The Traditional Festival in Urban Society

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THE PROBLEM: CONTEXT AND FOCUS

The *matsuri* or Shinto festival is a religious and cultural phenomenon characteristic of local communities in Japan. Even in present-day Tokyo a number of festivals are held every year, for example, the *kanda matsuri* and *sanja matsuri* in May, the *sannō matsuri* in June, and the *sumiyoshi matsuri* in July. In 1968 many unusually large-scale festivals were held throughout the country to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the Meiji Restoration.

The essential motif of the *matsuri* is the renewal of life-power among the kami and human beings in a given life-space. This renewal occurs through a set of symbolic actions in which people collectively welcome and extend hospitality to the kami in an effort to enrich his benevolent power and appropriate this power in their own lives.[1]

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1. Several forms of religious pollution regarded as draining vitality or endangering life are carefully avoided by participants in a *matsuri*. In ancient times the main sources of pollution were birth, menstruation, eating meat, sickness, death among humans and domestic animals, etc.—all of which may be drawn together under the headings "blood" and "death." Subsequently, the idea of pollution took on a more spiritual or inward meaning. Even today, however, anything connected with death is kept separate from *matsuri* events. If, for example, someone in the community dies, the funeral is put off until after the festival, and people who have lost a member of their immediate family during the preceding year refrain from participating in the festival preparations and activities.

Generally, every local community, whether in city, town, or village, has its own *ujigami* shrine. The Japanese word *uji* means "clan," and *ujigami* denotes the clan's guardian kami, the kami who look after family and community life. The *ujigami* symbolize the superordinate system of the community.[2] All the members of a given community are considered *ujiko* or "children of the clan," hence "children of the clan kami." The relationship between *ujigami* and *ujiko* is, in other words, analogous to that between parents and their children. This relationship serves as one of the traditional principles by which Japanese group life is ordered. From this perspective it may be said that Shrine Shinto has superimposed a kind of archaic kinship system on territorially defined social units. But the drastic social changes resulting from Japan's modernization have made it difficult for communities to maintain this symbolic unity.

One of the factors hindering traditional community integration is social mobility, which has become relatively intense in postwar Japan. It is said, for example, that in downtown Tokyo during the 1940s more than half the population was made up of "newcomers" and, moreover, that during the past fifteen years nearly half the original population has moved to the suburbs. Yet even in downtown Tokyo the traditional Shinto festivals, though changing in form, are still held regularly. Thus the *kanda matsuri* of Kanda Shrine and the *sannō matsuri* of Hie Shrine, both long known as *tenka matsuri* ("incomparably brilliant festivals"), are held every other year. Some idea of the quantitative scope of these festivals may be seen from the fact that Kanda Shrine, the *ujigami* shrine of the Kanda and Nihonbashi districts, claims approximately 18,000 households (72,000 persons) as *ujiko shotai* or "parish households."

Today it is clear that the full symbolic meaning of the Kanda festival, once extolled as one of the three greatest festivals in Japan, can no longer be realized. But one of its principal fea-

2. Cf. Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa religion: The values of pre-industrial Japan* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), p. 14.

tures, the procession of the kami, is still maintained on as large a scale as ever. This permits the inference that there must be some continuity and some change both in symbolic meaning and in social involvement. This paper tries to clarify the present nature of the Shinto festival in urban society through an analysis of the structure and dynamics of the Kanda festival as held in 1968.

THE MATSURI PATTERN: GENERAL AND SPECIFIC

A paradigm. The Shinto festival, to begin with a general reflection, can be considered as made up of two contrasting but complementary elements: ritual and festivity. "Ritual" is here defined as ceremonial action carried out according to prescribed forms in decorous fashion in an atmosphere of solemnity. "Festivity," on the other hand, is symbolic action carried out with spontaneity, confusion, and great excitement.

In Shinto ceremonies generally, the ritual element is primary and essential, the festive element secondary and dispensable. In the *matsuri*, however, both elements are essential. Festivity, though it may be absent from other Shinto ceremonies, is a feature common to all *matsuri*.[3]

The organization of ritual and festive elements in the Shinto festival closely resembles the treatment Japanese people accord an honored guest.[4] This treatment can be divided into five stages: preparation, going out to meet the guest and conduct him to the place of entertainment, offering food and hospitality, communication, and seeing him off.

3. One can also see today many secularized festivities such as the song fest (*uta matsuri*), art festival (*geijutsu sai*), folk music festival (*min'yō matsuri*), discount sale festival (*uridashi matsuri*), and peace festival (*heiwa sai*). All make use of the colorful, crowd-drawing excitement characteristic of the element of festivity.

4. Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男, "Nihon no matsuri" 日本の祭 [Japanese festivals] in *Yanagita Kunio shū* 柳田国男集 [Collected works of Yanagita Kunio], vol. 10 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1962), p. 241.

Ritual action can likewise be regarded as involving five stages: purification, invocation, offering, participation, and seeing off. The first stage, purification, refers to symbolic actions such as sweeping and washing—actions intended to remove all sin and pollution both from the participants and from the place where the ritual is to be performed. In the second stage priests invoke the deity to the altar through symbolic actions such as the uttering of the *keihitsu* (a solemn ritual cry here meaning approximately "make ready for the arrival"), the playing of the classical stringed instrument known as the koto, or simply opening the altar doors. The third stage consists of offering to the deity a variety of food dishes carefully laid out on lacquered tables reserved for this purpose. The stage of participation includes a strong emphasis on communication. The priest's recital of a ritual prayer (*norito*) and the worship of those present ensures that they will share in the favor of the kami. An ancient Shinto belief has it that beautiful, propitious words will arouse the goodwill of the deity, whereas ill-chosen language will arouse his hostility. Sincere communication of an effective *norito* not only stimulates the kami to be favorably inclined but also allows those present to participate in his beneficence. The last stage, seeing the deity off, again makes use of such symbolic actions as the *keihitsu* (now meaning "make ready for the departure"), the playing of the koto, or closing the altar doors.

The central motif symbolized by these five stages of ritual action may be identified as invoking and participating in the beneficence of the kami. In accordance with the religious context of Shinto vitalism, this motif may be summarized in the phrase "life-participation."[5]

5. Professor Delmer Brown has taken up three core qualities of interaction between kami worship and social life: vitalism, particularism, and Tennoism. "Vitalism" refers to belief in the mysterious life-giving and life-enriching power of the kami and the related life-affirming character of the Japanese ethos. Delmer M. Brown, "Kami worship and Japanese society," a paper presented at a colloquium of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies, University of California at Berkeley, November 1969.

Festivity can likewise be considered as involving five stages: sacralization, setting in motion, lively motion, animation, and standing still. The first is a stage of preparation in which people with major roles, together with some of the other participants, having already been cleansed from sin and pollution and separated from the mundane world by certain ascetic practices such as seclusion, fasting, frequent bathing, and the like, now don costumes and masks. This action itself means that the spirit of the kami rests on them in a special way, that they are representations of the kami, possessed by his spirit. Carriers of the *mikoshi* (a scaled-down portable shrine), for example, automatically become bearers of the deity's spirit. The second stage consists of the emergence of the symbolic vehicle (portable shrine or float invested with the spirit of the deity). The departure from the shrine of the procession accompanying this vehicle symbolizes the advent of the deity into the life-space of his people and their conducting of the deity to the place where the central symbolic actions occur. The third stage involves vigorous, rhythmic actions on the part of the performers, actions so exciting that even the spectators are caught up in it. The fourth stage refers to a state of collective ecstasy in which the distinction between performers and spectators is obliterated. This state of collective ecstasy symbolizes a flow of life between kami and participants, a flow of such a nature that it not only erases distinctions between participants but also increases the vitality of the kami. The last stage refers to the quieting down that occurs in the actions of the participants, a stillness symbolic of the repose that then comes over the kami.

