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【研究論文】

# Embracing Togetherness and Community Bonds: A Sociological Analysis of the *Tennō-sai* Festival in Enoshima

HEIN, Patrick

## Abstract

The value of religious festivals (*matsuri*) as a means of adapting to socioeconomic changes remains mostly unexplored. The present study is guided by the assumption that traditional religious community festivals are the active, physical expression and enhancement of traditional local autonomy and independence in the face of centralization of power and unprecedented modernization. This paper looks at how fishermen in the coastal town of Enoshima experience the annual Tennō-sai 天王祭 festival, a mini version of the famous Gion festival in Kyoto. The goal is to show how socially disadvantaged fishermen have been trying to uphold their independence and autonomy amid profound economic transformation and unequal treatment. This has been done by examining the historic origins, the symbolism contained in rituals, the spatial elements of parading, and the social background of participants. Upon examination of these features, it becomes clear that matsuri fulfil an important role of social stability, well-being and strengthening of community bonds in times of radical social change. Through looking at ritual practices in a fishing village, this research highlights the importance of religious festivals in terms of social stability and personal well-being.

*Keywords:* Tennō-sai festival Enoshima, Shintō, Buddhism, fishermen, socioeconomic marginalization

## Introduction

The word *matsuri* can refer to any occasion for offering thanks and praise to a deity at a shrine. It comes from the word meaning *matsuru* 祀る “to worship” or “to serve” (Bocking, 1996). The core of the *matsuri* as a religious event is a public procession in which some type of large, sanctified object -typically a palanquin-like vehicle or *mikoshi* containing the spirit of the local guardian deity- is borne shoulder-high through the streets, in order to revitalize the community with its supernatural presence. Many studies have been conducted on the Shintō festivals or traditional local festivals in Japan (e.g., Kawano, 2005; Nelson, 2000, 2003; Ono, 2004; Reader, 1998; Roemer, 2010; Schnell, 1999). These studies

have focused on folkloristic, psychological and anthropological aspects of Shintō festivals. The current study draws from these studies and seeks at the same time to add a new element that explains how festivals can symbolically help to mitigate socioeconomic marginalization and social divisions created in the past.

### Location and Main Festival Places

In Chinese culture, the year of the snake is sixth in the cycle of the 12-year cycle of animals that appear in the Chinese zodiac related to the Chinese calendar. Hence, the Tennō-sai festival off the island of Enoshima, some 50 kilometers south from Tokyo, is held every six years to venerate Susanoo no Mikoto 須佐之男命, the principal male deity (*kami*) of both the Yasaka Shrine 八坂神社 located on Enoshima Island in Fujisawa city and the Koyurugi Shrine 小動神社 located in Kamakura city, on a small peninsula facing Enoshima, just a few hundred meters away. The idiom *Tennō* is composed of the two symbols *ten* 天, originally a Sanskrit term which means “immortal” or “heavenly” and the prefix *ō* 王 which refers to the Shintō mythological deity Susanoo no Mikoto, also known by the Buddhist name Gozu-Tennō (Hori, 2013a). Figure 1 shows the names and locations of the households in Enoshima.



Figure 1. Early Meiji (1868-1877) map of Enoshima. Adapted from the local Iwamoto-ro museum collection.

The average population of Enoshima has been estimated at about 500 people and never exceeded more than 600 (Kanagawa Prefectural Government, 1985). Figure 1 shows the two main communities on the island: Higashi-machi (East town) is home to the fishermen, whereas Nishi-machi (West town) is inhabited by small shopkeepers and innkeepers who besides offering accommodation to pilgrims and tourists have also been in charge of operating and managing the temple complex. The fishermen living in Higashi-machi earn their income from harvesting the sea, whereas small shopkeepers and innkeepers in Nishi-machi depend on pilgrimage related revenues and rice donations that were an

important source of income in the past. During the Edo period (1603–1868), it was compulsory to donate rice to the temple operators (Tonomura, 1992). Thus, 15 *koku* of rice were yearly shipped from the rice fields in Kamakura to Enoshima. The *koku* unit was originally defined as the quantity of rice sufficient to feed one person for one year. A *koku* of rice weighs about 150 kilograms. Under the Meiji government the land on Enoshima was distributed and allocated among all the households and landownership that had been officially registered. The names of the households owning land are listed and recorded on the historic map (see Figure 1).



