

Festival and Neighborhood Association

A Case Study of the Kamimachi Neighborhood in Chichibu

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PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Chichibu festivals. This study examines the three major *matsuri* ("festivals") of the city of Chichibu: (1) the summer Chichibu

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The research project of which this study forms one part was conducted between 1964-67 by graduate students of the University of Tokyo Department of Religious Studies under the leadership of Professor Yanagawa Kei'ichi. During the 14 data-gathering expeditions, the number of research team members varied from 5 to 20. Each person was made part of a group responsible for a specific area of investigation. The group studying the relationships between local society and the festivals was subdivided according to neighborhood. Study of the Kamimachi neighborhood fell to me, and in my group were Herman Ooms, now Assistant Professor of History at the University of Illinois (Chicago), and Randall Huntsberry, currently Professor of Religion at Wesleyan University. Data was also obtained through comparing our findings with those gathered by teams studying other neighborhoods.

For the purpose of the English translation I have taken it on myself to delete certain sections I judged too detailed or misleading for English readers. For the same reason I eliminated all reference notes. In the original Japanese version these notes consisted of quotations from sources specified at the end of this study, information gathered both from documents and other materials preserved by the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association, and personal interviews.

In 1972 Professor Yanagawa published a brilliant article on festival theory utilizing materials gathered during the study of the Chichibu festivals. The present study, through presenting a small amount of supplementary data, is intended as a "footnote" to the above-mentioned work of Professor Yanagawa. It should be noted that it is nothing more than a preliminary sketch and that the data on which it is based are already several years old.

Finally, I should like to express my deepest gratitude to the citizens of Kamimachi, my fellow members of the research team, and, as regards presenting this study in English, to the International Institute for the Study of Religions, particularly Dr. David Reid, Director, and Dr. Abe Yoshiya of the Executive Board.

Shrine festival and parafestival activities (*tsuke matsuri*), (2) the winter Chichibu Shrine festival and parafestival activities, and (3) the Akiba Shrine festival held in the spring and fall. The first, to use the official designations employed by the neighborhood associations, is the Grand Festival of Yasaka Shrine and the second the Grand Festival of Chichibu Shrine. Together with the festival of Akiba Shrine, they account for the threefold classification above. In this study, however, as among Chichibu residents, the three will be referred to as the Summer Festival, Winter Festival, and Akiba Festival.

Focus of investigation. The central theme of the project as a whole was to study “the religious nature of the festival.” The research teams carried out a wide-ranging program of study including a survey of residents’ attitudes toward the festivals, the relationship between certain social and religious organizations (households, neighborhood associations, the Chichibu Tourist Bureau, shrines, temples, churches, etc.), local myths and customs, the symbolic meaning of certain performing arts (mime dancing, open-air theater, music, drumming, etc.), and the history of the relationships between the festivals and the city.

This particular study has as its aim the elucidation of the relationship between the three festivals and the neighborhood association. The method employed is twofold: (1) to determine the interrelationships between festival and neighborhood association with respect to organization, and (2) to uncover the tensions between the festivity principle and the neighborhood association principle through reference to festival roles and rankings. The neighborhood association studied is that of Kamimachi.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE KAMIMACHI NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION

Postwar situation. The “Kamimachi Neighborhood Association” is the name given to the organization that combines three separate divisions of Kamimachi, divisions that may here be termed Blocks 1, 2, and 3. These blocks are in turn the result

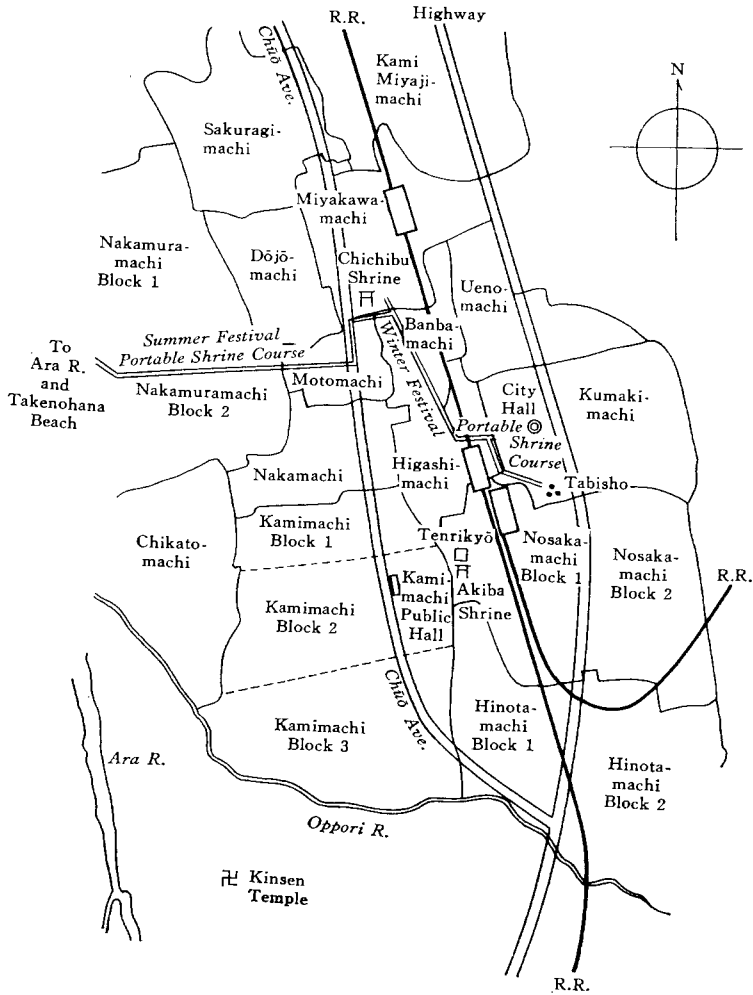
of a 1963 rezoning that made three units of what had formerly been seven. Even before 1963, however, these seven, though formally independent, constituted a single Association. Under the new system, the same holds true. Each block has its own chairman and is, in form, autonomous, but from festival arrangements to budget estimates and reports, nearly all projects and activities are administered by the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association. The continuity between the old and new systems is illustrated by the fact that during the period of this study, Matsumoto Chūtarō, pre-1963 president of the Association, served not only as chairman of the Block 2 association but also, concurrently, as president of the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association.

With a 1969 population of 4,860 or 1,260 households, Kamimachi is the largest of the Chichibu precincts. After 1945, people both from outside Chichibu and from other parts of the city settled near the Oppori River, this influx becoming one reason for the rezoning. According to the 1960 National Census statistics, during the preceding decade two other centrally located precincts, Motomachi and Nakamachi, recorded decreases in population, but Kamimachi, together with Hinotamachi and Nosakamachi, continued to grow. Some 300 households of pre-war residents are packed together on the east side of the residential section that flanks Chūō Avenue (see map 1). From one angle, this growth has increased the importance of the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association relative to other associations, but it has also increased the difficulty of achieving consensus within the Association.

History. Records concerning Kamimachi and adjoining Nakamachi and Motomachi go well back into Chichibu history. According to the *Chichibu-shi shi* [Account of the city of Chichibu] (1962), maps have been preserved from as far back as the Genroku period (1688-1704), and according to these and other documents, population distribution took the form of village-like clus-

ters of households along the main road. East of this road stood, according to an official journal of 1698, some 71 houses and on the west 139. This corresponds to the distribution of old houses

MAP 1
CENTRAL CHICHIBU AND THE LOCATION OF KAMIMACHI



found today in Kamimachi, Nakamachi, and Motomachi, and establishes that today's Chūō Avenue was already a main street over two and half centuries ago. During the Edo period (1603-1868), the city of Chichibu was referred to as Ōmiyakyō (“Ōmiya district”), and the three clusters of households now included in Kamimachi, Nakamachi, and Motomachi were collectively known as Ōmiyachō or Ōmiyamachi. Each *machi* had its own system of police, fire patrol, gatekeeping, etc. and three chief officers: the *nanushi* (“village head”), *kumigashira* (“group leader”), and *hyakushōdai* (“farm representative”). Assisting these officers there was in addition a *gyōji* (“administrator”) whose main responsibilities were to expedite local self-government and organize the parafestival entertainments associated with the Winter Festival.

General mobilization. With this tradition behind it, Kamimachi still pictures itself as the model Chichibu neighborhood. This means, to be specific, priding itself on being a neighborhood known for the float it exhibits every Winter Festival. This festival, which reaches its peak on 3 December, draws together all major districts of Chichibu Valley and the sixty-two neighborhood associations into which they are divided, enlisting both urban and rural people in various roles organized through the neighborhood associations. The units that participate in this festival through the various neighborhood associations, however, are not necessarily the same as the units of political administration. Regardless of the fact that administrative units both within and around Chichibu have undergone frequent reorganization through mergers and partitions, especially since 1868, there are areas where the participation units for the festival continue unchanged. This is particularly noticeable in the case of float groups involving two or more normally independent associations. Because of their connection with the float as a symbol, they must, during a festival, act as a single group.

