

The Secularization of Religion in the City

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Religion is an area of life extremely hard to rationalize. Since religious institutions are communitarian by nature, rationalization cannot easily be adopted and specialization tends to be delayed. Moreover, conceptual models of society have shifted from the moral order to the technical order (see Wilson 1976). If we use the term secularization to refer to this process whereby the domain of religion as a supernatural order gradually shrinks along with structural differentiation in the social system as a whole, in a society which has attained a high degree of industrialization religion becomes a private affair, driven out from the center of society and answering only to the needs of the individual.

If society indeed only consists in mutual actions of anonymous role-players who have become depersonalized by the rationalization process, can religion still have a positive relation to society? This is the theme I would like to deal with in this essay. If, as Thomas Luckmann claims, secularization is the result of a unique historical combination of cultural, religious, and socio-structural conditions (1976, p.11), then combination patterns different from that of Western society are possible.

Yanagawa and Abe have argued that one key for solving the problem of the integration of Japanese society is to be found in ancestor worship. Their point of departure is "the assumption that the integration function that the 'church' exercised in Western societies has never been performed either by 'institutional' or 'organizational' religions in Japan" (1978, p.12). I would like to tackle this problem by focusing upon the city as an exponent of rationalization. The city I take here as the epitome in present-day society of highly-advanced industrialization, characterized by thorough rationalization and efficiency. As a concrete area of research I have chosen the Ginza district in Tokyo, which can be considered representative of contemporary Japanese society as a whole. Moreover, I have put the emphasis more on obtaining a general grasp of the Ginza district than on a detailed description of research data about individual religious facilities.

General Overview of Religion in the Ginza District

The Ginza in Tokyo is a small district which covers not even one square kilometer. Formerly it was surrounded by rivers on all four sides. But these rivers have been filled in and nowadays highways form the border between the Ginza and the adjacent districts. It is divided neatly by Ginza Street into East and West Ginza, each with eight blocks. The western end of the Ginza Street continues from Kyōbashi to Yaesu and further up to Nihonbashi, while the eastern side is connected to Shinbashi. At its center runs also Harumi Street which intersects Ginza Street and leads to Yūrakuchō in the north and to Tsukiji in the south.

The Ginza is famous both as a high quality shopping district and as an entertainment quarter. Being close to the Central Government offices and the Diet, it is also an information center, housing several newspaper offices and news agencies. The Ginza evokes many different images. During the Meiji era it was known as the symbol of civilization and enlightenment, then of Taishō romanticism, and still later as the functional center of the rapid, postwar urban economy. In one way or another it has held a central place in Japanese society for many years. This does not mean, however, that the Ginza has a long, uninterrupted tradition. In the 380 years of its existence the Ginza has been devastated on four occasions. Each time its features were totally changed and it was cut off from its immediate historical background.

As our investigation revealed, there are at present not less than thirty-six religious facilities in the district, of which the majority are Inari shrines dedicated to the Fox Deity (see Table 1). Only four are religious institutions in the strict sense with a legal identity and which actively propagate their teachings: the Ginza Church of Konkōkyō, Ginza (Christian) Church, the Hachikan Shrine, and the Hōju Inari Shrine. The Asahi Inari is a subordinate shrine of the Hie Shrine elsewhere in Tokyo.

Religion and Change in the Ginza District

The bulk of Chūō ward, in which the Ginza is located, was built as part of his castle town when Tokugawa Ieyasu established the Edo Shogunate. The name Ginza ("silver mint") comes from the fact that the Shogunate founded a foundry for silver coinage there. The Ginza district was then established, constructed, and administered from above. It was an artificial district given its specific city functions from its very beginning. It was completely reduced

to ashes in the Meireki Conflagration of 1657, the greatest fire ever in Edo. Thenceforth it became a town of artisans.

Edo, developing as a castle town of the Shogunate, was endowed with numerous temples and shrines, as can be seen in old maps. An old saying recounts that the things found most frequently in Edo were "firemen and dog droppings in the Inari Shrine of Iseya," suggesting that similar shrines were to be found in every neighborhood.