The central motif in these five stages of festive action may be characterized as increase of vitality among both kami and people. This motif is here identified with the phrase "life-animation."

According to this paradigm, a *matsuri* thus involves a number of symbolic actions, some of a ritual nature, some of a festive. Sometimes the ritual and festive actions are consecutive, sometimes simultaneous, but in many cases they are too intricately

related to permit more than a general distinction. This may be due in part to the fact that the distinction between ritual and festivity employed in this inquiry is only a general, not a detailed one. It is possible, nonetheless, to indicate for each of the five stages whether the festive or ritual aspect is dominant. The result is presented in table 1.

TABLE 1
PARADIGM OF ACTIONS
IN HONORING A GUEST AND IN A MATSURI
TOGETHER WITH A SPECIFICATION OF CENTRAL MOTIFS

STAGE	HONORING A GUEST	MATSURI		
		Ritual	Festivity	Dominant Feature
1	Preparation	Purification	Sacralization	*a*
2	Invitation	Summoning	Setting in motion	*b*
3	Offering	Offering	Lively motion	*A*
4	Communication	Communication	Animation	*B*
5	Seeing off	Seeing off	Standing still	*a*
Motif	Communication	Life-participation	Life-animation	Life-enrichment

NOTE: *a*=minor ritual, *A*=major ritual, b=minor festivity, *B*=major festivity.

The first stage is the complex of rites that take place the night before the festival and signify the completion of preparations for conducting the deity to the place he will be honored. After several kinds of purificatory rites (rites to remove pollution, preceded and accompanied by abstention from certain foods, from sexual relations, etc.), late at night rituals are performed whereby the spirit of the deity is installed in the symbolic vehicle in preparation for the procession to take place the next day. This stage is almost purely ritual in nature, but it is generally performed in secret by the priest, with a handful of parishioners in attendance, at the shrine or other place away from public view. The lowercase *a* in table 1 indicates that this ritual, from the point of view of function and scale, is not a major one.

The second stage may be exemplified by the procession of the deity from the shrine to the *tabisho*, a place where the symbolic vehicle is put down so the deity can rest from the trip. This place, often identified as the birthplace of the deity or a place where he has specially manifested himself, is generally considered the most appropriate spot for the enrichment of the deity's vitality. The stage itself can be characterized as one of festive action constituted by conducting the deity either on a tour of the life-space of the parishioners or to the sacred place where the deity's vitality will be enriched. The action performed at this stage is generally on a large scale, but it does not reach a degree of intensity sufficient to signify increase of vitality or "life-animation" because the major prerequisite, the ritual symbolizing invocation of and participation in the beneficence of the deity ("life-participation"), has not yet been enacted. The lowercase *b* in table 1 indicates that this second stage, from the perspective of function, is a minor one.

The main ritual of "life-participation" occurs in the third stage. The ceremony at the *tabisho* is performed in grand style with great symbolic richness and with more participants than at any preceding stage. At this sacred place the deity is "re-animated" partly by the return to the "well" of his birth, partly by the treatment accorded him by his people. He is stimulated to feel goodwill for them, and they in turn participate in his beneficence. The capital *A* in table 1 points to the central significance of this ritual event.

The fourth stage, predominantly festive in character, expresses the increase of vitality ritually prepared for in the third stage. The return trip of the deity to the shrine is full of lively activity expressive of the freshly enriched life both of the deity and of the participants. The streets are filled with turmoil and excitement as the crowds of participants and spectators share in the vitality of the newly animated deity. The capital letter *B* signals the importance of this stage.

The last stage, one of ritual action, is that in which the priest,

accompanied by a small number of people, transfers the spirit of the deity from the symbolic vehicle back to the shrine. Expressing gratitude for his favor and beneficence, the participants symbolically lead the spirit from the excitement of the preceding stage to a state of calm and repose. The small *a* in table 1 indicates that this stage, from the standpoint of scale, is comparatively minor.

This paradigm of *matsuri* in general should be regarded as an ideal type presented as an aid in the interpretation of actual *matsuri*. Accordingly, the next step is to analyze the structural pattern of the Kanda festival by relating it to this paradigm. First, however, a brief review of the history of the Kanda festival.

Historical sketch of the Kanda festival. Among the annual programs of Kanda Shrine, one of the largest *ujigami* shrines of old Tokyo, the Kanda festival is the most important. Until 1874 the deities enshrined in Kanda Shrine were Ōnamuchi-no-mikoto and Taira-no-Masakado. In that year, however, the Meiji government replaced Masakado with Sukunahikona-no-mikoto since Masakado was a feudal lord of the tenth century who had rebelled against the emperor. Despite this government-ordered change, the general belief is that Masakado is still enshrined at Kanda Shrine. His mighty spirit, it has long been believed, is highly responsive to pleas for protection from evils and disasters.

The shrine itself is located a mile north of the castle of the Tokugawa shogun, now the imperial palace. During the Tokugawa or Edo period (1603-1868), Kanda Shrine was regarded as the abode of the kami that guarded the shogunate and the inhabitants of Edo (Tokyo), particularly commoners such as merchants and craftsmen. At present its parishioners can be classified as merchants (70%), small entrepreneurs (10%), and other (20%).

The Tokugawa shogunate officially designated the Kanda festival as a *goyō matsuri* or "government-commissioned festival." It was held every other year for a period of at least six days during

mid-September. The grand procession of the kami went through the Kanda and Nihonbashi districts in downtown Edo, and was specially authorized to enter the shogun's castle, where the shogun and his attendants used to enjoy the *hana dashi*, the beautiful procession of thirty-six *yamahoko* or floats decorated and pulled by teams of Edo townspeople. The belief was that this procession by the deity would purify both town and castle, enrich the lives of townspeople and shogunate with health and prosperity, and protect them against dangers such as epidemics and national disasters. On this occasion a temporary shrine was set up at the meeting house in each parish neighborhood, and after the kami of Kanda Shrine had been "apportioned," as it were, and installed in each temporary shrine, people offered prayers before the kami in their own neighborhood.

The Kanda festival undoubtedly reinforced the sense of identity possessed by Edo people as members of a traditional urban culture. Calling themselves *edokko* or *kandakko*, local slang for people born in Edo or Kanda, they used to boast, "The Kanda festival is not only *the* festival for us *edokko* but the finest in the whole world." Even today people like to repeat the legend about some *edokko* who were so excited over the festival that they spent all they had and could borrow in order to dress up their wives and children—but then had to flee by night to escape the consequences.

After the Meiji Restoration (1868), the procession was prohibited from entering the castle, now become the imperial palace. It was in this connection that the enshrined spirit of Masakado was officially replaced by another deity. Despite these changes forced on Kanda Shrine from outside, the procession of the kami through the Kanda and Nihonbashi districts continued to receive the support of the people, and the belief continued that one of the kami in the procession was Masakado.

