

みんなくりポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

Tourism and Religion : From the Perspective of Comparative Civilization

メタデータ	言語: English 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 石森, 秀三 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00003018

Tourism and Religion: From the Perspective of Comparative Civilization

ISHIMORI SHUZO

National Museum of Ethnology

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Homology Between Religion and Tourism | 4. The "Pleasure Garden" |
| 2. "Famous Places" (<i>Meisho</i>) and Tourism | 5. Secularization and Tourism |
| 3. Religion and Tourism Events: <i>Kaichô</i> | 6. The "Rational Recreation" Movement and Tourism |
| | 7. The Emergence of the Tourist Attraction in the United States |

1. THE HOMOLOGY BETWEEN RELIGION AND TOURISM

It has been argued that religion and tourism stand on the opposite ends of spectrum of categories of human behavior because religion has always been associated with the sacred and tourism with the profane. However, an examination of the origins of tourism reveals an inextricable link between the two from ancient times.

Gorai Shigeru, a scholar of religious studies, states that the original meaning of religion is "an activity by which one attempts to transcend everyday life" [GORAI 1989]. He finds this original essence in "living nowhere and everywhere" (*issho fuzai*), the concept of wandering central to believers of the "walking religion." According to the belief of the ancient Japanese, deities and spirits moved around constantly, appearing in visible form only on occasion. These deities and spirits actually moved around and appeared in natural forms in many different places. Moreover, all ancient holy men traveled with these supernatural beings. Thus they saw the pilgrimage as a way to absorb the supernatural powers to heal and to perform miracles and magics; however, when religion became institutionalized, they no longer practiced this "walking religion." As temples and shrines were built, and religion became increasingly fixed by dogmas and sects, the so-called "non-walking religion" came into being. Although institutionalized religion regarded religious wandering as a form of heresy, it nonetheless remained popular among the masses. Ippen's religious wandering in the medieval period, for example, resulted in a widespread popular belief in his holiness and won him countless adherents all over the country. However, the aristocracy and religious establishment regarded him as heretic and tried to suppress him. Still, the tradition of the "walking religion" won many sympathizers among the common people, regardless of sectarian affiliation,

and still remains common today in the form of the pilgrimage.

The German scholar of religion, Rudolf Otto [1917], writes in his major work, *Das Heilige*, that the essence of religion lies in the perception of *Numinose* or *numinous*. He created this new term, *Numinose*, based on the Latin root, *numen*, which means the "will of God" or the "power of God." Since he sensed that the notion of *numen* was deeply embedded in Christianity, he employed this neologism to capture the essence of religion in general. According to Otto, religious experience is something that cannot be understood by ordinary rational judgment, but quite the contrary, it is an emotional response to the irrational which transcends description. The term *Numinose* was created in order to capture this essential aspect of religion.

Numinose consists of various elements: first, it inspires in the individual a sense of unapproachability and awe. It is linked to an element of overwhelming power, causing the individual to feel helpless and worthless. Furthermore, it is related to boundless power and might be symbolized by the "wrath of God." The term *Numinose* also possesses an element of fascination which attracts the human mind. The sense of exaltation and enrichment in religious ecstasy or trance is the most emotionally fulfilling aspect of this fascination. Thus, *Numinose* elicits the contradictory feelings of awe and fascination, or in other words, while people fear it, they are also drawn to it. With these oppositional yet complimentary elements, *Numinose* is something transcendental and completely distinct from what one finds in everyday life.

Although it is very difficult to define the essence of religion, I think it useful to single out two theories which are relevant to the main topic of this paper, the relationship between religion and tourism. They are Gorai's definition of religion as "a means to transcend everyday life," and Otto's as "the perception of *Numinose*." In this paper, I would like to employ a comparison of different civilizations to examine the idea that religion and tourism are homologous in their structure because they both incorporate elements of these two definitions.

In their book, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*, the symbolic anthropologists, Victor Turner and Edith Turner [1978], have stated that "while tourists are half pilgrims, pilgrims are half tourists," thus identifying the element of play in pilgrimage. This point exactly conveys the homologous relation between religion and tourism.