Another fire turned the Ginza into a model zone for the modernization policies of the Meiji Government. In 1869 (Meiji 2), the first year the name Ginza was officially recognized, a fire consumed the area presently extending from 4-chōme to 8-chōme. Three years later in 1872 the greater part of the Ginza was again burned to the ground. These two disasters prompted a metamorphosis in the district.

The day after the 1872 fire, Yuri Kimimasa, governor of Tokyo at the time, proposed to his cabinet the construction of a fireproof city. Anxious to establish a society modeled on the West, the government decided to reconstruct the Ginza. As the opening of Japan's first railroad from Yokohama to Shinbashi was planned for the same year, it was decided to build brick houses in the Ginza so it could serve as the front door to the capital. The streets were widened, the few remaining houses torn down, and the section completely renovated.

Since no records remain, we do not know what became of the Inari shrines, the Jizō temples, and other places of worship which predated the Meiji fires and the reconstruction effort. Many of the present religious facilities trace their origin to the Edo period, and some can be dated precisely. The Hōju Inari Shrine reportedly dates from 1706 (Hōei 3) and the Hōriki Inari and Eikyū Inari Shrines originated in the Tempō Era (1830-1843). The dates for the Hōdō, Shirazasa, Yasuhira, and Toyoiwa Inari Shrines or the Suehiro and Konparu Inari Shrines are unclear, but oral tradition tells us that they were centers of faith during the Tokugawa period.

Thus the Ginza was forcibly turned into a modern city by the government policy. Yet, even in their new brick Western houses, the people continued to practice their traditional religions. For example, it is reported that an image of Shusse-Jizōson of Ginza 4-chōme found in a filled-in moat in early Meiji became an instant object of worship and that the Ginza Inari of 2-chōme was set up on the tragic occasion when several people died in the collapse of a storehouse at the Harukiya store in 1910. In later times when the Ginza was again destroyed by the Great Earthquake of 1923 and the Great Tokyo Air Raid of 1945, it was quickly rebuilt with its religious facilities.

At present no records can be found as to how these religious facilities

changed under the Meiji modernization policies. We can, however, investigate the social and religious changes that occurred by examining the example of the Ginza Shusse-Jizōson which continued to be an object of worship from early Meiji throughout the Meiji and Taishō periods.

Ginza Shusse-Jizōson

On the roof of the Mitsukoshi Department Store in 4-chōme an image of Jizō is worshiped. As mentioned above, this image was discovered in the earth when the Sanjukken canal was excavated in the early years of Meiji. The name Shusse (“appearing in the world”) was given to the image precisely because it appeared in the world out of the earth. The construction workers set it up in a vacant plot which is now Ginza 4-chōme 3, where it immediately drew crowds of worshipers. Later a wooden temple was built to enshrine the image. It is clear then that religious facilities found a place even while the Ginza was being reborn as the symbol par excellence of the new modernization with its brick buildings after the 1872 fire. Such facilities seem to have a compelling power, for once they appear and become places of worship, it is difficult to move them. Indeed, moving them could invite disaster. Throughout the Meiji and Taishō periods, the seventh, eighteenth, and twenty-ninth days of each month were festival days on which street stalls were set up. On April eighth, the birthday of Buddha, it is reported that sweet tea was served. In the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, the wooden building was destroyed by fire and thereafter the setting up of festival stalls was forbidden. A small temple was rebuilt, but it also was destroyed in the Tokyo Air Raid on May 25, 1945. After the war the stone image was recovered from the debris of the temple by Hosaka Kōji, the former president of the Ginza Federation, and enshrined in the courtyard of his house. Hosaka was entrusted with guarding the image by a certain Mr. Sugiyama who was both in charge of the Kotobuki confectionary in Ningyōchō, Nihonbashi, and proprietor of the Jizō image and shrine. It seems that the proprietor of the shrine and the image was a different person from the proprietor of the land where the Jizō was worshipped. In any event, when Enomoto Tadashi who owned the land built the Yoshimatsu cabaret on the plot, he set up a small shrine in the courtyard to enshrine the stone image. Yet another fire destroyed the cabaret and the Jizō image was temporarily installed in another small shrine on the boundary line of a plot owned by the Ōji Paper Company. Since the Ginza is also an entertainment district, the image was reportedly often damaged by thoughtless drunkards and vagabonds, as well as by dogs and cats seeking the offerings placed in front of it.

