# Cultural Tensions as Factors in the Structure of a Festival Parade

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## INTRODUCTION

Public parades are a common feature of festivals in many countries on all continents: Asia (Sonoda 1975, Östör 1980); Europe (Boissevain 1969; North (Grimes 1976) and South America (R. J. Smith 1975). In Japan there are at least two general types of parades. Ritual parades, in which some object of worship is paraded in a given area, are popular throughout the country (e.g., Akaike 1976, Sonoda 1975). And, particularly in areas with an aristocratic tradition, parades recapitulating some part of traditional popular history or practice are common (e.g. Booth 1982). In many cases, of course, these two types are blended, and variations on the theme are numerous (e.g. Inoue *et al.* 1979).

Some theoretical analyses have attempted to make specific interpretations of parades. Based on Japanese and Maltese material it has been suggested independently that political motivations—the need to express leadership and train new political leaders (Akaike 1976), or the expression of political struggle (Boissevain 1969)—form parade events and reinforce their performance. Parades may also serve a local-integrative function (DeGlopper 1974), or have important performative, entertainment, and experiential aspects (R. J. Smith 1975). Parades may also indicate or emphasize fragmentation and express particular ethnic, political or other consciousnesses (Grimes 1976; Cohen 1980). These interpretations are all valid in their particular contexts.

In this paper, which is part of a larger study of festivals in Japan, I intend to show how tensions implicit in modern Japanese culture affect the structure of a particular parade. This parade, the Daimyo Gyōretsu of Yuzawa, blends historical-cultural and religious elements with enter-

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tainment. Each of these elements is necessary for the performance, yet each element exists in some tension with the others.

*Daimyō gyōretsu* 大名行列 (lit: lord's train) parades can be found elsewhere in Japan. They vary from the lavish production of the Hyakumangoku parade in Kanazawa (Booth 1982) to the tiny parades of Yuzawa's neighbors, Yamada and Shimozawa. The Yuzawa parade appears to be " average " in terms of interest and size. It is neither a major focus of tourism nor a minor remnant. Primarily it is a local affair with local focus.

A number of questions arise from the Yuzawa parade's performance. Beyond the socio-economic questions of financing and organization (which are not addressed in detail here), one must question the nature of the parade itself. How is it composed and what is the rationale behind the composition? How do the different parts of the parade articulate with one another, and why are they present? In this paper I focus on " gross " distinctions, that is, on the three major parts of the parade, parts that are defined by the major participants themselves. The analysis of specific roles in the parade and the way they are performed is to be dealt with in a separate paper.

I will show how the elements of the parade articulate and how they form the parade. Among other things, the Daimyo Gyōretsu of Yuzawa raises issues about general contradictions and tensions in Japanese society between national and local interests, and, in the local milieu of Yuzawa, between different neighborhoods in the town, and between religious and secular emphases of the event. These tensions never come into real conflict, perhaps because they are of the sort with which individuals and societies must contend without clashing on a daily basis.

The tensions evident in this parade are by no means as extreme as, for example, the historical-cultural differences expressed in the Santa Fé parade (Grimes 1976) where several different cultures (Indian, Hispanic, Anglo) are at odds. Nor are the tensions here overtly political as in the London carnival parade (Cohen 1980). They do however affect the structure of the parade in Yuzawa. Similar tensions in festival parades have been noted elsewhere in Japan (e.g. Inoue *et al.* 1979) but their part in structuring the event has not been addressed in detail.

## The Setting: Yuzawa-shi

Yuzawa-shi 湯沢市 is a relatively small municipality (Jpn: *shi* 市) of Akita Prefecture in Northeast Japan. The town proper's population was about 18,000 at the time of study, and together with the other villages and townlets in the municipal limits the population numbered 38,000.

The town is preeminently a local marketing and manufacturing

town, supplying agricultural services (market, railway station, agricultural banking, local agricultural union) and some utilization of agricultural produce: *sake* breweries, *shōyu*, pickle, and furniture factories.

As are all municipalities in Japan, the town is divided into neighborhoods (Jpn: *chō* or *machi* 町). Some of these are of some antiquity. Seven central neighborhoods which run the parade, collectively called Go Chō 五町 (the five *chō*), and some of the other neighborhoods date at least from the year 1627 when the Sataké clan of Mito 三戸 was forced to resettle in Yuzawa.

Five of the Go Chō (from whom the name derives) were settled by townspeople—merchants and craftsmen—the other two by servants of the first five. A small number of *chō* were originally settled by retainers of the local lord in the seventeenth century. Their residents do not participate in the Daimyo Gyōretsu. Other *chō* sprang up by gradual urbanization of surrounding hamlets or, more recently by the process of suburbanization characteristic of the Japanese countryside today.