In the 1920s and 1930s, however, the Kanda festival underwent a number of changes. One was a change of date from September to May. Another was that the beautiful *yamahoko* floats

were replaced by a large number of *mikoshi*. These changes caused the Kanda festival to lose its unique character and come to resemble many other *matsuri* in Tokyo. An even more drastic change was the structural separation between the ceremonies and activities held by the shrine and those held by the various neighborhoods in the parish. Or perhaps what should be said is that what happened was a disintegration of the union between two distinct but complementary elements once united in this *matsuri*—one the element of ritual, the other that of festivity. But it should also be pointed out that this separation has resulted in an obscuring of the distinction between the two, because each set of operations, having lost effective support from the other, now has to carry out the symbolization process by itself. Thus the lay-sponsored events held in the various neighborhoods had to develop into ritual-festivity complexes in their own right or be transformed into purely social affairs. The negative possibilities involved in the separation between shrine and lay events did not become evident until after the end of World War II.

For a decade during and immediately after World War II, the Kanda festival was not held. Downtown Tokyo had been almost completely destroyed by air raids. But after the war, Tokyo quickly rose again from its ashes. The Kanda festival was revived in May 1952 in celebration of the concluding of the Treaty of Peace between Japan and the Allied Powers. The next three times it was held (1954, 1956, and 1958), the number of people supporting it and shouldering responsibilities matched, if it did not exceed, the prewar scale of social mobilization. Since 1960, however, participation has declined steadily—except for 1968, the year of the Meiji Restoration centennial. This decline is generally attributed to such factors as the frustrating traffic congestion that results in downtown Tokyo when thousands of people clog the parish streets, and the decline in the number of young residents who normally play major roles in the carrying out of the festival. It is open to doubt, however, whether the basic reason for the decline is that people are no longer willing to assume the

roles and responsibilities essential to the continuation of the Kanda *matsuri*. The possibility envisaged here is, rather, that it is the original symbolization unique to the Kanda festival that has been dying out, while the social support previously related to the symbolization in large part still survives.

Symbolic structure. The Kanda festival as found today exhibits both the "ritual" and "festivity" features discussed paradigmatically above. Particularly noteworthy, however, is the fact that these features exist in two distinguishable streams of phenomena. One is that of the shrine events, the other that of the lay events. Both sets of events are performed almost in parallel, and both contain ritual as well as festive elements. The shrine events tend to emphasize formal programs such as the ceremonial procession of the *hōren* (a wheeled portable shrine), the *miko mai* ("shrine-maiden dance"), and the *sato kagura* (a danced play enacting ancient myths). The lay events feature parades of *mikoshi* (scaled-down portable shrines) and *taiko dashi* (wheeled drums drawn by children), programs at the temporary shrine including feasts, *kanda-bayashi* ("Kanda festival music"), *sato kagura*, and the like. The Kanda festival has already lost most of the ceremonies unique to its original symbolization. Consequently, most rituals performed by the shrine priests are carried out in accordance with the general rules for Shinto ceremonies.

There are, to be sure, a number of exhibitions and attractions held on the shrine grounds—tea ceremony, flower arrangements, folk dances and music, comic shows, etc. Nominally they exist as "offerings to the kami," but they can be considered neither shrine nor lay events, for they have not been systematically integrated into the *matsuri* pattern. Most are promoted by recently developed associations that have only fleeting contact with the *matsuri*. The events to be considered here, therefore, are those recognizable as established parts of the festival, even if sponsored and carried out by lay people independently of the priests.

The shrine events are arranged in a series that give indication

of a definite and consistent order. The lay events are less consistently patterned and seem, rather, to follow the lead established by the shrine. Today's Kanda festival lasts four days and, in accordance with the paradigm, can be divided into five stages.

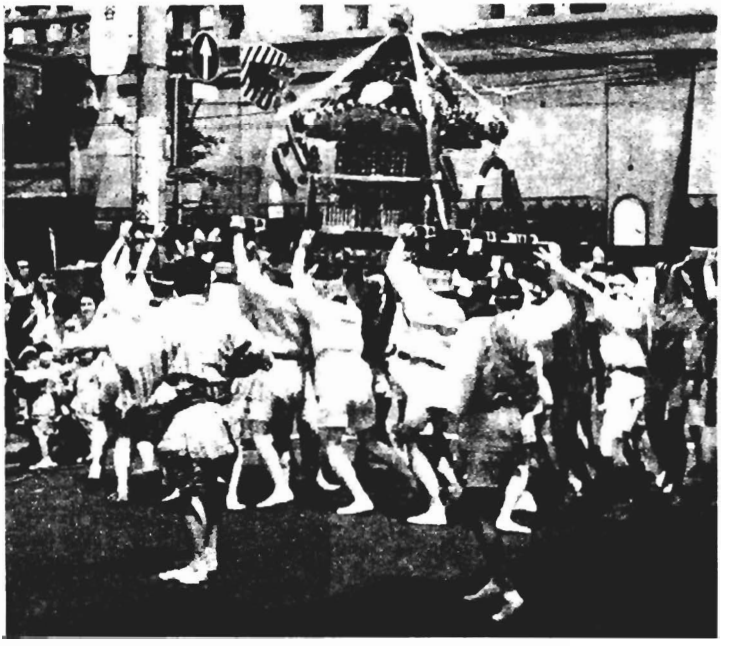
Stage 1. On the eve of the festival, the second of May, a ritual is performed known as the *yoi miya*. This is the ceremony in which the spirits of the two kami are ritually induced to leave the shrine and be conducted to quarters temporarily but specially provided in connection with the festival. At the shrine, the chief priests invite the kami to enter the two *hōren*. This ritual has been simplified so that it no longer expresses any symbolic meaning specifically associated with the character of the two deities. The *miya dashi* ("causing to leave the shrine"), for example, a ritual unique to this festival and involving a particular way of inviting the kami out of the shrine, is no longer performed.

At the same time that the chief priests invite the spirits into the *hōren*, other priests deliver the *bunrei* ("portions of the spirits") to the temporary shrines erected in each neighborhood where they are ritually installed both in the temporary shrine (*mikisho*) and in its *mikoshi*. For the 1968 festival, temporary shrines were erected in 75 out of the 108 neighborhood units in the parish. The number of *mikoshi* ran to more than 180 because each temporary shrine had two or three *mikoshi* of varying sizes, the largest being borne by fifty or more young men, the smallest by children.

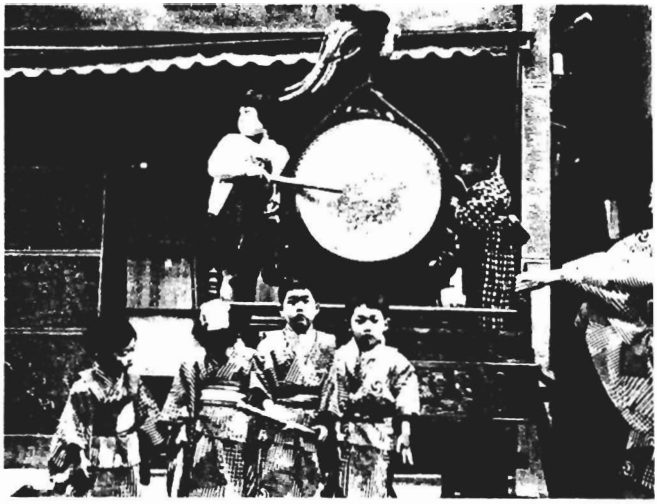
During this stage, each neighborhood is symbolically changed into a sanctuary. Streets and houses are decorated with *shimenawa* (braided straw rope symbolic of the sacred) and paper lanterns bearing the ideographs for *kanda matsuri* or *gosairei* ("sacred festival"). In effect, rituals of essentially identical character are performed in parallel at the shrine and in each of the parish neighborhoods.

