relatedly, various statements are addressed to kami in folk performing arts. These include *senmyō, norito* 祝詞, *kamikuchi* 神口, *jushi* 呪詞, *yogoto* 寿詞, and *shōgyō* 唱教. Many scholars, thinking that such statements are these performing arts' "scenarios" (in a theatrical sense), emphasize interpreting their meanings. This is necessary, but if one considers that there is much language in the middle ages' Ise Shinto that was read in alternate ways, interpreting meanings is difficult.

From this kind of perspective, scholars hold that these performing arts have religious meaning, and the issue of how to handle this religious nature in public theater performances arises. As previously described, when Nanbu kagura was going to be performed at Kokugakuin University, performers took the stage in the university's auditorium as an extension of the several pieces offered at Ōmiya Hikawa Shrine. In the case of Omae kagura, purification first took place in front of the university's Shinto sanctuary. This is how organizers handled the religious nature of these performing arts.

On the other hand, sometimes theaters themselves have a religious nature. For example, the National Theatre of Japan (Kokuritsu Gekijō 国立劇場), Kabuki-za 歌舞伎座, and many other famous Japanese theaters enshrine the theater's kami. At the National Theatre of Japan, there is a shrine at the stage door's main entrance. Most theaters enshrine kami for the safety of actors and audience members or successful performances.

In this way, how to connect performers taking the stage with folk performing art's religious nature, or how to ensure coherence in this regard, is an issue that requires consideration. This can be investigated in scholarship that focuses on the relationship between performing arts and religion.

(4) The Relationship Between "Offerers" (Performers) and Audience Members

The fourth issue is the relationship between performers and audience members. If folk performing arts have a highly religious nature, then the purpose of these performing arts is making an offering to kami. In this sense, we could refer to performers as "offerers." The settings of performing arts are shaped by the people who gather at the festival (audience members) and offerers (performers). However, in the case of a theater, the relationship

between audience members and performers is completely different. While theaters can be seen as celebratory festival spaces, how should we think about their differences from the settings of festivals for kami?

Also, performing on a theater stage gives performers a completely different feeling than when performing at their village's festival. Put positively, we could say that it gives them confidence and pride. The reactions of stage performance audiences certainly make performers feel that what they have been doing is right and has a wonderful meaning in the context of Japanese culture. This also makes for happier and more vibrant local communities.

Let us consider the relationship between performers and audience members in more concrete terms. First, there is performers' pursuit of beauty. Despite amateurs engaging in folk performing arts, they pursue beauty: "I want to dance like that master," or "I want to be able to perform like that person." They also have an attitude that seeks to avoid repeating past mistakes.

Second, there is performers' awareness of the audience's gaze. Aware of its members, they rework their performances. In their own villages, they probably do not pay mind to audience members' gazes. However, it is only natural that when large audiences come out to see them perform in Tokyo, the desire emerges to arrange and dress up their performances.

These two elements give the performing arts two meanings: art of self-pursuit and art that is to be shown and to mesmerize. We can think of this as a traditional theory of performers as individual actors (*wazaogi* 俳優). While critics offer various assessments of professional performances in kabuki and the like, this area has not been touched on much in scholarship on folk performing arts.

(5) The Performers' Perspective: It's More Interesting to Perform Performing Arts

While my position is that of audience member and not performer, I heard some unforgettable things around Japan.

For example, in the Takano area of Kōchi Prefecture's Tsuno Town, there is a revolving stage on which amateur kabuki (*nōson kabuki* 農村歌舞伎) is performed. Also, Tsunoyama old-style kagura is passed down there as well. A local named Kumada-san taught me kagura movements in the sanctuary of Mishima Shrine (where the kagura stage is located), and remarked, "Ogawa-san, the performing arts are not something that you watch. If you do [perform] them, you'll be hooked." As Kumada-san says, performing is much more interesting. I believe that this is very important when thinking about the performing arts.

Conclusion

Above, I presented four issues to consider regarding public stage performances of folk performing arts at theaters. They all have changed throughout history and can be objects of historical research. For example, with regard to traditional performer theory mentioned above, if we trace related ideas through time from the present to the past, we find that there was not always the same situation.

When folk performing arts are performed outside (in cities such as Tokyo) of the intrinsic settings and times that give their existence meaning, one must consider the above four issues. In other words, if public stage performances are held simply because they are popular, performers will be drained, and these performing arts will not connect to the future. We researchers must move forward while considering each of the merits and disadvantages for performers of being invited to Tokyo to perform on stage in front of large numbers of people.

(Translated by Dylan Luers Toda)

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The Structure of Iwami Kagura's Existence in Western Shimane Prefecture[1]

Yamamoto Kenta

Keywords: traditional performing arts (*dentō geinō* 伝統芸能), transmission of culture (*bunka keishō* 文化継承), *community* (*kyōdōtai* 共同体), existence structure (*sonritsu kōzō* 存立構造)

Author's Statement

This paper shows how Iwami kagura, a traditional performing art of the Iwami region of Japan's Shimane Prefecture, is being passed down. I hope that this paper will provide useful insights for the future of traditional performing arts throughout the world.

1. Introduction

1.1 The Issue at Hand

With Japan's population growing smaller and aging, local traditional performing arts' preservation and transmission has emerged as an urgent issue. A body of scholarship is taking shape that seeks clues for solutions by focusing on these performing arts' socio-economic aspects. Such research covers topics including their utilization as tourism resources and concomitant conflicts between actors. For example, Hasebe and Ōmura have published on the diversification of spectators and performers' previously-shared feelings and norms due to these performing arts' treatment as tourism products in the context of economic activities,[2] and Satō, Watabe, and Takasaki have written about school education and local communities becoming transmission sites of these performing arts.[3] I have reported on their use as school educational materials for

[1] This article is a translation of Yamamoto Kenta 山本健太, "Shimane-ken seibu chiiki ni okeru Iwami kagura no sonritsu kōzō" 島根県西部地域における石見神楽の存立構造, *Kokugakuin Daigaku kiyō* 國學院大學紀要 59 (2021): 29–49. Translated by Dylan Luers Toda.

[2] Hasebe and Ōmura, "Dentō geinō no keishō o tōshite"

[3] Satō and Watabe, "Chō dejitaru jidai ni okeru minzoku geinō no keishō"; Takasaki, "Kyōiku jissen hōkoku . . . zenpen"; Takazaki, "Kyōiku jissen hōkoku . . . kōhen"

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cultivating hometown affection,[4] and Kumagai and Inoue have discussed younger people, women, and non-residents beginning to be allowed to participate as local populations decrease in size and grow older.[5] Also, I and others have documented performers seeing these performing arts as local resources and pushing firmly forward with their utilization for community maintenance and tourism.[6]

Scholars have also pointed out that in local communities where traditional performing arts had become untenable due to the likes of large-scale disasters, their social roles change in the process of recovery and exert a large influence on the identities of community members. Mogi focuses on the case of Unosumi Jinja 鵜住神社, a shrine in the Unosumai district of Iwate Prefecture's city of Kamaishi. This district experienced severe damage due to the 11 March 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake.[7] He points out that after this disaster, the tiger dance (*toramai* 虎舞), a traditional performing art passed down in this area, changed from a dance celebrating a bountiful year of harvest to one for the repose of departed souls, as well as that this dance is functioning as a mooring for the hearts and minds of survivors. Also, Tsutsui looks at the case of Hatsuuma Matsuri 初午祭 on Miyake Island and the Ako district youth group carrying this festival on after the island's forced evacuation due to volcanic eruption.[8] While two past volcanic eruptions led to a lack of performers and difficulty holding these rites, this was overcome by strengthening collaboration between people with geographical or professional ties. The lion dance (*shishimai* 獅子舞) that is offered at the festival had been a solemn Shinto ritual carried out in a traditional Japanese-style house. However, dancer discretion came to be tolerated, and dances started being held in larger settings that were not necessarily houses and took on highly entertaining aspects.

When working to understand such diverse ways in which traditional performing arts are being passed down in various areas, I have argued that the roles communities assign to traditional performing arts—in more concrete terms, whether they can use them as tourism resources or tools for cultivating hometown affection—is dependent on available channels.[9] In other words, it is not when communities face local issues that traditional performing arts' usage methods are decided. Rather, these usage methods are chosen out of a set of options that are limited by the area's history. Whether people will use their traditional performing art as a tourism resource or as a tool for community maintenance is prescribed by local contexts: the area's status as a tourist destination, it having become

[4] Yamamoto, "Traditional Performing Arts."

[5] Traditional performing arts have normally been limited to local men. Kumagai, "Akita-ken no minzoku geinō"; Inoue, "Sankanchi no dentō bunka keishō."

[6] Yamamoto, Wada, and Mera, "Kagura no gendaiteki jōkyō"; Wada and Yamamoto, "Hiroshima Kagura."

[7] Mogi, "Yanagita Kunio no mita tsunami kuyōe."

[8] Tsutsui, "Shizen saigai to kyōzon suru sairei."

[9] Yamamoto, "Traditional Performing Arts as a Regional Resource."

necessary for residents to possess shared feelings when encountering events such as municipal mergers, local coordinators having been actively involved in the transmission of the traditional performing art, and so on. For this reason, to show how a certain traditional performing art is being passed down and maintained in an area, it is necessary to make clear the activities of local actors involved in such work as well as the interplay between them.

Taking into account recent discussions on the transmission of local traditional performing arts, this paper aims to make clear the existence structure of the Iwami kagura passed down in the Iwami region of Shimane Prefecture. In Shimane, municipalities' tourism and industry divisions as well as tourism associations broadcast information regarding kagura dance and serve as kagura groups' contact points with the local community. Also, Iwami kagura is actively used as a tourism resource by the prefecture and municipalities. New kagura groups have even appeared.[10] I hope that elucidating the structures by which kagura survives in this area will also shed light on the traditional performing arts that other communities are having problems maintaining and passing down due to dwindling and aging populations.

1.2 The Structure of this Paper

This paper is structured as follows. In the first section, I will analyze the activities of kagura groups based on the results of a questionnaire survey. Then, I will present these groups' operations, highlighting their dance performances and finances. I will also cover the views of these groups' representatives regarding carrying on kagura dance. In the second section, I will turn to groups that give Iwami kagura its distinctive characteristics and discuss the operations of Iwami kagura groups that I made clear in the first section. Finally, in the third section, I will summarize this paper and present the structure by which Iwami kagura is utilized as a local resource and continues to exist.

2. Kagura Groups' Operations

2.1 Iwami Kagura: Overview

There are various theories regarding the transmission channels of Iwami kagura. For example, Yamaji states that the name "Iwami kagura" may have come into use after entering the modern period and touches on this kagura's diversity.[11] When doing so, he argues that it can be divided into four types based on geographical area: Ōchi 邑

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[10] In this region, the names of individual kagura groups take forms such as "XX *shachū* 社中 [troupe]" and "XX *kaguradan* 神楽団 [kagura group]". In this paper, "kagura groups" refers to all such groups. For respondents' ease of understanding, I used the expression *shachū* in the questionnaire.

[11] Yamaji, "Iwami kagura o himotoku."

智, Sekiō 石央, Sekisei 石西, and Sekitō 石東. He says that with the history of Sekitō and neighboring areas' kagura being shallow and this kagura exhibiting the influence of kagura from outside traditional regional boundaries, it has been treated as separate from Iwami kagura. Also, Yamaji notes that the Sekitō type was transmitted by mountain ascetics called *shugen yamabushi* 修験山伏 from the late middle ages onwards, and sees the differences in way of dancing between these areas as having arisen after villagers came to transmit kagura in the Meiji period (1868–1912) and later.