None but the Go Chō (Maemori 前森, Yanagi-machi 柳町, Ōmachi 大町, Tamachi 田町, Fuppari 吹張, Hirashimizu 平清水, and Minamishinmachi 南新町. The latter two withdrew full management some years ago) participate formally in the management of the Daimyo Gyōretsu. In informal ways other *chō* do assist however. For example, Daikumachi 大工町 and Atago-chō 愛宕町, not traditionally part of the Go Chō, help Maemori and Fuppari respectively with contributions of manpower (see Map 1).

There are a large number of shrines in town (excluding family shrines in people's yards they number about forty). The largest, actually the main shrine of the town, is Atago-jinja 愛宕神社. Atago-jinja is the neighborhood shrine of several neighborhoods and sub-sections of neighborhoods. That is, in essence, it houses the ritual guardian of the neighborhood, and has a reciprocal relationship with the neighborhood on many levels (cf. Ashkenazi 1981). It is maintained largely by the five central neighborhoods who run the Daimyo Gyōretsu, Atago-jinja's main festival.

## The Daimyo Gyōretsu

The Daimyo Gyōretsu combines commemoration of the biennial passage of the Yuzawa *daimyō* to Edo, the shogunal capital in the Tokugawa period (1600–1868), and the ritual parade of Atago-jinja, which is part of the shrine's main summer festival. Throughout the text, " Daimyo Gyōretsu " or " parade " shall refer to the whole parade, " lord's train " to the roles determined by the *daimyō*'s travel, and " ritual train " to the ritual roles. The roles in the lord's train are copied from those of the

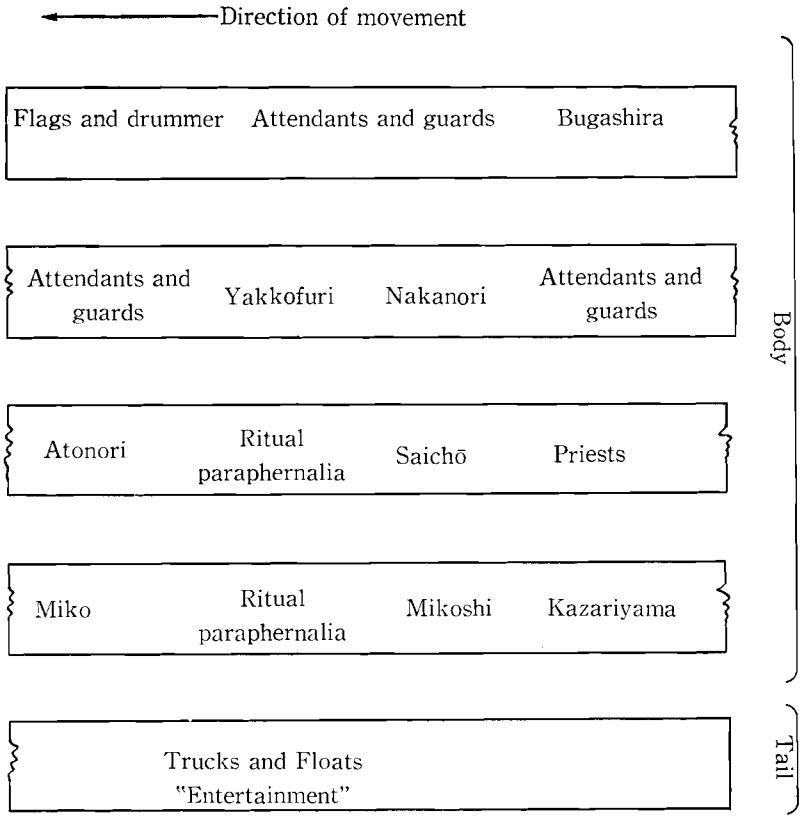



**Fig. 1. The order of the Daimyo Gyōretsu parade.**

historical *daimyō*'s train. The ritual train roles were fixed by government fiat during the early years of the twentieth century when the shrine was declared a *kensha* 県社[2]. The ritual train includes Atago-jinja's *mikoshi* 神輿[3] and its attending functionaries. There are 155 fixed roles in the lord's train and forty-five in the ritual train. All the roles are supposed to be filled every year. These are followed by floats carrying life size dioramas called *kazariyama* 飾山. The subjects of these dioramas vary from year to year and are generally drawn from Japanese mythology and history. Together these three sections form what I shall call the body of the parade. The tail of the parade is composed of a number of lantern bedecked trucks which carry groups of children, dancers, and floats with papier-mâché figures.

*The lord's train.*

Three horsemen are the central figures in the lord's train: *bu-*

*gashira* 武頭 (commander of the guard), *nakanori* 中乗 (representing the *daimyō*), and *atonori* 後乗 (rear rider), each accompanied by personal attendants carrying their gear of office. Each of the horsemen is preceded and followed by bowmen, musketeers, lancers, falconers, samurai (personal bodyguards and officers). The *nakanori* is also preceded by a tea master and tea equipment and followed by a doctor. Bodyservants called *yakkofuri* 奴振 carry his personal standards and badges of rank.[4] These consist of an armor box, rooster tail standard, a folded umbrella, fringed standards, and lances.