Stage 2. The procession and parades of the vehicles in which the kami symbolically travel through the mundane world begin on 3 May. The *hōren* procession, which is the main kami-procession, starts early in the morning for the *tabisho* located at Ryōgoku

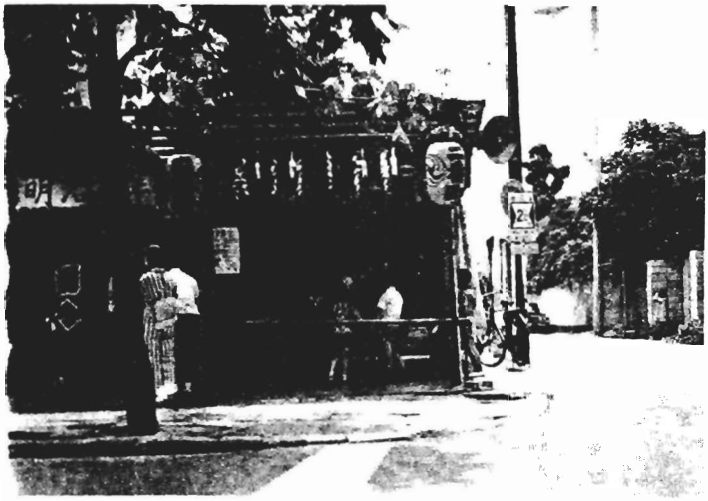
HŌREN
A cow-drawn *hōren* or wheeled portable shrine sets out from Kanda Shrine.



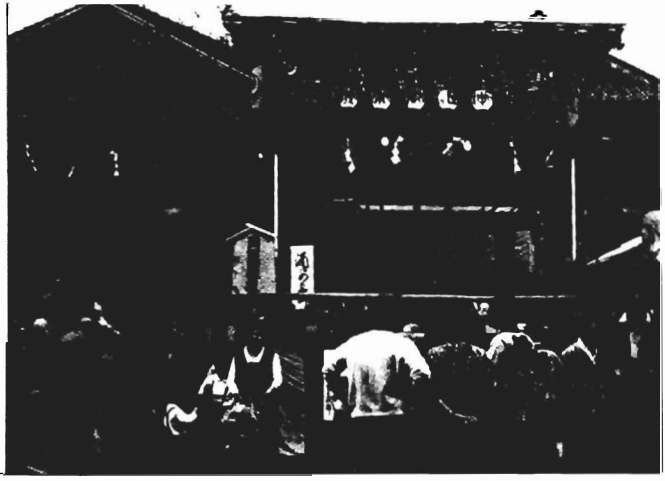
MIKOSHI
Festively clad youth of one neighborhood, bearing a large *mikoshi* or scaled-down portable shrine, negotiate a turn.



TAIKO DASHI
Children, most of whom are specially dressed for the occasion, take turns at the *taiko dashi* or wheeled drum.



MIKISHO
A temporary shrine or *mikisho* constructed in one of the 108 geographically defined neighborhoods of Kanda Shrine parish.



TABISHO
The terminus of the deity-procession, the *tabisho* in Ryōgoku, is the site of a program of entertainment offered to the kami the first night of the festival.

on the southern edge of the parish. The procession consists of two wheeled portable shrines, priests on horseback, representatives of the parishioners, bands, guards, and people in still other roles—a total of more than two hundred people. The procession follows a course that takes it through at least fifty of the parish neighborhoods, and in each it is supposed to stop in front of the temporary shrine to give neighborhood representatives opportunity to pay their respects in a simple ceremony. Meanwhile, more than a hundred *mikoshi* parades set out from each temporary shrine, going around and through their own neighborhoods accompanied by festival music and the rhythmic chant of their carriers. The *matsuri* has now begun.

Formerly, the *hōren* procession and *yamahoko* floats formed a single, united column. But since the *yamahoko* floats were replaced by *mikoshi*, the *hōren* and *mikoshi* parades have become completely separate. The *hōren* procession arrives at the *tabisho* late in the afternoon. There, after a ritual to calm the spirits of the kami, a program of evening entertainment is offered, including the *miko mai*, *sato kagura*, and *kanda-bayashi*. Each *mikoshi*, on the other hand, returns to its temporary shrine in the evening.

Stage 3. On 4 May a formal ceremony is held at the *tabisho*. All the shrine priests participate, arrayed in their most festive robes. In addition, representatives of the parishioners, the heads of two shrine-related fraternities, councilors of the Kanda Shrine supporters organization, members of the executive committee for the festival, and representatives of other social groups in the parish are invited to attend.

The ceremony almost completely reproduces the ritual paradigm. The fact is, however, that even though this ceremony should stand as the central ritual of the entire festival, it has lost much of its significance, partly because the site of the *tabisho* has been chosen for its convenience, having no symbolic meaning for the renewal of the life-power of the kami, and partly because, being separated from the ceremonies and activities of the lay people, it has too few people in attendance to warrant considera-

tion as a large-scale ceremony. This was not always the case. Originally, this ritual was held at a sacred place called Shōmonzuka ("the mound of Masakado"). [The ideographs for "Masakado" can also be read "Shōmon."] The belief is that the skull of this ancient hero, whose awesome and mighty spirit was enshrined at Kanda Shrine, was buried in this mound. Research by the present writer indicates, moreover, that many parishioners today hold the idea that Masakado is still the chief kami of Kanda Shrine. As mentioned above, however, approximately a century ago Kanda Shrine was obliged to replace Masakado with another kami in whose honor the *matsuri* is officially held. Accordingly, the main ritual of the Kanda festival can no longer be held at Shōmonzuka. But in moving the *tabisho* to Ryōgoku, Kanda Shrine lost its one meaningful locus for the ritual symbolization of life-enrichment.

The lay events of this stage are also of a ritual nature. Most of the *mikoshi* remain at their own temporary shrines. There *kanda-bayashi*, *sato kagura*, and other forms of entertainment are presented as offerings to the kami (usually thought to be Masakado). People visit the temporary shrine in their neighborhood to offer prayer to him and enjoy the entertainment.

Stage 4. The pendulum swings back toward festivity on 5 May. On this day the *hōren* procession resumes its course, this time from the *tabisho* back to the shrine. On the way it passes through the remaining half of the parish neighborhoods, stopping at each temporary shrine to receive the obeisance of the neighborhood representatives. It also stops for a brief ritual of offering at the Shōmonzuka, but this is distinctly a minor ceremony. The procession then takes again to the main streets of the downtown area and arrives at the shrine in the late afternoon.

Another distinguishing feature of this stage is that each neighborhood sends its *mikoshi* to join with the *mikoshi* of other neighborhoods in parades. In the afternoon the *mikoshi* of all the neighborhoods gather in clusters to visit Kanda Shrine or other places of assembly. The afternoon, therefore, is a time when the

shrine grounds are filled with the coming and going of *mikoshi* parades and are jammed with all kinds of people: *mikoshi* bearers, worshipers, spectators, people of both sexes and all ages.

The last scene of this stage is one of grand, large-scale festivity. In the late afternoon, when the *hōren* procession reaches the shrine, it enters the shrine grounds and thus joins with a number of *mikoshi* parades. At this moment participants and spectators alike are caught up in intense excitement, brought about by the encounters of the *hōren* and *mikoshi* clusters within the shrine grounds.