The chief festival roles are to participate in the divine proces-

sion of the portable shrine to the *tabisho*¹ and, under parafestival activities, to tow floats and launch fireworks. Every neighborhood association in the city of Chichibu participates in the procession and some associations from Chichibu County. Those from farthest away lead, those from Chichibu proper bringing up the rear. Fireworks are sponsored by eleven *machi* of Chichibu proper and supported by twelve environing communities. The float-pulling, a tradition preserved since the Edo period and the chief attraction of the festival, is carried out by the six float units: Nakachika, Shitagō, Miyaji, Kamimachi, Nakamachi, and Motomachi.² Two of the six, namely, Nakachika and Shitagō, have *kasahoko*-type floats, that is, umbrella-shaped floats mounted with a decorative halberd. The remaining four take turns presenting open-air theater with the floats as stages. These “float neighborhoods” constitute the nucleus of the Winter Festival. Among them, Kamimachi may be taken as a representative model, the festival forming the organizational and operational hub of the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION: STRUCTURE AND STRATIFICATION
Structure. The formal organization of the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association as of 1964 consists primarily of the Executive Board (*honkai*), Board of Directors (*rijikai*), and Board of Representatives (*daigi'inkai*) (see table 1).

In addition, mention should be made of the Firefighters' Auxiliary (*shōbōdan*). By reason of its topography, Chichibu is not abundantly supplied with water. As a result, large-scale

1. The *tabisho* is the place (*sho*) where the sacred vehicle is put down to allow the kami to rest from the trip (*tabi*) and become reinvigorated through refreshment and entertainment. TRANSL.
2. The float units of Kamimachi, Nakamachi, and Motomachi are geographically identical with the neighborhood associations of the same names (see map 1). The remaining three, however, are each constituted by two or more neighborhood associations as follows: Nakachika by Nakamuramachi and Chikatomachi; Shitagō by Kanamuromachi, Yanagidamachi, Nagatamachi, Abomachi, Ōbatakemachi, and Takinouemachi; and Miyaji by Kami Miyajimachi, Naka Miyajimachi, and Shimo Miyajimachi. TRANSL.

TABLE 1
ORGANIZATION OF THE KAMIMACHI NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION

Posts	Number of Persons	Method of Selection
<i>Executive Board</i>		
President	1	From among the 3 block chairmen by consultation
Vice-Presidents	5	Chairmen of 2 remaining blocks + vice chairmen of all 3
Treasurer	1	Elected by the officials of the 3 blocks
<i>Board of Representatives</i>		
President	1	From among the Representatives by consultation
Vice-Presidents	2	From among the Representatives by consultation
Representatives	20	(Discussed below)
<i>Board of Directors</i>		
President	1	From among the Directors by consultation, the block from which the President is chosen sending a replacement
Vice-Presidents	2	From among the Directors by consultation
Directors	21	(Discussed below)

NOTE: The Kamimachi Neighborhood Association also includes: (1) a Joint Board (*gōdō yakuinkai*) made up of the officers of the 3 boards listed above; (2) a few Advisors (*komon*) chosen by the President of the Executive Board with the approval of its members; (3) 15 or so members of the Young Men's Division (*seinenbu*), delegates being chosen from Kamimachi as a whole rather than by block; and (4) 15 or so members of the Women's Division (*fujinbu*), delegates again being chosen not by block but from Kamimachi as a whole.

fires occur with some frequency. Volunteer firefighting has been a tradition since the Edo period. After several changes of organization, the Firefighters' Auxiliary is presently structured in parallel with the Chichibu Fire Department. The entire city is divided into ten chapters, and Kamimachi is Branch 1 of Chapter 1. Organizationally, the group belongs to the city and as such is independent of the Kamimachi structure, but the position of the Volunteers within the community is one of considerable importance.

Like the Firefighters' Auxiliary in that they do not belong

directly to the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association are the Boys' Association (*shōnendan*) and the Children's Association (*kodomokai*). The Boys' Association was founded in 1961 with aid provided through the Chichibu Social Welfare Council. The Children's Association, organized by block, was formed in 1964 under the sponsorship of the PTA of Hananoki Elementary School (Kamimachi Block 2). As of 1966, the Boys' Association numbered 60 members, the Children's Association 479 (the total for all three blocks). In earlier years both groups were under

TABLE 2
ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORK OF KAMIMACHI NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION

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NOTES: Figures given are those as of 1964 except for the membership figures for the Boy's Association and Children's Association, which are those as of 1966.

Dotted lines signify absence of formal organizational ties with the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association.

the Young Men's Division, but today this is no longer the case—except in relation to the Summer Festival. On this occasion, both groups have important festival roles to perform. They act as members of Kamimachi as a whole and under the direction of the Young Men's Division.

Table 2 diagrams the formal network that joins the several groups described above.

Among the official posts in the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association, particularly to be noted are the Board of Directors and the Board of Representatives. The system of organization presently employed by these two bodies was instituted in 1959, but is based on a model dating from prewar times when Kamimachi was called Kamimachi-ku ("Kamimachi Ward"). In accordance with the Occupation-ordered Shinto Directive, Kamimachi abolished the ward system in 1946 and established, on paper, one organization to handle the administration of Association affairs and a separate organization, the Kamimachi Supporters' Association (*Kamimachi hōsankai*), to be in charge of festival affairs. In addition to a President and Vice-President, it included the head of the Board of Directors, fourteen Directors, and fifteen Representatives. In form this organization was responsible for the carrying out of festival operations, but in fact it existed in name only, the Directors and Representatives of that day fulfilling precisely the same functions as those of today. At the General Meeting of November 1958, the "invisible cloak" of the Kamimachi Supporters' Association was discarded, and Kamimachi made a fresh start attired in accordance with the organizational principle at work in Kamimachi Ward days.

Roles. What, then, are the roles of Directors and Representatives? To the present day Kamimachi has no written statutes or by-laws. The number of posts to be filled is determined anew as selections become necessary, the number being recorded along with the names of those chosen. The responsibilities of these

officers, moreover, have never been codified, and even the method of selection is generally referred to by means of the vague term *gosen* (“selection through consultation”). All these matters are handled through reliance on conventions. The basis of these conventions is the book of “Kamimachi Ward Rules” (*Kamimachi-ku kiyakusho*) in the Kamimachi archives. This book is a compilation of the usages in effect up to March 1891. Consequently, though the passage of time has caused some parts to become inappropriate and be discarded, and despite some changes of wording, the way Kamimachi operates today is, in principle, identical with that of the Meiji period Kamimachi Ward.

Present-day Directors (*riji*) correspond to what the Ward Rules call *gyōji* (“overseers”). This book specifies that in order to qualify for selection as a *gyōji*, a person must be at least twenty years of age and must have lived in Kamimachi at least three years. The term of office is one year, expiring in January. The duty of the *gyōji* as stipulated in the book of Ward Rules, Article 7, is “to administer the various affairs of the ward.” Concretely, this covers the composition and supervision of police and fire patrols, the planning and directing of repairs to roads and sewers along the Oppori River, the planning and directing of snow-removal operations, etc. The *gyōji* are to plan and administer numerous kinds of ward operations within the limits of the estimated budget and, in addition, make sure the books are kept in order. They function as the executive branch in Kamimachi Ward. The weightiest responsibility of the *gyōji*, however, is the celebration of festivals, all fourteen articles of Section 6 dealing with festival matters. Though stipulations regarding methods of preparation and operation of the Winter Festival floats are especially detailed, the *gyōji* are responsible, according to the old Ward Rules, for all the festivals—not only the Winter Festival but also the Summer, Akiba Shrine, Wagō Shrine, and Yamano-kami Shrine festivals. The Rules repeatedly call attention to the need for “utmost precaution against impropriety.”

Present-day Representatives (*daigi'in*) correspond to what the

Ward Rules call *gi'in* ("councilmen"). Like the *gyōji*, *gi'in* had to be at least twenty years of age and three-year residents of the neighborhood, and they served a one-year term. They differed from *gyōji* in that they were not barred from reelection. Article 27 reads:

Though of course *gi'in* must not be partial in their treatment of persons of high reputation, they must listen silently when cases involving themselves or their kin are under discussion.

From this we infer that *gi'in* ranked above *gyōji* in their age and contributions to the neighborhood. The same is true of present-day Representatives.

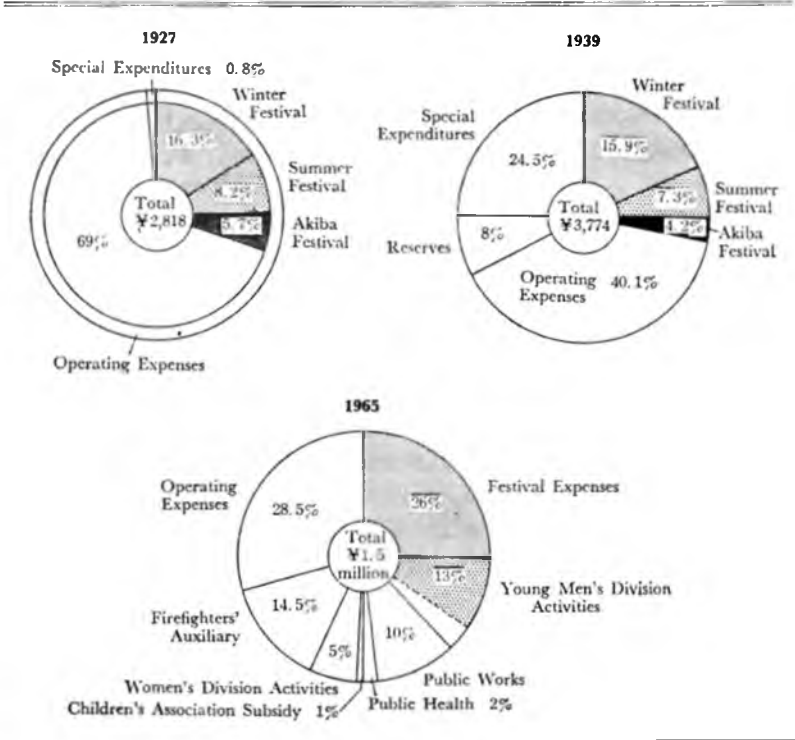
The duty of the *gi'in* was to design budgets at two regular meetings each year, in March and November. "At the former, the budget for the next fiscal year (excepting Chichibu Shrine parafestival expenditures) is to be decided, and at the latter, the costs of Chichibu Shrine parafestival activities are to be projected and means of assessment decided" (Article 16). Thus the *gi'in* fixed the budgets, and the *gyōji* administered them. These were the two "wheels" on which Kamimachi affairs were carried forward.