The positions of *yakkofuri* are always filled by residents of Atago-chō, which is not a neighborhood that takes part in running the parade. Two residents of the *chō*, heirs to families that claim to have served in the same position for generations, train and lead the *yakkofuri* and have sole discretion on recruitment. The *yakkofuri* perform a dance at set points on the route of march—before Seiryōji temple, where the Sataké lords are buried; before the municipal hall; before each community hall of the Go Chō; before the *mikoshi* midday resting place; and before the Yuzawa train station. The *yakkofuri* " dance " consists of large side to side steps which makes the fringes on the standards swirl gracefully (Fig. 5) The performances last for about three minutes, and are highlights of the parade.

*The ritual train*

The ritual train consists of the *kami's* 神 (deity's) flags, attendants, paraphernalia, officiants, escort, shrine maidens, and a *mikoshi* which contains the *kami's shintai* 神体[5]. The *mikoshi* is a massive structure which is carried silently through the streets in contrast to the practice in areas near Tokyo, where *mikoshi* are generally ported in a very wild and excited manner. It is precded by boys carrying baskets into which spectators put offerings: bags of rice and coins. The *mikoshi* is followed by the *mikoshi* guardians—two representatives from each of the Go Chō that run the Daimyo Gyōretsu—and the representatives of the families that started the worship of this *shintai*. The chief priest of Atago-jinja and the assistant chief priest (who, in the years observed, was chief priest of a neighboring village shrine in his own right), ride in *jinrikisha* 人力車 (Fig. 2). The *sai-chō* 祭長, honorary financial sponsor of the parade rides a *jinrikisha* too, dressed in traditional white offerant robes and black gauze hat (Fig. 4). Other priests who help perform the ritual in Atago-jinja follow on foot. Shrine maidens ride flower-bedecked carts. Boys carrying evergreen branches as offerings and other functionaries preced or follow the *mikoshi* on foot.

The religious elements and symbols are predetermined. The para-

Fig. 1. *Kazariyama*. Note the *happi* coats stencilled with the sponsor's name.

Fig. 2. Chief priest in *jinrikisha* followed by a group of festival managers dressed in *montsuki*.

Fig. 3. *Mikoshi* at Atago-jinja before joining the parade.

Fig. 4. *Sai-chō* in *jinrikisha*.

Fig. 5. *Yakkofuri* "dancing" in the main street.

Fig. 6. Rider and entourage.

phernalia relate to other Shinto rituals performed in the shrine. These paraphernalia are not of local origin and their precise order and apperance have been finally set at a relatively late date (early twentieth century) by government fiat. For the purpose of this paper it is sufficient to note that they are recognized by most Japanese as relating to religious (Shinto) practices.

*Kazariyama*

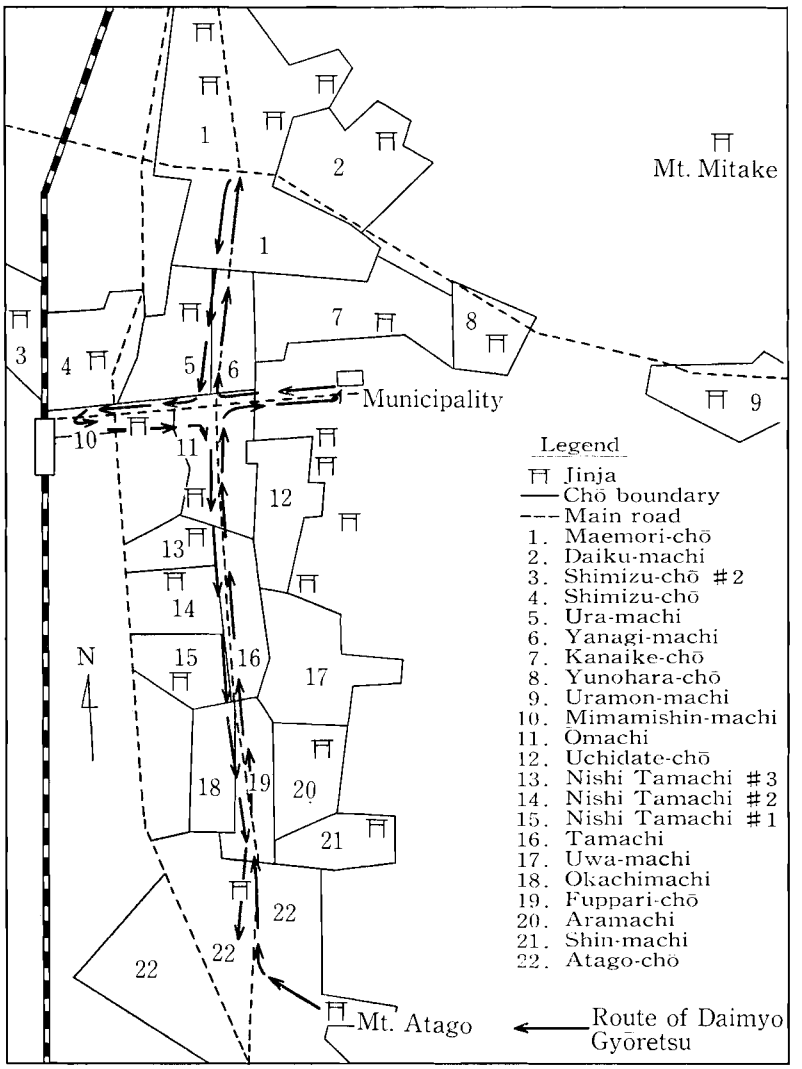
The *kazariyama*, dioramas of scenes from Japanese mythology, follow the ritual train. Ushiwakamaru and Benkei, Kintarō, Taira generals, and so on are played by children seated among mountains, waterfalls, and decorations made of papier-mâché and plastic (Fig. 1). Because of the heat and inaction, many of the children on the *kazariyama* fall asleep during the parade. Anxious mamas sit with the smaller ones and fan them for comfort.

