

## The "Separate" Coexistence of Kami and Hotoke —A Look at Yorishiro—

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SHINBUTSU SHŪGŌ is often called a major characteristic of Japanese religion. Probably the most appropriate English translation for *shinbutsu shūgō* would be "syncretism." Numerous syncretic phenomena can indeed be found in Japanese Buddhism or Shugendō, but it is nonetheless dangerous to classify all of Japanese religion under this rubric (Hori 1975, pp.146-155). While the *kami*, or Japanese "indigenous deities," did mix with the foreign Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, at the same time great efforts were exerted to insure the separate identity of the native *kami* and the foreign deities, which were generally called *hotoke*.

Viewed from this perspective, the *hotoke* must be recognized as rivals of the Japanese *kami*. Indigenous belief in the *kami* (*jingi shinkō*) became the nativistic faith of Shinto when it was confronted with the universalistic faith of Buddhism. In any case, the philosophy behind the distinction between *kami* and *hotoke* in daily life has its roots in the reaction to foreign Buddhism.

This paper will consider the "separate" coexistence of *kami* and *hotoke* through an examination of the *yorishiro*, the symbolic material objects in which the *kami* settle. Takeda Chōshū has described over one hundred such *yorishiro* (see Takeda 1959, pp.157-182). The discussion here will, hopefully, reveal an important aspect of the religious life of the Japanese people.

The *kami* need *yorishiro*, and it is through these material objects that the people can communicate with the

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kami. The notion that kami are lodged in yorishiro, however deeply rooted it might be in the minds of the Japanese, is not unique to Japan, for it is shared by all of those people who live in the world of animism. Those who believe in a "one and only," absolute God, see both natural and manmade objects as the work of a single creator, but those such as the Japanese, who hold animistic religious beliefs, see these as the lodgings of the kami. The very existence of the kami is embodied in the object. Polluting such objects in which the kami reside would be unthinkable to the Japanese. Similarly, these yorishiro must periodically be the focus of ritual performance.<sup>1</sup>

The landscape which I am about to describe is not based on any specific location or scene; though it is a composite, it is the type of rural religious landscape that might be easily have been found anywhere in Japan, at least before the 1950s.

*Dōsojin*—simple stone carvings that represent the kami who protect the road and travelers—and *kōshintō*, stone carvings which are the yorishiro of a threatening Taoist divinity, stand on the periphery of the village. In the center of the village, or on the top of a small hill, are found the densely wooded precincts of the local shrine, or jinja. The kami like to lodge in unusually shaped rocks and trees as well as in dirt mounds and grottoes.

Space encircled by the kami, however, is overwhelmingly found in the home. During the New Year's holiday (*shōgatsu*), the entrance to the home is decorated with *kadomatsu*, or evergreen branches which are the yorishiro of the New Year's kami; the *kadonyūdō*, a pair of standing logs with carved faces that act as a talisman against evil, also gleam out from the entrance. *Kamifuda*, or small pieces of paper representing the kami, are tightly affixed above the doorway. *Onigawara*, or tiles bearing the face of

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1. Such ritual performance is described by the verb *matsuru*, and the word *matsuri* ("celebration," or "festival") is a derivative of this verb.

a demon, which act as a talisman against evil, and *gohei*, religious wands with streamers of hemp and paper, are placed on the roof.

The toilet kami (*benjo-gami*) and water kami (*suijin*) dwell in the toilet and well respectively.<sup>2</sup> Outside the house there is frequently still another shrine, dedicated to the *yashiki-gami*, or the household kami.

If we then step into the house, it is difficult to find places that do not have a kami. In the dirt-floored *doma*<sup>3</sup> dwell the fire kami (*kōjin*) and the oven kami (*kamado-gami*), both of which function to protect the house from the danger of fire and to secure the purity of the fire. Outside, in the barn, the yorishiro of the guardian deities of the horses are enshrined. In the *ima*, or "living room," one will find the *kamidana* or "kami altar," as well as two of the gods of luck, Ebisu and Daikoku, and in the tatami-floored *zashiki* (the most formal room in the house, used to entertain guests) is the *butsudan*, or "hotoke altar,"<sup>4</sup> in which Buddhist images and memorial tablets for the dead (*ihai*) are kept.