Ishizuka broadly distinguishes between Iwami kagura dancing methods: *roku chōshi* 六調子, *hachi chōshi* 八調子, and *sekisei*, which is different from the two others.[12] While *roku chōshi* has short lyrics and many slang words, it has an elegant atmosphere thanks to its slow tempo. On the other hand, *hachi chōshi* was developed from the Meiji period onwards. In this process slang lyrics were changed to classical expressions and it became a lively dance with a fast tempo. *Sekisei* has connections with dances of the neighboring Nagato region in Yamaguchi Prefecture, and is different from both *roku chōshi* and *hachi chōshi*.[13]

In this way, while kagura passed down in the Iwami region have different transmission channels, one also finds region-wide activities that transcend such differences. One example is the Iwami Kagura Wide-Area Liaison Council (Iwami Kagura Kōiki Renraku Kyōgikai 石見神楽広域連絡協議会; below, Liaison Council) that was founded in 2013 by Iwami kagura groups and municipalities. Presently (2018), the Liaison Council is a federation consisting of nine Iwami area cities/towns, ten councils from those municipalities,[14] and 111 groups (ninety that belong to the councils and twenty-one that do not). The Liaison Council aims to promote Iwami kagura by sharing information between its member groups and bringing together people's opinions. It holds monthly board meetings and a yearly general convention. At these, information exchange between kagura groups and consolidation of opinions takes place. Inquiries and requests sent through government administration or tourism promotion associations are either directly shared with kagura groups or given to them via the councils. Groups are chosen depending on the size and scope of the matter at hand.

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[12] Ishizuka, *Nishi Nihon sho kagura no kenkyū*, pp. 21–22.
[13] Ishizuka, *Nishi Nihon sho kagura no kenkyū*.
[14] The nine municipalities (cities/towns) and ten councils are as follows: Hamada City (Hamada Iwami Kagura Shachū Renraku Kyōgikai 浜田石見神楽社中連絡協議会, Kanagichō Iwami Kagura Shachū Renraku Kyōgikai 金城町石見神楽社中連絡協議会, Asahichō Iwami Kagura Hozonkai 旭町石見神楽保存会, Yasakachō Iwami Kagura Shachū Renraku Kyōgikai 弥栄町石見神楽社中連絡協議会, Misumichō Iwami Kagura Shachū Kyōgikai 三隅町石見神楽社中協議会), Masuda City (Masudashi Iwami Kagura Shinwakai 益田市石見神楽神和会), Ōda City (Iwami Ginzan Kagura Renmei 石見銀山神楽連盟), Gōtsu City (Gōtsushi Iwami Kagura Renraku Kyōgikai 江津市石見神楽連絡協議会), Kawamoto Town, Misato Town, Ōnan Town (Ōnanchō Kagura Renraku Kyōgikai (邑南町神楽連絡協議会), Tsuwano Town (Tsuwanochō Jinshōkai 津和野町神星会), and Yoshika Town.

2.2 Overview of Groups that Responded to the Questionnaire

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the addresses Liaison Council groups.[15] We can see that they are found throughout the entire Iwami region. Distribution density varies. The greatest number of groups are located in Hamada City, which has the largest population in the Iwami region.

In October 2017, I sent a questionnaire to all 111 groups that belong to the Liaison Council, and received replies from thirty-six of them. A group that left the liaison council immediately before I distributed the questionnaire was also included in the questionnaire distribution list. I received a reply from them. Therefore, I will analyze responses from thirty-seven groups, including this one (**Table 1**). When creating and

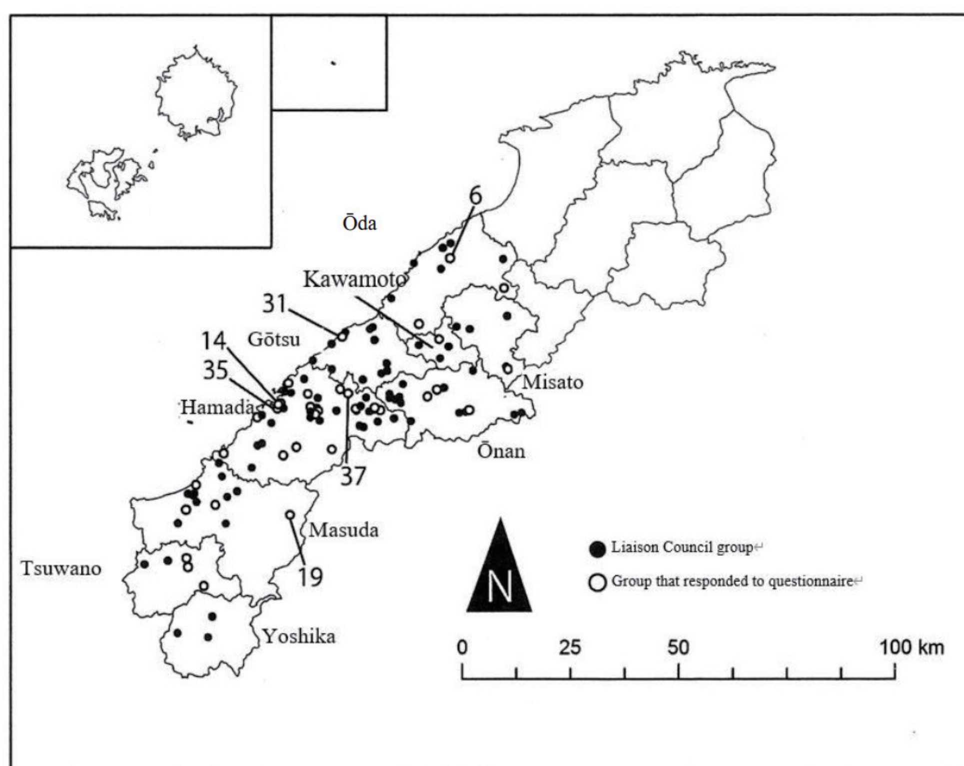

Fig 1. Distribution of Surveyed Groups

Note: The numbers in the above figures are group IDs (see section two). These IDs are the same as Table 1.
Source: Created based on materials provided by Iwami Kagura Wide-Area Liaison Council.

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[15] Groups' contact information often list a representative's home address or other similar information. Therefore, to protect privacy, I have used these addresses up through the *aza* 字 division for the groups' locations and left out block numbers (*banchi* 番地). Therefore, the map's locations might be slightly different than the groups' actual locations.

Table 1. Overview of Groups that Responded to the Questionnaire

ID	Location (Municipality)	Year Established	Representative's Age	No. of Members	2016 FY	
					Income (In tens of thousands of yen)	Expenditures (In tens of thousands of yen)
1	Hamada City	1667	62	23	220	320
2	Hamada City	End of Edo Period (1603–1868)	70	15	367	192
3	Hamada City	End of Edo Period	66	17	253	241
4	Hamada City	1830	55	20	360	260
5	Hamada City	1861	63	19	123	42
6	Ōda City	1864	60	40	457	296
7	Masuda City	1867	58	26	326	326
8	Tsuwano Town	Beginning of Meiji period	66	14		
9	Hamada City	Beginning of Meiji period	66	22	55	37
10	Hamada City	Beginning of Meiji period	45	22	102.3	102.3
11	Hamada City	Beginning of Meiji period	30	22	160	80
12	Ōnan Town	1877	64	17	6	3
13	Hamada City	1877	58	14	28	20
14	Hamada City	1877	56	17	325	312
15	Hamada City	1887	71	41	300	280
16	Hamada City	1887	48	19		
17	Ōda City	1897	77	21	25	25
18	Hamada City	1897	58	15	100	80
19	Masuda City	1907	73	20	269	217
20	Hamada City	1907	57	18	40	40
21	Hamada City	Taishō period (1912-1926)	70	24		
22	Ōnan Town	Taishō period	68	15	10	10
23	Hamada City	1927	49	20	60	40
24	Hamada City	1945	70	15	180	168
25	Tsuwano Town	1947	76	21	347	230
26	Ōda City	1954	75	33	275	190
27	Ōnan Town	1963	39	18	150	140
28	Masuda City	1964	38	28		
29	Tsuwano Town	1968	82	20	124	124
30	Masuda City	1970	46	20	200	120
31	Gōtsu City	1972	61	15	45	38
32	Masuda City	1973	69	16	267	203
33	Hamada City	1985	54	40		
34	Gōtsu City	1990	55	25		
35	Hamada City	1998	35	16		
36	Hamada City	1999	73	24		
37	Hamada City	2011	26	14	91.5	83.8

Note: Blank cells indicate no response.
Source: Created based on questionnaire survey.

distributing the questionnaire, I followed the procedures described in the following paragraph, acquiring the full understanding of survey subjects. The questionnaire covered income and expenditures as well as the residential histories of each member, and some representatives probably did not wish or have the knowledge to answer such questions. With the response rate for the questionnaire being approximately 32.1%, the results do not necessarily provide an overall picture. We must keep in mind that this paper only provides a partial image of the kagura groups in the Iwami region. However, with there being no sets of data regarding the operations of these groups, the results of this survey are rare, and, therefore, I will offer an analysis insofar as possible and by doing so leave a record of the situation at present.

I created the questionnaire after receiving advice from the Liaison Council, people involved in Kagura-related work from the prefectural government, and members of kagura groups. The questionnaire stated at its beginning that its purpose is to make clear how kagura is being carried on and used as a local resource in communities. It consisted of questions on (1) the group's operations (such as year of establishment and income/expenditures breakdown), (2) the group's members (such as number of members, age distribution, and residential history), (3) how the kagura is carried out (such as the form, days of performances, etc. of offertorial kagura and publicly performed kagura), and (4) the group representative's views regarding carrying on kagura. When it came time to distribute the questionnaire, first the Liaison Council provided an explanation to its groups, and then the questionnaire was sent, along with a return envelope, to an office in the Shimane prefectural government that deals with kagura-related matters.

Also, from September to October 2018, I attempted to carry out an interview survey of ten groups from which unclear answers were received and/or that demonstrated distinguishing characteristics in their responses. Nine of these groups agreed to participate. As necessary, I will also touch on the information acquired in this interview survey in my analysis below.

Generally speaking, up through the Edo period kagura was an authority mechanism of local religious professionals. Upon entering the Meiji period, the government banned dance performances and the like by Shinto priests. For this and other reasons, local shrine parishioners took over. Looking at the years of kagura groups' establishment in Table 1, we can see that the majority were founded in the Meiji period and later, with the greatest number of them being founded at the beginning of the Meiji period. Around this time in Iwami and other areas, shrine parishioners took the lead in establishing many kagura groups. This was probably due to groups of shrine parishioners taking on kagura after the government's ban on Shinto priest's dance performances made it difficult for the Shinto priest families (*shake* 社家) to do so. We do not find any groups established at the beginning of the Shōwa period (1926–1989). This was the time of World War II, and it

was probably difficult to establish kagura groups under a wartime regime. There are also some younger groups that were created more recently (1999, 2011, etc.).[16]

2.3 Groups' Compositions

There is a total of 751 members in the groups that replied to the questionnaire. This averages out to 21.3 people per group. 661 (86.2%) are males, and 106 (13.9%) females.

Table 2 shows the age and gender distributions of members in groups that replied to the questionnaire, as well as that of the population in the Iwami region according to the 2015 national census. The largest male age subset in responding groups is thirty to thirty-nine years old, followed by under eighteen, forty to forty-nine, and twenty-three to twenty-nine. The largest female age subset is eighteen and under, which is followed by thirty to thirty-nine, forty to forty-nine, and twenty-three to twenty-nine. The percentage of young men between twenty-three and forty-nine years old greatly surpasses their percentage of the Iwami region's overall population. One of the reasons for this high percentage of men is that traditionally kagura has been passed down by adult men. In recent years, the number of groups that permit females and children to dance is increasing. This is due to aging populations, amongst other reasons. Another reason for the high percentage of men is that heads of households, also usually men, are the groups' members.