*The tail*

After the body of the parade, there is room for participation by other organized groups in Yuzawa. Neighborhoods and villages in Yuzawa-shi send a truck, a *mikoshi*, or a band to participate in the non-formal tail of the parade. There are no set themes: decorations, music, and roles are up to the imagination of those responsible for the truck. The themes are usually more contemporary and the decorations are less exactingly made than the *kazariyama*. The children and some adults on the trucks beat drums, dance, dispense *sake*. There is a sense of movement and performance. On most of the trucks the children are supplied with musical instruments, cold drinks, and ice cream. Costumes are not formal: both children and adults wear summer robes or shorts, *happi* coats, and headbands. The children in the tail are encouraged to be noisy and loudspeakers on the trucks blare festival music. In contrast, the lord's and ritual parades and the *kazariyama* are conspicuously silent.

*Parade route*

The parade starts from the grounds below Atago-jinja at eight in the morning (Fig. 3). Start-off is coordinated by two-way radio so that the *mikoshi* and the participants of the ritual at Atago-jinja make it down in time to assume their places. The parade makes its way through the town, the route planned so that the community hall of each of the Go Chō is passed. The *yakkofuri* perform before each hall. There is a two-hour break at noon during which the *mikoshi* rests in a house designated as the official resting place. At two-thirty the parade resumes




Map 1. Itinerary of the Daimyo Gyōretsu of Yuzawa-shi.

and goes straight down the main street back to Atago-chō where it disperses (Map 1).

Members of the group running the parade are positioned throughout its length. Armed with two-way radios and wearing traditional formal *mon'tsuki* 紋付 (black wide trousers and overcoats bearing their family crests in white), they direct movement and necessary pauses. Members of the advisory board wear Western suits. Other men dressed in tradi-

tional festival wear (loose cotton jackets, shorts and straw sandals, a headband) guide the trucks.

The route of the parade is decorated with rice straw rope and lanterns. During the passage of the parade the streets are crowded, particularly at the *yakkofuri* performance sites. Most of the viewers are locals, residents of Yuzawa or neighboring communities, but there is a fairly large scattering of tourists, most domestic, some foreign.

## Financing

The parade is not inexpensive. The costs, some of which do not appear on account sheets, are considerable. The expenses of the three riders are borne by their families. These include the hire of a horse, the horse's transportation and keep, grooms, and the rider's rich costume. The name of the donor, usually a grandparent, is stencilled on all equipment and it is in the donor's name that the child rides (Fig. 6).

Expenses for each rider are estimated by Yuzawa respondents at between three and ten million yen, though they apparently rarely exceed the former sum by much. The financial burden cannot always be borne by someone in the *chō* responsible for the festival and many parades do not have a full complement of riders.

The parade authorities supply the equipment and clothes of the other roles. With the exception of the *yakkofuri* and the riders' attendants, these are filled by children from the neighborhood running the parade that year. Each house with children of the appropriate age in the neighborhood running the parade that year is requested to have its child or children take part. Parents assume responsibility for costuming and make-up. Younger children are given roles such as falconers that do not require carrying heavy burdens. Older children carry lances or muskets. If a household has a child but does not want him or her to participate for some reason, it may hire someone else, usually a high school student to fill the role for them. The household supplies the costume and lunch and pays about 7,000 yen. Roles for which no performer or sponsor can be found are also filled by high school students paid for by the neighborhood parade management committee.