In the *nando*, or "parents' bedroom," the *nando-gami* is symbolized during the New Year's season by two bales of rice straw. The rice seeds in these bags will be used for planting in the late spring. Shops managed by families are decorated with the clay figure of a cat (*manekineko*) with a paw outstretched to invite business, and a rake-like bamboo representation of a bear's paw (*kumade*) symbolizing good luck and the gathering in of money and business.

It is clear that the "space" in Japanese life is surrounded by many yorishiro. What is vital to stress, how-

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2. In traditional Japanese homes the toilet and bath facilities are separate from each other and from the main building. The well is also located separately.

3. The *doma* is primarily a room for indoor agricultural work, but in some cases it is used in part for kitchen activities, in which case the oven (*kamado*) is placed there.

4. The word "hotoke" can refer both to the deities of the Buddhist religion and to the deceased members of the household.

ever, is that each *yorishiro* has its own specific space or place. The oven *kami*, for example, would never be found in the guest room, just as the *ihai* would never be placed in the kitchen. This is a system that rarely permits territorial violation. The *kami* and *hotoke*, in other words, each have their own place, and each has functions distinctly independent of one another. The *sumiwake* (literally the "living division," or "living separation") between the *yorishiro* of the *kami* and *hotoke* is parallel with the so-called "functional separation," or the "division of labor" (Umesao and Tada, 1972) between the two.

Kon Wajirō was the first person to call attention to this spatial "living separation," or *sumiwake*, between *kami* and *hotoke*. An advocate of an academic discipline called *kōgengaku*, which took as its object of study the modern world (Kon 1958, pp.3-20), Kon noted that in the farm houses in the Aizu district the "kami without a 'census register' (without a clearly specified origin)," such as the fire *kami* and the water *kami*, are enshrined in the *doma*. In the wooden-floored living room, which is used daily, however, one can find the "kami with a census register," such as *fukujin* (the *kami* of good fortune), *bōsaishin* (the *kami* who prevents disaster), and the *hotoke* of the *butsudan*. In the *zashiki*, Kon noted, there were neither *kami* nor *hotoke*. He pointed out that the dirt-floored rooms can be traced to the primitive period, board-floored rooms to the Heian period, and *tatami*-floored rooms to the samurai period.

It is not difficult to find evidence that would contradict Kon's theory, but it is nonetheless valuable to examine the fact that in Japanese homes there is a *sumiwake* between *kami* and *hotoke*, and that each is aware of its own "time, place and location." The Japanese have thus not mixed *kami* and *hotoke* together to the extent that is generally claimed, but have allocated to each of them a distinct time, place and occasion. From another perspective, this "division of labor of the deities," or the *sumiwake* of the *kami* and *hotoke*, can be seen as a "division of use" of the deities by the people.

What is the meaning of this division of labor or *sumi-wake*? One effective approach to this problem is an analysis of the time, place and occasion allotted the *yorishiro* of *kami* and *hotoke*. In this short paper I will use such a method to discuss permanent altars such as the *kamidana* and *butsudan* mentioned above, and will not discuss the temporary special sacred altars used during the New Year season or *obon*, the festival of the dead. A *kamidana* is an altar used for Shinto rites in which *kamifuda* from shrines such as the Grand Shrine at Ise are placed. For the time being let us treat the *kamidana* separately from the *Ebisu* and *Daikoku* altars.

The *butsudan* was originally an altar for the worship of Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas*, but in reality these are generally worshiped together with memorial tablets, which are the *yorishiro* of deceased people. This paper will stress the latter use of the *butsudan*, and will concern itself with what *Ishizuka Takatoshi* has called "the 'front' *kami*" (*omotegawa no kami*, or those *kami* in the public part of the house). I will not discuss the "back" *kami* (*uragawa no kami*), or those *kami* in the private part of the house, such as *Ebisu*, *Daikoku*, the oven *kami* or the *nando-gami* (see *Ishizuka 1954*, pp.9-12).

#### TRADITIONAL HOMES

*Sugimoto Hisatsugu* defines a traditional home, or *minka*, as "a building of the culture of the common people, which is almost completely created from raw materials produced in the region and which has over many years adapted itself to its environment, and which has been carefully formed by years of accumulated invention" (*Sugimoto 1969b*, p.1).