In 1970 Mitsukoshi bought the plot of land from Enomoto and built a small shrine on the roof of the newly-opened department store, where it has remained. In 1976 a life-size statue was put next to the shrine, to which all were welcome to come and worship. Having survived fires and calamities, this Jizō is reputed never to have failed to answer the prayers of those who come and implore its help. At present an organization of devotees has been established with the heads of the various Ginza establishments as its core members and every year in spring and fall a festival is held in honor of the Jizō.

Present Characteristics

At present the Ginza is the center of the Tokyo megalopolis, which encompasses the entire area of Chiyoda and Chūō wards. Within these boundaries, Nagato-chō, where the Diet is located, and the Ōtemachi, Toranomon, Hibiya, and Ginza districts, which have few or no government offices, constitute the central business area. Among these latter the Ginza district occupies a special position. In contrast to other nongovernmental areas, such as Marunouchi and Kasumigaseki, the Ginza symbolizes a "high quality shopping district," an "advertising tower," an "information center," and a "quality leisure area" (see Hattori 1975). The Ginza took on these roles after Japan entered its period of high economic growth. From that time also religious facilities, far from disappearing, have continued to grow. Written sources indicate that only three religious facilities were relocated or disappeared. As will be explained in detail later, Japan's principal companies in one way or the other maintain some relation to religion. When these companies open a branch or business office, a plant or dormitory for employees, they enshrine there the kami worshipped by that company. Religion seems to increase with the development of the company and the expansion of its management. Several newly established companies in the Ginza have initiated worship. The relationship between religion and business is more one of friendship and complementarity than opposition. Not only is worship still carried out at previously existing religious sites. Many companies positively promote religious worship.

One salient characteristic is the change in patterns of worship resultant from the presence of high-rise buildings, for shrines are more and more located on the roofs of those buildings. According to the official land assessment values for 1985, the most expensive plot of land in Japan was the area in front of the Hatoidō in Ginza 5-chōme. Understandably, in such circumstances religious facilities, including the Inari shrines, have of necessity moved to the roofs of buildings. With good sense one wants to use

valuable land as efficiently and profitably as possible. Yet the locating of the Inari shrines on rooftops does inconvenience worshippers. It is difficult to determine just what the original pattern of shrine worship was, but it is generally thought that the minimal conditions for a shrine was contact with the earth below and the sky above. Inari shrines on rooftops obviously lack one of these conditions. Thus the rise in land prices in this sense endangers the continuity of religion.

The People Supporting Religion

What individuals or groups of people sustain and worship at these religious facilities? Is it possible to discern differences in the concrete and historical forms of worship reflected in the organizational differences of worshippers?

First one must consider what kind of people frequent the Ginza area. The resident population is very small, while the daytime population is immense. In contrast to about 3000 permanent residents and 1000 patrolmen during the night, 300,000 people commute to their jobs in the Ginza. Yet another two million people daily visit the Ginza for shopping, obtaining information, and tourism. Even when the commuters and visitors begin to leave, some 100,000 to 200,000 people remain for purposes of entertainment and socialization. Only late at night does the Ginza turn again into a depopulated area. In the weekly rhythm of the Ginza, it is to be noted that it was the first "promenade" in Japan where on Saturday and Sunday people stroll about leisurely; thus on these days it attracts a larger population than on weekdays (Hattori 1975).

In regard to religion there are five different groups or types of people: 1) the family group, 2) the neighborhood or shopping district group, 3) the company group, 4) the department store group, and 5) the church group. Table 2 offers a classification of religion in the Ginza according to these groups. The sign * refers to the offices which issue amulets (*fudasho*) at the time of the pilgrimage tour of the eight Ginza blocks shrines, as will be explained later.

The Family Group

The first group or type consists of people who have for generations past lived in the Ginza and run a business there. As can be inferred from the low number of permanent residents, many of the old, established Ginza business people commute from outside the district. As they search for better housing, the separation between work and housing becomes ever greater.