In addition to hiring the students, the mangement committee of the parade must also pay the *yakkofuri*. For the past several years the *yakkofuri* group has demanded and received 300,000 yen to perform. Their justification is twofold: they not only have to march but must also dance and they perform every year whereas the other marchers might do the parade once every five years (only at their neighborhood's turn). When one irritated manager of the parade said, "The daimyo didn't have to pay!", the *yakkofuri* retorted, "But you are not the daimyo!"

The demand for pay breeds a certain amount of ill-feeling, because, like the management committee, the *yakkofuri* are supposed to be supporting local tradition.

*Kazariyama* expenses are borne partly by the neighborhood sponsoring the *kazariyama*, largely by the parents of participating children. There is considerable competition for the roles. Merchant houses in particular usually adorn the lower part of the wagon with blue bunting bearing their commercial or family crest.

Expenses for flower-bedecked carts carrying shrine maidens (*miko* 神子), a ritual train role, are borne by the neighborhoods concerned, partly out of special donations from resident households, partly out of regular funds. Significantly, each neighborhood receives donations—cash or products such as drinks—from neighborhood merchants, who are usually anxious to contribute to the success of their neighborhood, and incidentally, have their establishments advertised.

## Discussion

The parade cannot be understood without understanding the relative elements that together compose it as an event and the tensions between them. Some of these are contradictory, but all are accommodated in some fashion. Moreover, while I have distinguished between them for purposes of analysis, contradictory elements may be blended together or appear in concert. The parade has been changing over the years, as it adapts to new demands, and these changes reflect the relative effects, the tensions between the elements, and reactions to these tensions.

It is possible to contrast parts of the parade for purposes of analysis. It is not my intention here to analyze the finer distinctions between the different roles, but rather to pick out the grosser distinctions which indicate contrasting and reinforcing tendencies evident in the parade for their theoretical, ritual, and national implications.

The parade is a ceremonial event, part of which is religious—an extension of Atago-jinja's ritual—and part of which is a communal ceremonial. It is also, however, a show, a performance. Local residents, tourists from other parts of Japan, and even foreigners come to see their child, their neighborhood, the town of Yuzawa, Japan, put on a show. Moreover, the parade is also a festive event, part of a broader festival which is not discussed here in full. Observers and paraders are both participants, not just performers and audience. Those who ride the trucks or pull them interact with spectators by offering *sake*, smiling, laughing, and waving at people lining the roadway.

Each part of the parade maintains its identity in a subtle but necessary contrast to the other. The parade as a whole can therefore be seen

as a multivalent event. It embodies certain contrasts and tensions which shape its form. The most explicit contrast is between the formal body and the informal tail. The former has a multiplicity of rules dictating what to wear, how to walk, and how to behave. It is minutely organized. An advisory group of older men who have had experience running the parade in former years and are members of the Daimyo Gyōretsu Preservation Society maintains checkpoints along the route to ensure that the costumes are not in disarray, distances are kept, and formations maintained. The tail, on the other hand, is informal and not strictly organized. Adults and children are in this portion not only to perform but also to entertain and be entertained. The formality evident in the body of the parade is not in evidence.

That this part of the parade is purposely for amusement is demonstrated by my own participation in one of the three Daimyō Gyōretsu observed during fieldwork. I was drafted during the afternoon to be part of the Maemori-chō contingent in the tail. I was told by the parade manager and subsequently overheard others saying that it would be hugely amusing to have a foreigner walking in the parade dressed in traditional festival costume: shorts, brightly colored *happi*, headband, and straw sandals.

An indication of the difference between the formal and entertaining parts of the parade and what they imply is made explicit in dress. Lord's train roles are dressed in Edo period (1600–1868) travelling clothes. They carry weapons, badges of the lord's rank, or the lord's travelling equipment. Ritual train roles are dressed either in clothes copied from Heian period (794–1192; see Herbert 1967 for an explanation of ritual significance of dress codes), or in formal clothes called *sode ginu* 袖衣—wide shouldered sleeveless surcoats tucked into wide *hakama* 袴 trousers—that became popular in the Edo period for formal audiences. Most of these rather subtle sartorial differences in the body of the parade are not important to the spectators. But they do reflect in tangible terms the distinctions between the lord and ritual trains. Participants in the tail of the parade on the other hand, which are not " roles " (i.e. predetermined by some formal, written criteria as the roles in the body of the parade are), dress much more freely. They wear festival clothes: loose coats, headbands, sandals, shorts, summer kimono. These are determined individually, or ad hoc by the neighborhood or float committee.

The meaning of the distinctions between the body and tail of the parade is seen clearly in the dress differences between managers directing the body of the parade and managers in the tail. The former wear formal *montsuki*, the latter wear shorts and *happi* coats that bear the

*chō*'s crest and a notation stating that they are donated by one or another of the large *sake* breweries in town. The managers in the body concentrate on moving and stopping the blocks of marchers they are responsible for. Those in the tail talk to the children in the trucks, exchange jokes with spectators, move about relatively freely. The tail interacts with the audience and performs for it. The body on the other hand is more insulated, less open to interaction. Because the body and the tail appear together, the distinction is more apparent than real. Spectators, at least, do not make the distinction. The distinction is however significant for the performers and managers and their motivations.