Japanese traditional homes usually are understood to be those of the common people of agricultural, mountain and fishing villages (*Sugimoto 1969b*, p.47), although sometimes the homes of city dwellers and samurai are included in the category. Here, however, the term "traditional home" will mean the residences of the common people of an earlier generation.

The kamidana is generally thought to be closely related in origin to the distribution of *taima*, or the kamifuda of the Ise Shrine, a practice which began when the religious organizers of the shrine started to travel throughout Japan to propagate the shrine. The original form of the kamidana is thought to be the altar of the Grand Shrine, and the kamidana is considered to be a custom dating from the Muromachi period (Hirayama 1948, pp.48-49). In addition to these so-called kamidana there are similar altars, such as those for Ebisu and Kōjin (Hirayama 1948, p.8).

Butsudan, on the other hand—which are also called *hako jibutsudō*, or "box jibutsudō"—trace their origins to the private household Buddhist temples (jibutsudō) of the nobility of the Heian period. The butsudan later came to be worshiped in a *butsuma*, or a room set aside for Buddhist family rites. They were later moved to the *zashiki*, and then again to a corner of the daily-used living room (Hirayama 1948, pp.62-63). The butsudan became not only an altar housing the principal Buddhist image and the image of the founder of the sect followed by the house, but more generally an altar centered on the worship of *hotoke*. In other words, a butsudan is an altar for the worship of the spirits of the dead.

During the middle ages and the early modern period the activities of the religious organizers of the Ise Shrine facilitated the establishment of kamidana, but after the turn of the twentieth century, the kamidana were promoted by the government (Ikado and Yoshida 1970, p.170). Even the followers of one Pure Land Buddhist sect (Jōdo Shinshū), who had obstinately resisted this policy, performed a Shinto ceremony at the kamidana when their sons were called to war (Nakamaki 1975, p.354). We can presume that this is the reason the preservation of the kamidana was high in both urban areas and agricultural villages until the end of the war.

In the postwar period, however, there has been no great increase in the number of households with *taima* from the Ise Shrine, in spite of the increase of the number of

households in the country. National household figures indeed indicate a significant decline of households with *tai-ma*, the percentage falling from thirty-eight (or 6,660,000 households) in 1955 to twenty-nine (6,780,000 households) in 1965 (Ikado and Yoshida 1970, p.151).

The *butsudan*, however, which were originally found only in the homes of powerful village leaders and main family households (*honke*), are said to have gradually spread to branch families (*bunke*). This diffusion, however, has not been uniform throughout the country. Postwar surveys have shown that some members of the Pure Land sect from the Hokuriku and Tōhoku regions set up their *butsudan* in a special room set aside for Buddhist worship, while others had only a box *butsudan*. The former were primarily large-scale farmers or main family lineages, while the latter were usually small-scale farmers or branch families (Hirayama 1959, p.46).

In the households which were developed during the settlement of Hokkaido after the Meiji Restoration, *butsudan* were considered necessary only when the pioneers needed a "home" for memorial tablets they had brought with them, or when family members died in Hokkaido. Even the Pure Land believers, who reserve their *butsudan* for Amida Buddha and who are known for their elaborate *butsudan*, had to make do with orange crates and other makeshift materials as *butsudan*. With increasing economic security, however, they were able to replace these with manufactured *butsudan* (Nakamaki 1975, p.354).

Let us then examine how the *kami* and *hotoke* were once treated in the rooms of the traditional houses of common people. Tables 1 and 2 present information on the placement of *kamidana* and *butsudan* in a number of homes based on floor plan drawings found in Sugimoto (1969b) and Kawashima (1973). For the purposes of the table I have divided the main building into five rooms: sleeping room, *zashiki*, living room, *doma*, and storeroom. Since many rooms could be classified as either a bedroom or a *zashiki*, in these cases I assigned half value to both possible classi-

**Table 1**  
Kamidana placement by room

Source	Bedroom	Zashiki	Ima	Doma	Store	TOTAL
Sugimoto	0	9	2	1	0	12
Kawashima	0	2	1	0	0	3
Total	0	11	3	1	0	15
Percent	0	73.3	20.0	6.1	0	100

Source: Sugimoto 1969b; Kawashima 1973.