On the other hand, one can also view this relationship in terms of the oppositional concepts of the sacred and the profane. From this perspective, the concept of the sacred is limited to a more narrow meaning. The root of the English word, "sacred," is *sacer* in Latin, which combines the two distinct and contradictory meanings of purity and pollution. Since the concept of the sacred is restricted to the meaning of purity in Christianity, Otto created the notion of *Numinose* in order to preserve the contradictory meanings originally inherent in the concept of the sacred. Until now, tourism has been exclusively regarded as profane activity. However, in this paper, I will uncover a hidden element of the sacred by proving a

homologous relationship between religion and tourism through an analysis of the social institutions and physical facilities related to tourism.

2. "FAMOUS PLACES" (*MEISHO*) AND TOURISM

The most important point to consider in the relationship between religion and tourism is the concept of the "famous place" (*meisho*). The word *meisho* was originally pronounced "*nadokoro*", literally means a place of fame, and existed solely as a poetic image or device until the middle of the medieval period. In other words, the *meisho* was a concept. Therefore, even if one was not actually familiar with the place, one could use a specific place name one had heard before as *utamakura* (set poetic phrase) or learned from poetry manuals in the composition of poetry. In the Edo period, as travel became more popular among the common people, the *meisho* became a visual, actual tourist destination. I would like to touch upon the relationship between these "famous places" and tourism in the city of Edo, old Tokyo.

Edo was not originally well known for famous places because visitors to the area were extremely rare until the end of the medieval period. However, the number of tourists increased after the great fire of 1657 reduced the city to ashes and the reconstruction of a new Edo was underway. Although some famous place names used in medieval poetry can still be found in the *Edo Meisho Ki* (Guide to the Famous Places of Edo), published in 1662, the names of places tourists actually visited were also mentioned. The book includes descriptions and illustrations of approximately eighty such famous places, mostly of the grounds of shrines and temples in Edo. In particular, twenty-six shrines and temples in the Asakusa district are mentioned because many temples and shrines were relocated there after the great fire. In any case, the fact that many famous tourist attractions were shrines and temples suggests the existence of a strong connection between religion and tourism. Nonetheless, the Yoshiwara district is also depicted in the guide which seems to indicate that the so-called "licensed quarter for prostitution" (*keiseimachi*) in Edo was becoming one of the popular places to visit [MIZUE 1974, 1985].

Most of the place names in the *Edo Suzume* and *Edo Banashi*, published during the Enhō and Genroku eras, were selected from places of scenic and historic beauty which appear in old poems. However, more care was taken to provide explicit directions to these sites than to explain the historical background. In other words, there was a marked transformation from a conceptual site to a perceptual site.

One of the origins of the famous place in the Edo period was clearly the post-medieval *utamakura*, but other new places were added during this time. These were mostly selected from locations known for their natural beauty. For example, in *Murasaki no Ippon*, published in 1683, all famous places are presented according to their specific natural attractions such as mountains, slopes, valleys, rivers, ponds,

bridges, riding grounds, flowers, the moon, the snow, and vivid autumn colors. This same organizational arrangement for new famous places also appears in the *Edo Kanoko*, published in 1687 which designated "eight magnificent sights in Edo" (*Edo Hakkei*) based on the model of the "eight magnificent sights" in China. These two styles of presenting famous places—either as a set phrase from the poetic tradition or as a place newly selected for its natural beauty—later converged into one as we see in such works as the *Edo Sunako* and the *Edo Meishô Zu*.

The *Edo Meisho Zue*, published in the early nineteenth century, contained as many as 911 famous places. We can break them down into categories according to the accompanying illustration: sixty-one had illustrations of animals and plants, 195 of geographic locations, 425 of shrines and temples, 144 of stores and streets, twenty-nine of events associated with shrines and temples, nineteen of cherry blossom viewing and collecting seashells, and thirty-eight miscellaneous. In other words, almost 60% of the famous places depicted in the *Edo Meisho Zue* have some connection with religion. The book was published in 1834, and although many secular famous places had been designated by this time, it is noteworthy that such a high percentage of places has something to do with religion. In illustrations of famous places outside of Edo, there is an equally high percentage with religious associations. But we observe a general trend in that the earlier the publication date of the guidebook, the more prominent are places associated with religion. By the end of the eighteenth century, a style of tourism disassociated from religion began to spread throughout three major cities in Japan, Edo, Kyoto and Osaka. Be that as it may, an overwhelming number of famous places depicted in various *meisho ki* and *meisho zue* do have some ties with religion.