Major roles, management, all decision making in the body of the parade is in the hands of members of the Go Chō. Only residents of these neighborhoods participate in the lord's parade, with the exception of hired high school students from the local school who fill those roles for which a suitable candidate from the Go Chō cannot be found. Even these are ex-officio members of the Go Chō corporate groups: in the parade programme they are not named but merely indicated by the word *yatoi* 雇い (literally " employee." The connotation is " houseservant ").

In contrast, for the past few years representatives of other neighborhoods have also manned flower-carts, among them are representatives from neighborhoods outside Yuzawa proper. All these must receive permission from the Go Chō. These emphasize the national, in contrast to the local, character of the festival both because they do not share Yuzawa's particularistic distinctions (some former villages have local traditions of their own, which they display during their festivals), and because the overall interest: theirs, the municipality's, and residents of the Go Chō is in providing a common meeting ground.

The formality of the lord's parade emphasizes two things at least: the domination, assumed or real, of the Go Chō, which not incidentally comprise the mercantile and administrative core of the town in a very real topographical and economic sense; and second, the uniqueness of Yuzawa as a whole, which contrasts to the more generally Japanese nature of the tail. The informality of the tail emphasizes the popular and the majority of images are nationally recognizeable. Newer neighborhoods which have as yet no claims to particular cultural distinctions of their own may join the parade, exhibiting familiar national themes as they do so.

Though the management dominance of the Go Chō is not really challenged, it is not unquestioned. The *yakkofuri*, for example, feel that they should have greater recognition as a group and as residents of

Atago-chō (which is not part of the management of the parade). Their demand for a fee can be interpreted in this light (and is supported in some private conversations). By demanding a fee and receiving it, they both reemphasize their importance—after all, their group has antecedents as early as the Go Chō—and compensate themselves in some way for their snubbing by the Go Chō, since no representative of theirs is made part of any of the deliberations of the various management and review committees that run the parade.

Other tensions, deriving from changes that have occurred in Japanese culture as a whole are expressed by contrasts within the body of the parade. For example, the placing of different parts, and the interpretation given to the differences are both significant. Until 1959, the Daimyo Gyōretsu and Atago-jinja's main festival parade had been separate events. Because of shortage of funds and manpower, both parades were merged. The original date of the ritual train was the seventh day of the seventh month of the old lunar calendar. To fit the requirements of the lord's train, the date was moved to the 23rd of August. The date was then changed again to the third Sunday in August to accommodate the school children who fill most of the roles in the lord's train.

The priests interpret this accommodation as a matter of courtesy. " The parade should really be in July, but we realized that the August date is more convenient for the organizers of the other parade. . . . Also, the *kami* should lead the procession, but it is sufficient that the kami's flags are at the head of the parade [to indicate the primacy of the ritual train] . . . " said the chief priest of Atago-jinja.

The ritual train is seen by the priests as a continuation of the rituals held for Atago-jinja's main ritual. Only circumstances cause it to be overshadowed by the lord's train. For the managers who run and organize the lord's train, the formal lord's train and the ritual train are the Daimyo Gyōretsu of Yuzawa. But the ritual train is ancillary. It is the priests business and when it conflicts with needs of the lord's train, the ritual train is the loser. On the other hand, the shrine itself is also an object of pride and a focus of social activities. The heads of the parade management committee march with the shrine *mikoshi*. The relationship between the local and the national and between the primacy of religion and local culture is ambivalent.

The order of the parade vanguard expresses this ambiguity. First comes a flag bearer, dressed in high school uniform (black slacks and white shirt) carrying the banner of Yuzawa. He is followed by two figures who are part of the lord's train, representing guides. The guides are followed by a single drummer, part of the ritual train, and by the two long banners announcing the festival of Atago-jinja shrine. From

that point on begins the lord's train proper, and the ritual train follows after it.

The tail of the parade is explicitly intended to be fun for all involved. Neighborhoods supply trucks for the children. Local shops supply drinks and snacks for " their " neighborhood's trucks. Men in *happi* coats control the passage of the trucks and some mothers join the children. The festive element is preserved. It is also, not incidentally, national rather than specifically local, drawing together disparate elements of Yuzawa municipality, rather than the narrow localism of the Go Chō.

Most managerial efforts are concentrated in the body. Junior members of the managing committee work in the tail, and the elder advisors rarely give it their attention. Some managers told me that the tail section is there " just for entertainment," with the implication that it is unimportant, certainly inessential. Festival goers, including Yuzawa residents not involved in managing the parade, and tourists, rarely distinguish between the parts of the parade and do not usually care about these differences. For them, the parade is the main event of the festivities of the Daimyo Gyōretsu festival. All of the parts are, and should be, an entertaining spectacle.