In the case of this first group, places of worship which formerly were located in their own structures have been moved to the roofs of buildings. Yet the vast majority of these places of worship have been maintained in uninterrupted continuity. These people, often called *Ginza-danna* ("Ginza parishioners"), are quite proud of having a shop in the Ginza and feel a close affinity to the "family" they have belonged to for generations and to the kami who protect that family. The kami cannot possibly leave the area. Even if the worshipers themselves leave their shops at night, the kami will stay and continue to protect the "family."

The Hōriki Inari Shrine in Ginza 1-chōme is known as an Inari who wards off evil. As long as one worships this Inari, one will not lose one's residence there. It is the tutelary kami of the Arai family. By whom and when this kami was first worshiped is unclear, but, according to the present family head, Arai Kenkichi, the family has maintained a shop at its Ginza site since the Tempō Era (1830-44). In former times the kami was worshiped in a corner of their land, open to the public. Later on, the kami was moved to the garden of their private residence as the tutelary deity of the Arai family by Iku (1894—1943), an older sister of Kenkichi's stepmother, Kikuko. Iku, who come from the Ōzuka family, was a fervent believer of the Nichiren sect and succeeded in having the Arais change their religious affiliation from the Shingon sect to the Nichiren sect. When she placed the small Inari shrine in the garden of their private residence, she also put a Buddhist scroll with it, on which were written the words *Namu-Amida-Butsu*, written by a priest of the Fukusō Temple of the Nichiren sect. It is not clear just what the object of worship had been previously, or even if there was a specific object at all. In any case, after Iku set up the shrine in the garden, it became an Inari shrine of the Nichiren sect.

Kenkichi's stepmother Kikuko was the sister of Iku. She was a divorcee who was adopted into the Arai family. After her sister's death, Kikuko took charge of the Inari shrine and, on the first Horse Day (*hatsu-uma*) in February, she reportedly made *nishime* (vegetables boiled with soy) and *sekihan* (rice boiled together with beans) and went around the neighborhood distributing them. During the Pacific War the Ginza was almost completely reduced to ashes by the Great Tokyo Air Raid. In the confusion of the postwar years, Kikuko marked the site with a pile, put up a wire fence, and kept watch over the place for days on end. After her death in 1978 her adopted son Kenkichi took over the care of the Hōriki Inari. In 1982 the buildings on the site were demolished and the eight-story Ginza A Building was constructed. For a while Kenkichi placed the Inari at the entrance, but he soon removed it to the roof, since the first location was thought to be bad for the image of the building. He could not do otherwise,

since the need to maximize profits in limited space had to take precedence. In other words, the image of the Inari shrine as a religious facility was deemed to be discordant with the image of an office building. Yet, although religion was considered to be a minus for a modern and rational office location, the Inari shrine was enshrined on the roof of the building. Even after the Arai family moved their residence, the little shrine continued to be a protector of the property owned by the family.

The Neighborhood Shopping Group

In contrast to the first group which has the family as its basic constituent, the second group or type of worship is sustained by the neighborhood or shopping district. According to Hattori (1975), there exists in the Ginza a strong organization of neighborhood associations and of shopping district groups. Examples of religious facilities supported by the former are the Inari and Asahi Inari shrines, while the Azuma Inari is an example of a shrine supported and worshiped by the latter.

As reported in a pamphlet edited by the Federation of Neighborhood Associations of Ginza 5-chōme, after the war fires broke out continuously on the Mihara side alley of Azuma street. By investigating their origin (through divination and prayer?) it was learned that formerly an Inari had been worshiped there. The inhabitants then established a cult group in honor of the Inari of Fushimi Shrine in Kyoto and set up the Azuma Inari, named for the street in which it was located. Since that time more than thirty years have passed without a single fire. The supporting organization for this shrine, initially the neighborhood organization, became the shopping district community at an unspecified time. At present an organization formed by twenty-eight shops along the Azuma street, not the Neighborhood Organization of Ginza 5-chōme, supports the shrine.