3. RELIGION AND TOURISM EVENTS: KAICHÔ

In order to provide more concrete examples of the relationship between religion and tourism during the Edo period, I would like to discuss the extent to which a religious event called "*kaichô*" influenced the development of tourism [HIRUMA 1980]. A *kaichô* is the opening of a temple sanctuary for a limited time to allow the general public to view important Buddhist images to which they are ordinarily denied access. This practice originated in the initiation of believers into a certain temple, but later it was undertaken for the purpose of raising money for temple repairs and maintenance. During the Edo period, the Tokugawa Shogunate decreased the amount of financial assistance to temples in an effort to tighten control over religious policies. The need to compensate for this lost assistance drove many temples to apply for permission to host events to collect donations from the general public. The *kaichô* was one such method of raising funds.

Although the *kaichô* has a long history stretching back to the Heian period, it only spread throughout the country in the Edo period. It was especially popular among temples in Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka and was eventually imitated in provincial cities and villages. From the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth cen-

ture, 1565 *kaichô* were documented [HIRUMA 1980]. According to the *Kaichô Samenchô* a record of the Shogunate Office of Temple and Shrine Administration's permission to hold *kaichô*, between 1733 to 1868, 1010 out of a total of 1081 *kaichô* were held to raise funds for temple repairs, 68 for religious purposes, and the rest for reclaiming lands originally owned by temples. Judging from the fact that 93.4% of *kaichô* were held for temple restoration, it is clear that they were planned to raise emergency funds rather than as a purely religious event.

It is possible to classify *kaichô* into two categories: one is the *ikaichô* which is the display of an image at the temple which owns it, and the other is the *degaichô* which involves transporting the image to another place for viewing. From about 1650 to 1850, 824 *ikaichô* and 741 *degaichô* took place in Edo. While the more notable temples in the city and surrounding areas that held *ikaichô* were Sensôji, Enoshima Benten, and Gokokuji, in fact, almost every famous temple in Edo are included in this list. Famous temples from every province, including Kyoto and Nara, held *degaichô* in the city by borrowing the compounds of other temples. About 70% of these were held in the Honjo, Fukagawa and Asakusa areas near the Sumida River.

During the *degaichô* the temple grounds and surrounding neighborhood were transformed into a pleasure district crowded with vendors and attractions of all sorts, even including freak shows. Ekôin in Honjo was located in one of the most lively pleasure districts around Ryôgoku and Hirokôji; consequently, it was considered the most suitable place to host *degaichô*. Beginning with the first *degaichô* of the image of Ômi Ishiyamadera Kannon at Ekôin in 1676, the total number of *degaichô* held there reached 166. This figure represents 25% of the total number of *degaichô* in Edo. The most celebrated *degaichô* held there was a showing of the figure of Nyorai of Zenkôji at Ekôin. Zenkôji held *degaichô* in Edo five times during the period from 1692 to 1820.

The amount of income Zenkôji derived from donations and the sale of stamps bearing the name of the temple reached a peak between 1688 and 1740, that is, the Genroku and Genbun eras, taking in 12,000 *ryô* and 11,700 *ryô* in each era respectively. The sale began to decline by 1740 in the An'ei era. During the Kyôwa and Bunsei eras in the early nineteenth century, the income was 3,400 *ryô* and 3,000 *ryô* respectively, and the temple paid out more than it took in. The various attractions still continued to draw crowds, however. In a book entitled *Misemono Monogatari*, which memorialized these attractions, it was reported that twelve different kinds of craftsmen specializing in decorative objects made from shells and porcelain set up their stalls in the area adjacent to the temple, and performances by strong men and female horseback riders were extremely popular.

