PILGRIM PLACES:
A STUDY OF THE EIGHTY-EIGHT SACRED PRECINCTS OF THE SHIKOKU PILGRIMAGE, JAPAN

by

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ABSTRACT

Although the phenomenon of pilgrimage is extremely wide-spread, each pilgrimage has its own distinctive patterns and traditions. This fact makes it difficult to find a single method adequate for the geographic study of pilgrimage in general. This study, based on field work in 1972-3, considers the eighty-eight sacred places of the Shikoku pilgrimage, Japan, seeking to identify the features that make them distinctive in the landscape and that signify their special religious function. It examines pilgrim places as cases of the formal integration of particular physical features in sites manifesting recognized associations with religious figures, and eliciting the corresponding behaviour, and finally, filling a unique ceremonial role in their interaction with other places.

The eighty-eight sacred places, inherently consti uting a single, if complex and diverse, whole, lend themselves well to investigation by means of a procedure derived from componential analysis, a method initially developed by linguists. The inquiry so conducted permits the identification and consistent description of certain characteristic features of the pilgrim places and reveals the following notable regularities among the eighty-eight sacred places.

Absolute geographical position is not a necessary property. The "sacred" property depends upon certain physical features, which on occasion may be set up in new

sites. "Dominant" features have a fixed spatial property. The landscape features of pilgrim places change through time. The association of the places with sacred beings differentiates them from the surrounding secular space, and this association is clearly expressed in the landscape, and is acknowledged by pilgrims in repetitive ritual behaviour. The pilgrimage is characterized by the ability to accommodate the experienced practical needs of pilgrims. Pilgrim usage unites the places into distinct groups which, together with underlying symbolic concepts, provide guidelines for the practice of the pilgrimage.

While this study focuses on one specific pilgrimage, those aspects of the pilgrim places examined are not unique to the Shikoku sacred places. These aspects are shared by pilgrim places throughout Japan and are likely common to places of pilgrimage within other religious contexts. The study documents the "external" geographic dimension of the Shikoku pilgrimage within a particular framework and specified scale. In so doing it introduces a method for simple and consistent formal description of places significant for religion and demonstrates its applicability. In this way it contributes to the relevant geographic documentation of a Buddhist pilgrimage and hopefully takes a step toward the achievement of a systematic "morphology of landscape".

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NOTES

1. Throughout this study, the Hepburn system of Romanization is used for Japanese words.

2. The macron (bar above the vowel) is used with O and U to indicate the long sound, e.g. Dōjō, Kenkyū.

3. Hyphens are used to elucidate meaning and pronunciation. In addition, the convention is followed of always writing a hyphen before Ji which means temple, e.g. Ryōzen-ji.

4. As there is no plural form of Japanese nouns they are not pluralized when used in their plural sense in the English text.

5. All dates included in the text refer to the Gregorian Calendar, not the Japanese Calendar, and all are A.D. unless otherwise indicated.

6. The sacred places of the Shikoku pilgrimage are identified by temple name and the number associated with each one, e.g. Hōrin-ji (9).

7. Important Japanese words included in the text are listed in Appendix B and their Kanji or Chinese characters, and English equivalent when such exists, are also given. In certain cases, it has been deemed necessary for consistency to choose one of several possible Japanese terms for a particular class of objects or activities, and to employ it uniformly throughout the text. Thus, for example, "kimono" is used everywhere, although nearly equivalent terms like byakui and junreii might reasonably be substituted.

CHAPTER ONE

PILGRIMAGE AS A GEOGRAPHIC PROBLEM

Introduction

Common to many cultural traditions is the concept of man as a pilgrim and life as a pilgrimage, for it accords with the "myth of the celestial origin of man, of his 'fall' and [of] his hopes of being restored to the celestial realm".[1] Whether it is this view of life as a pilgrimage that lends pilgrimage its special value or not, the institution of pilgrimage, a journey to some sacred place or places undertaken as an act of devotion, seems to exist in all major religions. Jews and Christians make pilgrimages to the Holy Land; Muslims must undertake the great pilgrimage to Mecca; in Buddhism pilgrimage is the primary bond of an otherwise loose religious community.[2]

The seemingly ubiquitous phenomenon of pilgrimage functions in a variety of ways within human life. "From pilgrimage man hopes for property and prosperity, fulfilment of desires, annulment of sin, admission to the divine world and eternal bliss".[3] A pilgrimage reassures its participants that the troubles and uncertainties of daily life will be overcome. Anxieties are dispelled and fears lessened through the psychological comfort attained. Pilgrimage provides validation and reinforcement of values and strengthens the preference for particular modes of

behaviour. It also serves to reinforce the human bond within the particular cultural group as it provides the opportunity for expression and communication of shared "religious" beliefs.

In addition to serving various human needs, pilgrimage has played an important historical role in the development and maintenance of communities. For example, it would "seem to have contributed to the maintenance of some kind of international community in Christendom, for French, Spanish, German, and Dutch speakers visited the shrine of Thomas-à-Becket at Canterbury".[4] For the Muslims, "the pilgrimage was not the only factor making for cultural unity and social mobility in the Islamic world - but it was certainly an important one, perhaps the most important".[5]

That pilgrimage is complex and diverse in its nature and function is evidenced in the widely varying viewpoints adopted by scholars in their attempt to understand and appreciate its existence. Its many aspects are evidenced in the consideration of it within religious, sociological, psychological, economic, ethnographical, and historical contexts. An overview of pilgrimage from all these viewpoints is presented in Sources Orientales, Les Pèlerinages.[6]

All pilgrimages, however, are basically similar in concentrating on places recognized as sacred by the respective cultural groups.

Sacred places are those locations where the sacred manifests itself, shows itself, and thus makes man aware of its presence. Sacred places may be the locations of hierophany[7] or their sacredness may simply be indicated by a sign. To the religious man, they are a kind of "monadnock" in the homogeneous, profane, flat plain. At countless sacred places, sacredness or holiness is centred on a temple, shrine, synagogue, church, stupa or some other structure "but the sacred aura [is] diffused over the neighboring space, everything in it - the trees and the animals - [are] elevated by the association".[8] Over the ages numerous places have come to be recognized as sacred. Among them, particular sacred places, pilgrimage centres, have attracted the faithful in vast number. Such places have significant geographic impact.

The places encompassed by pilgrimages are focal points for particular symbolization and communication through geographic forms, that is, "concrete visible features of landscape, as well as the more elusive spatial structures".[9] It is through the accommodation of various pilgrim activities that these places satisfy, at least in part, spiritual needs common to all mankind. Through their attraction of multitudes of worshippers from widely divergent areas, these places function as points of convergence and as foci of cultural exchange. The constant movement of people coming to and returning from these places may promote flows

of ideas and commodities and also certain less desirable flows such as the spread of epidemic diseases which may, if sufficiently severe, change the demographic character of any given area. In all of these ways the places of pilgrimage exert considerable influence on the landscape, both directly and indirectly. Because pilgrimages encompass specific places, and because these places are changed and enriched by them, pilgrimages are of particular interest to geographers.

"Place" is a frequently encountered concept in geography, continually a focal point of the discipline. Yet "the concept has scarcely been examined"[10] and moreover "it is not used in a consistent sense".[11] "Place" has been used to refer to a particular and specific part of space and to what may occupy that space, thus suggesting that there is something distinctive about the idea of place.[12] It has usually been difficult, however, to state simply and consistently the distinctiveness and character of, and differences among, places. One reason that "geographers have largely failed to convey the character and significance of the places they claim to be describing"[13] is the scarceness of methods for the process of delineation and clarification of the character of places.

While a variety of places, functioning diversely in human existence, manifest certain distinctiveness, perhaps the distinctiveness is nowhere as explicit and as clearly

expressed as it is among "religious places". Among those places which may be termed "religious places", holy places of pilgrimage have been of particular attraction to geographers. The distinct contribution of geographers to the understanding of pilgrim places may be said to be the explicit recognition of the significance of pilgrimage within the framework of place-bound phenomena.

Stoddard focused on one aspect of geographic place: the idea of location as it relates to pilgrimage. He found generalizations about the location of sacred places to be virtually non-existent in geographic literature, and conducted an analysis of the distribution of Hindu holy sites in India.[14] To account for the distribution of major holy sites, Stoddard formulated three hypotheses: "the major Hindu holy sites are distributed optimally relative to the Hindu population where optimality is defined in terms of minimizing aggregate travel distance (p. 140); the distribution of the major holy sites is similar but not coincident to that of largest urban centers (p. 142); the distribution of certain social characteristics of the population might indicate the location of holy sites" (p. 142). After a statistical examination he concludes that "in essence the three hypotheses pertaining to the distribution of holy sites and their relationship to other phenomena were found inadequate as stated" (p. 143). The fundamental weaknesses in the premises on which the three hypotheses were formulated

are pointed out by Bhardwaj.[15]

Another aspect of geographic place is the fact that a system of spatial interactions link unique places within a framework of circulation.[16] It is circulation specifically among the places of pilgrimage that is Bhardwaj's concern. In his study, Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India: A Study in Cultural Geography, Bhardwaj recognizes that "the character of places and spatial organization lie at the core of geography" (p. 225) and so justifies his consideration of "the nature of circulation generated by sacred places...as a problem in geography" (p. 225). Through "a combination of the historical-geographic approach and the synchronic study of religious circulation" (p. 9), he attempts to "understand the nature of interconnections between the Hindu sacred places of different levels and their pilgrimage fields [catchment areas] arrived at through the calculation of standard deviation of pilgrim distances travelled to each place. While this study incorporates both an historical overview of Indian pilgrimages and a contemporary examination of them and presents a great deal of valuable material, the validity of the procedure employed in the determination of "levels of interaction" is questioned by Sopher.[17]

Circulation is the focal point of Sopher's study "Pilgrim Circulation in Gujarat".[18] Through the analysis of field data, he conducts a spatial analysis of Gujarati

pilgrim traffic and also touches on the broader questions of "how pilgrimages may widen the horizons of country folk and serve to integrate regions such as Gujarat as well as the whole of India" (p. 392). While Sopher reveals "some interesting correspondences between pilgrim circulation fields and cultural subregions, as well as significant regional variations in level of commitment to particular religious traditions",[19] Bhardwaj suggests that the study throws relatively little light on such questions as: why do certain pilgrims frequent certain specific places? What are the bases of pilgrimage as an institution? Is commitment more important than the caste or the economic level of the pilgrim? What are the pertinent factors associated with the varying sacred places?[20]

Another important aspect of geographic place is that "places are localised - they are parts of larger areas and are focuses in a system of localisation".[21] Localization of the places of pilgrimage is one of the many aspects of pilgrimage discussed by Deffontaines, in his classic work Géographie et Religions.[22] In the chapter entitled "Géographie des Pèlerinages" he discusses pilgrimages in different areas of the world. In the broad context of circulation, he stresses the importance and localization of pilgrimages, their attraction and duration, the modes of transport, the assistance given to pilgrims and the effect of pilgrimages on settlements.

These major studies have afforded considerable insight into the geographic character of pilgrimage and at the same time have pointed out a variety of approaches to the geographical study of places as they relate to pilgrimage.

Not unexpectedly, there is wide variation in the nature of pilgrimage as defined within the canonical structure of each religion;[23] yet it would seem that all pilgrimages are fundamentally earth-bound institutions having specific physical locations. Their major structures and attributes are relatively fixed. A pilgrimage incorporates certain practices, and requires a specific setting, thus giving rise to distinct geographic and behavioural forms. Between the specific set of places and particular pilgrim behaviour, dynamic interactions occur.

Perhaps the concept of place as an integration of particular physical features, recognized association, corresponding behaviour, and interaction with other places is nowhere more clearly exemplified than at pilgrimage centres. The character of pilgrimage is expressed through specific places, their particular geographic forms, patterns of pilgrim behaviour, the forms of the interactions between the places and the behaviour, and the communication with the object of worship thus engendered. As this strong expression appears to be shared by all pilgrimages, a geographical consideration of these areas of expression may lead us to the development of a body of reliable knowledge

about pilgrimage and to the possible development of a procedure to interpret and record such expression of place.

The formal expression of pilgrimage within one cultural context may be formally described in terms of the places encompassed and the interactions which occur between these places and the particular pilgrim behaviour which occurs at them. Such a description, to be relevant, must be selective according to well defined criteria, and must be verifiable. The procedure of generalization through which the substantive description is obtained must be wide-ranging in its application and must be explicitly stated. A method for capturing place distinctions within a non-mentalistic paradigm, simply and consistently, is here offered.

An attempt will be made in this study, to identify, describe, and synthesize the geographic expression of one particular pilgrimage within one cultural context. My familiarity with the Japanese "culture" led to the selection of a Japanese pilgrimage as the focus of this study. The specific pilgrimage to be considered is the Buddhist pilgrimage to the eighty-eight sacred places of Shikoku Island, and for the reasons that follow.

1. Participated in by thousands of pilgrims annually, today and in the past, this pilgrimage was one of the earliest to be established in Japan and as such may possibly have been the precursor of many that were to come into existence at a later time. The duration of the Shikoku pilgrimage together

with its considerable attraction to the Japanese population over time makes it possible to consider this pilgrimage representative of the phenomenon of pilgrimage in Japan.

2. Although this pilgrimage is associated primarily with one particular Buddhist priest and the sect he originated, it is a national phenomenon known throughout Japan and participated in by individuals from diverse classes of society and of various religious affiliations. Despite the rapid industrialization and westernization of Japan in recent decades, the pilgrimage has not decreased in popularity; in fact, it seems to serve as a link with older cultural traditions and as a well-spring of Japanese religious life.

3. This pilgrimage covers the most extensive geographic area and incorporates the greatest number of sacred places of any pilgrimage within Japan, making generalization possible.

The investigation of the Shikoku pilgrimage will be carried out through a consideration of four primary aspects of the pilgrimage. These are the geographic setting of the sacred places in terms of their assemblages of physical features, the association of the sacred places with various sacred beings, the relationships which occur between the geographic setting of the places of the pilgrimage and the particular pilgrim ritual behaviour that occurs therein, and the spatial interactions which exist among the eighty-eight

sacred places. These four aspects of the pilgrimage will, henceforth, be referred to as geographic setting, association, ritual, and spatial structure, respectively.

No study directly relating to the geographic expression of the Shikoku pilgrimage so considered has yet been undertaken. It is hoped that the present study will, through formal description, provide an initial understanding of the pilgrimage in its geographic expression, and that it will contribute to the general development of a valid method of achieving a meaningful "morphology of landscape".

It would be appropriate at this time to briefly introduce the Japanese Buddhist pilgrimage in general and the Shikoku pilgrimage in particular.

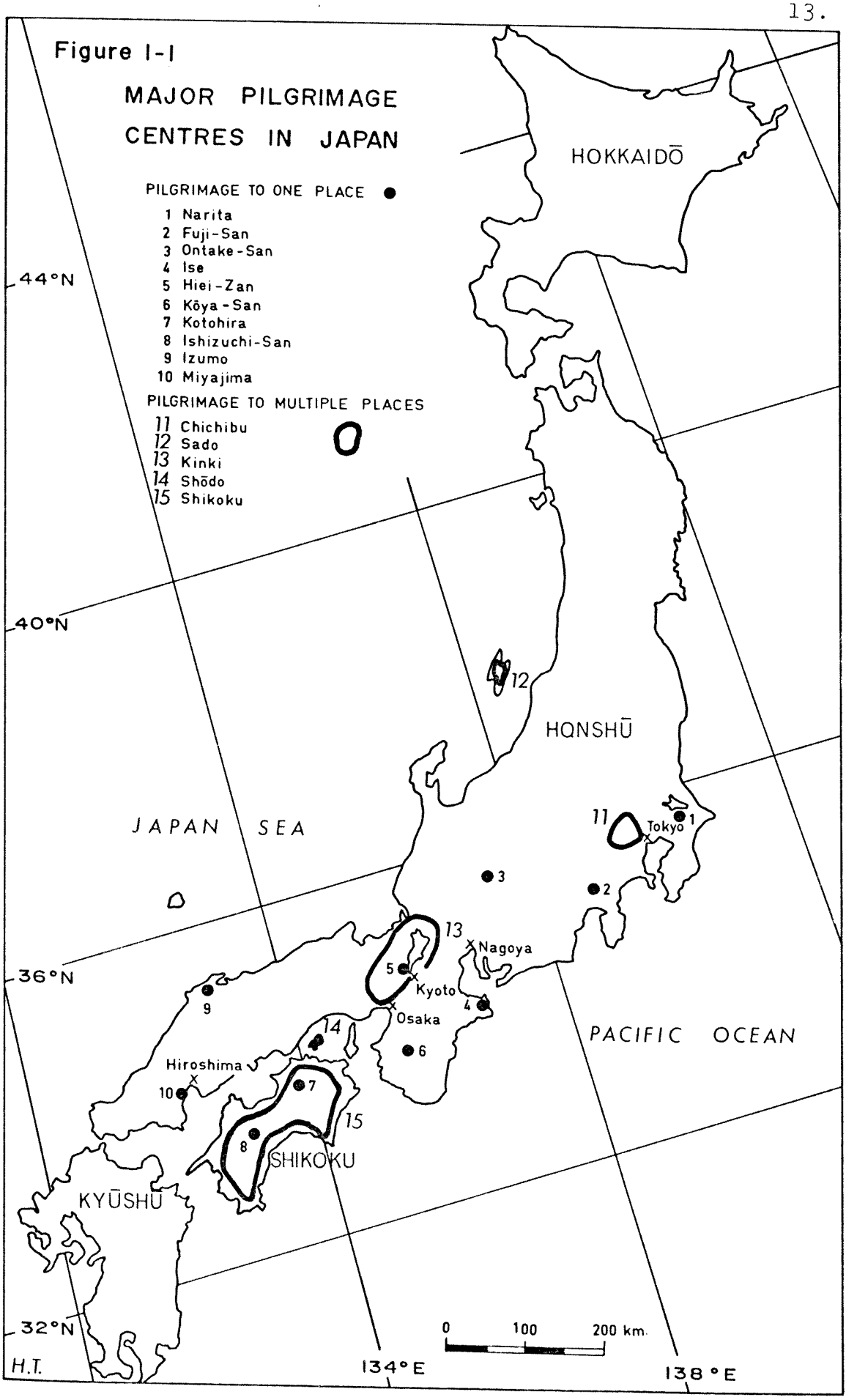
As in the other great religions, the practice of pilgrimage to sacred places for spiritual benefit and to render homage is common in Buddhism, though it was not advocated by Gautama Buddha.[24] It was not until after the death of Buddha in the sixth century B.C. that the practice of pilgrimage emerged, probably as his followers, borrowing the idea from Hinduism, began visiting those places throughout India to which Buddha's ashes were believed to have been distributed and at which memorial stupas had been erected.[25] Whatever its origin, the practice of pilgrimage has been widespread in Buddhism for many centuries, not only in the Mahāyāna school where it is most prevalent but also in those areas in which Hīnayāna Buddhism dominates.[26] Japan is one

country in which Mahāyāna Buddhism was adopted[27] and here this school contributed to the establishment of sacred places and the development of the practice of pilgrimage.

The earliest known reference to Junrei, the Japanese word for pilgrimage, appears in Nittō Guhō Junrei-gōki written by Priest Ennin after he travelled to China in 838 to study the teachings of Buddhism. It is commonly thought that the practice of pilgrimage was introduced to Japan in the mid-Heian Period (794-1192) by Buddhist priests who, during periods of study in China made pilgrimages to various sacred places and, on their return, were instrumental in establishing the practice of pilgrimage in Japan.

The many pilgrimages participated in by Japanese over the centuries and still carried on today include those to Narita, Fuji-San, Ontake-San, Ise, Hiei-Zan, Kōya-San, Kotohira, Ishizuchi-San, Izumo, Miyajima, the districts of Chichibu, Kinki, and the islands of Sado, Shōdo, and Shikoku (see Figure 1-1). Of these major pilgrimages, the first ten are pilgrimages to one sacred place while the latter five each encompass several sacred places visited in sequence. Of all those sacred places which exert a powerful pull on the Japanese people, the eighty-eight sacred places on Shikoku are among the most significant.

Figure I-I


MAJOR PILGRIMAGE CENTRES IN JAPAN
PILGRIMAGE TO ONE PLACE
1 Narita
2 Fuji-San
3 Ontake-San
4 Ise
5 Hiei-Zan
6 Kōya-San
7 Kotohira
8 Ishizuchi-San
9 Izumo
10 Miyajima
PILGRIMAGE TO MULTIPLE PLACES
11 Chichibu
12 Sado
13 Kinki
14 Shōdo
15 Shikoku
HOKKAIDŌ
HONSHŪ
JAPAN SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
SHIKOKU
KYŪSHŪ
Tokyo
Nagoya
Kyoto
Osaka
Hiroshima
44°N
40°N
36°N
32°N
134°E
138°E
0 100 200 km.
H.T.

Shikoku Pilgrimage

The smallest of Japan's four main islands, Shikoku, has an area of 18,782 square kilometres, and accommodates about four million people, the majority of them on its narrow coastal plain. The interior of the island is mountainous, the highest point being the summit of Mt. Ishizuchi at 1981 metres. Most of its human activity, including rice and fruit production, transportation and communication networks, and, on the Inland Sea coast, industrial development, occurs on the coastal fringe. Thus, a limited coastal area is intensively used for many purposes.

Here too, on the coastal fringe, is found the path used for centuries by countless numbers of pilgrims, leading some 1385 kilometres around the island. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that parts of the pilgrim path may be found, for large sections of it have been obliterated by the island's highway development. Yet extensive portions of the early path still remain and it is these that lead the walking pilgrim through the mountains and along the shore to each in turn of the eighty-eight sacred places encompassed by the Shikoku pilgrimage. Figure 1-2 shows the location of the sacred places and their mountain[28] and temple names are listed in Table 1-1. Throughout this study, temple names and their corresponding numbers, associated with the temples since the early eighteenth century, will be used to identify the sacred places.

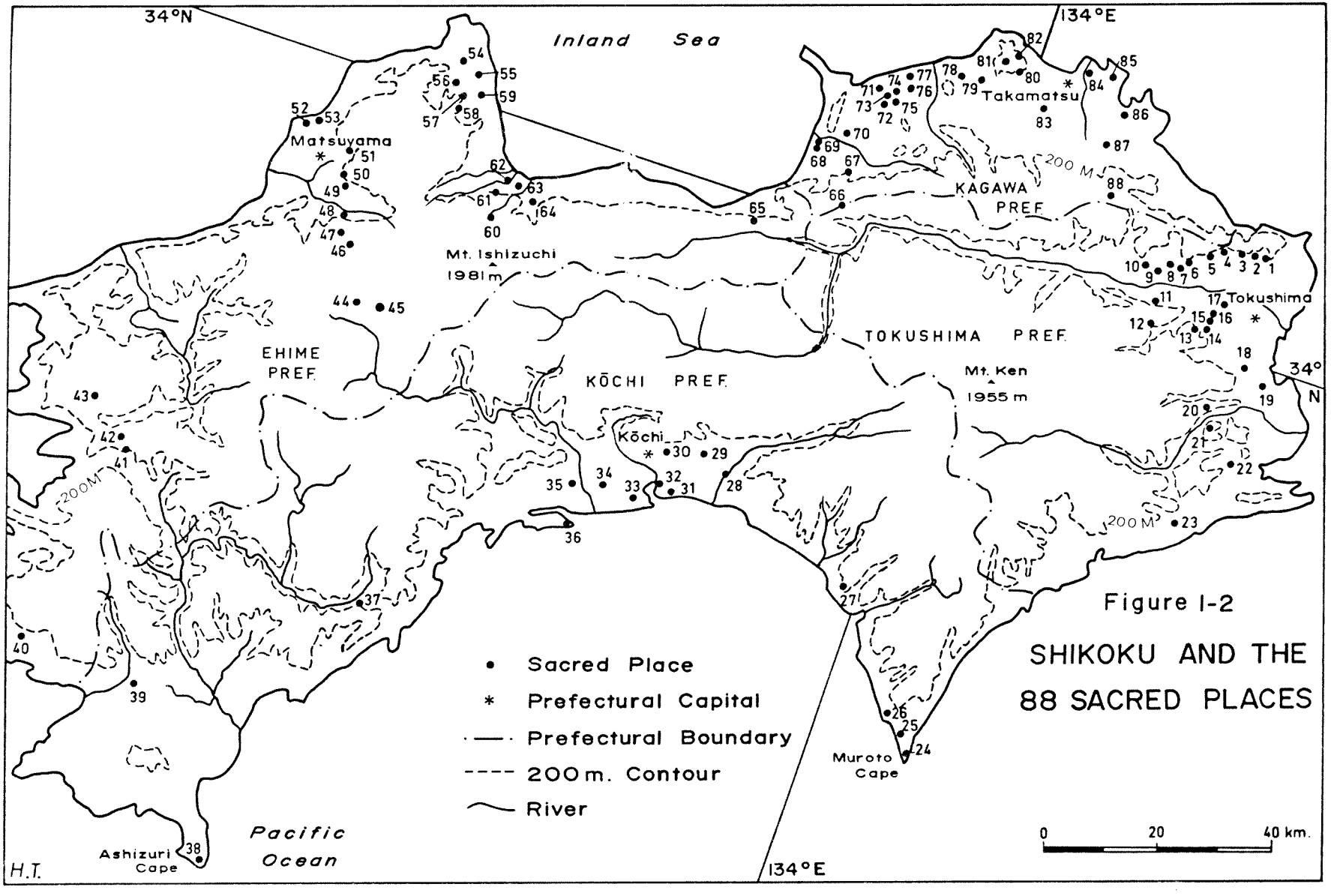


Figure I-2

SHIKOKU AND THE 88 SACRED PLACES

Table 1-1

MOUNTAIN NAMES AND TEMPLE NAMES OF THE SACRED PLACES

Number	Mountain Name		Temple Name	
1	Jikuwa-zan	竺和山	Ryōzen-ji	霊山寺
2	Nisshō-zan	日照山	Gokuraku-ji	極楽寺
3	Kikō-zan	亀光山	Konsen-ji	金泉寺
4	Kokugan-zan	黒巌山	Dainichi-ji	大日寺
5	Mujin-zan	無尽山	Jizō-ji	地蔵寺
6	Onsen-zan	温泉山	Anraku-ji	安楽寺
7	Kōmyō-zan	光明山	Jūraku-ji	十楽寺
8	Fumyō-zan	普明山	Kumadani-ji	熊谷寺
9	Shōkaku-zan	正覚山	Hōrin-ji	法輪寺
10	Tokudo-zan	得度山	Kirihata-ji	切幡寺
11	Kongō-zan	金剛山	Fujii-dera	藤井寺
12	Maro-san	摩盧山	Shōsan-ji	焼山寺
13	Dairitsu-zan	大栗山	Dainichi-ji	大日寺
14	Seiju-zan	盛寿山	Jōraku-ji	常楽寺
15	Hōyō-zan	法養山	Kokubun-ji	国分寺
16	Kōyō-zan	光耀山	Kannon-ji	観音寺
17	Ruri-zan	瑠璃山	Ido-ji	井戸寺
18	Boyō-zan	母養山	Onzan-ji	恩山寺
19	Kyōchi-zan	橘池山	Tatsue-ji	立江寺
20	Ryōju-zan	霊鷲山	Kakurin-ji	鶴林寺
21	Shashin-zan	舎心山	Tairyū-ji	太竜寺
22	Hakusui-zan	白水山	Byōdō-ji	平等寺
23	Iō-zan	医王山	Yakuō-ji	薬王寺
24	Muroto-zan	室戸山	Hotsumisaki-ji	最御崎寺
25	Hōju-zan	宝珠山	Shinshō-ji	津照寺
26	Ryūzu-zan	竜頭山	Kongōchō-ji	金剛頂寺
27	Chikurin-zan	竹林山	Kōnomine-ji	神峰寺
28	Hōkai-zan	法界山	Dainichi-ji	大日寺
29	Mani-zan	摩尼山	Kokuzun-ji	国分寺
30	Dodo-zan	百々山	Zenraku-ji	善楽寺

Number	Mountain Name		Temple Name	
31	Godai-zan	五台山	Chikurin-ji	竹林寺
32	Hachiyō-zan	八葉山	Zenjibu-ji	禅師峰寺
33	Kōfuku-zan	高福山	Sekkei-ji	雪蹊寺
34	Motoo-zan	本尾山	Tanema-ji	種間寺
35	Iō-zan	医王山	Kiyotaki-ji	清滝寺
36	Dokko-zan	独鈷山	Seiryū-ji	青竜寺
37	Fujii-zan	藤井山	Iwamoto-ji	岩本寺
38	Sada-san	蹉跎山	Kongōfuku-ji	金剛福寺
39	Sekki-zan	赤亀山	Enkō-ji	延光寺
40	Heijō-zan	平城山	Kanjizai-ji	観自在寺
41	Inari-zan	稲荷山	Ryūkō-ji	竜光寺
42	Ikka-zan	一塚山	Butsumoku-ji	仏木寺
43	Genkō-zan	源光山	Meiseki-ji	明石寺
44	Sugō-zan	菅生山	Taihō-ji	大宝寺
45	Kaigan-zan	海岸山	Iwaya-ji	岩屋寺
46	Iō-zan	医王山	Jōruri-ji	浄瑠璃寺
47	Kumano-zan	熊野山	Yasaka-ji	八坂寺
48	Seiryū-zan	清滝山	Sairin-ji	西林寺
49	Sairin-zan	西林山	Jōdo-ji	浄土寺
50	Higashi-zan	東山	Hanta-ji	繁多寺
51	Kumano-zan	熊野山	Ishide-ji	石手寺
52	Ryūun-zan	滝雲山	Taisan-ji	太山寺
53	Suga-zan	須賀山	Enmyō-ji	円明寺
54	Kinken-zan	近見山	Enmei-ji	延命寺
55	Betsugū-zan	別宮山	Nankō-bō	南光坊
56	Kinrin-zan	金輪山	Taisan-ji	泰山寺
57	Futō-zan	府頭山	Eifuku-ji	栄福寺
58	Sarei-zan	作礼山	Senyū-ji	仙遊寺
59	Konkō-zan	金光山	Kokubun-ji	国分寺
60	Ishizuchi-san	石鉄山	Yokomine-ji	横峰寺
61	Sendan-zan	栴檀山	Kōon-ji	香園寺
62	Tenyō-zan	天養山	Hōju-ji	宝寿寺
63	Mikkyō-zan	密教山	Kisshō-ji	吉祥寺

Number	Mountain Name		Temple Name	
64	Ishizuchi-san	石鉄山	Maegami-ji	前神寺
65	Yurei-zan	由霊山	Sankaku-ji	三角寺
66	Kyobetsu-zan	巨鼈山	Unpen-ji	雲辺寺
67	Komatsuo-zan	小松尾山	Daikō-ji	大興寺
68	Kotohiki-zan	琴弾山	Jinne-in	神恵院
69	Shippō-zan	七宝山	Kannon-ji	観音寺
70	Shippō-zan	七宝山	Motoyama-ji	本山寺
71	Kengo-san	剣五山	Iyadani-ji	弥谷寺
72	Gahaishi-zan	我拝師山	Mandara-ji	曼荼羅寺
73	Gahaishi-zan	我拝師山	Shusshaka-ji	出釈迦寺
74	Iō-zan	医王山	Kōyama-ji	甲山寺
75	Gogaku-zan	五岳山	Zentsū-ji	善通寺
76	Keisoku-zan	鶏足山	Konzō-ji	金倉寺
77	Kuwata-zan	桑多山	Dōryu-ji	道隆寺
78	Bukkō-zan	仏光山	Gōshō-ji	郷照寺
79	Kinka-zan	金華山	Kōshō-in	高照院
80	Hakugyū-zan	白牛山	Kokubun-ji	国分寺
81	Ryōshō-zan	稜松山	Shiramine-ji	白峰寺
82	Aomine-zan	青峰山	Negoro-ji	根香寺
83	Shingō-zan	神毫山	Ichinomiya-ji	一宮寺
84	Nanmen-zan	南面山	Yashima-ji	屋島寺
85	Goken-zan	五剣山	Yakuri-ji	八栗寺
86	Fudaraku-zan	補陀落山	Shido-ji	志度寺
87	Fudaraku-zan	補陀落山	Nagao-ji	長尾寺
88	Iō-zan	医王山	Ōkubo-ji	大窪寺

N.B. Certain temples are commonly referred to by names other than their temple name or mountain name. Temple 24 is known as Higashi-dera 東寺, Temple 25 as Tsu-dera 津寺, Temple 26 as Nishi-dera 西寺, Temple 32 as Mine-dera 峯寺, Temple 41 as Inani-san 稲荷さん, Temple 50 as Hata-dera 畑寺, Temple 62 as Ichinomiya 一の宮, Temple 67 as Komatsuo-ji 小松尾寺, and Temple 68 as Hachiman-gū 八幡宮.

Today the Shikoku pilgrimage is made in the name of Kōbō-Daishi, a Buddhist priest of the ninth century, however, the exact point in time when and the process through which the pilgrimage came into being cannot be precisely determined from existing historical records. The principal views concerning its origin as they are presented in the available literature are summarized in Appendix A.

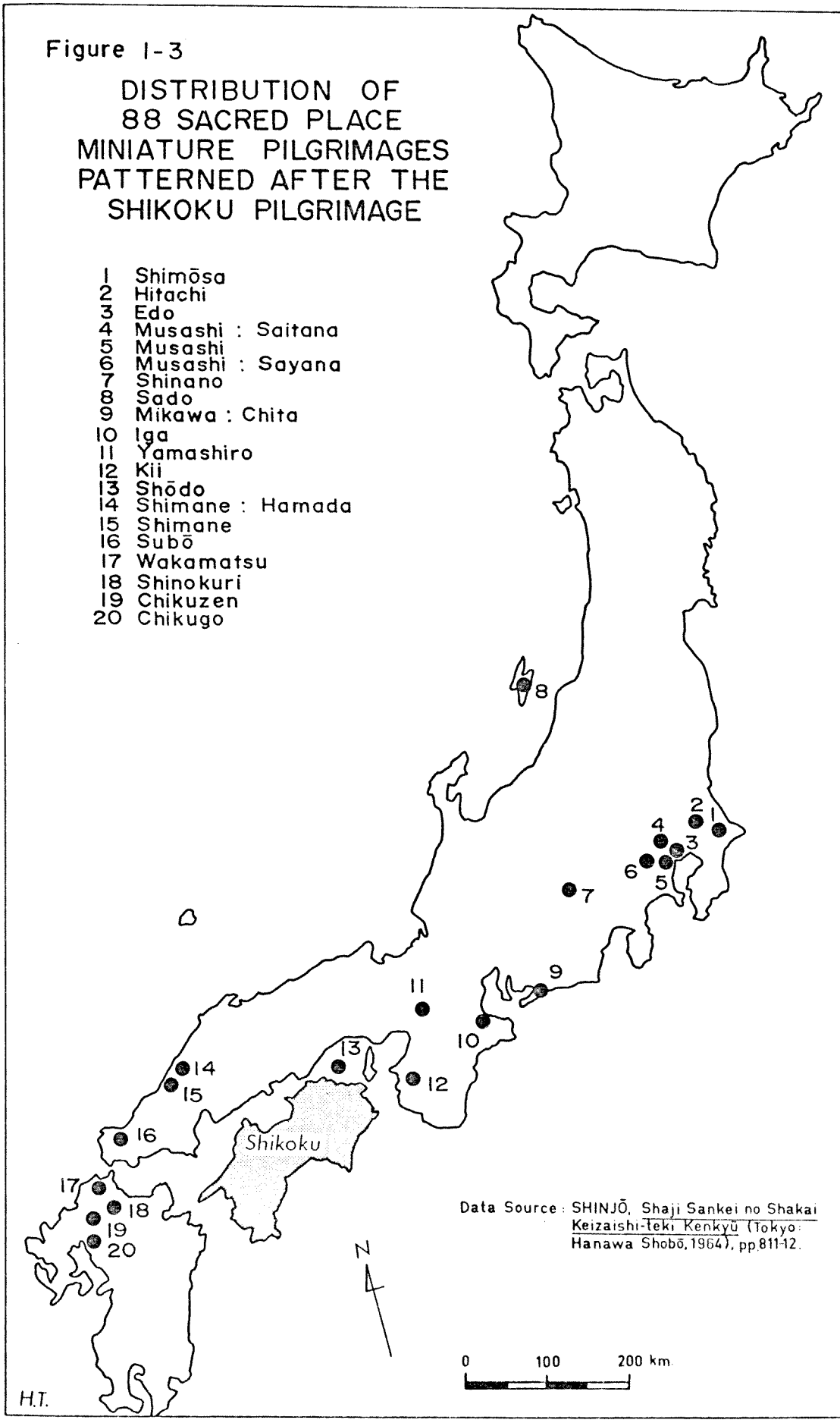
While the precise factors which contributed to the emergence of the pilgrimage remain obscure, the scribblings[29] on temple walls show that at least as early as the mid-sixteenth century the pilgrimage was enjoying considerable popularity. By the end of the seventeenth century the first guide book to the pilgrimage had been made available by Shinnen, suggesting an increasing number of participants in the pilgrimage. Some of these pilgrims may have played an important role in the diffusion of ideas and commodities over Japan.

The techniques of rice, cotton, and sugar production, pottery making, and the construction of irrigation systems are thought to have been introduced to Shikoku by pilgrims travelling there from other parts of Japan.[30] In turn, the idea of a pilgrimage to eighty-eight sacred places was diffused from Shikoku and smaller pilgrimages copied after the Shikoku pilgrimage were established throughout the country (see Figure 1-3). Shinjō[31] lists twenty such pilgrimages that came into existence sometime after the mid-

Figure 1-3

DISTRIBUTION OF 88 SACRED PLACE MINIATURE PILGRIMAGES PATTERNED AFTER THE SHIKOKU PILGRIMAGE

1 Shimōsa
2 Hitachi
3 Edo
4 Musashi : Saitana
5 Musashi
6 Musashi : Sayana
7 Shinano
8 Sado
9 Mikawa : Chita
10 Iga
11 Yamashiro
12 Kii
13 Shōdo
14 Shimane : Hamada
15 Shimane
16 Subō
17 Wakamatsu
18 Shinokuri
19 Chikuzen
20 Chikugo



Data Source : SHINJŌ, Shaji Sankei no Shakai Keizaishi-teki Kenkyū (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1964), pp.811-12.

seventeenth century, excluding the "miniature pilgrimage" at Sanuki on Shikoku. Today, some of these, particularly the miniature pilgrimages on Shōdo Island[32] and Chita Peninsula are actively maintained.

It is possible that of the Shikoku sacred places located near towns, some, because of the volume of traffic they attracted, contributed to the growth of these towns. Zentsū-ji (77), Ryōzen-ji (1) and Yakuō-ji (23) are three such temples which were at least partially responsible for the development of Zentsū-ji-shi, Bandō-chō, and Hiwasa-chō respectively. Even now certain sections of these towns are given over to pilgrim oriented activity, for example the production and distribution of Buddhist equipment and the accommodation of pilgrim needs through the provision of pilgrim hotels and restaurants.

The long existence of the pilgrimage on Shikoku has contributed to the development of local customs, especially the practice of settai, the custom of offering goods, money, accommodation and other forms of assistance to pilgrims[33] in the belief that in doing so the donor will benefit as well as the recipient. In the past it was this custom of settai that made it possible for those without economic means, particularly women and peasants, to make the pilgrimage.[34]

The pilgrimage has also been responsible for the development of henro yōgo or pilgrim language. This is

not a separate language; rather it is an argot as it is the specialized use of certain Japanese terms,[35] that is, an individual unfamiliar with henro yōgo would recognize the words but would not understand them in the context in which they were spoken. Henro yōgo is understood and used not only among pilgrims but among the residents of Shikoku who have frequent contact with pilgrims. The development of henro yōgo has served to enrich the terms it encompasses by giving them additional connotation and in some cases has created new words altogether through the introduction of new combinations of Chinese characters. In this way it has considerably affected verbal and written communication among pilgrims and Shikoku residents.

Unlike the mandatory Pandharpur Hindu pilgrimage and pilgrimages in ancient Judea and modern Islam,[36] the Shikoku pilgrimage today is voluntary. However, prior to and including the early Shōwa Period (1926-) it was considered essential for women in various parts of the country to make the pilgrimage as a prerequisite for marriage.[37] Today, Buddhist priests, particularly of the Shingon sect, frequently make the pilgrimage to the eighty-eight sacred places at an early stage in their training. It is not uncommon for the devout to make the pilgrimage many times.

In the past, Japanese from a wide variety of social strata - members of the Royal family, beggars, political figures, actors, labourers, artists, farmers, and great

teachers - have made the pilgrimage and the social levels represented by pilgrims today are no less diverse. At present, individuals from all over Japan as well as Japanese Brazilians and Japanese Americans[38] make the pilgrimage, the majority of them travelling by chartered bus though a few still walk, some use private cars, some taxis, and some public transportation.[39] Maeda states that data concerning a sample of 15,000 pilgrims collected by the priest at Taisan-ji (56) over a twelve month period indicated that all but three (Gunma, Ibaraki, and Fukushima) of Japan's forty-seven administrative regions were represented.[40] Shinjō states that in 1764, during a six month spring and early summer period, traditionally the most popular time for the pilgrimage, somewhere between 36,000 and 48,000 pilgrims passed a given location.[41] Maeda suggests that in recent years the annual average volume of pilgrims would be between 20,000 and 30,000,[42] while Hasuo, in 1928, estimated it to be 300,000.[43] In view of the fact that on Friday, March 30th, 1973, a particularly quiet day according to Priest Okamoto, I counted 502 pilgrims at Jizō-ji (5) and on Sunday, April 1st another 1263 pilgrims at Ryōzen-ji (1), it would seem that Maeda's estimate is low.