The Company Group

The third group consists of shrines worshiped at companies or plants. According to a report by Uno Masato (1984), almost all big companies in Japan have a shrine for worship. Not only in Japan proper, but also overseas operations worship Fudōson in their main offices, branch offices, or plants. Examples of this are the Pola Inari of the Pola Cosmetics Company at Ginza 1-chōme, the Tengyoku Inari of the Osaka Electrical Radiator Company at 2-chōme, and the Seikō Inari of Shiseidō Cosmetics Company at 7-chōme.

The Tenguoku Inari is enshrined on the roof of the Osaka Electrical Radiator Company. In 1958 when the then wood building was torn down and replaced by the present construction, the Tenguoku Inari, which had been located on the ground, was moved to the roof. Since the building occupies almost the entire plot, there was no ground-space left. It is said that the Inari Shrine was originally set up by the first manager of the Tokyo office, a certain Mr. Nagazuka. The company is a family enterprise of the Suga family, of which Nagazuka was an adopted son-in-law. The family consisted of ten children, of whom the first seven were boys and the last three girls. The second brother founded the company. He was succeeded first by the third brother and then by the seventh brother who is currently president. There are several stories about why the Inari was first enshrined. One version has it that in the beginning of the Taishō period Nagazuka, at that time the head of the Nagoya branch office, saw an incarnation of Inari in a dream. When later transferred to Tokyo, he consulted a spiritually endowed person at Tsukuji, who told him that the sixth generation of the Suga family was not being duly venerated and that their tomb was to be found in the Heirinji Temple. When Nagazuka actually went to the temple, he found a tombstone with a name that was hard to decipher. When he scraped the dirt from it, the name Suga appeared. He then not only restored the grave, but also set up an Inari shrine on a path near the temple. He did the same at the premises of the Tokyo company. The Inari Shrine near Heirinji Temple still remains at this site.

The entire company celebrates the Inari on the first Horse Day of the year. Prior to this celebration, representatives of company officials and labor unions pay a visit to the Fushimi Inari Shrine of Kyoto. Not only company members, but also subcontractors or members of affiliated companies participate. The main festival is held on the first Horse Day, but, as far as possible, efforts are made to avoid official company holidays, so that many people can attend. At 11 A.M. a ceremony is performed by the head priest of the Suginomori Shrine. Until 1975 the chief priest of the Shirahige Shrine officiated. He was succeeded by the Head Priest of the Shintō Taikyō sect, and in 1984 by the chief priest of the Suginomori Shrine. In 1984, when I did research on the subject, there were about 300 persons in attendance. Since it is not possible for all the employees to assemble on the roof, the worship procession continues even after the religious ceremony is over. The event closes with a noon meal offered to everyone at the Kōtsūkaikan Hall in the vicinity.

This company not only celebrates on the first Day of the Horse. They also organize tours to the Shinshōji Temple in Narita, in which about thirty persons participate, both company employees above the section head level

and subcontractors. Tickets are made available beforehand and sent to the subcontractors.

Work is defined not only by technology, efficiency, and the number of orders placed. Human relationships also play a complex role in work. It is not then really possible for subcontracting firms to stay away from these celebrations when they have received invitations to attend. The central company's kami must also be venerated by the subcontractors. Administration and the placing of orders is not opposed to religion. Rather they are harmoniously related.

In general, when big companies worship their kami, branch offices, stores, and employees' dormitories follow their lead. In some cases the worship is carried out even in overseas offices. The Inari deity, the tutelary kami of successful business, travels abroad today with Japan's companies.

The Department Store Group

The fourth group is also connected with business enterprise, but, in contrast to this last group, in which worship is performed within the company or its "extended family," their worship is open to the public. Department stores comprise this fourth group because on their roofs objects of religious faith are venerated. Of the four Ginza department stores, Matsuya, Mitsukoshi, Tōkyū, and Matsuzakaya, only Tōkyū has no shrine on its roof.

Ryūkō Fudōson is worshipped on the roof of the Matsuya store. This worship began in 1930 when the present building was constructed. A festival is held in honor of the deity on the twenty-eighth of January, May, and September. A pamphlet issued by the department store says that the name Ryūkō, which is a homophone for the different word for "fashion, vogue," is one of the reasons why this deity attracts the fervent faith of persons connected with the world of fashion.