*Figure 2.* Main hall of the Koyurugi Shrine in Koshigoe. Adapted from Patrick Hein, personal photograph, July 30, 2012.

The Yasaka Shrine and the Koyurugi Shrine are the two key places of interest of the Tennō-sai. Compared to Yasaka Shrine, Koyurugi Shrine has a long and glorious history (Kamio & Willson, 2008; Kamakura Board of Education, 2009). Figure 2 shows the main hall. It was originally built by Moritsuna Sasaki 盛綱 佐々木, a samurai warrior from the mid-twelfth century and follower of the famous warlord and founder of the Kamakura Shogunate, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源 頼朝. When he passed through in 1185 on his way to Benzaiten 弁才天, 弁財天—another important female deity worshipped in Enoshima—he was impressed by the natural beauty, especially the pine trees, and decided to build a shrine dedicated to Hachioji-gu 八王子宮—his clan’s guardian kami from Shiga prefecture—in Enoshima. According to the official record of the Kamakura Shogunate, Moritsuna followed Minamoto no Noriyori’s 源 範頼 troops to subjugate the Hei-shi 平氏 clan (also known as Heike or Taira). In 1184, he and his five retainers succeeded in bringing Taira Yukimori 平 行盛 to justice in Okayama prefecture. To express his gratitude towards the kami, he finally found the ideal place to build a branch shrine of his clan’s guardian deity Hachioji-gu, here in the coastal hills. Thus Koyurugi Shrine was originally called Hachioji-gu.

In 1333, before NittaYoshisada 新田義貞 began attacking the Hojo 北条 clan in Kamakura, he came to the shrine to pray for victory and his wish was granted. To express

his gratitude, Nitta donated a sword and gold towards reconstructing the new shrine. The Lord of Odawara Castle, Tadazane Okubo 大久保 忠真 wrote a tablet ‘San-jinja’ (The Three Shrines) and donated it to the shrine. The three deities Susanoo no Mikoto, Takemina-katano-kami 建御名方神 and Yamato Takeru-no-mikoto 日本武尊 are worshipped here. Toshitoku-jin 歳徳神, a lucky deity known for symbolizing a “favorable direction” or in other words a direction that brings good luck, is also enshrined here. In the Edo Period (1603–1868), the shrine was under the supervision of Josenji, a Shingon sect temple nearby. In 1868 the name was changed from Hachioji-gu to Koyurugi Shrine due to the enforced separation of Shintō and Buddhism. In the early 19th century, the community in Koshigoe reconstructed Koyurugi as their guardian shrine.



*Figure 3.* The Yasaka Shrine on Enoshima Island. Adapted from Patrick Hein, personal photograph, Jan. 18, 2011.

The year of construction of Yasaka Shrine is unknown. Its existence seems to go back to the Edo period. Figure 3 shows the main hall of the shrine. There is evidence suggesting that Yasaka Shrine was called Tennō Shrine during the Edo period (Hori, 2013a). The Yasaka mikoshi (sacred palanquin) was built in 1823 and the shrine itself was rebuilt in 1844 and renamed Yasaka Shrine in 1873. As the name Yasaka indicates, it is an offshoot of the main Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto.

Besides Yasaka Shrine, there are three other major shrines on Enoshima Island and each shrine is managed by a different clan or group: Yasaka Shrine was constructed in the precincts of today’s Hetsu-no-miya (Shrine at the edge) which belongs to the residents of Higashi-machi and the Shimo-no-bo clan. The other two shrines are Nakatsu-no-miya (Shrine at the Middle) managed by the Kami-no-bo clan and the Okutsu-no-miya (Shrine at the Depth) managed by the powerful Iwamoto-in 院 (the Iwamoto temple complex) clan who played a leading role in shaping Enoshima’s identity, initially as a pilgrimage destination and later on as a popular mass tourism site (Iwamoto, 1973). How is it possible that a Buddhist organization owns and manages Shintō shrines? Contrary to earlier studies that portrayed Shintō and Buddhism as totally separate traditions, more recent scholarship by Kuroda Toshio stresses the similarities (Dobbins, 1996). One of the reasons why Buddhism became so successfully implanted into Japan is that Buddhism and Shintō held

common beliefs and traditions and were from the beginning thoroughly intertwined (Reader, 2005). Iwamoto-in representatives were the first to build a shrine on Enoshima Island to honor and worship Benzaiten, enshrined in the rocky sea cave. Benzaiten is the Japanese name for the Hindu deity Saraswati. The current chairman Yasuaki Iwamoto, who used to manage the family business in the 49th generation, has recently been released from his duties to become a Shintō shrine association official. According to Hardacre (2002), the Iwamoto-in family fought hard to gain “the authority to appoint the priests of Kami-no-bo and to prevent the priests of Shimo-no-bo from selling talismans and amulets” (p. 122).