Some of the responding groups have a children's kagura division, and in more than a few of these groups, male heads of households and their children are joining. Also, some of the responding groups primarily consist of child members. For this reason, there are many people in their thirties (of parenting age and probably with children), as well as members who are under eighteen (presumably their children). Nineteen to twenty-two year-olds make up the smallest age subset for both males and females. This is a reflection of many people of this age having to leave home for schooling (university, etc.) or employment.[17] However, the percentage of people this age in responding groups is higher than their percentage in the general Iwami population.

After the Meiji government banned dance performances by Shinto priests, kagura

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[16] In Ishizuka's "Nishi Nihon sho kagura no kenkyū" from 1979, we find approximately two hundred groups (p. 15). Currently, 111 groups belong to the Liaison Council. If we assume that the majority groups in existence belong to it, this means that over the course of about thirty-five years roughly forty percent of groups have ceased to exist or have been combined with another group.

[17] In the free response section, one respondent who had been involved in kagura up through high school wrote that they were concerned that they may have to leave their hometown some years in the future to attend university and begin working. There are only three universities/junior colleges in Shimane Prefecture: Shimane University and University of Shimane Junior College in the city of Matsue and University of Shimane in the City of Hamada. Realistically speaking, when people from the Iwami region want to attend an institution of higher education, while those living near the city of Hamada can commute from their house to the University of Shimane, others end up living apart from their parents.

began to be offered to kami by parishioners instead. Partially due to this, many kagura groups emerged out of tutelary shrine parishioners. Asking about the residential history of groups' members, I found that 413 of these groups' 786 members (52.5%) have lived in the district of their kagura (the area of their tutelary shrine) since birth. Adding the seventy-seven people who moved away and then came back (9.8%), a total of 62.3% of members in responding groups live in their kagura's district. A total of 83 people (10.6%) moved from outside their kagura's district. This means that over seventy percent of people live in their kagura's district.

Table 2. Age and Gender Composition of Responding Groups' Members and the Iwami Region's Population

	Age	0-18	19-22	23-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-	Unknown	Total by Gender	Total
Responding Groups' Members	Male	119 15.5%	48 6.3%	85 11.1%	121 15.8%	94 12.3%	70 9.1%	73 9.5%	51 6.6%	—	661 86.2%	767
	Female	37 4.8%	6 0.8%	16 2.1%	19 2.5%	16 2.1%	11 1.4%	0 0.0%	1 0.1%	—	106 13.8%	
Iwami Region	Male	15,300 7.7%	2,267 1.1%	5,217 2.6%	10,019 5.0%	11,004 5.5%	12,425 6.2%	17,326 8.7%	20,612 10.4%	600 0.3%	94,770 47.6%	198,927
	Female	14,222 7.1%	1,947 1.0%	4,540 2.3%	9,286 4.7%	10,385 5.2%	12,171 6.1%	17,099 8.6%	34,162 17.2%	345 0.2%	104,157 52.4%	

Note: The bottom figures in the "Total by Gender" column's cells are percentages of total members. Percentage decimals have been rounded down to the nearest tenth and therefore may not total one hundred.
Source: Created based on questionnaire responses and the 2015 National Census of Japan.

143 members (18.2%) are not from the kagura's district and currently live outside it. There are a few groups for which the majority of members are such. The meaning and role of kagura for members, as well as their feelings regarding kagura, may differ between these groups, groups comprised of people from the kagura's district, and groups with a high percentage of transplants.

2.4 Dance Performances

Opportunities for kagura groups to dance include offerings to tutelary shrines and public joint (competitive) performances. Therefore, in this section, I will present the characteristics of offertorial kagura and public performances that are apparent from the questionnaire's results.

2.4.1 Offertorial Kagura

Offertorial kagura is kagura offered to kami enshrined in tutelary shrines. The purpose of such kagura includes praying to these kami for a bountiful harvest, or expressing

gratitude or reporting something to them. Kagura's repertoires and forms differ depending on the area, and the amount of time required to execute such kagura varies. For example, in the case of night kagura, the first piece begins in the evening and ends sometime in the next morning. Night kagura performers spend the whole night dancing, and therefore their mental and physical burden is considerable. For this reason, with the number of dancers decreasing and society aging, in some cases offertorial kagura is held every other or every few years, the number of pieces is reduced and kagura is finished during the night, kagura is only performed for some hours during the day, and so on. Also, in the case of shrines that hold festivals in specific years, sometimes kagura is only offered during those years.

So that we can see when offertorial kagura is carried out, in **Table 3** I have shown the number of offerings by form and week of the year. Asking groups about the days and times of offertorial kagura, thirty-one of the thirty-seven groups replied that they carried out offertorial kagura once or more in 2017. Two of these groups said that 2017 was the year of a large festival held once every four years. One of the groups that did not offer kagura in 2017 had done so eight times in 2016. The average number of times the groups that offered kagura in 2017 did so is 4.9. While a very small number of these groups offered kagura in April and July, groups primarily did so from late September to late November, especially mid-October (week no. 41, total of twenty-one offerings). In this way, these offerings have a strongly seasonal nature. Approximately sixty percent of the kagura offerings (sixty-two) took the form of half-night kagura. When offering kagura, people from outside the district sometimes participate, and residents or shrines in other districts may request for such offerings to be held. As previously described, this is partially due to the decreasing and aging population.

Table 3. Offertorial Kagura: Weeks Held

Week Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Day Kagura	1										1										1						
Half-Night Kagura														1	1		3									1	
Night Kagura																											
Total	1										1			1	1		3				1					1	

Week Number	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	Total
Day Kagura										1			1	4	2		2	2	2	1		2				20
Half-Night Kagura	2	2	3	2		1					1	2	8	13	5	4	6	1	1	4					1	62
Night Kagura												1	2	4	2	4	6	1	2			1				23
Total	2	2	3	2		1				1	1	3	11	21	9	8	14	4	5	5		3			1	105

Source: Created based on questionnaire survey.

2.4.2 Public Performances

Responding groups publicly performed kagura an average of twelve times per year. These performances were either "held by the group or with another group," "part of a regularly-held public performance," a "joint (competitive) public performance," or "other: done at the request of a person, organization, etc." The most common form of public performance was the latter. Responding groups put on such performances a total of 248 times. This was followed by appearances in regularly-held public performances (101) and joint (competitive) public performances (68).

"Regularly-held public performances" refer to public performances that periodically take place on permanent stages at the likes of roadside stations selling local goods (*michi no eki* 道の駅) and other venues. Often groups in a district will take turns performing on such stages. "Joint (competitive) public performances" refer to guest appearances at events held by other groups. Hiroshima Prefecture, which neighbors the Iwami region, is notable for the frequency of its kagura performance competitions.[18] In Iwami as well, joint (competitive) performances are often held.

"Other: done at the request of a person, organization, etc.," groups' most frequent type of public performance, include guest appearances at events inside and outside the local community, such as at nursing homes and shopping mall events.

These public performance requests might come directly from other kagura groups or members. In other cases, people might see information on the internet and then send requests through cities or towns' tourism associations or the contact points of prefectural or local governments. Tourism associations and these contact points introduce kagura groups based on the content of the request and kagura groups' schedules. If the requester does not have any particular preferences regarding the group, kagura's content, and so on, these contact points introduce groups from the lists of groups they have at hand.

2.5 Income and Expenditures

2.5.1 Income

Responding groups' had a total of 52,658,000 yen of income in the 2016 financial year, an average of 1,816,000 yen per group. Expenditures totaled 42,201,000 yen, an average of 1,455,000 per group. Based on these figures, the total income and expenditures for Liaison Council groups come out to 153,817,000 yen and 123,271,000 yen, respectively.

The questionnaire also asked about income breakdown. The greatest source of income was "offertorial kagura" (avg. 32.5%). This was followed by "other public performances" (26.6%), "donations" (*ohana* 御花; 23.8%) and "balances carried forward from the

[18] Yamamoto, Wada, and Mera, "Kagura no gendaiteki jōkyō"; Wada and Yamamoto, "Hiroshima Kagura."

previous financial year" (23.8%). As previously described, offertorial kagura refers to Shinto rituals of offering kagura to tutelary and other deities. In response to a request from a local shrine with connections to the kagura group, or from a shrine outside the area, the kagura group offers its dance. Some groups exist precisely to offer kagura to local shrines such as those that enshrine tutelary deities, and in such cases they do so at no cost. Generally, offerings to other shrines, whether inside or outside the kagura's district, involve paying some small amount of money for the trip. This amount of money generally charged changes depending on whether the requester is inside or outside the district. Responding groups charge between 0 to 200,000 yen for offerings to shrines inside their districts (avg. 85,000 yen) and between 40,000 and 250,000 yen for shrines outside the district (avg. 109,000 yen).

As previously described, the kagura groups participate in some sort of public performance an average of twelve times per year. The greatest number of such performances fall into the category of "other public performances." The average percent of total yearly income provided by such performances is the highest after kagura offerings. In this way, public performances, particularly guest appearances at outsiders' request, are an important source of income. Fees for public performances were as follows: 0 to 150,000 yen (avg. 49,000) for in-district, 20,000 to 200,000 yen for elsewhere in the Iwami region (avg. 76,000 yen), 30,000 to 300,000 yen for the neighboring Izumo region (avg. 132,000 yen), 30,000 to 300,000 for the neighboring Hiroshima Prefecture (avg. 178,000 yen), and 30,000 to 1,000,000 yen for the Greater Tokyo Area (avg. 627,000 thousand yen). While trip expenses greatly differ depending on the distance to the performance site, members' schedules, and so on, we can see that they increase the farther away the destination.

One group responded that they did not charge for in-district public performances. This group only performs in its district and the Iwami region. Also, the group that charges the least in each out-of-district performance category (Iwami region - 20,000 yen, Izumo region- 30,000 yen, Hiroshima Prefecture - 30,000 yen, Greater Tokyo Area - 30,000 yen) does kagura as part of the activities of a children's group. Its yearly operations expenses were the sixth lowest out of all responding groups.

Donations are given by audience members to the reception desk at performances, by audience members or organizers directly to dancers in the stage wings, and so on. They are often money. While the donation amount is not set, these donations play an important role as implements in a kagura piece called "Sea Bream Fishing" (Tai tsuri 鯛釣り; also referred to as "Ebisu" 恵比寿 and other names depending on the area), and are often bills.[19] According to my interview survey, while groups cannot know how much in

[19] A clip is attached to the end of a fishing line that hangs off the stage from the fishing rod of a dancer dressed as Ebisu,

donations they will receive, these donations serve as a not-insignificant source of income. Donation amounts not only depend on the number of audience members but also whether audience members are aware of the custom of presenting donations.

2.5.2 Expenditures

"Costume and implement repairs/replacement expenses" make up 43.1% of expenditures on average. This is followed by "money carried over to the following financial year" (21.6%), "deposits" (23.6%), "other (19.3%), and "transportation expenses" (15.0%). Iwami kagura uses wadded costumes with gold thread and lame, as well as a *orochi* 大蛇 (mythological serpent) body costume made from bamboo and Japanese paper. Some forms of Iwami kagura have highly entertaining aspects, such as stage smoke and fireworks, as well as intense music and dance referred to as *hachi chōshi*.[20] While costumes are made to withstand dancing, they still must be repaired yearly and replaced once every few years. It is not rare for one costume to cost hundreds of thousands of yen to replace.[21] For this reason, money is saved for future repairs/replacement in by carrying it over to the next financial year or by making deposits into a reserve fund.