The *kaichô* at Sensôji was held more frequently and had a larger attendance than any in Edo. This event took place over thirty times from 1654 to 1860. At one *kaichô* held in 1777, so many attractions were assembled on the street of Ryôgoku Hirokôji that it became the basis for a popular literary work. The Sensôji *kaichô* of 1770 took place at the same time as another *degaichô* for the Saga

Seiryôji Shakanyorai held at Ekôin, and the flood of pilgrims was unprecedented. The two most popular pleasure districts in Japan, the areas centered around Sensôji and Ekôin, prospered not independently but interdependently.

Since the temple of Naritasan Shinshôji in Shimofusa was not only located close to Edo but also known for the belief in Ichikawa Danjûrô I, a Kabuki star, it achieved fame by holding a *degaichô* of Narita Fudôson, the titular deity of Shinshôji in Edo. On all twelve occasions of the *degaichô* Danjûrô wrapped up the occasion with a Kabuki performance, winning the hearts of the common people.

In Edo, adherents of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism were both numerous and well-organized into active groups called *kô*. The sect together promoted the organization of *kaichô* to promote the faith. Accordingly, its *kaichô* were as well-attended as those in Ekôin and Sensôji. However, because they were strictly religious affairs, they lack many attractions so visible at these other locales.

For the pilgrims, the primary benefit of the *kaichô* was to obtain divine protection by establishing ties with Buddha. However, for the monks at the temples, the primary benefit was the extra revenue, while the Shogunate benefited from the demonstration of its power through the Office of Temple and Shrine Administration. The economic benefit extended to the entertainers and merchants in the temple compounds and adjacent pleasure districts. Merchants profited by selling *surimono* (printed materials), which calculated the number of people who attended the *kaichô* and provided lists of the offerings made to the temple. The prostitutes of the Yoshiwara district offered Sensôji a huge lantern which served as an advertisement. It was reported that because of this, the number of lanterns sold around the *kaichô* sky-rocketed. At the *degaichô* at Saga Seiryôji in 1770 someone started selling Saga *okoshi*, a rice confectionery and the probable forerunner of Edo *okoshi*. Gamblers also profited from these events, while laborers made money building temporary lodging for pilgrims who came from areas outside of Edo.

Thus we see that although the *kaichô* was originally conceived as a purely religious event based on simple faith, in reality, it contained many elements of tourism. A system was created by utilizing religious facilities such as the temple grounds and holy images and deploying various aspects of the religious institutions so that the organizers could earn extra revenue, and the visitors could not only worship the religious image, but also enjoy the plays, attractions, gambling, and shopping for souvenirs [GRABURN 1983]. The *kaichô* is one of the most important parts of the civilizational system for understanding the relationship between religion and tourism in the Edo period [ISHIMORI 1989].

The practice of the *kaichô* was preserved at several traditional temples after the Meiji period. The *degaichô* was transformed into a display of religious images at local department stores and metropolitan museums, but never approached the popularity it enjoyed during the Edo period. Moreover, it was not until the end of the Second World War that famous temples became really involved in *degaichô* by presenting their art treasures in museums and department stores.

4. THE "PLEASURE GARDEN"

During the same period when *degaichō* were being held in Edo and other major cities in Japan, the prototype of the public park known as the "pleasure garden" was winning popularity in Europe [Green 1990]. The pleasure garden was first developed in seventeenth-century Europe as a park composed of flower beds and fountains where people could spend their holidays. As the pleasure garden grew more popular in the eighteenth century, some were also equipped with music halls, dance halls and casinos.

The pleasure garden was most popular in England and France, but its origin differed in each country. The French pleasure garden evolved from the ordinary garden, while the English one can be traced back to the inn and the pub. In England, inns and pubs were the center of popular entertainment, thus the owners and innkeepers would also run pleasure gardens and allow peddlars to set up booths and itinerant artists to perform on their premises.