From the fact that the *gyōji* term of office terminated in January, the month of the conclusion of the Winter Festival, and from the fact that the *gi'in* held a stated meeting solely for the purpose of determining the Winter Festival budget, the importance attached to festivals in Kamimachi Ward is readily apparent. Together with the *gi'in* council was a General Meeting of all Kamimachi residents in February and October. The February meeting handled recommendations for office and the budget for the coming fiscal year, the October meeting the Winter Festival. The fundamental concept of the Kamimachi Ward Rules may be considered as embodied in Article 9:

To insure that the community may exist free of mishap and with an eternal future, the authors of this document hereby establish the five festivals of Chichibu Shrine, Akiba Shrine, Yasaka Shrine, Yamanokami Shrine, and Wagō Shrine as official community events.

The importance of festivals in Kamimachi is also reflected in the allocation of finances. Figure 1 shows the budgets established for the years 1927, 1939, and 1965. It presents for each year the percentage spent on festivals, the shaded areas indicating direct festival expenditures. These expenditures account for approximately 30% of the budget in each of the three years given. Furthermore, these are only the direct allotments. If indirect expenditures (such as those for planning conferences and policing) were included, it would become evident that over half of neighborhood association moneys go for festivals. Since no pre-1926 records are extant, we cannot reconstruct the finan-

FIGURE 1
KAMIMACHI BUDGET ALLOCATIONS



cial picture for earlier years, but extrapolating from the text of the Ward Rules, we can see that the festivals were the focus of ward association activity.

Thus within the limits of the budget, the *gyōji* were responsible for the carrying out of the festivals, and the Directors have inherited this responsibility intact. Moreover, as changes attendant upon urbanization have reduced the scale of activities of community-level government, the Directors' role has tended to focus on the Winter Festival. Yet precisely because of this concentration, there has emerged among the Directors a deep attachment to the festival, especially on the part of their President.

The old Ward organization included a Ward Chief and Deputy Ward Chief to whom the *gyōji* and *gi'in* were subordinate. These officers correspond to today's Executive Board officers. As the Directors have come to spend full time on the Winter Festival, the Executive Board has gradually assumed leadership in the non-festival affairs of the neighborhood. Though it is not wrong to say that the Executive Board possesses authority in the neighborhood association, this is not strictly true. Officially, the Executive Board handles all matters relayed to it by Chichibu City officials. In the case of important items a Joint Committee is convened for detailed inquiry. This, however, is only a nominal procedure. In actuality, on important business the "rails have already been laid" by the influential men of the neighborhood. Nearly all officers of the Executive Board are such men of influence. The same holds true for a number of the Advisors and for the officers of the Board of Representatives, with the result that a relatively small group shapes the power structure of Kamimachi Neighborhood Association. As we shall see presently, this same group also has control of the selection of all major officials of the Association.

As previously mentioned, neighborhood association officials are chosen by a process of "mutual selection," which in this case means deciding by *hanashiai* ("talking it over together"). As a recognized method of choosing officials, *hanashiai* is a postwar

phenomenon. Before the war, officials were elected by a vote of all residents of Kamimachi. As there is nothing in the Ward Rules concerning selection of officials, we do not know about the more distant past, but the general election method was in use at least by the early thirties.

The election system was based on a plural ballot for selecting twelve *gyōji* and twenty *gi'in* from the Ward at large. The election method began to break down in 1937 but did not change directly into the present *hanashiai* system. When the chaos after the war subsided, Kamimachi Neighborhood Association began to function once again. The Ward organization had been abolished, and the number of new residents was increasing every year. There had been tacit agreement among the approximately 300 close-knit prewar households as to who was most suitable for office. The election had been a means to confirm the consensus. To these older residents any election performing more than a confirmation function was dangerous. The newer residents, on the other hand, disliked spending the time and effort required by festivals and other activities connected with becoming an official. These two factors led to the emergence of the *hanashiai* method.

Some of the newer residents oppose the Association's appropriation of funds for the festivals as a waste. There are also those who, while enthusiastically supporting the festivals as major Association activities, are dissatisfied because their enthusiasm has not won them office. Though they are a minority and not in open opposition, these persons have nevertheless provoked a sense of crisis among the powerholders. This has been one reason for the latter's increasing inflexibility about the *hanashiai* election method.

Even in an officer-selection method such as *hanashiai*, however, there must be some criteria at work. To a direct question about this, the only reply is, "There are no criteria. We talk it over and we all decide." But by evaluating conversations about events involving present officials as well as from personal assess-

ment of them, several standards may be discerned. The following eight criteria are often used for judging candidates' and officials' qualifications as well as for weighing general prestige within the community: length of residence, age, family background, property, career record, character, occupation, and skills.

For convenience I will divide these status symbols into three broad categories. The first, "basic" criteria, are complementary: length of residence and age. Being elderly signifies long residence in Kamimachi, and vice versa. Time is a fundamental status determiner. Already the Ward Rules had the expression "older than twenty, longer than three years." Probably even in those days this regulation was indicative of such a status symbol, and it goes without saying that the older one is, the better. Being a resident since before the war is desirable; being old enough to have grandchildren becomes the basis for judging a person's qualification to be "influential."

The second category of criteria I will term "traditional": family background and property. Of course family and wealth can be considered separate elements and even in Kamimachi are not always the same. Nevertheless, as a rule, old families possess wealth, and those possessing wealth are old families.

Category three encompasses the final four areas: career record, character, occupation, and skills. I would like to term these elements "individual" criteria. In other words, even though each of these four areas has aspects dictated by tradition, and even though they are often contradictory criteria, they are all capable of change according to the individual's own volition and effort; they can be based on achievement. Under "career record," areas such as academic career and position at work are important. The most heavily weighted factor, however, is the person's contribution to the festivals, his past and current experience with festival roles. In the last analysis, one's occupation, skills, and character are all judged in terms of this "festival career" record. For example, with regard to occupation, the

preference is for those managing their own businesses since they can name their own hours. As for skills, the preference is for reading and writing traditional script. Especially sought is a master of calligraphy, for he will be called upon to inscribe the names of festival contributors and participants on display boards, and at times, if he is qualified, he must write the inscriptions that will be etched into stone monuments.

“Character” is prone to subjective judgment and therefore difficult to conceptualize, but it is commonly thought that a leader “must be able to drink and also be aware of his limits.” Drinking is an effective means of integrating oneself into a group. Those who cannot drink, or who do not make an effort to, are considered unable to cooperate with the group. At the same time, one who knows his limits in drinking and does not exceed them is judged to be of responsible and disciplined character. Kamimachi people say that if you drink with a man you will understand his character.

The three conditions of status given above as basic, traditional, and individual criteria, are of course related in a number of ways. One such is the nexus they provide for achieving status: the routes to status in Kamimachi. There are two fundamental routes to status in this neighborhood: first, a person may use age as a base and rise in status according to his family background. Second, a person may rise by means of his career record. Table 3 presents an age/rank correlation of the main Kamimachi organizations.

TABLE 3
KAMIMACHI ORGANIZATIONS IN ASCENDING RANK AND THEIR MEMBERS' AGES

Organizations	Ages
Executive Board / Advisors / Officers of Board of Representatives	60+
Board of Representatives	50-60
Board of Directors	40-50
Firefighters' Auxiliary	30-40
Young Men's Division	15-30
Boys' Association / Children's Association	7-15

THE FESTIVALS AND THE PEOPLE WHO CARRY THEM OUT

Of the five festivals designated in the Ward Rules as official neighborhood events, two, the Wagō Shrine Festival and the Yamanokami Shrine Festival, were very small in scale. At present these shrines are preserved as tiny structures on the grounds of Akiba Shrine and have no festivals at all. There is no allocation for either in the budgets previously described. In addition to these five, there are a number of religious events organized by Kamimachi Neighborhood Association or by the residents themselves, events that include the Chichibu Shrine Rice Planting Festival and the religious activities carried on by voluntary associations (*kō*) such as the Kodama *kō*, Mt. Takao *kō*, Mt. Hodo *kō*, Mitsumine *kō*, and Kōshin *kō*. I propose to touch on these only to a limited extent, however, in order to focus attention on the three major festivals.