Stage 5. The ritual for the calming of the spirits of the kami and their restoration to the shrine is held the same night (5 May). At the shrine, after the two *hōren* have been put back into the treasury, the chief priest announces that the *matsuri* has been concluded without incident and expresses gratitude for the favor shown them by the kami. This ceremony takes place in front of the treasury with representatives of the parishioners and of the two fraternities in attendance. Afterwards, in the dark and late at night, the chief priest moves by hand the objects symbolic of the spirits of the kami from the *hōren* to the shrine.

That same evening, in the several neighborhoods, the altars and *mikoshi*, after brief rites, are dismantled and, with other ritual objects, stored away for the next festival. In celebration of the successful conclusion of the *matsuri*, a party is then held for all who bore responsibilities.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Mobilization. In considering what is involved in mobilizing people and resources in order to carry out a *matsuri*, four aspects appear particularly important: motives, roles, contributions, and equipment.

The mobilization of motives to participate in the festival has primarily to do with its symbolic meanings, both religious and social. The overall executive committee for the festival, work-

ing through the executive committees of each neighborhood, must be able to mobilize motivation in order to legitimate the other kinds of mobilization needed to prepare the festival. Mobilization of roles involves securing participants to fill the various roles intrinsic to the *matsuri*. Securing contributions of money and materials is also the responsibility of the executive committee. Finally, it is essential to mobilize equipment, that is, to see to the assembling and, where necessary, the repair of such things as the temporary shrine structure, *mikoshi*, altar paraphernalia, wheel-mounted drums, lion masks, costumes, decorations, and the like.

One distinctive feature of the Kanda festival is that the agency of social mobilization is not the shrine-related organization embracing all parishioners but the neighborhood associations (*chōnaikai*) and the federation of neighborhood associations (*chōnaikai rengō*).[6] The parishioners do have a large, formal organization know as the Kanda Jinja Hōsan Kai [Kanda Shrine supporters association], but in substance it does not amount to much. The Kanda festival is nominally held under its auspices, but in fact the agency that does the work is the executive committee constituted by representatives of the boards of the several neighborhood associations. Moreover, the people in charge of all the ceremonies and programs put on by the laity are the board members of the neighborhood associations—even though the name they then give themselves is the *chōnai saiten iinkai* ("neighborhood executive committee for the festival"). The most important of the events sponsored, organized, and carried out at the neighborhood level are the *mikoshi* parades, which are promoted by the neighborhood associations.

Changes in mobilization. The social resources available for mobilization include three kinds of groups: the shrine authorities, the fraternities, and lay groups in the parish.

6. Sonoda Minoru 薗田稔, "Matsuri to toshi shakai" 祭りと都市社会 [Shinto festivals and urban communities], *Kokugakuin daigaku nihon bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 国学院大学日本文化研究所紀要, no. 23 (1969), pp. 63-125.

The fraternities related to Kanda Shrine are two in number: the *miyakagi kō* ("association of shrine caretakers") and the *ofusegi kō* ("association of shrine guards"). Both function as forms of lay service to the shrine. The one originally consisted of master carpenters, the other of the heads of local firefighter companies. During the Edo period, both groups were in effect guilds. Commanding considerable manpower, they were important sources of social mobilization, for they could systematically mobilize firemen and carpenters throughout the parish for the filling of *matsuri* roles. The guilds mobilized their younger members for service in the programs sponsored by the shrine, and their leaders facilitated liaison between the shrine authorities and the lay neighborhood groups. At the same time, the lively and dashing performances by the young men of the guild, for example, the processional singing of the *kiyari ondō* (a lumber carriers' chant adopted by the firemen), were much admired by Edo townspeople and even came to be thought of as symbolic of the Kanda festival. After the Meiji Restoration, however, when local firefighter companies were replaced by city firemen and occupational mobility came to affect carpenters and their families, these groups lost much of their traditional character. Membership is now inherited by family descendants without reference to occupation. No longer guilds but fraternities, they have lost much of their capacity to mobilize human resources, a capacity once relatively independent of the neighborhood associations.

Most of the lay groups involved in the festival are neighborhood associations. In pre-Meiji Japan, urban society was organized into neighborhood communities—*machi*, *chō*, or *chōnai*—recognized by the local lords as self-governing groups of townsmen. After 1868, the national government exploited these traditional associations to the fullest, making them the smallest unit of their administration. Especially after 1935, when it was assigned the role of promoting fair elections, the neighborhood association began to be regarded as a government body. In 1940 the neighborhood system was established in local communi-

ties throughout Japan, and in 1943, with the reorganization of the administration of cities, towns, and villages, the neighborhood association was made a legal part of the local administration. At the same time, it also became the smallest unit of the Taisei Yokusan Kai [Imperial rule assistance association].[7] During the five-year period 1947-1952, however, they were not recognized by the occupation authorities of the Allied Powers, being considered one of the anti-democratic institutions of prewar Japan.[8] But in 1952, with the termination of the occupation, neighborhood associations were again permitted to exist on a voluntary basis. Nowadays, *chōnaikai* ("neighborhood associations") and *jichikai* ("self-government associations") are found throughout Japanese urban society. Today's neighborhood associations, which in downtown Tokyo average about 200 households per association, promote public sanitation and cleanliness, organize notification systems against crime, distribute information for local adminstrative agencies, and carry on some cultural activities.[9] Though reborn as a modern, interest-centered, functional association, the *chōnaikai* still retains certain traditional

7. A nationwide political organization promoted by the government in January 1940 in order to mobilize the nation behind the national war policy. At first it functioned as a political and propaganda association, but as the war went on, it became a key unit in the system of administrative control throughout the country. In June 1942 the Taisei Yokusan Kai assumed control over the national industrial organization, the national federation of women's societies, and local associations such as those in villages, towns, and urban neighborhoods. In June 1945, just before the end of the war, it was dissolved into the national system of civilian volunteers.

8. In May 1947 the occupation authorities of the Allied Powers issued an ordinance (no. 15) stipulating that *chōnakai* and *tonarigumi* should be dissolved. But see William P. Woodard, *The Allied occupation of Japan* 1945-1952 *and Japanese religions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), p. 132.

9. Neighborhood associations are composed of households, not individuals. Households are automatically considered members of the association on the basis of residence within defined boundaries. These associations have two kinds of functions: private and public. Private functions include activities for mutual friendship and for the promotion of religious activities; public functions include promotion of public sanitation and cleanliness and co-

characteristics.[10] The *chōnaikai*, that is to say, is still the smallest institutionalized community unit in Japanese urban society, just as it was before World War II, even though since 1947 it no longer has any standing in law.

The neighborhood association has long been one of the most important subgroups relevant to the *ujigami-ujiko* system. From the outset, it was not only a unit of association among households within a defined geographical area but also a subgroup in the religious organization stemming from the *ujigami* shrine. After World War II, religious activities by neighborhood associations on behalf of a particular religious organization were prohibited by the occupation authorities [SCAP Instruction 1318 (CIE) 6 Nov 46]. But the fact is that most have continued to have some kind of relationship to shrine activities even in such an urban center as downtown Tokyo.

Particularly as regards the chief festival of the *ujigami* shrine, the neighborhood associations are still the most important of the agencies that mobilize their members to share in the lay events. In the Kanda festival of 1968, for example, 75 (69.4%) of the 108 neighborhood associations in the parish set up temporary shrines in their areas and held their own *mikoshi* parades. The remaining 33 sent representatives to the shrine events, even though they did not engage in festival-related activities of their own. Every neighborhood association in the parish thus made some kind of contribution to the social mobilization involved in carrying out the Kanda festival in 1968. This fact stands in sharp

operation with the local administration. See Okuda Michihiro 奥田道大, "Toshika katei to chi'iki shakai no kōzō" 都市化過程と地域社会の構造 [The process of urbanization and the structure of local community]. In *Gendai shakaigaku kōza*, vol. 2: *Chi'iki seikatsu no shakaigaku* 現代社会学講座 2：地域生活の社会学 [Series on contemporary sociology, vol. 2: Sociology of community life], Nakano Takashi 中野卓, ed. (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1964), pp. 151-202, esp. p. 199.