Whatever the exact volume of pilgrim traffic, certainly the pilgrimage is a significant element in the cultural tradition of Japan, for it dates back several hundred years and as a national phenomenon has exerted considerable influence throughout the country.

Field Experience

To collect the data for the present study an eight month field trip to Japan was undertaken during the latter part of 1972 and the early part of 1973. After a brief period in Tokyo, three months were spent on Shikoku as a participant in the pilgrimage. The five months between the completion of this pilgrimage and my return to Canada were divided between Tokyo and Shikoku with research being conducted in the National Diet Library, the Parliamentary Library, Tokyo University Library, and Kōchi City and Prefectural Libraries. Shikoku was revisited twice so that gaps in the data could be filled when these became evident through preliminary examination of the data. The largest portion of the data on which this study is based, however, was collected during that period in which I participated in the pilgrimage on foot and walked most of the distance around the perimeter of Shikoku.

The slow pace of the walking pilgrimage together with my familiarity with the language and "culture" made it possible to get the feel of the land and scenes in which pilgrims function, to observe each sacred place, to talk at length with the priests at the temples, and to share in the activities and conversations of some of the 1543 pilgrims encountered. This continuous participation in and observation of the pilgrimage and association with its participants made possible the recognition of the most significant patterns of

the sacred places together with the related recurrent forms of pilgrim behaviour.

My status during the period in which I participated in the pilgrimage was somewhat ambiguous. While, by upbringing, I could probably best be classified as a Buddhist of the Jōdo-shin sect, it is unlikely that I would have ever undertaken the pilgrimage out of religious motivation. That my motives differed from those of the majority of pilgrims was most clearly evidenced in the absence of white pilgrim garb and the presence of a red back-pack, Scottish deer-stalker hat, and Canadian wife. At first I was concerned that my obvious difference from the rest of the pilgrims would hinder my success in engaging them and the priests in conversation but, on the contrary, this turned out to be a decided asset. The curiosity of the pilgrims was aroused and often they seemed as eager to talk to me as I to them. When they learned we were making the pilgrimage on foot the pilgrims' estimation of us soared, for although few pilgrims today do it, the walking pilgrimage is still considered to be the most meritorious of all pilgrimages. It seemed that the fact that we were "walking pilgrims" was of prime importance and that I was a student and researcher was inconsequential except that the pilgrims were more than willing to answer my questions within the limited time available to them as they hastened to complete their worship at one temple and hurry on to the next.

Response to straightforward questions came readily, but I found it nearly impossible to delve into the minds of the pilgrims and determine their feelings toward, or emotional experiences at, the sacred places. Similarly, questions concerning motivation seldom elicited anything but the most superficial response. Besides conversations with the pilgrims, the examination of ofuda or calling cards also gave some idea regarding their thoughts as to the immediate benefits that making the pilgrimage might bring. I was permitted to read the 550 ofuda left at Jizō-ji (5) on March 30th, 1973 and the 1002 ofuda left at Ryōzen-ji (1) on April 1st, 1973. From the examination of these 1552 ofuda it became apparent the pilgrims pray for such things as safety for the family, prosperous business and/or improved financial situation, freedom from traffic accidents, good health (strong body, relief from liver, heart, stomach and other ailments), pregnancy, safe delivery of baby, world peace, and the ability to pass university examinations. Some give thanks for successful entrance into university and for restored health.

From these same ofuda on which, as well as their wishes, pilgrims had written their name, age, home address and date on which they visited the temple, it was learned that 58 per cent of the pilgrims were female and 42 per cent male. They ranged in age from one year to over ninety with the largest age group (25 per cent) being between sixty and sixty-nine

years old.[44]

While few pilgrims today cover the entire route on foot, there are still three temples[45] that cannot be approached by vehicle and to which all pilgrims must ascend by way of the original pilgrim trails through the mountains. At these places pilgrims, even those dependent mainly on modern forms of transportation, experience the spiritual and physical satisfaction of undergoing and overcoming physical hardship in order to reach the sacred place and perform the ceremonial ritual.

The first time I entered one of Shikoku's eighty-eight sacred places the scene was difficult to interpret. I was confronted by a multiplicity of structures both large and small, constructed primarily of wood and stone, some of which were evidently the centre of ritual activity. One group of pilgrims was gargling and washing their hands while another was gathered around the belfry encouraging one of its members as he pulled back on the suspended log and hit the bell. Another group was clustered in front of the hondō, or main hall, chanting what at first were incomprehensible sounds while still others were gathered in front of the daishidō, a building dedicated to Kōbō-Daishi. They too were engaged in chanting. In and out of these relatively stationary groups, other pilgrims dressed in white kimono moved about depositing their calling cards in boxes designed for the purpose and placing lighted candles and incense in the appropriate receptacles.

After I had called at the first few temples and had engaged in conversation with a number of pilgrims and priests, the scene began to be familiar; patterns could be seen and predicted. From my observations and conversations I learned that there is a dual focus of pilgrim worship and that it is primarily at two buildings, the hondō and daishidō that this focus finds expression. It is within the hondō that the honzon or chief deity of the temple is enshrined. This deity varies from one temple to the next. By the time I had visited the first ten temples I had become acquainted with six such deities and had learned that each one is believed by pilgrims to be capable, when invoked, of giving specific types of assistance.

The second major focus of pilgrim worship, directed towards Kōbō-Daishi, is at the daishidō where pilgrims feel they can most easily communicate with Kōbō-Daishi. It is here that they seek his aid and give thanks for blessings already received.

Several times I was invited to join with a group of pilgrims, to ride with them in their bus, and to spend the night with them in a temple. Such occasions provided excellent opportunities to find out much more about the pilgrims and the pilgrimage than otherwise could have been readily observed in the relatively short time that I was a participant in the pilgrimage.

Method and Organization

At the outset of my field research I had hoped to collect data that would permit the construction of what may be referred to as "pilgrims' cognitive cosmic image" of the pilgrimage, insofar as this could be understood through the idea of the "other world". Then it might have been possible to simulate, specifying scale and other parameters, the spatial structure of the symbolic landscape and then to examine the relationships between the simulated implicit symbolic landscape and the explicit spatial organization of landscape symbols of the pilgrimage.

It became apparent, however, in the early part of the field trip, that the collection of necessary data for such a purpose would require much deeper probing of the minds of pilgrims than they could or would submit to. It was also felt that such questioning of pilgrims' innermost feelings and emotions would be a violation[46] of their right to private worship at the sacred places. On the few occasions when such investigation was attempted the line of communication with the pilgrims was immediately blocked. The other sources of information, written records left by pilgrims, proved to be too few in number to provide a satisfactory basis for such an approach.

While it is true that the pilgrimage cannot be understood in its psychological function without in-depth knowledge of the way pilgrims experience it, and of the way sacred places are

conceived by particular cultural groups, it is equally true that an empirical study of the concrete expressions of the pilgrimage will contribute significantly to its understanding. Traces of the thoughts of participants in the pilgrimage are expressed in the landscape through the concrete geographic features of the places of the pilgrimage, the obvious association of these places with sacred beings, and the diverse ritual activities of the pilgrims. The observation and analysis of the landscape expression of the pilgrimage will elucidate its character and is a meaningful step toward the understanding of the external character of the pilgrimage from a geographic viewpoint.

Through what method could the complex and diverse characteristics of the pilgrimage in its concrete expression best be presented? It was necessary to find a procedure of selective description and meaningful synthesis.[47] A method derived from componential analysis would seem to be a manageable tool for the desired procedure of description and synthesis. As, to my knowledge, such a method has not been used before by geographers, it is necessary first to discuss briefly componential analysis and then to outline the procedure derived from it that will be utilized in this study.

"A method in both semantic and cultural description, componential analysis is perhaps best characterized as a method of ideography".[48] It attempts to construct verifiable models of how specific bodies of cultural content are

coherently organized[49] to the extent that such content is represented by "a set of units taken to constitute a domain in its own right".[50]

The term "componential analysis" is taken from linguistics and much of the method it incorporates is an outgrowth of formal descriptive linguistics. In linguistics, componential analysis refers to the criteria by which distinctive categories of sound in a language are distinguished and, subsequently, to the analysis of semantic distinctions encountered in grammatical paradigms.[51]

Componential analysis has been concerned primarily with sets of terms chosen on the basis of their reference to supposedly well-accepted categories of denotata, most frequently, kinsmen.[52] Most componential analyses of kinship terminologies have focused on "internal form and have specified as analytic determinants certain features of genealogical reckoning which the analysts felt in some way to be naturally 'inherent' in kinship".[53] In linguistics the set of analytical units are linguistic data, or lexical units of natural language, and are the object of componential analysis carried out through the medium of perceptual components. In an ethnographic study, Goodenough[54] used componential analysis to illustrate categorization of kinship relations on Truk Island. Other applications of componential analysis to kinship terminology include studies by Lounsbury[55] and Conant.[56] Conklin[57] applied the method to the analysis of a

specific Philippine colour system and Frake[58] to disease terms in Subanun, a language of Mindanao.

Classical componential analysis of a terminology claimed to be a semantic analysis, an analysis of "intensional or definitional meaning".[59] Its purpose was to expose "the minimal information about the object to which a term referred, either sufficient to justify the utterance of the term in reference, or necessary to infer from its use".[60] Originally componential analysis was considered to make statements about concepts in the subject's "cognitive world", to reveal what words mean to the people who use them.[61] More recently this claim has been disputed. Burling takes the position that "we should ... stop pursuing the illusory goal of cognitive structures [and] admit that we are just fiddling with a set of rules which allow us to use terms the way others do".[62] Frake, however, in his discussion of Burling's viewpoint, suggests that the only possible access to knowledge of cognitive structure for either observer or observed is precisely through "fiddling with a set of rules" for there is no other criterion of "reality" or "truth".[63]

According to Hammel, "What distinguishes [componential] analyses in the methodological sense is their rigor and insistence on internal form, and in the theoretical sense their recognition of a superordinate level of determinants in an analytic domain".[64] A primary value of a formal analysis such as componential analysis, as opposed to one

which makes vague appeals to theories of relevance, is that it is easily subjected to precise criticism.[65]

While componential analysis has some advantages, there are inherent problems in the method beginning with the difficulty of "objective" selection of analytical units. Such selection must "ensure that the proposed domain is not a purely personal construct, and that it does correspond to a possible system in the range of phenomena under study".[66] As well, the selection of descriptive features necessarily influences the final order at which the analysis arrives.[67] With regard to these two problems, the value of componential analysis can be judged by criteria of accuracy, consistency and parsimony.[68]

Gardin[69] was among the first from outside the field of anthropology to examine some of the prerequisites of componential analysis that have a bearing upon the question of its possible use in other fields, in this case, archaeology, and suggested that the logical operations of componential analysis could possibly be applied to non-linguistic data. Specialized terms would be substituted for natural language and then the respective roles of the linguistic and non-linguistic data would be reversed so that the linguistic units, originally the object of componential analysis, would become the medium of the ordering process and the perceptual, non-linguistic data would become the object of the analysis carried out through the medium of

specialized terms.

The general procedure in the method of componential analysis begins with the selection of a set of analytical units (in linguistics a set of terms) which, based on well defined criteria, would appear to be part of the same domain. Once a given set of analytical units has been selected, the next step is to match them against a number of descriptive features (in linguistics, non-linguistic features). These features are taken to be, or at least include, the meaningful components, or distinctive features, of a possible morphological model for all analytical units within the set. The order or regularity is manifested in correspondence between analytical units and descriptive features or, more precisely, in the distribution of descriptive features over the set of analytical units.

Assuming that the logical operations involved in componential analysis are applicable to non-linguistic data, it is reasonable to consider their application to cultural description in the geographic context. A direct application of the method to geographic problems through their denominations in natural language alone, whether of the geographer or of the people whose geographic forms are under study, is weakened by the shortcomings of that language as a tool for scientific research. Furthermore, such direct application of componential analysis will provide linguistic information not of "immediate" use to the geographer as

distinct from the linguist for the geographer is attempting to order his data in other ways, for example, through spatial and temporal arrangements and cultural groupings within a geographic context. Therefore, it is not componential analysis in its traditional aspects that will be considered but rather the application of a modified method to cultural geography, as it is felt that this new interpretation offers much wider possibilities for the precise analysis of the traditional problems within the discipline than the orthodox interpretation.

"Cultural geography selects for study those differences among landscapes, and those component features of landscapes, that cannot be attributed to 'natural' influences".[70] One of the tasks of the cultural geographer is to understand the "character" of places as this character is moulded by the human use of the places. The way in which the character is viewed depends upon those elements (analytical units) subjected to inquiry and the particular interpretation placed on them though often neither the elements nor their interpretation are explicitly stated. Thus it is argued that the selection of analytical units, be they particular artificial features, human activities, or the relationships between these elements, together with the "descriptive terms" used in their analysis are crucial to the outcome of the examination. If the inquiry is carried out first through the selection of domain-related analytical units and then through the

conceptualization of these units in terms of specified descriptive features, it is possible to increase the validity of the analysis and to suggest the possible formulation of an explicit methodology. Precise criticism of the investigation will be facilitated as well. For these reasons the method may contribute to the degree of precision of systematic description attained through the selective approach of cultural geography. Thus, a modified form of componential analysis may be applicable to specific problems in cultural geography. Such application would involve the organization of data according to a given code within the specified geographic context. In such application the code would be a set of discrete symbols, that is, special terms corresponding to the various features one has chosen to individualize in recording a given class of data.

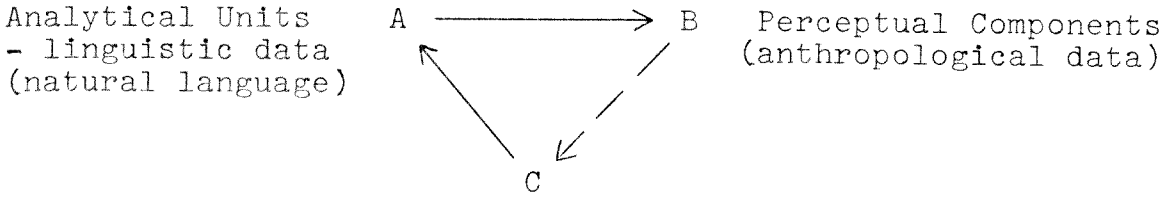
Figure 1-4 and Figure 1-5 show the difference between the traditional method of componential analysis and a procedure derived from componential analysis possibly applicable to problems in cultural geography. In Figure 1-4 linguistic units are the object (analytical units: A) of componential analysis carried out through the medium of perceptual components (anthropological data: B), which are considered mainly as tools for the structuring process to bring about the formal order: C.

In Figure 1-5, the perceptual non-linguistic data are no longer a tool for the analysis but rather they are the object

Figure 1-4

TRADITIONAL METHOD OF COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

USED IN LINGUISTICS



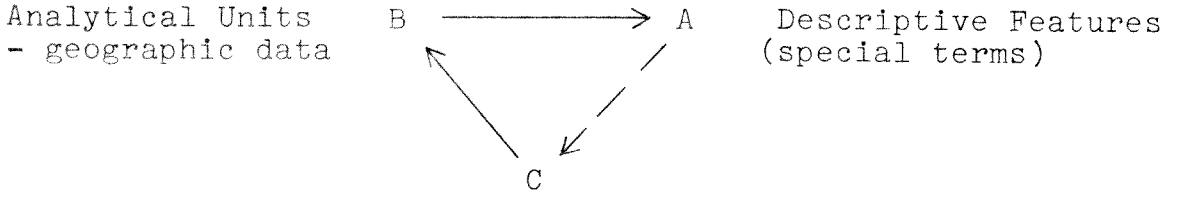
Formal Orders
(To be read: C - ordering of A with respect to B)

Figure 1-5

A PROCEDURE DERIVED FROM COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

POSSIBLY APPLICABLE TO PARTICULAR RESEARCH

PROBLEMS IN CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY



Formal Orders
(To be read: C - ordering of B with respect to A)

(analytical units: B) of the analysis carried out through the medium of descriptive features (special terms: A), for the various orderings, C (not necessarily structural). Concerning the role and value of formal orders, C, whether they are based upon matchings of A against B, or B against A, they are the outcome of the delineation that has previously been carried out by a particular researcher in order first to constitute A and B. Thus the cognitive value of the formal orders C may be questioned as they are the outcome of the researcher's selection of A and B. Quite apart from the question of cognitive value, however, this modified method holds possibilities as a tool for the explicit selective description and synthesis of a phenomenon of complex nature. A precise statement of the set of analytical units within the given domain by selected descriptive features is useful in that it provides valid substantive description of the phenomenon under study. Moreover, it may provide a manageable tool for the procedurally explicit description and synthesis of the diverse aspects of the research problem.

The concern of this study is the systematic description of the collective character of the eighty-eight sacred places of the Shikoku pilgrimage. These places are distinctly and inherently part of the same domain as they are inter-dependent and together constitute the core of the pilgrimage. For this reason the method derived from componential analysis may provide a useful tool for the description and synthesis

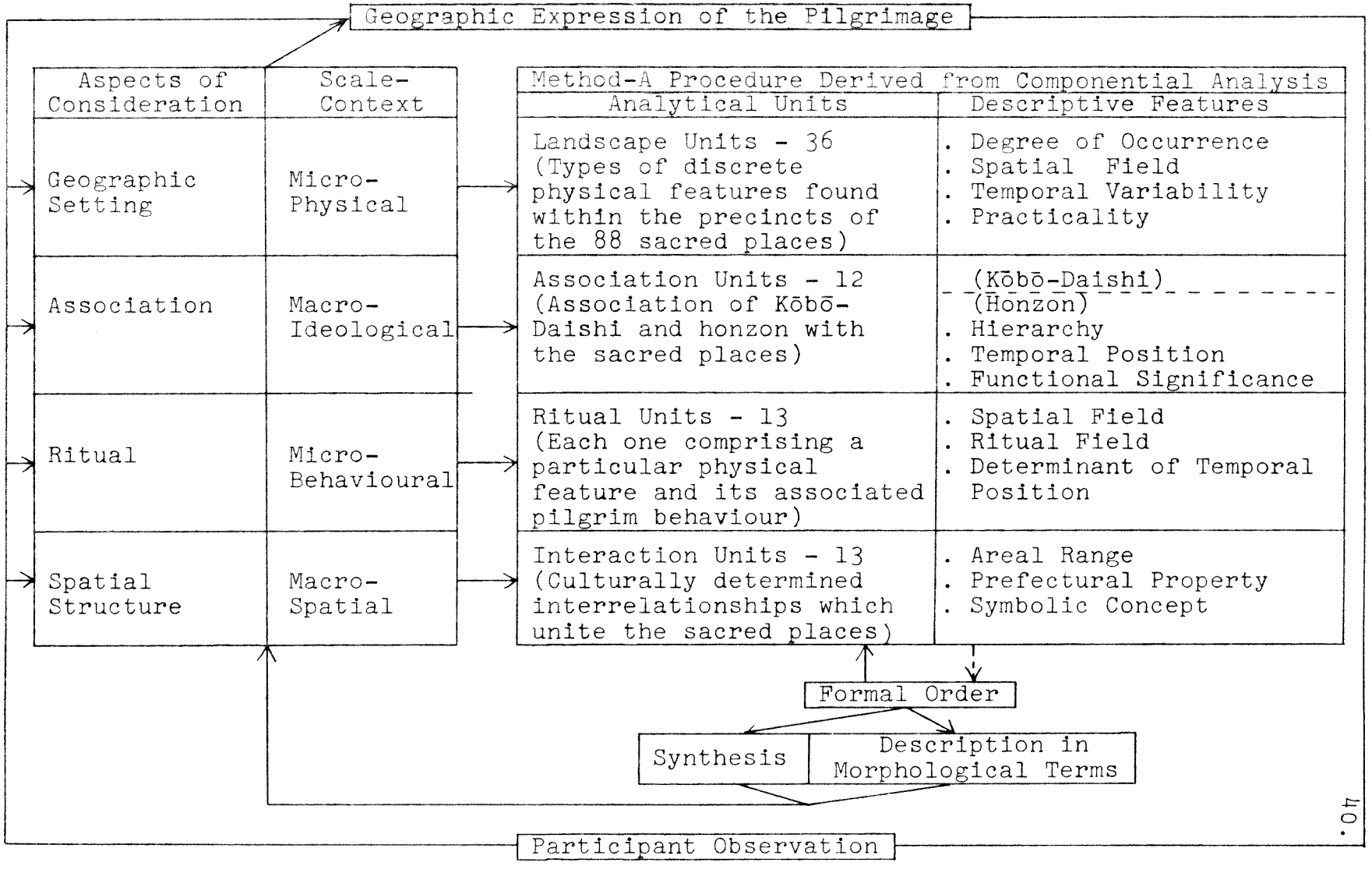
of the characteristic expression of the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage. The only conditions that must be guaranteed are that the analytical units be selected according to the specific contextual criteria and, once clearly stated, that they be examined through the medium of particular descriptive features.

In this study, geographic setting, association, ritual, and spatial structure, are each thought to constitute a discrete domain within the larger domain of the eighty-eight sacred places as a whole. Within each of these smaller domains the analytical units selected represent distinct parts in the total range of variation of each aspect under study.

The particular analytical units to be examined consist of cultural geographic elements. They include the empirically observed "landscape units", "association units", "ritual units", and "interaction units", and these will be matched against various selected descriptive features. The aspects of consideration and the selected analytical units are shown in Figure 1-6. The geographic code designation given to each analytical unit and the specific descriptive features will be explained in detail in each chapter. The field observations take on their full meaning only when these analytical units are considered according to what are here called "descriptive features" on a given scale and within a specified context.

Figure 1-6

STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY



From this viewpoint, the geographic expression of the pilgrimage may be considered to be the sum of formal characteristics as expressed through analytical units selected according to the particular context within which the examination is conducted. When considered in this light, cultural geography becomes the study of formal systematic description and synthesis of cultural units and complexes in the geographic context through explicit procedural operation. The four identified areas of consideration constitute the four central chapters of this study.

Data on which these are based came not only from participation in the pilgrimage but also from a survey of the available literature. The following overview of this literature concerns only those materials directly related to the present study.

Related Literature

Among the earliest records of the Shikoku pilgrimage, Jakuhon's Shikoku Henro Reijō-ki published in 1689, is of greatest value. In this account the priest at Kōyasan, the head temple of the Shingon sect, gives a brief history of many of the sacred places and includes brush drawings of the temple compounds indicating the major physical features found therein. In most cases the features are identified by name in the drawing and are mentioned in the accompanying text. For this reason in particular this work is of great value to the present study, although in some instances traditional

calligraphy makes decipherment difficult. So far this work has never been critically analysed nor has it formed the basis for any contemporary study of the pilgrimage in geography or any other discipline. In the present study that portion of the discussion which relates to the types of concrete physical features within the temple precincts existing in the late seventeenth century is based directly upon Jakuhon's description.

Among the travel accounts of the pilgrimage, Shima's Shikoku Henro published in 1930 is of particular interest because of the five maps it contains showing the pilgrim route at that time. The pilgrim route indicated on these maps was followed during the field trip. It was primarily from this route that the "distance property" of each of the sacred places discussed in Chapter 5 was determined.

Three diaries in which are contained detailed personal accounts of the pilgrimage are Hashimoto's Shikoku Henro-ki (1950), Araki's Henro Shūshoku (1955), and Kagita's Henro Nikki (1962). Particularly interesting because of the different backgrounds and therefore viewpoints of the authors, they stress the emotional experience above all else. The ideological stand taken by Hashimoto on certain political issues forced him to flee to Shikoku to escape from the Tokyo military police while Araki, a priest, made the pilgrimage to fulfil personal religious obligations, and Kagita made the pilgrimage while ill, and was cured. Prior to the field trip these works were examined in order to understand the inner feelings of

pilgrims; but no satisfactory published bases exist at this time for meaningful generalizations on this subject. Contemporary and historical information concerning the sacred places is contained in Shikoku Hachijū-hachi Fudasho Henro-ki, a diary written by Nishihata in 1964.

Guide books to the pilgrimage date from 1685 and their purpose was and is to inform pilgrims about the route and the sacred places and, in some instances, to outline the expected pilgrim behaviour. These guide books include Sasai's Hachijū-hakkasho Reijō Shikoku Junreidō Shinan (1815), Tomohise's Shikoku Hachijū-hakkasho Reijō Annai-ki (1908), Gotō's Namu-Daishi (1963), Ōyama's Shikoku Hachijū-hakkasho (1965), Hirahata's Shikoku Hachijū-hakkasho (1969), and, most recently, Takahashi's Shikoku Reijō Junpai no Shiori (1971). From these books the "ideal order" of the ritual behaviour discussed in Chapter 4 was determined.

Descriptive and analytical studies of the Shikoku pilgrimage have been few in number and varied in focus. In his ethnographical study, Wallfahrt zu Zweien. Die 88 heiligen Stätten von Shikoku (1931), Bohner describes the Shikoku pilgrimage, paying particular attention to the background of the pilgrimage, the pilgrims, the pilgrim road, and the temples. But his description adheres to the sequential order of the temples around Shikoku and he does not attempt to make systematic generalizations about the places of the pilgrimage. A consideration of this study, however, opened the possibility

of more thorough selective and integrated description of particular aspects of the pilgrimage.

A study concerning primarily the volume of pilgrim traffic, Junrei no Shakaigaku (1972), was conducted by the sociologist Maeda. He discusses the volume of pilgrim traffic and geographic origin of the pilgrims at the present time and in the Edo Period (1603-1868), and classifies present day pilgrims with respect to sex, occupation, age, religious affiliation, and motivation. In his interpretation and presentation of these data Maeda frequently neglects to include an explanatory key in his figures or to elaborate on them in his text, which makes them of little value to other researchers. With respect to his attempt to determine pilgrim motivation, Maeda admits that his questions were so framed that pilgrims were forced to identify their motivation with one of eleven categories many of which overlapped considerably. He then groups motivation into three broad categories: (1) worship, (2) worship and sightseeing, and (3) sightseeing. Maeda at times tends to present too much detail. For example, a fold-out graph shows the number of pilgrims who visited Taisan-ji (56) each day for 365 days in 1969. From this detail he tries to show the general trend of the pilgrimage as a whole. Maeda's study displays the difficulties of accurate data collection and meaningful interpretation with respect to pilgrims.

A more useful study was Shaji Sankei no Shakai Keizaishi-teki Kenkyū published by Shinjō in 1964. This work is

concerned with socio-economic aspects of temple visiting throughout Japan in historical perspective, and the Shikoku pilgrimage is discussed in two succeeding time periods (middle and modern). The information presented is wide-ranging, including such aspects of the pilgrimage as customs, costs, political constraints, and volume of pilgrim traffic, and the data on which this information is based are carefully detailed. This study was particularly helpful as it contained valuable information concerning the miniature pilgrimages.

Kondō in Shikoku Henro (1971) presents the most comprehensive collection of historical material to date concerning the origin of the pilgrimage. This work together with others here considered form the basis for Appendix A.

Notes - Chapter One

1. J.E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols (2nd ed.; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 255.

2. G. Van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation, trans. by J.E. Turner (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), II, 401.

3. Van der Leeuw, p. 401.

4. Victor W. Turner, "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal", History of Religions, 12, No. 3 (1973), 202.

5. Bernard Lewis, "Hadjdj", The Encyclopedia of Islam, p. 37, cited by V.W. Turner, "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal", History of Religions, 12, No. 3 (1973), 201.

6. Sources Orientales, Les Pèlerinages (Paris: Édition de Seuil, 1960).

7. "Hierophany" is the term proposed by Eliade "to designate the 'act of manifestation' of the sacred". Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959), p. 11.

8. Yi-Fu Tuan, Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 147.

9. Philip L. Wagner, Environments and Peoples (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 2.

10. Edward C. Relph, "The Phenomenon of Place: An Investigation of the Experience and Identity of Places" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1973), p. 5.

11. Relph, p. 8.

12. J.A. May, Kant's Concept of Geography and its Relation to Recent Geographical Thought, University of Toronto, Department of Geography Research Publications No. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 210-11, cited by E.C. Relph, "The Phenomenon of Place" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1973), pp. 11-12.

13. Relph, p. 2.

14. Robert H. Stoddard, "Hindu Holy Sites in India" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1966).

15. Surinder M. Bhardwaj, Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India: A Study in Cultural Geography (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 94-95. With regard to the first hypothesis, Bhardwaj points out that "the concept 'tīrtha-yātra' (pilgrimage) ...is essentially an austerity rather than an effort to minimize aggregate travel distance". Similarly, the second hypothesis is based on the postulated need to minimize aggregate travel distance and Bhardwaj stresses that numerous sacred places including ones that are renowned are not urban at all. The primary weakness of the third hypothesis lies in the fact that Stoddard seeks a possible relationship between the basic pattern of the sacred places established centuries before and selected social characteristics of the present population.

16. Fred Lukermann, "Geography as a Formal Intellectual Discipline and the Way in which it Contributes to Human Knowledge", Canadian Geographer, 8, No. 4 (1964), 170-71, cited by E.C. Relph, "The Phenomenon of Place" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1973), pp. 9-10.

17. David E. Sopher, "Review of Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India: A Study in Cultural Geography", The Professional Geographer, 26, No. 3 (1974), 340.

18. David E. Sopher, "Pilgrim Circulation in Gujarat", Geographical Review, 58, No. 3 (1968), 392-425.

19. Edward J. Taaffe, ed., Geography (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 66.

20. Bhardwaj, p. 26.

21. Lukermann, p. 170, cited by Relph, p. 10.

22. Pierre Deffontaines, Géographie et Religions (Paris: Gallimard, 1948).

23. Bhardwaj, p. 1.

24. Alfred S. Geden, "Pilgrimage (Buddhist)", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, X (New York: Scribner, 1918), p. 13.

25. It is said that after the death of Buddha his ashes were divided into eight parts by eight "kings" of India and enshrined in eight stupas. In the third century B.C. King Asoka is believed to have collected the ashes from the original stupas, to have erected, within a period of three years, 84,000 stupas in different parts of India and, in order to preserve the ashes and, so that Buddhists throughout the country might worship Buddha, to have distributed the ashes among these stupas. For a comprehensive collection of articles on stupas see Keizō Saeki, Tōba no Kenkyū (Nara: Ikarugasha, 1943).

26. Geden, p. 13.

27. Hajime Nakamura in A History of the Development of Japanese Thought (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai, 1967), I, p. 23 argues that "The topographical characteristics of Japan, vastly different from India, required men to serve their fellows within a specific human nexus. The doctrine of early Buddhism together with traditional conservative Buddhism which inherited the former teachings were despised and rejected under the name of Hīnayāna, and Mahāyāna Buddhism was particularly favored and adopted". Nakamura does not explain how the topography influenced the selection of Mahāyāna over Hīnayāna Buddhism, however.

28. The mountain name is indicative of the association of the sacred place with a particular mountain either real or ideal. The mountain name is always followed by San or Zan (mountain) while the temple name is always followed by Ji, Dera, or In which means temple. For example, Ryōzen-ji is the temple name while Jikuwa-san is the mountain name for the first sacred place.

29. The earliest scribbling found within the hondō at Jyōdo-ji (49), when the year 大永五年 is translated into the Gregorian calendar, is dated 1525 and others in the same hondō are dated 1527: 大永七年, 1528: 大永八年, 1531: 享禄四年, and 1640: 寛永十七年. A scribbling on the honzon at Kokubun-ji (80) is dated 1528: 大永八年. Here the wording indicates that five pilgrims were travelling together suggesting that the practice of group pilgrimages had begun by this time.

30. Kanzen Hasuo, Kōbō-Daishi-den (Kōyasan: Kongōbu-ji, 1931), pp. 575-89.

31. Tsunezō Shinjō, Shaji Sankei no Shakai Keizaishi-teki Kenkyū (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1964), pp. 811-12

32. On completion of the Shikoku pilgrimage, I made a walking pilgrimage to the Shōdo sacred places. The total distance encompassed by this miniature pilgrimage is about 170 kilometres and the pilgrims encountered seemed just as devout as their Shikoku counterparts. Most of them expressed a desire to make the Shikoku pilgrimage but said that the time required was prohibitive.

33. The custom of settai is still practised today. During the walking pilgrimage I received settai twenty-seven times in the form of food, drink, omamori or talismans, and money (3,260 yen: one Canadian dollar equals approximately 300 yen).

34. Conversely though, as Shinjō, pp. 794-95, suggests, it was likely the practice of settai that drew beggars and lepers to Shikoku in great numbers. There is repeated reference to these individuals in the literature relating to the pilgrimage and, in the records of the prefectural governments up until the Second World War, to attempts to discourage their coming to Shikoku.

35. For example, settai, in common usage, means "to entertain" but among the Shikoku pilgrims and residents refers to the practice of giving goods, money, and accommodation to pilgrims in the belief that such actions will gain merit for the donor. Utsu, in common usage, means "to hit" but in henro yōgo refers to calling at a temple, derived from the early practice of nailing wooden ofuda or calling cards to the temple walls when a visit was made. For other henro yōgo presently used see Sakae Nishihata, Shikoku Hachijū-hachi Fudasho Henro-ki (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1964), p. 350.

36. Turner, p. 198.

37. Akira Takeda, Shikoku-ji (Tokyo: Shakai Shichō-sha, 1967), p. 89.

38. Taku Maeda, Junrei no Shakaigaku (Kyōto: Mineruba Shobō, 1972), p. 174. Maeda states that two or three hundred Americans visit Shikoku annually but from my observations and discussions with Shikoku residents and temple priests this figure seems high.

39. To make the pilgrimage on foot requires, on the average, between fifty and sixty days and is presently the most costly of all the ways in which the sacred places may be visited. The average daily expenses incurred by the walking pilgrim in 1972 totalled approximately 1700 yen. Over a sixty day period the cost would thus be 102,000 yen. The average length of time required to make the pilgrimage by chartered bus is fourteen days. The cost is all inclusive and for about 50,000 yen the pilgrim is supplied with transportation, overnight accommodation, dinner and breakfast for the duration of the pilgrimage. To make the pilgrimage by taxi costs approximately 10,000 yen per day but, as this is usually shared by three or four pilgrims, it is a reasonable way of travelling. The other expenses incurred would be approximately the same as for a walking pilgrim, thus the cost of making the pilgrimage by taxi would work out to about 50,000 yen per person. Pilgrims travelling in their own cars generally take longer than those travelling by taxi due to lack of familiarity with the roads. The daily cost of food and accommodation would be the same as if the pilgrimage were made on foot or by taxi and the transportation costs would vary according to the duration of the pilgrimage and the type of car used. If local buses and trains are used the pilgrimage takes perhaps thirty days although there is a wide variation here depending on connections made and how pilgrims travel to the temples from the nearest point to which public transportation brings them.

40. Maeda, p. 174.

41. Shinjō, p. 786.

42. Maeda, p. 62.

43. Kanzen Hasuo, Shikoku Reijō to Daishi no Jikō (Kyōto: Yamashiroya, 1928), p. 2.

44. Based on the examination of the 879 ofuda left at Ryōzen-ji (1) and Jizō-ji (5) on which pilgrims indicated their age, the breakdown was as follows: 1-9 (3%), 10-19 (7%), 20-29 (9%), 30-39 (13%), 40-49 (15%), 50-59 (13%), 60-69 (25%), 70-79 (13%), over 80 (2%).

45. Tairyū-ji (21), Kōnomine-ji (27), and Yokomine-ji (60).

46. The problem of the invasion of privacy of the subjects by the social scientist are discussed at length by Eugene J. Webb and others, Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966). Here attention is directed to methods of obtaining data other than by interview or questionnaire. These methods are grouped into chapters according to the characteristic of the data: physical traces, archives, observations.

47. I am indebted to Philip L. Wagner for suggesting that I explore the possible application of componential analysis to my particular research problem.

48. Ward H. Goodenough, "Componential Analysis", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 186.

49. Goodenough, "Componential Analysis", p. 186.

50. J. -C. Gardin, "On a Possible Interpretation of Componential Analysis in Archeology", American Anthropologist New Series, 67, No. 5, part 2 (1965), 16.

51. Goodenough, "Componential Analysis", p. 186.

52. Gardin, p. 9.

53. E.A. Hammel, "Introduction", American Anthropologist New Series, 67, No. 5, part 2 (1965), 3.

54. Ward H. Goodenough, Property, Kin, and Community on Truk, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 46 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951).

55. Floyd G. Lounsbury, "A Semantic Analysis of the Pawnee Kinship Usage", Language, 32 (1956), 158-94.

56. Francis P. Conant, "Jarawa Kin Systems of Reference and Address: A Componential Comparison", Anthropological Linguistics, 3, No. 2 (1961), 19-33.

57. Harold C. Conklin, "Hanunóo Colour Categories", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 11 (1955), 339-44.

58. Charles O. Frake, "The Diagnosis of Disease among the Subanun of Mindanao", American Anthropologist New Series, 63 (1961), 113-32.

59. Anthony F.C. Wallace, "The Problem of the Psychological Validity of Componential Analyses", American Anthropologist New Series, 67, No. 5, part 2 (1965), 229.

60. Wallace, p. 229.

61. Wallace, p. 229.

62. Robbins Burling, "Cognition and Componential Analysis: God's Truth or Hocus-Pocus?" American Anthropologist New Series, 66, No. 1 (1964), 27.

63. Charles O. Frake, "Further Discussion of Burling", American Anthropologist New Series, 66, No. 1 (1964), 119.

64. Hammel, p. 2.

65. Hammel, p. 2.

66. Gardin, p. 14.

67. Gardin, p. 15.

68. Hammel, p. 6.

69. Gardin, pp. 9-22.

70. Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell, eds., Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 10.

CHAPTER TWO

GEOGRAPHIC SETTING

The landscape, "the typical association of concrete geographic features",[1] of the eighty-eight sacred places is at the same time an essential aspect of the character of the pilgrimage and an expression of this character.

As will be shown in Chapter 5, the positions of the sacred places are not necessarily absolutely fixed; since the end of the seventeenth century seven temples have changed their exact positions (see Table 5-2). It may be argued, therefore, that the geographic setting of the sacred place is characterized not solely through the site as it exists unaltered by man, but rather primarily through the assemblage of landscape markers that have been invested with special meaning.

Through repeated observation of the sacred places it was possible to ascertain from among the numerous concrete physical features, both artificial and natural, those which might best serve as the analytical units in the description of the geographic setting of the sacred places. Thirty-six types of concrete and discrete features, found within the precincts of the eighty-eight sacred places, have been selected as the landscape units. These units will be described briefly in order that the unique character of each type of feature may be understood. Prior to this, however, the sites on which these landscape units occur will be considered, focusing on

their primary characteristic and their designated orientation. The thirty-six landscape units, symbolic markers attached to the places of the pilgrimage, will then be viewed in terms of the specified descriptive features: degree of occurrence within the eighty-eight sacred places, spatial field within the temple compound, temporal variability through a comparison of the presently observable collective landscape markers of the sacred places and the "reconstructed" seventeenth century landscapes of these places, and practicality, that is, whether or not the units are directly related to pilgrim activity.

The examination in this chapter serves to indicate the nature of the selected types of landscape units expressive of the character of the eighty-eight sacred places with regard to those which are common and those which are less prevalent, general positioning within the compound, progressive and regressive elements, and involvement in pilgrim activity, and thus to illumine the geographic setting of the eighty-eight sacred places. In this way, insight may be provided into the way in which the institution of the pilgrimage is supported through the investment of the landscape markers of the places of the pilgrimage with symbolic meaning and the resulting expression of this cultural preference and organization in the landscape.

Landscape Units

Each sacred place is a geographic complex encompassing a multiplicity of concrete physical features each of which

possesses a unique character, though when the eighty-eight sacred places are viewed collectively, shared characteristics permit categorization of the features into representative types. The collective identity of the places of the pilgrimage rests, in part, on these particular types of concrete physical features so rich in their symbolism.

Site and Orientation of the Sacred Places: Before examining the landscape units it is necessary to consider the general characteristics of the sites of the sacred compound within which the units are located. It would appear from Figure 1-2 that the majority of sacred places are situated on the narrow coastal plain at the outer fringe of the island; however, when the sacred places are observed it becomes evident that most of them occupy "mountain-like" sites (see Figure 2-1). While the absolute elevation may not necessarily be great, the approach to the temple is often via a steep hill or the temple may be situated in a forested area on a low hill and with the atmosphere of a mountain setting.

From empirical observation it would appear that of the eighty-eight sacred places, sixty-one are situated within the mountains. Of these, twenty-five are located on the top or near the top of a mountain, the highest elevation being that of Unpen-ji (66) at 911 metres, and thirty-six are surrounded by mountains or have mountains behind them. The remaining twenty-seven temples are clearly situated on the plain.