"Transportation costs" refer to the money used to transport members, costumes, and stage props to the likes of public performances. It is not rare for a set of Iwami kagura costumes to weigh nearly twenty kilograms and take up multiple clothing cases. Space is required for storing and transporting these costumes. To perform multiple kagura pieces, at least around ten people are required, although the number depends on the specific pieces in question. This includes the dancers on stage, as well as musical performers and the dancers preparing for the next piece. Transportation occupies a great percentage of expenditures. This shows just how hard it is to travel with these costumes.

Also, kagura practice requires a space larger than the area where it is offered (where the kami is enshrined, or *shinza* 神座). However, on average "facility management costs" related to costume/equipment storage and practice space occupy 9.4% of expenses—not a very high figure. This category is expenses for group-owned facilities and leased properties,

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and audience members themselves or another dancer below the stage place cash in the clip. The dancer below the stage holds onto the fishing line to which the money is attached. The Ebisu on the stage pulls up the fish rod but it bends due to the line being held down, making it seem like he has made a big catch. The Ebisu shows surprise at the cash he has caught and carefully puts it away (in, for example, a basket used for carrying fish). Either after or before donations are made in this way, Ebisu also tries to make an even bigger fish catch by throwing small packets of candy or bean snacks ("bait") out into the audience.

[20] Generally speaking, there are two types of Iwami kagura dances: slower-tempo ones called roku chōshi that are older, and faster-tempo ones called *hachi chōshi* that were developed in the Meiji period or later. The gentle movements of *roku chōshi* give off a dignified impression and are preferred for offertorial kagura, and *hachi chōshi* is popular amongst the younger generation and tourists due to its rhythmical nature.

[21] For example, it costs over 150,000 yen to make a new *orochi* costume body and 250,000 yen for the *orochi* costume head.

and this low percentage shows that not many groups own real estate or rent real-estate for the long term.

The category "other" probably includes a wide variety of expenses, a considerable portion of which are clothing storage and practice facility expenses. According to my interview survey, sometimes individual group members will hold onto articles of clothing that are easy to store (kimono undergarments called *juban* 襦袢, white robes called *hakui* 白衣), while the group will see to the storage of kimonos, *orochi* body costumes, and so on. The latter items are sometimes stored in storehouses or sheds at members' homes and in other cases at public community spaces, such as community centers or shrine sanctuaries. Such public spaces are also used for practice. In some cases, community members can use such spaces at no cost, but a small amount of money is collected for facility maintenance in other cases.

2.6 Views of Kagura Group Representatives

In the questionnaire, group representatives rated statements about kagura skills, the introduction and altering of kagura pieces, and the use of kagura for tourism. They used a scale of four to one: (4) "very good," (3) "good," (2) "not so good," and (1) "not good at all." The average rating was 2.5 or lower for the following questions related to the introduction of kagura pieces and designs: "incorporating new pieces from other shrines or areas" (2.1), "incorporating costumes with new designs from other shrines or areas" (2.4), "incorporating new stage props or equipment from other kagura groups or areas" (2.5). Compared to the questionnaire's other statements, representatives felt more negatively about these. Ratings for the following items related to piece design and development averaged between 2.5 to 3.0 ("good"): "independently developing new kagura pieces," "independently developing costumes with new designs" (3.0), and "independently development new stage props" (2.9). We can see that kagura groups have a variety of opinions regarding these.

On the other hand, ratings were positive for the following items related to sharing kagura dance with the public: "taking videos of dances" (3.5), "releasing dance videos on the internet" (3.1), "holding joint (competitive) performances with other groups" (3.2), and "our group holding public performances on its own" (3.1). Average ratings exceeded 3.0. The high rating of "taking videos of dances" was topped only by the viewing of kagura by tourists (discussed below). Some kagura groups were formed to revive kagura that had died out, and others have many participants from outside the kagura's district. The groups are probably the ones that see creating video records as important.

The ratings for "tourists viewing offertorial kagura" (3.5) and "using kagura as a tourism resource" (3.3) both exceeded 3.0. In contrast, the following items related to the establishment of facilities for tourists were less than 3.0: "installing a kagura stage or a

kagura hall stage for tourists in the district" (2.8), "establishing a kagura stage or a kagura hall stage for tourists in the city/town," (2.9), and "establishing a kagura stage or a kagura hall stage for tourists in the Iwami region" (2.9). While no one said that tourists viewing offertorial kagura or kagura's use as a tourism resource are "not good at all," approximately ten percent said that the establishment of facilities (in district - three representatives, in city/town - four representatives, in Iwami area - three representatives) is "not good at all." While many representatives did see the establishment of facilities as positive to a degree, we can tell that there are various opinions. In my interview survey, a group representative that thought highly of facility establishment remarked that with a limited number of places where tourists can enjoy themselves at night, such a facility would serve as a place of entertainment for visitors. On the other hand, group representatives that did not think highly of facility establishment said that there is already a community center and stage that could be used, as well as that it would be preferable if people viewed the regular public performances already held at their shrine, which have a pleasant atmosphere, rather than performances on a stage. Another person said that things are fine as they are and that an increase in stages and the burden on dancers might be untenable. Respondents' differences in opinion also might reflect the number of tourists that visit their area. For example, some respondents in urban places with comparatively many tourists said they desire the installation of a permanent kagura stage, while some people from mountainous and other areas with few tourists were skeptical.

Respondents rated "tourists viewing offertorial kagura" the most positively. In the free-response section, someone wrote the following:

> Rather than stage kagura, I would like for them to take in Iwami kagura by experiencing [these] Shinto rituals at the shrine and other sacred places, like the manner of viewing offertory kagura, like night kagura. In recent years in the countryside, there have been many fall festivals unable to put on kagura. I think it would be good if it also served to invigorate for [the] precious shrine's continued existence.[22]

This response straightforwardly shows that the respondent understands offertorial kagura at a shrine as the true form of Iwami kagura, as well as desires to bring tourists to the area through offertorial kagura viewings. Rather than seeking to benefit to the area by using kagura as a stage spectacle, the respondent, while recognizing that kagura is a tourism resource, hopes to bring in people to the area in a more direct fashion.

In my interview survey, while some people thought positively about having tourists

[22] Translator's note: The awkward English phrasing reflects the phrasing of the Japanese original.

view offertorial kagura (stating that offertorial kagura alone doesn't feel very worthwhile but dancing in front of tourists serves as motivation), others felt that this presented a dilemma because they located offertorial kagura's value in its authenticity (stating that with only tourism kagura, the true meaning of kagura will be lost).

I want to consider whether these views differ due to kagura groups' attributes. To do so, I will identify groups with distinctive member residential histories and then examine the differences in views between these groups. There were six responding groups (A) with more than half of members born and living outside the district. Comparing the views of these groups' representatives regarding carrying on and utilizing kagura with those of the other groups (B), the difference in average rating was 0.5 or greater for items such as the following: "independently developing new kagura pieces" (A - 3.2, B - 2.5), "taking videos of dances" (A - 4.0, B - 3.4), and "independently developing costumes with new designs" (A - 3.5, B - 2.9). All six groups positively rated taking videos of dances ("very good"). Also, these six groups rated all statements higher than the other groups, excluding "independently developing new stage props," "installing a kagura stage or a kagura hall stage for tourists in the district," and "establishing a kagura stage or a kagura hall stage for tourists in the city/town."

In the free-response section, some respondents stated that with many members living outside the district and being young, they were concerned about their group's continuity, as well as felt conflicted about how to interact as a group with local residents and pass down culture.[23] For members living outside of the kagura's district, the kagura that they are carrying on is not something they offer to the tutelary deities of the district in which they live. This all shows that they feel conflicted about how to be seen as a legitimate transmitter of local culture by people inside and outside that district, as well as that they are trying to figure out how to utilize kagura to contribute to the community and thereby acquire legitimacy. Therein we can glimpse a stance that seems contradictory at first glance: to pass on that district's kagura, rather than carrying out the kagura as it has always been done, it is necessary to flexibly change kagura expressions in accordance with the demands of the era.

3. Kagura Groups Carrying On Kagura: The Current Situation

From the previous section's questionnaire survey results, we can tell that there is

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[23] For example: "Currently group members are young and many are from outside the community, and I am concerned whether there will be people who will continue to do this in the future. Also, few people join from the community. Participation in community events is decreasing. Even in terms of traditional transmission, I have doubts whether exchange with people in the community will be possible. Currently we are receiving requests for various types of events, primarily offertorial kagura at local shrines. . . .. I don't know how to move forward as a group, and activities and practice for upcoming performance requests are what's mainly on [my] mind. I think it's necessary to think about raising awareness amongst members themselves for the transmission of tradition."

exchange between kagura groups in the Iwami region, as well as that there is a diverse set of structures for carrying on kagura. Typology-based analysis of these groups cannot capture the diversity of their characteristics and situations, and is not necessarily appropriate if we want to show the structure by which these groups exist in their communities. Therefore, in this section, I will avoid doing so and instead introduce the activities of kagura groups with distinguishing attributes based on the results of my interview survey.

A Recently Established Kagura Group

ID37 was established in 2011 by six former members of a high school hometown performing arts club because they wanted to continue kagura with fellow club members after graduation. One of their objectives was to revive their hamlet's offertorial kagura, which had died out. Having recently founded their group, they are all in their twenties. Their costumes and implements are stored in their hamlet's now-closed elementary school. They practice twice a week at a community center that neighbors the former elementary school.

Initially after the group's founding, they did not have joint public performance opportunities, and put on their own ones. In recent years, requests for public performances have been gradually increasing and they now do not put on solo public performances. Their representative states that having such public performances, in other words, opportunities to perform in front of people, serves as motivation to practice.[24]

Due to the circumstances of the group's founding, they emphasize precision in kagura dance. In my interview, the group representative remarked that with the group being new, first and foremost, it is important to properly perform the kagura that already exists, as well as that they want to mesmerize people not with stage props but with the true kagura dance.

A Newly-Independent Kagura Group

ID35 was turned into an independent group in 1997 by a person from the children's division of ID14. ID14 emphasizes tradition in dance and has firm hierarchical relationships, which this person felt to be restrictive. While a child, they wanted to dance on the stage at public performances. However, the group did not let its children's division do so. Out of the desire to incorporate dances in their own style, including new moves, and take the stage themselves, five members went independent when they were middle school students.

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[24] Sako and Hashimoto have also pointed out that showing dances to audiences itself serves as motivation for carrying on kagura. See Sako, "Dentō geinō no keishō nitsuite"; Hashimoto, "Hozon to kankō no hazama de."

Partially due to these circumstances of its establishment, and at first those around them were critical. However, there were adults who were understanding and supported them. At the time of their founding they were not adults, so adults served as the group's representative. One such individual lent money at no interest to the group so that they could make costumes. They now practice once a week at a community center. Having acquired the understanding of the community, they continue to be able to use it for free.

Offertorial dances for shrines in the area where the group is located are done by groups that have existed in the community for a long time (such as ID14). For this reason, ID35, which was recently founded, offers kagura to shrines outside of its area in response to requests. It often performs outside of the Shimane Prefecture, particularly in Hiroshima Prefecture. Some of its members have participated in a New York magic show as an *orochi*. The group also has begun trying its hand at new methods of kagura expression. For example, it began creating new kagura pieces around 2014.

A Kagura Group with Many Members from Outside the Community

ID6 was established in 1864. Currently, thirty-four of its forty members are from, and live, outside the local community. Some members have left their hometown for education or work.[25] Such individuals cannot participate in twice-weekly practice. While they sometimes participate in public performances at events, the number of actually active members is at most around twenty-five.

Many of the members live in Ōda City, where the kagura group is also located. They are primarily in their twenties. A member in their thirties serves as the group's head. The kagura of ID6 was the *roku chōshi* kagura passed down in the group's hamlet, but as the number of young members increased, *hachi chōshi* pieces were introduced.