**Table 2**  
Butsudan placement by room

Source	Bedroom	Zashiki	Ima	Doma	Store	TOTAL
Sugimoto	0.5	23.5	4	0	0	28
Kawashima	0.5	22.5	4	0	0	27
Total	1	46	8	0	0	55
Percent	1.8	83.6	14.5	0	0	99.9

Source: Sugimoto 1969b; Kawashima 1973.

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The total number of kamidana is extremely small compared to the number of butsudān, because the kamidana are often placed between crossbeams on the ceiling between two rooms and therefore not recorded in a floor plan. In general, both kamidana and butsudān are hardly ever placed in the sleeping room or in the doma, and some seventy percent of the kamidana and eighty percent of the butsudān are placed in the zashiki. The rate of kamidana found in the living room is somewhat higher than that of butsudān.

Tables 3 and 4 are based on floor plan drawings found in eight of the nine volumes of the Meigen Shobō series on traditional homes; I have omitted the information on Okinawa because of the unique style of architecture and rituals found on those islands. Each one of these volumes has been



Table 3  
Kamidana by geographical region

Region	Bedroom	Zashiki	Ima	Doma	Store	TOTAL
Hokkaido	0	1	2	0	0	3
Tōhoku	2	5	9	0	0	16
Kantō	0	9	12	0	0	21
Chūbu	0	0	1	0	0	1
Kinki	0	4	3	0	0	7
Chūgoku	0	23	1	0	0	24
Shikoku	0	30	2	0	0	32
Kyushu	0	11	0	2	0	13
Total	2	83	30	2	0	117
Percent	1.7	70.9	25.6	1.7	0	99.9

Sources: Kōdera 1969; Ono 1968; Yamamoto et al. 1971; Niudani 1968; Sugimoto 1969a; Tsurufuji 1966; Tsurufuji 1968; Sugimoto 1977.

Table 4  
Butsudan by geographical region

Region	Bedroom	Zashiki	Ima	Doma	Store	TOTAL
Hokkaido	0	10	0	0	0	10
Tōhoku	2.5	40.5	16	0	1	60
Kantō	3.5	27.5	18	0	0	49
Chūbu	0	13	4	0	0	17
Kinki	0	35	1	0	0	36
Chūgoku	1	51	2	0	0	54
Shikoku	1	60	3	0	0	64
Kyushu	1	33	9	0	0	43
Total	9	270	53	0	1	333
Percent	2.7	81.1	15.9	0	0.3	100

Sources: Kōdera 1969; Ono 1968; Yamamoto et al. 1971; Niudani 1968; Sugimoto 1969a; Tsurufuji 1966; Tsurufuji 1968; Sugimoto 1977.

prepared by a different person and there is hence a good deal of variation in the quality of the individual books, but it is nonetheless a useful source for determining general trends throughout Japan. The eight volumes used include some 333 floor plans which indicate the presence of butsudā and 117 which show kamidana. In cases where there were two kamidana I included only the major one; I also excluded all unclear data. The averages found in Tables 3 and 4, it will be seen, are similar to those found in Tables 1 and 2. Some eighty percent of the butsudā are in the zashiki, sixteen percent in the living room, and a small number are in the sleeping room. There is, however, no example of a butsudā found in the doma.

By way of contrast, some seventy percent of the kamidana are located in the zashiki, and twenty-five percent in the living room. There are also some exceptional cases in which the kamidana have been placed in the bedrooms and doma.

Regionally, we find that in the Kyushu, Chūbu, Kantō and Tōhoku regions the percentage of butsudā in the living room is comparatively high (from twenty to thirty-five percent), while this number is quite low (from two to five percent) in the Kinki, Chūgoku and Shikoku regions. There is also a striking difference in the placement of the kamidana between western and eastern Japan. In the Chūgoku, Shikoku and Kyushu regions the kamidana are overwhelmingly found in the zashiki, whereas in the Kantō and Tōhoku regions they are most frequently found in the living room. If this apparent geographical difference is indeed a fact, it should be studied further.