The predominance of mountain sites may be due, in part,

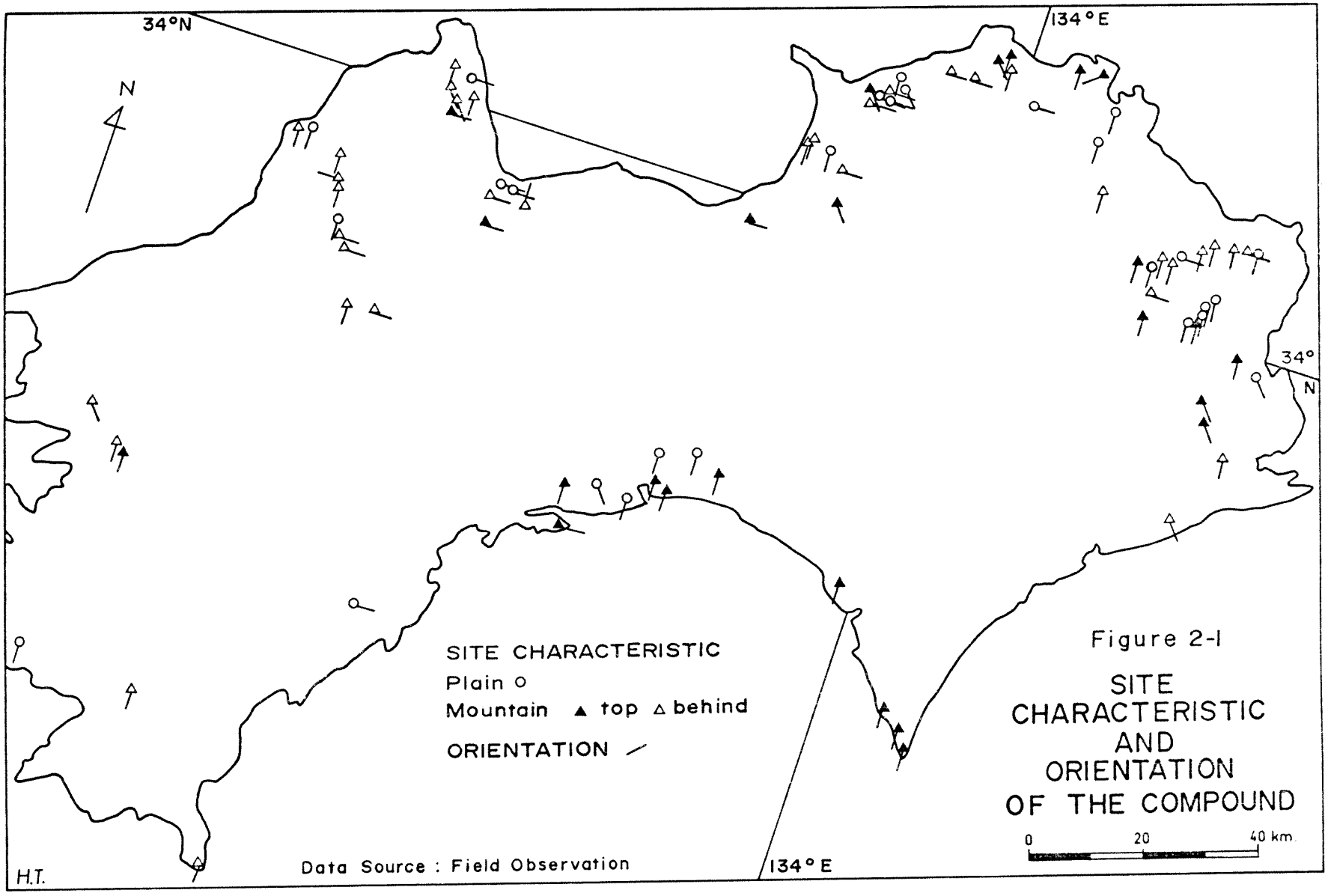


Figure 2-1

SITE CHARACTERISTIC AND ORIENTATION OF THE COMPOUND

to the early preference of Shingon Mikkyō, often called "Mountain Buddhism", the sect to which most of the eighty-eight sacred places belong (see Figure 3-2), for secluded temple sites conducive to the spiritual and physical practice of Mikkyō, literally "hidden doctrine", and ideal for the preservation of the secret nature of the Mikkyō doctrine. As well, as Hori[2] points out, mountains themselves were considered to be sacred for in Japanese Buddhist teaching they were regarded as the world of the dead or the meeting place of the living and the dead, or the passage way from this world to the next, and as the world of the spirit, and the world of deities, Buddhas, and bodhisattvas. The significance of mountains within Buddhist thought is exemplified by the fact that each Buddhist temple, whether or not it is situated on or near a mountain, has been given a mountain name[3] as well as a temple name.

When the general orientation[4] of the compound, that is, the dominant direction of the façades of the structures within each of the eighty-eight sacred places is considered it may be seen, as shown in Figure 2-1, that of the eighty-eight sacred places, forty-eight are oriented toward the south, twenty-five toward the east, nine toward the south-east, three toward the south-west, and one in each of the directions north, west, and north-east. Thus it is evident that the compounds of more than ninety per cent of the sacred places have a southern or eastern orientation.

During the research period the precise reasons for the preference for a southern or eastern orientation did not become clear. However, it was frequently suggested by the priests that as a result of its close association with Shintō, Mikkyō simply adopted the Shintō preference for a southern orientation. As well, it is believed that Buddha chose to die with his head pointing to the north and his face turned to the west.[5] When the temple is oriented to the south or to the east the worshipper faces north or west respectively. The preference for an eastern orientation may also arise from the Japanese Buddhist belief that the Pure Land lies in the west. If the temple has an eastern orientation the worshipper will face the Pure Land of the West. Whatever the underlying reasons, it would seem that the eighty-eight sacred places reflect a strong preference for mountain-like sites on which a southern or eastern orientation may be imposed, and the typical assemblages of physical features associated with the pilgrim places occur on these sites. The temple structures need not lie all on one level. The compound may extend up the mountain side with its buildings erected wherever relatively small level areas are available. For this reason, the eighty-eight sacred places do not monopolize sites on the island having the desired characteristics. Countless numbers of sites seemingly equally favourable dot the periphery of Shikoku, many of them today occupied by temples. While site preferences are readily observable among the eighty-eight

sacred places, it has so far been impossible to show how the initial selection resulted in the establishment of the temples of the pilgrimage on their specific sites.

Thirty-Six Types of Physical Features: The selected thirty-six types of physical features are listed in Table 2-1 in the order of the frequency with which they occur within the eighty-eight sacred places (see Table 2-2). Whether they are natural or artificial, if artificial, the dominant material from which they are constructed, and an approximate translation of the name of each type, are shown.

From Table 2-1 it may be seen that of the thirty-six landscape units, four may be considered to be natural although they may exhibit evidence of man's selection and modification. The construction materials found within the compound include wood, stone, concrete and metal with wood, usually Zelkova, being used in all of the buildings. Stone features are made of granite, basalt, and sometimes andesite. Within the last twenty years, the trend, for economic and technical reasons, has been to use concrete rather than wood in the reconstruction of certain features, and this is indicated in the table as the material of secondary preference. Similar indication is given when one feature is frequently constructed of a material other than that shown as the dominant material. A characteristic shared by the features is the lack of artificial colour. With the exception of the rōsokutate, painted bright orange, all the features now appear to be the natural colour of their

Table 2-1

LANDSCAPE UNITS

Number	Landscape Unit Name	Artificial Natural	Dominant Material	Approximate Translation
1	Daishidō	A	W	Daishi hall
2	Kuri	A	W	Priest's Res.
3	Chōzubachi	A	S	Ablution basin
4	Kōro	A	S(M)	Incense burner
5	Rōsokutate	A	M	Candle receptacle
6	Hondō	A	W(C)	Main hall
7	Tōrō	A	S	Lantern
8	Mon	A	W	Gate
9	Meihyō	A	S	Temple name marker
10	Shōrō	A	W	Belfry
11	Jizō	A	S	Jizō statue
12	Hei	A	C(clay)	Wall
13	Ishidan	A	S(C)	Stone steps
14	Dō	A	W	"Small" building
15	Hōnōsekihyō	A	S	Donation stone
16	Kuyōtō	A	S	Memorial "stupa"
17	Dōhyō	A	S	Pilgrim road sign
18	Yashiro	A	W	Kami building
19	Hōkyōintō	A	S	Hokyoin "stupa"
20	Ishidatami	A	S	Stone walk
21	Haka	A	S	Grave(s)
22	Gorintō	A	S	Five ring "stupa"
23	Zō	A	S(M)	Statue
24	Shokubutsu	N		"Sacred" tree
25	Settaisho	A	W	Settai building
26	Hyakudoishi	A	S	Hundred times stone

Number	Landscape Unit Name	Artificial Natural	Dominant Material	Approximate Translation
27	Torii	A	S	Shintō gate
28	Mizu	N		"Sacred" water
29	Tō	A	W(C)	Pagoda, Stupa
30	Ishi	N		"Sacred" rock
31	Tsuyadō	A	W	Overnight building
32	Jishikoku	A	S	Own Shikoku
33	Komainu	A	S(M)	Wolf dog
34	Dōkutsu	N		"Sacred" cave
35	Shintokaikan	A	C	Congregation's building
36	Soseki	A	S	Foundation stone

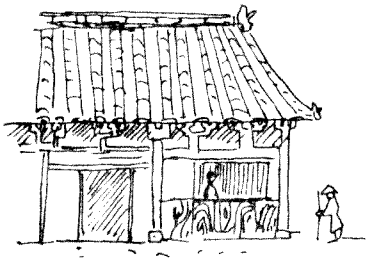
W - Wood
S - Stone
C - Concrete
M - Metal

material of construction. However, colour is by no means lacking. The weathered wood in so many of the structures, expressive of their great age, is brownish white in colour and in the sunlight assumes gold and silver hues. As well, those structures which are directly associated with pilgrim ritual exhibit a variety of colours through the banners and other objects affixed to them by pilgrims.

In order that the meaning embodied in each feature may be understood, representative types, in descending order of their frequency of occurrence within the eighty-eight sacred places, will be briefly discussed with the aid of an accompanying illustration from which size in relation to pilgrim or pilgrim staff (120 centimetres) may be judged.

Daishidō (1). While daishidō, the building dedicated to Kōbō-Daishi, may be found within the compounds of Shingon temples elsewhere in Japan, they seldom appear within temples belonging to other Buddhist sects. However, the eight temples of the Shikoku pilgrimage which presently belong to sects other than Shingon (see Figure 3-2) all have daishidō, a fact perhaps indicative of the overriding importance of the association of Kōbō-Daishi with the eighty-eight sacred places. The daishidō, in which pictures and wooden statues of Kōbō-Daishi are enshrined,

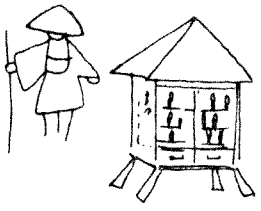
is the specific place within the temple compound where it is believed that worshippers may communicate with Kōbō-Daishi relatively easily and it is here that pilgrims offer special prayers to Kōbō-Daishi and leave objects[6] representative of those things for which they are praying. As well, many pilgrims attach ofuda or calling cards to the walls of the daishidō. These objects in turn enrich the meaning embodied in the daishidō and contribute to its unique character. While onigawara, or devil corner tiles which guard the building from evil spirits, are not peculiar to the daishidō, the hōju or "pearl" in the shape of the top section of the gorin (see gorintō (22) this section) found at the top centre of the roof distinguishes it from other structures.



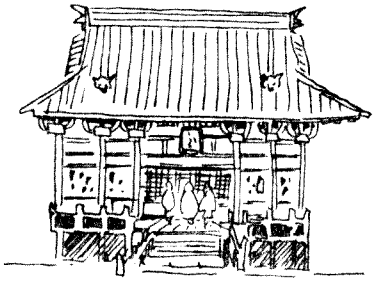
Kuri (2). As well as accommodating the head priest and his family members and temple assistants, the kuri is the place where pilgrims may spend the night. For this reason it is frequently the largest building within the compound. At present fifty-six[7] of the eighty-eight temples provide overnight accommodation for pilgrims. At this building too the nōkyōsho, the place where pilgrims receive the temple stamp, may be found.

Chōzubachi (3). The chōzubachi holds water for symbolic purification. The source of the water may be a natural spring directed into the chōzubachi through a bamboo spout, or a tap, or the stone container may simply be filled with water. Commonly the chōzubachi is protected by a roof and the supports of the roof are hung with towels. Dippers may be found at either side of the chōzubachi.

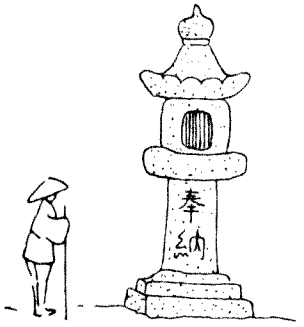
Kōro (4). Incense burners, stone containers filled with ashes, accommodate the Buddhist practice of burning incense to symbolize the worshipper's devotion to the Buddha. Kōro are donated by individuals or groups of pilgrims and the name of the donor(s) is carved on the base.



Rōsokutate (5). Candle receptacles are provided for lighted candles, symbolic of the light of the Buddha and knowledge of the "way". Made of metal, the orange rōsokutate are the only obviously painted structures within the compound. They are donated by pilgrims and the donors' names are given on the side.

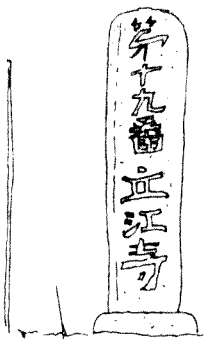


Hondō (6). The hondō or main hall enshrines the honzon or chief deity with which the temple is associated. The representation of this deity is not readily visible, however, as the only light permitted to enter the building comes through the grill at the front where worshippers must also stand and peer into the dark interior of the hondō. As well as the honzon, statues of lesser deities may also be enshrined in the hondō and in front of these there is an altar on which the Buddhist ceremonial equipment is placed in the form of a mandara. Often Kongōkai and Taizōkai mandara charts expressing the esoteric doctrine of Mikkyō Buddhism are hung behind the altar. Because the hondō enshrines the honzon it is a structure of extreme importance within the compound and is a focal point of pilgrim ceremonial ritual. All activity, however, takes place outside the hondō often on the elevated platform or porch that surrounds the building. As with the daishidō, ofuda covered walls are a distinguishing feature. Objects representing those things pilgrims are praying for and photographs of people for whom they are praying may be left here, as well as at the daishidō.



Tōrō (7). The stone lanterns, found at many different points within the temple compound, vary in their minor features but all consist of a foundation stone, pillar, shelf upon the pillar, light box, and roof with an ornamental ball at the centre. Today, these lanterns are seldom lit but they retain their symbolic meaning originating in the custom of making fires in order to greet and honour the kami.[8] They are symbolic too of Buddha as the "light of the world", a doctrinal concept of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[9]

Mon (8). The mon is the entrance to the sacred enclosure. Among the eighty-eight temples, three styles may be found.[10] The niōmon, depicted here, enshrines a statue of niō(san), deva king, on either side and is the representative type, while the sanmon, which does not enshrine the niō(san) but may house a bell, sometimes marks the entrance way. Less frequently found is the monchū, a simple pillar mon.

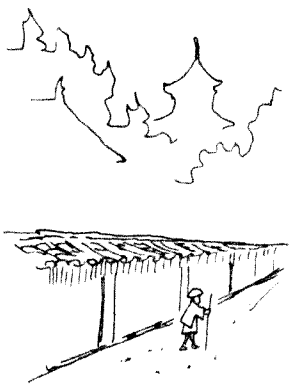


Meihyō (9). The meihyō serves to identify the temple by name and number. It may be argued that the meihyō is not located within the temple compound if the compound is understood to be that area inside the hei, as it is found in front of the temple gate, on the side of the secular world. However, because the meihyō is inseparable from the temple and is a primary identifying feature, it has been included among the selected types of physical features. While the name of each temple appears on a plaque affixed to the mon, irrespective of whether the temple has a meihyō or not, these plaques, as they possess no locational property distinct from that of the mon, have not been included within the type meihyō.

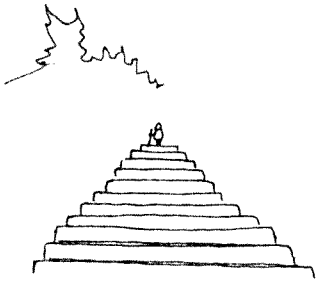
Shōrō (10). The shōrō is a wooden structure within which the large metal bell and log with which it is struck are suspended. The sound of the bell is distinct to each temple.

Jizō (11). Jizō statues represent Jizō-bosatsu (see Chapter 3), the bodhisattva loved and worshipped by the common people and known particularly as the protector of children, pregnant women, and travellers.

Jizō are often dressed in bibs, usually red, the symbolic colour of life, and wool hats donated by those seeking his aid. While jizō are found at many sites outside the temple compound, particularly along the pilgrim route, they are also a characteristic landscape marker within the sacred places.

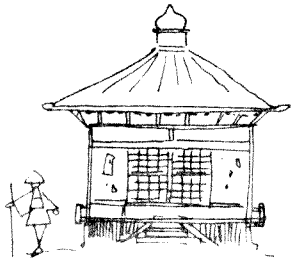


Hei (12). The hei demarcates the outer limits of the temple compound, though it does not necessarily totally surround it, and symbolically separates the sacred area from the secular world. While all the temples located on the plain have hei at least by the mon, temples located on mountain sites sometimes utilize natural barriers, steep slopes, dense foliage and so on, to demarcate their boundaries. In this discussion, type hei includes only constructed walls.

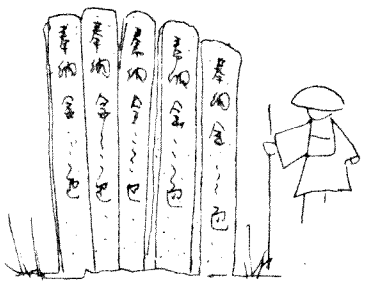


Ishidan (13). Because the sacred places are often situated within the hills or mountains, steps have been constructed wherever necessary to accommodate the changes in elevation. Very often the number of steps in any one set has significant meaning and elicits a particular pilgrim response (see Chapter 4). Even when their number does not embody special meaning, the steps themselves

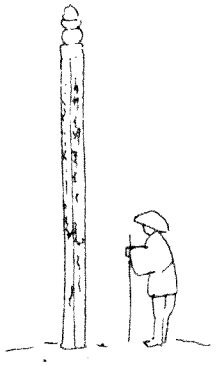
are still symbolic as they lead to the "sacred, higher interior" of the compound.



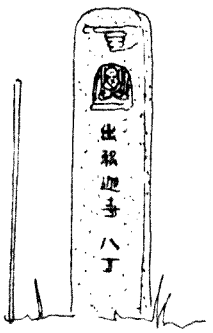
Dō (14). The dō enshrines one or several Buddhist deities other than the honzon of the temple and may occur more than once within the compound, each dō enshrining a different deity.



Hōnōsekihyō (15). When a large donation is made to the temple the donor's name and sometimes the amount given is engraved on a stone marker. These markers stand side by side within the compound.

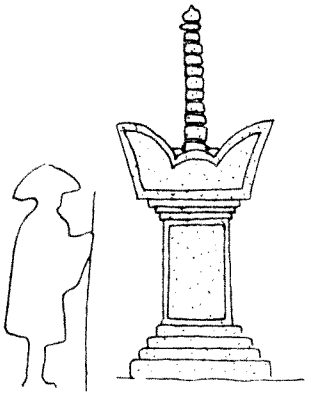


Kuyōtō (16). Kuyōtō are built by pilgrims who have made the pilgrimage to the eighty-eight sacred places several times (more than fifty times according to Ōmoto, the priest at Taisan-ji (56)) to venerate[11] Buddhist deities and/or Kōbō-Daishi. This stone or wooden pillar has a gorin shaped top, on which the five Sanskrit letters representing the five elements are carved. The type kuyōtō includes ongitō, "stupa" erected to mark anniversaries of Kōbō-Daishi every fifty years.



Dōhyō (17). Like meihyō, dōhyō are not located inside the hei but rather are found at frequent intervals along the pilgrim route. However, the dōhyō is also found immediately outside the mon and when so located is an identifying marker of the sacred place. Not only does the dōhyō identify the temple by number and sometimes name, but it also relates the temple in terms of direction and distance to the neighbouring temple on either side.

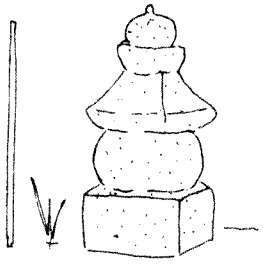
Yashiro (18). The yashiro is the dwelling place of various kami or Shintō gods. The presence of the kami may be symbolized by a sacred object housed within the yashiro. Often the kami of the yashiro is chinju no kami, a protector of the temple compound.



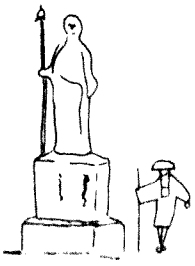
Hōkyōintō (19). The hōkyōintō actually or symbolically enshrines the sutra, hōkyōin-darani-kyō, which states that if the darani is invoked a soul may be allowed to enter the Pure Land. The darani also has the power to cure the sick and to bestow wealth on the poor.

Ishidatami (20). The ishidatami is the stone walk within the compound leading from the mon to the "sacred higher interior".

Haka (21). Frequently residents of the area and occasionally pilgrims who die en route are buried within the temple compound. Often too the graves of historic personalities are found within the sacred places. The type haka refers to relatively large areas containing several graves and, as well, to individual grave sites.

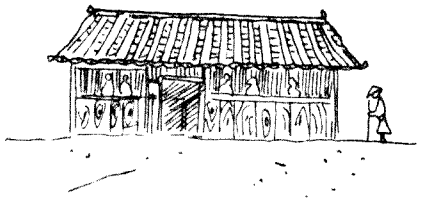


Gorintō (22). The gorintō is the symbolic representation of the Buddhist concept of the five elements upon which all life in the universe depends. From bottom to top its different shaped parts symbolize earth (□), water (○), fire (△), wind (▽), and air or the essence of life (⌓). Gorintō are found throughout the compound and are sometimes used to mark grave sites.

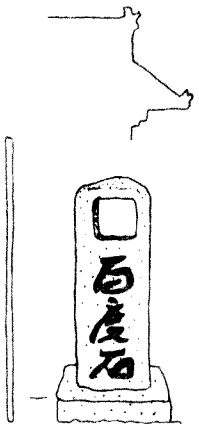


Zō (23). Zō are statues representing Kōbō-Daishi and other historic personages of importance associated with the temple.

Shokubutsu (24). Shokubutsu or "sacred" trees include various types of large and ancient trees, most often pine and cedar, found at the eighty-eight temples, and with which legends are associated. Pine trees acknowledged as "sacred" are relatively low and large in diameter while cedars are exceptionally tall.

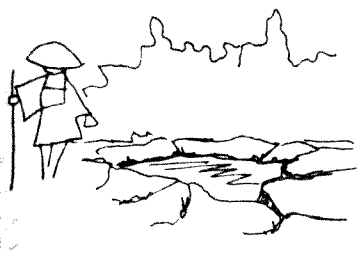


Settaisho (25). The settaisho takes its name from settai, the custom of giving assistance to pilgrims in the belief that merit can thus be gained. From this building donated goods (such as food, cotton gloves, towels, and kleenex) and money are distributed to pilgrims. The settaisho is often constructed by the "settai people".[12] While pilgrims may at any time receive settai from those whom they encounter en route, goods are usually distributed from the settaisho only at the height of the pilgrim season - in the spring - and sometimes in the fall. The chadō or tea building at which pilgrims may be given tea is also included in the type, settaisho.

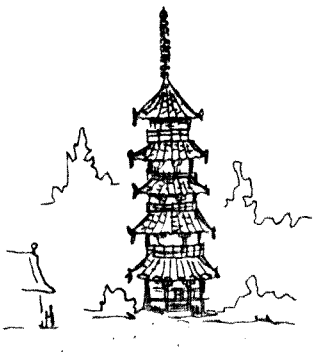


Hyakudoishi (26). The hyakudoishi is found some distance away from the hondō and facilitates local residents in their visits to the temple. Originally it was considered meritorious to visit the temple every day for a hundred days in succession, then it became the custom to visit one hundred times in one day.[13] So that this would be possible, the hyakudoishi was erected and it was necessary for the visitor to go only as far as the marker and then return to the hondō in order to be credited with one visit.

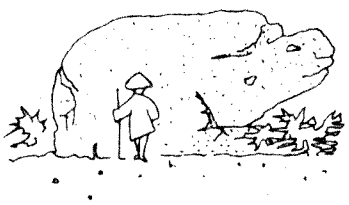
Torii (27). This type of gate, literally, bird rest, originated with the ancient custom of offering live cocks to Shintō shrines[14] and demarcated the sacred area from the secular world.



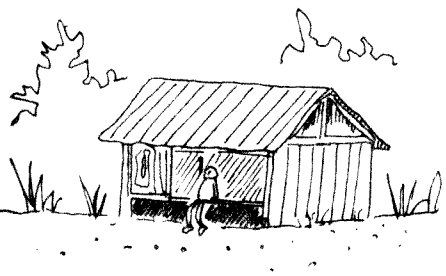
Mizu (28). Mizu includes those springs, wells, and ponds found at the sacred places with which legends concerning Kōbō-Daishi are associated.



Tō (29). The tō or pagoda, the structure in which the Buddha's ashes were originally enshrined after his death in India, symbolizes the Buddha. Multi-storied, usually odd numbered, three or five, the tō is often the tallest structure within the compound and serves as a landmark for pilgrims approaching the temple. The type tō includes the variations hōtō and yugitō both of which symbolize the centre of the universe and are lower in height than the tō.

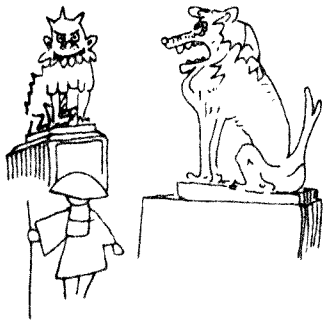


Ishi (30). The ishi are rocks or stones with which legends are associated. Assumed to be in their natural state, upon close examination they frequently appear to have been slightly altered by man.[15]

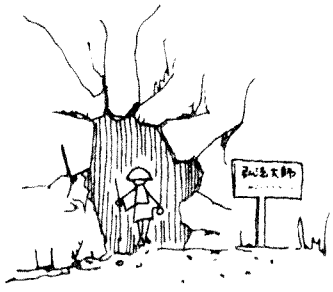


Tsuyadō (31). The tsuyadō is the building in which, traditionally, pilgrims spent the night free of charge though food and bath were not provided. It is perhaps the building of simplest construction within the compound.

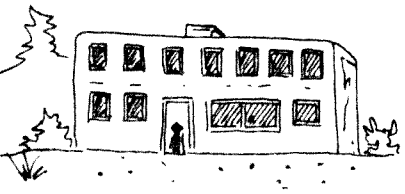
Jishikoku (32). Jishikoku, literally "Own Shikoku", is a set of eighty-eight stone markers, each marker having carved on it a representation of the honzon (see Chapter 3) and the name of the temple it represents. As such jishikoku symbolizes the Shikoku pilgrimage and is visited by the residents of the area.



Komainu (33). Found in pairs, komainu are dog or lion-like figures which guard the sacred enclosure. When observed from the front, the komainu on the right is open mouthed while the one on the left is closed mouthed and has a horn protruding from the top of the head, the left komainu being male and the right, female. Buddhist symbolism says the female is saying "Ah", the male "Om", the Alpha and Omega of Buddhist teachings.[16]



Dōkutsu (34). Dōkutsu are caves in which Kōbō-Daishi is believed to have undergone spiritual and physical training or with which legends concerning Kōbō-Daishi are associated.



Shintokaikan (35). The shintokaikan is financed by the congregation of the temple and is often used to provide overnight accommodation for pilgrims. This is usually the most modern building within the compound.

Soseki (36). The soseki, foundation stones of early buildings now destroyed, are evidence of the age of the sacred place and of the changes that have taken place within it.

Thirty-six types of selected landscape units found within the eighty-eight sacred places, which together constitute the tangible geographic setting, have been briefly described. Four descriptive features common to all members of the set of thirty-six units have been selected as the medium through which these units will be examined.

Generalities of the Physical Features

Descriptive Features: The four descriptive features are: (1) degree of occurrence, (2) relative position, (3) temporal variability, and (4) practicality. As the purpose of this examination is to reveal the general nature of the geographic setting of the eighty-eight sacred places rather than to discuss in detail the landscape features of each sacred place,

the descriptive features have been defined to accommodate generalization in the characterization of the thirty-six units.

Degree of Occurrence: Among the thirty-six units which make up the geographic complex of the temple landscape some occur with greater frequency than others. The degree of occurrence of each unit is indicative of the significance of its associated meaning within the overall character of the pilgrimage.

In order to determine the degree of occurrence of each of the selected types of geographic features within the eighty-eight temples, each sacred place has been inventoried in terms of its landscape units (see Table 2-2). The data on which the landscape inventory is based were collected during the 1972-73 field research and were confirmed by Ōmoto, the head priest at Taisan-ji (56), in 1974.

From the landscape inventory it is possible to determine the frequency of occurrence, that is, the actual number of temples at which the units occur, of the selected types of physical features within the eighty-eight temples exclusive of a consideration of the frequency of occurrence of specific "plural" features, that is, features which occur more than once within a specific sacred place. When certain criteria are specified, the thirty-six units may be classified into broad categories according to their frequency of occurrence.

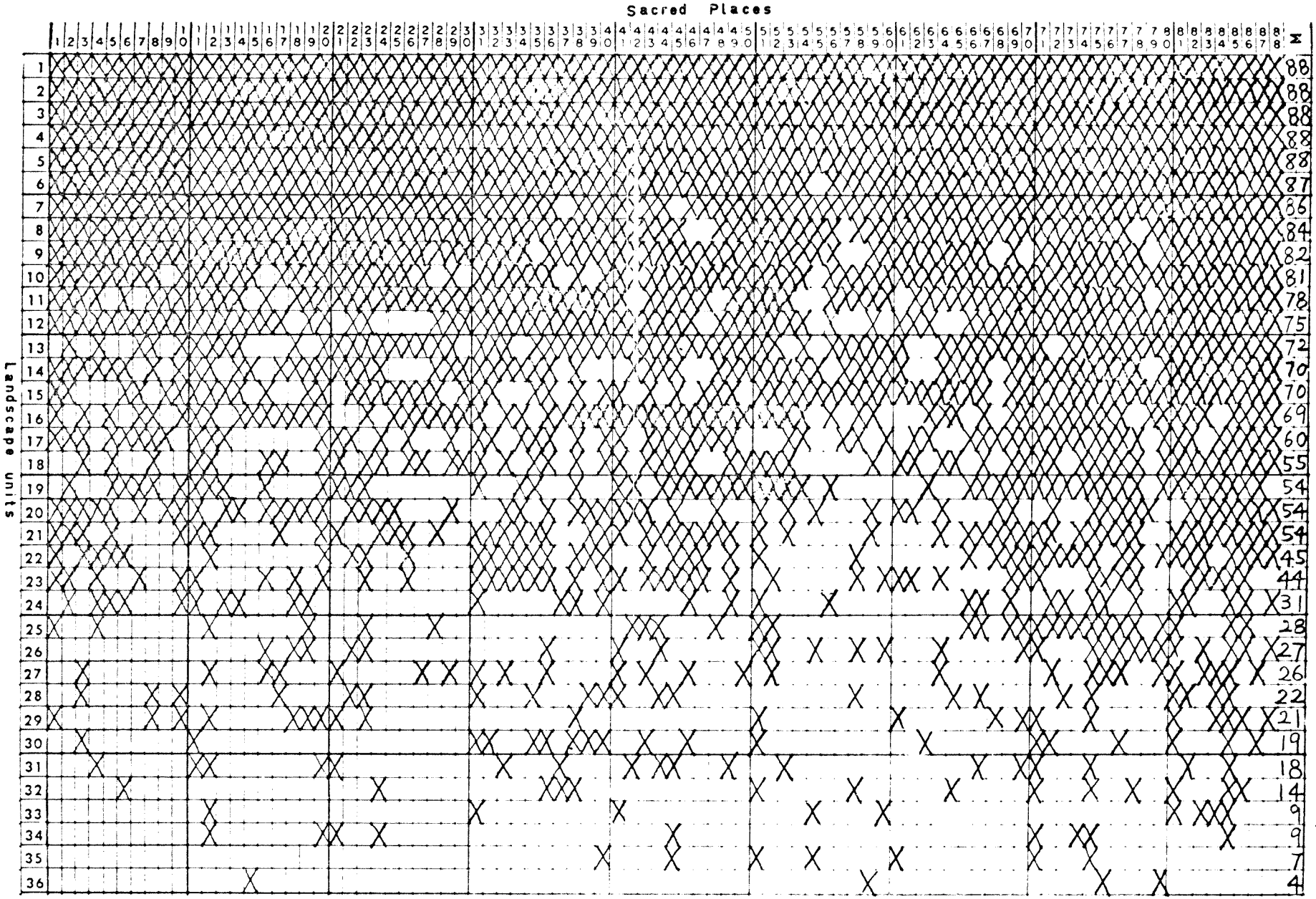
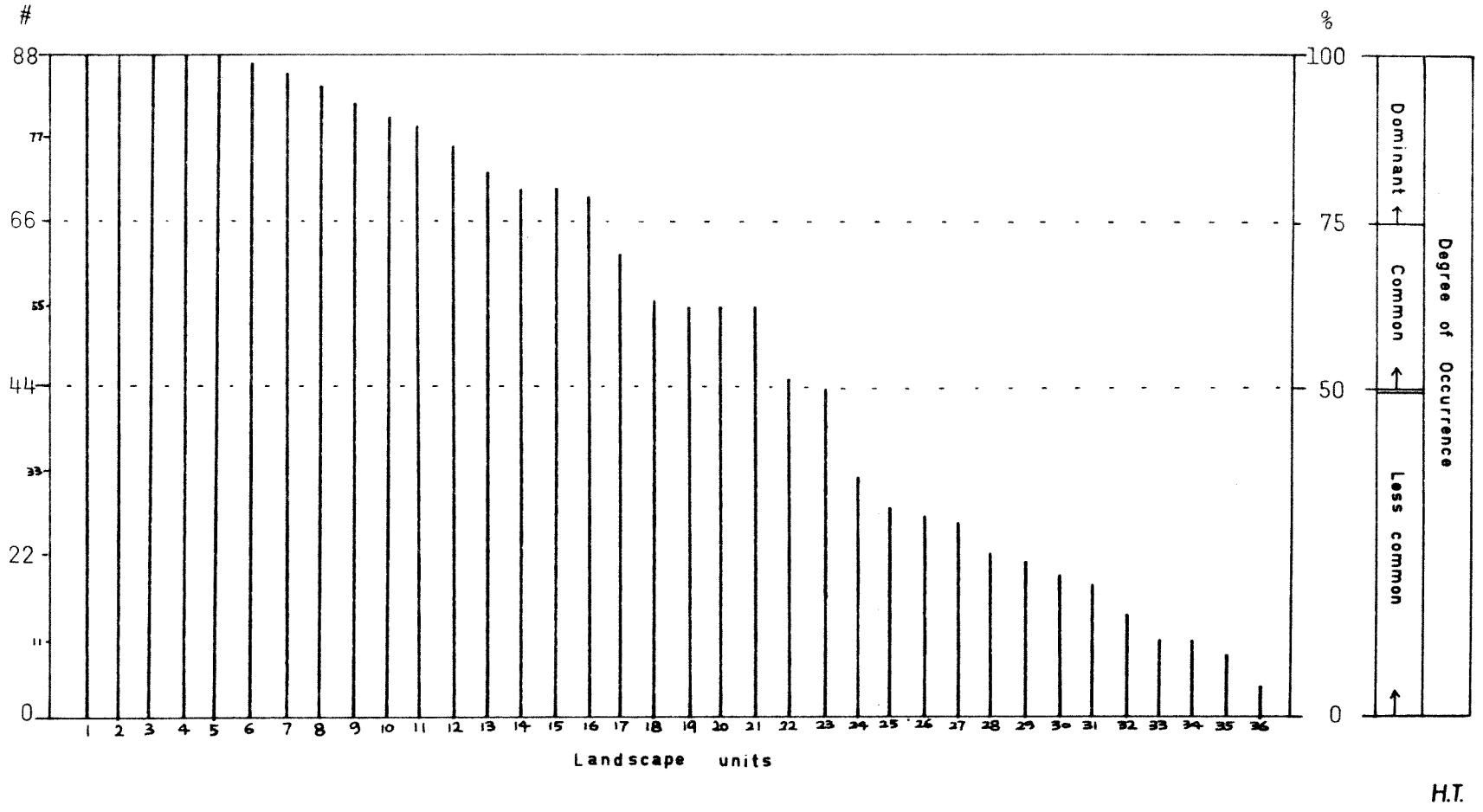


TABLE 2-2 LANDSCAPE INVENTORY: 1974

Data source: Field observation 1972, 1973. Confirmed in 1974 by Priest Ōmoto

The results of the landscape inventory, Table 2-2, are graphically represented in Figure 2-2. It can be seen from this figure that the landscape units fall into three groups: those which occur at more than 75 per cent of the eighty-eight sacred places, those which occur at 50 per cent or more but less than 75 per cent of the sacred places, and those which occur at less than 50 per cent of the sacred places. Thus the descriptive feature, degree of occurrence, may be said to comprise three attributes: dominant, common, and less common. A landscape unit occurring within more than 75 per cent of the temple compounds will be defined as dominant, one occurring at 50 per cent or more but less than 75 per cent of the sacred places will be defined as common, while a unit occurring at less than 50 per cent of the sacred places will be defined as less common.

Spatial Field: The positions occupied by the units within the compound are an expression of the cultural organization through which both the units and the positions they occupy are given meaning. Because, as discussed earlier, the majority of the sacred places are situated on "mountain" sites, each one having distinct topographical characteristics, and because there is considerable variation in the size of the compounds[17] of the eighty-eight sacred places, there apparently are no fixed geometrical relationships among the thirty-six units. When their arrangement is viewed within the broader context of relative horizontal and vertical



FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE SELECTED LANDSCAPE UNITS WITHIN THE 88 SACRED PLACES

Figure 2-2

position, however, the positions of the units appear to show some organizational pattern. The spatial field of each unit may best be understood if the organization field of the compound is conceived as having two parts: fringe (low) and interior (high). The spatial field of the units then may be defined as fringe, interior, or not fixed.

Temporal Variability: The geographic setting of the sacred places as it can presently be observed through the landscape markers is dynamic. Thus temporal variability, that is, a tendency towards or capacity for variation or change, is inherent in the character of the landscape and is an attribute of the thirty-six units. Temporal variability as it is here conceived is the "temporal phase" of the unit: new, progressive, less progressive or regressive. Determination of temporal phase is based on the difference in the frequency of occurrence of the unit over a specified time span.

The time span to be considered is that period between the latter part of the seventeenth century and the present, as sufficient data for a valid comparison of the frequency of occurrence of the units at two time periods exist only for that period towards the end of the 1600's and the present. The contemporary data were collected during the field trip and the data[18] for the latter part of the seventeenth century are provided by Jakuhon's Shikoku Henro Reijō-ki published in 1689. In order to carry out a valid comparison of the landscape as Jakuhon described[19] it with the landscape as it may presently be observed, the seventeenth century landscape was

"reconstructed" within the same framework as that employed in the examination of the present geographic setting of the sacred places. When the landscape was so reconstructed no type of feature mentioned by Jakuhon was omitted.

The reconstructed seventeenth century landscape in terms of the thirty-six landscape units is shown in Table 2-3. In Table 2-4 the frequency of occurrence of the landscape units at the present time is compared with their frequency of occurrence at the end of the seventeenth century. As can be seen from Table 2-4, some of the units which are found today within the sacred places did not occur at all in Jakuhon's time, while certain units occurred with greater frequency at the end of the seventeenth century than they do today. The majority of the units recorded at both time periods occur with greater frequency today than they did in the late 1600's. Within this latter group, however, there is a wide variation with respect to the quantitative difference.