The Summer and Winter Festivals are put on by parishioner groups from all over Chichibu County and City, the Kamimachi Neighborhood Association participating as one of these groups. Akiba Festival also attracts worshippers from the greater Chichibu area, but in theory at least, only the residents of Kamimachi are parishioners, the festival being performed by volunteers from the Association, which also owns the shrine. In the following section I will present an introductory overview of each festival and make some comparisons among them. After that I will examine the people involved and their various roles in the proceedings.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FESTIVALS THEMSELVES

Summer Festival. The Summer Festival takes place on 19 and 20 July. The meeting place is Kamimachi Public Hall, where a temporary shrine is assembled in front of the hall. It is equipped with an offering box and adorned both with offerings of fruit

and vegetables and with a hanging scroll that reads "Yazaka Shrine." Things get under way on 19 July at about 10 A.M. with a ceremony at the temporary shrine. The principal activities of the first day include a tour of the community by the children's *kasahoko*-type floats and purification of the neighborhood by the *mikoshi* (a scaled-down portable shrine borne on the shoulders of a troupe of young men). In the evening the members of the Young Men's Division take water from the Ara River where it passes Takenohana Beach and sprinkle it at all crossroads and intersections. This is yet another purification rite.

The events of 19 July are restricted to the neighborhood, but on 20 July the entire central sector of Chichibu joins in a united effort. After supplication rites at Chichibu Shrine to ward off plague and pestilence and after ceremonies at Sessha Hinomizaki Shrine, the festival moves along toward its main events: the float procession and the rites at Kawase, the major ceremonial site. Seven neighborhood associations of central Chichibu attend their floats, some of which are of the *kasahoko*-type, others roofed and ornately carved stages on wheels. The order of procession is as follows: Banbamachi, Miyakawamachi, Higashimachi, Kamimachi, Nakamachi, Motomachi, and Kumakimachi. The floats pause midway at a layover station built in Nakamachi to await the completion of the major Kawase ceremonies; they then move up Chūō Avenue through Miyakawamachi, Banbamachi, and Higashimachi before returning to the starting point about 10 P.M., after which people disperse and the festival ends. The following day a small back-to-normal party (*naorai*) is held by the members of the Young Men's Division, financed by the sale of festival sake and the contents of the offering box at the temporary shrine.

The neighborhood associations speak of the Summer Festival as the "Children's Festival." The children tow the colorfully decorated float carts while adults take care of administrative affairs behind the scenes. Responsibility for the Summer Festival is usually delegated to the young men, particularly in neigh-

borhoods that sponsor floats in the Winter Festival, neighborhoods like Kamimachi, Nakamachi, and Motomachi. In Kamimachi the Summer Festival, combining children and members of the Young Men's Division, has been institutionalized as a Young Men-sponsored event. Accordingly, older officials of the Association participate in a strictly nominal capacity, passing the hours in small talk and dropping in at the festival site only from time to time.

From one angle the Summer Festival is a rehearsal for the Winter Festival, a training experience for members of the Young Men's Division who will later become Directors and manage the December event. Therefore, the Association officials do not assist directly but content themselves with casually observing the young men going about their work and indicating concern over the fortunes of the festival in comparison with the days when they themselves were in charge.

From another angle the festival serves the function of promoting harmonious relations within the community. Through their enjoyment of the festival, children are made aware that they are children of Kamimachi. Adults, led into participation through their children, realize a new level of mutual understanding as Kamimachi residents. A favorite saying of prominent men in the Association is, "If the children enjoy themselves during the Summer Festival, our goal will have been achieved." While the dignity of the community as a "float neighborhood" is at stake during the Winter Festival, there is no need for anxiety during the Summer Festival, and in harmony with the children's central role, a relaxed atmosphere prevails. Parents spend considerable sums to outfit their children, and new, matching *yukata* (lightweight cotton kimono) and headbands are issued each year. This gaudiness is a postwar phenomenon, one of its purposes being the incorporation of new residents into the community.

Winter Festival. The Winter Festival runs from 1-6 December

and is carried out as a combination of the main festival rites at Chichibu Shrine and associated parafestival activities. The parafestival activities fall into two classes: those of the neighborhood associations (parishioner groups), and those sponsored by the Tourist Bureau. The highlight of the festival is on the evening of 3 December in the procession of *mikoshi* to the *tabisho* and in the parafestival neighborhood activities including the parade of floats and, above the main ceremonial site, the display of fireworks. So brightly illuminated does the sky become that the festival is also known as the "Chichibu Night Festival." The fireworks displays organized by individual associations as well as by the Tourist Bureau are postwar developments; the floats continue a mid-seventeenth century tradition. The special grandeur of the festival is embodied in the hauling of the floats up Dango Hill to the *tabisho*. The excitement of the festival reaches its climax as the thirteen-ton floats decorated with colorful carvings and dozens of lighted paper lanterns creak their way up the steep hill, propelled by the rhythms of the drum and flute bands they bear and by the urgings of the participants on the ground.

The second and third of December are the official festival days at the neighborhood association level. In accordance with the old Ward Rules, the celebration used to take place from the first to the third, the first being reserved for intra-neighborhood float parades, but this practice has recently been discontinued. Kamimachi, a typical float neighborhood of the Winter Festival, participates in a way that centers in the float-towing events. On 1 December the reassembling of the generations-old float begins alongside Chūō Avenue in front of the Kamimachi Public Hall. On the morning of the second, decorations are completed, and in the afternoon the neighborhood officially enters the festival with the purifying of the float and the tying of paper offerings to the scroll-decked temporary shrine (in front of the Hall) representing Chichibu Shrine. There are no special events on this day other than trial float runs by neighborhood children along Chūō Avenue.

The third of December is the focal point of the Winter Festival. Early in the morning the float is towed to Chichibu Shrine where, with the official assistance of the President of the Executive Board, the Advisors, and the President of the Board of Directors, the members of the drum and flute band (*hayashite*, to be explained below) offer sprigs of the sacred *sakaki* tree. They then present a Shinto dance on the stage of the float, after which the vehicle is towed back to the Public Hall, making eight or nine stops along the way in order to perform mime dances. This return trip is known as *hikiodori* ("towing and dancing").

In years when it is Kamimachi's turn to perform plays, the float is towed on the afternoon of 3 December across Chūō Avenue to a location between Blocks 2 and 3 and set up with seats arranged on either side. Then follows a kabuki performance of approximately two hours. When another neighborhood hosts the float dramas, as a demonstration of respect Kamimachi's float is towed into that area (especially when neighboring Nakamachi is host), and representatives from the Board of Directors attend the performances. Though an unwritten rule, this exchange of etiquette is an important element of the Winter Festival.

After preparations are complete, in the evening the procession forms for the trip up Dango Hill to the *tabisho*. Between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. it "climbs the mountain." The major ceremonies at the top last about two hours; the procession returns to the meeting place by about midnight and disperses. The return trip bears only slight resemblance to the orderly, systematic journey up the hill, the towrope swinging from right to left causing the float to zigzag all the way down. In the tow-men's own words, "The festival's not finished until we do some drunk driving!"

If the function of the Summer Festival is community integration, the Winter Festival would seem to aim at the promotion of community prestige. Of course neighborhood unity is a condition for a successful festival anytime, and intra-community rela-

tions are by no means disregarded. It is true that there is considerable concern for community solidarity on the part of association officials and ardent festival supporters. Apart from the concern of these people, however, the prime focus of this festival is external, oriented toward other neighborhoods and especially the other float neighborhoods. No events or fund-raising activities occur for the benefit of the inner community at this time. In the years this study was conducted, President Matsumoto would give a simple speech thanking people for their efforts when the float had returned to the festival site and everyone was ready to disband. The gist of this standard announcement was that "our float has completed its performance without incident," and it was followed with a *banzai* cheer by all present and a round of applause, thus bringing the festivities to an end. This speech of the president includes the obvious meaning that the float operation was carried out safely. But beyond this it is a reminder that Kamimachi was not inferior to other neighborhoods in its celebration of the festival and that the community upheld its dignity as a float neighborhood. The serious consideration paid to the neighborhood exchange of courtesies also typifies the outward-oriented characteristic of the Winter Festival.

Akiba Festival. Akiba Festival occurs once in the spring on 20 March and again in the autumn on 20 October. The actual festival is a spring event; the autumn version involves no more than voluntary shrine visits. On 19 March the official festival banner is set up within the grounds of Akiba Shrine, and booths are assembled for the exchange and purchase of sacred amulets and the administration of a lottery. The festival itself is observed for one day only, the twentieth. At 10:00 A.M. the chief priests of Chichibu Shrine (who occupy the same position simultaneously at Akiba Shrine) officially begin the festival rites, and several representatives of the Kamimachi Association and others make offerings of sacred *sakaki* sprigs.

Following this, sacred Shinto dances are performed in a desig-

MIKOSHI

Front view of the miniature portable shrine in its festival "parking place" at Chichibu Shrine.



FLOAT AT REST

The Nakachika float (the float of Nakamuramachi and Chikatomachi) drawn up before the entrance to Chichibu Shrine at the beginning of the Winter Festival for purification and blessing. The young men in special kimono are the *hayashite* who urge on the pullers—a once-in-a-lifetime prestige position. The man on the roof is a carpenter responsible to protect the float roof from overhead wires, projecting signs, and the like.