A pleasure garden called "Vauxhall" was opened in the borough of Lambeth, Greater London in 1661 and became one of the most well-known pleasure gardens in the eighteenth century. Around 1800 a primitive form of roller coaster, consisting of a cart and slide, was built there. By the time Vauxhall was closed in 1859, pleasure gardens had been constructed all over Europe, including Tivoli built in Copenhagen in 1843 and the Prater built in Vienna in 1850. The latter inherited the title of the most famous pleasure garden after the demise of Vauxhall. In 1873 the Vienna World Exhibition was held there, drawing visitors from all over the world. Large-scale amusement facilities were erected, and the pleasure garden was transformed into a bustling, man-made amusement park. It is often said that the nineteenth century was the century of the world's fair and exhibition. Modern amusement parks developed in conjunction with the world's fair and exhibition based on various techniques learned from these international events.

Incidentally, the origin of the world's fair and exhibition can be traced to the medieval fair or market. On market days, vendors' stalls, booths with popular attractions, and gambling dens were set up in the vicinity. However, until the eighteenth century there were no showy facilities for entertainment. By the early nineteenth century, in conjunction with the progress in mechanization, communication, and transportation, as well as the growth of the cities brought by the Industrial Revolution, fairs and exhibitions became equipped with entertainment facilities which attracted large crowds and brought in huge profits. As fairs and exhibitions grew larger, they evolved into the entertainment-oriented "fan fair."

The symbol of the modern amusement park was the merry-go-round powered by a steam engine. In fact, the steam locomotive and the merry-go-round appeared at virtually the same time. Thus, the development of the steam engine produced not only the railway system but the merry-go-round as well. This merry-go-round became the major force in revolutionizing the concept of the amusement park during the nineteenth century.

The end of nineteenth century saw the emergence of the modern amusement park as the concepts of the pleasure garden and of the fair converged. These dual roots gave the modern amusement park two different aspects: the element of a single, settled location inherited from the concept of pleasure garden, and a nomadic element inherited from the fair.

In the United States, the circus and amusement park were successful on a large scale as commercial ventures. The most famous amusement park in America during the latter part of the nineteenth century was Coney Island [KASSON 1978]. Until 1955, when Disneyland was opened, Coney Island was the most popular amusement park. Coney Island was nothing but a sandy beach until it became one of the fashionable spots to build a summer house in the 1830s, and was quickly overtaken by the hotels, casinos, and race tracks that characterized the playgrounds of the rich. Fifty years later with the influx of immigrants to New York, the exclusive vacation spot gave way to the popular entertainment district. In New York City, the pleasure garden known as Jones Woods resembled an eighteenth-century nature park, but it met its end as the population of the city increased in the 1860s. Coney Island replaced Jones Woods as the amusement park of the area. In 1870 trains ran regularly between New York and Coney Island.

Coney Island also had a close relationship with the world's fair. The park bought the Iron Tower from the Philadelphia World Exposition in 1877 and the Ferris Wheel from the Chicago World Exposition in 1883. Both quickly became big attractions for visitors.

Coney Island is not the name of a single amusement park, but an amalgamation of several amusement parks. The most famous among them is Steeple Chase Park. A second amusement park called Lunar Park was opened in 1903 to be followed by a third, Dream Land, in 1904. This signaled the beginning of the golden age of Coney Island. In 1920, the subway finally reached Coney Island, which then reached the pinnacle of its popularity. After the stock market crash of 1929, the number of visitors to Coney Island steadily declined, and eventually Disneyland took over its position as the premier American amusement park.

5. SECULARIZATION AND TOURISM

In accordance with the policy of "civilization and enlightenment" in the Meiji period, a new mode of civilization was introduced to Japan from the West. Among the many aspects of Japanese society influenced by the West was the relationship between religion and tourism.

First, the grounds of Sensōji, the setting for countless *kaichō* was repossessed by the government in 1871 and turned into a park in 1873. Many parks were built around this time in imitation of European cities, and the practice of holding *degaichō* had practically died out. Furthermore, in 1887 an amusement park called Hanayashiki, the Panorama Pavilion, and Ryōunkaku, a twelve-story building commanding a fine view, was constructed in Asakusa Park. In 1910 an American style

amusement park by the name of Lunar Park was also built there. The introduction of Western-style entertainment facilities brought about a drastic change in traditional Japanese modes of recreation.