Based on the difference in the frequency of occurrence of the landscape units in the two time periods under consideration, the units may be defined as new, progressive, less progressive, or regressive. Those units which did not occur at all at the latter part of the seventeenth century may be considered to be new, while those units which occur with less frequency now than they did in Jakuhon's time may be considered to be regressive. The remaining features,

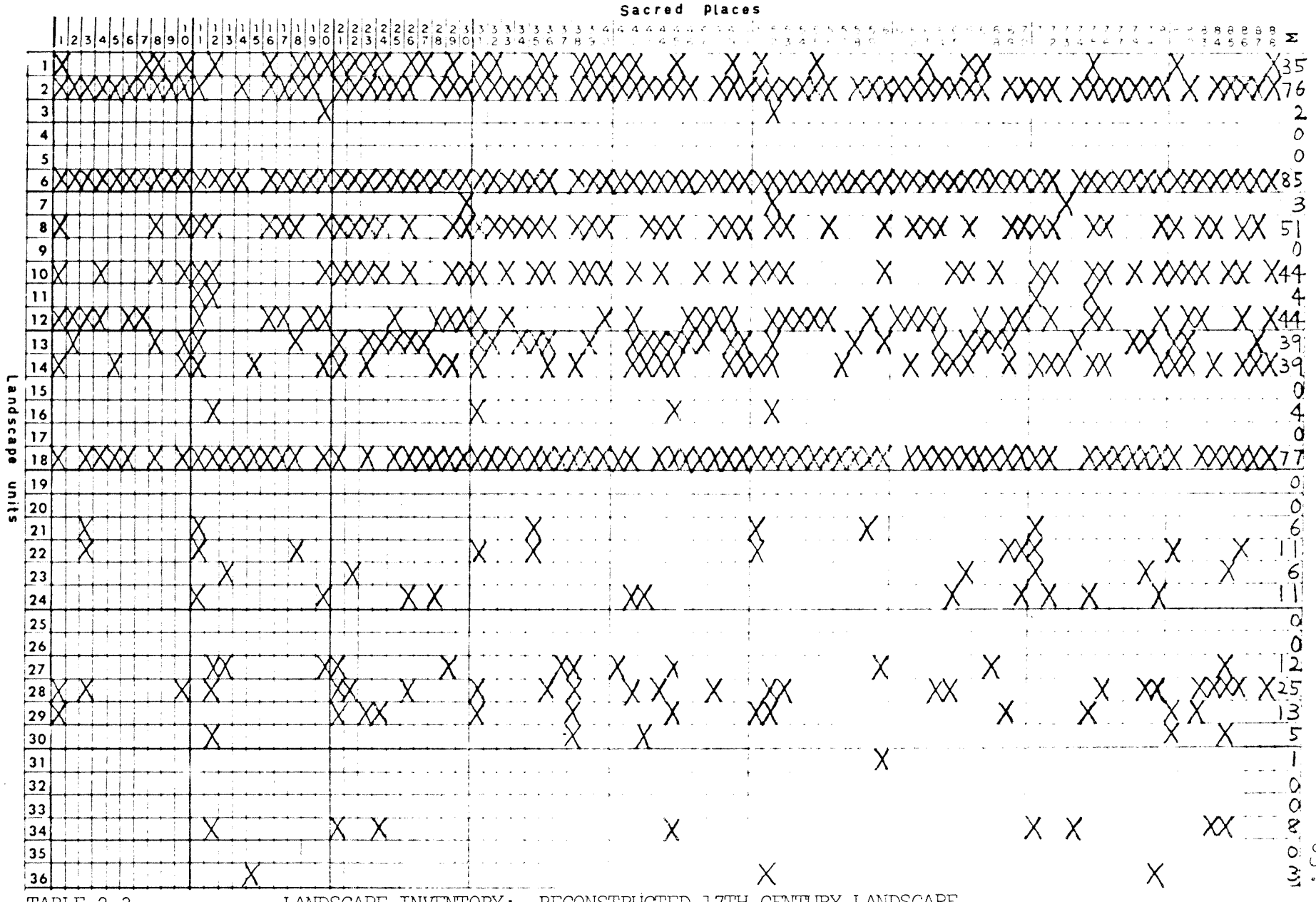


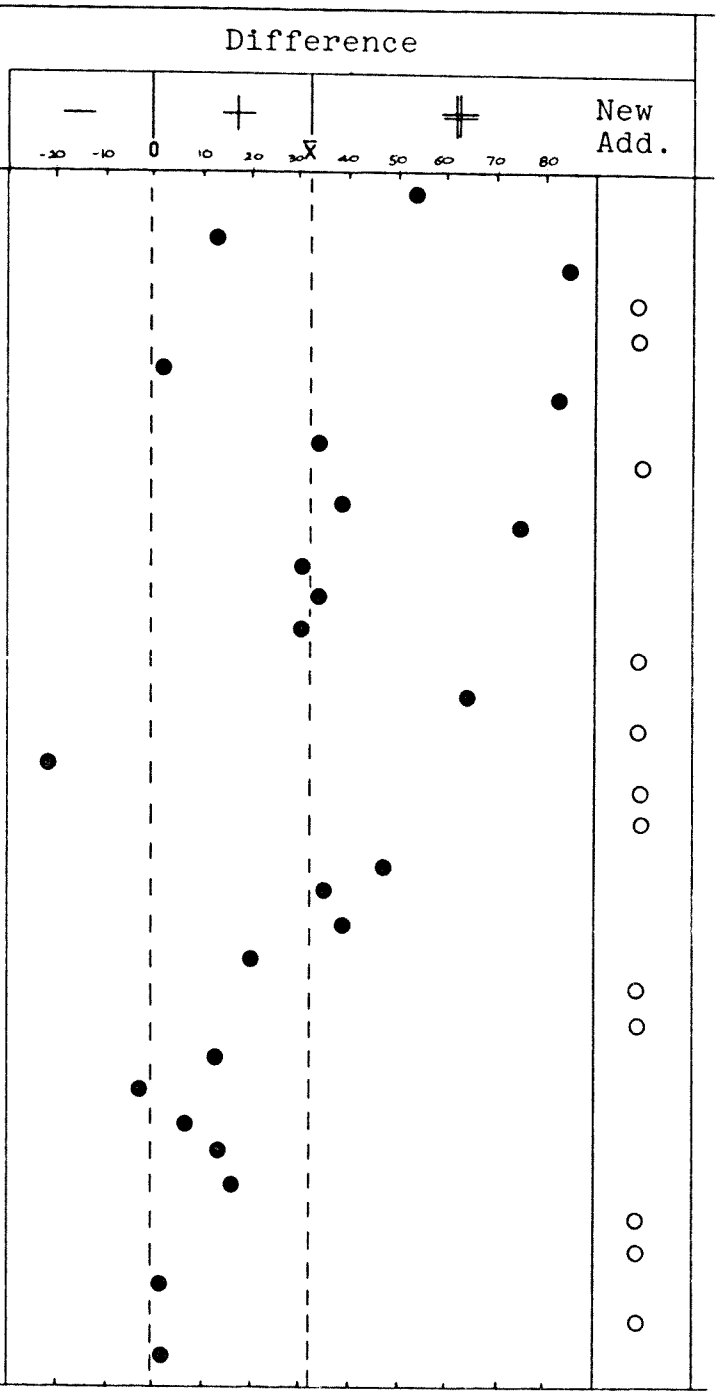
TABLE 2-3 LANDSCAPE INVENTORY: RECONSTRUCTED 17TH CENTURY LANDSCAPE

Data source: Jakuhon, Shikoku Henro Reijō-ki, 1689

Table 2-4

COMPARISON OF THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE LANDSCAPE UNITS AT THE PRESENT TIME WITH THEIR FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE AT THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Analytical Unit	Frequency of Occurrence		Difference	
	1974	17th C		New Add.
1	88	35	+53	
2	88	76	+12	
3	88	2	+86	
4	88	0	+	o
5	88	0	+	o
6	87	85	+ 2	
7	86	3	+83	
8	84	51	+33	
9	82	0	+	o
10	81	44	+37	
11	78	4	+74	
12	75	44	+31	
13	72	39	+33	
14	70	39	+31	
15	70	[illegible]	+	o
16	69	4	+65	
17	60	0	+	o
18	55	77	-22	
19	54	0	+	o
20	54	0	+	o
21	54	6	+48	
22	45	11	+34	
23	44	6	+38	
24	31	11	+20	
25	28	0	+	o
26	27	0	+	o
27	26	12	+14	
28	22	25	- 3	
29	21	13	+ 8	
30	19	5	+14	
31	18	1	+17	
32	14	0	+	o
33	9	0	+	o
34	9	8	+1	
35	7	0	+	o
36	4	3	+1	



those which were recorded by Jakuhon but occur with greater frequency today may be said to be progressive or less progressive depending upon whether the quantitative difference in the occurrence of any given unit at the two time periods is greater or less than the average progressive quantitative difference, that is, greater or less than 32.4. Thus the descriptive feature, temporal variability, consists of four attributes: new, progressive, less progressive, and regressive.

Practicality: While all thirty-six types of geographic features function symbolically, some may be said to fulfill a "practical" purpose in that they are directly associated with observable pilgrim activities while others, not being so associated, may be considered to be "non-practical". Consideration of practicality will make possible the identification of those landscape units which elicit frequent visible response from pilgrims and which are incorporated into the pilgrimage ritual.

Definition of Landscape Units by Descriptive Features: The definition of the landscape units in terms of the four descriptive features discussed above is summarized in Table 2-5. The generalities of the set of thirty-six landscape units in terms of the four selected descriptive features will now be discussed.

Thirty-Six Units and Degree of Occurrence: When the landscape units are considered with respect to their degree of

Table 2-5

DEFINITION OF LANDSCAPE UNITS BY DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

Analytical Units	Descriptive Features											
	Degree of Occurrence			Spatial Field			Temporal Variability				Practicality	
	Dominant	Common	Less Common	Fringe	Interior	Not Fixed	New	Progressive	Less Progressive	Regressive	Yes	No
1	X				X			X			X	
2	X			X					X		X	
3	X			X				X			X	
4	X				X		X				X	
5	X				X		X				X	
6	X				X				X		X	
7	X					X		X				X
8	X			X				X			X	
9	X			X			X					X
10	X			X				X			X	
11	X					X		X				X
12	X			X					X			X
13	X			X				X			X	
14	X				X				X		X	
15	X					X	X					X
16	X				X			X				X
17		X		X			X					X

Analytical Units	Descriptive Features											
	Degree of Occurrence			Spatial Field			Temporal Variability				Practicality	
	Dominant	Common	Less Common	Fringe	Interior	Not Fixed	New	Progressive	Less Progressive	Regressive	Yes	No
18		X				X				X	X	
19		X				X	X					X
20		X				X	X				X	
21		X				X		X				X
22		X				X		X				X
23		X			X			X				X
24			X			X			X			X
25			X	X			X				X	
26			X		X		X					X
27			X	X					X			X
28			X			X				X	X	
29			X		X				X			X
30			X			X			X			X
31			X	X					X		X	
32			X			X	X					X
33			X		X		X					X
34			X			X			X			X
35			X	X			X				X	
36			X			X			X			X

occurrence it can be seen that sixteen: daishidō, kuri, chōzubachi, kōro, rōsokutate, hondō, tōrō, mon, meihyō, shōrō, jizō, hei, ishidan, dō, hōnōsekihyō, and kuyōtō are dominant; seven: dōhyō, yashiro, hōkyōintō, ishidatami, haka, gorintō, and zō are common; while the remaining thirteen: shokubutsu, settaisho, hyakudoishi, torii, mizu, tō, ishi, tsuyadō, jishikoku, komainu, dōkutsu, shintokaikan, and soseki are less common.

Thirty-Six Units and Spatial Field: Through repeated observation of the sacred places certain positional patterns of the landscape units began to be recognized. Within the sacred places there would seem to be a separation between groups of landscape units with certain features occupying positions relatively close to the entrance of the compound, and others located towards the interior. Twelve landscape units: kuri, chōzubachi, mon, meihyō, shōrō, hei, ishidan, dōhyō, settaisho, torii, tsuyadō, and shintokaikan, all appear to be located within the periphery or lower area of the compound. The dōhyō and meihyō are found immediately in front of the mon, the meihyō being closer to the mon, and the hei starts from the mon and surrounds or partially surrounds, the compound. Though ishidan may be found wherever the change in elevation is sufficient to warrant steps, the main ishidan is generally found close to the mon. It appears that the remaining units found within the peripheral area are not arranged according to any fixed pattern although

the torii and settaisho are usually found relatively close to the mon.

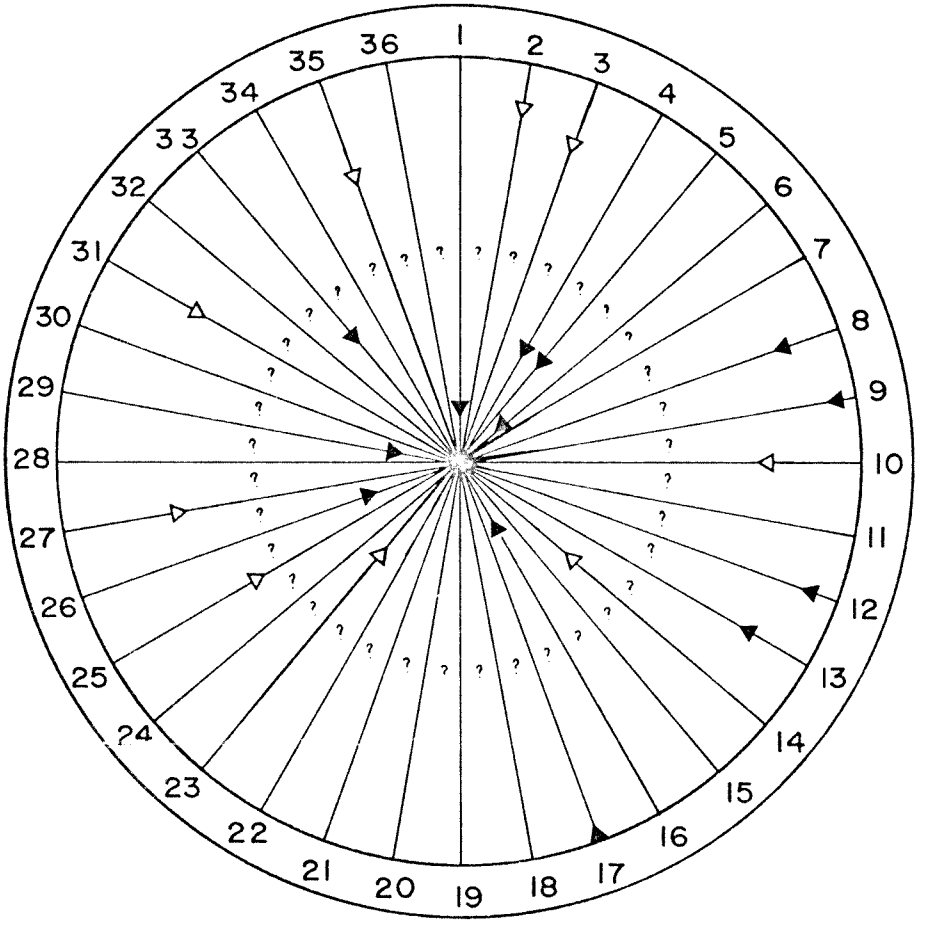
Ten landscape units, daishidō, kōro, rōsokutate, hondō, dō, kuyōtō, zō, hyakudoishi, tō, and komainu, tend to be located towards the interior of the compound and among this group certain spatial relationships occur. The hondō and/or daishidō generally occupy the position of greatest interiority within the compound, while the kōro and rōsokutate frequently may occur close to each of the former units. The tō is usually located near the hondō or daishidō. The kuyōtō is usually located beside the hondō and the komainu and hyakudoishi are in front of it with the hyakudoishi usually being closer to the hondō. The zō and dō sometimes occur more than once and while they are located in the central area of the compound, they usually occur towards its outer edge and their location with regard to other units in this field is not fixed. As was stated earlier in this chapter, the hondō and tō both symbolize the Buddha while the daishidō is the structure dedicated to Kōbō-Daishi. It may be said that these three buildings are considered to be the most sacred of all the thirty-six types of landscape units. That they occupy the innermost and highest positions within the compound has given rise to the commonly held view of this area as the "sacred higher interior" of the compound.

Ten landscape units, the tōrō, jizō, hōnōsekihyō, yashiro, hōkyōintō, ishidatami, haka, gorintō, jishikoku, and

soseki, may be said to be "plural" features, that is, they often occur at more than one location within the same compound and there seem to be no set rules governing their location. Four landscape units, shokubutsu, mizu, ishi, and dōkutsu, are natural features and their position is a function of their existence. Thus, when the relative position of the units is considered, it may be said that fourteen occupy no fixed position and may occur anywhere within the compound.

The spatial arrangement of the landscape units with respect to the two fields: interior and fringe and their relative position in terms of their degree of interiority is shown in Figure 2-3. In this schematic diagram the numbers correspond to the numbers assigned to the landscape units shown in Table 2-1. The units are arranged in clockwise order according to their previously denoted frequency of occurrence within the eighty-eight sacred places. The area that the landscape unit occupies within the compound, that is, fringe or interior, is indicated by a triangle. Whether the position that the unit occupies within the designated area of the compound is fixed or not fixed is indicated by a black triangle ▲ and a white triangle △ respectively. If the unit may occur within either area of the compound no triangle appears.

Thirty-Six Units and Temporal Variability: From Table 2-5 it can be seen that there are twelve landscape units: kōro, rōsokutate, meihyō, hōnōsekihyō, dōhyō, hōkyōintō,



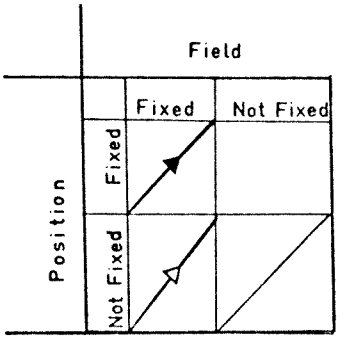
H.T.

Interior

Fringe

17

Landscape unit



SPATIAL FIELD OF THE 36 LANDSCAPE UNITS

Figure 2-3

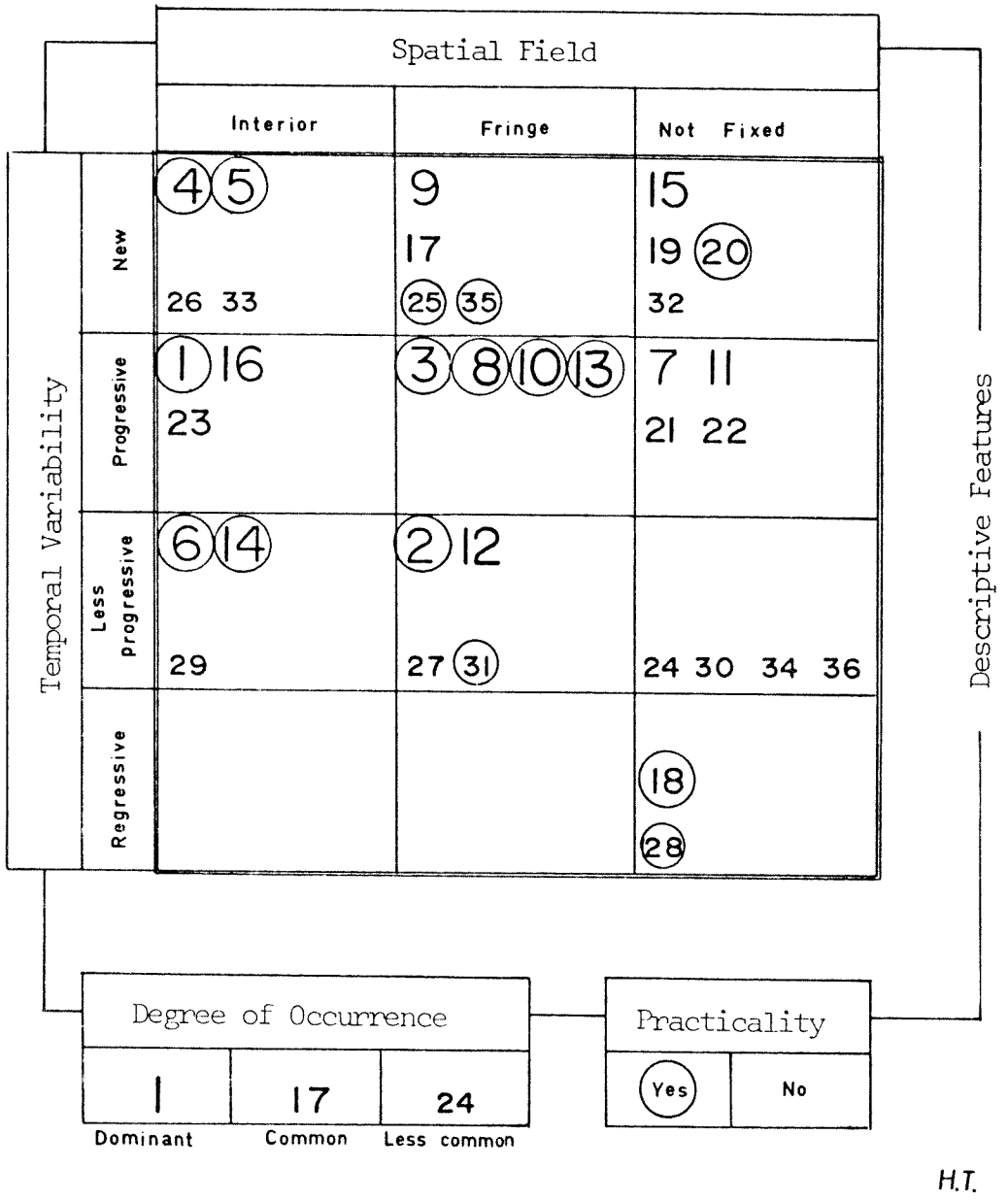
ishidatami, settaisho, hyakudoishi, jishikoku, komainu, and shintokaikan, which are new; eleven: daishidō, chōzubachi, tōrō, mon, shōrō, jizō, ishidan, kuyōtō, haka, gorintō, and zō, which are progressive; eleven: kuri, hondō, hei, dō, shokubutsu, torii, tō, ishi, tsuyadō, dōkutsu, and soseki, which are less progressive; and two: yashiro and mizu, which are regressive.

Thirty-Six Units and Practicality: When the practicality of the units is considered sixteen may be said to function practically, that is, are the focus of pilgrim activity. Within this group the daishidō, kuri, chōzubachi, kōro, rōsokutate, hondō, mon, shōrō, ishidan, dō, yashiro, ishidatami, and mizu, are related to pilgrim ritual while the settaisho, from which goods are distributed to pilgrims, and the tsuyadō and shintokaikan, where pilgrims may stay over night, are related to pilgrim activity but usually not to ceremonial ritual.

The remaining twenty units, the tōrō, meihyō, jizō, hei, hōnōsekihyō, kuyōtō, dōhyō, hōkyōintō, haka, gorintō, zō, shokubutsu, hyakudoishi, torii, tō, ishi, jishikoku, komainu, dōkutsu, and soseki, because they do not relate directly to pilgrim activity, may be conceived as non-practical in their function. Among these latter units, however, the hyakudoishi and jishikoku do function practically when viewed with respect to the local residents of the area visiting an individual temple.

Generalities of Physical Features: From the foregoing consideration of the thirty-six landscape units in terms of the four descriptive features some generalization concerning the nature of the geographic setting is possible. Figure 2-4 is a diagrammatic representation of the data shown in Table 2-5 and is useful in the conceptualization of the various landscape units in terms of the four descriptive features. The numbers correspond to those numbers assigned to the landscape units according to their frequency of occurrence, while the size of the number is indicative of the degree of occurrence of the unit. A circle around the number means that it functions "practically".

From this figure it can be seen that among the sixteen dominant features the majority, thirteen, occur within a given area of the compound suggesting that the fields occupied by the dominant features tend to be fixed. All but three (meihyō, hei, kuyōtō) of those dominant features occupying a fixed field within the compound function practically. Among those features which are presently found at all of the eighty-eight sacred places, the kōro and rōsokutate are new and the occurrence of the chōzubachi has increased dramatically. While the dominant features, kuri and hondō, are less progressive because of their acknowledged importance at the end of the seventeenth century, daishidō is progressive, which possibly indicates an increased emphasis on the association of the places of the pilgrimage with Kōbō-Daishi.



LANDSCAPE UNIT CHARACTERIZATION
BY DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

Figure 2-4

Of the common features, all except one, yashiro, are either new or have increased considerably in their frequency of occurrence. Only two common features, yashiro and ishidatami, function practically and the fields occupied by these features are not fixed. This stands in marked contrast to the dominant features among which all those functioning practically occupy a fixed area within the compound. This generalization may be extended to include all the common and all the dominant features. While the fields occupied by five out of seven common features, hōkyōintō, ishidatami, haka, gorintō, and yashiro, are not fixed, only three out of sixteen dominant features, hōnōsekihyō, tōrō, and jizō, do not occupy a fixed field.

When the overall pattern is considered it may be seen that the geographic setting of the pilgrimage is regressive in only two landscape features, yashiro and mizu, yashiro being the building which houses the Shintō gods and mizu, "natural" sacred water. Until the start of the Meiji Period (1868-1912) there was a close association between Buddhism and Shintō, with a temple and a shrine often sharing a common compound. In 1868 the newly formed Meiji government under its Haibutsu-kishaku policy dissolved the Shintō-Buddhist amalgamation and declared Shintō to be the State religion. Although this policy was revoked after World War II and Buddhism has been allowed to flourish, the association with Shintō has not been revived. The decreased occurrence of

yashiro within the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage may be indicative of this decreased association of Buddhism with Shinto.

In light of the fact that, as mentioned above, the most progressive of the thirty-six landscape units is the chōzubachi (ablution basin) it is interesting that the second regressive feature is mizu, or "sacred" water. The decreasing occurrence of mizu, though slight, would seem to be indicative of a decrease in the importance of natural bodies of "sacred" water within the eighty-eight sacred places while the dramatic increase in the occurrence of chōzubachi is perhaps expressive of an increasing ritualization within the institution of the pilgrimage. The fact that of the sixteen features which relate directly to pilgrim activity, all but three occupy a fixed spatial field within the compound may also denote the highly ritualized nature of the pilgrimage, for this ritual requires a relatively fixed physical setting as will become apparent in Chapter 4.

Phenomenal Generalities of the Geographic Setting of the Sacred Places

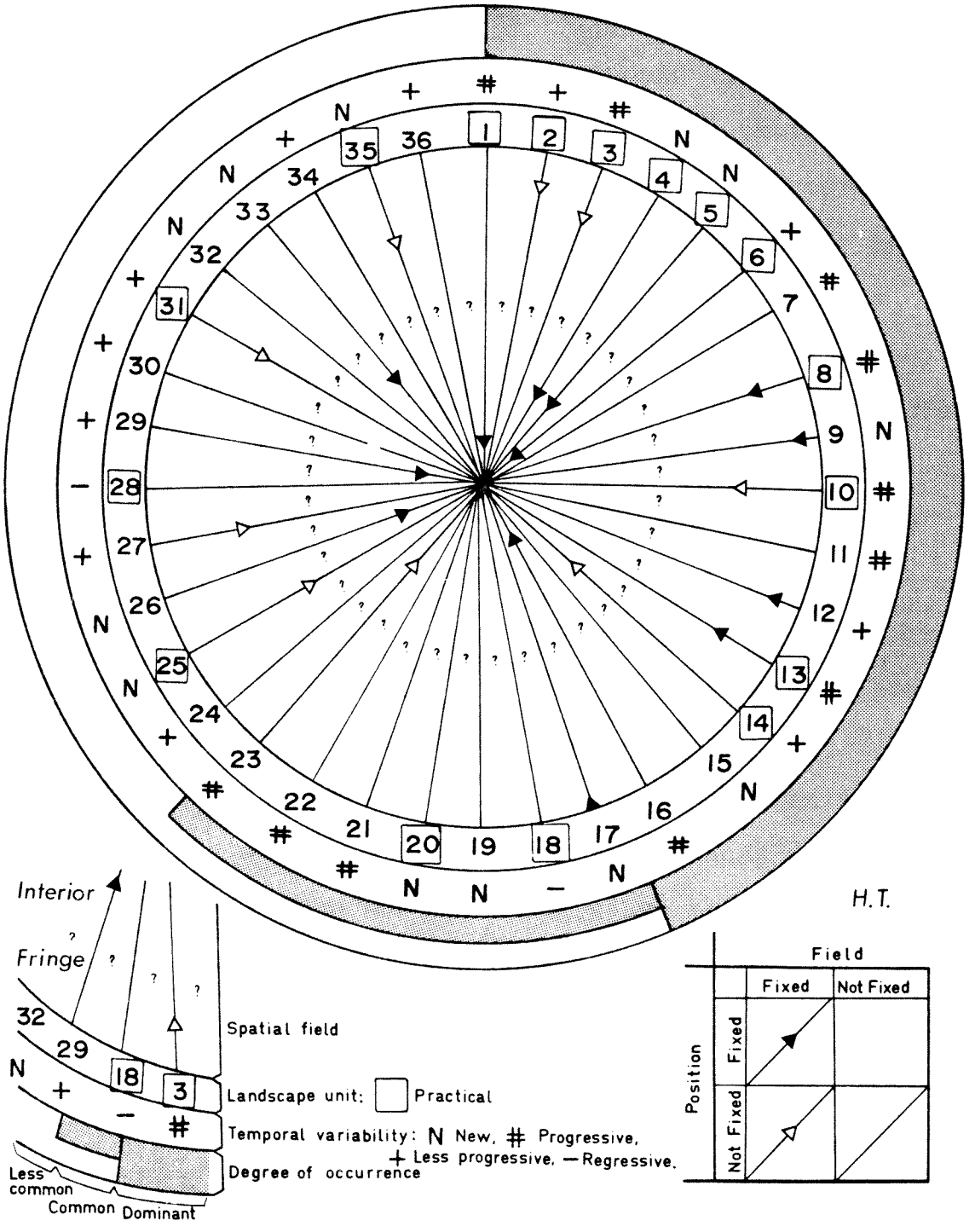
The character of the geographic setting of the pilgrimage is expressed in part through the assemblages of physical features found within the sacred places. The foregoing discussion has attempted to describe and to synthesize this

geographic setting through the examination of the thirty-six discrete types of physical features found within the precincts of the eighty-eight sacred places considered to be the set of primary "cultural features" which make up the geographic complex.

After these identified landscape markers selected to be the analytical units in this chapter were briefly discussed with respect to their physical characteristics and their embodied meaning, they were examined through four specified descriptive features: degree of occurrence, spatial field, temporal variability, and practicality, which together were considered to include the meaningful components of the phenomenal properties of the geographic setting of the sacred places.

Because the intention was to point out generalities in the geographic setting of the eighty-eight sacred places considered as a whole through the synthesis of the common characteristics of each of the thirty-six landscape units rather than illuminate the specific condition of each sacred place, the descriptive features were defined in terms that would accommodate the desired generalization.

The geographic setting of the pilgrimage in terms of the thirty-six selected landscape units may be represented schematically as shown in Figure 2-5. The numbers correspond to those assigned to the landscape units according to their frequency of occurrence. A square around a number signifies



PHENOMENAL GENERALITIES OF THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING OF THE SACRED PLACES

Figure 2-5

that the unit is directly related to pilgrim activity. An N beside the number indicates that the unit is new since the end of the seventeenth century, a double plus sign (#) that it is progressive, a single plus sign (+) that it is less progressive, and a minus sign (-) that it is regressive. Degree of occurrence is indicated by the outer ring of the circle, while the spatial field occupied by each unit is indicated by a triangle, black if the position within the field is fixed, white if it is not. If there is no triangle the landscape unit may occur anywhere within the compound. Within the compound the hondō, daishidō, and tō occupy the position of greatest interiority or the highest position while the mon, hei, meihyō, and dōhyō, occupy the fringe area, or the lowest position, and the remaining units are located between these two extremes.

Figure 2-5 illustrates the preference and organization functioning within the eighty-eight sacred places viewed within a particular framework and expressed through an assemblage of landscape markers which, through the special meaning invested in them, enrich the particular place. The sacred space characterized in this manner within the continuum of profane space provides the setting on which the institution of the pilgrimage rests.

The preceding examination revealed the importance of the daishidō and hondō both through the frequency with which they occur within the eighty-eight sacred places and the position of interiority and height they occupy within the

compound. Their importance derives from their respective association with Kōbō-Daishi and the honzon or chief deity, an association that is an essential characteristic of the eighty-eight sacred places and lies at the core of this institution of pilgrimage. It is on the nature of this association that our attention will now focus.

Notes - Chapter Two

1. Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell, eds., Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 9.

2. Ichirō Hori, "Mountains and their Importance for the Idea of the Other World in Japanese Folk Religion", History of Religions, 6, No. 1 (1966), 1-23.

3. The mountain name of each of the eighty-eight sacred places is given in Table 1-1.

4. The term "orientation" is derived from the Christian tradition of "Orienting" - that is, easting - but is used here in the broader sense of arrangement or position relative to the points of the compass. For a discussion of cultural preferences for particular orientations and the resulting influence of these preferences in the landscape, see T.D. Atkinson, "Points of the Compass", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, X (New York: Scribner, 1918); B.L. Gordon, "Sacred Directions, Orientation and the Top of the Map", History of Religions, 10, No. 3 (1971), 211-27.

5. Shinjō Mochizuki, Ryūken Sawa, and Takeshi Umehara, eds., Butsuzō Kokoroto Katachi (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, 1972), p. 21.

6. The daishidō is frequently decorated with photographs of individuals, both alive and dead, for whom pilgrims are praying, stuffed cotton representing the female breast and hence an abundant supply of milk for a baby, pilgrim dolls representing the safe completion of the pilgrimage, colourful banners on which the names of many pilgrims are printed and which embody the prayers of these pilgrims, and crutches, casts, and braces left by pilgrims cured of disabilities.

7. The thirty-two temples which do not provide accommodation are: Dainichi-ji (4), Hōrin-ji (9), Kirihata-ji (10), Jōraku-ji (14), Kokubun-ji (15), Kannon-ji (16), Kōnomine-ji (27), Dainichi-ji (28), Zenraku-ji (30), Chikurin-ji (31), Kiyotaki-ji (35), Seiryū-ji (36), Butsumoku-ji (42), Jōruri-ji (46), Yasaka-ji (47), Sairin-ji (48), Jōdo-ji (49), Hanta-ji (50), Enmyō-ji (53), Enmei-ji (54), Kokubun-ji (59), Yokomine-ji (60), Motoyama-ji (70), Shusshaka-ji (73), Kōyama-ji (74), Zentsū-ji (75), Konzō-ji (76), Dōryū-ji (77), Kōshō-in (79), Negoro-ji (82), Yashima-ji (84), and Yakuri-ji (85).

8. For a discussion of the term kami see Daniel C. Holtom, "The Meaning of Kami", Monumenta Nipponica, 3 (1940), 1-27, 32-53; 4 (1941), 25-68.

9. Paul Fickler, "Fundamental Questions in the Geography of Religions" in Readings in Cultural Geography, ed. by Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 98.

10. Niōmon are found at fifty-two sacred places, sanmon at twenty-one sacred places, and monchu at six sacred places.

11. Sadataka Igawa in "Wagakuni ni okeru Tōba no Kenkyū" in Tōba no Kenkyū, ed. by Keizō Saeki (Nara: Ikarugasha, 1943), p. 155-6 makes reference to ten different types of merit which, according to the Buddhist sutra, "Sotōbashō", will be gained by the worshippers who erect kuyōtō.

12. On April 2, 1973, approximately 200 "settai people" travelled by fishing boats from Arita, Wakayama Prefecture, to Naruto, Shikoku and for several days, in keeping with a tradition dating back some 150 years, distributed goods and money from the settaisho at Ryōzen-ji (1).

13. Bukkyō Daijii, ed. by Ryūkoku University (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1937), pp. 3928-29.

14. Mock Joya, Mock Joya's Things Japanese (5th ed.; Tokyo: Tokyo News Service, 1964), p. 94.

15. For example, the features of kame-ishi or the turtle stone at Kongōfuku-ji (38) illustrated in the text almost certainly have been carved, or at least emphasized, by man and akagame-ishi or red turtle stone at Enkō-ji (39) appears to have been similarly "enhanced".

16. Hazel H. Gorham, Japanese and Oriental Pottery (Yokohama: Yamagata), p. 203.

17. Some sacred places, like Hōrin-ji (9) and Iwamoto-ji (37) have small compounds, about 8000 square metres, while others cover larger areas, for instance, Jizō-ji (5) which covers 40,000 square metres and Kongōfuku-ji (38) which encompasses the tip of Ashizuri Cape (120,000 square metres).

18. With regard to the seven temples, the exact positions of which have changed since the end of the seventeenth century, Jakuhon's description refers to the original temple landscapes of these sacred places. As it is argued that the geographic setting of the places of the pilgrimage is primarily expressed through a set of landscape markers rather than through the site as it exists unaltered by man, a valid comparison may still be made between the present landscape of these seven temples and the landscape observed by Jakuhon, even though the precise temple sites differ slightly.

19. While the degree of completeness of Jakuhon's recorded observations remains open to speculation, it may be argued, after close scrutiny of his work, that his data are highly dependable. As a Buddhist priest he would be familiar with the landscape features and as he has recorded even small statues and markers of various kinds, it is unlikely that he omitted many, if any, main landscape markers from his description.

CHAPTER THREE

ASSOCIATION

Central to the acknowledged sanctity or holiness of a place within a particular cultural context is its recognized association with deities and/or saintly beings. Such association is an essential aspect of the expressive character of the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage.

The particular significance of each of the eighty-eight sacred places rests on its two-fold association with Kōbō-Daishi and a particular honzon or chief deity. The importance of this association is attested in the landscape of the sacred places. This became evident in the preceding chapter where the examination revealed that the daishidō is common to all and the hondō to all but one[1] of the sacred places. The importance of this association will again be verified in Chapter 4 where it will be observed that the daishidō and hondō, the abodes of Kōbō-Daishi and the honzon respectively, are the focal points of pilgrim ritual.

In this chapter, the sets of associations are considered to be the analytical units, each unit comprising two parts: the association of Kōbō-Daishi and the association of the honzon. These association units will be examined within the context of Japanese Buddhist thought.

As the type of association conceived here is a function of the type of honzon and as the association of Kōbō-Daishi

does not vary, for practical purposes the association of Kōbō-Daishi will be viewed independently of the association of the honzon. Following this, the types of honzon will be examined with respect to three descriptive features: hierarchy, temporal position, and functional significance.

The investigation in this chapter serves first to give insight into the nature of the association units and then to identify the underlying associational organization of the pilgrim places and thus describe the character of the institution of the pilgrimage within the religious ideological context.

Association Units

The eighty-eight sacred places are associated with Kōbō-Daishi and with a variety of deities among which one, the honzon, has been designated as the chief deity for each sacred place. While the association with Kōbō-Daishi is common to all eighty-eight sacred places and varies only in its extent, there is diversity among the honzon with which the temples are associated. The various honzon do not represent unrelated deities, but rather various facets of the complex nature of the Buddha.

The association of each of the sacred places is shown in Figure 3-1. All eighty-eight sacred places are associated with Kōbō-Daishi while their association with the honzon varies among twelve types of deities. These are Kanzenon-bosatsu, Yakushi-nyorai, Amida-nyorai, Dainichi-nyorai, Jizō-

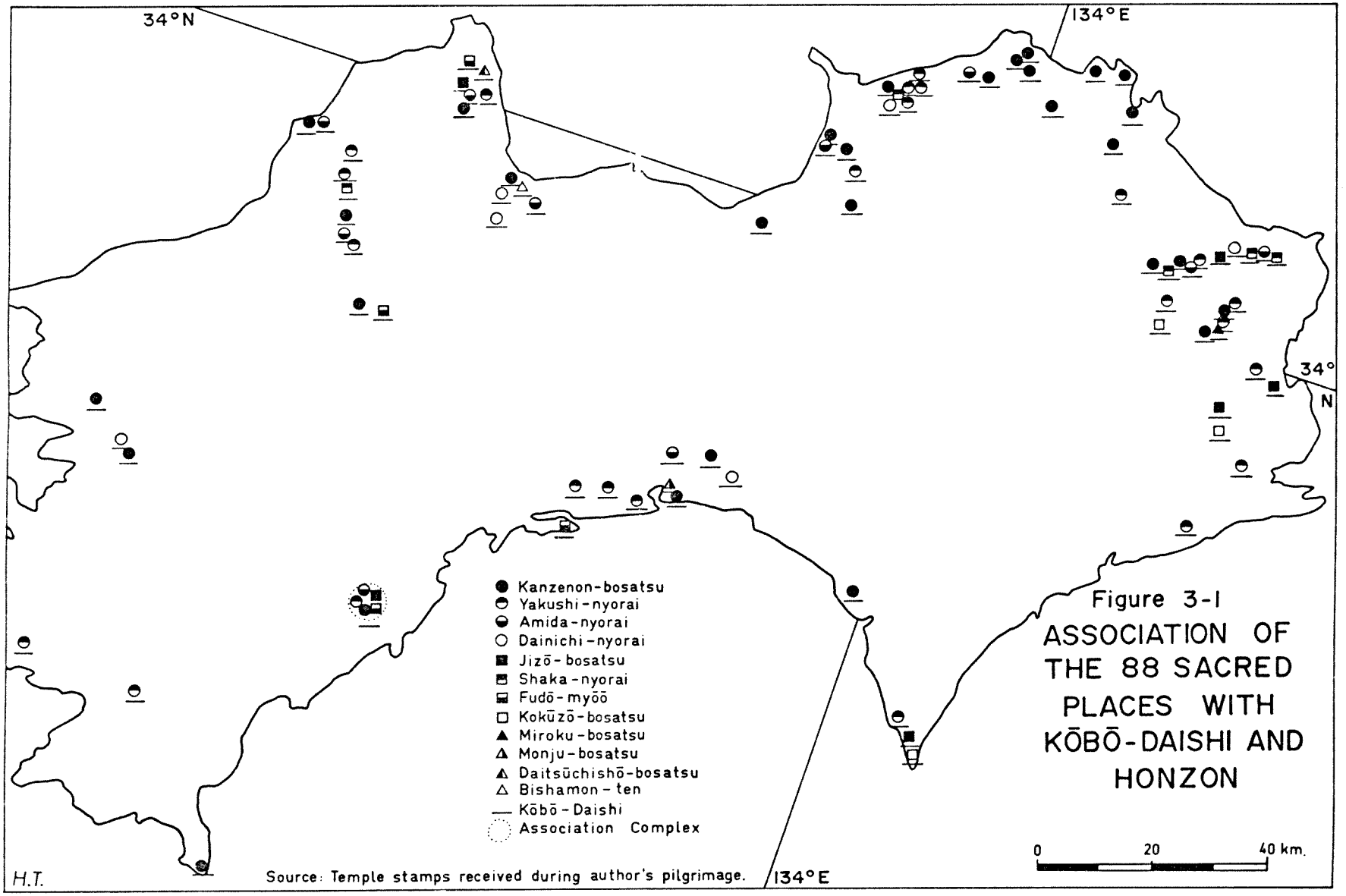


Figure 3-1
ASSOCIATION OF THE 88 SACRED PLACES WITH KŌBŌ-DAISHI AND HONZON

bosatsu, Shaka-nyorai, Fudō-myōō, Kokūzō-bosatsu, Miroku-bosatsu, Monju-bosatsu, Daitsūchishō-bosatsu, and Bishamon-ten.

Because the association of Kōbō-Daishi is a common element within all twelve analytical units, the discussion will focus first on Kōbō-Daishi himself. Following this the twelve types of honzon will briefly be described.

Kōbō-Daishi[2]: The association of Kōbō-Daishi with the pilgrimage is clearly evident in the landscape. Pilgrims, whether they walk or use some mode of transportation, carry staves that symbolize Kōbō-Daishi. Written on them are the words "Dōgyō ninin", which may be translated as "together with Kōbō-Daishi". The belief of the pilgrims in the presence of Kōbō-Daishi is acknowledged through their behaviour at each of the eighty-eight sacred places as will be discussed in Chapter 4. In the last chapter it became apparent that the daishidō, the building dedicated to Kōbō-Daishi, is found at all eighty-eight places of the pilgrimage and that statues of Kōbō-Daishi, kuyōtō erected in his honour, and trees and stones with which legend has associated him are also frequently found within the compounds. The significance of the association of the pilgrim places with Kōbō-Daishi manifest in geographic features, together with the acknowledgement of this

association by pilgrims through their behaviour, is one important element in the characteristic expression of the pilgrimage. As the association of the eighty-eight sacred places with Kōbō-Daishi is so clearly evident in the landscape, it would seem that Kōbō-Daishi himself deserves brief consideration. The following is a summary of the information that emerged from the survey of the literature.