### Historic Origins and Meaning of the Tennō-sai

Festivals reflect institutional and socioeconomic power arrangements that are fundamental to understanding the organization of society. Residents tend to be affiliated with different groups less as a matter of religious belief than because of their membership in a particular age group, profession or household that defines their economic and social status in the community. From the Heian (794–1185) to the Edo periods (1603–1868), the religious authority of Shingon Buddhism benefited from having a stable parish membership and stable financial base. The Tokugawa Shogunate (1600–1868) institutionalized a nationwide system of Buddhist affiliations on the local level-known as the *danka* system, whereby every family household was compelled to register with its local Buddhist temple (Tamamuro, 2001).

When Buddhism was introduced to Japan in the 6th century, it flourished under the protection of the nation’s rulers until the Tokugawa Shogunate (1600–1868) ended in 1867 with the abdication of Tokugawa Yoshinobu. From the very beginning, Buddhism saw itself as a part of the state and governing apparatus (Starrs, 2011). As a religion, Buddhism promised salvation and rebirth to those who followed the way of Buddha and, by the same token, the way of the worldly rulers. Buddhist monks prayed for the military victories of the rulers and sought their patronage in return for these services. The over evaluation of life’s negative elements and of suffering in general brought Buddhism closer to the ruling class. As Mumford (1956) has pointed out, Buddhist doctrinal formulations were supportive of secular rule because “since man only learns by suffering, conquerors and tyrants who promote suffering are divine instruments of man’s salvation” (p. 74). As a result, the Buddhist doctrine of original enlightenment led Japanese Buddhism “to become highly conservative, socially moribund, and complicit with power structures” (Reader, 2005, p. 435). The leading temples of Enoshima associated themselves with the dominant Shingon sect to further strengthen their relationship with the Tokugawa rulers. In 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川 家康 (1542–1616), the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, visited Enoshima and made it the official prayer hall for the Tokugawa family. The third shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu

徳川 家光 (1623-1651) conferred the *shuin* (vermillion seal) status on Enoshima in 1648. Thal (2005) has argued that this seal granted a special status to religious associations in the Edo period. In the case of Enoshima, the vermillion seal had been bestowed on the Iwamoto-in, which controlled the temple complex in Enoshima. The vermillion seal not only acknowledged the right to income from religious activities but also elevated religious representatives to higher social status positions similar to minor territorial lords. Thal (2005) concludes that “through these systems of privileges, confirmations and grants, Tokugawa Iemitsu strengthened the network of loyalties and responsibilities that tied both *daimyo* (shogunal lords) and prestigious religious institutions to shogunal authority” (p. 61).

As these transformations occurred, social tensions inevitably rose. In the Edo period Iwamoto-in, the most powerful of the three groups that manage the shrines in Enoshima, assumed control of the island. With an increase in visitors to Enoshima, a positive economic effect occurred. However, Iwamoto-in excluded fishermen of Higashi-machi from the profits. The fishermen felt disadvantaged and were at odds with the Iwamoto clan over the unequal distribution of income and benefits from pilgrimage (Nenzi, 2004, p. 306). As the Edo period came to a close, Buddhist temples needed to create additional income to compensate for the loss of earlier forms of income related to pilgrimage activities. Many temples went bankrupt in the early Meiji period (1868-1912) because of a lack of economic resources. Such was the case for some of the temples in Enoshima. The temples that survived the economic crisis were often those that had possessed considerable land holdings. The ownership of land was a key predictor of an institution’s ability to secure financial stability. Although these richer temples lost their shogunal land-grants, they managed to create enough new revenue to survive. Buddhism in general suffered a drop in wealth and prestige in the transition years from the Edo era to the Meiji era. Buddhist temples on all levels of the Buddhist hierarchy lost the financial security they had previously enjoyed under the Tokugawa system when temple lands granted by the shogunate were reclaimed by Meiji authorities in 1871. A second blow came in 1872 when the *danka* system was abolished (Nakane, 1990). Finally, the Meiji government obtained the right and prerogative to appoint and dismiss Buddhist priests (Breen, 2000). Despite the sudden economic downturn, Iwamoto-in escaped bankruptcy and started a new business operating a Japanese inn. Hence, it changed its official name from Iwamoto-in to Iwamoto-ro 楼, which means watchtower or lookout and refers to the high location of the building on a hill.