FLOATS IN ACTION

On the right, the Kamimachi float pauses for a brief dramatic performance. On the left the Motomachi float (rear view) is towed around it. The circled ideograph on the work coats of the men on the right is the *kami* of Kamimachi.

A NIGHT SCENE

Illuminated by lanterns, the Motomachi float, on the Dango Hill plateau, is surrounded by a sea of heads as an artist performs. (Photo of 3 December 1966, 10 P.M.)



nated hall, and parafestival entertainment consisting of comic dialogues and popular songs is presented intermittently until about ten in the evening. During this time the shrine workers receive sacred amulets and candles and enjoy the administration of the lottery while visitors to the shrine make their prayers and pay for the amulets, charms, etc. In addition, people wander in and out of the stalls that sell potted plants and assorted paraphernalia within the grounds and out on the road. Unlike the summer and winter festivals, which center around the procession of festive floats, Akiba Festival has no symbol unifying the participants. The back-to-normal party is held on 21 March for the Volunteers Committee (*hōshi'iin*).

According to the monument located within the shrine precincts and commemorating its construction, the structure was destroyed in the Ise Typhoon of September 1959 and restored the following year by a construction committee. The present-day Akiba Festival was inaugurated at that time, thus coinciding with the reestablishment of Kamimachi Neighborhood Association when the confusion that followed World War II finally came to an end. It is believed that Akiba enshrines gods of protection against fire; there are devotees of this particular shrine spread all over Chichibu City and County. In prewar days the Association financed a small-scale festival complete with organized activities and *mikoshi*. It became customary for worshippers to purchase sacred charms (known as *mamori-sen*, small rectangular pieces of paper or cloth with a coin inside) one year and the following year to make an offering supposedly twice the value of the coin.

After the war the festival went into decline for a time. A shrine organization separate from the neighborhood association was designed in conformity with the Occupation order disestablishing Shinto. Hiranuma Gonbei, an Advisor at the time of this study, assumed the post of Shrine Superintendent and drew up an independent finance system. Originally, financial independence was made possible by the offering system. Hi-

ranuma introduced a type of religious fraternal organization in which twenty influential members of the neighborhood association were made Volunteers (*hōshi'in*) of the shrine. The Volunteers resemble stockholders in a corporation. Their role is to cultivate parishioners throughout the city who then form organizations of their own and collect offerings. Thus through the work of the Volunteers money is collected beforehand (whereas the prewar system depended on offerings on the day of the festival), and the parishioners receive a paper charm on festival day signifying their support. This Volunteer parishioner system has been successful in organizing the people of Chichibu who hold the traditional belief in the fire-protection capacity of the shrine, while at the same time stabilizing the shrine's financial affairs. Figuring in the money paid for charms on festival day by non-members (about 5% of the total budget), the income of Akiba Shrine is said to be on a par with that of Chichibu Shrine.

While the parishioners' work begins about the end of January, Volunteers' responsibilities end by the time of the festival in March. Furthermore, even though their roles on festival day include duties in the booths for exchange and purchase of charms and lottery tickets, they in fact rely on the services of specified people and spend most of their time going in and out of the central office on the grounds, eating, drinking, and engaging in idle conversation. One comparatively fixed set of participants can be found over in one corner: the Chairman of the Donations Committee (the President of Kamimachi Neighborhood Association), and several other officers in charge of keeping offering money in order. Other designated Volunteers can be found hard at work in the charm exchange booths and also selling sacred wine offerings, a duty corresponding to that of the overseer of the festival site during Summer and Winter festivals.

At first glance there appears to be no group role corresponding to that of the children in the Summer Festival or the young men in the Winter Festival. However, the ordinary person who has come to make an offering is unaware of a symbolic group which

is all but hidden in the turmoil of the festival itself—the Firefighters' Auxiliary. As a shrine for deliverance from fires, Akiba Festival has deep ties to the fire patrol, and therefore a representative of this group has attended the opening ceremonies described above.

The Firefighters' Auxiliary is organized independently from the Association. Nevertheless the traditional consciousness persists that its activities help protect the neighborhood, upholding Kamimachi's honor in competition with other communities and their firefighters. The group's importance in actual conflagrations has declined with modernization of firefighting techniques and the increasing mobility of the Chichibu City Fire Department, so that fire prevention rather than firefighting is now its major duty. Even so, there has been no change in its position as far as the older residents are concerned; moreover, the leaders of the Association have tended to place even more emphasis on the group with the passage of time.

On the other hand, although the specific responsibilities have shifted to the small group of Volunteers, Akiba Festival is still basically a Kamimachi Neighborhood Association festival. Accordingly, the participation of the Firefighters' Auxiliary, which symbolizes self-sacrifice for the neighborhood, provides the rationale for the festival's existence. The participation of the Firefighters' Auxiliary—in nominal patrols—is, therefore, rather special.

If, however, one were to describe the actual role of the Auxiliary during the festival, despite external appearances there would be nothing to say. The Police Department is mobilized for real surveillance duties and has no need of help. What is notable is that all members are grouped together in uniform, wearing badges distinguishing their respective ranks. It is a rare sight to see the entire force assembled in full dress. The only other time this happens is during the New Year's Day acrobatic demonstration. During the Summer and Winter festivals they patrol in short, workstyle coats. To the people of the neighborhood, the

sight of this group in full uniform must be one of the highlights of the Akiba Festival.

Their actual activities consist more or less of setting up camp as a group in an unoccupied area beside the central office. They then pass the time eating, drinking, and gossiping, occasionally strolling over to the Shinto dance pavilion to take in the various shows in progress. Volunteer leaders come over to exchange a word now and then, but their attitude is that of a host toward his guests, with the space occupied by the Firefighters sectioned off. Although the average shrine-goer is oblivious of their presence, the character of Akiba Festival is symbolized by the Auxiliary. The festival can be understood as a combination of Firefighters and Volunteers.

The present-day Akiba Festival has the function of exhibiting prestige within the neighborhood. As an event run by the neighborhood association it of course functions to underscore the community's peculiar rank within greater Chichibu; the Volunteers share the "look what Kamimachi can do" sentiment. However, the fact that the festival is put on by a closed group of influential men shifts the outward-directed exaltation of Kamimachi to an ostentatious display inside the community of the position held by these men. All residents of Kamimachi are nominal parishioners, but only the Volunteers are allowed to take a hand in the festival. Arbitrarily assisting in the operations is considered forward and out of place. It can result in one's being tacitly snubbed later on, and accordingly, Association officials conform to this sanction by making no formal appearance. To protect their status in the Association it is necessary on the one hand for them to participate in the Winter Festival, and on the other, to refrain from doing so during the Akiba Festival. The ability to honor this consideration is one of the elements used to judge the previously-discussed criterion of a man's character in relation to his duties as an Association official.

Important elements of these three festivals are summarized in table 4.

TABLE 4
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE FESTIVALS

Festival	Community Function	Groups Responsible	Festival Symbols
Summer Festival	Harmony	Children / Young Men	Children's float (mobile symbol) Focus inward on community
Winter Festival	Prestige	Young Men / Board of Dir.	Traditional float (mobile symbol) Focus outward
Akiba Festival	Order	Firefighters / Volunteers	Charms, Amulets (non-mobile symbols)

FESTIVAL ROLES AND PARTICIPANTS

Summer Festival. In the previous section I touched briefly upon festival roles and responsibilities; I would like to consider the problem again here. Beginning with the Summer Festival, I have chosen to lump everyone from the President of the neighborhood association to the Vice-Presidents of the Young Men's Division into a single group: Group A. These persons do not relate directly to festival events. The President and Vice-Presidents of the Young Men's Division delegate administrative affairs among several deputies, affairs such as communications, etc. The "role" of this group is to represent the association organizationally, a nameplate reminder that the Summer Festival is Kamimachi's festival. The drum and flute band (*haya-shite*) and the *hyōshigi* (those who clap a pair of oblong wooden blocks together to attract attention to the float procession) make up Group B—all children in the Summer Festival. Their role is directly linked to the towing of the float, a symbolic role that enhances the color and atmosphere of the festival. Group C consists of the young men performing delegated tasks from communications on down. The Summer Festival is carried out by the joint efforts of Groups B and C.

Winter Festival. The Winter Festival is in the same form as the summer, including the role categories. The grouping of

these roles, however, becomes more complicated in the case of the Winter Festival. Group A includes persons from the Association President to what are called Councillors (*san'yo*). The people in Group A delegate responsibilities as a group to various deputies (committees) from the General Director on down. Among these deputies the *hyōshigi* (block clappers) and *hayashite* (drum and flute band) managers make up Group B and the remainder make up Group C. I would like to limit my use of the term "symbolic roles" to those who relate to the operation of floats.

The key to understanding the Winter Festival lies in the role of Group B which I will analyze in terms of role content and participants. First of all, a group of four *hayashite* are positioned aboard the float (whether covered or open-air style floats) on either side. Equipped with fans during the daytime, lanterns at night, they encourage the progress of the float with shouts and gestures and music. They are also known as *jubangi* ("underwear") from the colorful red and white garments worn beneath their matching costumes. Their voices and actions turn the parade into a lively event.