Different parts of the parade allow the expression of local themes, but national themes are concentrated and more evident in the tail. The expression is not simple, and contradictory factors affect it. The local flavor of the parade as public event (which pulls tourists and income) must be balanced against the administrative necessity of not alienating other local communities which are not part of the town of Yuzawa, but are part of the Yuzawa municipal entity. Parenthetically it might be adduced that the municipality would find it much harder to support the parade financially and materially if the parade managers did not permit some expression of general, rather than particularistic interest. The lord's train is intentionally a local affair. Every *daimyō gyōretsu* in Japan strives for uniqueness. Different costumes, equipment, and orders of march are maintained. The items and activities in the tail of the parade, in contrast, are largely national: nationally famous folk dances, well-known festival music, TV cartoon figures predominate. The tail section of the parade replicates any of hundreds of *matsuri* parades elsewhere in Japan.

Another element of the local-national contrast is economic. Local companies and businesses in Japan have been under pressure by the growing economic power of national marketing and manufacturing chains. This is part of the general " Japanization " of Japan in the media (DeWitt Smith 1973) and education (Brameld 1968), as well as

in the centralization of the economy. Among other devices it appears that local concerns are trying to rally local custom by raising the issue of local pride. Thus we find that merchants are the most fervent supporters of the Daimyo Gyōretsu, in both money and other forms of support. Combined with these we can see that advertising, but only local, is common throughout the length of the parade.

Several weeks before the Daimyo Gyōretsu, posters announcing the event appear in Yuzawa, neighboring cities, and Tokyo. These posters are sponsored by and advertise the town's largest *sake* brewing companies. Most floats in the formal part of the parade are wrapped in indigo bunting stencilled with the name of the village or neighborhood and the badge of a sponsor. The sponsor is always local, usually a shop or other commercial company. The floats and trucks in the tail carry colored promotional lanterns bearing the trademarks of the town's brewers. Arrays of these lanterns are recognized markers of entertainment and fun, bars and festivals included. Local and national themes and symbols can be combined in the tail because the tail is looser and less formal.

The bunting and the posters announcing the festival are sponsored by local establishments. Large companies headquartered elsewhere which have plants in Yuzawa do not take part in the *matsuri* display. In one instance, I was told, a company made approaches to the management of the parade but was refused. The festival is the festival of Yuzawa and what makes it Yuzawa's unique event is the money and effort that Yuzawa people devote to it. A major part of the financial resources as well as the manpower derive from in-town commercial activities. This is one way local businesses and firms in Japan counter the constant and growing threat posed by metropolitan-based marketing and manufacturing firms who can employ more sophisticated promotional gimmicks.

The display these local merchants put on presents them and Yuzawa as unique entities in contrast to the external world. It indicates a claim to the unity of Yuzawa, to its performative and festival health, and by extension, its commercial health. They demonstrate that elaborate and complex festivals such as the Daimyo Gyōretsu are possible only as result of the combined resolve, purpose, and financial ability of the people of Yuzawa. Whether or not this increases sales is a question outside the scope of this paper. What is certain however is that these local businesses are associated in local eyes with Yuzawa. For example, the products of Yuzawa's several *sake* factories are associated with the town and used extensively in rituals and festivals. The investment in the festival, and particularly the cooperative spirit it implies, is highly valued

in Japanese society.

## Conclusion

To summarize the major points made above, the first parts of the parade—the lord's train and the ritual train—are formal and manifestly local. They display Yuzawa in many complex and often contradictory ways. The formality may derive from the pride of Yuzawa in their local history and its association with ancient aristocracy. The tail is entertaining and reflects the national festival tradition. Neighborhoods and hamlets in Yuzawa-shi that are not part of the Go Chō participate. The floats, dances, music, clothes, and decorations can be seen in any festival in Japan. The tail is a display too, but of another kind. Whereas the first parts of the parade are unique to Yuzawa, the latter part reflects metropolitan culture that is gradually permeating Yuzawa's culture and, incidentally, breaking down some of the barriers between Yuzawa and its neighboring communities. The tail of the parade is no longer a parade of a relatively small and exclusive section of the populace, the Go Chō, but of Yuzawa-shi, a much broader area. Not only do outlying communities participate in the festival, but their display uses national themes instead of specifically local ones.

Displays can serve different purposes. The municipality contributes to the Daimyo Gyōretsu as a matter of local pride. The Go Chō maintain the parade as their traditional prerogative. Local companies support if because their managers see a virtue in maintaining local traditions and because the parade is a useful vehicle for their promotional activities. Outlying communities join in because it is an opportunity for entertainment and community involvement and because the idiom used is national, rather than just local. We can therefore conclude that parades such as the Daimyo Gyōretsu must be seen not merely as adjuncts to festivals, but as major foci of activity in their own right.