We have so far examined the various room placements of the kamidana and the butsudā, but it is also necessary to examine the religious ceremonies conducted in the main building of the home (*omoya*). In the eight volumes on which Tables 3 and 4 are based there are forty examples of a kamidana having been placed in the same room as a butsudā. Translated into simple statistics, this amounts to only twelve percent (forty of three hundred thirty-three

cases). We must, however, seriously consider the possibility that many kamidana have been left out of the floor plan drawings. Thirty-four percent of the total number of kamidana have been placed in the same room as a butsudan (forty of one hundred seventeen cases). Traditional Japanese homes usually possess both a kamidana and a butsudan, and it is thus likely that the percentage of times they would be found in the same room is probably close to the above figure of thirty-four percent.

In other words, the kamidana and the butsudan will be found in the same place in only about one-fourth to one-third of traditional Japanese homes. There would appear, however, to be very few cases in which kami and hotoke have been enshrined in the same altar. We must recognize the fact that in nearly every case the kami and hotoke dwell separately. This separation, however, is not distinct in the Kantō region, and the reasons for this need to be pursued. It is also essential to consider the distinct living patterns of the kami and hotoke from the perspective of social function. Needless to say, the butsudan has functioned primarily as a religious altar for ceremonies for the dead. Since the ancestor's yorishiro is usually worshiped in the main house, it is necessary for the main house to maintain space for the performance of Buddhist memorial services. The household's kamidana, on the other hand, has almost no relationship to relatives and lineage members beyond the nuclear family (Takeda 1976, pp. 35-36).<sup>5</sup> At the local level there are the *kō* and *miyaza*, groups of believers which conduct the local Shinto rites, and the homes of the common people are used for such ceremonies and for housing special local yorishiro on a rotating basis. In these cases, however, scrolls are hung in the *tokonoma* ("alcove") in the *zashiki*, and no attention is paid to the household's kamidana. Consequently, while the kamidana

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5. There are cases, however, in which the *uji-gami*, or patron deity of the local community, is incorporated in the kamidana.

has a familial function, it also has the religious function of endowing space with purity, sanctity and security, and it would appear that the latter function is more prominent.

#### MODERN URBAN DWELLINGS

There is practically no traditional Japanese home without a butsudān. We of course will find butsudān in the house of the family successor (*sōzoku setai*), but they are also found in newly established households (*sōsetsu setai*) that have been recognized as a separate entity because of their religious practices. For example, if Amida Buddha is worshiped in the home of a branch family which belongs to the Pure Land sect, that home will be recognized as its own entity, as the start of a new "household."

The nuclearization of the family, however, has brought with it a great increase in the number of newly established households which possess neither kamidana nor butsudān excluding, of course, those households where there is particularly strong religious conviction. A butsudān is primarily an inconvenience for nuclear families living in urban housing developments and condominiums. Any thought of having even a traditional alcove for flowers or artistic hangings in a "2DK" (two bedrooms and a dining room/kitchen) floor plan are abandoned in the planning stages; needless to say, it would be impossible to think of setting aside a room for Buddhist rites.

Situations arise, however, even in newly established households, when kamidana and butsudān become necessary items. The death of a close relative, such as one's spouse, for example, or the tearing down of the house of one's birth, present important reasons for entering new religious groups (*shinshūkyō*) such as Sōka Gakkai. We must also not ignore the handling of taima. Often the problem of their placement is easily solved by clearing a sacred space for them above a bedroom dresser or refrigerator. There seems to be a tendency to place memorial tablets above the dresser and the kamifuda above the refrigerator.

The family that has grown more pious will install a

board shelf above the lintel which functions as a religious altar. If the family were to become even more devoted, they would conduct religious ceremonies and purchase a butsudān; in these cases small ones which are well suited for housing development apartments are the most popular. Immediately after the war Hirayama Toshijirō asserted that the "box butsudān," which are often placed on a table with memorial tablets in city homes and newly established households, should rightfully be considered as full-fledged butsudān (Hirayama 1948, p.64).

Small city homes do not have the space for observing religious ceremonies such as those conducted in traditional homes. Thus ceremonies are often conducted in meeting halls, public halls, temples and shrines, and special ceremonial occasion centers. Recently the custom of placing one's memorial tablets in a special storage space in a temple designated for such tablets, or in a special temple building designated for the cremated bones of the deceased has been taking root.