A second important change was Japan's embrace of the exhibition and the world's fair. In 1871 a law was enacted to protect traditional objects stored at temples and shrines. In 1873 the Japanese government sent many of these objects to the World Exhibition in Vienna. These two events rekindled national interest in religious art treasures. Nara, a tourist spot of the past, had been declining in popularity, and so an exhibition was planned as a way to regain its popularity. In 1873 the exhibition was held on the grounds of Tōdaiji, and in 1875 the first Nara Grand Exhibition was organized with the assistance of the newly-established Nara Hakuran Kaisha (Nara Exhibition Company). Many important traditional treasures were displayed to the public for eighty days, and the exhibition was very well attended. Kasugano was full of tea houses and booths doing a brisk business in local souvenirs. Nara was revitalized by the renewed interest in old shrines and temples, and in 1889 the Nara Prefectural Park was inaugurated. In the 1890s Nara became one of the typical destinations for school excursions, the very first of which was organized by the Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō (Tokyo Normal School). The development of railways, in particular, boosted Nara's appeal as a tourist site. The opening of the railway between Nara and Sakurai in 1890 and the establishment of the Nara Electric Railway Company in 1906 contributed greatly to the increase in the number of tourists in Nara.

Third, I would like to consider the influence of the development of the railway system on tourism and religion in Japan. During the Meiji period, the Japanese government was trying to strengthen both the domestic economy and the military, and thus the major task of the railroads throughout Japan was to facilitate the transport of goods and soldiers. However, in reality, along with economy and the military, tourism and religion also had an immeasurable influence on the development of a national railway system. The railway network had to be designed to accommodate tourists travelling to hot springs, temples, and shrines located in various parts of Japan. For example, the Sangū Railway Company was established in 1889 for the purpose of transporting visitors and pilgrims to the Ise Shrine. In 1910, the railway united Enoshima with Kamakura. Enoshima had been a very popular place of religious pilgrimage since the Edo period, and the opening of the railway further increased the number of visitors. At the same time even more people began to visit historic Kamakura as well. As sun-bathing and swimming became popular summer pastimes, both Kamakura and Enoshima took on more of the flavor of a resort than a place of pilgrimage. Kamakura, in particular, became the fashionable place to build summer houses. I might add here that the concept of beach vacations and summer homes was first introduced by Europeans living in Japan at that time.

Fourth, numerous tourists spots came into being due to the spread of the railway system throughout Japan. For instance, Hakone became a popular hot spr-

ing resort only during the Meiji period. The number of visitors rose considerably after the opening of the Odawara Railway. The Hakone Mountain Railway was opened in 1918, further helping to develop the area. Hakone was transformed from a hot spring to a resort area. Atami was another place that had been famous for its hot springs since ancient times. It began to be built up when the Tōkaidō line was extended to the town in 1924. New hot spring towns like Itō and Yugawara were thus established, making all of Atami a resort area similar to Hakone.

Fifth, in Kansai, many amusement parks were built all over the region near the private railway lines. As the Hanshin Electric Railway Company began developing the areas near the railway in 1903, the Naruo Hakkaen and Kōroen Amusement Park were opened in 1906 and 1907 respectively. The Minō Arima Electric Railway Company established a hot spring in Takarazuka, and later built an amusement park there. The Takarazuka Girls' Choir, the forerunner of famous Takarazuka Opera group, was organized to provide entertainment for visitors to the hot spring. In the Tokyo area, the Musashino Electric Railway Company cleared farmlands and forests to build Tamagawaen, an amusement park and residential district in Musashino. Many railway companies followed suit: in 1919 the Keihin Kyūkō Railway Company built Kagetsuen, in 1926 the Seibu Railway Company built Toshimaen, and in 1926 the Odakyū Railway built Mukougaoka Yūen.

6. THE "RATIONAL RECREATION" MOVEMENT AND TOURISM

While Japan was studying and absorbing elements of Western civilization, England was in the midst of the primarily middle-class "rational recreation" movement [BAILEY 1978]. A discussion of this movement raises important issues in understanding the relationship between religion and tourism; it also highlights the opposition between middle-class and working-class attitudes towards recreation. The middle classes tend to see the home as the center of leisure and recreation; thus they value reading, playing musical instruments, and activities that can be enjoyed as a family. For the working classes, recreation means release from gender norms and an outlet for the despair and dissatisfaction of their lives. Working-class leisure was more often characterized by aggression, debauchery, excess indulgence in food and drink, and extravagant spending. The opportunity to release tension in this way has developed as a community activity centered around the pub.