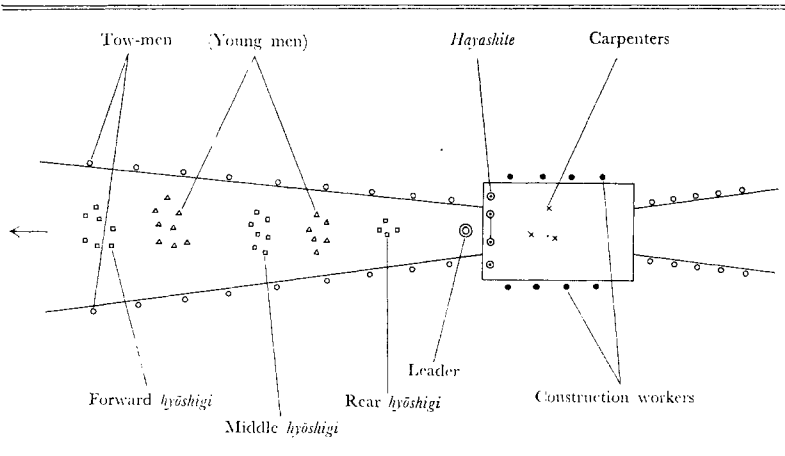
Though it can be said that both the summer and winter festivals are put on to a large degree for the sake of the *hayashite*, upon examination of the differences between the two events one discovers great differences in the qualifications for participation. As opposed to the Summer Festival, which accommodates all children who express a wish to participate, trading off if there are too many, the number of *hayashite* in the Winter Festival is set at four. Furthermore, it is a once-in-a-lifetime role, a chance that will never come again. Ordinary young men are selected, but sending out announcements of one's selection is a big expense. For this reason the number of applicants has recently declined. Nevertheless, being a *hayashite* is still recognized as a condition for recognition as an adult member of the community. In other words, in a religious context the role has a shamanistic significance; in the community context it is an initiation ritual into

adult society. This latter function is not as clear in the case of children in the Summer Festival as it is for young men in the Winter Festival, but the element of becoming “neighborhood children” is there.

The chief duty of the *hyōshigi* is the control of the actual movement of the float. Appareled in matching costumes and draping intertwined red and white cords around their necks attached to the clappers, they assemble between the two ropes in three separate groups and give directional signals (forward, backward, stop) by striking the blocks in appropriate rhythms. (The real command of the float’s motion is handled by a leader dressed in more ordinary clothes who walks directly in front of the vehicle. See fig. 2.) While they are watching out for the progress of the float, the *hyōshigi* are effectual in announcing its presence through their bright costumes and the clapping of the blocks. In the case of the Winter Festival a former tradition of having young men dress up in matching outfits and walk alongside the *hyōshigi* in the line has been discarded.

In the same fashion as the *hayashite*, the qualifications for becoming a *hyōshigi* in the Winter Festival differ from the Summer Festival although the roles are identical. In the summer children dress up in matching *yukata* and become *hyōshigi* with little concern for qualifications. The Winter Festival, however, is a different story. The reason that the number of *hyōshigi* appearing in the festival is remarkably large is that since the war, people who purchase the Association-designated costumes (thereby making a special expenditure for the benefit of the festival) are appointed as *hyōshigi* whether or not they participate directly in the activities. In the past the *hyōshigi* had special status among the many roles of the festival; accordingly, this role has evolved into an honorary task in reward for appropriate contribution to the event. In former days qualifications for the role of *hyōshigi* included experience as a *gyōji* or else the qualifications for becoming *gyōji*. Many of those who participate today as *hyōshigi* have these qualifications also.

FIGURE 2
TOWING OF THE WINTER FESTIVAL FLOAT



NOTES: Construction workers (construction company employees), under the direction of the leader, take part in the advance, stopping, and steering of the float.

Carpenters (contractors' employees), under the leadership of a foreman, climb onto the roof of the float and move obstructions such as street lamps and signs.

Hyōshigi duty, then, was a post through which the supervisors of the festival (*gyōji*) would perform their symbolic role. Thus, what was in the past an expression of special rank in the Association has now come to symbolize a person's financial support for the festival. This transformation is one major difference between the pre- and postwar festivals. Be that as it may, the *hayashite* and the *hyōshigi* continue today to be the stars of both the Summer and Winter festivals.

The Winter Festival role system has undergone considerable change over the years until it is now fairly confusing. In the prewar festival the first four roles—(1) *jubangi* or *hayashite*, (2) float tow-men (*yatai zunahiki*), (3) towing supervisors (*yatai zunahiki torishime*), and (4) *hyōshigi*—are related directly to the float parade. The *jubangi* and the *hyōshigi* symbolize the towing; the tow-men represent the dynamic force behind the float, and the

towing supervisors act as a control on that force; these four roles form the nucleus of the festival. The fact that they lead a 1935 list of roles indicates that the organizational ranking of the event is arranged primarily with the float in mind. The combinations of *jubangi* and *hyōshigi* (symbolic roles) and the tow-men and towing supervisors (practical or administrative roles) can be transposed in terms of force vs. control as follows: *jubangi* and tow-men (force) vs. *hyōshigi* and towing supervisors (control).

Although the tow-men (*yatai zunahiki*) usually come from the neighborhood, ever since the days of Kamimachi Ward Rules farmers from the rural suburbs have also been mobilized as tow-men (*hikibito*), wearing work coats with the character meaning “upward” (the *kami* of Kamimachi) dyed on the back. As the record recognizes the tow-men as “commissioned residents” of Kamimachi, the towing duty is a formal symbol of community solidarity while at the same time giving the rural population the qualifications (limited to the festival) to be direct participants in the event. In terms of types of participants, the combination of the *jubangi*'s being publicly recognized as adult residents and the tow-men's taking advantage of the special festival qualifications to participate in a neighborhood event represents a temporary rupture in an everyday pattern that is stable and uniform. Over against this combination are the neighborhood-oriented *hyōshigi* and towing supervisors.

Again, the network of tensions suggested in the relations surrounding the float is skillfully resolved by parallel contrasts on the one hand, between the symbolic participants, the *jubangi*, whose wild dancing would disrupt the smooth progress of the float, and the *hyōshigi*, who prevent this by regulating the operation with their clapping; and on the other hand between the tow-men and the towing supervisors in which the same problem of energy vs. control is balanced in the practical area.

The next four roles of the prewar festival show the helping relationship among those most intimately involved with the symbolism of the float-towing. For example, the posture dance

supervisors assist the children who dance and help tow the float, while the *wakashukakari*, as their name implies, are in charge of organizing the young men. A third role group is responsible for negotiations, reception, and festival site, fundamental tasks that ensure the smooth operation of the festival and provide a communications channel to other neighborhoods. In addition there is a fourth group of roles within which the shrine workers (*jinja shukkō*), official representatives of the Association in the city-wide festival, signify that the Winter Festival is a festival of the whole city and that Kamimachi participates as one constituent part. Last of the prewar role groups is the fifth: the Activities Coordinator (*tōgyōji*) and General Supervisor. These roles are identical with their present-day counterparts in that they are not specific roles limited to the festival, but they differ from today's roles in that the officials occupying these positions did not use their secular titles, such as Ward Chief or Deputy Ward Chief, but rather went by festival organization titles.

I have tentatively broken the 1935 role list into the preceding five categories; yet it can generally be stated that the farther away from float-oriented activities, the lower in rank a duty will be, though at the same time it will rank as more important in regard to the administration aspects of the festival. The present-day ranking ignores this festival-order, elevating the administrative organs to a high position. The new role system can be viewed as a clear expression of the class system governing the neighborhood organization, whereas the prewar ranking is a manifestation of the constitution of the festival itself.

Other features of the prewar listing worth noting are as follows. Each *gyōji* had one role, an important position, whereas today's system has two or three posts assigned to each Director. Though perhaps due to the difference in scale, the relations between the Activities Coordinator and the festival organization were closer than at present. Another feature of the old chart was that the *hyōshigi-kakari* were not under the control of the Activities Coordinator even though they performed a vital role in the festival.

One reason for this was that *hyōshigi* had status as *gyōji*; another was an old precedent that viewed the Activities Coordinator as a business manager, disapproving of his taking a hand in roles of a symbolic nature. Viewed from the perspective of community status, the *hyōshigi* and the Activities Coordinator are in unity, but from the angle of festival status, they are in opposition. The present system finds this relation totally uprooted due to the change in the character of the *hyōshigi* (described above).

It is true that the festival has undergone many changes in areas like duty rankings or relations between different role groups. Nevertheless, the consciousness of the festival as a festival has not disappeared. The ideas that informed the old system have been carried down to the present day and form the basic consciousness of the President of the Board of Directors and those in charge.

The duality in the relationship between festival and neighborhood—the fact that while on the one hand the festival embodies the community's everyday order (class structure) but on the other substitutes its own separate order that destroys the neighborhood order—this feature of the festival is most clearly visible in the Winter Festival. It is perhaps for this reason that in Kamimachi parlance, “festival” has become synonymous with “Winter Festival.”

Akiba Festival. If Akiba Festival roles are classified in the same fashion as those of the Summer Festival, the three groups resulting are Group A—Supervisor to Volunteers; Group B—Policing; Group C—Treasurer and below. The specific character of this festival consists of the fact that the police patrol (the Firefighters' Auxiliary) has no active role in the event even though it is the symbol around which the event is organized. In other words, the focus here is on *who is present* rather than on *what is to be done*.