What Kurita Yasuyuki has called the "externalization of the function of the household" fundamentally applies even to religious ceremonies (Kurita 1977, pp.693-694). Reliable data concerning the placement of kamidana and butsudān have unfortunately been introduced only to a limited extent. Most of the reliable data in this field have been compiled by sociologists. Morioka Kiyomi, for example, studied an agricultural village in Yamanashi Prefecture, an industrial zone in Tokyo, and a residential area of Tokyo during the period 1965-68 (Morioka 1975a, pp.97-112).<sup>6</sup> According to his information, ninety-five percent of the households in the village (ninety-two households) had kamidana and ninety-two percent had butsudān, but the figures are lower for the Tokyo business zone of 103 households, where sixty-one percent had kamidana and sixty-nine

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6. The reader might also wish to consult Morioka's English publication (Morioka 1975b).

percent butsudān. The residential area of 100 households shows a sharp decline, with forty-three percent possessing kamidana and forty-five butsudān.

Further, the possession rate for nuclear families is lower than that for extended families. This tendency is particularly remarkable in the Tokyo residential area, where sixty-five percent of the extended families own kamidana as opposed to thirty-eight percent of the nuclear families; the rate for butsudān is one hundred percent for extended families and thirty-one percent for nuclear families.

Takahashi Hiroko, who surveyed a regional city of 775 households in Shizuoka Prefecture, found a significant difference in the rate of kamidana and butsudān possession between the homes of family successors and newly established homes. Seventy-two percent of the successors' homes possessed kamidana, as opposed to 58.8 percent of the newly established homes. Butsudān were found in 88.2 percent of the successors' homes, and in only 54.2 percent of the newly established homes. We find that the rate of butsudān possession increases with the age of the household members, while this tendency is not so marked for kamidana. On a different level, the rate of possession of kamidana is much greater (71.7 percent) in the homes of people who own their own businesses than it is in the homes of blue and white collar workers (58.5 percent). There is no conspicuous difference, however, between the possession rates of butsudān in these two groups (Takahashi 1975, pp.37-52).

The following conclusions have been drawn from such research results. According to Morioka, kamidana preservation is closely linked to the degree of involvement in community life. Morioka also notes that the rate of visitation to the local shrine reflects the tendencies of people to have kamidana (Morioka 1975a, pp.172-173).

Takahashi holds that the high possession rate of kamidana in households which own their own businesses reflects the this-worldly prayers for profit and gain engaged in by such families (Takahashi 1975, p.44). With regard to the

butsudan, both scholars consider the death of a close relative, particularly a spouse, as a religious turning point (Morioka 1975a, p.110; Takahashi 1975, p.48).

The data show that the city successors' homes have a significantly higher rate of butsudan possession than do newly established homes. It has also been shown, however, that the butsudan possession rate is high in extended families with widows, regardless of whether the home is that of a successor or has been newly established (Morioka 1975a, p.111). The same tendency can be seen in the extent of participation in the obon ceremonies (Morioka 1975a, p.173).

Another reality which has been recognized is the collapse of the patriarchal family system in ancestral religious services. The paternalistic concept of ancestral worship in which the eternity of the household is considered all important has notably weakened. Bilateral religious services, which focus on the close relatives on both the paternal and maternal sides and which have as their central theme "re-collection" and "reminiscence" have become prominent.

Kōmoto Mitsugi has discussed a shift from the historical "genealogical concept of ancestor worship" to a "relational concept of ancestor worship" in which marriage and childbirth are considered as crucial turning points in regard to the handling of city cemeteries (Kōmoto 1978, pp.52-65). As both Morioka Kiyomi and R.J. Smith have pointed out, the worship of photographs and the bilateral ancestral worship of the Reiyūkai and its offshoots can be considered trends of the "relational" concept of ancestor worship (Morioka 1975a, p.112, p.114; Smith 1974, pp.126-127).

#### JAPANESE DESCENDANTS IN HAWAII

Here I would like to extract the particularities of the sacred space in the homes of Japanese Americans through a comparison of their dwellings with traditional Japanese homes. The data have been drawn from research on religion conducted in Hawaii in 1977 and 1979.