In Ōda City, there is a children's kagura group. While it was established in 2000, kagura had ceased to be carried out in the group's hamlet since 1995, and when reviving this kagura, group members had to learn to dance from a neighboring kagura group. This hamlet's offertorial kagura is done by ID6, which was deeply involved in establishing this children's kagura group and teaching members how to dance. Children's group members graduate from the group upon high school graduation. Therefore, individuals who want to continue kagura must join another group. ID6 became one group that took in such individuals. Fifteen years have passed after the founding of the children's kagura group, and ID6 now has a high percentage of young individuals, primarily ones who came from the children's group. In this way, the group, therefore, has become young again.

[25] Shimane Prefecture does not have any private universities. There is only Shimane University (a national university located in the city of Matsue), University of Shimane Junior College (also in Matsue), and the University of Shimane (a prefectural university located in the city of Hamada). See note 16.

A Children's Kagura Group

ID31 is a children's kagura group. This group was founded so that children (primarily preschoolers to middle schoolers) could carry on kagura. The current representative's father (the founder) learned to dance from ID14 and established the group in 1972. The current representative took over upon the founder's death. Initially, after its founding, many ID31 members resided in its hamlet, but today they live all around the city of Gōtsu, where the hamlet is located.

They practice and store their costumes at a community center. Their current costumes were purchased with local donations and made by a local futon store. Some of the costumes, such as white robes, were made by adults. Currently, the group collects a monthly 500 yen membership fee, which is used for children's snacks during practice, amongst other things. Kagura instruction is done by people who have graduated from ID31 and are currently dancing in other kagura groups. Its major public performances throughout the year are primarily local events: a summer night festival, a gathering for honoring elders, a culture festival, and so on. They perform for free to repay the community for its everyday understanding of and support for its activities.

Initially after its founding, the group carried on ID14's dances, but today its dances are from a variety of groups. This is because children themselves see adult groups' dances and incorporate those they like into their own repertoire. ID31 does not have an adult division. Not infrequently, children who want to continue to do kagura after graduating join a group that has dances they like.

A Kagura Group with a High Yearly Performance Volume

ID19 was established in 1907. Around 1951, it incorporated *hachi chōshi* dance from a neighboring group, which today makes up the primary part of its repertoire. Of its twenty members from seventeen households, twelve members from eleven households live in the hamlet where the group is located. Two of its members are transplants to the community, one of which is a professional taiko artist.

Groups in the area that used to be the town of Hikimi (where this group is located) take turns doing offertorial kagura. At the community's request, the group also does offertorial kagura for the neighboring area that used to be the town of Mito.[26] Its offertorial kagura repertoire consists of approximately six dances. It also has a deep relationship with local residents. For example, it provides instruction for elementary school and middle school club activities in the Hikimi area, as well as instruction at a high school in the city of Masuda.

[26] The towns of Hikimi and Mito became part of the city of Masuda in 2004.

This group is notable for its large yearly volume of performances. Regarding this, the group representative pointed out that kagura will not survive unless used as a tourism resource, and said that the group is further refining its dances to increase audience satisfaction. Approximately ten years ago, this group developed a new kagura piece based on community lore. It now serves as the group's major dance. Also, it is actively seeking out ways to introduce local culture to tourists from inside and outside Japan. For example, it also puts on English kagura that includes explanations of pieces in English and an English chorus.

4. Conclusion: The Structure by Which Iwami Kagura Exists

In this paper, I analyzed the existence structure of Iwami kagura, which is passed down in Shimane Prefecture's Iwami region, based on a questionnaire and interview survey. **Table 2** summarizes the existence structure of Iwami kagura groups that I identified in this paper.

In the Iwami region, there is a Liaison Council that is a federation of kagura groups. Some of these Iwami kagura groups are registered with this Liaison Council. Through the Liaison Council, groups that belong to it exchange information, transmit to government organs their collective opinions, and so on. Municipalities and tourism associations serve as contact points for public performance and event appearance requests. They also provide information to tourists.

Over eighty percent of responding groups' members are male. Most of the males are in their thirties, followed by those eighteen or younger. The largest age subset of females is eighteen and younger. In many cases, the members who are eighteen or younger belong to a group's children's division or are part of a group for children. Individuals participating in the children's divisions of kagura groups sometimes become full members of these groups when they get older (upon advancing in their education or starting a job). Also, members of children's kagura groups sometimes join another kagura group based on their preferences and relationships upon graduation from their group. Here, they make choices that are not bound by the shrine of which they are a parishioner, the hamlet to which they belong, and so on.

Some members of kagura groups went independent due to different views about group operations. Some launched their own group in order to, for example, revive a community's offertorial kagura. In all of these cases, neighboring groups' dances have been adopted based on the preferences of the founders and members, the form of kagura passed down in the community, and so on.

Looking at activities throughout the year, offertorial kagura is primarily done in mid-October. There are many other opportunities to dance, such as regularly-scheduled public performances at the likes of roadside stations and tourist destinations, as well

as performance done at the request of other communities. Some include opportunities for providing entertainment to local residents, such as performances at nursing homes and shopping mall events. Due to such opportunities for public performance being throughout the year, groups practice about once or twice a week. We can also see that dancing in front of an audience is something group members look forward to and that it serves as motivation for carrying on kagura.

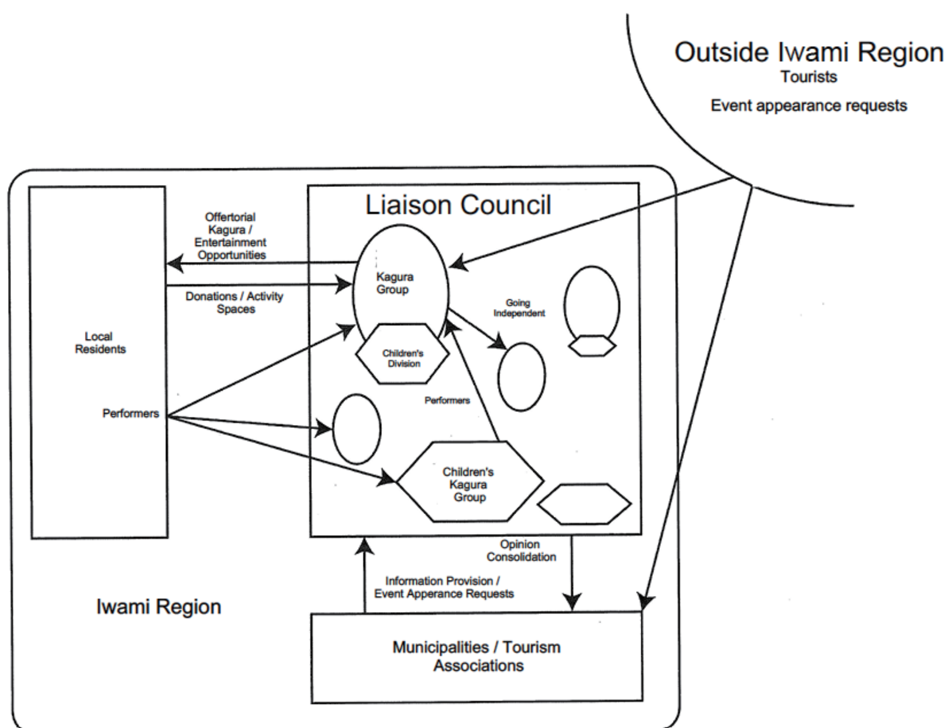

Fig 2. The Existence Structure of Kagura Groups in the Iwami Region

Source: Created by the author based on questionnaire survey.

A year's income primarily comes from requested public performances. The percentage occupied by donations is also not insignificant, but they are an unstable source of income. While they are received from communities and audience members for whom such donations are part of their culture, often this is not the case. Also, it is not rare for donations to not be received at public performances that involve paid tickets.

A high percentage of more than a few groups' expenditures consists of costume repairs and purchases. These are paid with funds saved over some years, grants, and so on. Facility management expenses are not a major portion of expenses. Shrines, community centers, former schools, and so on are used for the likes of practices and costume storage. Groups can use these for free or at a very lost cost thanks to the understanding of the community and municipalities. Donations make up a large portion of income, and facility management expenses make up a small portion of expenditures, a fact which reflects forms of support that happen outside of local and municipal institutions (unspoken support). These are possible thanks to the understanding of local residents regarding these groups' work to carry on kagura.

In such localities, dancing and viewing kagura have taken root as entertainment in everyday life. A foundation is in place that makes it easy to acquire the understanding of municipalities and local residents regarding carrying on kagura. In my surveys, I found that when using kagura as a tourism resource, being watched became motivation for dancing. On the other hand, more than a few respondents touched on the dilemmas they felt regarding turning their kagura into a resource as a tourism spectacle. Further research can reveal whether the local structures that enable kagura to continue to exist that became clear in this paper are also found in other communities and cultures.

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(Translated by Dylan Luers Toda)

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The Inclusiveness of Festival Culture in the Post-Disaster Rural Community Restructuring Process[1]

Kurosaki Hiroyuki

Keywords: Great East Japan Earthquake (*Higashi Nihon daishinsai* 東日本大震災), rural community restructuring (*shūraku saihen* 集落再編), festivals (*sairei* 祭礼), portable shrine parades (*mikoshi togyo* 神輿渡御), societal inclusion (*shakaiteki hōsetsu* 社会的包摂)

Author's Statement

In the wake of the Great East Japan Earthquake of 11 March 2011, scholarship grew on religion and disasters. This article is part of that trend, which covered support provided by religious professionals, as well as the role of religious culture in recovery and religious institutions in prevention and mitigation. However, it is natural to question whether religion positively impacts everyone in the context of a society-wide natural disaster. This article attempts to answer this by looking at the expansion of a festival portable shrine parade route and the adjustments made that took into account the various parties involved.

1. Introduction

Soon, ten years will have passed since the Great East Japan Earthquake, which brought massive damage to the Tohoku region's Pacific coast.

Areas damaged by the tsunami have formulated and implemented recovery plans. These plans support victims in rebuilding their lives. Also, they do not simply repair infrastructure and homes but also consider the sustainability of local communities and disaster prevention/reduction.

Amidst this, scholars have taken note of the festivals (*sairei* 祭礼) and folk performing

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[1] This article is a translation of Kurosaki Hiroyuki 黒崎浩行, *Saigaigo no shūraku saihen katei ni mirareru sairei bunka no hōsetsusei* 災害後の集落再編過程に見られる祭礼文化の包摂性, *Kokugakuin Daigaku kiyō* 國學院大學紀要 59 (2021): 15–28. Translated by Dylan Luers Toda.

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arts (*minzoku geinō* 民俗芸能) that the residents of affected areas have passed down. In addition to providing concrete support for these practices, scholars have discussed their meanings and roles.

Ueda Kyōko 植田今日子 has written about Ushi no tsuno tsuki 牛の角突き, a bullfighting festival revived in Niigata Prefecture's village of Yamakoshi (today, Nagaoka City's Yamakoshi area), as well as the Sōma noma oi 相馬野馬追, a horse festival in Fukushima Prefecture's Hamadōri area. Yamakoshi was struck by the 23 October 2004 Chūetsu Earthquake, requiring the entire village to evacuate, and Hamadōri was affected by the 11 March 2011 Great Eastern Japan Earthquake and subsequent nuclear accident. Ueda argues that although carrying out festivals and folk performing arts while the community's continued existence is up in the air does not directly contribute to the economic rebuilding of victims' lives, these practices "serve as support when humans are in very difficult situations."[2]

Also, drawing from a joint survey of intangible cultural properties in the prefecture of Miyagi, which the Great East Japan Earthquake struck, Takizawa Katsuhiko 滝澤克彦 has presented the view that "through festivals, social structures and relations in rural communities are reproduced,"[3] and comparatively examined examples of this while arguing that the continuation of festivals leads to "the resilience of rural communities."[4]

Having similar interests to those found in discussions like these, I have engaged in fieldwork at multiple locations and, at the end of 2019, published a book that included my findings.[5]

While referring to an actual case, this paper attempts to discuss further the idea, presented in my book's conclusion, of "social inclusion."