On the administrative side, the Volunteers who work in the stalls dealing with sacred artifacts (*fudaba*) hold a unique

position. The number of members on the Volunteers' Committee of Akiba Shrine has increased slightly from the original twenty to twenty-three, but transmission of the stock-like membership rights has become almost hereditary; independent affiliation has become very difficult. The stepping-stone to becoming a future member of the committee is the above-mentioned position of *fudaba* Volunteer. Besides the Volunteers' Committee members there are a number of Volunteers working at these stalls, but those who actually sit down and pay close attention to dealings with the supplicants are these special Volunteers' Committee members-to-be. Their selection is determined at a meeting of the Volunteers' Committee; but as in the election of Association officials, the real choice is entrusted to the executive members, centering in the Treasurer. Qualifications include high standing in the community and skill in lettering. The criteria of selection are generally the same as for Association officials, but those selected correspond to the Board of Representatives class. Compared to Volunteers' Committee members who by reason of age occupation, or household affairs cannot anticipate becoming officials in Kamimachi Neighborhood Association, the *fudaba* Volunteers are better-equipped for rising to that official class.

Judging from family background, career record, and financial resources, the Volunteers' Committee members are influential members of the community. An examination of the posts they hold in the Association illustrates the privileged nature of this organization; it includes the Association President, the upper stratum of the Board of Representatives, and the veteran officials (*genrō*). The Volunteers' Committee from the Supervisor to the Vice-Chairman are popularly known as *Akibasha kanji* (Executive Board of Akiba Shrine). This board, the highest level in the status hierarchy of Kamimachi, with a few other influential Volunteers' Committee members, constitutes the Kodama Association (*kō*) formally a worship fraternity for Gansan Daishi (Buddhist name for Ryōgen, a tenth-century priest); but it also functions as a steering committee in matters like election of

Association officials and general administration of the neighborhood organization. Thus, within the Volunteers' Committee are three separate groups: regular Volunteer Committee members, *Akibasha kanji*, and Kodama Association members. This, the highest administrative faction in Kamimachi, is based on the Akiba Festival.

Although it is clear that the festival organizations of these "privileged" residents fulfill the function of community control, it is also true in reverse that the internal workings of these groups are dependent on the festival. This applies to the Firefighters' Auxiliary as well. The Firefighters' Auxiliary and Young Men's Division can be generally characterized as groups of married and single men respectively. (Since the Auxiliary is composed strictly of married men, no matter what their age, they range in age from 17 or 18 to 40.) In addition to age, division by class and length of service is quite distinct. In the traditional nature of firefighting itself, strict control is maintained. The observance of vertical relations by the Auxiliary exemplifies the social order of the community as a whole.

When these two organizations, the Volunteers' Committee and the Firefighters' Auxiliary, are viewed together, the reasons for the existence of the Akiba Festival become apparent from the way the organizations are set up. At the same time, despite this rigidity, the members of the Auxiliary are treated as guests of honor by the *Akibasha kanji* and allowed to pass the time in idle conversation in the midst of an atmosphere which sanctions no other such deviations in the name of festivity.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FESTIVAL AND NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION

Thus far I have analyzed Kamimachi's Neighborhood Association and festival organizations as well as the class and role relations that can be seen at work within them. I would like to

conclude by reappraising the relations between the original two elements from two angles: one is an examination of reciprocal relations between the two on an organizational level; the other looks at the tension relations between the festival principle and the neighborhood principle in the light of ranking and responsibility in the festivals.

RECIPROCAL RELATIONS

In discussing the relationship between the Association and the festival I would like to reexamine information from table 3, concerning age levels and status within the Association, and from table 4, regarding the characteristics of the three festivals. As regards the former, in conformity with the preceding investigation I will place the *Akibasha kanji* at the highest level of leadership within the Association. As for the latter chart, I have classified festival participants into those holding symbolic roles and those holding administrative roles. Table 5 outlines this information on the basis of individual groups and festivals in order to determine where specific roleholders fit into the neighborhood association age strata.

TABLE 5
SYMBOLIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE ROLES CORRELATED WITH ASSOCIATION STATUS

Association Status	Symbolic Role	Administrative Role
Executive Board of Akiba Shrine		Akiba Festival
Board of Reps.		
Board of Directors		Winter Festival
Firefighters' Auxiliary	Akiba Festival	
Young Men's Division	Winter Festival	Summer Festival
Children	Summer Festival	

Symbolic roles are held by the lower three groups, levels which relate to Akiba Festival, the Winter Festival and the Summer Festival in that order. The administrative roles are spaced at every second level with the festivals themselves occupying the

same order. Viewing the three festivals from the standpoint of association-oriented status, we can classify them in the same order—Akiba, Winter, and Summer. In other words, size and content aside, the festivals are an arena for the demonstration of neighborhood association status, an opportunity to exhibit the structural hierarchy which ordinarily does not appear externally. In addition, having children, young men, and fire auxiliary serve in symbolic roles provides an opportunity to select future community leaders from among the ranks of the young.

A second noteworthy observation is that the highest-ranked participants in the three-festival hierarchy, the participants in Akiba Festival, also support the everyday social order of the Association symbolically and administratively; they occupy stable positions compared with members of other social classes within the community. These two groups, symbolically, the Firefighters' Auxiliary, and administratively, the *Akibasha kanji*, hold the highest status-linked power in Kamimachi, thus anchoring Association activities.

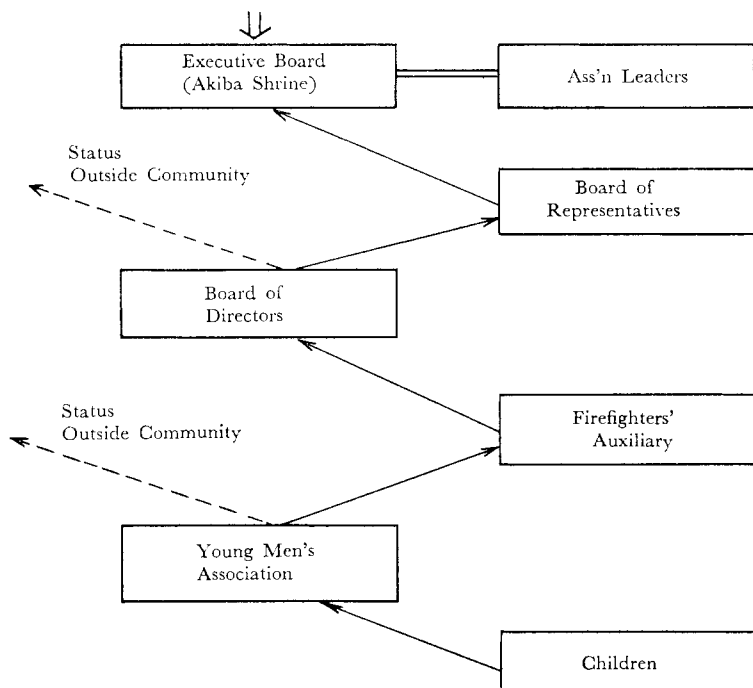
A preliminary substantiation of these observations is provided by the symbolic and administrative roles of the Winter Festival. The road to the peak of the community hierarchy (*Akibasha kanji*) is long and difficult. Reaching the top depends on parentage, career, and other demanding criteria, not to mention good luck. Accordingly, there are stages along the way that provide opportunities to exchange status within Kamimachi for a future outside; I refer to the Young Men's Division and the Directors.

For members of the Young Men's Division, joining the Firefighters' Auxiliary means restrictions on one's time, various extra expenses, and, as explained previously, involves being married and having a home of one's own. Therefore, a member of the Young Men's Division is placed at a crossroad and must decide whether to demonstrate that he will settle in town (become a Firefighter) or attempt to gain position or property on the outside. The highest position attainable without experience as a Firefighter is that of Director.

On the other hand, Directors face a decision similar to that faced in their days as young men. It is no easy task to rise to the *Akibasha kanji* level even after serving on the Board of Representatives; odds are high that one will be shelved and end up as an elderly councilman (*korō*). Instead, a Director may choose to use his service to Kamimachi as leverage to receive its support in activities outside the community. There is in fact a “model” course in which the President of the Board of Directors attains the approval of the Association and goes on to become an assemblyman at the city level.

The Winter Festival, then, has deep significance for its participants in that they are faced with the decision concerning acquisi-

FIGURE 3
ADMINISTRATIVE ROLES IN FESTIVALS



tion of status in relation to the Association and, thus, with a decision affecting their entire future.

Figure 3 illustrates the overall relationship between status acquisition and festival participation. It should be kept in mind that the focus here is on administrative roles.

The Firefighters' Auxiliary and Board of Representatives, which are free of festival administrative roles (see table 5), are statuses with origins in the daily life of the community (as opposed to festival origins). Although the Firefighters' Auxiliary is formally separate from the Association organization, its actual duties take place within the community. The biggest job is a monthly fire safety check of all homes in Kamimachi. A fire within one's own neighborhood not only causes material damage but is also a public disgrace in the eyes of other communities and the entire city. Anything that could hinder the operation of the city's major yearly events, the summer and winter festivals, is to be avoided at all costs. Therefore it is the duty of the Firefighters' Auxiliary (besides its nominal policing function during Akiba Festival) to help maintain safety within the community.