First we will look at a survey based on questionnaires,

focusing on Oahu Island, which was carried out in 1979 (Yanagawa and Morioka 1979, p.83). This survey found that 228 of 479 households (48.8 percent) owned a butsudā. This means that about one half of the homes have a butsudā, but the preservation rate is much lower for those homes committed to Christianity, Tenshō Kōtai Jingū Kyō, and Tenri Kyō. This is because the style of living in such families is to a large extent prescribed by religious doctrine. Houses committed to Christianity, Tenshō Kōtai Jingū Kyō, and Sōka Gakkai show an exceedingly low possession rate of kamidana. This is also related to religious doctrine. These figures also reflect the fact that Shinto practices were discouraged by authorities during the war.

The distribution of taima and kamifuda can be regarded as a clue to the preservation rate of kamidana. For example, fifty to sixty percent of the families of Japanese descent have a taima from the Hawaii Izumo Shrine in Oahu, while only twenty percent of the Christian households and thirty-five percent of the unaffiliated households have such taima (Sanada 1981, pp.36-37).

Table 5 is a compilation of the data from the houses I surveyed in 1979. As my survey did not include homes from Tenshō Kōtai Jingū Kyō, Tenri Kyō or Christianity, it shows a butsudā in every home. There are very few examples of the butsudā being placed in Western style "parlors," such as the living room or the guest room, but two-thirds of them are in the bedroom. This is in sharp contrast with traditional Japanese homes, where the bedroom is used for this purpose only in exceptional cases. We should also note that the butsudā are often set up in Japanese style rooms. The kamidana, on the other hand, are frequently set up in the parlor, but there are also cases in which the bedroom or a Japanese style room is used. Two of the homes in this survey did not have a kamidana.

Let us now consider the significance of religious sect affiliation and generation. At both the individual and family level of the Japanese Americans in Hawaii, plural religious affiliation is a general phenomenon. Within the same



Table 5  
Kamidana and Butsudan in Hawaii

Family	Sect	Butsudan	Kamidana	Generation
A	u, w	Japanese room	Japanese room	1, 2
B	v, w	Bedroom	None	1, 2
C	v, w	Small parlor	Big parlor	1, 2
D	u, v, w	Bedroom	Parlor	1
E	u, w, x	Bedroom	Parlor	1, 2
F	t	Bedroom	Bedroom	1, 2
G	v, z	Bedroom (2)	Not known	unknown
H	u, z	Japanese room, Bedroom	Not known	unknown
I	u, z	Bedroom	Not known	unknown
J	u, v, w, y	Parlor	None	1

Code: u: Jōdo Shinshū; v: Sōtō; w: Shingon; x: Tendai; y: Jōdo Shū; z: Shugen Honshū.

Notes: Families A-I live on Oahu; family J on Kauai. Houses G, H, and I include one member of the first (issei) generation.

household, for example, the parents might be Buddhist and the children Christian; there are also Christian households which maintain memorial tablets, as well as individuals who are members of both temples and shrines.

Homes G, H, and J, which have membership in more than one Buddhist sect, each have two butsudan. House G has one butsudan of the Sōtō sect that is used for worshipping the dead, and one butsudan from the Shugen Honshū sect that is used for prayer. House H places its butsudan for rites for the dead in the Japanese style room, and its butsudan for prayer in the bedroom. In House J, the butsudan for ceremonies for the dead and the butsudan for Kōbō Daishi, the founder of the Shingon sect, are placed together in the parlor. In some cases, portraits of the main deity

and of the founder of the sect have been placed together in the butsudan. In the case of House A, for example, Amida Buddha and Kōbō Daishi are worshiped, and House D worships Shakamuni Buddha; Amida Buddha; Dōgen Zenji, the founder of the Sōtō sect; Keizan Zenji of the Sōtō sect, and Kōbō Daishi.

All ten homes have an older, first generation Japanese American (an issei, or person who was born in Japan and migrated to America) in residence. In houses where first generation Japanese Americans are living with their second generation descendants, there is a tendency for the butsudan to be forced into the first generation individual's bedroom. Houses B, E, and F are examples of this, but the butsudan of House E had originally been placed in the parlor. In those cases where the butsudan has not been "sent" to the bedroom of the first generation person, it is usually placed in a very private space, such as a Japanese style room (House A), or a small parlor (House C). The family composition of houses G, H, and I is unclear, but in the case of the worship of a private tutelary kami, we can see a tendency for the religious altar to be placed in the bedroom. According to a Shingon priest in Honolulu, for example, as few as ten percent of the homes worship the butsudan in the parlor; during the house blessing ceremony (a unique religious ceremony of Japanese descendants in Hawaii that is conducted on moving into a new home, this is particularly influenced by Hawaiian indigenous practices) however, the butsudan is temporarily taken from the bedroom and moved to the parlor.