The Tennō-sai festival in Enoshima is believed to be a copy of the famous Gion festival in Kyoto, whose beginnings date back to the year 863 CE. In cities, frequent outbreaks of infectious diseases during the summer months were believed to be caused by displeased kami and angry spirits. Thus, many traditional summertime festivals were originally meant to ward off illness and disease. Neighboring areas with close trading ties with

Kyoto also suffered outbreaks of diseases and organized their own festivals similar to the Gion festival. On the other hand, people in the countryside faced different problems. Summer was the season when farmers' crops were threatened by insects, typhoons, and floods. Consequently, many rural summer festivals were supposed to drive away pests or fend off typhoons (Fukami, 2008).

The main Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto was first built in 656 CE to stave off epidemics in Kyoto. The epidemics were believed to have been caused by the curse of Gozu-Tennō. The Yasaka Shrine was built to appease the angry kami. As epidemic diseases suddenly decreased, people in Kyoto began to venerate the kami. Gozu-Tennō was associated with Susanoo because both were considered to be *gyoyaku jin* or deities that spread epidemics.

There is little information about the origins of the Tennō-sai festival. No evidence indicates that it has similar ancient roots to the Gion festival. It is believed to have existed only since the end of the 19th century and was initiated by fishermen to stave off epidemics that most likely spread during the hot summer months. Contrary to the Gion festival in Kyoto which is supported by the township associations composed of self-employed shop owners, merchants and craftsmen, the Tennō-sai is a festival that is primarily organized by the cooperative fishermen associations of Enoshima and Koshigoe. Another difference between the Gion festival and the Tennō-sai festival is the spatial element: whereas the Gion festival is confined to Kyoto city, the Tennō-sai festival is a cross border event commemorating the union between two city wards (Katase Enoshima ward of Fujisawa city and Koshigoe ward of Kamakura city). Finally, the Gion festival lasts almost one month, whereas the Tennō-sai festivities are spread over one week.

Apart from protection against evil spirits and diseases, the Tennō-sai was initiated to strengthen the symbolic bonds between the two fishing communities. There are two reasons to support this point. First, according to legend, the *shintai* (身体 the kami body) statue of Susanoo enshrined in Koyurugi was washed out by a huge tsunami and drifted away from Koshigoe towards Enoshima Island where it was rescued in front of a sacred cave by a local fisherman from Higashi-machi. The fishermen took care of the *shintai* and placed the statue in front of Yasaka Shrine where it has been worshipped since. Thanks to the miraculous rescue, deep new bonds of friendship were established and forged between Higashi-machi and Koshigoe. The fishermen of Koshigoe showed their appreciation and gratitude to the fishermen of Enoshima by holding a festival to commemorate the rescue. Second, consecutive municipal mergers created the need to foster and reinforce already existing bonds by conducting a festival. Indeed, during the early Edo period, Koshigoe was an independent village that maintained close ties with the fishermen from Higashi-machi on Enoshima Island. However, in the wake of the newly enacted Meiji city-town-village (*shi-machi-mura*) system that was established to make regional administrative governance more efficient, Koshigoe village and adjacent Tsumura village were merged in 1889 into Koshigoe-Tsumura town (Mosk, 2001). At the same time,



Enoshima village was merged with another adjacent village, Katase, and renamed Kawaguchi village. Therefore, Enoshima and Koshigoe were physically separated from each other through these administrative reforms. Several fishermen from Enoshima and Koshigoe disagreed with the administrative mergers and were convinced that the situation prior to the merger reflected a more natural order. Hence, the festival was created to embrace the close historic, professional and spatial ties between the two fishing communities that had been separated by the mergers.

## Discussion

The Tennō-sai differs from other festivals in one important point: Local historians such as Hori Hironao (Hori, 2013) agree that a symbolic reunion between male and female deities, generally observed during festivals in Japan, does not seem to take place in this case. The same deity Susanoo is symbolically shared between two communities and this act symbolizes the annual conjunction of the two communities. Two questions that immediately come to mind are: How can the same kami be carried simultaneously in two different palanquins and how can the same kami be enshrined in two different locations? This is certainly one aspect of Shintō religion that defies conventional explanations.