The tension between localism and national concerns expresses itself in the sensitivity to changes in the format of the head, and in the right to advertise in the tail. The local tensions between the older neighborhoods of the Go Chō and the newer neighborhoods such as Atago-chō express themselves both in behind the scenes management problems and negotiations, and in the visible symbols used in the parade. Using nationally familiar objects reinforces the unity of the parade while allowing the Go Chō to preserve a semblance of their former dominance. Overall, however, all these tensions do not cause any more than mild frictions, if at all. Significantly, however, pressures exerted on the Go Chō cause changes in one part of the parade, while allowing them to maintain other parts as before. This is as true of the blending of the

lord's and ritual trains as it is of the addition of the "tail" elements. In other words, the tension between the various elements is a factor both in preserving the traditional form, and in introducing new elements in a particular manner.

To return finally to the theoretical concerns stated at the start of the paper, the Yuzawa parade cannot be understood in a single analytic dimension. It is not overtly political nor does it express ethnic differences or unities. While it has integrative functions, it expresses division and dominance as well. While it has a religious dimension, it is also avowedly secular, and the religious element sometimes comes off second best. It follows a number of general rules which are, I would contend, true for all parades: there is public view and performance, the parade is visibly expensive, entertaining, and internally variable. It constitutes a flexible forum in which no one element can predominate. Each individual element, whether overtly expressed or covertly present is overshadowed by the mass of other elements. Because of this heterogeneous and multiplex reality, it allows for the expression of many things, while not permitting any one element, or any particular conflict, real or potential, to emerge as a single or even dominant theme. While this may be an exclusive quality of parades in any well-balanced economy, quiet polity, and secure culture such as Japan, I believe it worthwhile examining the possibility that parades embody these qualities, or are expressive of them in general. In other words, parades which are possible only in relatively placid times and places, are made possible because even in such relatively placid areas, tensions which must be accommodated do exist and will find expression. Parades allow expression of contradictory intentions and meanings because the parade as a whole overwhelms any particular dominant theme, and because they must entice, not coerce, their audiences.

## NOTES

1. The research of which this paper is part was sponsored by a Japan Foundation Dissertation Fellowship. I wish to thank the Foundation for its assistance.

2. From 1903 to 1945 the national and prefectural governments ranked all the shrines in the country. The great majority of small neighborhood shrines were "unranked." One shrine in each administrative village was granted the rank of *gōsha* 郷社. Several large shrines in each prefecture were granted the rank of *kensha*, a relatively prestigious position indicating wealth and antiquity.

3. *Mikoshi* are a form of ark that is carried through the parish of a particular *kami*. There are a number of types of such objects which are not discussed here. However, for a full discussion of them see Sadler (1972) and Ashkenazi (forthcoming).

4. The Tokugawa authorities tried to enforce an orderly (by their criteria) usage

of rank indicators. Fringed standards indicated income and the Yuzawa lord has ten standards in his train.

Other objects were used as badges of rank according to a complicated system of privilege and title. These regulations were often ignored by nobles with greater claims or pretensions than the Tokugawa were prepared to accord them. As the power of the Tokugawa government declined towards the end of its rule, outlying nobles like the Sataké arrogated to themselves unauthorized rank markers. As this process took time and changed from one period to another, it is impossible to tell at this point what precisely the Yuzawa daimyo was claiming.

5. *Shintai* are objects representing the *kami*. Some of them are hidden from view and have not been seen in centuries. Others that have been seen include statues, saddles, stones, blocks of wood with the *kami*'s name inscribed, etc. For a discussion of their significance see Herbert (1967).

## GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE TERMS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| atonori | 後乗 | Last major mounted figure in Daimyo Gyōretsu. |
| bugashira | 武頭 | First major mounted figure in Daimyo Gyōretsu. |
| chō / machi | 町 | Neighborhood. |
| daimyō | 大名 | Lord, feudal baron. |
| daimyō gyōretsu | 大名行列 | Lord's train including lord and retainers. |
| Go Chō | 五町 | The Five Neighborhoods. |
| gōsha | 郷社 | "Village shrine", a shrine rank until WW II. |
| kami | 神 | The object of worship in Shinto, the godhead. |
| kazariyama | 飾山 | Diorama. |
| kensha | 県社 | "Prefectural shrine," a shrine rank until WW II. |
| miko | 神子 | Shrine maiden. |
| mikoshi | 神輿 | A portable palanquin for *shintai*. |
| montsuki | 紋付 | Formal Japanese wear. |
| nakanori | 中乗 | Middle rider, representing the daimyō. |
| sai chō | 祭長 | Festival head, ritual sponsor of a festival. |
| shi | 市 | City, administrative municipality. |
| shintai | 神体 | Material object representing a *kami*. |
| sode ginu | 袖衣 | Extremely formal wear from Edo period. |
| yakkofuri | 奴振 | Bodyservants, also performers of a dance in the Daimyo Gyōretsu. |

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