10. Cf. Ōmi Tetsuo 近江哲男, "Toshi no chi'iki shūdan" 都市の地域集団 [Local groups in urban society], *Shakai kagaku tōkyū* 社会科学討究, vol. 3 (1958), pp. 181-230.

contrast to another, namely, that in December 1967 only 39 of the parish households purchased an amulet from Kanda Shrine—a purchase that can be taken as indicating a direct relationship between the shrine and the individual household. In other words, despite the fact that less than 40% of the parish households have a sense of religious identification with the shrine as *ujiko* households of the *ujigami*, every neighborhood association managed to draw nearly every household into sharing in some way in the carrying out of the lay events related to the festival. This shows the importance of the neighborhood association in effecting social mobilization for *matsuri* activities, as over against other social resources such as the fraternities which have largely lost their ability to mobilize people in the parish.

DYNAMICS

The activities of a Shinto festival symbolically express not only the religio-cultural aspect of community life but also the social relations in the community. Consequently, the dynamics of the *matsuri* can be thought of as having its origin in religious symbolization but requiring social mobilization for its realization.

Symbolization in relation to mobilization. Festival phenomena are of two kinds: ritual action and festive action. Ritual action is generally performed in a measured, solemn manner and expresses the communication between human and supra-empirical beings in the form of an empirical relationship; festive action, viewed from the perspective of social psychology, is distinguished by the high degree of excitement that makes possible the symbolic achievement of increased vitality or "life-animation" among kami and people. The leitmotiv of *matsuri* symbolism, the life-enrichment of kami and people, is brought to completion only when both ritual and festivity have fulfilled their functions in the course of the festival process. A *matsuri* stands not on one leg but on two. It is neither ritual alone nor festivity alone but

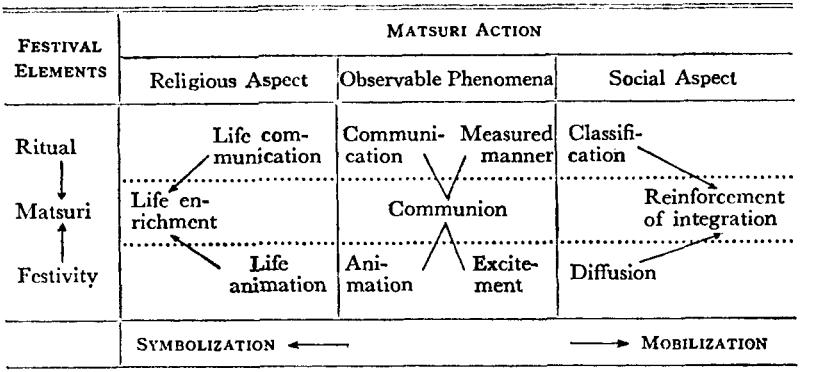
a ritual-festivity complex. Only in combination do they form a structure within which the symbolization of life-enrichment can take place.

Festivity is indeed an essential element in *matsuri* symbolization, but festivity itself cannot fulfill its symbolic function without ritual as a precondition. After ritual has brought about a state of sacred communication with the divine, lively and enlivening festive action creates first excitement, then a state of "life-animation." In this sense, ritual action can be regarded as a prerequisite of festive action. The more completely ritual fulfills its function, the more closely does life-animation approximate the realization of life-enrichment.

Matsuri action necessarily involves not only the religious aspect suggested by the term "symbolization" but also the social aspect implied by the term "mobilization." With particular reference to the latter, ritual action may be seen as emphasizing social classification in that each group performs in accordance with its ritual and social status. Festive action, on the other hand, results in a diffusion of social distinctions and creates a state of fluid communication that overcomes the social isolation of the various groups. Both consequences lead in turn to reinforcement of internal integration in the relevant social groups and reinforcement of their inclusion in the larger whole (see table 2). These functions were originally covert, that is to say, manifest in the symbolism of the *matsuri* but not consciously understood by the participants. In recent years, however, weakening of the symbolization function has made the social functions more obvious. Now even people in executive committee positions have begun to take them as the one and only ground that justifies mobilizing people for the *matsuri*.

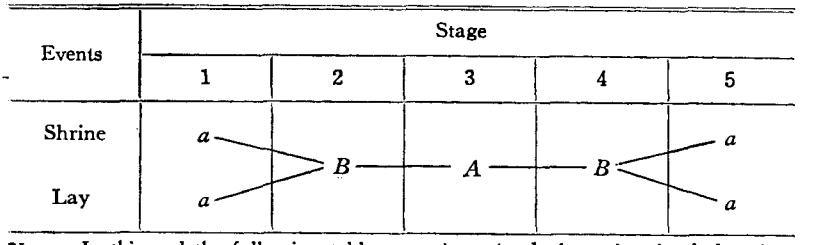
Change in symbolization. One of the most interesting structural changes in the Kanda festival is the dividing of the originally unified deity procession into two separate operations: the *hōren* procession of the shrine priests and attendants, and the *mikoshi*

TABLE 2
DYNAMICS OF THE SHINTO FESTIVAL



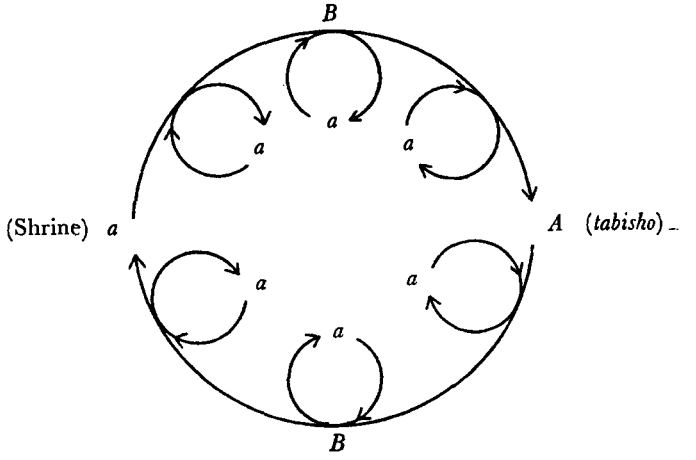
parades of the laity. Until the Meiji era, the symbolic vehicles of the shrine and those of the neighborhood associations acted together during the main events of the festival. As table 3 shows, they were together in stages 2, 3, and 4, even though separated in stages 1 and 5. If represented in spatial rather than sequential terms, the classical symbolization structure might look something like that shown in table 4. As indicated in this representation, relatively small-scale lay units merged with the

TABLE 3
CLASSICAL SYMBOLIZATION STRUCTURE OF THE KANDA FESTIVAL: A SEQUENTIAL REPRESENTATION



NOTE: In this and the following tables, a=minor ritual, A=major ritual, b=minor festivity, and B=major festivity.