Founder of Shingon Mikkyō Sect – Kōbō-Daishi was born in 774, the son of the prosperous Saeki Zentsū in the country of Sanuki, now Kagawa Prefecture, Shikoku. At this time, the literature and philosophy of Japan were only beginning to assume a distinct character and her religion a firm structure. Buddhism, introduced to Japan via Korea in the mid sixth century, had immediately provoked a conflict with the existing religious tradition. At approximately this same time Japan had been subjected to a flood of Chinese culture, Confucianism, and religious Taoism and while neither Confucianism nor religious Taoism constituted a separate religion in Japanese history, both traditions had an important impact on the existing religious tradition.

Unsettled conditions still prevailed toward the end of the eighth century and it was at a time of great unrest that Kōbō-Daishi began to study Confucianism. During the Nara Period (710-794), Buddhism became the State religion. The general picture of Nara Buddhism suggests a religion of the aristocracy and monks, largely confined to the court and

monasteries. If Nara Buddhism became famous for its profound philosophy and glorious temples, it became infamous for its increasing decadence and corruption.

As a brilliant student, Kōbō-Daishi could not escape the turmoil. In his effort to reach a decision as to whether Confucianism or Buddhism should be his chosen way of life, he withdrew from the university on Honshū, visited various parts of the country including Shikoku, his birth place, and subjected himself to severe physical and spiritual training. This is the time in his life to which he refers in his Sangō-shiiki when he writes of Tairyū-San, Muroto-Saki, and Ishizuchi-San, three places he visited on Shikoku. He wrote that in the deep snow of severe winter, he clothed himself scantily, in the burning heat of scorching summer, he ate and drank meagrely, and searched for the truth.[3]

After reading a portion of Dainichikyō (great Sun Sutra, Mahavairocana) he became interested in the Mikkyō (Buddhism) doctrine; but his biography between the ages of twenty-four (797) and thirty-one (804) is not clear. In 804, in order to gain a better understanding of the Mikkyō doctrine, he travelled[4] to China where he studied under Hui-Kuo (746-805) of the Ch'ing-Lung temple, the highest authority on Shingon Mikkyō, in Ch'ang An, the T'ang capital, presently Hsian. From Hui-Kuo, Kōbō-Daishi learned of the doctrines of Chin Kang Chieh (Kongōkai) and T'ai Ts'ang Chieh (Taizōkai), doctrines which together constitute the core of Shingon Mikkyō.[5] After the death of

his master, Kōbō-Daishi returned to Japan in 806 and received permission from Emperor Saga to spread the teaching of Shingon. He served as head priest at several temples, visited various parts of the country, and enthusiastically spread Shingon Mikkyō until his death in 835.

Today eleven million people are counted as members of the Shingon sect,[6] but the majority of Japanese, regardless of their religious affiliations, know of Kōbō-Daishi. In addition to founding, in Japan, Shingon Mikkyō, the Buddhist sect to which most of the eighty-eight temples of the Shikoku pilgrimage belong, he also introduced many new elements into Japanese society.

Other Influences - His influence was felt most strongly in the field of written communication for at this time the Japanese had no written language of their own. Kōbō-Daishi established rules for the use of Kanji (Chinese characters) and Kanbun (Chinese sentences) and developed the first dictionary, Tenrei-banshō-meigi, to be used in Japan. His most significant contribution to written communication, however, was probably the creation of Gojūon-kana,[7] the fifty basic Japanese phonetic syllables. It is this system which makes it possible for present day Japanese to communicate easily both in writing and in speaking. As well as these contributions to written communication, Kōbō-Daishi did much to develop and advance Japanese calligraphy.

In 825, Kōbō-Daishi established a school, Shugeishuchi-in,

near Tō-ji in Kyōto and in so doing offered the common people the opportunity of education. Prior to this time several private schools existed but they were only open to certain clans or classes. Kōbō-Daishi's influence was also felt in the field of Japanese art and architecture and many of the religious paintings and statues of the period are attributed to him. Hasuo[8] suggests that Kōbō-Daishi may also have been responsible for the introduction of several new materials and processes to Japan; namely, sumi, oil, tea, coal, brush writing, textile dyeing, and the custom of bathing in hot springs.

Kōbō-Daishi's influence extended throughout the country and today there is a multitude of places with which he is alleged to have been associated. The heaviest concentration of these is on Shikoku and among this group it is at the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage that this association is most clearly evident in the landscape.

Extent of Association - While Kōbō-Daishi is believed to be associated with all eighty-eight sacred places, the extent of this association is not uniform. Thirty-eight temples claim Kōbō-Daishi as their founder while the others are believed to have been consecrated by him. Zentsū-ji (75) claims association with the birth place of Kōbō-Daishi.

When the relationship between the eighty-eight temples and the Shingon sect is examined, it may be learned that eighty temples presently belong to the Shingon sect (see

Figure 3-2) while four, Meiseki-ji (43), Konsō-ji (76), Negoro-ji (82), and Nagao-ji (87) belong to the Tendai sect, two, Fujii-dera (11), and Sekkei-ji (33) to the Rinzai sect, one, Gōshō-ji (78) to the Ji sect, and one, Kokubun-ji (15) belongs to the Sōtō sect. It should be noted, however, that among those temples which presently do not belong to the Shingon sect at least three did originally belong to this sect. Fujii-dera (11) was established by Kōbō-Daishi as a Shingon temple but during the Edo Period (1603-1868) changed to the Rinzai sect.[9] Similarly, Sekkei-ji (33) and Nagao-ji (87) changed from the Shingon sect to the Rinzai sect[10] and Tendai sect[11] respectively during the seventeenth century. As well, the Ji and Sōtō sects did not come into being until the Kamakura Period (1192-1333) so Gōshō-ji (78) and Kokubun-ji (15) must have originally belonged to another sect, quite possibly to the Shingon sect.

Thus it may be said that the historical records at least partially support the association of Kōbō-Daishi with the eighty-eight sacred places. In any event pilgrims believe that Kōbō-Daishi journeyed around Shikoku and today they feel they are retracing his steps. For the present study, the precise association of each sacred place with Kōbō-Daishi is secondary. What is of greater significance is the association of Kōbō-Daishi with the pilgrimage considered as a whole and the expression of this association in the landscape of each of the eighty-eight temples. The

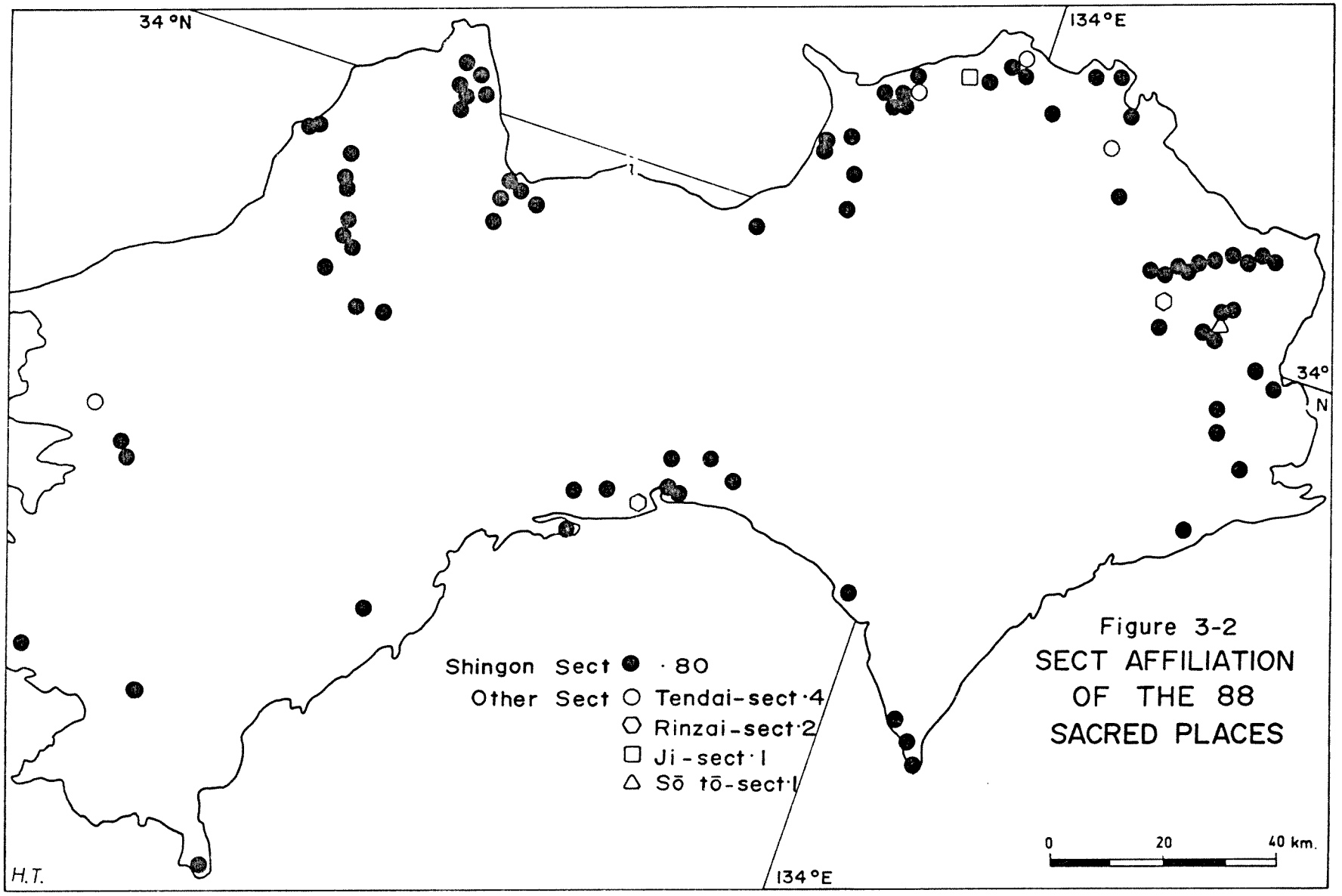


Figure 3-2
SECT AFFILIATION
OF THE 88
SACRED PLACES

association of Kōbō-Daishi together with the association of the twelve types of honzon constitute one important aspect of the characteristic expression of the eighty-eight sacred places. Having thus considered the association of Kōbō-Daishi our attention will now focus on the honzon.

Honzon: While it is common for each sacred place to be associated with several Buddhist deities and to enshrine representations of these deities, one among them has been designated as the chief deity or honzon and it is this honzon that gives the sacred place its particular significance. As has been shown, the honzon with which the eighty-eight sacred places are associated include twelve types. It must be remembered that these deities, while they may be considered as separate, individual beings, are, in fact, different phases of a complex whole. It is this syncretic nature of the association of the honzon that is the concern of this section.

Table 3-1 shows the twelve types of honzon found within the eighty-eight sacred places listed in order of their frequency of occurrence. As Iwamoto-ji (37) enshrines five honzon,[12] the total number of honzon is ninety-two rather than eighty-eight.

The frequency with which each type of honzon occurs is indicative of their relative popularity. The nature of each type of honzon will be briefly described in order of the frequency of occurrence of the honzon. The information

Table 3-1

FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE TYPES OF HONZON WITHIN THE 88 SACRED PLACES

Type of Honzon	Frequency	Per cent
Kanzenon-bosatsu	30	32.5
Jūichimen K-b	14	
Senju K-b	10	
Shō K-b	5	
Batō K-b	1	
Yakushi-nyorai	24	26.1
Amida-nyorai	10	10.9
Dainichi-nyorai	6	6.5
Jizō-bosatsu	6	6.5
Shaka-nyorai	5	5.4
Fudō-myōō	4	4.4
Kokūzō-bosatsu	3	3.3
Miroku-bosatsu	1	1.1
Monju-bosatsu	1	1.1
Daitsūchishō-bosatsu	1	1.1
Bishamon-ten	1	1.1
Total	92*	100.0

* Total exceeds the number of sacred places, 88, as Iwamoto-ji (37) is associated with five honzon.

Source: Temple stamps received during the author's pilgrimage.

included is drawn from that body of knowledge shared by all Japanese Buddhists, from Butsuzō Kokoro to Katachi edited by Mochizuki, Sawa, and Umehara, and from Bukkyō Daijii. Accompanying each description is an illustration of a representative type.

Kanzenon-bosatsu[3]. This bodhisattva, commonly known as Kannon-bosatsu, is the deity of compassion, mercy, and love, and is believed to aid the worshipper in the affairs of the secular world and particularly to bestow wealth and good fortune. The facial expression of the statue of Kanzenon-bosatsu is tender and loving, giving the deity a feminine air. Kanzenon-bosatsu was originally a male, but in East Asia is now commonly regarded as a female. There are thirty-six kinds of Kanzenon-bosatsu and their statues have different features. Of these, four are found within the eighty-eight sacred places: Jūichimen Kanzenon-bosatsu (Eleven-faced Kanzenon-bosatsu), Senju Kanzenon-bosatsu (Thousand-hands Kanzenon-bosatsu), Shō Kanzenon-bosatsu ("Sacred" Kanzenon-bosatsu), and Batō Kanzenon-bosatsu (Horse-headed Kanzenon-bosatsu).

Yakushi-nyorai. The Buddha of healing, Yakushi-nyorai, vowed to cure diseases. This deity, as well as restoring health to those who are ill, is also believed to look after those who are well and bring them happiness and good fortune. In his left hand Yakushi-nyorai carries a medicine container.

Amida-nyorai. The Buddha of Infinite Light, Amida resides in the future world of the Pure Land of the West. It is believed that anyone who invokes the name of Amida-nyorai with a sincere heart can achieve rebirth in his Pure Land. Amida-nyorai is merciful and his love extends to all. At first glance it is difficult to distinguish Amida-nyorai from other seated Buddha but one of the determinant characteristics is the Insō or shape the hands form. This shape represents the Enlightened state of the Buddha.

Dainichi-nyorai. Dainichi implies Great Sun and so typically illustrates this Buddha's virtues and blessings given to all living beings. Dainichi-nyorai is an idealization of the truth of the universe. All the other Buddhas and bodhisattvas were

born from him. He is the expounder of Mikkyō or esoteric Buddhism and of the law in the universe.

Jizō-bosatsu. This is the bodhisattva who vowed to deliver all people from this suffering world. He was entrusted with the task of saving the people after the death of Buddha until such time as the second Buddha would appear. Over the centuries he has come to be popularized as the protector of the people, particularly of children and travellers. He is also believed to assist the salvation of the souls of the dead when his aid is invoked by the living. Jizō-bosatsu is represented as a monk with shaven head and common priest robes. He usually holds in his right hand a pilgrim staff and in his left hand a pearl.

Shaka-nyorai. Shaka-nyorai is the original Buddha but other Buddhist deities representing his many facets have superseded him in popularity. Shaka-nyorai was believed to possess thirty-two primary and eighty secondary physical characteristics and these formed the basis for the representations of all Buddha and bodhisattvas.

Fudō-myōō. Fudō-myōō was incarnated as a slave in order to serve all beings and he took a vow to destroy all evil in the world. The messenger of Dainichi-nyorai, Fudō-myōō is one of the few frightful looking members of the Buddhist circle. In his right hand he holds a sword to smite the wicked, and in his left a lasso to catch and bind them. Behind him rises a mass of flames symbolic of the destruction of worldly desires.

Kokūzō-bosatsu. The bodhisattva of wisdom, Kokūzō-bosatsu is said to possess wisdom as vast as space itself. He is generally represented sitting on a lotus throne wearing a crown of jewels on his head and holding in his right hand a sword symbolizing wisdom and in his left a cintāmani representing the fulfilment of desires.

Miroku-bosatsu. It is believed that Miroku-bosatsu, the last of Buddha's disciples, will descend to this world 5,670,000,000 years after the departure of the Buddha from the mortal world. Because Buddhists believe that there is

no end to the transmigration of the soul, they feel it is necessary to pray for the welfare of the soul millions of years into the future. Miroku-bosatsu is known to be merciful and it is believed that he will protect the souls when he succeeds Shaka.

Monju-bosatsu. The bodhisattva of meditation or supreme wisdom, Monju-bosatsu is regarded as the idealization or personification of the wisdom of the Buddha. He is the left hand attendant of Shaka-nyorai and is often shown mounted on a lion.

Daitsūchishō-bosatsu. A Buddha mentioned in the sadhharma-puṇḍarīka-sutra, Daitsūchishō-bosatsu is said to have attained enlightenment many kalpas ago.

Bishamon-ten. One of the Shitennō, or four quarter kings, Bishamon-ten is believed to protect the northern part of the sacred mountain, Sumeru, considered to be the centre of the world. Hence, he became a god of warriors. He is also the protector of Shaka-nyorai himself and

a deity of good fortune. Statues of him are usually dressed in heavy armour. Sometime during the Kamakura Period Bishamon-ten came to be regarded as one of the seven Fuku no kami or gods of fortune of Japan and he is thought to bestow treasures and happiness on his worshippers.

Considering each of the honzon described above as one part of the twelve association units, with the shared association of Kōbō-Daishi as the second part, we shall now examine the honzon through particular descriptive features in order to identify the associational-organizational characteristics of the eighty-eight sacred places.

Internal Order Among the Twelve Types of Honzon

Because the twelve types of honzon are representative of various facets derived from the greatness of the Buddha and are thus parts of a complex, unified whole, there is an inherent relationship among them. The divisions that separate the honzon are seldom clearly defined; rather the nature of the honzon, and hence their boundaries, frequently overlap. Still, focusing on the essence of their nature rather than on their outer limits, the honzon may be examined in terms of specified descriptive features and their essential characteristics identified. These descriptive features are common to all the honzon but their components differentiate the essential characteristics of each of the honzon. When the honzon are conceived in terms of their essential

characteristics thus identified it will be possible to observe the inherent order among them.

Definition of the Honzon by Descriptive Features: Three features common to all twelve types of honzon may be regarded as descriptive features and as such provide a useful tool in the description and synthesis of the associational characteristics of the eighty-eight sacred places. These features are: (1) hierarchy, (2) temporal position and (3) functional significance.

Hierarchy - As could be seen from the foregoing description of each of the twelve types of honzon, the honzon fall into four categories: Nyorai, Bosatsu, Myōō, and Ten. These categories include all Buddhist honzon found in Japan. Nyorai is the Buddha in his enlightened state, while Bosatsu represents the Buddha in his candidacy, that is, in his training to attain enlightenment. The category Bosatsu also includes those Buddha who have reached enlightenment but who have chosen to return to the secular world and aid humanity rather than remain in the Pure Land. Because Myōō and Ten are both characterized as protectors, here both will be considered to occupy the same category. Thus the honzon are conceptualized as falling into three hierarchical levels: Nyorai (N), Bosatsu (B), and Myōō and Ten (M & T).

Temporal position - The honzon may be conceived as occupying positions either in the "present world" (P) or in the "future worlds" (F), the present world being that world

in which the soul presently resides and future worlds being the successive worlds in which it will reside when it departs from the human body it now inhabits.

Functional significance - All Japanese Buddhist honzon are in some way related to the salvation of humanity. It has been suggested that the ways of salvation may be conceived as "practical" (Pr) or "theoretical" (T).[13] Practical salvation refers to the concrete assistance with affairs of the secular world offered by certain honzon and theoretical salvation to the salvation of the soul afforded by others.

Using these three descriptive features the essential character of the twelve honzon may be defined as shown in Table 3-2. Kanzenon may be characterized as a Bosatsu of the present world who offers practical assistance in daily life. Kanzenon has reached enlightenment but has chosen to return to the secular world and is therefore a Bosatsu, not a Nyorai. Yakushi functions similarly to Kanzenon and resides in the present world but this honzon belongs to the higher category of Nyorai. Amida occupies this category as well but resides in the future world of the Pure Land of the West and offers salvation for the soul. Dainichi, also a Nyorai, offers similar salvation but because of the central position he occupies in the world of the Buddhist deities (all other deities are said to have been born from him and he is conceived as the source of the

Table 3-2

DEFINITION OF HONZON BY DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

Association Unit (Honzon)		Descriptive Features						
		Hierarchy			Temporal Position		Functional Signif.	
		N	B	M & T	P	F	Pr	T
Kanzenon	K		X		X		X	
Yakushi	Y	X			X		X	
Amida	A	X				X		X
Dainichi	D	X			X	X		X
Jizō	J		X		X		X	
Shaka	S	X			X			X
Fudō	F			X	X		X	
Kokūzō	Ko		X		X			X
Miroku	M		X			X	X	
Monju	Mo		X		X			X
Daitsūchishō	Dt		X		X			X
Bishamon	B			X	X		X	

N - Nyorai

B - Bosatsu

M & T - Myōō & Ten

P - Present

F - Future

Pr - Practical

T - Theoretical

universe), he may be considered to occupy a position on the boundary between the present world and the future worlds.

Jizō is a Bosatsu offering practical assistance in daily life; however, when his aid is sought by the living, he is also capable of assisting in the salvation of the souls of the dead. For this reason, though he resides in the present world, it is at a position near the boundary between the worlds. Shaka occupies a position in the present world but serves to provide salvation of the soul in "theoretical terms" and belongs to the category of Nyorai. Fudō, residing in the present world, functions in a practical capacity to protect humanity from evil and in this capacity belongs to the category Myōō and Ten.

Kokūzō is a Bosatsu of the present world and offers salvation of the soul through the acquisition of knowledge. Miroku is also a Bosatsu and, though he occupies a position in the future world now, will come to the "present world" 5,670,000,000 years after the death of Buddha at which time the soul, in its never-ending transmigration, may again be inhabiting the "present world" and could thus benefit from the assistance in mundane life that Miroku will then provide.

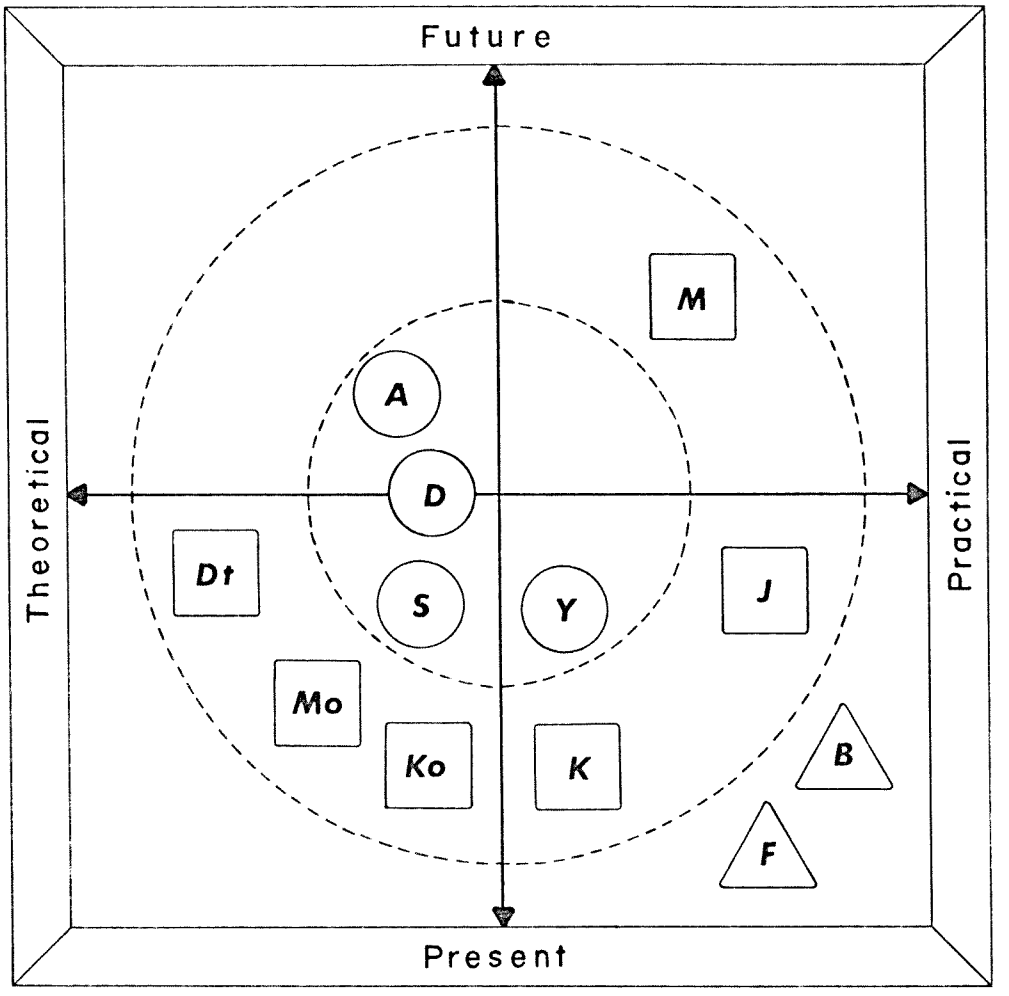
Monju, the bodhisattva of meditation or supreme wisdom, and Daitsūchishō, have both reached enlightenment but have chosen to return to the present world and therefore both occupy the category of Bosatsu. Both offer salvation for the soul. The final honzon, Bishamon, occupies a position in

the present world and, serving as the protector of Buddha and of the military, belongs to the third category in the hierarchy, Myōō and Ten.

Based on the above characterization of the twelve honzon with which the eighty-eight sacred places are associated, it is now possible to consider the associational structure of the honzon as a whole.

Associational Structure of the Honzon: From Table 3-2 it is evident that, when the hierarchical order of the types of honzon is considered, four honzon may be categorized as Nyorai, six as Bosatsu, and two as Myōō and Ten. When their temporal positions are considered, nine types of honzon occupy a position in the present world and two occupy positions in the future worlds while one, Dainichi-nyorai, occupies a position in both the present and future worlds. In terms of their functional significance, six types of honzon offer practical assistance in the present world while the remaining six offer salvation of the soul.

In order that the internal inherent order among the twelve types of honzon with which the eighty-eight sacred places are associated may be conceptualized, a mandara, a diagrammatic representation encompassing a "synthesis of traditional structure",[14] is useful. In Figure 3-3 the hierarchy of the honzon may be understood in terms of centrality while temporal position is expressed through the



H.T.

Hierarchy shown by centrality
Temporal position shown by horizontal fields
Functional significance shown by vertical fields

Nyorai *Bosatsu* *Myōō & Ten*

Y Yakushi - nyorai
A Amida - nyorai
D Dainichi - nyorai
S Shaka - nyorai

K Kanzenon - bosatsu
J Jizō - bosatsu
Ko Kokūzō - bosatsu
M Miroku - bosatsu
Mo Monju - bosatsu
Dt Daitsūchishō - bosatsu

F Fudō - myōō
B Bishamon - ten

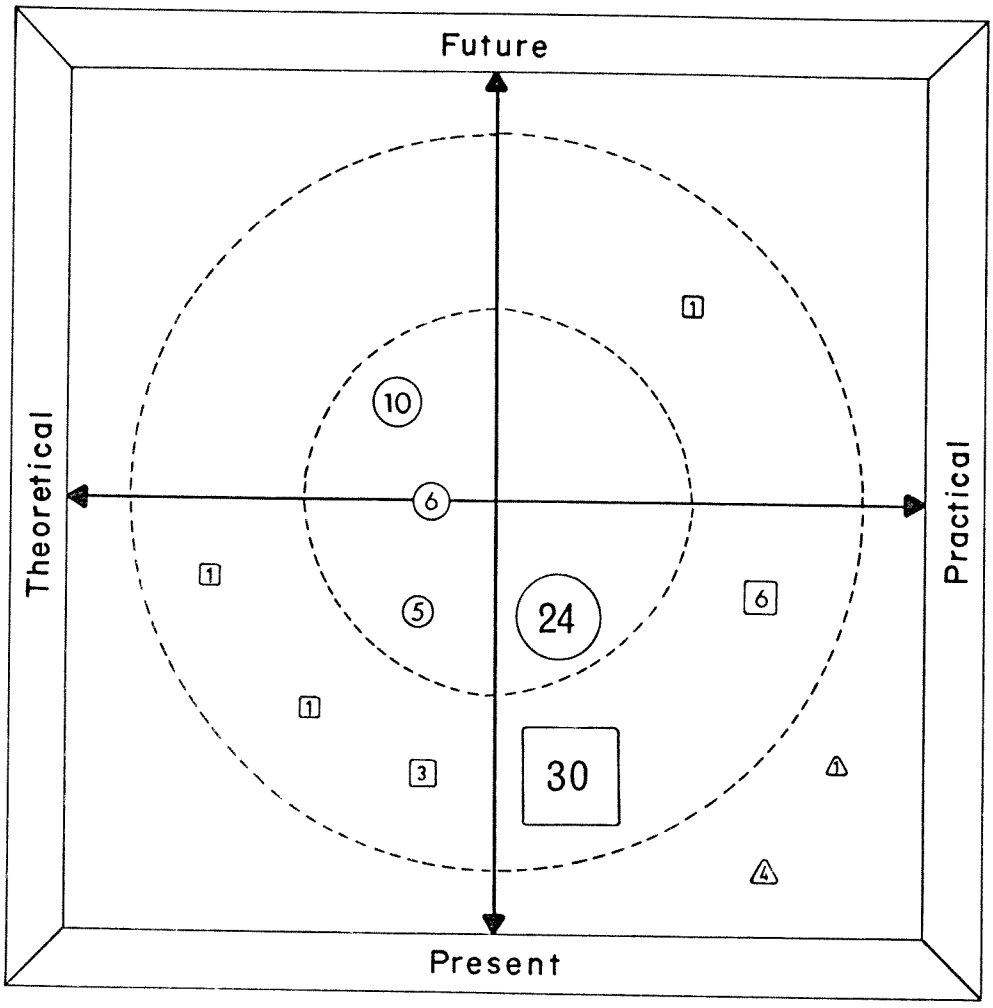
TYPES OF HONZON AND THE DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

Figure 3-3

horizontal fields and functional significance through the vertical fields.

When Figure 3-3 is considered in terms of the frequency of occurrence of the twelve types of honzon within the eighty-eight sacred places, the results may be represented as shown in Figure 3-4. With respect to the hierarchy of the honzon, Nyorai, found forty-five times (48.9 per cent) within the eighty-eight sacred places, occupies the most prominent position with Bosatsu, occurring forty-two times (45.6 per cent) in the second position and Myōō and Ten, occurring five times (5.5 per cent) in the lowest order. With respect to temporal position, honzon occupying positions in the present world (seventy-five or 81.5 per cent) far outnumber honzon occupying positions in the future worlds (eleven or 12 per cent) while six (6.5 per cent) occupy a position falling within both the present and future worlds. When the functional significance of the honzon is considered, sixty-six (71.7 per cent) offer practical assistance in the affairs of the secular world while twenty-six (28.3 per cent) provide salvation of the soul.

When the twelve types of honzon with which the eighty-eight places of the pilgrimage are associated are defined in terms of the common descriptive features, hierarchy, temporal position, and functional significance, and the honzon are considered with respect to the frequency of occurrence of each of the twelve types, it may be said that primary



H.T.

Hierarchy shown by centrality
Temporal position shown by horizontal fields
Functional significance shown by vertical fields

Bosatsu Nyorai Myōō & Ten

(For Descriptive Features see Figure 3.3)

TYPES OF HONZON WITH MAGNITUDE AND THE DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

Figure 3-4

association of the places of the pilgrimage is with deities of the highest order within the hierarchy of Buddhist deities who are believed to reside in the present world and whose function it is to serve the practical needs of humanity. Of lesser associational significance are those deities of the future worlds and the present world who offer salvation of the soul and assistance in the next world.

When the pilgrimage is considered as a whole, a certain rhythm becomes apparent in the association of the temples with regard to the functional significance of the twelve types of honzon. If the eighty-eight temples are divided into eleven groups of eight temples each, within each group the ratio of practical to theoretical significance is 3/5, 5/3, 6/2, 5/3, 7/1, 6/2, 5/3, 4/4, 6/2, 6/2, 8/0, respectively. The first ratio shows an emphasis within the first group on the association with honzon having theoretical significance. Within the remaining ten groups of temples the strength of emphasis varies, but it is always on the practical function of the honzon, never on the theoretical. Two peaks of emphasis occur within the sequence of the pilgrimage. The first peak occurs in the fifth group of temples (Sekkei-ji (33) to Kanjizai-ji (40)); approximately halfway through the pilgrimage. The second peak occurs in the final group (Shiramine-ji (81) to Ōkubo-ji (88)). Here honzon having a theoretical function do not occur at all. Thus when the eighty-eight sacred places are considered sequentially

in terms of the functional significance of their honzon, it becomes apparent that the pilgrimage begins with a theoretical emphasis and ends with a practical focus.

Associational Organization of the Eighty-Eight Sacred Places

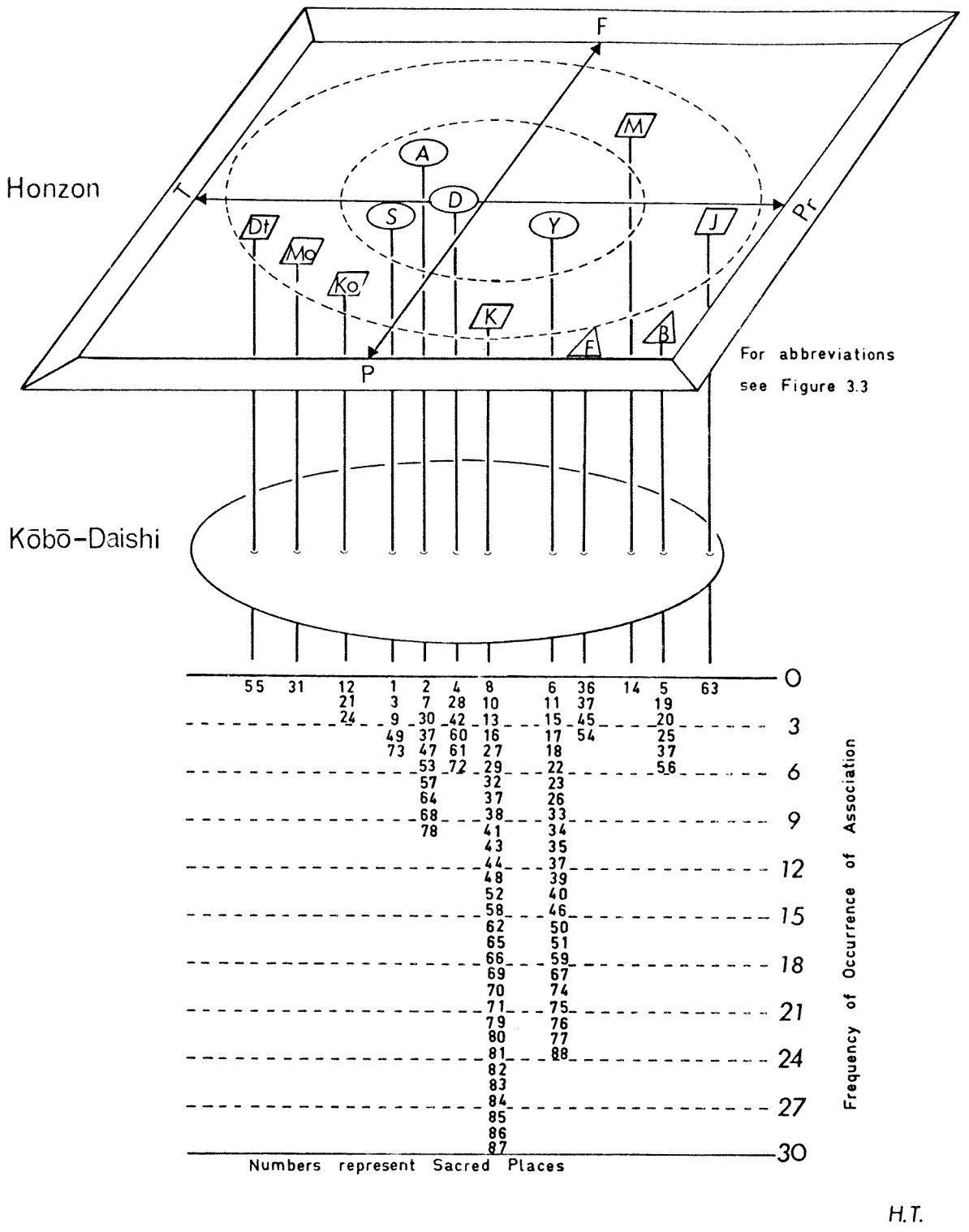
The association of the sacred places with Kōbō-Daishi and the honzon is an essential aspect of the geographic expression of the eighty-eight sacred places and has been considered to be the analytical units in the present chapter. While the association of Kōbō-Daishi is shared by all eighty-eight sacred places and varies only in its extent, the association with the honzon varies according to the particular type of honzon with which each sacred place is associated.

As the ninety-two honzon found within the pilgrimage encompass twelve types, the eighty-eight sacred places considered collectively were conceived as having twelve associational units among which one part, the association of Kōbō-Daishi, was common while the second part, the association of the honzon, varied according to type of honzon. Kōbō-Daishi was considered first, himself, and then the strength of his association with the pilgrimage places was discussed. The discussion then focused on the association of the honzon.

The frequency of occurrence of the twelve types of honzon, indicative of their relative popularity, was

determined and then each honzon, in order of frequency of occurrence, was briefly described. When the essential characteristics of each of the twelve types of honzon were identified through their definition according to three descriptive features, hierarchy, temporal position, and functional significance, and the association of the eighty-eight sacred places with the honzon was viewed in terms of the frequency of occurrence of the types, it became evident that the majority of honzon are Nyorai, occupy a position in the present world, and serve the practical needs of humanity. Indeed, the pilgrimage is characterized by the ability to accommodate the practical needs of pilgrims as is evidenced by the wishes written on the ofuda and left at each sacred place. While the pilgrimage begins with an emphasis on honzon with a theoretical function, as a whole it stresses the practical significance of the honzon and concludes with an overwhelming emphasis on practicality.

The geographic expression of the association of the eighty-eight sacred places is summarized diagrammatically in Figure 3-5. The Association consists of two parts, the association of Kōbō-Daishi and the association of the honzon, and comprises twelve association units which vary according to the types of honzon. It may be seen that Kanzenon, Yakushi, Jizō, Fudō and Bishamon occupy the field of present-practical. Among these honzon, Yakushi occupies the highest position in the hierarchy (Nyorai) while Kanzenon and Jizō are Bosatsu,



ASSOCIATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE 88 SACRED PLACES

Figure 3-5

and Fudō and Bishamon fall within the third category, Myōō and Ten. Together these represent 70.6 per cent of the honzon found within the eighty-eight sacred places.

The field, present-theoretical, is occupied by Shaka, Kokūzō, Monju, and Daitsūchishō among which Shaka-nyorai occupies the upper position in the hierarchy. The other honzon are all Bosatsu. Together the honzon within this field represent 10.9 per cent of the honzon within the sacred places.

The fields, future-theoretical and future-practical, are occupied by Amida-nyorai and Miroku-bosatsu respectively. Amida-nyorai represents 10.9 per cent of the honzon within the eighty-eight sacred places while Miroku-bosatsu represents only 1.1 per cent. The remaining type of honzon, Dainichi-nyorai, representing 6.5 per cent of the honzon within the sacred places, occupies a position falling within both the present-theoretical, and the future-theoretical fields.

While the association of the sacred places with the honzon is divided unequally among the twelve types of honzon, the association of Kōbō-Daishi is common to all eighty-eight sacred places. This dual association of each of the sacred places is shown in Figure 3-5. In this diagram, the honzon occupy the upper layer for their concept is universal within Japanese Buddhism, while Kōbō-Daishi is associated primarily with Shingon Mikkyō and particularly with the Shikoku pilgrimage.

The foregoing examination illustrated that different types of honzon are incorporated into one unified whole. Seventy per cent of these honzon offer practical assistance in the affairs of the present world. The syncretic nature of the association of the eighty-eight sacred places from which their sanctity, at least in part, derives serves to accommodate a variety of pilgrim needs.

While the investigation of the association units carried out in this chapter provided insight into the formal nature of the association which may be considered to be at least partially responsible for the "sanctity" or "holiness" of the eighty-eight places of pilgrimage, it necessarily over-simplified the association and dealt neither with the deeper significance of the meaning of each honzon nor the "psychological reality" of the strength of the association of Kōbō-Daishi as these are conceived in the minds of pilgrims. In the next chapter the ritual behaviour of the pilgrims at the eighty-eight sacred places will be considered and through this examination the significance of the association of the sacred places with Kōbō-Daishi and the honzon as it is expressed through pilgrim behaviour will become apparent.

Notes - Chapter Three

1. The hondō of Nankō-bō (55) was destroyed during an air-raid in the Second World War; its honzon however, is now enshrined in the daishidō.

2. Like most Buddhist priests, Kōbō-Daishi had several names during the course of his life. His earliest name, given to him when he was a child, was Mauo (真魚 : true fish). A little later his parents called him Tatōmono (貴物) which signified love and affection. When he was eight or nine his neighbours began to call him Shindō (神童 : child god), then when he entered the priesthood his first name was Kyōkai (教海 : teaching sea). His second priest name was Nyokū (如空 : air) and the third was Mukū (無空 : emptiness). Later he was called Kūkai (空海 : sky sea). He was named Gohitsu Wajō (五筆和尚 : the abbot of five brushes) by the Emperor and he was also called Henjō Kongō (遍照金剛 : shining diamond) by his master, Hui-Kuo. It is of interest to see that some of his names are associated with water (sea) and air (sky) for these are two of the five elements: soil, water, fire, wind, and air, which are spoken of in Buddhist teaching as being responsible for the existence of life in the universe. Eighty-six years after his death the title Kōbō-Daishi was bestowed on the priest by Emperor Daigo. Daishi (大師) is often translated by the English words "great teacher" or "saint", while Kōbō (弘法) means "propagator of 'law'".