There is a Kakuō Inari shrine on the roof of the Matsuzakaya store at Ginza 6-chōme. Its origin is traced to the twelfth year of the Bunka period (1815) when the deity of the Yamashiro Fushimi Shrine was enshrined in Negishi in Edo. In 1881 an old man reportedly saw a white fox in the vicinity of the shrine and started to venerate it together with the sacred jewels of the shrine. This is the beginning of the present Inari worship. Since the Inari is a deity protecting against fire, the shrine area and the company houses of Matsuzakaya are said to have escaped destruction during the Great Kanto Earthquake of September, 1923, and the fire which devastated the Nippori area in March of the next year. In February, 1929, sacred jewels from the Hie Shrine were received and worshiped on the roof of the Ginza Matsuzakaya Store.

As mentioned above, the kami worship in companies is mostly limited to the companies themselves and to related persons. In this sense it is closed. Although department stores are also companies, their kami worship is open. Everyone who visits the store can also worship there. In this way department stores not only sell goods or render material services to their clients, but also offer religion to their customers.

The Pilgrimage Tour of the Eight Ginza Blocks Shrines

The many religious facilities found in the Ginza district are not necessarily closely related. To give but one example, on roofs of three adjacent buildings in the Ginza 7-chōme the Seikō Inari of Shiseidō, the Hōju Inari of the Ishii family, and the Mitsurugi Inari of the Seven Star building are venerated. As far as my research revealed, in all three places people were not aware of the existence of the other shrines. This would not occur if the shrines were built on the ground and visible on the street, but when they are placed on the roofs of buildings, where complicated air conditioning equipment and the like are located, often shrines cannot be seen even from buildings next door. Yet in their own way they are worshiped.

However, such "closed" religious facilities are occasionally opened to the thousands of people who come to the Ginza, just as are the roof shrines of department stores. Since 1968 when the centennial of the Meiji Restoration was celebrated, every year the Great Ginza Festival is held in October. It is a major event sponsored by the Ginza Street Federation and it represents all that the Ginza stands for. As part of the festivities, since 1973 a pilgrimage tour of the eight Ginza blocks shrines has been organized. Thirty thousand people participated in its first year. Since 1980 a "pilgrimage to the Seven Gods of Good Fortune" has been added. The pilgrimage consists in a tour of thirteen shrines which issue amulets, although only in the Hachikan shrine is a Shinto priest in residence. The Great Ginza Festival is held for eight days, during which period the sponsoring organizations prepare thousands of booklets which can be stamped at each shrine. It takes about an hour and a half to visit the thirteen shrines. During the festival period several thousand people participate in the pilgrimage.

The majority of the thirteen shrines opened to the public during the Great Ginza Festival belong within the Neighborhood-Shopping and Neighborhood Association groups. Since the kami these groups venerate are the tutelary deities of specific areas, the Ginza Festival, which acts as an integrating factor in the area, is a once-a-year gala occasion for those kami. The department stores issue amulets because they want to gather people and promote the sale of their products.

By contrast, except in a few cases, the shrines of the Family and Company types are not involved in the event. If we consider the companies as "extended families," there is no need for them to open the tutelary deity of their "family" to outsiders.

The Use and Limitations of City Religion.

How then has religion positively coped with the phenomenon of urbanization? What limitations have resulted because of this phenomenon?

The Hachikan Shrine at 8-chōme is the tutelary kami of Hachikan-chō, the old name for the area. This shrine is worthy of notice for several reasons and has a particularly interesting development. At the beginning of the Genroku Era (1688-1704) it was moved to the present site by the Lord of the Akashi castle in Banshū (presently in Hyōgo Prefecture), who venerated the deity Toyouke-hime. At that time it was known as the Kokuhō Inari Shrine. In 1869 Kagahime Inari, worshiped in the adjacent Hachikan area, was also enshrined there and the 120 households of Hachikan-chō became its parishioners. In 1924 its name was changed to the Hachikan Shrine and in 1937 a concrete building was constructed.