TABLE 4
CLASSICAL SYMBOLIZATION STRUCTURE
OF THE KANDA FESTIVAL:
A SPATIAL REPRESENTATION



main procession beginning with the festive trip from the shrine to the *tabisho* (the *B* at the top of the outer circle) and remained with it not only through the major ritual at the *tabisho* (*A*) but also through the festive action of returning to the shrine (the *B* at the bottom of the large circle). This merger had the effect of heightening the scale of festive and ritual action and also brought the symbolization process to a high degree of realization. In other words the parishioners, whether performers or spectators, were provided with a situation in which they could enjoy in a symbolic sense the experience of life-participation and life-animation—and even life-enrichment.

From a sociological point of view, this structure made it possible for a great number of neighborhood communities to overcome the mutual isolation characteristic of their existence in mundane time, and to unite into one community—the parish of Kanda Shrine or the citizenry of Edo. The participants gained

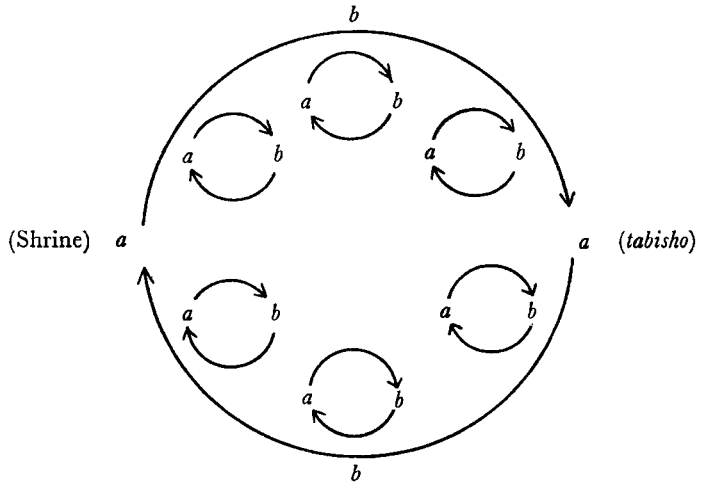
a sense of cultural identity as *edokko* or *kandakko* and took pride in being born in the center of Japanese socio-cultural life.

TABLE 5
MODERN SYMBOLIZATION STRUCTURE
OF THE KANDA FESTIVAL:
A SEQUENTIAL REPRESENTATION

Events	Stage				
	1	2	3	4	5
Shrine	a	b (B)	a	b (B)	a
Lay	a	b	a	b	a

NOTE: The parenthesized Bs indicate that the festive action of stages 2 and 4 may from time to time take on the features of large-scale festivity.

TABLE 6
MODERN SYMBOLIZATION STRUCTURE
OF THE KANDA FESTIVAL:
A SPATIAL REPRESENTATION



Since the Meiji Restoration, however, these dynamic functions have been undermined by a change in the symbolization structure of the festival. The shrine and neighborhood events are now carried out in parallel at every stage, except for chance encounters in stages 2 or 4. Table 5 illustrates this structure sequentially, and table 6 describes its spatial pattern. In this structure, shrine events and lay events remain separate and distinct. Though they may happen to cross by chance in stage 2 or 4, only a few *mikoshi* parades join with the shrine procession. Consequently, the large-scale unity of the ritual-festivity complex (*A-B*) has disappeared, and in its place more than a hundred small units (*a-b*) lie scattered about in the parish.

The shrine events, too, having lost effective support for carrying out *matsuri* symbolization, are unable to fulfill their role in the main ritual-festivity complex. More generally, neither the events sponsored by the shrine nor the *mikoshi* parades sponsored by the neighborhood associations can, at present, symbolically unify the whole parish. The one is now little more than a formal ritual exercise oriented to participation in the beneficence of the kami, the other more a matter of recreation than life-animation. Sociologically, this structure does not perform the function of supplying those who live within the bounds of the parish with a sense of cultural identity as parish members of Kanda Shrine. It functions only to reinforce their group identity as members of definite neighborhoods.

Change in Symbolic Resources. The contemporary Kanda festival, moreover, has lost a great deal of the uniqueness of its symbols.[11] The symbol resources of the *matsuri* can be classified under four headings: contextual beliefs, word symbols, aesthetic symbols, and symbolic roles and statuses.

11. According to Stanner, the functioning of symbols can be heightened by the suitable selection of symbolic vehicles. Unique gestures, music, dance, and traditionally fixed forms of movement make a deep impression on participants and spectators alike. W. E. H. Stanner, "On aboriginal religion," *Oceania*, vol. 32 (1961), p. 123.

Contextual beliefs form the basis of *matsuri* symbolization. They include the myth explaining the origin and central themes of the festival, and beliefs people hold concerning the kami and *matsuri*. The belief having to do with Masakado, for example, is more complex than was indicated above. It was mentioned that Masakado was a powerful warrior of the mid-tenth century A.D. who revolted against the emperor. He died in a vendetta-like execution. After his death, however, his vengeful spirit was believed responsible for a string of misfortunes people suffered. To still his wrath, a number of mounds were erected in his honor, mounds called Shōmonzuka which are still to be found in the eastern provinces of Japan. The mound traditionally known as the one containing his head, located to the southeast of Edo castle, was the site of religious services performed by priests of a Buddhist temple in an earlier day. Later, Masakado's spirit was enshrined in Kanda Shrine as one of its chief kami, and people have believed ever since that Masakado is their *ujigami*. His mighty spirit, once feared for its vicious nature, now employs its strength in wondrous ways to help and defend his *ujiko*. The kami procession of Kanda festival was essentially the procession of the divine Masakado, who could drive malevolent spirits out of the parish, enrich the life-energy of his people, and strive for their well-being and prosperity. As noted earlier, however, in the modern period Kanda Shrine has had to refrain from official promotion of this belief and to neglect symbolic expressions clearly referring to Masakado. It has thereby lost one of its most effective symbolic resources.

The word symbols of the *matsuri* are exemplified by catchwords written on prayer flags, symbolic vehicles, and lanterns. They include such expressions as *gokoku hōjō* ("bumper crops"), *shōbai hanjō* ("thriving business"), *akueki taisan* ("confusion to evil"), *kokka antai* ("peace to the State"), *chōnai anzen* ("well-being to the neighborhood"), and *kanai anzen* ("well-being to the family"). The contemporary Kanda festival adds *kōtsu anzen* ("safety in traffic").

Aesthetic symbols consist of the symbolic vehicles. Most prominent among these vehicles are the *hōren* and *mikoshi*, but the concept also includes the *hikiyama* or floats, *shishi-gashira* ("lion masks") and other costumes—and even music, dances, and plays. The *yamahoko*, a type of float unique to the Kanda festival, was, as noted earlier, set aside in favor of *mikoshi*, which are common to many Shinto festivals and therefore cannot express the uniqueness of the Kanda festival. In the same way, the *kanda-bayashi* and *kiyari ondō*, though maintained as group performances by members of the laity, have been adopted by all the *matsuri* in downtown Tokyo and thus have no integrating distinctiveness.

Particular festivals have traditionally emphasized specific symbolic roles or statuses. Emphasis may be placed, for example, on samurai, fishermen, young adults, or children. In the Kanda festival, the *machi hikeshi* ("neighborhood firefighters") used to play so important a role that they occupied a unique symbolic status. Today, however, the role they once performed with verve and flair is now maintained by a few aged members of the society for the preservation of *hikeshi* and *kiyari ondō*.