As far as the daily life status of the Board of Representatives is concerned, this board is directly responsible for financial matters in Kamimachi. As designers of the Association budget, members are particularly required to be principled and unbiased; in accordance with the theory that those preparing the budget should have no hand in its execution, they must be discreet in their participation as officials in public events such as the summer and winter festivals. In the course of rising in the status ranks, experience both within and outside the festivals is recognized in the Board appointments; thus the sense that the Association and the festivals complement each other is stronger the higher one goes. This relationship become most intimate as we reach the highest status in the association, the *Akibasha kanji*, the unifying symbol of festival and association organization.

In summary, the three major festivals organized by Kami-

machi Neighborhood Association have significance as status symbols for the Association, as selection grounds for its future leadership, and as structuring elements for festival-neighborhood association relationships.

TENSION RELATIONS

During the Winter Festival of 1966 a minor crisis occurred in the Kamimachi association. A passing automobile ran into the fully decorated float while it was parked on Chūō Avenue in front of the assembly grounds, damaging the festival vehicle. An expert on float operation advised that although operation on level ground would pose no problem, it would be best to cancel the journey up Dango Hill. The Directors convened an emergency meeting, but opinions varied all the way from recommendations for total cancellation to carrying on as usual. When a judgment from the Association leadership was requested, the result was a decision to tow the float as far as the shrine grounds on the evening of the third, perform the posture dances along with the usual celebrations (*saijōsai*), and then return to the festival site, avoiding the trip up the hill.

This was accepted as the decision, though there was considerable dissatisfaction even on the part of the President of the Board of Directors and his diehard faction. He then officially requested the consent of the *hayashite* on this proposal. The *hayashite*, however, rejected the proposal, turning the meeting into an uproar. Their stand was that the merit of being a member of the *hayashite* group was directly related to the procession up Dango Hill, and if this point were ignored, they would resign their roles en masse. Without the *hayashite*, float operation would be impossible, and Kamimachi's participation in the Winter Festival would be cancelled, a disgraceful situation without precedent. The President of the Directors was in a difficult predicament. The leadership maintained their position in consideration of the possible negative outcome of operating a damaged float and demanded the consent of the *hayashite*.

Finally, on the President's third appeal, the *hayashite* gave in and the plan was made official.

On the evening of 2 December, spurred on by drink, the indignation of the festival enthusiasts erupted during a meeting at the festival site. Previously unheard voices of protest were registered against the Association leadership: "The festival is the responsibility of the Directors. A festival that does not go up the mountain is no festival at all." This sentiment spread to the tow-men, and a rumor even circulated that they planned to bypass the shrine and tow the float directly up the hill. On the evening of the third a formidable group of policing agents surrounded Kamimachi's float, but except for preventing an attempt by a minority of tow-men to alter its route, the festival concluded without mishap, including a much-feared float accident.

This episode is an apt illustration of the peculiar character of this festival. It is probably safe to say that the protests of the *hayashite* would not have been so intense had their role not been a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. As a matter of fact, the deciding factor in obtaining their begrudged consent was a promise to break with tradition and allow those desiring to do so to serve again the following year.

From the neighborhood organization point of view, the role of the *hayashite* is one of ceremonial induction into society. This feeling, however, is totally absent among these young men on festival day. They are enveloped in the festive character of the festival—the shamanistic side of the event—and as their existence is fundamental to the festival, they possess the power to turn it into a worthwhile affair. So although they are new participants in terms of the Association, they occupy the top position in the festival ranking, a paradox permitted only once; the *hayashite* of the Winter Festival exist, then, as a symbol of the festival's peculiar character.

The special flavor brought to the festival by the conflicting elements of shamanism and social initiation represented in the *hayashite* is precisely like the tension between rejection and identi-

fiction found in the relationship between *hyōshigi-kakari* and Activities Coordinators (*tōgyōji*) in the prewar Winter Festival. Both represent the unique character of the festival; there is indeed a gulf between these opposing elements, but is not this what a festival is? Even in the case of Akiba Festival where the exhibition of association administrative status occurs most noticeably, discrepancies from everyday principle are disclosed in the predominance of the Firefighters' Auxiliary over the Volunteers' Committee. The festival embraces a contradictory structure maintaining ordinary rank and parallel relations while at the same time inverting this order. If it can be accepted that the festival is more than a lot of noise and that it captivates the participants in a type of tension, certainly one of the reasons is the contradictory character of the different categories of participants.

President Matsumoto had this to say about the Winter Festival: "I try to appear as little as possible at the festival site. The Winter Festival is the work of the Directors, and no one else from town should interfere." On the surface this would appear to indicate an extremely strict sense of role apportionment, but it is also tacit evidence that the Directors occupy a different position when administering a festival than they do in the Association ranking. Though they hold the status accorded them by the Association, the Directors operate on festival days in a changed, festival dimension, leading to the inference that there is a conception of separation of religion and government. However, this most likely has its derivation in the anti-everyday nature of the festival itself rather than in the Occupation policy.

There are also definite aspects of conflict, reflected on the administrative level, between the festival principle and the neighborhood principle. The Association is built on the premise of a status hierarchy and through this ensures community control and the on-going social order. In opposition to this, festival organization takes shape above that of the Association, thereby temporarily eliminating Association-based status and giving the festival its own peculiar constitution. In addition to this there

are also tensions stemming from role conflicts within the festival order itself. Since there is no simplified system of festival control, relations of mutual control come into existence between symbolic and administrative participants as well as between symbolic role holders themselves.

These types of tension relations are not permanent, but take form only for a limited time. Within the boundaries of a "one-time-only event" relations take on a very clear definition. Representative of this are the *hayashite* and the President of the Directors in the Winter Festival, as they can never again serve in such a position. As originally provided in the Ward Rules, the reappointment of the festival-participant *gyōji* to a second term was not allowed. Of course it can be said that serving beyond one term would be excessively burdensome. It would appear, however, that there should be no need to prohibit reappointment if a person is diligent in his work. Therefore, the one-term limitation would seem to be directly related to festival burdens, a demand for full expenditure of one's energy for the sake of that year's festival.

Even in the present, which in the case of Directors has seen a trend toward reelections (since it has been authorized) and long continuance in office, the one-term limitation placed upon the President of the Directors has been rigidly preserved. Even if there are no strict laws of the kind that limit the *hayashite* role to once in a person's lifetime, the fact that the President cannot be reappointed evokes in the man occupying the post a sense of mission toward "his" festival, thus providing the dynamic for festival tensions. This consciousness of the festival as a "one-time-only event" gives it a distinctive character.

Since the Summer and Akiba festivals do not have as systematic a role organization as the Winter Festival with its President of the Directors and *hayashite* duties, the temporary inversion of everyday social order and "one-time-only" consciousness that bring about distinct tensions are not expressed as distinctly in them as in the winter. This is one reason the two former events

lack the force found in the latter. As indicated previously, however, there is a miniature replication of the winter inversion of social order visible in the Summer Festival portrayal of community children in the major roles of *hayashite* and *hyōshigi* while administrative affairs are managed by the Young Men's Division, and in the Akiba Festival's special relationship between the Firefighters' Auxiliary and the *Akibasha kanji*.

Unlike the case of the President of the Directors, the Young Men's Division and the *Akibasha kanji* are not limited to a single chance and thus do not display the degree of strain visible in the former. Nevertheless, these groups also have a conception of each year's festival as a brand new event. In the case of the Young Men's Division, especially among the key officers, there is a set phrase concerning the Summer Festival that goes something like, "After this year, no more"—a phrase that has come to be used repeatedly. This "no more" clearly has a non-literal meaning since the same young men will in actuality say the same thing again after managing the following year's festival. For these youths, administering the Summer Festival is not simply a role demanding stamina, but also a setting against which they make clear their future intentions as residents of Kamimachi—the problem of marriage being a focal point. Their crossroads position surfaces at the back-to-normal party as they sit around drinking unwarmed sake and are heard to ask whimsically, "I wonder who will be left next year?" Indeed, next year's festival will not necessarily come for some of them—at least not in their position as Young Men's Division members.

The members of the *Akibasha kanji* have a habit of expressing the same sentiment with a different phrase: "There's nothing to worry about. The young folks will take care of things from here on." To these men in the autumn of their days, next year's festival is even less predictable than for the young men. The atmosphere of a successful festival is a suitable occasion for them to reflect on the meaning of their lives and on life in general. This sentiment deepens their attachment to the event and inspires

them to devote their energy as executives to the completion of a satisfactory festival, to the completion of *this year's festival*.

GLOSSARY

<i>fudaba</i> 札場	<i>mamori-sen</i> 守り銭
<i>gosen</i> 互選	<i>sakaki</i> 榊
<i>hayashite</i> 囃子手	<i>tabisho</i> 旅所
<i>hyōshigi</i> 拍子木	<i>tsuke matsuri</i> 付け祭り
<i>jinja shukkō</i> 神社出向	<i>wakashukakari</i> 若衆係
<i>jubangi</i> 襦袢着	<i>yatai zunahiki</i> 屋台綱引
<i>kasahoko</i> 傘鉾	

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