#### THE LOGIC OF THE SUMIWAKE OF KAMI AND HOTOKE

The Japanese kami and hotoke, in compliance with their functional principles, generally preserve sumiwake. In the case of a traditional home, for example, the kōjin is in the doma, the kamidana is in the living room, the hotoke is in the zashiki, and the nando-gami is in the nando. In this way kami and hotoke coexist while continuing to live separately within defined spaces.

We seldom find the nando and doma deities in modern city dwellings, but the taima and memorial tablets are often placed above the refrigerator and the dresser, respectively. The possession rate of kamidana and butsudan has, however, dropped considerably compared with traditional homes. In the homes of Japanese-Americans in Hawaii the religious sect and generation of the family members are important factors of yorishiro possession and placement, but even in this group, we find that the logic of sumiwake of kami and hotoke has not been abandoned: kamidana are found in the parlor, butsudan in the bedroom.

The logic of this sumiwake is the principle of "separate coexistence." Kami and hotoke each secure their own "share" of space, and this is a logic which thus maintains a holistic stability. This logic is fundamentally different from that of belief in a "one and only," absolute God, which disallows all other god-like beings. One might call this logic "primitive," but it is a logic of balance which is deeply rooted in an animistic conception of the world. For both modern Japanese as well as Japanese Americans in Hawaii, the sense of balance between the separation and coexistence of the kami and hotoke has not been completely lost.

### Glossary

Amida 阿弥陀	<i>honke</i> 本家
<i>benjo-gami</i> 便所神	<i>ihai</i> 位牌
<i>bōsaishin</i> 防災神	<i>ima</i> 居間
<i>bunke</i> 分家	Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮
<i>butsudan</i> 仏壇	<i>jingi shinkō</i> 神祇信仰
<i>butsuma</i> 仏間	Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗
Daikoku 大黒	<i>kadamatsu</i> 門松
Dōgen Zenshi 道元禪師	<i>kadonyūdō</i> 門入道
<i>doma</i> 土間	<i>kamadogami</i> 竈神
<i>dōsojin</i> 道祖神	<i>kamidana</i> 神棚
Ebisu 恵比須	<i>kamifuda</i> 神札
<i>fukujin</i> 福神	Keizan Zenji 瑩山禪師
<i>gohei</i> 御幣	<i>kō</i> 講
<i>hako jibutsudō</i> 箱持仏堂	Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師

<i>kōgengaku</i> 考現学	Shugen Honshū 修験本宗
<i>kōjin</i> 荒神	Sōka Gakkai 創価学会
Kōshin 庚申	<i>sōsetsu setai</i> 創設世帯
<i>kōshintō</i> 庚申塔	Sōtō Shū 曹洞宗
<i>kumade</i> 熊手	<i>sōzoku setai</i> 相続世帯
<i>manekineko</i> 招き猫	<i>suijin</i> 水神
<i>minka</i> 民家	<i>sumiwake</i> 住み分け
<i>miyaza</i> 宮座	<i>taima</i> 大麻
<i>nando</i> 納戸	Tenrikyō 天理教
<i>obon</i> お盆	Tenshō Kōtai Jingū Kyō 天照皇大神宮教
<i>omotegawa no kami</i> 表側の神	<i>tokenoma</i> 床の間
<i>omoya</i> 母屋	<i>ujigami</i> 氏神
<i>onigawara</i> 鬼瓦	<i>uragawa no kami</i> 裏側の神
Reiyūkai 霊友会	<i>yashiki-gami</i> 屋敷神
<i>shinbutsu shūgō</i> 神仏習合	<i>yorishiro</i> 依り代
<i>shinshūkyō</i> 新宗教	<i>zashiki</i> 座敷
<i>shōgatsu</i> 正月	

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