As stated already, it is argued that the Tennō-sai is not directly related to the cult of Benzaiten as has been previously suggested by academic scholarship. For example Helen Hardacre, a professor of Japanese religions at Harvard University, claims that the Tennō-sai festival symbolizes the reunion of a male deity-in this case Susanoo-and a female deity-in this case Benzaiten. In a detailed study on the topic, she writes that the Tennō-sai resembles the Tanabata festival:

The principal deity of the Koyurugi Shrine is Susanoo, a male deity famed in Kojiki myth. During the seventh month, the Enoshima deity [Benzaiten] is taken in her vermilion palanquin to meet Susanoo in his purple-decorated palanquin at his shrine, in a motif corresponding to the Tanabata festival. On this festival of the seventh day of the seventh month, the stars Altair and Vega in their mythologized forms of the Cowherd and the Heavenly Milkmaid rendezvous in the sky, their only meeting throughout the year. Likewise, the Koyurugi and Enoshima shrines enact an annual conjunction of their deities (respectively male and female) during the seventh month. (Hardacre, 2002, p. 189)

Even though the assumed ritual reunion between a male and a female deity reflects more wishful thinking than reality, the nature of the relationship between Benzaiten and Susanoo has given rise to speculation. There is, for example, speculation that Benzaiten might be the daughter of Susanoo. Further studies are required to determine the

relationship (if any) between Benzaiten and Susanoo. Another point worth noting is that every sixty years another grand festival is held in Enoshima, called the *Midoshishikinen-taisai* 巳年式年大祭, to celebrate the reunion of Benzaiten with the male dragon kami.

### Main Ritual Performances During the Festival

During the weeklong festival, two mikoshi are carried into the sea and paraded through the streets linking the two shrines (Hori, 2013a). It should be mentioned that mikoshi are not “portable shrines” as widely believed, but rather a sacred palanquin. The deity of the shrine is symbolically transferred to the palanquin and carried out of the shrine by the parishioners to visit the community and bestow virtues on them. Before the festival, participants will refrain from secular activities for a certain period in order to purify their bodies. On the main day of the Tennō-sai, the festival begins with a ritual purification performance in Hetsu-no-miya, one of the Enoshima shrines. The mikoshi is then carried into the village, to bring the power of the divine spirit to the community. It is believed that renewed energy will pervade the village. Thus, the community reconfirms its relationship with the deity. Depending on the festival, there are occasions when *dashi* (festival cars) and *yatai* (floats) accompany the portable shrines. In the past, huge festival cars of Koshigoe accompanied the mikoshi parade but due to the high maintenance cost and manpower required to operate the cars it has been decided to leave them in garages. The participants, mostly parishioners of the Yasaka Shrine, carry the mikoshi of Yasaka around Enoshima. Women are neither allowed to carry the main mikoshi into the water nor permitted to enter the sacred shrine locations out of custom and tradition. They are, however, allowed to follow the procession and attend ritual performances outside the shrine sanctuary. Access to the Tennō-sai has traditionally been restricted to resident fishermen even though anyone may participate as an observer. Despite these restrictions, the men who carry the mikoshi are neither volunteers nor local residents. Due to the shortage of local fishermen, it has become customary to hire the festival pullers and carriers of mikoshi, dressed in white loincloths, from outside. They are professionals who take part in matsuri nationwide and are recruited just for this purpose. Figure 4 shows details of the location and of the route taken by the mikoshi.

In Figure 4, the Yasaka Shrine can be seen on the left side at the top of the island; the Koyurugi Shrine is on the upper right side. The dotted line shows the parade route for the Yasaka mikoshi. A large mikoshi is carried from the Yasaka Shrine located at the top of Enoshima Island down into the water next to the harbor front. Then the mikoshi is moved up and down rhythmically. A boat carries a priest who performs Shintō rituals and blesses the crowds. He is assisted by a shrine maiden. They hold up golden *gohei* (sacred paper streamers) as a symbol of the deity and purify the palanquin and bearers again with evergreen (*sakaki*) branches. As participants take the palanquin into the waves, music



Figure 4. Graphic detail of the main festival route: the two mikoshi, surrounded by fishing boats, are carried into the sea from opposite sides. Adapted from Hori, 2013a.

and drums urge them on from the shore. At the same time, another mikoshi is carried from Koyuguri Shrine into the ocean off the mainland beach. However, both mikoshi do not meet in the sea. After the sea dipping, each of the mikoshi leaves the sea and returns. The Yasaka mikoshi is then carried to the *otabisho* 御旅所 temporary resting place which is located in the village square of Higashi-machi. This is the place where the sacred palanquin is lodged during the festival. With the arrival of the mikoshi at the resting place, the Otabisho-sai ceremony is performed. Then, it returns to the shrine by a different course. Thus, these spaces are linked and form a unity through the passage of the mikoshi. At the same time, the rituals help connect these spaces to the community's daily activities.