3. Ninshō Miyazaki, Henro: Sono Kokoro to Rekishi (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1974), p. 12-13.

4. Kōbō-Daishi travelled to China on the Kentō-sen, a Japanese ship used expressly for the purpose of sending Japanese literati to Tang's China to become acquainted with the "higher culture".

5. The esoteric doctrines and rites of Shingon Mikkyō based on the Tantric tradition of India which emphasized highly symbolic and often secret formulas, rituals, and gestures are difficult to comprehend. The main scripture is the "Dainichikyō" preached by Dainichi-nyorai (Mahāvairocana-tathāgata) who is considered as the source of the whole world. The mandara chart diagrammatically expresses the idea that the Mikkyō paradise consists of Kongōkai, where Dainichi-nyorai stands for wisdom and virtue, and Taizōkai, where the

compassion of the deity is represented. For further discussion of the Mikkyō doctrine, see Joseph M. Kitagawa, "Master and Saviour", Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism. In Commemoration of the 1,150th Anniversary of the Founding of Kōyasan (Kōyasan: Kōyasan University, 1965), pp. 1-26.

6. Japan, Ministry of Education, Shūkyō Nenkan 1966 (Tokyo: Government of Japan, 1967), pp. 100-03.

7. There is a controversy over who, in fact, did develop the Japanese syllabary. Shōtoku-Taishi, Dengyō-Daishi, Soga no Umako, Sadaijin Fuyutsugu and Tachibana no Hayanari are each believed by some to have been the originator; however, the majority of Japanese credit Kōbō-Daishi with its creation.

8. Kanzen Hasuo, Kōbō-Daishi-den (Kōyasan: Kongōbu-ji, 1931), p. 575-89.

9. Sakae Nishihata, Shikoku Hachijū-hachi Fudasho Henro-ki (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1964), p. 83.

10. Nishihata, p. 158-59.

11. Nishihata, p. 338.

12. Prior to the forced separation of Buddhism from Shintō in the early Meiji Period (1868-1912), Iwamoto-ji (37) was located within the compound of the Niida-gosha, or five Shintō shrines of Niida. When the separation occurred the honzon enshrined in each of the five Shinto buildings were moved to the new site and enshrined in the hondō of Iwamoto-ji (37).

13. Shinjō Mochizuki, Ryūken Sawa, and Takeshi Umehara, eds., Butsuzō Kokoro to Katachi (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, 1972), p. 226.

14. J.E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols (2nd ed.; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 200.

CHAPTER FOUR

RITUAL

"A place or a landscape declares its underlying intent, and its ideal meaning, when living people activate it and actualize it. Otherwise it may be nearly mute".[1] A sacred place may be defined as "that locality that becomes a position by the effects of power repeating themselves there, or being repeated by man".[2] One of the significant aspects of the places of the pilgrimage is that they are the sites of various ritual activities performed by countless numbers of pilgrims. As was shown in Chapter 2, there are sixteen discrete types of physical features which are dominant, that is, occur within more than 75 per cent of the temple compounds. Among these there are some which exert a positive force through which they communicate their essential meaning to the pilgrims and thus most frequently elicit visible response from them. The sets of mutual relationships between the particular physical features and the associated pilgrim behaviour are considered to be the analytical units within the context of the spatial-temporal structure of the pilgrimage ritual. Thirteen such mutual relationships have been selected for examination. The spatial-temporal order among the units may be considered as a primary geographic expression of the pilgrimage.

The spatial-temporal order among the units is complex for it includes, on the one hand, the ideal order suggested

by the prescribed behaviour contained within the written statements of instruction on the pilgrimage, and, on the other hand, the variations of the spatial-temporal sequence among the units which can be observed at the sacred places. So that the nature of the relationships which occur between the landscape units and particular pilgrim behaviour may be understood, these ritual units will be described and their ideal order analysed in terms of the descriptive features: "spatial field", "ritual field", and "determinant of temporal position". Observable variations of the spatial-temporal sequence among the units will then be considered, as both the ideal order and the variations are part of the reality of the pilgrimage.

The examination in this chapter serves to identify the underlying spatial-temporal structure of the cyclical and repetitive pilgrimage ritual and to illumine the nature of the specific geographic features, the associated pilgrim behaviour, and the relationships between and among these elements.

The term "behaviour" as it is employed herein embodies that meaning indicated by Wagner. Behaviour comprises physical activities together with the meaning of these activities and "this meaning is engendered and maintained exclusively within and by some system of communication".[3] The term "ritual" refers, as Turner suggests, to "prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological

routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or powers".[4] It is "the symbolic affirmation of values by means of culturally standardized utterances and actions".[5]

Ritual Units

Through empirical observation it is possible to determine which of the particular physical features commonly found in the sacred places most frequently elicit visible response from pilgrims and the forms which this response takes. Of the sixteen dominant types of geographic features nine may be included in this category. The particular activity associated with a specific feature follows a set pattern and is repeated at each temple where the feature occurs. Such behaviour is rooted in Buddhist teaching and has been tempered by Japanese cultural tradition.

Thirteen Relationships Between the Specific Physical Features and the Particular Pilgrim Behaviour: The mutual relationships between the specific features and the particular pilgrim activities are dynamic focuses and are the basis for the structural order of the pilgrimage ritual. The examination in this chapter encompasses the nine types of dominant physical features: mon, ishidan, chōzubachi, shōrō, kōro, rōsokutate, hondō, daishidō, and kuri, with which pilgrim activities are most frequently associated.

As the kōro and rōsokutate each elicit pilgrim response at two different locations within the compound they will be

examined twice. The mon and main ishidan, though each occurs at only one location, are used by pilgrims on both entering and leaving the sacred enclosure, each usage having a different contextual meaning, and will also be considered twice. Thus, for the purpose of the investigation a set of thirteen relationships is understood to be inherent in the pilgrimage ritual as it occurs at the sacred places. The physical characteristics of each of the features encompassed by these thirteen relationships were outlined in Chapter 2.

The nature of the relationships is summarized in Table 4-1. In this table the relationships are listed in the order in which they ideally occur and an alphabetical symbol is assigned to each unit. Ideal order, as it is here understood, functions as a conceptual tool. Various aspects of pilgrim behaviour have been selected, fused, and simplified to facilitate construction of this ideal order. Whenever a specific physical feature does not exist within a particular temple compound, the corresponding behaviour is simply omitted and the set, less one unit, remains intact.

It should be noted that in actuality the behaviour within the units is as diverse as the pilgrims themselves. There is, for example, wide variation in pilgrim behaviour observed at the hondō and daishidō with regard to the length of time spent in worship, and the intensity of the worship as judged through facial expressions, body movements and tone of voice. The meanings of chanted and spoken utterances,

Table 4-1

RITUAL UNITS: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PHYSICAL FEATURES AND THE "BEHAVIOURAL UNITS"

Ritual Units	Physical Features	↔	Associated Behaviour	
			Activity	Meaning
A	Mon	↔	Entering the mon	- Passing from the secular world into the sacred enclosure
			Throwing money/rice	- Offering to niō
			Spitting paper	- Requesting a healthy body
			Leaving straw sandals	- Asking for a safe journey
B	Ishidan	↔	Climbing the steps	- Proceeding to the sacred higher interior
				- Elimination of bonnō or worldly desires
			Leaving money on the steps	- Asking for yakuyoke or calamity free years
C	Chōzubachi	↔	Washing hands and gargling	- Spiritual purification
D	Shōrō	↔	Hitting the bell	- Announcing arrival to deities and Kōbō-Daishi
E	Kōro (1)	↔	Burning incense	- Veneration of and communication with the deities
F	Rōsokutate (1)	↔	Lighting candles	- Veneration of and giving light to deities, Kōbō-Daishi and the dead
G	Hondō	↔	Leaving ofuda	- Identification and "eternification"
			Leaving money	- Offering to Buddha
			Leaving objects	- Praying for individual desires, gratification
			Chanting okyō	
			(Hannya-shingyō	- Invocation
			Honzon no Shingon	- Praising the greatness of Buddha
			Daishi no Hōgō)	- Praising the greatness of Kōbō-Daishi
			Praying	- Communication with Buddha

Ritual Units	Physical Features	↔	Associated Behaviour	
			Activity	Meaning
H	Kōro (2)	↔	Burning incense	- Veneration of and communication with the deities
I	Rōsokutate (2)	↔	Lighting candles	- Veneration of and giving light to deities, Kōbō-Daishi, and the dead
J	Daishidō	↔	Leaving ofuda	- Identification and "eternification"
			Leaving money/food	- Offering to Kōbō-Daishi
			Leaving objects	- Praying for individual desires, gratification
			Chanting okyō	
			(Hannya-shingyō	- Invocation
			Honzon no Shingon	- Praising the greatness of Buddha
			Daishi no Hōgō)	- Praising the greatness of Kōbō-Daishi
			Praying	- Communication with Kōbō-Daishi
K	Nōkyōsho	↔	Receiving hōin and honzon's image	- Receipt for offering okyō and proof of having visited the temple
L	Ishidan	↔	Descending steps	- Proceeding back to secular world
M	Mon	↔	Leaving through the mon	- Passing from the sacred enclosure back into the secular world

rhythmical sounds, body movements, and objects commonly associated with ritual activity may be standardized to the point where their employment in ritual behaviour not only expresses but also stimulates feelings which are supposed to be experienced on given ritual occasions. Without examining the inner feelings of pilgrims the intensity of the ritual behaviour cannot be evaluated. In the following discussion of the ritual units it is representative, empirically observable forms of expressive pilgrim behaviour that are described.

A - The mon is the entrance to the temple compound and serves to separate the sacred area from the secular world. As stated in Chapter 2, the most frequently found mon is a two storey structure flanked on either side by niō, guardians of the sacred enclosure. The first offering is made to the niō in the form of money (usually one, five, and ten yen pieces) or rice to ensure that prayers will be answered. As well, pilgrims spit paper balls[6] at the niō, an action expressive of the desire for a healthy body. It is believed that in that part of the body corresponding to the area of the niō to which the paper adheres, the pilgrim will have continued or renewed good health. Straw sandals symbolizing a safe journey and strong feet are hung in front of the niō in the hope that both will be granted to the pilgrims.[7]

B - Pilgrims climb the ishidan, of which the number of

steps has a significant meaning, for it may represent either yakudoshi or bonnō. Yakudoshi are those ages in life at which it is believed that misfortunes such as sickness, death, business failure, loss of property and so on will occur while bonnō are the worldly desires spoken of in Buddhist teaching. Yaku or misfortune is believed to come to males at the age of forty-two, and to females at the age of sixty-one. While these ages are honyaku or the really critical ages, there are many other yaku as well, including the years immediately preceding and following honyaku, nineteen, thirty-five and forty-nine for men, and thirteen and thirty-seven for women. On climbing yakuzaka or calamity steps as the ishidan are often called, pilgrims drop money (usually one yen pieces) on each step to symbolize their desire to avoid yaku or misfortune (see Photograph 4-1). Bonnō steps number 108 corresponding to the 108 worldly desires spoken of in Buddhist teaching and, while pilgrims do not drop money as they ascend them, the climbing of these steps symbolizes the elimination of worldly desires. The climbing of the ishidan requires effort on the part of the pilgrims just as contending with misfortune and worldly desires requires effort in daily life.

C -At the chōzubachi pilgrims wash their hands and gargle, actions which admit to the psychological realization that they are about to approach the presence of the holy and sacred, and that they are unclean in body and soul.[8] Through

the medium of water, body and soul are symbolically purified (see Photograph 4-2).

D - At the shōrō pilgrims announce their arrival by hitting the bell and thus through sound communicate with the deities in the various buildings and with Kōbō-Daishi.

E - At the kōro (1) near the hondō the pilgrims burn incense to venerate the deities and the dead. The scent of the incense and its thin stream of smoke are believed to be a means through which pilgrims may communicate with the deities and the dead (see Photograph 4-3).

F - At the rōsokutate (1) by the hondō pilgrims light candles to venerate and to give light to the Buddha, Kōbō-Daishi, and the souls of the dead.

G - As the hondō enshrines the honzon of the temple it is a feature of prime importance to pilgrims and a focus of the activities of worship. It should be noted, however, that all activities are carried on outside the building rather than within, often on the adjacent platform.

Ofuda[9] (see Figure 4-1) or calling cards, usually paper, giving name[10], address, date, age, and prayers, are either deposited in metal boxes provided for this purpose or stuck on the walls of the building so that the pilgrim may be identified to the Buddha and his visit to the temple eternified. Pilgrims may deposit ofuda for those who cannot themselves make the pilgrimage and these ofuda become the means through which such individuals make their wishes and desires known to the

Photograph 4-1

RITUAL UNIT B

When pilgrims ascend an ishidan the number of which corresponds to yakudoshi or calamity years, they drop one yen pieces on each step in the hope that they may be free of misfortune in these years - Yakuō-ji (23).

Photograph 4-2

RITUAL UNIT C

At the chōzubachi pilgrims gargle and wash their hands to symbolize spiritual purification - Tatsue-ji (19).

Photograph 4-3

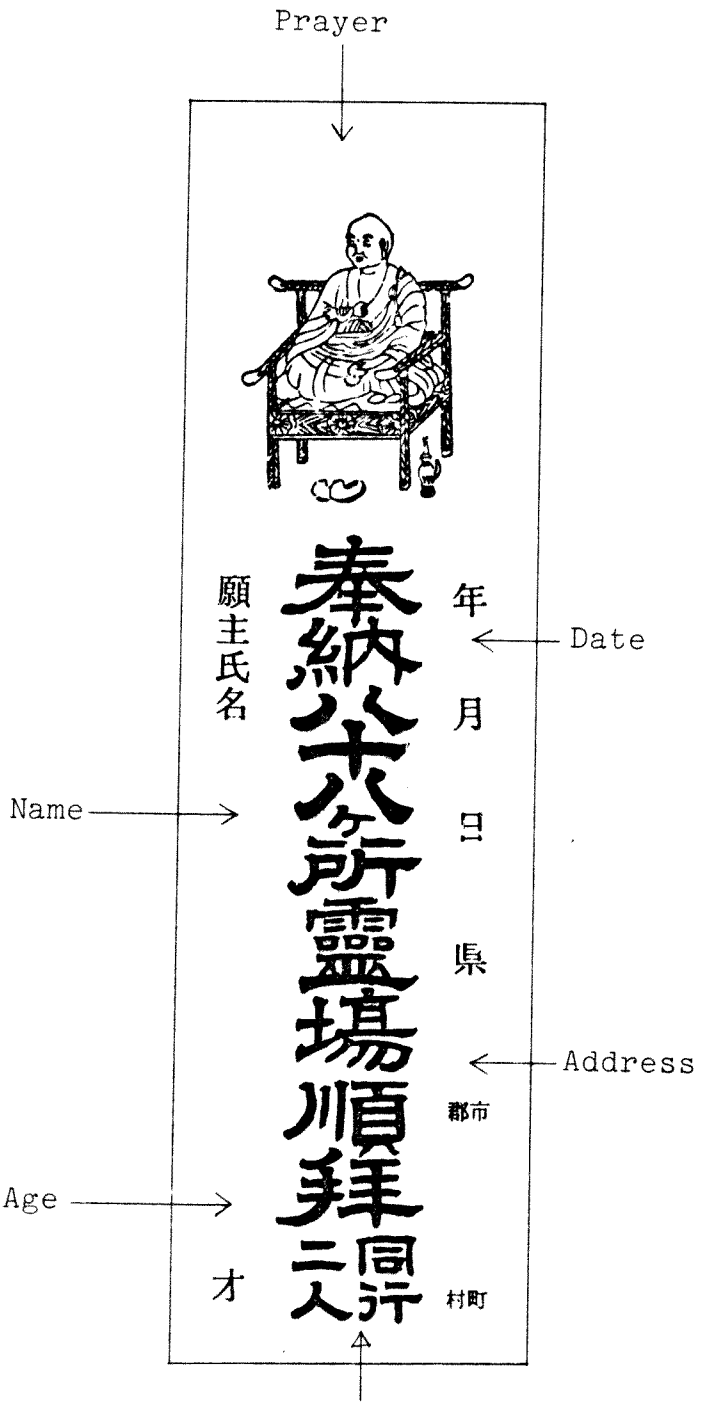
RITUAL UNIT E

At the kōro pilgrims burn incense to venerate the deities and the dead - Yakuō-ji (23).

Photograph 4-4

RITUAL UNIT J

Pilgrims chant Hannya-shingyō in front of the daishidō - Sekkei-ji (33).



"Respectful offering, visiting 88 sacred places in sequence, together with Kōbō-Daishi"

——→ to be filled in by the pilgrim

OFUDA

Figure 4-1

Buddha. The colour of the ofuda is indicative of the number of times the pilgrim has made the pilgrimage. White signifies that it is the sixth pilgrimage or less, red that it is the seventh to twentieth, silver that it is the twenty-first to forty-ninth, and gold that it is the fiftieth pilgrimage or more. If the pilgrims are travelling in a large group they may leave a cotton banner representing the whole group as well as individual ofuda.

Pilgrims leave monetary offerings (usually 10, 50, or 100 yen) at the hondō and they may also leave objects which symbolize those things for which they are praying, for example stuffed cotton representing the female breast if the pilgrim is praying for an abundant supply of milk for her child. As well, they may leave photographs of individuals, alive or dead, for whom they are praying.

Worship continues with the chanting of okyō, part of the law of Buddha. The sounds chanted have meaning in context but to be fully comprehended the Chinese characters which they represent must be understood within the framework of Buddhist teaching. The first part of the chant is the Hannya-haramita-shingyō commonly known as Hannya-shingyō. This is a compendium of the Buddhist teachings in 262 characters (see Figure 4-2). To chant the 262 characters is to chant the Buddhist scripture. This is followed by Honzon no Shingon or the true words of the honzon. Shingon proclaims the greatness of the Buddha and as this greatness

般若心經

觀自在菩薩行深般若波羅蜜多時照見五
蘊皆空度一切苦厄舍利子色不異空空不
異色色即是空空即是色受想行識亦復如
是舍利子是諸法空相不生不滅不垢不淨
不增不減是故空中无色无受想行識无眼
耳鼻舌身意无色聲香味觸法无眼界乃至
无意識界无无明亦无无明盡乃至无老死
亦无老死盡无苦集滅道无智亦无得以无
所得故菩提薩埵依般若波羅蜜多故心无
罣礙无罣礙故无有恐怖遠離一切顛倒夢
想究竟涅槃三世諸佛依般若波羅蜜多故
得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提故知般若波羅蜜
多是大神呪是大明呪是无上呪是无等等
呪能除一切苦真實不虛故說般若波羅蜜
多呪即說呪曰

揭諦揭諦 波羅揭諦 波羅僧揭諦 菩提娑婆訶

HANNYA-HARAMITA-SHINGYŌ

Figure 4-2

cannot be expressed through human language, shingon is actually a set of sounds, not words. The particular shingon chanted at each temple depends upon the type of honzon enshrined therein (see Table 4-2). The final part of the chant is "Namudaishi-henjō-kongō" words dedicated to Kōbō-Daishi. These words, like the shingon, are repeated three times. To maintain the rhythm throughout the chant a bell and/or two wooden sticks hit together are often used. Pilgrims move their bodies in rhythm with the chant, increasing the intensity of this movement as the chanting intensifies. Not only is the meaning of the okyō significant to the pilgrim ritual but the stimulation achieved through the chanting heightens the "religious experience".

H - At the kōro (2) near the daishidō the behaviour carried out at the kōro (1) near the hondō is repeated.

I - Similarly, the behaviour at the rōsokutate (1) near the hondō is repeated at the rōsokutate (2) near the daishidō.

J - The activities in front of the daishidō are primarily the same as those in front of the hondō (see photograph 4-4) but here special prayers of gratification and supplication are made to Kōbō-Daishi with whom pilgrims feel they may communicate at this particular place within the temple compound. Here too pilgrims cured of physical disabilities leave crutches, casts and braces. As at the hondō, they may also leave photographs of individuals for whom, and objects representing things for which they are praying.

Table 4-2

TYPE OF HONZON AND CORRESPONDING SHINGON

Type of Honzon	Corresponding Shingon
Kanzenon-bosatsu	
Jūichimen K-b	O-n-ro-ke-ji-n-ba-ra-ki-ri-ku
Senju K-b	O-n-ba-za-ra-ta-ra-ma-ki-ri-ku
Shō K-b	O-n-a-ro-ri-kya-so-wa-ka
Batō K-b	O-n-a-mi-ri-to-do-ba-n-ba-u-n-patta
Yakushi-nyorai	O-n-ko-ro-ko-ro-se-n-da-ri-ma-to-o-gi-so-wa-ka
Amida-nyorai	O-n-a-mi-ri-ta-te-i-ze-i-ka-ra-u-n
Dainichi-nyorai	O-n-a-bi-ra-u-n-ke-n-ba-za-ra-za-to-ba-n
Jizō-bosatsu	O-n-ka-ka-ka-bi-sa-n-ma-e-i-so-wa-ka
Shaka-nyorai	No-u-ma-ku-sa-n-ma-n-da-bo-da-na-n-ba-ku
Fudō-myōō	No-u-ma-ku-sa-n-ma-n-da-ba-za-ra-da-se-n-da-ma-ka-ro-sha-da-so-ha-ta-ya-u-n-ta-ra-ta-ka-n-ma-n
Kokūzō-bosatsu	No-u-bo-u-a-kya-sha-kya-ra-ba-ya-o-n-A-ri-kya-ma-ri-bo-ri-so-wa-ka
Miroku-bosatsu	O-n-ma-i-ta-re-i-ya-so-wa-ka
Monju bosatsu	O-n-a-ra-ha-sha-no-u
Daitsūchishō-bosatsu	O-n-ma-ka-bi-jya-nya-jya-nya-no-u-bi-i-bu-u-so-wa-ka
Bishamon-ten	O-n-be-i-shi-ra-ma-n-da-ya-so-wa-ka

K -At the nōkyōsho, usually located at the kuri or priest's residence, pilgrims receive the hōin or temple seal given originally in exchange for handwritten okyō but now primarily to signify that the pilgrim has visited the temple. These stamps are usually received in a nōkyōchō or stamp book purchased for this purpose though some pilgrims will submit a scroll to be stamped and some a white kimono in which they will eventually be cremated. The stamp (see Figure 4-3) consists of seven elements: the word "hōnō" meaning dedication, the name of the honzon, the name of the honzon in Sanskrit, and the temple name all written with a brush, and the number of the temple, the name of the honzon in Sanskrit, and the temple name all applied by stamp. Together with the temple stamp pilgrims receive Honzon no Osugata (miei) or a print of the temple's honzon. At the nōkyōsho the pilgrims may have an opportunity to speak with the temple priest.

L -Preparing to leave the temple compound, pilgrims descend the ishidan which now symbolize the path back to the profane lower exterior.

M -Pilgrims pass through the mon leaving the sacred compound behind them and return to the secular world. Passing through the mon from the "sacred" inside to the "secular" outside indicates the termination of the cyclical pilgrimage ritual at one sacred place.

The nature of the set of the thirteen relationships

Hōin (temple seal)

* Double stamps indicate that pilgrim has visited the temple twice

HŌIN AND HONZON NO OSUGATA

Figure 4-3

between the particular physical features and the associated pilgrim behaviour, which are considered to be the essential units of the ritual whole, has been presented in the sequence in which the events ideally occur.

Spatial-Temporal Order of the Ritual Units

The character of the eighty-eight places of the pilgrimage is expressed through the correspondence between specific geographic features and pilgrim activities. These ritual units are arranged in a coherent pattern which gives meaning to the repetitive pilgrimage ritual. The definition by descriptive features of the units arranged in ideal order and the consideration of observable variations in the sequence of the ritual units will give insight into the structure of the pilgrimage ritual.

Definition of Ritual Units by Descriptive Features: Three descriptive features common to all members of the set of thirteen ritual units have been selected as the medium through which the units, arranged in ideal sequence, will be described. These features are: (1) spatial field, (2) ritual field, (3) determinant of temporal position.

Spatial Field - As was identified in Chapter 2, each of the nine physical features: mon, ishidan, chōzubachi, shōrō, kōro, rōsokutate, hondō, daishidō, and nōkyōsho (at the kuri), which are the focus of ritual activity within the temple compound occupies a fixed spatial field: fringe or interior.

One of these two attributes of spatial field is the requisite setting for each of the thirteen ritual units.

Ritual Field - From the foregoing description of the ritual units it can be seen that the meaning of pilgrim activity encompassed may be categorized as occurring within a number of different fields. These are conceived as ritual fields and include entrance, preparation for worship, worship, proof of worship, and departure.

Determinant of Temporal Position - The relationships between the particular physical features and specific pilgrim behaviour are supported both by the expressive power of the physical features and the pilgrims' recognition of and response to the meaning embodied in the features. When the relationships are considered in terms of the pilgrimage ritual as a whole their temporal position may be said to be "physically" determined according to the geographic location of the physical features within the compound or "behaviourally" determined according to the point within the ritual at which pilgrims choose to perform specific activities. Thus the descriptive feature, determinant of temporal position, consists of two attributes: physical and behavioural.

The ideal sequence of the ritual units and their definition in terms of the descriptive features are shown in Table 4-3. Ritual units A and B fall within the ritual field entrance, while units L and M fall within the field departure. The positions of A, B, L, and M within the

Table 4-3

IDEAL ORDER OF THE RITUAL UNITS AND
THEIR DEFINITION BY DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

Ritual Unit	Ideal Order	Descriptive Features								
		Spatial Field		Ritual Field					Determinant of Temporal Position	
		Fringe	Interior	Ent.	Prep. for worship	Worship	Proof of Worship	Dep.	Physical	Behavioural
A	1	X		X					X	
B	2	X		X					X	
C	3	X			X					X
D	4	X			X					X
E	5		X			X				X
F	6		X			X				X
G	7		X			X				X
H	8		X			X				X
I	9		X			X				X
J	10		X			X				X
K	11	X					X			X
L	12	X						X	X	
M	13	X						X	X	

pilgrimage ritual are physically determined as the mon must be entered and the ishidan ascended before any other relations can occur; similarly L and M signify the termination of prior relationships and can occur only at such termination. Thus it may be said that ritual units, A, B, L, and M provide the frame within which all other ritual units are ordered. These units occupy the spatial field fringe as the physical features mon and ishidan are located within the peripheral area of the compound.

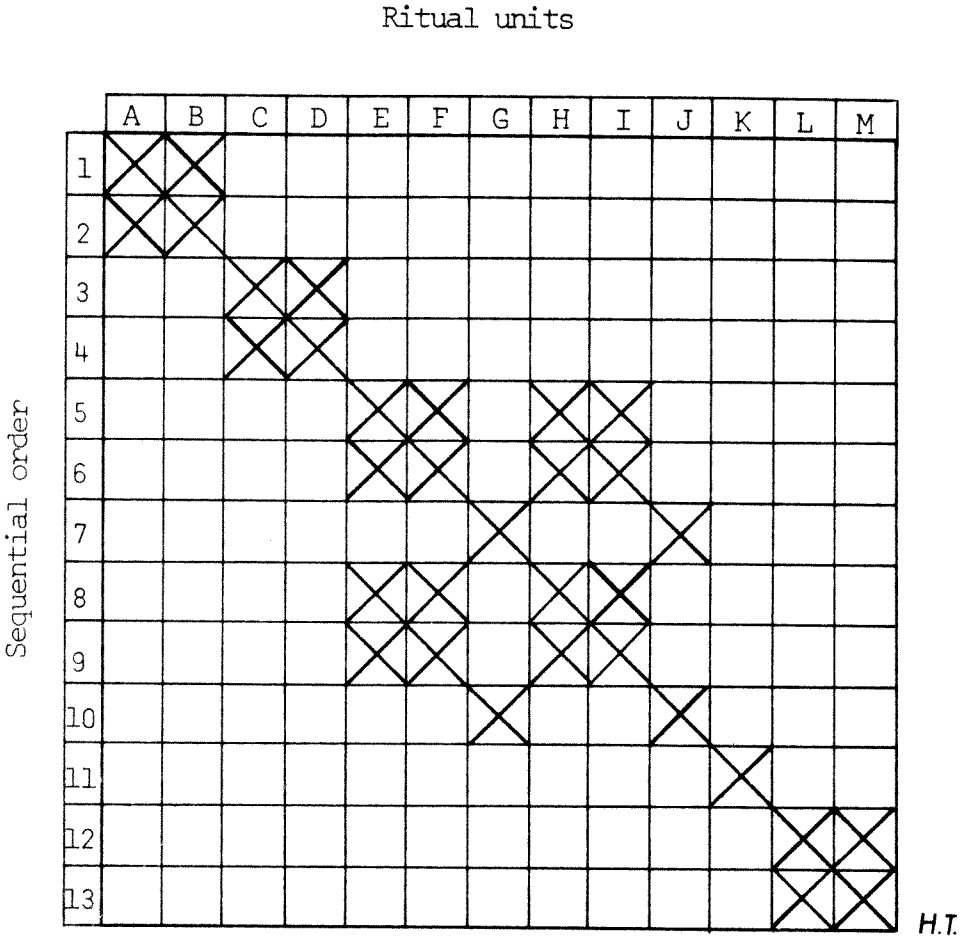
The temporal position of ritual units C through K within the pilgrimage ritual are behaviourally determined. Ritual units C, D, and K occupy the spatial field fringe as the chōzubachi, shōrō, and kuri are located in the peripheral area of the compound. The remaining units, E through J, all occupy the spatial field interior as the kōro, rōsokutate, hondō, and daishidō are located in the inner part of the compound. These units fall within the ritual field worship, while units C and D fall within the ritual field preparation for worship, and K falls within the ritual field proof of worship.

Thus far the ritual units have been considered in the sequence in which they ideally occur. When the pilgrimage ritual is observed, however, it may be seen that, in fact, there are many variations within the sequential order of the ritual units. These inconsistencies are not mere variations from the assumed ideal order but in reality they are the order.

Observable Variations in the Sequence of the Ritual Units: The empirically observable situation with regard to the relative sequence among the thirteen relationships is shown in Figure 4-4. The occurrence of the selected ritual units with regard to the sequential order presented in this figure must be understood in relation to the total framework. If any given physical feature is not found within a particular temple compound the corresponding pilgrim behaviour and thus the resulting relationship is simply omitted from the set, originally thirteen, and a blank space occurs in the sequential order.

The relative sequence of occurrence of the ritual units within the context shown in Figure 4-4 accommodates approximately 92 per cent of the actual situations as far as could be estimated from limited observation.[11] The remaining 8 per cent of the situations seemed not to fit into any pattern, possibly because approximately 5 per cent of those who visit the sacred places are not pilgrims but rather drivers, helpers, or tourists. Approximately 3 per cent of the pilgrims visit the nōkyōsho at any point within their circuit of the compound but each of the resulting variations applies to such a small percentage of pilgrimage ritual as to be negligible.

From Figure 4-4, it is evident that only K may be assumed to be constant in its position with regard to the overall sequence of the ritual. The other relationships may

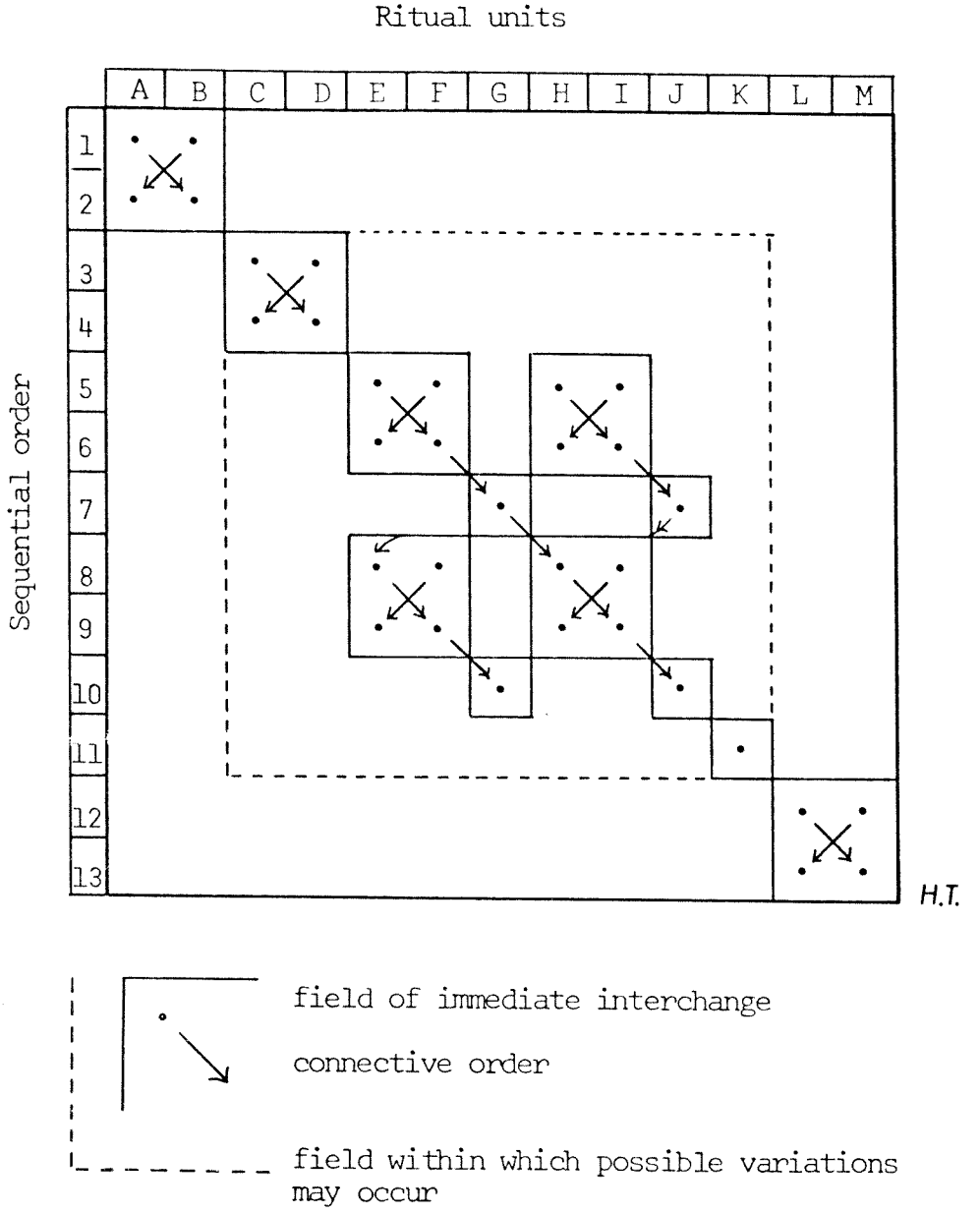


OBSERVABLE SEQUENTIAL ORDERS
WITHIN THE PILGRIMAGE RITUAL

Figure 4-4

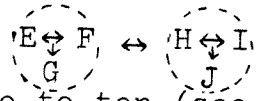
occur within two or four varying sequences either adjoining or separated. A B, C D, and L M, occur within sequences 1 2, 3 4, and 12 13 respectively thus indicating that interchange may occur within the pairs (A↔B, C↔D, L↔M). However, A and B must occur prior to any other relationships and L and M can only occur at the termination of all other relationships. Because the relationships A, B, L, and M are dependent on the mon and ishidan the positions of which are fixed, the interchange between A and B, and L and M results from the positioning of the physical features. Thus the possibility of choice occurs only between the third and eleventh sequences inclusively (see Figure 4-5). As noted above, K occupies a fixed temporal position though unlike A, B, L and M this results not from the physical positioning of the nōkyōsho on which this relationship (K) depends, but rather from choice, the basis of which is cultural conditioning.

E, F and H, I may occur within the fifth and sixth or eighth and ninth sequences. Within E and F, and H and I interchange is possible (E↔F, H↔I) (see Figure 4-5). When E and F occur within the fifth and sixth sequences G will occur within the seventh sequence while when H and I occur within the fifth and sixth sequences J will occur in the seventh sequence. Thus, E, F, G and H, I, J are considered to be the ritual complex within which particular relationships are ordered ($E \underset{G}{\updownarrow} F$, $H \underset{J}{\updownarrow} I$) (see Figure 4-5). If E, F, G occur

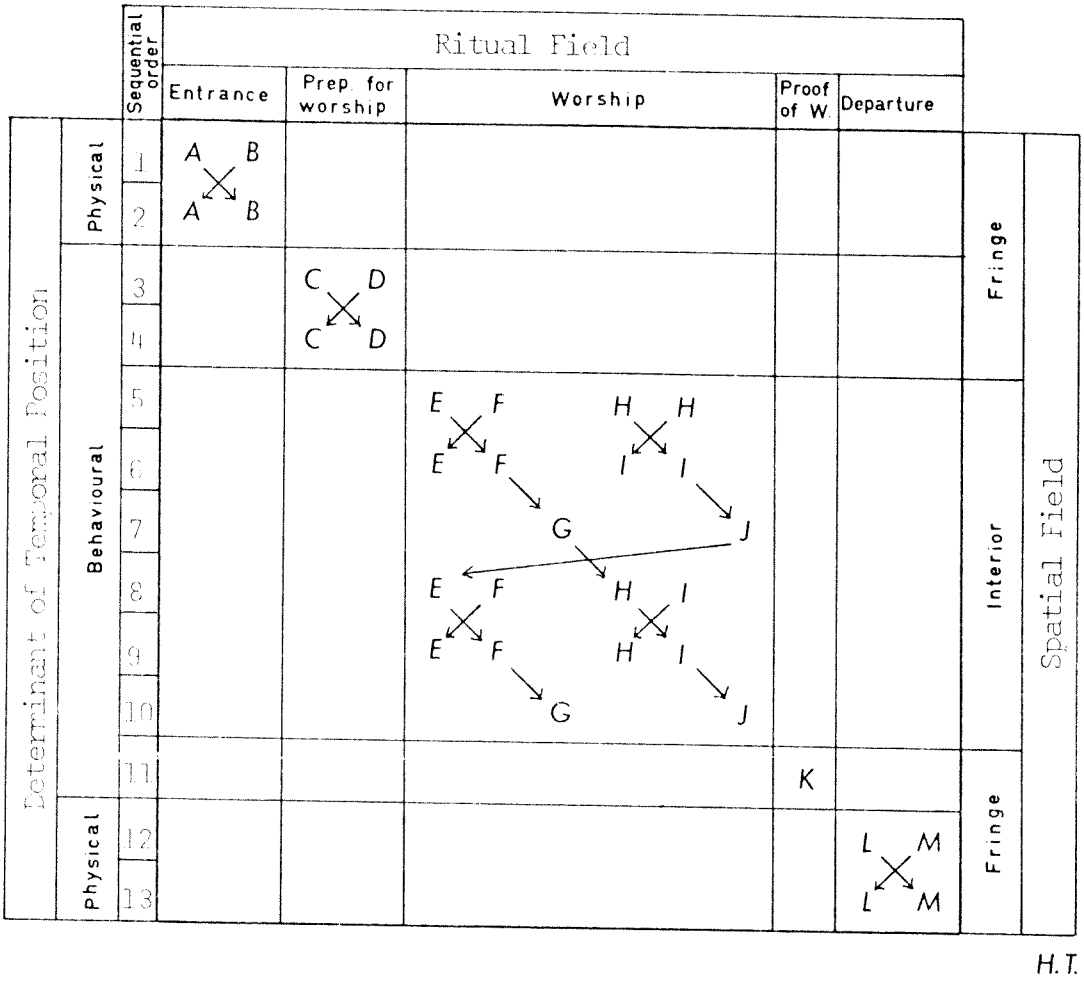


SPATIAL-TEMPORAL ORDER AND POSSIBLE INTERCHANGES WITHIN THE PILGRIMAGE RITUAL

Figure 4-5

within the fifth, sixth, and seventh sequences H, I, J must occur within the eighth, ninth and tenth sequences. The reverse is also true, thus interchange between E, F, G and H, I, J is possible (). This interchange encompasses orders five to ten (see Figure 4-5).

The above examination, focusing on the formal order of the pilgrimage ritual, has shown that interchange may occur between certain ritual units. Figure 4-6 shows the spatial-temporal order of the ritual units together with the descriptive features. From this figure it may be seen that variations in the sequence of the ritual units occur only within demarcated fields: entrance, preparation for worship, worship, proof of worship, and departure. There is no interchange between the fields. Figure 4-6 also shows that the ritual units which constitute the ritual field worship occupy the spatial field interior while those units which constitute the ritual fields entrance, preparation for worship, proof of worship and departure occupy the spatial field fringe. Thus it can be seen that the spatial field occupied by particular physical features together with the recognition of the meaning embodied in these features expressed through pilgrim behaviour in the use of the features in a particular, though variable, order give rise to the relatively fixed structure of the pilgrimage ritual.