Country landowners had once supported popular forms of recreation for their tenants, but in the latter half of the eighteenth century, some felt that these paternalistic duties were burdens, and they began to withdraw their patronage, as is illustrated in the policy of enclosure. The common people lost their communal spaces which had formed the locus of popular recreation, including cemeteries and open land. Even in urban areas, open spaces were utilized for speculative construction projects, and playing traditional sports in the streets was officially prohibited by the Public Road Act of 1835. Nonetheless, some traditional games were kept

alive because the owners of pubs took over the role of the country gentleman. On some occasions of religious festivity, owners not only organized competitive games but also became managers of gambling circuits. With the growth of the northern industrial cities and the population influx from the countryside in the early nineteenth century, pubs became indispensable institutions in the lives of the urban working class by providing services to help them adapt to social conditions in the city. The pub gave its patrons "heat and light," two conditions denied workers living in substandard housing, and it also offered a place to exchange information with neighbors and friends. It was in pubs that itinerant laborers were recruited and paid the wages for their work. Moreover, pubs were centers of recreation for many laborers.

In 1834, the chair of the Select Committee on Drunkenness in the House of Commons proposed that parks and playgrounds be built as part of a strategy to deal with the alcohol abuse rampant among working-class people. In Derby in the 1840s, a game of soccer was held annually; however, this event drew too many people working in the many railroad-related industries in nearby towns. Consequently, the game quickly became uncontrollable. The district authorities hoped to put a stop to the game altogether by offering alternative forms of entertainment, later to be called "rational recreation." These included: the traditional village competition of climbing up a pole; a resumption of horse racing, which had been abolished; and free travel by railroad with the fare provided at public expense by asking factory owners for a one-day holiday for workers. The reinstatement of horse racing was the only one of these proposals that was actually put into practice.

"Rational recreation" served as a very important guideline for educating the working class in middle-class values. However, it was necessary to build permanent facilities in order to implement this educational objective. Facilities such as libraries and museums were absolutely necessary for the promotion of rational recreation. In 1839 a certain philanthropic factory owner donated land to the city of Derby for constructing a park. This park was an English-style garden with enough space for outdoor dancing. More than 7,000 pounds were donated for its construction.

At the same time that tourism was becoming increasingly secularized in the rapidly modernizing Japan of the Meiji period, in England, religious movements such as evangelism, propelled primarily by the middle-class people, became instrumental in creating a form of rational recreation which included tourism.

7. THE EMERGENCE OF THE TOURIST ATTRACTION IN THE UNITED STATES

Thus far, I have mainly dealt with the relationship between religion and tourism in Japan and Europe, with a focus on several specific public facilities and institutions. In this section, I would like to consider the topic of the emergence of the tourist attraction in the United States in order to shed light on this relationship from

a slightly different angle [SEARS 1989].

I have chosen the United States because it is a country with a relatively brief history and therefore has no established structure of religious facilities and institutions that would foster the development of tourism. How then were tourist attractions established in the absence of religious institutions? It is necessary to take a different approach to our topic in order to answer this question. Of course, I realize that native Americans (Indians) had lived on the continent for a long time prior to the arrival of Europeans, but the issue of Indian tourism by whites is beyond the immediate scope of this paper.

After the country gained its independence, the most famous tourist attraction in the United States was certainly Niagara Falls. By the end of 1830s, Niagara Falls was already a popular honeymoon destination. After the Civil War (1861-65), it became even more popular and was a kind of Mecca for honeymooners until the mid-1930s. Newly-weds were not the only visitors; a large number of ordinary tourists came to view the falls as well. Even to this day it remains one of the most popular tourist attractions in the country.

The next place to become a well-known tourist attraction was Mammoth Cave in Kentucky. Mammoth Cave is a gigantic limestone cavern covering a total area of 208 km² and a maximum distance of 252 km. It became famous after the Civil War, and soon attracted many visitors. When compared with the spectacular grandeur of Niagara Falls, Mammoth Cave is dark, quiet, and mysterious; however, tourists are drawn by its incomparable scale. The cave was designated as a national park in 1941.