This brief survey shows that the modern Kanda festival has lost its traditional uniqueness in symbolic resources. It has not, however, discovered new resources. This loss has undoubtedly weakened its capacity for effective symbolization.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

The *ujigami-ujiko* system is to the present day the essential basis at the community level for the religious organization of Shrine Shinto. Every *ujigami* shrine has a defined geographical area called an *ujiko ba* or *ujiko kuiki* roughly comparable to what Christianity calls a "parish." Since 1945, however, large-scale social mobility together with official abandonment of the involuntary identification of residents in the parish as parishioners of the shrine, have obscured the present situation of Shrine Shinto.

According to Durkheim, a religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, and it has a Church, a single moral community that unites them.[12] But we cannot say that the shrine and its adherents in contemporary urban society form a single moral community. Moreover, the beliefs of Shrine Shinto have from the outset been so diffused in Japanese socio-cultural tradition that they are hardly to be distinguished from the Japanese way of life. Its practices, on the other hand, are relatively well organized, thus giving rise to the characterization that Shrine Shinto is a "religion of ceremony." For this reason it is productive for the study of Shrine Shinto to approach it through its practices. Since the *matsuri* is the most important religious practice of Shrine Shinto, study of the *matsuri* enables us not only to understand its social context but also to discover clues by which to get at its beliefs.

The method employed here to investigate a modern *matsuri* was to set up two methodological concepts: symbolization and mobilization. The former refers to the process for the realization of symbolic motifs, the latter to the process of organizing social resources for symbolic action. As an ideal-type construction, the combination of symbolization and mobilization is considered as bringing about a complete *matsuri*. In other words, the less effective the symbolization or mobilization, the less complete the *matsuri*. Traditionally, it was the symbolization that motivated and legitimated mobilization. In the modern *matsuri*, however, the order is likely to be reversed. The contemporary Kanda festival is one example of this reversal.

As seen in the course of the inquiry, the symbolization of the Kanda festival has been greatly weakened, while its social mobilization continues almost as vigorously as before. Behind this weakness in the symbolization process is the disjunction of shrine from lay events and the near disappearance of unique symbolic resources. Externally, the contemporary festival pattern appears

12. Emile Durkheim, *The elementary forms of the religious life*, transl. by Joseph Ward Swain (New York: Free Press, 1965), p. 62.

to be the same as the classical. The priests and neighborhood association executives have sought to keep the ritual-festivity complex intact and have expended great effort to maintain the custom of having the deity procession visit every neighborhood in the parish. But the change in the real structure and symbolic resources of the *matsuri* has resulted in the fragmentation of the ritual-festivity complex into a multiplicity of small-scale units, no one of which has the capacity to manifest the motif symbolic of the Kanda festival, namely, the life-enrichment of the kami and all the people in the parish. At most, some of these small-scale events express in a formal way the idea of participation in the beneficence of the kami, but the bulk of them, far from expressing a sense of increased vigor or life-animation, function rather as incidental forms of recreation.

Despite the weakness evident in the symbolization, however, the small-scale lay programs involving the ritual-festivity complex still can and do reinforce the integration of the several neighborhood communities. As the original symbolization weakened, this social function, formerly unrecognized by the participants, came to the attention of *matsuri* leaders. In recent years this social function has tended to become independent of the symbolization aspect. There is every indication that this function is openly utilized to legitimate social mobilization for the festival in place of legitimation based on the motif suggested by its symbolization. Most of the circulars, for example, printed by the neighborhood executive committees to persuade people in their neighborhoods to participate in the festival, frankly explain that one of the main reasons for holding the *matsuri* is to promote friendship between people living in the neighborhood—even though the first reason given is to augment the goodwill of the kami. Moreover, interviews held by the present writer with representatives of 47 neighborhood executive committees during the 1968 festival showed that when asked their primary purpose in promoting the *matsuri*, 36.2% (17 out of 47) referred to the cultivation of friendship among the residents of their neighbor-

hood, and 34.0% (16 out of 47) responded with a reference to recreation, especially for their children. As for the rest, 8.5% (4 out of 47) said that it was to maintain a tradition inherited from their ancestors, 6.4% (3 out of 47) that it was to promote communication with other neighborhoods, and 14.9% (7 out of 47) had no clear answer. Surprisingly, no one answered by referring to the original religious motif of the *matsuri*. These answers permit the inference that although the official legitimation for mobilization maintains some connection with the original religious motif, in practice the motives for mobilization have scarcely anything to do with this motif, being oriented more toward formerly incidental functions such as social communication and recreation. Granted that these interviews do not necessarily explain the entire state of affairs, they nonetheless support the idea that in the modern Kanda festival there is a substantial discrepancy between its symbolization and its mobilization.

It seems likely, to look ahead, that the symbolization unique to the Kanda festival will die out before long, the value of its symbolization for legitimating mobilization giving way to the value of its social functions. These valued social functions, moreover, apply not to the parish as a whole but only to subgroups such as the neighborhood associations and communities. The sense of cultural identity parish members used to obtain through participation in the events of the *matsuri*, the sense of being *ujiko* of Kanda Shrine, will be replaced by a sense of social identity, a sense of being members of a specific neighborhood. This lack of relationship with the shrine is the main reason 33 neighborhood associations (31%) did not carry on any lay activities of their own during the 1968 festival. Nearly all these non-participating neighborhoods are located in Nihonbashi, now part of the large business center of downtown Tokyo. The neighborhood associations of this area, having more of a daytime population than a stable supply of full-time residents, are relatively inactive as regards the *matsuri* and show no interest in holding *mikoshi* parades and the like merely for the sake of neighbor-

hood integration. Even so, however, it is certain that social mobilization for the modern Kanda festival tends to rest almost entirely on the support of the neighborhood associations.

This tendency is not peculiar to the Kanda festival. The *sannō matsuri*, also one of the largest in downtown Tokyo, reveals the same tendency. But even in Tokyo some festivals such as the *sumiyoshi matsuri* of Tsukudajima or the *sanja matsuri* of Asakusa, have been able to maintain their symbolic structure intact and bring to a high degree of realization the symbolization unique to their shrines. As a result, parish members, through participation in the events of their *matsuri*, obtain a sense of cultural and group identity as adherents of their *ujigami* shrine. In the case of the *sumiyoshi matsuri*, its vivid symbolization of purification is accepted with delight by newcomers to the mammoth apartment-developments recently constructed in the parish. On the other hand, even in small cities there are many *matsuri* that have lost the capacity to bring to realization the religious motifs of their symbolization process because of the disintegration of their symbolic structures.

Generally speaking, almost every Shinto festival in urban society tends to rely on the support of neighborhood associations for its social mobilization. This is because the neighborhood association is almost the only collectivity in modern urban society that still maintains its traditional character as a territorially defined community. Collapse of the symbolic structure of a *matsuri*, however, can bring about, as we have seen in the case of the Kanda festival, a discrepancy or lack of engagement between symbolization and mobilization with the result that the latter has to be legitimated on grounds other than those provided by the traditional symbolization process.

The conclusion to which this inquiry leads is that thriving urban *matsuri* do not necessarily express their original religious symbolization. On the contrary, at least some *matsuri* thrive only because their mobilization relies on other values, social, economic, or political.

Glossary

bunrei 分霊
goyō matsuri 御用祭り
hōren 鳳輦
keihitsu 警蹕
Masakado 将門
matsuri 祭り
mikisho 神酒所
mikoshi 神輿
norito 祝詞
Shōmonzuka 将門塚
tabisho 旅所
tenka matsuri 天下祭り
ujigami 氏神
ujiko 氏子
ujiko ba 氏子場
ujiko kuiki 氏子区域
ujiko shotai 氏子所帯
yamahoko 山鉾
yoi miya 宵宮