Ever since Durkheim, research on the social integration function of rituals has been carried out. This has taken the form of descriptions of collective effervescence phenomena and analyses of ritual processes (Arnold van Gennep, Victor Turner). Scholars have also researched and discussed the role of post-disaster rituals in light of the Great Hanshin (Kobe) Earthquake and the Great East Japan Earthquake.[6]

While the phrase "social inclusion" does not contradict "social integration," it does make one more clearly aware of the contrasting term "social exclusion."

The political scientist Daniel Aldrich points out the dual-sided influence of social capital in disaster recovery. He says that while strong bonding social capital promotes mutual aid amongst local residents, it reinforces "existing systems of discrimination" and justifies "programs that provide benefits only locally, not regionwide or citywide, harming

2 Ueda, *Sonzoku no kiro ni tatsu mura*, p. 158.
3 Takizawa, "Sairei no jizoku to sonraku no rejiriansu," p. 126.
4 Ibid.
5 Kurosaki, *Shintō bunka no gendaiteki yakuwari*.
6 Miki, *Fukkō to shūkyō*; Miki, *Shūkyō to shinsai*.

those on the margins of society."[7]

While it is important both that festival participation allows people to experience the renewal of life and that communities are re-integrated through this, this can turn into the exclusion of people who are not participating. Do the people organizing a festival thoughtfully work to ensure that this does not happen? If we adopt the perspective of social inclusion, this is precisely what we cannot overlook.

From the above perspective, in this paper, I will consider the case of the portable shrine parade (*mikoshi togyo* 神輿渡御) at Koizumi Hachiman Shrine's 小泉八幡神社 *reisai* 例祭, a major festival. It is held in the Koizumi area of Motoyoshi-chō in Miyagi Prefecture's city of Kesennuma.

I have already published the results of my survey, carried out from March 2011 to November 2016, regarding the Koizumi area and the religious culture connected to the area's livelihoods.[8]

Subsequently, there was an important change at the Koizumi Hachiman Shrine *reisai* held on 8 October 2017: the route of the portable shrine parade was modified to cover a wider area. This was decided after discussions between the chief Shinto priest, *sōdai* 総代 (representatives of shrine parishioners), and residents. These discussions were prompted by the group relocation of Koizumi area residents for disaster prevention purposes and the restructuring of *shinkōkai* 振興会 (local residents' organizations for self-governance and socializing). The land for group relocation had been delivered in May 2015.

Focusing on this change, below I will describe the 2017, 2018, and 2019 *reisai* based on my on-the-ground observations and interview survey of connected individuals, including the shrine priest, and particularly pay attention to the diversity of people involved in the festival. While doing so, I will consider the *reisai*'s significance from the perspective of inclusiveness.

2. Group Relocation and the Restructuring of Residents' Organizations

The circumstances of the group relocation of the Koizumi area (Machi district) are discussed in detail in a book by the Koizumi Chiku no Ashita o Kangaeru Kai 小泉地区の明日を考える会 (lit., "Association for thinking about the Koizumi area's tomorrow"; below, Kangaeru Kai), the group that carried out this relocation.[9] I have created **Table 1** based on it while adding information I acquired on the ground.

Albeit small-scale, group relocations were also carried out for disaster prevention purposes in the Zai (Higashi) and Hama districts (eleven and six plots, respectively).

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[7] Aldrich, *Building Resilience*, p. 2.
[8] Kurosaki, "Shizen saigai kara no fukkō ni okeru shūkyō bunka no isō."
[9] Koizumi Chiku no Ashita o Kangaeru Kai, *Daisuki na Koizumi o kodomo tachi he tsugu tame ni*.

Table 1. Circumstances of the Group Relocation of the Koizumi Area (Machi District) (Including Prehistory)

Edo Period (1603–1868)	Koizumi Village
1889	The Town and Village System goes into effect: Koizumi Village - Machi district, Hama district, and Zai district
1955	Merges with the towns of Tsuya and Ōya and becomes part of the town of Motoyoshi
1979	The town of Motoyoshi promotes the creation of *shinkōkai*, all-household residents' associations. *Shinkōkai* are created in each of the seven administrative divisions
2009	The town of Motoyoshi is absorbed into the city of Kesennuma
11 March 2011	Earthquake occurs off the Pacific coast of Tohoku. Tsunami with maximum depth of twenty meters. Forty dead and 1,118 buildings completely destroyed
24 April 2011	The voluntary association "Koizumi Chiku no Ashita o Kangaeru Kai" is formed and a committee is created to prepare for the establishment of a Koizumi district group relocation council
30 April 2011	Explanatory meeting regarding the group relocation advancement project held by the city of Kesennuma for residents
June 2011	Relocation destination decided / Search held for "partners" (experts) and partners selected / Koizumi district group relocation council established / Written request submitted to the city of Kesennuma
July 2011	Town development workshops start (last until January 2013) / Plan examined
May 2012	Agreement of Minister of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism regarding group relocation acquired
July 2013	Development of residential land begins
18 August 2015	Residential land development (sixty plots) completed and delivered / Municipal Koizumi residences (disaster public housing, 37 households) completed
2017	Koizumi Middle School emergency temporary residences taken down / *Shinkōkai* restructured from seven to four (Machi district, Higashi district, Nishi district, Hama district) / Along with Magome Middle School, Koizumi Middle School is absorbed into Tsuya Middle School

The existence of *shinkōkai*, which were created in 1979, is a notable way in which Koizumi residents are organized. Like other areas in Miyagi Prefecture, there had been "contract associations" in the area (generally called *keiyaku-kō* 契約講; in Koizumi, *keiyaku-kai* 契約会). These mutual aid organizations managed joint assets like mountain forests, engaged in agricultural development, and promoted amity between members. However, the likes of branch families and families that had moved in from outside the community were not members.[10] In contrast, the *shinkōkai* were organized, at the urging

[10] Tōyō Daigaku Minzoku Kenkyūkai, *Koizumi no minzoku*, pp. 57–90.

of the government, as all-household resident self-governance associations. They formulate and carry out projects for local development in a broad sense.

While before the Great East Japan Earthquake there were seven *shinkōkai*, after the tsunami damage and subsequent community relocation, they were reorganized into four in 2017.

The Kangaeru Kai, the voluntary association involved in the disaster prevention group relocation of the Machi District, was led by people in their fifties, a younger age group than *shinkōkai* officers. They invited outside advisors and held workshops for residents to talk with each other.

Map 1 shows the locations of the Machi, Zai, and Hama districts, the Machi District's relocation destination, Koizumi Hachiman Shrine, and other related places.

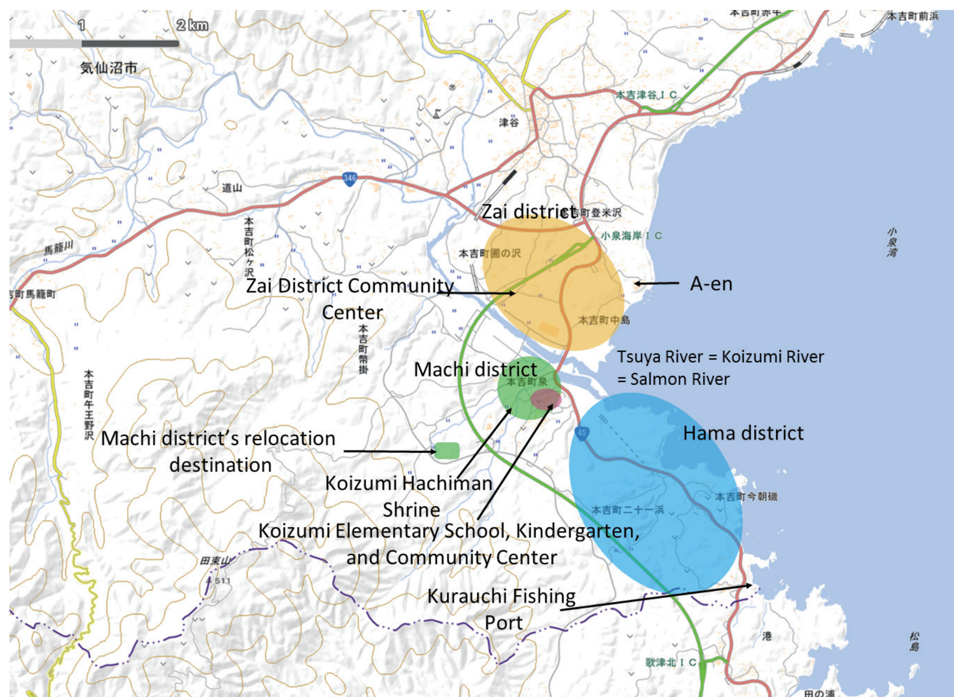

Fig 1. The Koizumi Area[11]

[11] For Figure 1, I added shapes and text to GSI Tiles map data (https://maps.gsi.go.jp/development/ichiran.html).

3. Festival Changes

The Festival from 2011 to 2016

Hachiman Shrine, said to have been established in 1584 (Tenshō 12), is the protector of the Koizumi area (previously the town of Koizumi). While the shrine's buildings were spared in the Great East Japan Earthquake, the priest's residence was not. Documents, records, a *Ryūzu* Kannon (dragon-riding Kanon) iron statue that was the main object of veneration of the Kannon Confraternity (Kannon-kō 観音講), and other items were lost. For this reason, the priest came up with the idea of publishing a record that would share the religious beliefs and practices of the Koizumi area and Hachiman Shrine with future generations. In January 2019, with the editorial assistance of Ikeda Natsue 池田奈津江 (a Kanagawa Prefecture Shinto priest who had been offering support since 2011), Akino Jun'ichi 秋野淳一 (who helped with my on-the-ground interview survey in 2015), and myself, this record was completed.[12]

In this book, Ikeda describes changes to the shrine's *reisai* from 2011 to 2017.[13] **Table 2** summarizes it and includes my observations from September 2015 and 2016.

Table 2. Festival Changes Between 2011 to 2016

2011	While the priest thought that the portable shrine parade could not be held, members of the local young men's association wanted to cheer up the community with it, and sixty to seventy younger people and volunteers in the community came together to carry one portable shrine in white robes (*hakuchō* 白丁).
2012	After the festival eve and *reisai* rituals, a parade of three portable shrines was held. The route was as follows: shrine → former residential area in the original Machi District → Koizumi River (Salmon River Abundant Catch Prayer Ceremony) → Koizumi Elementary School → Shrine. (Same until 2016.)
2013	With banner, lion costume, drum, and float donations, the festival becomes livelier. Third-year middle school students carry cardboard portable shrine wearing happi coats made from *tairyō-bata* 大漁旗 (fisher's flags).
2014	Under the guidance of former members of Inage 稲毛 Shrine parishioner young men's association (city of Kawasaki), school students carried a children's portable shrine that had been donated by the shrine Ōmiya-Hachimangū 大宮八幡宮 (Tokyo's city of Suginami). An offering stage is constructed in Koizumi Elementary School's schoolyard. Parade held to entrance of the Koizumi Middle School temporary housing area. Parade consisted of Koizumi Kindergarten children's shrine, Koizumi Elementary School's fife and drums corps, Koizumi Hama fisher percussion performance (a hometown performing art), and Koizumi Children's Association's earthquake/tsunami recovery portable shrine. Talent show held in the evening (organized by the "COOL na Oyaji no Kai" COOLな親父の会 / "Cool Dad's Association").
27 September 2015	Only local residents carried the shrine's portable shrine (wearing white robes). Otherwise, the same as the previous year.
18 September 2016	Same as the previous year.