In 1982 the shrine underwent a metamorphosis. An eight story building was constructed on a rather small plot. The first and second floors became the worship hall, while the sacred object of worship was enshrined on the top floor. A pillar was built from the inner shrine that reached to the top floor so that prayers offered on the first floor could reach the sacred object on the top floor through a clay pipe. Such an arrangement can hardly be recognized as a shrine, which should be placed on the earth below and be open to the sky above. When the issue of recognition came up in the Association of Shinto Shrines, which governs most Shinto institutions, an argument arose with the result that the Hachikan Shrine withdrew from the National Association and became an autonomous juridical religious entity.

The person mainly responsible for planning and executing that project was the Reverend Saitō, at that time thirty-seven years old. When he was appointed at the shrine, then located in a "valley" between tall buildings and without a resident priest, he decided to propagate Shinto in a more active fashion by utilizing more efficiently the land and special character of the Ginza. The result was the metamorphosis of the shrine into a many-storied building. This led him to rent store space on the floors between the worship hall and the inner shrine. With the profits he began to manufacture Shinto related goods and organized tours to other shrines. Although this "commercialization" of the shrine caused much opposition within Shinto circles, it

must be acknowledged that his efforts certainly had value in promoting the future of city shrines.

On the other hand, one cannot deny that a great gap exists between a shrine turned into a many-storied building and the image most Japanese have of what a Shinto shrine is and should be. On Sundays and holidays the shutters of the worship hall are closed. On ordinary days they are opened only after ten o'clock, so that it is not possible to worship there in the early morning. It is, however, not only the Hachikan shrine which has such time limitations. One can worship the Ginza Shusse Jizōson, to which the head of the Ginza districts is special adviser, only when the Mitsukoshi Department Store is open. The kami of the Ginza are restricted not only in space, but also in time.

Final Remarks

When we take the Ginza as an example, it can hardly be said that urbanization has done away with religion. There are many cases where, under the impact of the concentration of urban functions and the construction of high-rise buildings, religion has been compelled to move to the roof. However, I found no evidence of religious facilities being abolished under the pretext that a new building had to be constructed. Once a kami is worshiped at a certain place, that deity does not leave but continues to be worshiped there. There are examples, such as the Suehiro Inari of 2-chōme, where only the shrine remains, since the proprietor moved to a new location. But there are also cases when the new proprietor of the land has enshrined a deity summoned from the Fushimi Inari Shrine and renewed the worship.

It would appear that religious facilities have increased together with the urbanization of the Ginza. There are more and more cases where, when companies establish themselves in the Ginza, they set up, if not a real shrine, at least a Shinto house altar in the corner of the office.

In Japan urbanization and religion are not opposite, but rather harmonious and complementary. Admittedly, the principle behind the pursuit of profit and the enhancement of efficiency is rationalization. But, even if religion at first sight is incompatible with such rationalization, in fact both are not inevitably contradictory or mutually exclusive.

On the one hand the Japanese implement rational organization and administration. On the other hand, they revere the kami, praying to them for the prosperity of the "family" and the company, for success in the business of the neighborhood shop, and for protection from fire and calamity.

The decline of institutionalized religion and the withdrawal of religion into the private sphere under the impact of modernization are said to be characteristic of our present times. Whether this process in Japan occurs along the same line as in the West is a question that deserves serious consideration (see Ishii 1986, pp. 168-69). Is it really possible in Japan to interpret this retreat of religion into the private sphere and the so-called internal ethicalization of religion as a result of a modernization and rationalization process such as seen in Western societies? Since religion in modern Japan is positively related to a highly industrialized and specialized society, it would be incorrect simply to relegate religion to mere "folk beliefs" In Luckmann's words, secularization as it occurred in Western societies is the result of a unique combination of cultural, religious, and socio-structural conditions, as quoted at the beginning of this essay. But is it not possible to see in the case of Japan another combination of religion and social structures, different from that of the West?