A - M Ritual units

↘ Connective order

SPATIAL-TEMPORAL ORDER OF THE RITUAL UNITS
AND THE DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

Figure 4-6

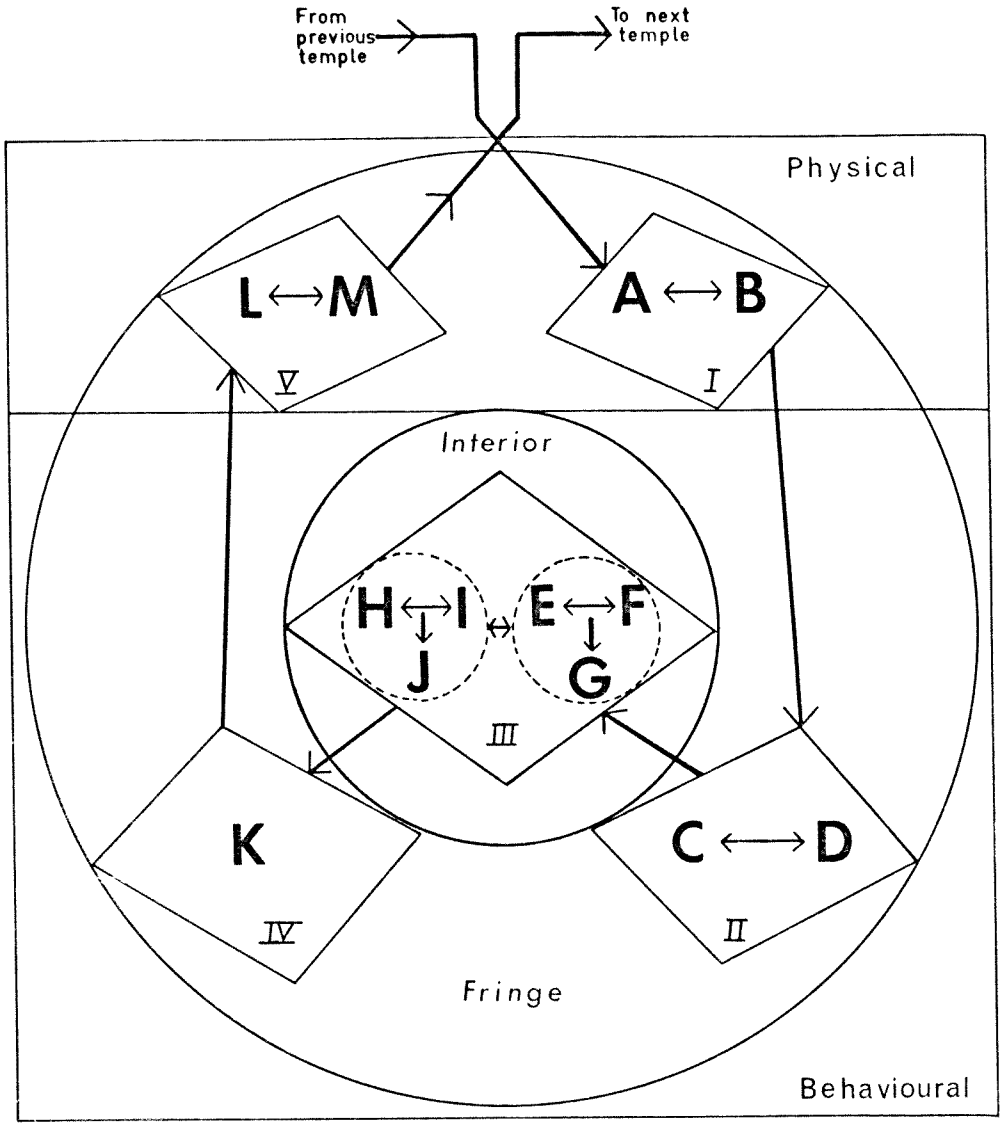
Spatial-Temporal Structure of the Cyclical Pilgrimage Ritual

The character of the geographic setting of the pilgrimage is expressed in part, through the assemblages of physical features found within the sacred places. The expressive power of these features gives significance to a specific place and renders it important to pilgrims. Among these features there are some which give particular meaning to and are given meaning by the various pilgrim ritual activities carried on at them. The pilgrims' recognition of and response to particular physical features in a given sequence create an interaction among these features and a unity encompassing the set of physical features and the patterns of pilgrim behaviour. In this chapter a set of mutual relationships between the particular physical features and the associated pilgrim behaviour were selected as the analytical units through the observation of their relevance in the context of the cyclical pilgrimage ritual. The description of the form of these relationships illumined the nature of the interaction between the particular physical features and the associated pilgrim behaviour.

In order to gain insight into the pilgrimage ritual thirteen ritual units were selected for investigation and their ideal sequence identified. These units were then defined in terms of the descriptive features, spatial field, ritual field, and determinant of temporal position. When the

observed sequence of the ritual was considered it was seen that variation may occur among the ritual units within the demarcated ritual fields but interchange was not observed to occur between the fields. The ritual fields and observed variation in the order of the ritual units are shown in Figure 4-7. In this figure the ritual fields occupied by the ritual units, A through M are indicated by rhombic shapes ◇ , while the spatial fields, fringe and interior, are represented by the outer and inner circles, respectively. The outer square represents the descriptive feature, determinant of temporal position with the upper portion indicating a physical determinant, and the lower portion, a behavioural determinant. Thus Figure 4-7 represents the structure of the pilgrimage ritual as it is conceived through the spatial-temporal order of the ritual units defined by selected descriptive features. The described characteristic expression of the culturally organized behaviour, pilgrimage ritual, which is repetitive in nature and encompasses the relationships between the particular physical features and the associated pilgrim behaviour, constitutes one important characteristic expression of the eighty-eight sacred places.

While the foregoing discussion has considered pilgrimage ritual to be constituted from a set of sequential formal relationships occurring at the sacred places, pilgrimage ritual may be thought to occur while pilgrims travel between the sacred places as well. Because today the pilgrimage is



Spatial field	Ritual field	Determinant of temporal position
Fringe / Interior	I - V I Entrance II Preparation for worship III Worship IV Proof of worship V Departure A-M Ritual unit Ritual complex Order of sequence ⟷ Interchange	Physical Behavioural

STRUCTURE OF THE PILGRIMAGE RITUAL

Figure 4-7

made in a variety of ways - by chartered bus, taxi, private car, public transportation, motorcycle, bicycle, and on foot - there is little consistency in pilgrim activity along the route. The foregoing consideration has been concerned only with those relatively persistent aspects of the ritual that may be observed to occur with some regularity and uniformity within the sacred places.

Insight into the geographic expression of the eighty-eight sacred places has been gained through the examination of the geographic setting of these places, the nature of their association with Kōbō-Daishi and Buddhist deities, and the nature of the relationships which occur between selected physical features and particular pilgrim behaviour. It is hoped that further understanding of this pilgrimage may be achieved through an investigation of the nature of the formal spatial structure which exists among these places. It is on this spatial structure that the next chapter will focus.

Notes - Chapter Four

1. Philip L. Wagner, "Cultural Landscapes and Regions: Aspects of Communication", in Man, Space, and Environment, ed. by Ward English and Robert C. Mayfield (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 59.

2. G. Van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation, trans. by J.E. Turner (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), II, 393.

3. Wagner, "Cultural Landscapes...", pp. 56-57.

4. Victor W. Turner, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 19.

5. Robert B. Taylor, Cultural Ways (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1969), p. 114.

6. In recent times chewing gum has often been used instead of paper, and, as its removal from the statues is difficult, some have been surrounded by wire nets as they have been declared Important Cultural Property and their preservation is of the utmost importance.

7. Neither the spitting of paper nor the hanging of sandals bear any obvious relationship to Buddhist teaching but seem simply to be customs that have grown up over the years and are still retained.

8. Mock Joya, Mock Joya's Things Japanese (5th ed.; Tokyo: Tokyo News Service, 1964), p. 677.

9. The eighty-eight sacred places are called fudasho, fuda meaning calling card and sho, place. Thus fudasho may be interpreted as the place where pilgrims leave ofuda. To visit the fudasho is called fudasho-o-utsu meaning, literally, to hit the temple, derived from the fact that in the past pilgrims would nail wooden or metal ofuda to the walls, ceiling, or pillars of the buildings.

10. This name is not necessarily the name used in everyday life but is often kaimyō, the name to be used in the next world thus indicating that the pilgrims believe that the leaving of calling cards will benefit them not only in their present life but at a future time as well.

11. These percentages are based on the order of the behaviour of 1690 pilgrims observed at Jizō-ji (5), Ryūkō-ji (41), and Taisan-ji (56).

CHAPTER FIVE

SPATIAL STRUCTURE

The foundation of the pilgrimage is the eighty-eight sacred places and through the collective attributes of these places the characteristic expression of the pilgrimage is revealed. Among those aspects of the eighty-eight sacred places expressive of the character of the pilgrimage is the spatial structure of the places arising from the set of spatial interrelations occurring among them and uniting certain places into clearly defined groups.

In this chapter these recognized interrelationships among the temples are termed "interactions" and are considered to be the analytical units. As the foundation on which the spatial structure rests is the areal distribution of the sacred places, the preliminary step in its analysis is the identification of the "distance property" of each place. After the pattern of the distribution of the sacred places and the constancy of this distribution over time have been considered, the interaction units will be defined in terms of three descriptive features: "areal range", "prefectural property", and "symbolic concept", and the relationships among the interaction units will be stated. The structure of the sacred places will then be viewed in terms of the present practice of the pilgrimage.

In this way, through the examination of this chapter,

insight may be gained into the spatial structure of the institution of the pilgrimage as it is expressed through the spatial interactions among the places encompassed.

Interaction Units

The interaction units are those culturally determined interrelationships which unite the sacred places into a variety of groups. From empirical observation thirteen such groupings could be seen to exist. That such interrelation may occur is due, first of all, to the distribution of the sacred places over Shikoku.

Distance Properties of the Sacred Places: The areal distribution of the eighty-eight sacred places is shown in Figure 1-2. Though, as argued in Chapter 1, full understanding of this distribution pattern is contingent upon further knowledge of the process of establishment of the sacred places, certain characteristics may be observed.

As is apparent from Figure 1-2, most of the sacred places are located on the periphery of the island, the greatest number being situated on the northern and eastern coastal fringes. With the exception of the cluster on the Kōchi plain, the distribution of the sacred places along the south and west coast is relatively sparse. When the distribution of the sacred places is viewed in terms of the political regions of the island, it may be seen that twenty-three sacred places are found within Tokushima Prefecture,

sixteen sacred places are found within Kōchi Prefecture, twenty-six sacred places are found within Ehime Prefecture, and twenty-three sacred places[1] are found within Kagawa Prefecture.

Among the sacred places thus distributed along the periphery of the island spatial organization may be observed. The most readily identified aspect of this organization is, perhaps, the sequential numbers that are associated with the temples. Beginning at the north-eastern corner of the island and proceeding in a clockwise direction,[2] the sacred places have been assigned numbers starting with Ryōzen-ji as number one[3] and ending with Ōkubo-ji (88).

Because the sequential order of the eighty-eight sacred places has been "culturally" determined, for the purpose of the present study the places may be considered to be distributed along the pilgrim route which circles the island. When the distribution of the set of sacred places is so conceived, the position of a given sacred place within the sequential order one to eighty-eight together with the distances from the adjacent sacred places may be considered as the distance property of the place.

The distance in kilometres from each sacred place to the next and the cumulative distance from Ryōzen-ji (1) are shown in Table 5-1. These distances, measured during the period of field research, are from temple gate to temple gate following the traditional walking pilgrim route referred

Table 5-1

DISTANCE PROPERTIES OF THE
88 SACRED PLACES (IN KILOMETRES)

Temple No.	Distance from Previous Temple	Cumulative Distance from Ryōzen-ji (1)
1	0.0	0.0
2	1.5	1.5
3	3.0	4.5
4	5.2	9.7
5	2.4	12.1
6	5.2	17.3
7	1.1	18.4
8	4.2	22.6
9	3.0	25.6
10	3.9	29.5
11	12.0	41.5
12	17.0	58.5
13	28.7	87.2
14	2.4	89.6
15	0.8	90.4
16	1.6	92.0
17	3.0	95.0
18	22.6	117.6
19	4.8	122.4
20	15.0	137.4
21	7.2	144.6
22	13.2	157.8
23	22.3	180.1
24	89.4	269.5
25	6.5	276.0
26	7.4	283.4
27	32.0	315.4
28	39.5	354.9

Temple No.	Distance from Previous Temple	Cumulative Distance from Ryōzen-ji (1)
29	8.7	363.6
30	8.2	371.8
31	7.2	379.0
32	7.4	386.4
33	7.6	394.0
34	7.2	401.2
35	10.3	411.5
36	17.0	428.5
37	72.6	501.1
38	106.5	607.6
39	74.6	682.2
40	33.2	715.4
41	58.9	774.3
42	4.1	778.4
43	13.6	792.0
44	88.2	880.2
45	16.4	896.6
46	30.4	927.0
47	0.9	927.9
48	4.7	932.6
49	3.2	935.8
50	2.4	928.2
51	2.8	941.0
52	14.2	955.2
53	2.2	957.4
54	40.2	997.6
55	4.3	1001.9
56	3.4	1005.3
57	3.6	1008.9
58	2.3	1011.2
59	8.0	1019.2
60	34.2	1053.4

Temple No.	Distance from Previous Temple	Cumulative Distance from Ryōzen-ji (1)
61	10.2	1063.6
62	1.9	1065.5
63	1.3	1066.8
64	3.3	1070.1
65	47.2	1117.3
66	28.6	1145.9
67	12.3	1158.2
68	11.2	1169.4
69	0.0	1169.4
70	4.7	1174.1
71	12.3	1186.4
72	4.2	1190.6
73	0.5	1191.1
74	2.9	1194.0
75	1.6	1195.6
76	3.9	1199.5
77	4.1	1203.6
78	7.4	1211.0
79	7.2	1218.2
80	8.3	1226.5
81	9.6	1236.1
82	7.8	1243.9
83	15.9	1259.8
84	16.6	1276.4
85	7.2	1283.6
86	9.2	1292.8
87	7.1	1299.9
88	18.4	1318.3
1	67.3	1385.6

to in Chapter 1. As the pilgrimage customarily terminates at Ryōzen-ji (1) rather than at Ōkubo-ji (88), the total distance covered is 1385.6 kilometres and the route may be conceived as a closed circle. Among the sacred places so distributed the interactions which give rise to their spatial structure occur.

That such spatial structure does exist suggests that, over time, the sacred places have exhibited positional stability. Through historical examination, however, it becomes evident that the locations of the sacred places are not absolutely fixed and it is this aspect, stability, of the sacred places that will now be considered.

Stability of the Sacred Places: That changes in location have occurred among the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage became evident through discussion with the priests at various sacred places and examination of relevant literature. These changes with respect to reason, year, distance, direction, and site characteristic are summarized in Table 5-2.

As far as can be determined there are fourteen sacred places the exact locations of which have changed since the mid sixteenth century, the earliest period for which records exist. One of these, Hōju-ji (62) moved twice, the first time in 1636 and the second in 1921. Of these fourteen, six[4] were closely associated with Shintō shrines and the change in location occurred when Buddhism and Shintō were forced to

Table 5-2

SITE CHANGES AMONG THE 88 SACRED PLACES

Temple Number	Year	Direction Moved	Distance (Km.)	Site Previous	Site Present	Reason	Data Source
6	1570-90	SE	1	MB	P	War-fire	A(67), F
7	1635	S	3	M	MB	War-fire	D(7), E(25)
9	1644-7	S	2	MB	P	War-fire	A(78), E(26), F
27	187?	-	<1	MT	MT	H-k.	E(49), F, G
30	187?	-	<1	P	P	H-k.	F, G
34	1646	?	1?	M	P	?	C(5-23)
37	187?	S	2	MB	P	H-k.	C(5-26), F, G
53	1633	S	<2	?		War-fire	B(81), A(221), F
54	1570-90	S	2	MT	MB	War-fire	B(85), E(84), F
57	187?	-	<1	MT	MB	H-k.	A(231), B(357), F, G
62	1636	S	<2	?	P	War-fire	A(243), F
	1921	SE	<1	P	P	Railway	B(124-5), F, G
63	1659	NW	<2	MB	P	War-fire	A(245), B(131)
64	187?	-	<1	MB	MB	H-k.	B(392), F
68	187?	-	<1	MT	MB	H-k.	F, G

M = Mountain; MB = Mountain Behind; MT = Mountain Top; P = Plain; H-k. = Haibutsu-kishaku

Data Source: A: Nishihata, Shikoku Hachijū-hachi Fudasho Henro-ki, B: Hirahata, Shikoku Hachijū-hakkasho, C: Jakuhon, Shikoku Henro Reijō-ki, D: Ōyama, Shikoku Hachijū-hakkasho, E: Gotō, Namu-Daishi. (The bracketed numbers beside the above codes indicate page references). F: Priest of the temple, G: Personal observation of the old sites.

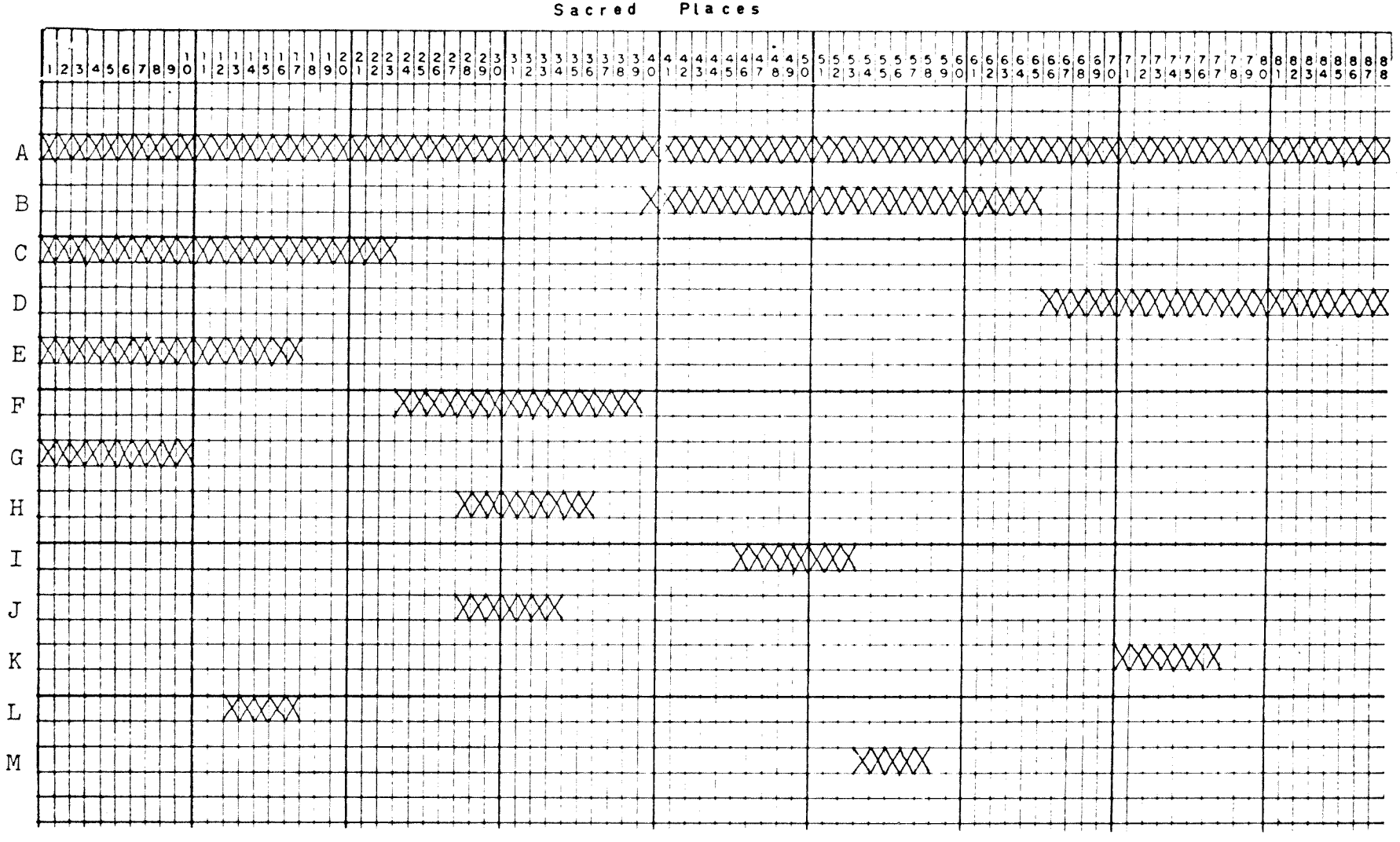
separate in the early 1870's under the aforementioned Haibutsu-kishaku. It should be noted that when these locational changes occurred the distances involved were not great, less than one kilometre in most cases. The remaining eight of the fourteen sacred places moved between the mid sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (with the exception of Hōju-ji's (62) second move in 1921) as the original sites were destroyed by fire. Among these moves the maximum distance involved was three kilometres. With the exception of Kisshō-ji (63) all moved in a southerly or south-easterly direction.

The distances moved by the fourteen sacred places on Shikoku which have changed topographical sites have not been great, nor has any temple changed its relative position in the sequence; therefore, the overall distribution pattern of the eighty-eight sacred places has not been altered appreciably over the last few centuries. This relatively stable distribution of the eighty-eight sacred places over Shikoku provides the basis on which the interactions among them are founded.

Observable Interactions: From field observation and perusal of the contemporary literature it became evident that each sacred place interacts or is recognized to be grouped with other sacred places in varying numbers. Table 5-3 is a matrix showing the eighty-eight sacred places within

Table 5-3

MATRIX OF INTERACTIONS AMONG THE 88 SACRED PLACES



the frame of the observable interactions among them. From here it can be seen that thirteen overlapping interactions occur within the eighty-eight sacred places. The particular sacred places encompassed by each interaction unit are shown from the largest group, eighty-eight, to the smallest, five. Each group has been given a name indicative of the culturally determined interaction among its members. These groups are: (A) Hon-Shikoku or "true Shikoku" encompassing all eighty-eight sacred places, (B) Iyo-Ikkoku or "Iyo one country" encompassing twenty-six sacred places, Kanjizai-ji (40) through Sankaku-ji (65) in Iyo, presently Ehime Prefecture, (C) Awa-Ikkoku or "Awa one country" encompassing twenty-three sacred places, Ryōzen-ji (1) through Yakuō-ji (23) in Awa, presently Tokushima Prefecture, (D) Sanuki-Ikkoku or "Sanuki one country" encompassing twenty-three sacred places, Unpen-ji (66) through Ōkubo-ji (88) in Sanuki, presently Kagawa Prefecture, (E) Awa-Junanakaji or "Awa seventeen temples" encompassing sacred places, Ryozen-ji (1) through Ido-ji (17), (F) Tosa-Ikkoku or "Tosa one country" encompassing sixteen sacred places, Hotsumisaki-ji (24) through Enkō-ji (39) in Tosa, presently Kōchi Prefecture, (G) Awa-Jukkaji or "Awa ten temples" encompassing sacred places Ryōzen-ji (1) through Kirihata-ji (10), (H) Tosa-Kyukaji or "Tosa nine temples" encompassing sacred places Dainichi-ji (28) through Seiryū-ji (36), (I) Iyo-Hakkaji or "Iyo eight temples" encompassing sacred places Jōruri-ji (46)

through Enmyō-ji (53), (J) Tosa-Nanakaji or "Tosa seven temples" encompassing sacred places Dainichi-ji (28) through Tanema-ji (34), (K) Sanuki-Nanakaji or "Sanuki seven temples" encompassing sacred places Iyadani-ji (71) through Dōryū-ji (77), (L) Awa-Gokaji or "Awa five temples" encompassing sacred places Dainichi-ji (13) through Ido-ji (17), and (M) Iyo-Gokaji or "Iyo five temples" encompassing sacred places Enmei-ji (54) through Senyū-ji (58).

Interaction units A, C, F, B and D are acknowledged by all priests at the eighty-eight sacred places and by all pilgrims for A alone and C, F, B, and D together encompass all the temples of the Shikoku pilgrimage, C, F, B, and D being accepted groupings which collectively constitute the complete pilgrimage. Interaction units E, G, and I are acknowledged by, among others, priests of the incorporated temples and local residents of the areas in which they occur. As well, their existence is substantiated in the literature of the Shikoku pilgrimage. When evidence of temple groupings found within the literature could not be verified through discussion with priests, pilgrims, and area residents such groupings have not been included in the present study. Conversely, when priests, pilgrims, and area residents agreed that certain temples were linked into definite groups within the eighty-eight sacred places, even though such groupings could not be verified in the literature, these groupings have been included as interaction units and

called by the names by which they are known. Such is the case with H, J, K, L, and M.

Considering the thirteen above identified interaction units as a set of spatial units corresponding to a possible spatial structure, we shall now examine the interaction units in the light of particular descriptive features in order that the spatial organizational characteristics of the eighty-eight places of the pilgrimage may be identified.

Organization of the Interactions of the Sacred Places

Because the various groups of temples among which the thirteen interactions occur do not exist in isolation but are parts of the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage, relationships occur not only among certain temples but among the interaction units as well. In order that the nature of the interaction units and the relationships among these units may be understood, the units will be defined in terms of three shared descriptive features and their relationships discussed. In this way the organizational features of the spatial structure will become evident and it will then be possible to view the spatial structure in the light of the present practice of the pilgrimage.

Descriptive Features: Three descriptive features are common to all thirteen interaction units and are useful for the identification of interrelationships; (1) areal range, (2) prefectural property, and (3) symbolic concept.

Areal Range - The interaction units exist within areal ranges which vary according to the geographic bounds within which the encompassed temples lie. Each of the thirteen interactions may be said to exist within one of three areal ranges: all Shikoku, prefectural, or local. The all Shikoku range is inclusive of all eighty-eight sacred places, while the prefectural range encompasses all the sacred places within any one prefecture and the local range those sacred places which constitute local groups.

Prefectural Property - Each interaction unit occurs within one or more of Shikoku's four prefectures, Tokushima, Kōchi, Ehime, and Kagawa. Originally called countries, these prefectures, until 1871, were known as Awa, Tosa, Iyo, and Sanuki, respectively. The geographic location of the unit within the prefecture(s) is considered to be its prefectural property.

Symbolic Concept - The interactions among the sacred places are the manifestations of symbolic concepts and these concepts give meaning to the interaction units. The symbolic concepts which may presently be identified as the essence of the interaction units fall into two categories, numerical and areal, numerical being the significance attributed to certain numbers by cultural tradition and areal the symbolic conception of a group of temples within a particular area.

Definition of Interaction Units by Descriptive Features: Using the above descriptive features as the medium of characteristic definition, the essential nature of the thirteen interaction units A to M may be defined as shown in Table 5-4. Figure 5-1 shows the structure of the domain within which the interaction units are found.

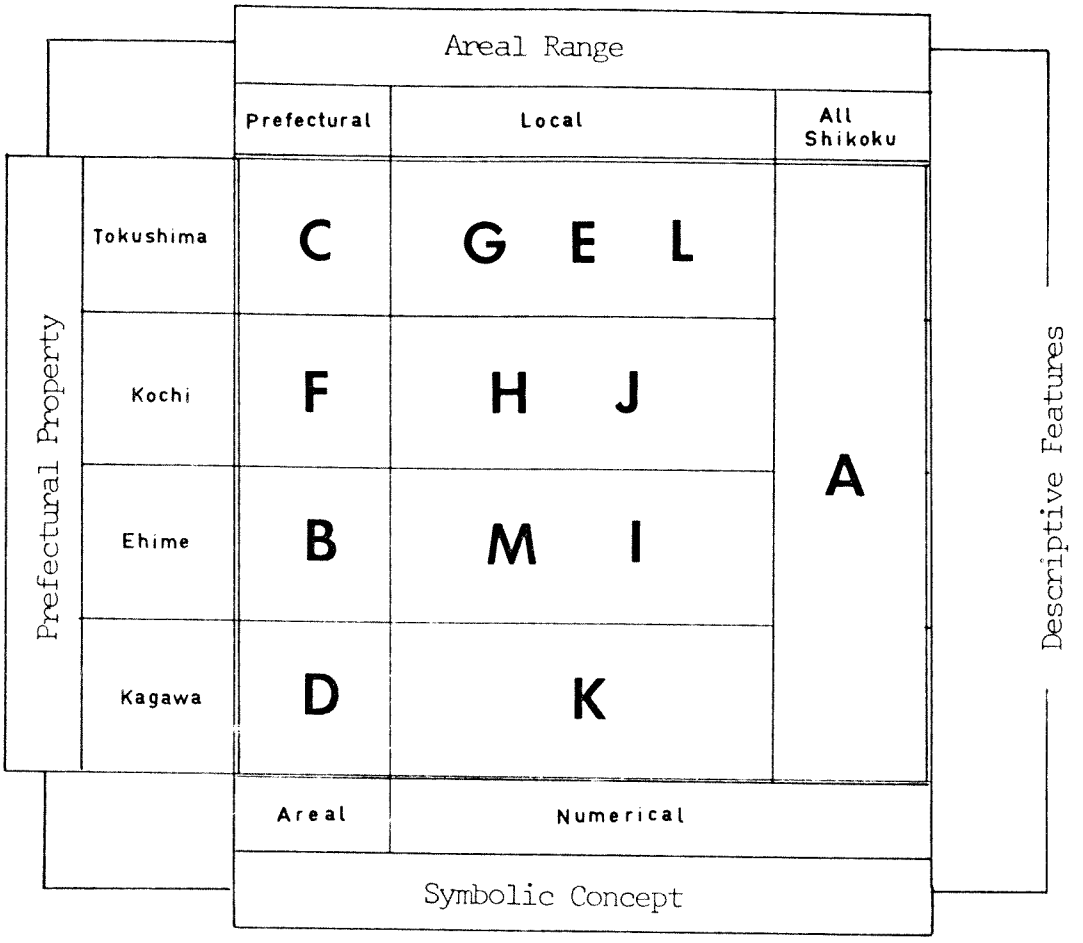
A - Interaction unit A comprises all eighty-eight sacred places and thus encompasses all four prefectures. The symbolic concept underlying interaction unit A is the significance of the number eighty-eight. Four and its multiples, especially eight, have long been considered important within Japanese Buddhist thought. Four ideas[5] predominate regarding this significance.

The first relates to mandara (Skt. mandala), the Hindu term for circle. A mandara is a ritual geometric diagram, sometimes corresponding to a specific divine attribute or to some form of enchantment which is thus given visual expression. The mandara is a synthesis of traditional structure plus free interpretation.[6] As early as 1763 Hosoda, on the first published pilgrim map, suggested that the distribution of the eighty-eight sacred places over the four prefectures of Shikoku symbolized a fourfold mandara sitting among ten worlds on the eight petals of the lotus altar and shining continuously over the Buddhist world. He indicated that this mandara with its ten worlds on the eight petals of the lotus altar was represented by eighty temples

Table 5-4

DEFINITION OF INTERACTION UNITS BY DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

Interaction Units	Descriptive Features: Areal Range		Prefectural Property					Symbolic Concept	
	All Shikoku	Prefectural	Local	Tokushima	Kōchi	Ehime	Kagawa	Numerical	Areal
A	X			X	X	X	X	X	
B		X				X			X
C		X		X					X
D		X					X		X
E			X	X				X	
F		X			X				X
G			X	X				X	
H			X		X			X	
I			X			X		X	
J			X		X			X	
K			X				X	X	
L			X	X				X	
M			X			X		X	



INTERACTION DIFFERENTIATION BY DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

Figure 5-1

and when so considered eight more temples were added to make eighty-eight.[7]

Earlier, in 1683, Jakuhon stated that the eighty-eight sacred places should be conceived as corresponding to the eighty-eight kenwaku or illusions of the mind that distort the truth taught by Kōbō-Daishi.[8]

The third idea relates to the death of Buddha. It is believed that immediately after his death Buddha's Sarira (ashes) were distributed among eight countries in India and eight tō or memorial stupas were erected. It may be from this division of the ashes that the number eight came to have particular significance. Eighty-eight is not only a multiple of four and therefore sacred but also it is two eights together making a significant unit. Ashes from one or all of the eight Indian stupas are believed to be buried within the compound of each of the eighty-eight sacred places.[9]

As well, the eighty-eight sacred places may be thought to represent the sum of the thirty-five Hotoke, or Buddha, which exist in the present world and the fifty-three Hotoke which existed in the past world.[10]

One or all of these ideas, together with the Buddhist concept of four and its multiples as sacred, have rendered the number eighty-eight significant and this significance has fixed the number of sacred places to eighty-eight[11] and has contributed to the interaction among them.

B, C, D, F - The interaction units B, C, D and F have a common areal range, prefectural, but differ in their prefectural property which is Ehime, Tokushima, Kagawa, and Kōchi respectively. The symbolic concept underlying each of these interaction units may be said to be areal in nature as the group of sacred places found within each of the four prefectures symbolically constitutes a Buddhist dōjō.

The Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary defines dōjō (bodhi-maṇḍa) as (1) the ground under the Bodhi tree, hence the place where the Buddha was seated at the time of attaining the highest enlightenment, the platform of enlightenment, (2) a place where the Buddha is worshipped, (3) a holy place of learning and practising the Way.

Interaction units C, F, B, D are considered as Hosshin no Dōjō, Shugyō no Dōjō, Bodai no Dōjō, and Nehan no Dōjō corresponding to the four prefectures of the island, Tokushima, Kōchi, Ehime, and Kagawa, respectively. Each dōjō comprises all of the sacred places in the prefecture and each serves a specific purpose and has been named to reflect this purpose. According to Priest Miyoshi of Kanjizai-ji (40), Hosshin no Dōjō may be interpreted as dōjō in which it is determined that supreme enlightenment will be attained, Shugyō no Dōjō as dōjō for the purpose of practising that which has been determined, Bodai no Dōjō as dōjō for the attainment of wisdom and understanding of

life, and Nehan no Dōjō as dōjō for the satisfactory completion of everything.

Within each dōjō one sacred place functions symbolically as a sekisho or the point which, traditionally, due to political and/or geographic constraints, it was difficult to pass. The four sekisho are Tatsue-ji (19) in Hosshin no Dōjō, Kōnomine-ji (27) in Shugyō no Dōjō, Yokomine-ji (60) in Bodai no Dōjō, and Unpen-ji (66) in Nehan no Dōjō. The location of the sekisho within each dōjō does not follow any particular rule with regard to its spatial relationship to the other sacred places within the dōjō but, with the exception of Tatsue-ji (19), the sekisho is one of the most difficult sacred places to reach within each dōjō. As well as these four sekisho, there is one more, Kanjizai-ji (40), which has been designated as ura-sekisho, the sekisho for the four dōjō together, and is located approximately half way along the circular route beginning at Ryōzen-ji (1). It is the first sacred place pilgrims visit after crossing into the third dōjō.

The four dōjō, and hence the interactions, are themselves interrelated and together form a unified whole. The interaction units B, C, D and F each of which encompasses all of the temples in one of Shikoku's four prefectures, may be the outgrowth of practical considerations. During the feudal period travel from one "country" to another was all but prohibited and political constraints may have

contributed to the concept of the prefectural groups of temples as individual entities. This concept was undoubtedly supported too by the stability of the prefectural boundaries, unchanged since at least the ninth century, the time of the earliest known map of Japan,[12] and likely stable for many centuries before that as reference is made to the four prefectures in Japanese mythology.

E, G, H, I, J, K, L, M - Interaction units E, G, H, I, J, K, L, and M have a common areal range as each encompasses a particular local group of temples. From Table 5-3 it can be seen that there is some overlapping of interaction units. The prefectural property of interactions E, G, and L is Tokushima, of H and J Kōchi, of I and M Ehime, and of K Kagawa. The symbolic concept underlying these interaction units would seem to be numerical rather than areal.

When the interaction units are considered in terms of the number of sacred places each encompasses it may be seen that the eight units include seventeen, ten, nine, eight, seven, seven, five, and five, sacred places. Within six groups the number of sacred places is odd and within two the number is even. Seven and five each appears twice. Traditionally odd numbers always have been preferred and considered to be the ceremonial numbers, as may be seen in the stories of the stupa, the ages of children for which special celebrations are held (three, five, and seven) and in the fact that sets of cultural artifacts are traditionally

odd numbered, to cite only a few examples. Four and its multiples, especially eight, as indicated earlier, are sacred numbers in Buddhism and ten signifies a completed unit. The ten temples encompassed by interaction unit G, Ryōzen-ji (1) to Kirihata-ji (10), are collectively called Jūri-Jukkasho or Ten Ri[13] - Ten Temples (ri is the traditional Japanese unit measurement of distance - one ri is approximately 3.9 kilometres). The importance of the number of sacred places encompassed by any one of these interaction units is evident from the fact that each group is named according to the number of temples it encompasses.

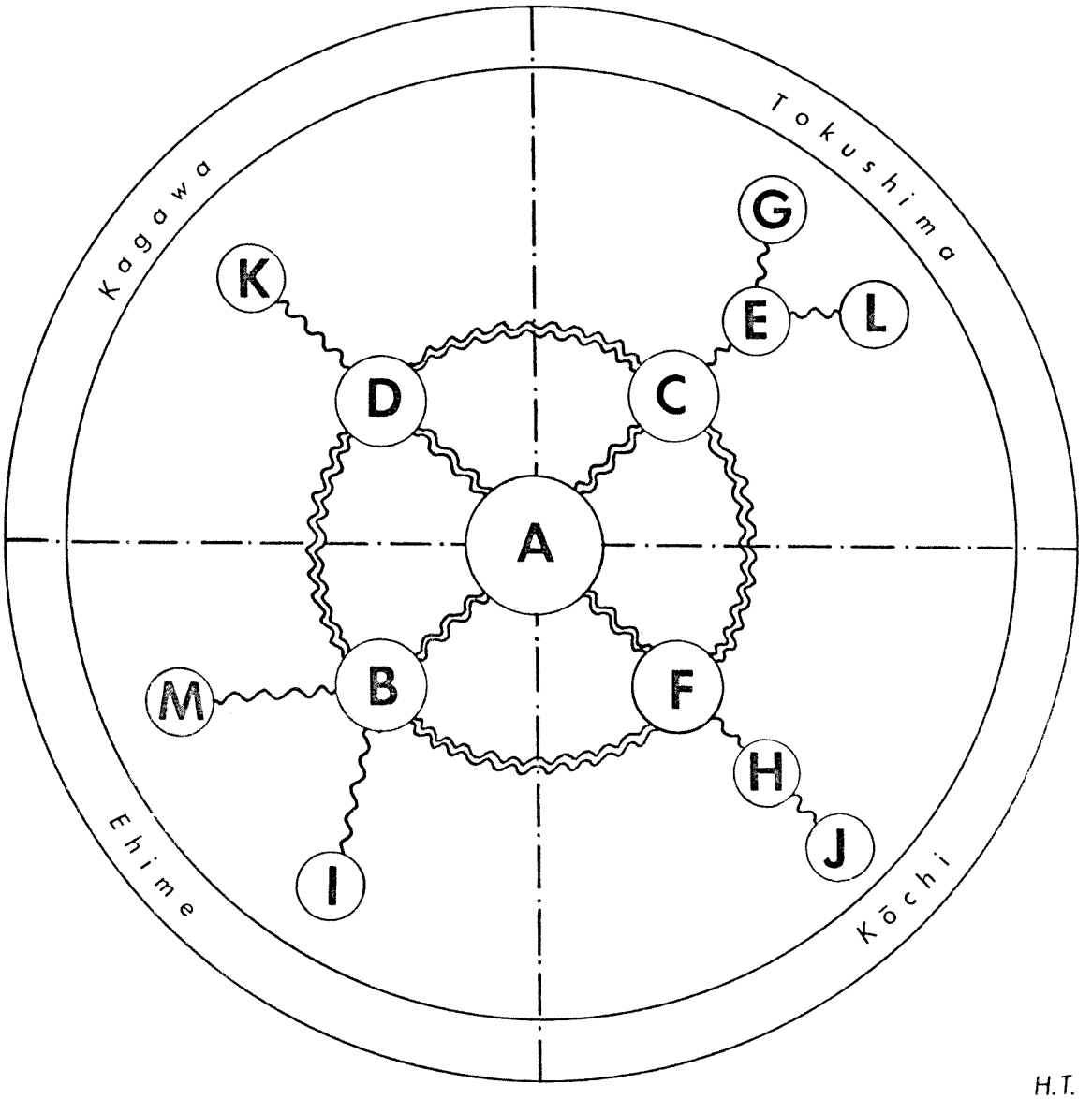
The sacred places which constitute any one group are always found relatively close together. The maximum distance between any two sacred places encompassed by any one interaction unit is 28.7 kilometres and the average distance is 7.3 kilometres. When the locational properties of all eighty-eight sacred places are considered it may be seen that for forty-four sacred places the distance from the previous sacred place is less than 7.3 kilometres. The interaction units E and G through M include all but eight of these sacred places. For seventy-four of the eighty-eight sacred places the distance from the preceding place is 28.7 kilometres or less, thus thirty sacred places are a distance greater than 7.3 kilometres from the preceding place but less than 28.7 kilometres. The eight interaction units here considered include only ten of these sacred places. Thus it is likely

that minimum distance has been, in part, responsible for uniting particular sacred places into groups of specified numbers.

Relationships Among the Interaction Units - When the interaction units are described in terms of three common descriptive features certain relationships among them are suggested, because the sacred places encompassed by each interaction unit do not exist in isolation but are all part of the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage.

The interrelations which occur among the units within Shikoku's four prefectures are schematically shown in Figure 5-2. From this figure it may be seen that interaction unit A is a complete and independent entity. Among interaction units B, C, D and F horizontal, direct relationships exist and between each of these units and interaction unit A a vertical direct relationship exists as B, C, D and F are equal parts which together constitute the whole.

While the interaction units E and G through M are themselves individual entities and no horizontal relationships exist among them, there are vertical relationships from these units to the units C, F, B, D with E, G and L being part of C, H and J being part of F, I and M being part of B, and K being part of D. Thus it may be seen that the structure of the eighty-eight sacred places comes not only from the spatial interactions occurring among the particular sacred places but also from the relationships existing among these various interactions.



RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE INTERACTION UNITS

Figure 5-2

Spatial Structure and the Practice of the Pilgrimage: The identified spatial structure of the eighty-eight places of the pilgrimage is the outcome of the various ways in which the sacred places have been visited over the centuries. At the same time, it is the recognized interactions among the particular sacred places of any one group that give rise to the varying contemporary practices of the pilgrimage. Some measure of the significance of various interactions may be obtained when the practice of the pilgrimage is considered.

That the interaction unit A which encompasses all eighty-eight sacred places and binds them into a unified whole is of primary importance may be judged from the fact that 78 per cent[14] of the pilgrims presently visit all eighty-eight sacred places within one pilgrimage.

When the practice of visiting all eighty-eight temples at one time is considered in the light of the symbolic concepts with which the number eighty-eight is associated, it may be said that in making the complete pilgrimage, pilgrims symbolically will travel over the mandara world, will be freed from the eighty-eight kenwaku or illusions of the mind that distort the truth and will be able to attain enlightenment, will pay homage to the Buddha whose greatness is divided among the eighty-eight temples, and will receive the charity of the eighty-eight Hotoke.

Ikkoku-mairi or "one country visit" is practised by 17 per cent[15] of the pilgrims. While it is believed that some

merit may be gained from one country visits, the ultimate goal for the majority of these pilgrims is eventually to visit all the sacred places within all four prefectures and they frequently return to Shikoku year after year until the entire pilgrimage has been completed.

"Token pilgrimages", that is, pilgrimages to local groups of temples, are made by only about 5 per cent[16] of the pilgrims and of these the majority are residents of the areas in which the particular groups of sacred places are located. It is worthy of note that all of the token pilgrimages corresponding to interaction units E and G through M occur near populated centres, the cities of Tokushima, Kōchi, Matsuyama, and Takamatsu (see Figure 1-2).

It is quite possible that these token pilgrimages are the outgrowth of local custom. This area requires considerable historical investigation, but it is known that local custom was responsible for the emergence of Sanuki-Nanakaji which encompasses seven sacred places, Iyadani-ji (71) through Dōryū-ji (77). According to Takeda, the local historian of this area, Iyadani-ji (71) is visited by local people each time there is a death, as the mountain on which it is situated is considered to be the place to which the souls of the dead go. Over the centuries, it has become the custom, after visiting Iyadani-ji (71), to also visit Mandara-ji (72) through Dōryū-ji (77).[17] It is possible that the other token pilgrimages had their origins in similar local practices.

Thus, when the spatial structure of the pilgrimage is considered, it reflects the three major practices of the pilgrimage, although the practice of making one pilgrimage to all eighty-eight sacred places predominates.

Spatial Structure of the Eighty-Eight Sacred Places

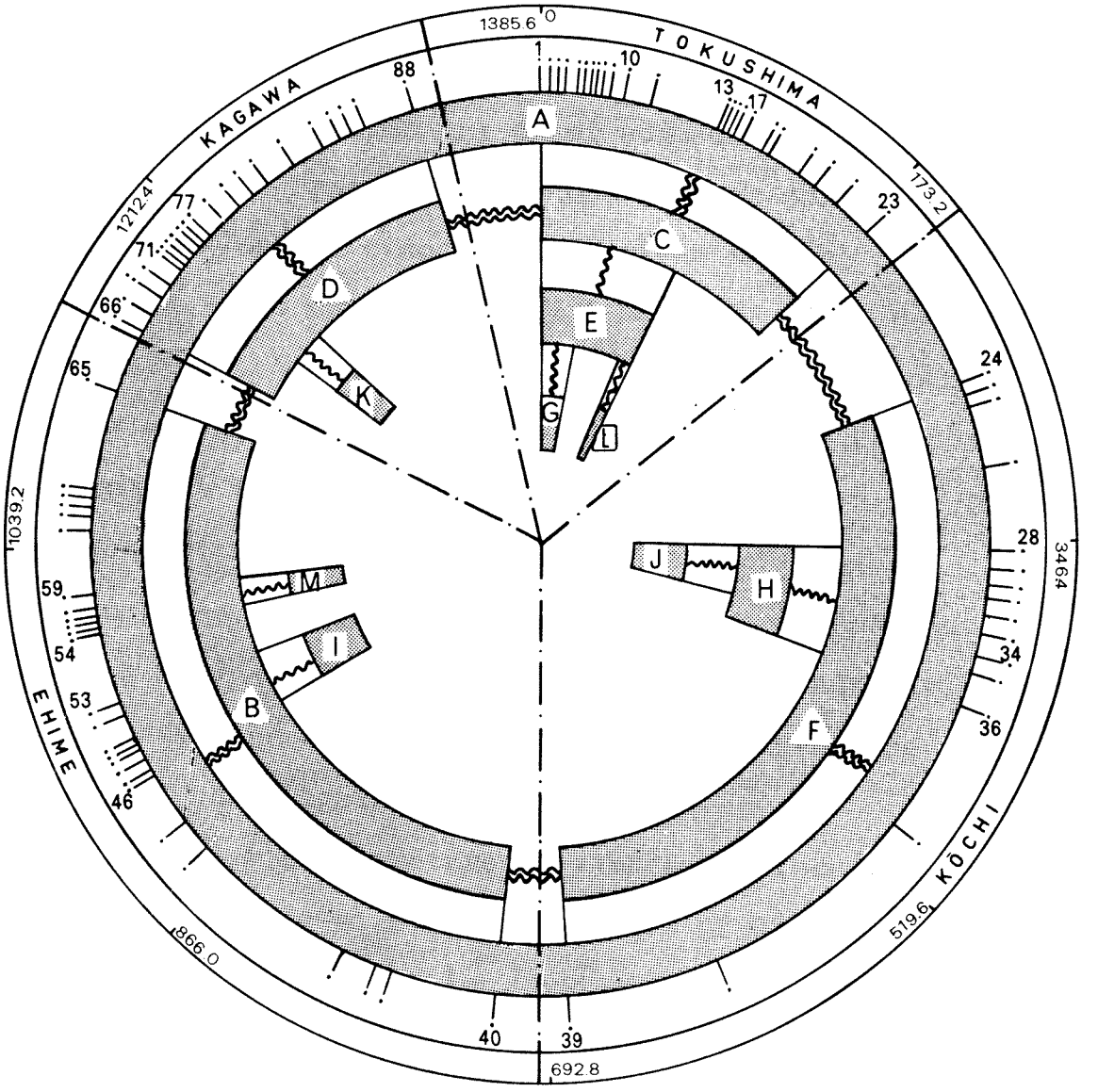
In this chapter the nature of the interactions occurring among the eighty-eight sacred places have been considered in order that the character of the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage as it is expressed through the spatial interaction of the places might be understood.

As the distribution of the eighty-eight sacred places over Shikoku forms the basis for the interactions occurring among them, a consideration of this distribution was the preliminary step in the examination. When the distribution of the temples was conceived together with the pilgrim route, the distance property of each sacred place became evident. Historical records reveal that fourteen sacred places have changed their locations since the mid sixteenth century. When these changes were examined, it could be seen that the distances involved were not great and thus the overall distribution pattern of the eighty-eight sacred places has not been appreciably altered within the last four centuries.

From empirical observation of the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage it became evident that thirteen interactions exist among them, each interaction unit

encompassing anywhere from eighty-eight to five places. These interaction units were considered to be the analytical units and were discussed in terms of three descriptive features, areal range, prefectural property, and symbolic concept. When the interaction units were considered in terms of the relationships among them, it was seen that interaction unit A is complete in itself while horizontal, direct relationships exist among interaction units B, C, D and F and a vertical, direct relationship exists between A and each of B, C, D, and F. There are no direct horizontal relationships among interaction units E and G through M but vertical, indirect relationships do exist between these units and B, C, D, and F. The interaction units with respect to the sacred places each encompasses, their areal range, prefectural property, and underlying symbolic concept, and the relationships among the units are shown schematically in Figure 5-3.

In this figure, the distribution of the eighty-eight sacred places along the periphery of Shikoku is circularly represented. The eighty-eight sacred places are plotted according to their denoted relative positions along the pilgrim route conceived as a circle, the circumference of which is 1385.6 kilometres. The data necessary for the plotting of the places in this manner came from Table 5-1. The prefectural boundaries have been drawn according to their relative distance from the neighbouring temple on either side along the pilgrim route. The inner segments of



H.T.

Symbolic concept

Areal Numerical A-M*

Prefectural boundary

Relative position of the sacred places along pilgrims' route (Relative distance in kilometres. Total circuit is 13856 km.)

Interaction units

Direct relationship

Indirect relationship

* A to M assigned according to the number of temples encompassed.

SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF THE 88 SACRED PLACES

Figure 5-3

the circle show the areal range of the interactions which occur among the sacred places with the largest areal range, all Shikoku, being towards the outer edge of the circle and the smallest areal ranges occupying the inner portion of the diagram. The symbolic concept which gives meaning to each interaction unit is represented by a triangle if it is areal, and a square if it is numerical. Also indicated by double and single wavy lines are the direct and indirect relationships among the interaction units shown in Figure 5-2. The interaction units together with the relationships which occur among them constitute the spatial structure of the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage. Thus Figure 5-3 is a schematic representation of the spatial structure of the places of the pilgrimage.

When the spatial structure is viewed together with other aspects of the eighty-eight sacred places of the pilgrimage, geographic setting, association, and ritual, the characteristic geographic expression of the institution of the pilgrimage begins to emerge.

Notes - Chapter Five

1. Unpen-ji (66) is traditionally considered to lie within Kagawa Prefecture, although its compound straddles the prefectural boundary between Kagawa and Tokushima and the temple buildings are located on the Tokushima side.

2. The concept of clockwise movement is significant within Buddhism. Takahashi, in Shikoku Reijō Junpai no Shiori (Tadotsu, Kagawa: Kaigan-ji, 1971), p. 64, states that clockwise movement is a sign of respect. It is possible that this concept, as the idea of pilgrimage itself, was borrowed from Hinduism. Bhardwaj, in Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India: A Study in Cultural Geography (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 31, refers to the concept of clockwise pilgrimage in Hinduism and has been able to map a grand sacred tour clockwise throughout all of India in existence some centuries before Christ, though he does not elaborate on the concept of clockwise movement.

3. The numbers were not assigned to the sacred places until towards the end, or shortly after the end, of the seventeenth century. Jakuhon writing in 1689, in Shikoku Henro Reijō-ki, I, P. 7, reprinted in Shikoku Reijō-ki-shu, ed. by Yoshihiro Kondō (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1973), p. 23, suggests that Zentsū-ji, presently temple 75, should be the first temple visited as it is the birthplace of Kōbō-Daishi. It is not known precisely how or when the numbers were assigned to the temples, however, the sequential order of the sacred places had been designated by 1715 as Terajima, in Wakan Sansai Zue, reprinted in Wakan Sansai Zue (2 vols.; Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 1970), refers to the temples in the order that they are now visited.

4. Dainichi-ji (13), Ryūkō-ji (41), Nankō-bō (55), Yokomine-ji (60), Kōshō-in (79) and Ichinomiya-ji (83) also changed their exact sites at this time but as the new compounds were connected to the original Shintō compounds they have not been included in the above discussion.

5. There are other ideas related to the significance of the number eighty-eight, for example those cited by Yoshihiro Kondō in Shikoku Henro (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1971), p. 164 and by Alfred Bohner in Wallfarht zu Zweien.Die 88 heiligen Stätten von Shikoku (Tokyo:

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur - und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1931), p. 38, which are not a part of Buddhist teaching.

6. J.E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols (2nd ed.; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 199-203.

7. Shūei Hosoda, "Shikoku Henrei Ezu [1763]" in Monumenta Cartographica Japonica (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1972).

8. Jakuhon, Shikoku Henro Kudoku-ki (1690), I, pp. 11-12, reprinted in Shokoku Reijō-ki-shū, ed. by Yoshihiro Kondō (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1973), pp. 438-39.

9. Kanzen Hasuo, Kōbō-Daishi-den (Kōyasan: Kongōbu-ji, 1931), p. 350.

10. Bukkyō Daijii, ed. by Ryūkoku University (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1937), p. 1772.

11. There is a group of twenty temples which claim that the complete pilgrimage originally encompassed 108 sacred places and that it is still necessary, if worshippers are to make the "true pilgrimage", that they be visited as well as the eighty-eight sacred places. This information is printed and made available in a leaflet distributed by Kangan-ji in Kagawa Prefecture, the temple among this sub-group that rivals the claim of Zentsū-ji (75) to be recognized as the birthplace of Kōbō-Daishi. It is interesting that this group should number twenty for 108 is, of course, a multiple of four and therefore "inherently" sacred within Buddhism. As well, 108 corresponds to the number of worldly desires that Buddhism teaches must be overcome. For this reason nenju (juzu) or counting beads, used to keep track of the number of times chants are repeated, traditionally number 108 as do bonnō steps, the steps found within some of the compounds, the climbing of which symbolically eliminates worldly desires. But, despite the significance of the number 108, it would seem that eighty-eight is of greater importance as it is, and long has been, the number of temples encompassed by the Shikoku pilgrimage and there seems to be little sign that this will change despite the claims of the "sub-group". In fact, with the exception of the above mentioned leaflet, there seems to be no reference to these twenty temples as a group in any of the literature relating to the Shikoku pilgrimage although reference has been made to certain individual temples as bangai or "out of number", that is, temples that claim association with Kōbō-Daishi but have not been included among the eighty-eight sacred places.

12. The earliest known map of Japan is the map drawn by Priest Gyōki in 805 (see Figure A-1). It can be seen from this map that Shikoku is divided into four sections.

13. As can be seen from Table 5-1, the distance from Ryōzen-ji (1) to Kirihata-ji (10) is 29.5 kilometres or approximately 7.5 ri thus indicating that while the actual measurement is not, in fact, ten ri the number ten is important enough to have been incorporated into the name by which this group of temples is commonly known.

14. Taku Maeda, Junrei no Shakaigaku (Kyōto: Mineruba Shobō, 1972), p. 62.

15. Maeda, p. 62.

16. Maeda, p. 62.

17. Akira Takeda, Shikoku-ji (Tokyo: Shakai Shichō-sha, 1967), p. 119.

CHAPTER SIX

A GEOGRAPHIC STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE IN RETROSPECT

In this study, the geographic significance of the earth-bound institution of pilgrimage has been conceptualized under the rubric of "place" as a formal integration of particular physical features, recognized association, corresponding behaviour, and interaction with other places. In order to capture and to describe simply and consistently the distinctiveness and character of places significant for religion, a representative pilgrimage within one particular cultural context was investigated through the identification, description, and synthesis of the geographic expressions of the eighty-eight sacred places of the Shikoku pilgrimage, Japan.

The investigation centred on four primary aspects of the pilgrimage: the geographic setting of the sacred places in terms of their assemblages of physical features, the association of the sacred places with various sacred beings, the relationships which occur between the geographic setting of the places of the pilgrimage and the particular ritual behaviour that occurs therein, and the spatial interrelations which exist among the eighty-eight sacred places. The study was based primarily on data collected through observation of and participation in the pilgrimage.

It is difficult to state systematically and consistently

the distinctiveness of places. This study attempts a systematic account of the distinctiveness of a particular class of places, the eighty-eight sacred places of the Shikoku pilgrimage in Japan. In view of the complex and diverse nature of their collective character, and because they are inherently part of one and the same whole, the description and synthesis of the character of the pilgrimage sites were carried out through the application of a procedure derived from componential analysis.

This procedure begins with the selection of a set of "analytical units" (cultural geographic elements) which, based on well defined criteria, would appear to be constituents of a discrete domain. These analytical units are matched against a number of "descriptive features" (specialized terms) taken to be, or at least to include, the meaningful components, or distinctive features, of a possible morphological model for all analytical units within the set. The order or regularity is manifested in correspondence between analytical units and descriptive features. Having had an opportunity to test this procedure, I feel that it holds considerable potential as a means of organizing data for the systematic selective cultural description of geographic phenomena, so that diverse parts of any one phenomenon may be assembled into a unified whole through a procedure which is explicit and therefore open to criticism. Its possible shortcomings may even prove

advantageous to the researcher.

The procedure seems to be applicable only when the geographic data to be described are an integral part of the same whole and are relatively few in number. If the data to be considered as the analytical units are wide-ranging in their type, descriptive features common to all analytical units within the set may not constitute the primary distinguishing features of these units. Therefore, the successful application of this procedure requires a set of "uniform" data with regard to the aspect of the subject matter under consideration. Such data, however, may not be forthcoming or assembled in any accessible form for the researcher.

This apparent disadvantage may in fact be to the researcher's advantage, however. The diversities among elements thought to constitute a place are often so extensive that a consistent description of a series of places becomes impossible. Selection and meaningful classification of the elements are often essential. As the method demands a set of elements which belong to the same domain, it forces the researcher to adopt precise criteria for the inclusion and exclusion of elements and results in the organization of consistent data to support his presentation and argument.

The distinctive features shared by the analytical units may not permit ready observation, nor may the specification of a more precise situation be feasible. For this reason

application of special terms representing the distinct components of the data to be examined may be helpful in the identification of these distinctive features. Such terms, outside the established geographic jargon, may not readily be understood. However, their careful selection and consistent application increase the precision of description, at the same time decreasing possible misunderstanding.

While the method permits a number of alternative descriptions and syntheses depending upon the choice of analytical units and/or descriptive features within one domain, and thus is not rigorously determinate, this allowance for variation accommodates a variety of viewpoints and encourages careful consideration of alternatives. The cultural geographer searches for "meaningful" interpretation of phenomena and this method permits the formulation of explicit statements, verifiable against competing statements. This approach, I feel, may provide a relevant selective procedure applicable to many particular research problems in cultural geography.

The study focused on the concrete geographic expression of the earth-bound institution of pilgrimage. It presents an "external" view of the character of the pilgrim places, not an "internal" view; that is, it describes observed aspects of the pilgrim places, not the places as they are viewed through the spiritual experience of the pilgrims, certainly

an important aspect of the places but not within the scope of this study.

I have attempted to identify, describe, and synthesize what I considered to be the essential elements of the eighty-eight sacred places of the Shikoku pilgrimage. The existence of these places is the foundation of this pilgrimage. The study revealed certain characteristic features of the pilgrim places. For convenience the main substantive conclusions of the study are listed here in the order in which they have been discussed.

1. The geographic setting of the sacred place is characterized primarily through the assemblage of landscape markers that have been invested with special meaning and the expression of this cultural preference and organization in the landscape. Absolute location or position is not a necessary property of the given sacred places. The distinctive "sacred" property of the pilgrim place is dependent upon certain physical features falling into thirty-six types. These occur with varying degrees of frequency when the eighty-eight sacred places are considered as a whole. The relative horizontal and vertical positions within the temple compound occupied by the dominant features (occurring at more than 75 per cent of the sacred places) tend to be fixed. Among these dominant features, the hondo and daishido occupy the position of greatest interiority and height within the compound. Pilgrim places, like all other places, change

with respect to the occurrence of certain types of landscape features. This dynamic character of the places is reflected in the landscape. Comparison of the presently observed physical setting of the sacred places with the seventeenth century setting revealed that the sacred places as a whole are progressive in terms of landscape features. There are only two features which occur less frequently now, yashiro and mizu. The decrease in yashiro, or buildings enshrining Shintō gods, is possibly indicative of the decreased association of Buddhism with Shintō. The regressive nature of mizu, or natural bodies of water, is perhaps counteracted by a substantial increase in the occurrence of chōzubachi, or ablution basins, now a focus of pilgrim ritual. Particularly interesting is the increase in the occurrence of daishidō within the sacred places, possibly indicative of an increased emphasis on the association of the pilgrim places with Kōbō-Daishi.

2. The association of a place with deities and/or saintly beings is central to its acknowledged sanctity and this recognized association is expressed in the landscape. Such association constitutes the essence and the ultimate source of the distinctive character of places of pilgrimage. The association of the eighty-eight sacred places with various sacred beings gives privileged status to these places and differentiates them from the surrounding homogeneous secular space. The sanctity of each of the eighty-

eight sacred places derives from its association with Kōbō-Daishi and one of twelve honzon or chief deities. While historical records do not necessarily confirm commonly held beliefs with regard to the extent of the association of the sacred places with Kōbō-Daishi, this association with Kobō-Daishi is clearly expressed in the landscape of each of the sacred places both through the existence of the daishidō and through pilgrim behaviour. The pilgrimage is characterized by its ability to accommodate the practical needs of pilgrims through the association of the places with honzon which are thought to occupy a position in the present world and are believed to serve the practical needs of humanity. While the pilgrimage begins with an emphasis on honzon with a theoretical function, that is, salvation of the soul, as a whole it stresses the practical function of the honzon, that is, provision of assistance in everyday living, and concludes with an overwhelming emphasis on practicality.

3. The characteristic association of pilgrim places with sacred beings is recognized by pilgrims and this recognition is expressed through ritual behaviour. While there is some variation in the physical setting of each of the eighty-eight sacred places, particular pilgrim activities are repeatedly linked to specific physical features. When the pilgrim places were considered as a whole, definite geographic patterns in pilgrimage ritual could be seen to exist. The set of relationships between the physical

features and the associated pilgrim behaviour presupposes a prescribed ideal order. In reality, variation within the set of relationships does exist in the order in which the relationships occur. These variations occur only within a clearly demarcated ritual field, however. There is no overlap between the fields. The spatial temporal order within the set of relationships between the physical features and pilgrim activities may be considered as a primary geographic expression of the earth-bound institution of pilgrimage. Through ritual activity man activates and interacts with pilgrim places and at the same time these places accommodate man's needs and intentions.

4. In a pilgrimage to multiple places, as the Shikoku pilgrimage is, the pilgrim places are not only activated individually by man, they are united into distinct, though sometimes overlapping, groups by his activities. Over the ages, particular temples, ranging in number from all eighty-eight sacred places to five places, have been linked into culturally recognized groups and named accordingly. The existence of these groups, supported by underlying symbolic concepts, provides guidelines for the practice of pilgrimage.

While the four aspects of the pilgrim places were each investigated separately, they are, in fact, interlocking parts of a tightly knit whole. Still the conceptualization of the pilgrim places in terms of these four aspects has provided a useful and manageable framework for the initial

description of the pilgrim places.

While this study focused on one specific pilgrimage, those aspects of the pilgrim places examined are not unique to the Shikoku sacred places. These aspects are shared by pilgrim places throughout Japan and are likely common to places of pilgrimage within other religious contexts.

The study has documented the non-mentalistic "external" geographic dimension of the Shikoku pilgrimage as it presently may be observed in the eighty-eight sacred places encompassed by the pilgrimage. In so doing it has introduced a method for simple and consistent formal description of places significant for religion and demonstrated its applicability. In this way it has contributed to the relevant geographical documentation of a Buddhist pilgrimage and hopefully has taken a step toward the achievement of a systematic "morphology of landscape".

APPENDIX A

POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE SHIKOKU PILGRIMAGE

In any discussion of the origin of the Shikoku pilgrimage, the initial difficulty lies in the determination of those criteria by which origin should be defined; that is, shall we consider that the pilgrimage originated when the first Buddhist priests travelled to Shikoku for spiritual and physical training, or when the common people in considerable numbers began to visit the temples on Shikoku, or when the eighty-eight sacred places were specified as the places of the pilgrimage, or at some other point in time altogether?

Even when the occurrence which is to be considered as the origin of the pilgrimage has been decided upon, it has so far remained impossible to determine the process through which the pilgrimage came into being. Its origin appears to have been the outcome of an accumulation of complex factors many of which require clarification not readily available through the existing historical records.

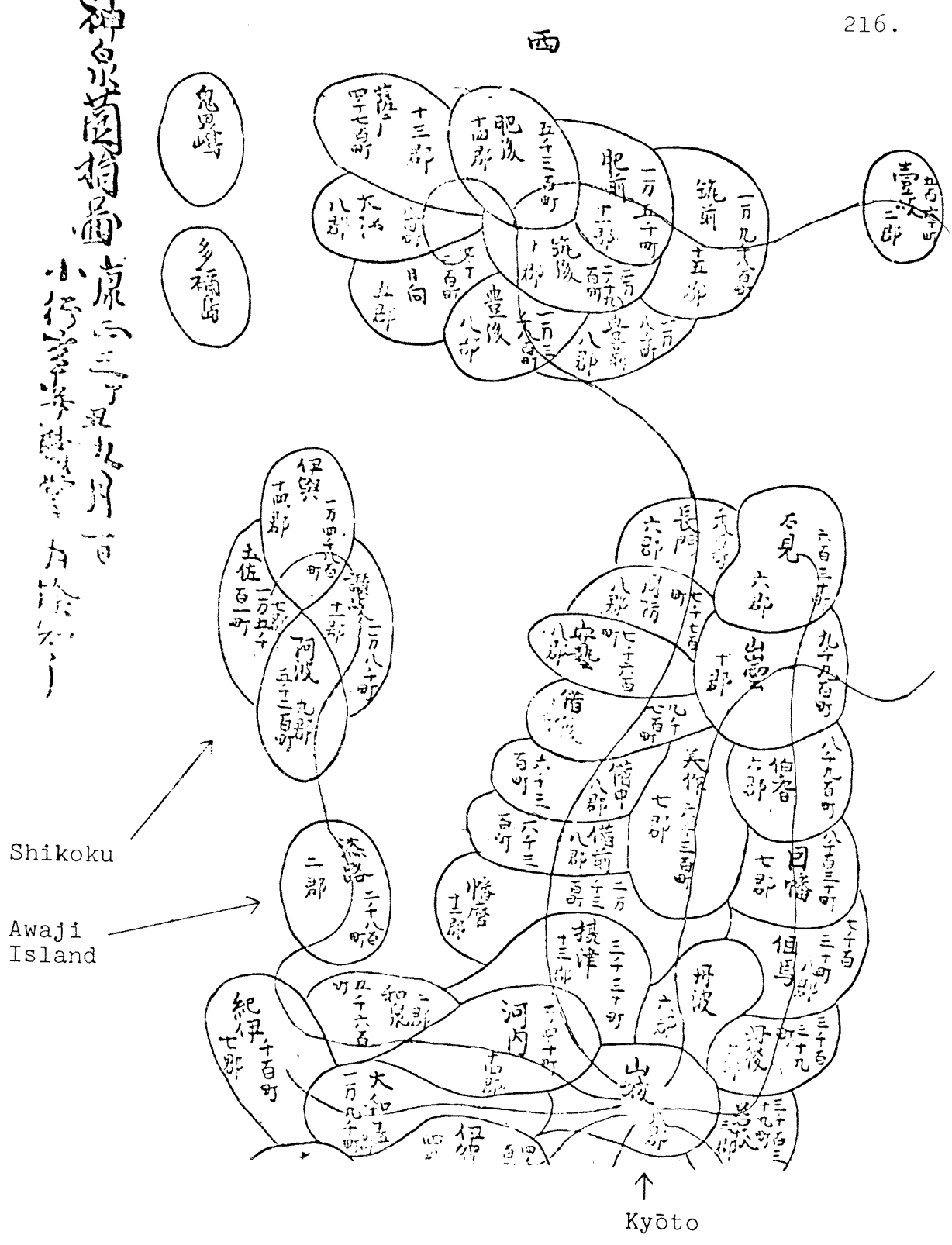
That it would have been possible to make a pilgrimage on Shikoku as early as the ninth century is apparent from the earliest known map of Japan drawn by priest Gyōki in 805. This map shows that Shikoku, literally four provinces, was divided into four prefectures and that there was a road leading from Kyōto, the capital of Japan at that time, across Awaji Island

to Shikoku and around most of the island (see Figure A-1).

As well, when temple histories are examined it becomes apparent that the forty-four temples which claim to have been established did exist at this time. These temples claim to have been established before 774 and forty-one claim to have been established during Kōbō-Daishi's lifetime (774-835). The other three temples make no claim to precise date of establishment other than that it was before the end of the 9th century.

Priest Ezen, in Shikoku Henro Nikki,[1] 1653, suggested that Kōbō-Daishi visited the eighty-eight sacred places and in this way originated the pilgrimage, however, in the existing records left by Kōbō-Daishi there appears to be no reference to a pilgrimage to the eighty-eight sacred places. In Sangō-shiiki written in 796, though, he does mention three places on Shikoku: Tairyū-San, Ishizuchi-San, and Muroto-Saki where he went to train himself[2] and in Konjaku Monogatari, edited by Minamoto in 1106-08, there is a reference to Kōbō-Daishi visiting Manno and reconstructing the irrigation pond[3] there so it would seem that Kōbō-Daishi did visit certain places on Shikoku though not necessarily all those with which he has come to be associated.

The legend that has grown up around Uemon Saburo has caused many to consider him to be the originator of the pilgrimage. It is recorded in the temple history of Ishide-ji (51) that Uemon Saburō visited the eighty-eight sacred



Original map was lost. This copy was made in the Edo Period. Source: Akioka, ed., The Collection of Old Maps of Japan (Tokyo: Kashima Shuppan, 1971).

SECTION OF MAP OF JAPAN DRAWN BY PRIEST GYŌKI IN 805

Figure A-1

places twenty-one times as penance for his refusal to assist Kōbō-Daishi and the resulting death of his eight sons. In 831, on his twenty-second time around the island, Uemon Saburo died near Shōsan-ji (12) and his grave may still be seen there today.[4] If Uemon Saburō was the first pilgrim and did visit all eighty-eight sacred places, this would suggest that these places had previously been designated, however, the other records do not substantiate this.

Jakuhon, in Shikoku Henro Kudoku-ki, suggests that Shinzei, a follower of Kōbō-Daishi, may have been the first person to make the pilgrimage,[5] visiting those places with which Kōbō-Daishi was believed to be associated immediately after Kōbō-Daishi's death in 835.

The validity of this suggestion is questioned by Maeda, though, as there is no reference in Shinzei's biography to such a journey to Shikoku.[6] Maeda also draws attention to Hasuo's statement that the possible visit to Shikoku by Shinzei would have been of a personal nature and that of greater public significance and more likely to have been imitated would have been the probable journey to Shikoku by Shinnyo-shinnō, a member of the Royal family, in 861. That Shinnyo-shinno did visit Shikoku is supported by the fact that his grave, constructed prior to his death, lies within the compound of Kiyotaki-ji (35). Whether Shinnyo-shinnō actually made the pilgrimage on Shikoku and visited the other sacred places besides Kiyotaki-ji (35), however, is not definitely

known.

Other theories concerning the origin of the pilgrimage suggest beginnings that have no association with Kōbō-Daishi. Konjaku Monogatari contains an account of three Buddhist priests who travelled along the difficult terrain on the fringe of Shikoku[7] but it does not relate this journey in any way with Kōbō-Daishi. A similar reference to priests journeying around the coast of Shikoku is found in Ryōjin Hishō[8] edited by tonsured Emperor Goshirakawa (d. 1158).

Other accounts suggest that one of the reasons that frequent pilgrimages were made to the south coast of Shikoku was that this area was considered to be close to Fudaraku Jodo or the "Pure Land" which was believed to lie to the south beyond the sea.

The Japanese term now used to refer to both the Shikoku pilgrimage and the Shikoku pilgrims is Shikoku Henro 四国遍路. It should be noted that the term henro is not used in connection with any other pilgrimage. Hen 遍 is usually interpreted as "to go around"[9] and ro 路 as "road". Within the existing records, for example, in the abovementioned Konjaku Monogatari and Ryōjin Hishō, there is repeated reference to journeying to the henchi 辺地, or hendo 辺土 of Shikoku.[10] Although the pronunciation is the same, the Chinese character for hen 辺 used in henchi and hendo is different from that presently used for hen in henro and is interpreted as "fringe". Chi 地 and do 土 both refer to place

or area. From these early references to henchi and hendo and the present use of the term henro it is felt by many that there is a direct relationship between the present pilgrimage and the early practice of travelling around the fringe of the island.

Thus, the origin of the pilgrimage can at best be only guessed at but, whatever its beginnings, it is evident that there is no one factor to which its origin can be neatly and precisely attributed.

Notes - Appendix A

1. This work was only recently discovered and has not been made available but Yoshihoro Kondō refers to its contents in Shikoku Henro (Tokyo: Ōfusha, 1971), p. 29.

2. Ninshō Miyazaki, Henro: Sono Kokoro to Rekishi (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1974), p. 12-13.

3. Takakuni Minamoto, ed. Konjaku Monogatari (1106-08), Section 22, reprinted in Konjaku Monogatari, ed. by Tōkichi Nagano (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1956).

4. The earliest reference to this story is in Kenmyō, Kūshōhō Shinnō Shikoku Reijō Gojunkō-ki (1638) and a fuller version appears in Jakuhon, Shikoku Henro Kudoku-ki (1690), II, pp. 29(1), 29(2), reprinted in Shikoku Reijō-ki-shū, ed. by Yoshihiro Kondō (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1973), pp. 500-02.

5. Jakuhon, Shikoku Henro Kudoku-ki (1690), II, p. 10, reprinted in Shikoku Reijō-ki-shū, ed. by Yoshihiro Kondō (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1973), p. 436.

6. Taku Maeda, Junrei no Shakaigaku (Kyōto: Mineruba Shobō, 1972), p. 28.

7. Minamoto, Section 14.

8. Goshirakawa Tennō, ed., Ryōjin Hishō (1171), Section 33, reprinted in Ryōjin Hishō-kō, ed. by Junichi Konishi (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1941).

9. It is interesting to note that, as Turner pointed out in "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal", History of Religions, 12, No. 3 (1973), 197, the term by which the central Muslim pilgrimage is known, "hajj", probably derived from an old semitic root, h-dj, meaning "to go around, to go in a circle".

10. For a discussion of the terms henchi and henro in relation to the Shikoku pilgrimage see Kondō, Shikoku Henro, pp. 26-42.

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY

Amida-nyorai	阿弥陀如来	Amida Buddha
Awa	阿波	Awa "country" now Tokushima Prefecture
Bangai	番外	"Out of number" temple
Batō Kanzenon-bosatsu	馬頭観世音菩薩	Horse-headed Kanzenon-bosatsu
Bishamon-ten	毘沙門天	Protector of the Buddha
Bodai no Dōjō	菩提の道場	Dōjō of "attainment"
Bonnō	煩悩	Worldly desires
Bosatsu	菩薩	Buddha in his candidacy
Chadō	茶堂	"Tea building"
Chinju no kami	鎮守の神	Protector of the sacred compound
Chōzubachi	手水鉢	Ablution basin
Dainichikyō	大日経	Great Sun Sutra
Dainichi-nyorai	大日如来	Dainichi Buddha
Daishi	大師	Great teacher, "saint"
Daishi no Hōgō	大師の宝号	Words praising the greatness of Kōbō-Daishi
Daishidō	大師堂	Hall dedicated to Kōbō-Daishi
Daitsuchishō-bosatsu	大通智勝菩薩	Daitsuchishō bodhisattva
Darani	陀羅尼	Mystic syllables
Dō	堂	Small building
Dōgyō ninin	同行二人	Together with Kōbō-Daishi
Dōhyō	道標	Pilgrim road sign

Dōjō	道場	Holy place of learning and practising "the Way"
Dōkutsu	洞穴	[Sacred] cave
Edo [Period]	江戸	1603-1868
Fudaraku Jōdō	補陀落浄土	Fudaraku Pure Land
Fudasho	札所	Temple
Fudō-myōō	不動明王	Fudō Acala
Fuku no kami	福の神	Gods of fortune
Gojūon-kana	五十音仮名	50 basic Japanese phonetic syllables
Gokaji	五ケ寺	Five temples
Gorintō	五輪塔	Five ring "stupa"
Haibutsu-kishaku	排仏毀釈	Policy of Meiji Government declaring Shintō to be the State religion and abolishing Buddhism
Haka	墓	Grave(s)
Hakkaji	八ケ寺	Eight temples
Hannya-haramita-shingyō (Hannya-shingyō)	般若波羅蜜多心経	A Buddhist sutra
Hei	塀	Wall
Heian [Period]	平安	794-1192
Henro Yōgo	遍路用語	Pilgrim argot
Hōin	宝印	Temple seal
Hōju	宝珠	"Pearl" [shaped roof ornament]
Hōkyōin-darani-kyō	宝篋印陀羅尼経	A Buddhist sutra
Hōkyōintō	宝篋印塔	Hōkyōin "stupa"
Hondō	本堂	Main hall

Hōnō	奉納	Dedication and offering
Hōnōsekihyō	奉納石標	Donation stone
Hon-Shikoku	本四国	"True Shikoku"
Honyaku	本尼	Real calamity
Honzon	本尊	Chief deity
Honzon no Osugata [miei]	本尊の御影	Printed image of the honzon
Honzon no Shingon	本尊の真言	True "words" of the honzon
Hosshin no Dōjō	発心の道場	Dōjō of "determination"
Hōtō	宝塔	A type of stupa
Hotoke	仏	Buddha
Hyakudoishi	百度石	Hundred times stone
Ikkoku	一国	One country
Ikkoku-mairi	一国参り	One country visit
Insō	印相	Shape the Buddha's hands form
Ishi	石	[Sacred] rock
Ishidan	石段	Stone steps
Ishidatami	石畳	Stone walk
Iyo	伊予	Iyo "country", now Ehime Prefecture
Ji [sect]	時宗	A Buddhist sect
Jishikoku	自四国	Own Shikoku
Jizō	地蔵	Stone statue representing Jizō-bosatsu
Jizō-bosatsu	地蔵菩薩	Jizō bodhisattva
Juichimen Kanzenon-bosatsu	十一面観世音菩薩	Eleven faced Kanzenon-bosatsu

Jukkaji	十ヶ寺	Ten temples
Jūnanakaji	十七ヶ寺	Seventeen temples
Junrei	巡礼	Pilgrimage, pilgrim(s)
Jūri-Jukkasho	十里十ヶ所	Ten Ri-Ten Temples
Kaimyō	戒名	Posthumous Buddhist name
Kamakura [Period]	鎌倉	1192-1333
Kame-ishi	亀石	Turtle-shaped stone
Kami	神	Shintō god(s)
Kanbun	漢文	Chinese sentences
Kanji	漢字	Chinese characters
Kanzenon-bosatsu	観世音菩薩	Kanzenon bodhisattva
Kenwaku	見惑	Illusion of the mind
Kokūzō-bosatsu	虚空蔵菩薩	Kokūzō bodhisattva
Komainu	狛犬	Wolf dog
Kongōkai	金剛界	Doctrinal concept of Mikkyō Buddhism
Kōro	香炉	Incense burner
Kuri	庫裡	Priest's residence
Kuyōtō	供養塔	Memorial stupa
Kyūkaji	九ヶ寺	Nine temples
Mandara	曼荼羅	Circle, ritual geometric diagram
Meihyō	名標	[Temple] name marker
Meiji [Period]	明治	1868-1912
Mikkyō	密教	Hidden (esoteric) doctrine
Miroku-bosatsu	弥勒菩薩	Miroku bodhisattva
Mizu	水	[Sacred] water

Mon	門	Gate
Monchū	門柱	Pillar gate
Monju-bosatsu	文殊菩薩	Monju bodhisattva
Myōō	明王	Protector of the Buddha
Nanakaji	七ケ寺	Seven temples
Nara [Period]	奈良	710-794
Nehan no Dōjō	涅槃の道場	Dōjō of "completion"
Nenju (juzu)	念珠	Counting beads
Niō (san)	仁王	Deva king
Niōmon	仁王門	Niō gate
Nōkyōchō	納経帖	Pilgrim stamp book
Nōkyōsho	納経所	The place where pilgrims receive the temple stamp
Nyorai	如来	Enlightened Buddha
Ofuda	お札	Calling card
Okyō	お経	Sutra
Ongitō	遠忌塔	Anniversary "stupa"
Onigawara	鬼瓦	Devil tile
Ri	里	Unit of distance measurement: one ri ≒ 3.9 kilometres
Rinzai [sect]	臨済宗	A Buddhist sect
Rōsokutate	蠟燭立	Candle receptacle
Sanmon	山門	Mountain gate
Sanuki	讃岐	Sanuki "country", now Kagawa Prefecture
Sekisho	関所	Check point
Senju Kanzenon-bosatsu	千手観世音菩薩	Thousand-hands Kanzenon-bosatsu

Settai	接待	Custom of giving aid to pilgrims
Settaisho	接待所	Settai building
Shaka-nyorai	釈迦如来	Shaka Buddha
Shingon [sect]	真言宗	A Buddhist sect
Shintō	神道	Way of kami
Shintokaikan	信徒会館	Congregation's building
Shitennō	四天王	Four quarter kings
Shō Kanzenon-bosatsu	聖観世音菩薩	"Sacred" Kanzenon-bosatsu
Shokubutsu	植物	[Sacred] tree
Shōrō	鐘楼	Belfry
Shōwa [Period]	昭和	1926 —
Shū	宗	Sect
Shugyō no Dōjō	修業の道場	Dōjō for "practising"
Soseki	礎石	Foundation stone
Sōtō [sect]	曹洞宗	A Buddhist sect
Sumi	墨	Chinese ink
Taizōkai	胎蔵界	Doctrinal concept of Mikkyō Buddhism
Ten	天	Tennō, protector of Buddha
Tendai [sect]	天台宗	A Buddhist sect
Tera	寺	[Buddhist] temple
Tō	塔	Pagoda, stupa
Torii	鳥居	Shintō gate
Tōrō	燈籠	Lantern
Tosa	土佐	Tosa "country", now Kōchi Prefecture
Tsuyadō	通夜堂	Overnight building

Ura-sekisho	裏関所	Check point behind
Utsu	打つ	Calling at a temple
Yaku	厄	Calamity
Yakudoshi	厄年	Calamity years
Yakushi-nyorai	薬師如来	Yakushi Buddha
Yakuyoke	厄除	Calamity free
Yakuzaka	厄坂	Calamity steps
Yashiro	社	Kami building
Yugitō	瑜祇塔	A type of stupa
Zō	像	Statue

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