[12] Koizumi Hachiman Jinja, *Motoyoshichō koizumi hachiman jinja no kiroku*.

[13] Ibid., pp. 38–42.

Before the Great East Japan Earthquake, five members of each of the seven *shinkōkai* carried the shrine's portable shrine. The parade started on the shrine's grounds and went to each house in the Machi district. At each house's Shinto shrine, the priest carried out a purification (*oharai* お祓い). It lasted from around 9:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.[14] Also, offertorial events were held in front of the former site of the Koizumi Community Center (Koizumi Kōminkan 小泉公民館). It had been near the shrine before being washed away in the tsunami.

After the earthquake, the shrine's portable shrine was carried out by members of the Kangaeru Kai (until 2016) and volunteers (until 2014). As written in **Table 2**, a major reason the portable shrine parade occurred was the younger men participating in the Kangaeru Kai, which held discussions regarding group relocation, calling for and encouraging the priest to make it happen. The group's workshops discussed the Koizumi of the past and what should be valued and passed on. People worked to incorporate this into the plan for the relocation destination.[15] We can see the influence of this extended to the continuation of the portable shrine parade.

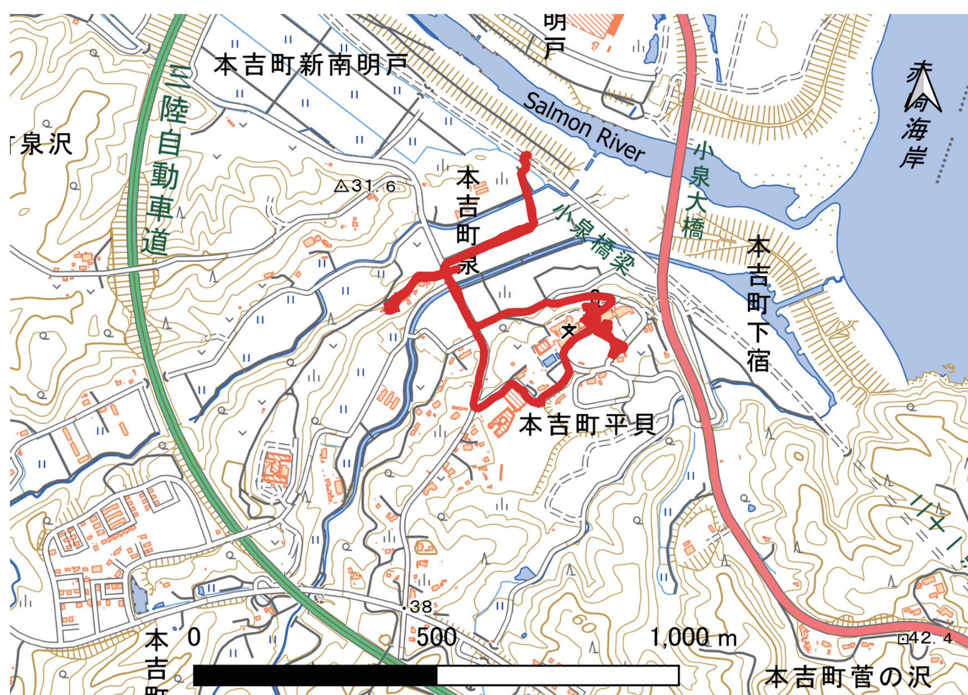

Fig 2. The 27 September 2015 portable shrine parade route.[16]

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[14] Ibid., p. 32.

[15] Koizumi Chiku no Ashita o Kangaeru Kai, *Daisuki na Koizumi o kodomotachi e tsugu tame ni*.

[16] For Figure 2, I created a GPS log during my survey with Simple Logger (https://apps.apple.com/jp/app/id861791141), and used QGIS 3.6.10 to overlay the GPS data on GSI Tiles map data. Same for figures 3 and 4.

Also, note that through the children's portable shrine, performing arts offerings, talent show, and so on, a broad swath of diverse residents has been involved in the festival as active participants. Koizumi's kindergarten, elementary school, and middle school are all located on the same rise of land. The Koizumi Community Center was also rebuilt there in 2015. Around noon on the day of the festival, the shrine's portable shrine arrived there, and the children's portable shrine, carried by kindergarteners, and the recovery portable shrine, carried by the children's association, assembled as well. A fife and drum corps performance by Koizumi Elementary School students and a Koizumi Hama fisher percussion offering took place as well. In 2014, a middle school students' shrine parade also began with the support of a Kanagawa Prefecture Shinto priest and parishioners.

On the grounds of the Koizumi Middle school is a temporary housing complex, and its residents had gathered as well. For this reason, the ages of the people surrounding the portable shrine parade and performing arts offerings were diverse as well.

Figure 2 shows the portable shrine parade route until 2016.

2017 Changes

The festival had been centered on the events in the original Machi district (portable shrine parade at the former residential area and Salmon River Abundant Catch Ceremony) and those on the rise of land where the schools, community center, and temporary housing complex were located (the portable shrine parade and offertorial events). In 2017, changes were made to the festival. The biggest one was the route of the portable shrine parade.

Due to advance discussions between the priest, *sōdai*, *shinkōkai* heads, and others, it was decided to have the parade route of the shrine's portable shrine connect the three districts of Machi, Zai, and Hama. The biggest reason for this was that the group relocation had been progressing and, at the same time, the temporary housing complex on the Koizumi Middle School's grounds had begun to be taken down.

According to the priest, while Machi district group relocation was completed and an assembly hall built, residents perceived Hachiman Jinja as the protector of the entire Koizumi area, and the opinion coalesced that it would be best to go around to all of Koizumi's districts, not just Machi.

This meant that the portable shrine would cover a broader area, and how to temporally and spatially accommodate the students' parading of portable shrines and offertorial events, which had taken place on the elevated land area where schools were located, emerged as an issue. A variety of proposals were considered.

Plans were made to have the Machi district's parade stop (*otabisho* 御旅所) be the Koizumi Machi District Shinkōkai Hall, the Zai District Community Center be that of the Zai district, and the Hama District General Purpose Assembly Hall (Tamokuteki

Shūkaijo 多目的集会所) be that of the Hama District. However, due to a death in a family near the Hama district's assembly hall, the Hama district's stop was changed to the Kurauchi Fishing Port.

The resulting schedule and route for the festival on 8 October (Sunday) are shown in **Table 3** and **Figure 3**, respectively.

Table 3. 8 October 2017 *Reisai* Shrine Parade Schedule

08:30	Departure ceremony
09:00	Departure. Move the portable shrine on a truck. *Sōdai* and shrine carriers board a minibus.
09:30	Salmon River Abundant Catch Ceremony
10:15	Zai District Community Center: Shinto rituals, lion dance, mochi-making
11:00	Kurauchi Fishing Port: Shinto rituals, lion dance, mochi-making
12:00	Koizumi Community Center parking lot: Join up with middle school students' portable shrine
12:30	Koizumi Kindergarten children's portable shrine, Koizumi Elementary School drum and fife corps (Koizumi Elementary School schoolyard)
13:00	Koizumi Hama fisher percussion (Koizumi Community Center parking lot)
13:50	Parade of Koizumi Children's Association recovery portable shrine (up to the main entrance of Koizumi Middle School), middle school students' portable shrine, and shrine's portable shrine
14:30	Return
14:50	Return Ceremony
15:00	Feast (*naorai* 直会 ; Koizumi Machi District Shinkōkai Hall)
17:00	Talent Show (Koizumi Machi District Shinkōkai Hall)

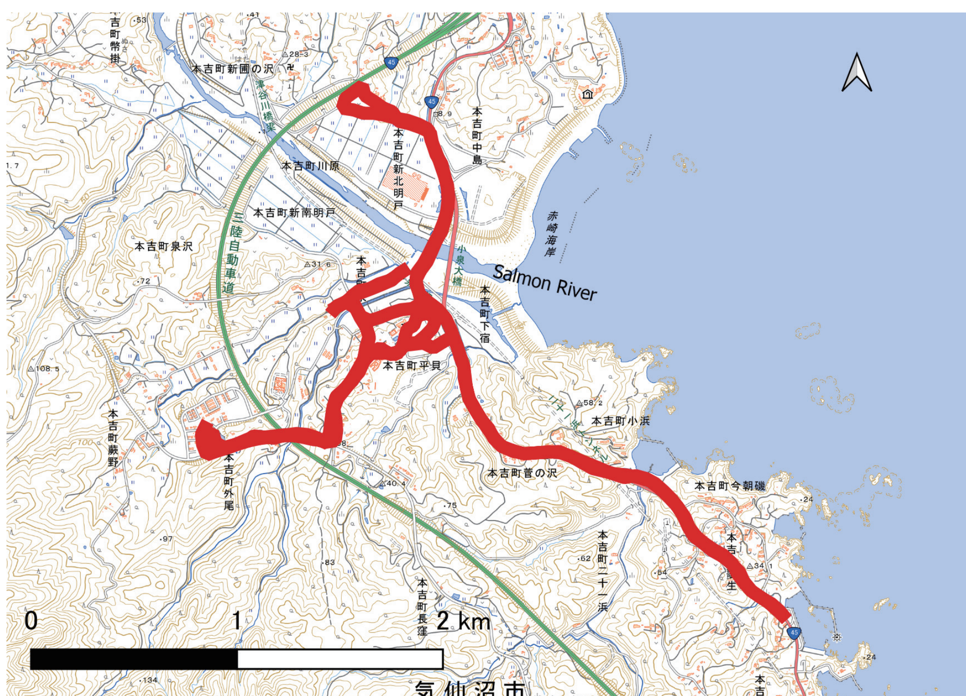

Fig 3. The 8 October 2017 portable shrine parade route.

Events with many children were, as before, held around noon on the schools' rise of land, and the shrine's portable shrine was put on a truck to go around the entire Koizumi area. Also, the talent show's venue was moved to the open area in front of the Koizumi Machi District Shinkōkai Hall.

A major reason that the events with many children stayed on the elevated land area was its many schools. While first gathering at this rise of land and then moving to the Machi district's group relocation site was considered, the amount of effort and time involved in moving could not be ignored.

As for the talent show, those involved in setting up and taking down the stage (primarily men in their twenties to forties) could only work on the weekends, and therefore it was decided that the Koizumi Machi District Shinkōkai Hall was actually preferable because the stage frame could be left standing for about a week before and after the festival.

In this way, while broadening the area covered by the shrine parade route, adjustments were made that took into account the people's circumstances.

There were also new circumstances surrounding the portable shrine carried by middle school students: in April 2017, Koizumi Middle School was absorbed into Tsuya Middle School. There were concerns that this would lead to a lack of participation by middle school students. However, in the end, ten middle school students residing in the Koizumi area participated in the shrine parade.

It was also hoped that residents of the Zai and Hama districts would participate in the festival due to the expansion of the area covered by the portable shrine parade. While approximately twenty residents came together at the Hama district's Kurauchi Fishing Port, only about ten appeared in the Zai district's community center. This probably led festival organizers to reflect on what could have been done differently.

2018 Changes

In 2018, the kagura offering and talent show were scheduled for 16 September (Sunday), and the *reisai*, portable shrine parade, children's portable shrine, drum and fife corps, and percussion group for 22 September (Saturday). Operational circumstances and the accommodation of school events led to this schedule.