In the afternoon, the mikoshi of Yasaka pays a courtesy visit to Koshigoe. While the mikoshi of Yasaka is carried to Koshigoe, the mikoshi of Koyurugi is already waiting for it to exchange greetings. Both mikoshi are then paraded around Koshigoe and arrive later at Koyurugi. Then, the mikoshi of Yasaka returns to Enoshima, while the mikoshi of Koyurugi sends it off by following halfway. Nowadays, the passage at sea is performed for both mikoshi; however, the passage at sea for the mikoshi of Koyurugi is a newly introduced element of the festival. Thus, the rituals, which are performed at sea with each mikoshi, differ in terms of their symbolic meanings.

## Conclusion

This paper has argued that festivals can be interpreted as an emotional means to embrace local independence and autonomy. We can see from the examination of the Tennōsai the important role festivals play in preserving the identity and pride of fishing communities threatened by socioeconomic marginalization and social exclusion. The

present study demonstrated that fishermen had mostly been excluded from the benefits of the pilgrimage business in Enoshima during the Edo period (1603–1868). It was further argued that a new festival, the Tennō-sai, was created in the early Meiji period (1868–1877) when Buddhism had gradually lost its economic wealth and prestige. This new festival, named after the famous Gion festival in Kyoto, presented an opportunity for fishermen to reshape and redefine their social identity in the wake of rapid modernization. The main reasons that have been identified for creating the festival were: warding off diseases and epidemics in the summer season by worshipping and appeasing the kami to avoid their anger and curses as well as reiterating symbolic bonds between two fishing communities separated by municipal mergers. The article further pointed out that the Tennō-sai has been mistakenly interpreted by some scholars as a reunion between the main male deity Susanoo and the male female deity Benzaiten. The opposite was found: the same deity, in this case Susanoo, has been enshrined in two different locations and is shared between two different communities. The symbolic division of the deity during the festival further enhances the close and intimate ties between the two fishing communities. It can be said that the Tennō-sai seeks to reaffirm the identities of fishermen and to revitalize the community bonds among local fishermen separated by municipal mergers and marginalized socioeconomically.

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**Appendix: Timetable of Main Festival Events From July 9 to July 14**July 9 to July 12

All day: Preparing for main festival day. Transfer of the *shintai* of Susanoo from Yasaka Shrine to a temporary shrine.

July 13, 2013 (pre-festival day)

2 : 30 a.m.: Participants gather in front of the Fisheries Cooperative Community Hall

6 : 00 a.m.: Departure of children's portable shrine

7 : 45 a.m.: Move to the temporary shrine where the *shintai* rests

11 : 30 a.m.: Return to the Fisheries Community Hall

12 : 00 a.m.: Disperse

July 14, 2013 (main festival event day)

7 : 30 a.m.: Move the *shintai* from the temporary shrine location to the Hetsu-no-miya shrine

8 : 15 a.m.: Welcome the delegation from Koshigoe on the Benten Bridge, connecting Enoshima with the mainland

8 : 30 a.m.: All participants depart for Hetsu-no-miya Shrine

9 : 00 a.m.: Arrival at Hetsu-no-miya Shrine

9 : 30 a.m.: Play *shangiri* (festival music) in front of the Hetsu-no-miya Shrine

10 : 00 a.m.: Departure of two mikoshi: one from Yasaka Shrine and one from Koyurugi Shrine

11 : 00 a.m.: Participants enter the sea separately on the Enoshima harbor side and Koshigoe beach side and return to their respective home shrines.

1 : 30 p.m.: Grand procession from Enoshima to Koyurugi shrine and back to Enoshima

6 : 30 p.m.: Show the statue of the deity Susanoo to the public (displayed only once every 6 years)

8 : 30 p.m.: Crowd arrives at Fisheries Community Hall and disperses