Table 1

RELIGIOUS FACILITIES IN THE GINZA DISTRICT

Name	Location / <i>Function</i>
Ginza 1-chōme	
Shiragiku Ōkami (Fushimi Inari)	Roof of Ginza Nishi building / <i>business success and domestic harmony</i>
Saiwai Inari (Fushimi Inari)	Namiki Street / <i>business success and domestic harmony</i>
Hōriki Inari (Nichiren sect)	Roof of Ginza A Building / <i>tutelary deity of family, warding off of evil fortune</i>
Pola Inari	Roof of Tokyo business office of Pola Cosmetics Company / <i>business success</i>
Suehiro Inari (Fushimi Inari)	Next to Takizawa Building / <i>protection from fire</i>
Hie Shrine	Roof of Daiwa Kōtsū Building
San'ei Shrine	Roof of Yamamoto Parking Building
Yasuhira Inari	In garden of Man'yasurō Restaurant
Ginza 2-chōme	
Tengyoku Inari (Fushimi Inari)	Roof of Osaka Electrical Radiator Company

- Ginza Inari
(Toyokawa Inari) Corridor of seventh floor of Echigoya Building / *protection from fire*
- Eikyū Inari
(Fushimi Inari) Roof of Yoshida Building
- Ginza Inari
(Fushimi Inari) Fourth floor of Olympic Building
- Ginza Church of Konkōkyō
- Ginza 3-chōme
- Ryūkō Fudōson
(Shingon sect, Kōyasan) Roof of Matsuya Department Store / *fashion world*
- Asahi Inari
(Fushimi Inari)
(subshrine of Hie Shrine) Roof of building
- Hōju Inari Side street of Kabukiza / *Tutelary deity of neighborhood*
- Ginza 4-chōme
- Ginza Methodist Church
(transferred from Tsukiji in 1890)
- Hōdō Inari Small side street of Hattori Annex Building / *protection from fire; education of children*
- Ippei Inari
(Toyokawa Inari) Roof of Ippei Building
- Shusse Jizōson
(Mimeguri Inari) Roof of Mitsukoshi Department Store
- Kabuki Inari Garden of Kabukiza
- Ginza 5-chōme
- Shirazasa Inari
(Fushimi Inari) Roof of Kashima Building
- Kumagaya Inari
(Hie Shrine) Second floor of Nihondō Jewelry Store / *protection from fire*
- Fushimi Inari Roof of Yoitaya / *protection from fire*
- Toyokawa Inari Roof of Andō Cloisonné Shop
- Azuma Inari
(Fushimi Inari) Azuma Street, Mihara Street / *protection from fire*
- Ginza 6-chōme
- Kiyosumi-Tamaki-
Fushimi Inari Small side street of New Orleans / *protection from fire*

Kakuō Inari (Fushimi Inari)	Roof of Matsuzakaya Department Store / <i>protection from fire</i>
Ginza 7-chōme	
Seikō Inari (Toyokawa Inari) -Mangin Ryūjin	Roof of Shiseidō Central Office Building / <i>business success</i>
Mitsurugi Inari (Fushimi Inari)	Roof of Seven Star Building
Hōju Inari	Roof of Ishii Building
Toyoiwa Inari	Small street behind Toto / <i>marriage ties</i>
Kumagaya Inari	Alleyway
Ginza 8-chōme	
Konparu Inari	Roof of Kyōbashi Hall / <i>proficiency in entertainment arts</i>
Hachikan Shrine	Hachikan Building on Sotobori Street
Kōdaka Inari (Fushimi Inari)	In Yoshinoya Shop / <i>protection from fire</i>

Table 2

Family Group: Shiragiku Ōkami, Hōriki Inari, Suehiro Inari, San'ei Shrine, Yasuhira Inari, *Ginza Inari, Ippei Inari, Shirazasa Inari, Fushimi Inari, Mitsurugi Inari, Kōdaka Inari.

Neighborhood-Shopping District Group: *Saiwai Inari, *Asahi Inari, Hōju Inari, *Hōdō Inari, *Azuma Inari, *Kiyosumi-Tamaki-Fushimi Inari, *Toyoiwa Inari, Kumagaya Inari, *Konparu Inari.

Company Group: Pola Inari, Hie Shrine, Tengyoku Shrine, Ginza Inari, Kabuki Inari, Toyokawa Inari, *Seikō Inari.

Department Group: *Kakuō Inari, *Ryūkō Fudōson, *Ginza Shusse Jizōson.

Churches: Ginza Church of Konkōkyō, Ginza Methodist Church, *Hachikan Inari Shrine.

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