According to the priest, the thirteenth day of the eighth month on the lunar calendar is when the *reisai* is normally held. In 2018, this was 22 September. However, setting up and taking down the talent show venue requires several days and many hands. Therefore, it would have been difficult to put on the show on Saturday evening. Also, school events were scheduled for 15 and 16 September of the previous week. This led to a schedule, said the priest, in which the *reisai*'s Shinto rituals would be held on 22 September and related events the previous week.

Also, with the 16 September kagura offering being Hachiman Shrine *reisai*'s first in

thirty years, Shimo-ōkago 下大籠 Nanbu 南部 kagura (Fujisawa-chō, Ichinoseki City, Iwate Prefecture) was also invited. According to a Nanbu kagura survey report published by the Ichinoseki City Board of Education, the activities of Shimo-ōkago Nanbu kagura have primarily been offerings at the fall *reisai* of Shinmei-sha 神明社, a shrine in the Fujisawa-chō area of Iwate Prefecture's city of Ichinoseki, and performances at a children's hometown performing arts recital in Fujisawa-chō. Also, the report states, Shimo-ōkago Nanbu kagura is a sibling of Ōmuro 大室 Nanbu kagura (Kitakami-cho, Jūsanhama, Ishinomaki City), which was revived after the Great East Japan Earthquake. The former provided kagura dance scripts and other forms of support for the latter when it was being revived.[17] This offering became a reality thanks to the proposal of the head of the Koizumi Machi District Shinkōkai, who is fond of kagura.

The portable shrine parade route continued to cover this wider area in 2018. The Zai district parade stop changed from the Zai District Community Center to the nursing home A-en (Tokubetsu Yōgo Rōjin Hōmu A-en 特別養護老人ホームＡ苑). When in September 2019, I asked the priest about the reason for this, he replied that it was because there was the opinion that with barely any people having come to the community center in 2017, it would be better to go to A-en, which has many elderly residents.

On 16 September, the kagura offering began on a specially-built stage in the Machi District Shinkōkai Hall. In addition to the priest, *sōdai*, and Shinkōkai officers, approximately ten Machi district residents, primarily older people, came. It was a sunny day, and strong sunlight shown on the seats lined up in front of the stage. Therefore, people watched from the eaves of the hall.

The talent show began in the evening (just after 5:00 p.m.). Ten groups of people of diverse ages (from kindergarten students to seniors) put on song, dance, and other performances. About thirty to fifty people came to watch.

Rain fell intensely six days later on the morning of the twenty-second. Therefore, the priest and others who would be participating in the ceremonies and/or involved in the portable shrine parade hurriedly gathered in the Koizumi Community Center to discuss the day's plans. This resulted in the start of the ceremonies and portable shrine parade being pushed back to noon.

The rain stopped in the late morning, and the children-centered offertorial events at the schools and community center's rise of land were held as planned. On the other hand, after the ceremonies and departure of the Hachiman Shrine's portable shrine at the shrine, the portable shrine was loaded onto a truck, and its carriers boarded a minibus. They went to the Salmon River Abundant Catch Ceremony, Zai district's nursing home A-en, Hama district's Kurauchi Fishing Port, and the Koizumi Machi District Shinkōkai Hall.

[17] Ichinoseki-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, *Nanbu kagura chōsa hōkokusho*, pp. 56–57.

At the nursing home, which had been added after the previous year's lessons, approximately fifty residents went out to the front courtyard with the assistance of nursing home staff and greeted the portable shrine. A lion (costume) accompanied the portable shrine, and residents lined up to have their heads bitten.

The Shinto priest and shrine parishioners from Kanagawa continued this year to support middle school students' portable shrine parade. However, there were concerns about the influence of Koizumi Middle School being absorbed into Tsuya Middle School. In the end, partially due to the morning's poor weather, there were not enough middle school students for them alone to carry a portable shrine.

2019 Changes

In 2019, events were not split between two days. All were held on 8 September (Sunday). Participants were blessed with good weather, and everything proceeded basically the same as 2017, two years prior. However, as had been the case in 2018, the Zai district stop was the nursing home A-en (**Figure 4**).

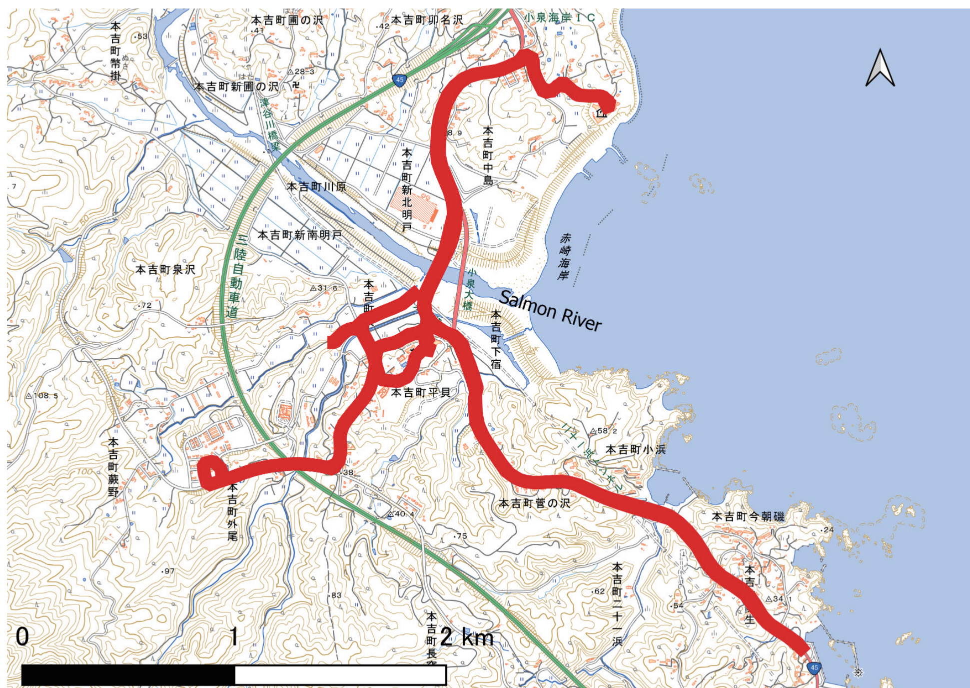

Fig 4. The 8 September 2019 portable shrine parade route.

A-en had told the priest that the previous year's portable shrine parade was received favorably by residents, as well as that there was a request that to have the shrine being carried around as bearers chant *wasshoi*, *wasshoi* or "heave-ho, heave-ho" (instead of just bringing the portable shrine in a truck). This is called *neri* 練り. The portable shrine was placed in the courtyard of A-en, and with almost thirty residents/staff-members greeting it, Shinto rituals, a lion dance, mochi-making, and *neri* was carried out.

Also, as was the case in the previous year, from 2:00 p.m. Shimo-ōkago Nanbu kagura was offered at the Koizumi Machi District Shinkōkai Hall.

In the previous year, there had not been enough middle school students to carry one float on their own, and the combining of middle schools had made reaching out to students less effective. Therefore, the idea of having a single portable shrine be carried by middle school students alone was given up on, and the Kanagawa Prefecture Shinto priest and parishioners did not provide support to students in building and carrying a portable shrine as they had been doing since 2013. People reached out to middle school students, and the few that came assisted in the shrine's portable shrine parade. At first, they held back (for example, holding the donation box instead of the shrine), but they gradually became more involved from the *neri* at A-en. The several middle school students also participated in the feast (*naorai*) that began at 4:00 p.m. and the party celebrating the talent show's successful completion at 8:00 p.m.

According to a man in his fifties that was involved in both the portable shrine parade and the talent show, currently, there are just enough people to get by, and it would be preferable if twice as many were involved.

4. Discussion

Above I traced the festival's changes, focusing primarily on the shrine parade route's scope. Of course, this was not only a spatial change.

The year of the earthquake, forty lives and approximately seventy percent of the area's houses were lost due to the tsunami. Amidst this, the portable shrine parade was relaunched, connecting the former residential area of the Machi district (now only foundations, with the shrine and houses having been washed away), the riverside (where a salmon hatchery business has continued), and the elevated land area that hosts educational facilities (such as a kindergarten, elementary school, middle school, and community center) and a temporary housing complex.

In terms of the people involved in the festival, it is important that up through 2016 the shrine's *sōdai* and *shinkōkai* (local residents' associations) entered into a cooperative relationship to form an entity that would operate the festival.

Participants included people carrying the shrine—volunteers (up to 2014) and middle school students—and, in the offertorial events, people of all ages, including

kindergarteners and middle school students.

The nearby portable shrine parade and offertorial events were easy to view for the residents, especially seniors, of the temporary housing on the same land rise as the schools and community center.

From 2017 onwards, as the environment changed with disaster prevention group relocation progressing and middle schools being combined, organizers pro-actively responded by changing the portable shrine parade route. It became an approximately two-kilometer undulating one from the elevated area to the Machi district's group relocation residential area. Machi district residents probably wanted to pass on the core of the festivities, moving it from their former places of residence—the district's original neighborhood (now used as a materials storage and worker resting area for reconstruction work) and the elevated land area—to their new home. However, the heads of the *shinkōkai* of other districts (Nishi, Higashi, Hama) are also involved in running the festival, and in light of the fact that Hachiman Shrine is the protector of the entire Koizumi area, it was decided to put the portable shrine on a truck and bring it to the Zai and Hama districts as well. The aim was to include residents of these districts as not only, of course, organizers and participants but also as people who come out to greet the portable shrine.

However, in the first year of this change, only a few residents gathered at the Zai and Hama districts' parade stops. For this reason, in the Hama district, in 2018 the parade stop was changed to A-en, which resulted in many facility residents coming out to greet it. The connections created in this way were not unidirectional; for example, in 2019 the *neri* was added at the request of these residents.

Here we find people both seeking to carry on a festival from pre-earthquake times as well as thoughtfully working to have this festival help include residents in the post-earthquake community rebuilding process. This can probably be found in other areas as well.

Inazawa Tsutomu 稲澤努 has investigated and discussed the festival restoration process of Yaegaki 八重垣 Shrine (Yamamoto Town, Miyagi Prefecture). This shrine is located in an area that was struck by the tsunami and designated as vulnerable to disaster.[18] Inazawa has shown that with shrine parishioners leaving the parish, people worked to ensure the festival's continued existence by having an intangible cultural property preservation association assume responsibility for its operations, as well as that its portable shrine parade route went to the area's temporary housing complex.

I have also been following Yaegaki Shrine's festival. With residents leaving the temporary housing complex and dispersing to primarily three areas (Akasaka, the new town center called "Tsubame no mori," and Kasano), the portable shrine goes around to

[18] Inazawa, "Matsuri no 'fukkō' katei."

the three of them on a truck.

Seen in this way, we might say that an effective indicator of inclusiveness is the changing or broadening of a portable shrine parade route. However, what is important is whether inclusion is considered in the adjustments and coordination that take place up to that point.

In this sense, it is worth noting that a facility for seniors was added as a parade stop route. For the 2018 shrine parade, I rode the minibus used to transport people carrying the portable shrine. At that time, I remember hearing one person comment, "Maybe I'll move there at some point." With the aging and shrinking of the population still being unavoidable after group relocation, inevitably it becomes more likely that people will choose not only the help of family and the community but also human services. The portable shrine and those carrying it visiting such a facility and interacting with residents leads the former set of people to see the latter's situation as something that pertains to themselves. The festival takes on another meaning: supporting the prayers offered at the facility.

When observing and recording in detail, as well as analyzing, the changes in festivals found in mid and long-term post-disaster recovery processes, it is beneficial to adopt the angle of inclusiveness. While continuing to do so, I plan to open up my field of vision to include comparative discussions.

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(Translated by Dylan Luers Toda)

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