Yellowstone in Montana and the Yosemite Valley in California became the next major tourist attractions as early as the mid-nineteenth century. Other new tourist sights in America were buildings of historical significance from the colonial period and the early settlement of the West such as cemeteries, prisons, asylums, and parks of the early pioneers.

The reason all of the places mentioned above became tourist attractions are two-fold. First, since the United States was a relatively new country, it did not have many resources for tourism other than magnificent, awe-inspiring, and unspoiled natural beauty such as Niagara Falls, Mammoth Cave, and the Yosemite Valley. These tourist attractions demonstrate to the general public that the United States was endowed with spectacular natural resources, even if it lacked the cultural and historical tradition of Europe. Because many Americans visited the same places, they now shared part of a common experience, and these attractions became a foundation for forging a national identity for the young nation.

Secondly, the American tourists who visited these places may have perceived the essence of *Numinose*. In Europe, people have the opportunity to experience *Numinose* by visiting cathedrals and other traditional religious sites; however, there is no counterpart to this in the United States. Of course, many churches have been built since colonial days, but the existence of numerous Christian sects prevented the construction of a single building for a unified congregation. Under these condi-

tions I suspect that visitors to places of awesome and transcendent natural beauty could not help experiencing the feelings of awe and fascination which constitute *Numinose*. This is the reason behind the continuing appeal of these places which draw large numbers of visitors to this very day.

Some of more famous tourist attractions in the United States today are the Kennedy Space Center at Cape Canaveral and the house and grave of Elvis Presley in Memphis, along with Disneyland and Disney World. These attractions are almost like a kind of sacred place of pilgrimage [KING 1981; MOORE 1980; NOTON 1990]. In my view they offer visitors the chance to experience the state of *Numinose*. In the 1970s, three out of twelve astronauts who had been in outer space took up jobs related to religion upon their return. Confessing that they felt they had touched something sacred, they also tended to develop an interest in parapsychology. As times change, so does the experience of *Numinose*. Thus, there are people who perceive it while participating in religious services in a cathedral, temple, or shrine, while others have a similar experience while surrounded by the crowds at Disneyland or when slipping into a mineral bath at a hot spring resort. Although some things change, however, the homologous relationship between religion and tourism remains constant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BAILEY, Peter

1978 *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

GORAI, Shigeru (五来 重)

1989 『遊行と巡礼』 角川書店。

GRABURN, Nelson

1983 *To Pray, Pay and Play: The Cultural Structure of Japanese Domestic Tourism*. Aix-en-Provence: Centre des Hautes Etudes Touristiques.

GREEN, Nicholas

1990 *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

HIRUMA, Akira (比留間尚)

1980 『江戸の開帳』 吉川弘文館。

ISHIMORI, Shuzo (石森秀三)

1989 Popularization and Commercialization of Tourism in Early Modern Japan. In T. Umesao, M. Fruin and N. Hata (eds.), *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World IV: Economic Institutions*. Senri Ethnological Studies, No.26, pp. 179-194. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

KASSON, John

1978 *Amusing the Millions*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

KING, Margaret

1981 The New American Muse: Notes on the Amusement/ Theme Park. *Journal of Popular Culture* 15: 56-62.

MIZUE, Renko (水江漣子)

1974 「初期江戸の案内記」 西山松之助編 『江戸町人の研究』第3巻 吉川弘文館。

1985 「近世初期の江戸名所」 西山松之助先生古稀記念会編 『江戸の民衆と社会』
吉川弘文館。

MOORE, Alexander

1980 Walt Disney World: Bounded Ritual Space and the Playful Pilgrimage Center.
Anthropological Quarterly 53: 207-218.

NOTOJI, Masako (能登路雅子)

1990 『ディズニーランドという聖地』 岩波書店。

OTTO, Rudolf

1917 *Das Heilige*. Breslau: Trewendt und Granier.

SEARS, John

1989 *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. New
York: Oxford University Press.

TURNER, Victor and Edith Turner

1978 *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. New
York: Columbia University Press.